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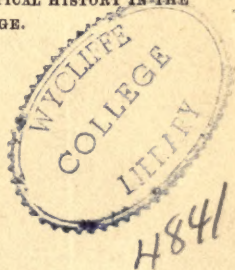
BY
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IN GÖTTINGEN.

FOURTH EDITION REVISED AND AMENDED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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Rud. Hospiniani de Monachis h. e. de origine et progressu monachatus libb. VI. Tiguri 1588. ed II. auct. 1609. Genev. 1669. fol.—Ant. Dadini Alteserrae Asceticῶν s. origg. rei monasticae libb. X. Paris. 1674. 4. rec. ac praef. notasque adjecit Chr. F. Glück. Halae 1782. 8.—Edm. Martene de antiquis monachorum ritibus. Lugd. 1690. 4.—J. Binghami origg. lib. VII. (vol. iii. p. 1 ss.)—Hippol. Helyot histoire des ordres monastiques, etc. Paris 1714. 19. t. VIII. 4. translated into German under the title: Ausführl. Gesch. aller geistl. u. weltl. Kloster u. Ritterorden Leipzig 1753. 56. 8 Bde. 4.—(Musson) Pragm. Geschichte d. vornehmsten Mönchsorden aus ihren eigenen Geschichtschreibern (Paris 1751 ss.) i. e. deutschen Ausz. (v. L. G. Crome) m. e. Vorrede v. Ch. W. Fr. Walch. Leipzig 1774–84. 10 Bde. 8. J. H. Möhler's Gesch. d. Mönchthums in d. Zeit s. Entstehung u. ersten Ausbildung, in his Schriften u. Aufsätzen herausgeg. von Döllinger II., 165. Neander's Kirchengesch. II, 2, 486 ss.

§ 95.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MONACHISM IN THE EAST.

Solitude and asceticism were universally looked upon in this age as means of approximation to the Deity. The New Platonists recommended them.¹ The Jewish Essenes and Thera-

¹ After Plato's example in the Phædo and Theætetus. Plotinus recommends the *μόνον εἶναι, μόνον πρὸς μόνον (θεὸν) γενέσθαι*. See Creuzer ad Plotini opp. ed. Oxon. iii., 140. 276. 412. A. Jahni's Basilii magni plotinizans. Bernae 1838. 4, p. 19.

peutæ lived in this manner.² Thus *Anthony* (Div. I. § 73), appeared to have set forth the ideal of a *Christian* wise man: he soon found many imitators, and other hermits fixed themselves in his neighbourhood. Many more were concealed in inaccessible places, of whom one, *Paul of Thebes* († 340), who had lived in the desert ever since the Decian persecution, is said to have become known to Anthony shortly before his death.³ After a number of hermits had been brought into a kind of connection with one another by Anthony, *Pachomius* founded a place of habitation where they might dwell together (κοινόβιον, μάνδρα, claustrum.—Κοινοβίτης, Συνοδίτης), on the island *Tabenna* in the Nile (about 340), with a system of rules for the government of its inmates, by which strict obedience to the president (Ἀββᾶς, Ἡγούμενος, Ἀρχιμανδρίτης) was particularly enforced. At the same time *Amun* founded a society of monks on the *Nitrian mountain* (τὸ τῆς Νιτρίας ὄρος); and *Macarius the elder*⁴ in the neighbouring wilderness of *Sketis*.⁵ Both were soon peopled by the monks, and became the most celebrated resorts. *Hilarion* assembled in the desert near Gaza, a company of monks, and from thence the system spread through Palestine and Syria.⁶ The *Eusebian Eustathius*, afterwards bishop of Sebaste, introduced it into Armenia and Asia Minor.⁷ The peculiarities of the monkish life of this period consisted in solitariness, manual labour, spiritual exercises,⁸ restraint of the bodily appetites, for the pur-

² Still in the time of Nilus, who lived as monk on Sinai A. D. 430. See Nili tract. ad Magnam c. 39. (Nili tractatus ed. J. M. Suaresius, Romæ 1673. fol. p. 279), and de monast. exercis. c. 3. (l. c. p. 2.), where they are called Ἱεροαῖοι.

³ Vita Antonii by Athanasius, see Div. I. §. 73. not. 22. Vita Pauli by Jerome.

⁴ Probably from him we have the homiliae spirituales 50 ed. J. G. Pritius. Lips. 1698 u. 1714. 8. Comp. Paniel's Gesch. der christl. Beredsamkeit i. 396.

⁵ Coptic Schiêt, Greek Σκήτης, Σκήτις, ap. Ptolemy Σκιάθις, Latin Scetis, Scithis, Scytiaca, Scythium, means chiefly *the hill* on which Macarius settled, then *the surrounding desert*. Et. Quatremère mémoires géograph. et hist. sur l'Égypte. (Paris. T. 2. 1811. 8.) i. 451.

⁶ Vita Hilarionis by Jerome.—Δάριου in Palestine.

⁷ On the first monks generally see Socrates iv. 23. 24. Sozomenus i. 12–15. iii. 14. vi. 28–34. Palladii (bishop of Helenopolis, afterwards of Aspona, † about 420.) historia Lausiaca in Jo. Meursii opp. vol. viii. (Florent. 1746. fol.) p. 329. Theodoretī φιλότητος ἱστορία.

Even Tertullian (de orat. c. 25. et adv. Psychicos c. 10.) and Cy-

pose of mortifying the sensual nature, and allowing the spirit with less disturbance to be absorbed in the contemplation of divine things.⁹ The rules of the monasteries made, indeed, more moderate demands on the abstinence of the inmates;¹⁰ but the majority of the monks did more than was required, of their own free choice, and many even withdrew from the cells of the convents into the desert (*Ἀναχωρηταί*), that they might suppress sensual desires by the most ingenious self tortures, and attain the highest degree of holiness. In many cases these measures had only the contrary effect, and temptations increased;¹¹ many

prian (de orat. domin. p. 154.) recommended the *hora tertia, sexta, and nona*, as times of prayer, whilst every day, morning and evening, church service was performed. (Const. apost. ii. 59.) Among the monks different usages arose at first. The Egyptians had, on every day of the week, only two meetings for prayer (Cassianus de instit. Coenob. iii. 2. *vespertinas ac nocturnas congregationes*), and in their cells carried on manual labour, and prayed almost incessantly; those of the East came together for the purpose of singing psalms, *hora tertia, sexta, et nona* (l. c. c. 3.), the *matutina hora* was first introduced at a later period into the monastery at Bethlehem (l. c. c. 4.). Athanasius de virginitate (opp. i. 1051 ss.) marks out for the nuns six seasons of prayer, viz., the third, sixth, ninth, twelfth hours (a more solemn assembly in the church at the last hour), *μεσονύκτιον* and *πρὸς ὄρθρον*. So also Jerome epitaph. Paulae epist. 27. 10. epist 7. ad Laetam; according to Chrysostom. in 1 Tim. hom. xiv. the monks had the same hours. Basil also, de instit. monach. sermo, prescribes these six, but that there may be seven agreeably to Psalm cxviii. 164, the prayer of noon is directed to be divided into that before and that after eating. When six public hours for prayer are prescribed to the churches in the apostolic constitutions, viii. 34. the writer follows the view which arose in the fourth century, viz., that in the apostolic churches for which he pretends to write, a monastic institute prevailed. Even in his day there were daily but two religious services as at an early period (*ἐν ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐν πρωΐα*, Chrysost. in 1 Tim. hom. vi.)

⁹ Respecting the Egyptian monasteries comp. Hieronymi ep. 18. (al. 22.) ad Eustochium (ed. Martian T. iv. P. ii. p. 45.) Jo. Cassiani collationes Patrum, et de institutis coenobiorum. On the labours cf. de inst. coen. x. 23.: *Haec est apud Aegyptum ab antiquis patribus sancita sententia: operantem monachum daemone uno pulsari, otiosum vero innumeris spiritibus devastari.* cf. Alteserra l. c. lib. v. cap. 7 et 8. Neander's Chrysostomus B. 1. S. 80 ff.

¹⁰ Comp. Pachomius' rule (ap. Pallad. hist. Laus. c. 38.): *Συγχωρήσεις ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ἐσθιόντων ἀνάλογα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐγχείρησον, καὶ μήτε νηστεύσαι κωλύσης μήτε φαγεῖν.*

¹¹ See the confessions of Jerome ep. 18. ad Eustochium: *Ille igitur*

monks were driven to despair by a sense of the hopelessness of their efforts ;¹² in the case of others, complete madness was su-

ego, qui ob gehennae metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choris intereram puellarum. Pallebant ora jejuniis, et mens desiderii aestuabat in frigido corpore, et ante hominem suum jam in carne praemortua, sola libidinum incendia bulliebant. Itaque omni auxilio destitutus, ad Jesu jacebam pedes, rigabam lachrymis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subjugabam.—Memini me clamantem, diem crebro junxisse cum nocte, nec prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus, quam rediret Domino increpante tranquillitas. Ep. 95. ad Rusticum: Dum essem juvenis, et solitudinis me deserta vallarent: incentiva vitiorum ardoremque naturae ferre non poteram: quem cum crebris jejuniis frangerem, mens tamen cogitationibus aestuabat. Ad quam edonandam cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebraeis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi, ut—alphabetum discerem, et stridentia anhelantiaque verba meditarer. In like manner Basil admits to his friend Gregory ep. 2. : κατελιπον μὲν τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς ὡς μυρίων κακῶν ἀφορμὰς, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ οὐπω ἀπολιπεῖν ἡδυνήθην.—ὥστε οὐδὲν μέγα τῆς ἐρημίας ἀπωνάμεθα ταύτης. On the temptations to lust see Nilus lib. ii. ep. 140. (Nili epistolarum libb. iv. Romae 1668. p. 179.) In the quaestt. et responsiones ad orthodoxos among Justin's works, written after 400, it is asked, qu. 21. whether sensual dreams exclude from supper: ἐπειδὴ πολλή ἐστι περὶ τούτου καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν (τῶν μοναχῶν) ἡ ζήτησις. Comp. Nilus περὶ διαφόρων πονηρῶν λογισμῶν (tractatus ed. Suaresii p. 512.). Basilii regulae breviores, interrog. 22. Comp. the experience of Philo, Legis allegor. lib. iii. (properly lib. ii.) p. 1102: ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν μὲν ἀνθρώπους, συγγενεῖς, καὶ φίλους, καὶ πατρίδα, καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἔλθων, ἵνα τι τῶν θείας ἀξίων κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὦνησα· ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ νοῦς, ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰναντία. Ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλήθει μυριάδων ἔρημῶ τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ, καὶ διδάξαντός με, ὅτι οὐ τόπων διαφοραὶ τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κινῶν θεὸς καὶ ἄγων, ἢ ἂν προαιρήται, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα. Zimmerman on Solitude, part 2. chapters 6. and 7.

¹² So that some, like the circumcelliones (see §. 86. not. 9.), put an end to their life, see Nilus lib. ii. ep. 140: τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ξενισθέντες, καὶ θορυβηθέντες τὸν νοῦν ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας καὶ ἀδιακρισίας, ἑαυτοὺς ἔσφαξαν μαχαίρα, τινὲς δὲ κατεκρήμνησαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀφορήτῳ λύπῃ καὶ ἀπογνώσει συσχεθέντες, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰ γεννητικὰ μόρια κόψαντες, καὶ αὐτοφονεῦνται ἑαυτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει γεγονότες οἱ τάλανες, ὑπέπεσαν τῇ ἀποστολικῇ ἀρᾷ,—ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἔλαβον συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Gregor. Naz. carn. xlvii. v. 100 ss. (opp. T. ii. 107.):

Θνήσκουσιν πολλοῖς προφρονέως θανάτοις,
 Αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ σφετέρης παλάμης, καὶ γαστρὸς ἀνάγκῃ,
 Οἱ δὲ κατὰ σκοπέλων βένθεσι τ' ἢ βρόχοις,
 Μάρτυρες ἀτρεκίης· πολέμου δ' ἄπο καὶ στονώεντος
 Χαίρουσιν βιότου τοῦδ' ἀπανιστάμενοι.
 Ἰλαθι Χριστὲ ἀναξ πισταῖς φρεσὶν ἀφραδέουσιν!

Pachomius says, Vita Pachonii §. 61. (Acta SS. Maji iii. 320. the Greek

perinduced by that excessive asceticism, and by the pride associated with it, under the influence of a burning climate.¹³ From that diseased excitement of the imagination, and that spiritual pride, arose also those strange miraculous occurrences which befel the monks only in solitude. The lesser marvellous things which they wrought in the circles of enthusiastic admirers must be explained by the impression they made on the feelings of reverence entertained towards the persons of the monks, and by the magnifying nature of tradition.¹⁴

Very soon in the East monachism was received with enthusiastic admiration, and the number of monks swelled to an enormous extent.¹⁵ As there were no more persecutions, and no more

original is given in the app. p. 41.): 'Η δὲ τῆς βλασφημίας ὑποβολὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐὰν εὖρη τιὰ μὴ νηφάλιον, κὰν ἢ ἀγαπῶν θεόν,—τοῦτον ἀπολέσει. Καὶ πολλοὶ ἐθανάτωσαν ἑαυτούς, ὁ μὲν ἐπάνωθεν πέτρας ἑαυτὸν ρίψας ὡς ἐκστατικός, καὶ ἄλλος μαχαίρα ἀπέπτυξεν τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλως. cf. Chrysostomi ad Stagiriam libb. iii. (opp. i. 153.) to a monk who believed that he had been tempted by Satan to commit suicide. Others sought assistance in their struggle against desire in immoderate sleep. Nili lib. iii. ep. 224.

¹ Hieronymi ep. 95. (al. 4.) ad Rusticum: Sunt, qui humore cellarum, immoderatisque jejuniis, taedio solitudinis ac nimia lectione, dum diebus ac noctibus auribus suis personant, vertuntur in melancholiam, et Hippocratis magis fomentis quam nostris monitis indigent. Ejusd. ep. 97. (al. 8.) ad Demetriadem: Novi ego in utroque sexu per nimiam abstinentiam cerebri sanitatem quibusdam fuisse vexatam: praecipueque in his, qui in humectis et frigidis habitaverunt cellulis, ita ut nescirent quid agerent, quove se verterent: quid loqui, quid tacere deberent. Hence his disapprobation of extreme fasting in ep. 57. (al. 7.) ad Laetam and Jo. Cassian. instit. v. 9.

¹⁴ Several hints on this subject may be found in the following passages: Hieron. ep. 59. ad Rusticum: quosdam ineptos homines daemonum pugnantium contra se portenta confingere, ut apud imperitos et vulgi homines miraculum sui faciant, et exinde lucra sectentur. Sozomenus i. 14.: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θεοπέσια ἐπ' αὐτῷ (Ἀμοῦν) συμβέβηκεν, ἃ μάλιστα τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον μοναχοῖς ἠκρίβωται, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένοις, διαδοχῇ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου ἐπιμελῶς ἀπομνημονεύει τὰς τῶν παλαιστέρων ἀσκητῶν ἀρετάς. Sulpicius Severus dial. ii. 4. relates that St Martin often told him, nequaquam sibi in episcopatu eam virtutum gratiam suppetisse, quam prius se habuisse meminisset. Quod si verum est, immo quia verum est, conjicere possumus, quanta fuerunt illa, quae monachus operatus est, et quae teste nullo solus exercuit, cum tanta illum in episcopatu signa fecisse, sub oculis omnium viderimus. For the physiological explanation of the frequent visions seen by these anchorites comp. D. Joh. Müller über die phantastischen Gesichterscheinungen, Coblenz 1826. 8.

¹⁵ Pachomius had in his convent 1300 monks, and in all upwards of

opportunities of martyrdom; as Christianity had even acquired external dominion; the erroneous notion was spread abroad that there was no longer an opportunity in the world for the full exercise of Christian virtue.¹⁶ The general corruption¹⁷ or consciousness of individual guilt caused many to seek solitude. Many sought escape from the oppressive circumstances of life.¹⁸ Others wished to make a figure and obtain an influence. Others were attracted by sloth;¹⁹ and lastly, others were drawn away by mere

7000 under his superintendence (Sozom. iii. 14.). In a monastery at Thebais were 5000 monks (Cass. de instit. iv. 1.), in Nitria were 50 convents (Sozom. vi. 31.) &c.

¹⁶ A kindred notion may be found in Origen, see Div. i. §. 70. not. 19.

¹⁷ Chrysostomus adv. oppugnatores vitae monast. i. 7. : Ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς—τῶν μοναστηρίων ἀναireθῆναι τὴν χρεῖαν, καὶ τοσαύτην ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενέσθαι τὴν εὐνομίαν, ὡς μηδένα δεηθῆναι ποτε τῆς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καταφυγῆς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἄνω κάτω γέγονε, καὶ αἱ μὲν πόλεις—πολλῆς γέμουσι παρανομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, ἡ δὲ ἔρημία πολλῶ βρούει τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καρπῷ οὐχ οἱ τῆς ζήτησ τούτης καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τοὺς σωθῆναι βουλομένους ἐξάγοντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας ὁδηγοῦντας λιμένα, δικαίως ἂν ἐγκαλοῖντο παρ' ὑμῶν.

¹⁸ Isidorus Pelus. (see §. 88. not. 25.) lib. i. ep. 262. Εὐσέβιος (a bishop) καὶ τοῦτο τῇ παροιμία Πηλουσίου παρέχεται, βουνομοῖσι τισὶ, καὶ αἰπόλοις, καὶ δραπέταις οἰκέταις ἐπιτρέπων μοναχικὰ συμπήγνυσθαι παλαιστήρια, οὐδεὶ μαθητευθεῖσι τὴν μοναχικὴν, ἢ μετελθόντων, ἢ ὅλως ἀγαπώντων, οὐδὲ ὅλως τῆς φιλοσοφίας ταύτης ἢ ἀκηκοῦσιν, ἢ μέχρι σχήματος διδαχθεῖσι.

¹⁹ Respecting the reputation which the monks possessed, compare what Chrysostom says to the heathen father of a monk, adv. oppugnatores vitae monast. ii. 4. : Σὺ μὲν οὖν τῶν σαυτοῦ κύριος εἶ μόνον, ἐκεῖνος (ὁ υἱός σου) δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,—πέισωμεν αὐτὸν κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους—σημᾶνά τι τῶν σφόδρα πλουτούντων καὶ εὐλαβῶν, πέμψαι χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν, ὅσον ἐθέλεις,—καὶ προθυμότερον ὄψει τὸν πλουτοῦντα ὑπακούοντα καὶ ἐκκομίζοντα, ἢ τῶν οἰκονόμων τινὰ τῶν σῶν. c. 6. : εὐρήσομεν αὐτὸν (τὸν υἱόν σου) οὐ μόνον λαμπρότερον ὄντα νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα τιμώτερον, δι' ἅπερ ἄτιμον εἶναι φῆς καὶ εὐτελεῖ. εἰ γὰρ βούλει, πείσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους κατελθεῖν, πείσωμεν καὶ εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ ὄψει πᾶσαν ἐπιστρεφόμενην τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑποδεικνύντας αὐτὸν ἅπαντας, καὶ θαυμάζοντας, καὶ ἐκπληττομένους, ὡς ἀγγέλου τινὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παραγενομένου νῦν. c. 7. : τίς μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας διαλέξεται βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐπιτιμήσει; ὁ τοσαῦτα σὺ κερτημένος, καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ὢν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου δούλοις,—ἢ οὗτος ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου χειρῶν ἀνώτερος ὢν; βασιλεύσει μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι μάλιστα διελέχθησαν μετ' ἐξουσίας πολλῆς, ὅσοι πάντων ἐγένοντο τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐκτός. c. 8. : εἰ ταπεινοὶ, καὶ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὄντες τινὲς ἀγροῖκον υἱὸν καὶ χειροτεχνῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ταύτην ἐλθόντες, οὕτως ἐγένοντο τίμιοι πᾶσιν, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλαις ὄντων ἀξιώμασιν αἰσχυρῆναι πρὸς τὸ καταγώγιον τούτων ἐλθεῖν, καὶ λόγων μετασχεῖν καὶ τραπέζης.—πολλῶ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἀπὸ λαμπροῦ μὲν ὀρμώμενοι γένουσι—πρὸς ἐκείνην ἴδωσιν ἐλθόντα τὴν ἀρετὴν, τοῦτο ἐργάσονται. Nilus λόγος ἀσκητικῶς c. 7. (opusc. ed. Suaresii p. 8.) : The striving of many monks

imitation.²⁰ The measures taken by the emperor Valens²¹ against the excessive tendency to this state of things were attended with no lasting consequences, since the following emperors rather showed respect for monachism. The most distinguished teachers of the church, *Athanasius, Ambrose, Basil the great, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine*, were the most zealous panegyrists of the new mode of life (φιλοσοφία, αγγελικὴ διαγωγή.)²² Examples in favour of it were soon disco-

was even at that time so much directed towards the attainment of possession, ὥστε λοιπὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς πορισμὸν ἡγείσθαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τὸν πάλαι ἀπράγμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον, ἢ ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἐπιπλάστου θεοσεβείας τὰς μὲν ἐπιπόνους λειτουργίας φύγωμεν, ἄδειαν δὲ ἀπολαύσεως πορισάμενοι, ἀκωλύτως ἐπὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐκτείνωμεν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας καταλαξουέμενοι τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἵπερεχόντων, ὥσπερ ὑπόθεσιν τυραννίδος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ταπεινώσεως καὶ ἐπιεικείας τὸν ἐνάρετον βίον εἶναι νομίσαντες. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῶν σέβεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὀφειλόντων ὡς εἰκαῖος ὄχλος ὀρώμεθα, καὶ -- γελώμεθα, — οὐκ ἐκ πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ σχήματος γνωρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι.

²⁰ Comp. the judgment of Synesius, at that time still a heathen, afterwards bishop of Ptolemais, in his *Dion*: οἱ δὲ πλείους οὐδ' οἴκοθεν ἐκινήθησαν, — ὥσπερ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων, τὴν γενναίαν αἴρῃσιν ἐξηλώκασι, παντοδαποὶ τε ὄντες τὰ γένη, καὶ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἕκαστοι συνιστάμενοι.

²¹ Cod. Theodos. xii. l. 63. (A. D. 365): Quidam ignaviae sectatores desertis civitatum muneribus captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum coetibus monazonton congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi, intra Aegyptum deprehensos, per comitem Orientis erui e latebris consulta praeceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari, aut pro tenore nostrae sanctionis familiarium rerum carere illecebris, quas per eos censuimus vindicandas, qui publicarum essent subituri munera functionum. After the death of his milder brother (Orosii hist. vii. 33: illico post fratris obitum), Valens became more violent against the monks, see Hieron. chron. ann. 375: multi monachorum Nitriae per tribunos et milites caesi. Valens enim lege data, ut monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus interfici jussit. This raised the courage of the numerous opponents of monachism, and therefore Chrysostom wrote at that time πρὸς τοὺς πολεμούντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μονάζειν ἐνάγουσιν libb. iii. (ed. Montf. T. i.)

²² ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βίος, τὰ οὐράνια πολιτεύματα, ἀποστολικὸς βίος (Epirph. haer. lxi. 4.), ἡ ὑψηλὴ φιλοσοφία, ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ κατορθουμένη (Gregor. Nyss. orat. catech. c. 18.), ἡ κατὰ θεὸν φιλοσοφία (Nilus de monast. exercitatione c. 8.). Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, about 350, writes in the epist. ad monachos (spicilegium Romanum iv. p. liv.) to them: ἰσάγγελοι ἐστὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίσκονται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελοι εἰσὶν ἐν οὐρανῷ οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω συμβιωτεύοντες, προελάβετε τῷ πόθῳ τὸ ἐσόμενον. Entering on the life of a monk is called by Jerome ep. 22. (al. 25.) ad Paulam: secundo quodammodo propositi se baptismo lavare. Subsc-

vered even in the Old Testament;²³ and by new explanations of detached passages and the help of supplementing legends, the original condition of the early Christians was shown to be a completely monastic state.²⁴

quently Dionys. Areop. de eccles. hierarch. c. 6. reckons the vow of monks (*μυστήριον μοναχικῆς τελειώσεως*) among the sacraments.

²³ Hieronymus in vita S. Pauli (about 365): Inter multos saepe dubitatum est, a quo potissimum Monachorum eremus habitari coepta sit. Quidam enim altius repetentes, a b. Elia et Johanne sunsere principium. Quorum et Elias plus nobis videtur fuisse, quam Monachus: et Johannes ante prophetare coepisse, quam natus sit. Alii autem, in quam opinionem vulgus omne consensit, asserunt Antonium hujus propositi caput, quod ex parte verum est. Non enim tam ipse ante omnes fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia. Amathas vero et Macarius, discipuli Antonii, e quibus superior magistri corpus sepelivit, etiam nunc affirmant, Paulum quemdam Thebaeum principem istius rei fuisse, non nominis; quam opinionem nos quoque probamus. On the contrary, the same Jerome observed about 395. ep. 49. (al. 13.) ad Paulinum: Nos autem habeamus propositi nostri principes Paulos et Antonios, Julianos, Hilarionem, Macarios. Et ut ad scripturarum auctoritatem redeam: noster princeps Helias, noster Helisaeus, nostri duces filii prophetarum, qui habitabant in agris et solitudinibus, et faciebant sibi tabernacula prope fluentia Jordanis. De his sunt et illi filii Rechab (Jerem 35.), qui vinum et siceram non bibebant, qui morabantur in tentoriis etc. Sozomenus i. 12. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρίστης φιλοσοφίας ἤρξατο, ὡς τινες λέγουσιν, Ἡλίας ὁ προφήτης, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής.

²⁴ The Therapeutae were regarded as Christians (Div. i. §. 17. not. 11.) and for this purpose such passages as Act. ii. 44., iv. 32 ss. were appealed to. Hieron. Catal. c. 11: Philo—librum de prima Marci Evangelistae apud Alexandriam scribens ecclesia, in nostrorum laude versatus est (he means Philo *περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ*); non solum eos ibi, sed in multis quoque provinciis esse commemorans, et habitacula eorum dicens monasteria. Ex quo apparet, talem primam Christo credentium fuisse ecclesiam, quales nunc monachi esse nituntur et cupiunt, ut nihil cujuspiam proprium sit, nullus inter eos dives, nullus pauper: patrimonia egentibus dividuntur, orationi vacatur et psalmis, doctrinae quoque et continentiae: quales et Lucas refert primum Hierosolymae fuisse credentes. Jo. Cassian. collat. 18. c. 5: Itaque Coenobitarum disciplina a tempore praedicationis apostolicae sunsit exordium. Nam talis extitit in Hierosolymis omnis illa credentium multitudo, quae in Actibus Apostolorum ita describitur (seqq. loci Act. iv. 32. 34. 35.)—Sed cum post Apostolorum excessum tepescere coepisset credentium multitudo, ea vel maxime, quae ad fidem Christi de alienigenis ac diversis gentibus confluebat,—non solum hi qui ad fidem Christi confluerant, verum etiam illi, qui erant ecclesiae principes, ab illa districtione laxati sunt.—Hi autem, quibus adhuc apostolicus inerat fervor, memores illius pristinae perfectionis, discedentes a civitatibus suis—et ea, quae ab Apostolis per universum corpus ecclesiae generaliter meminerant instituta, privatim ac peculiariter exercere coeperunt etc. Idem de

For a long time the monks appeared to have been able to dwell only in deserts. Individuals, indeed, sometimes shewed themselves in cities to oppose heathens and heretics, but they always withdrew again very soon into their solitude.²⁵ *Basil the great* was the first who established a company of monks in the vicinity of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in order to suppress Arianism, by their influence with the people.²⁶ From this time monasteries became more frequent in the neighbourhood of cities; but since there were as yet no strict rules, wandering companies of monks were also found. Thus their influence in Church and State became stronger, but, at the same time, more dangerous.

institut. Coenob. ii. 5: Cum in primordiis fidei pauci quidem, sed probatissimi, monachorum nomine censerentur, qui sicut a beatae memoriae evangelista Marco, qui primus Alexandrinae urbi Pontifex praefuit, normam suscipere vivendi, non solum illa magnifica retinebant, quae primitus ecclesiam vel credentium turbas in Actibus Apostolorum legitimus celebrasse,—verum etiam his multo sublimiora cumulaverant. cf. Sozomenus i. 12. Hence the monks mere said ἀποστολικὸν βίον βιοῦν Epiph. haer. 61. §. 4.—Legends of the monkish chastity of the saints. Of Mary especially, Protevangelium Jacobi c. 7 ss. From a misunderstanding of Exodus xiii. 1. (2 Macc. iii. 19 ?) it was thought that there were in the temple virgins consecrated to God, among whom Mary had grown up (Epiph. Ancorat. no. 60. Gregor. Nyss. orat. de sancta Christi nativitate) with the vow of perpetual virginity (Augustinus de virginitate c. 4.) Her marriage with Joseph was only apparent, he being 80 years old (Epiph. haer. 51. c. 10.), and according to Epiph. l. c. a widower, but according to Jerome adv. Helvid. c. 9. a perpetual ascetic. cf. J. A. Schmidii prolusiones Marianae x. Helmst. 1733. 4. p. 21 ss.—1 Cor. ix. 5. was referred to female friends of the apostles (Div. i. §. 27. note 3.)

²⁵ Antony said: τοὺς μὲν ἰχθύας τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν τρέφειν· μοναχοῖς δὲ κόσμον φέρειν τὴν ἔρημον· ἐπίσης τὲ τοὺς μὲν ξηρὰς ἀπομένους τὸ ζῆν ἀπολιμπάνειν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν μοναστικὴν σεμνότητα ἀπολλύειν τοῖς ἄσπεσι προσιόντας. Sozom. i. 13.

²⁶ Socrates iv. 21. Gregor. Nazianz. orat. xx. in laudem Basilii p. 358: τοῦ τοίνυν ἐρημικοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ μιγάδος μαχομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ διίσταμένων, καὶ οὐδετέρου πάντως ἢ τὸ καλὸν, ἢ τὸ φαῦλον ἀνεπίμκτον ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἡσυχίου μὲν ὄντος μᾶλλον, καὶ καθεστηκότος, καὶ θεῶ συνάγοντος, οὐκ ἀτύφου δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀβασάνιστον καὶ ἀσύγκριτον τοῦ δὲ πρακτικοτέρου μὲν μᾶλλον καὶ χρησιμωτέρου, τὸ δὲ θορυβῶδες οὐ φεύγοντος· καὶ τούτους ἄριστα κατήλλαξεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεκέρασεν· ἀσκητήρια καὶ μοναστήρια δειμάμενος μὲν, οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῶν κοινωνικῶν καὶ μιγάδων, οὐδὲ ὡσπερ τειχίῳ τινὶ μέσῳ ταῦτα διαλαβὼν, καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων χωρίσας, ἀλλὰ πλησίον συνάψας καὶ διαζεύξας· ἵνα μήτε τὸ φιλόσοφον ἀκοινωνήτων ᾗ, μήτε τὸ πρακτικὸν ἀφιλόσοφον. On the Ascetica of Basil, the chief parts of which are ὄροι κατὰ πλάτος and ὄροι κατ' ἐπιτομήν (monks' rules) see Garnier in praef. ad Basil. opp. T. ii. p. xxxiv. ss.

It is true that the monks made a strong moral impression by their strict life dedicated to God in solitude. Even heathens frequently repaired to them in numbers, for the sake of receiving their blessing, and were converted by them.²⁷ But the honour and power they possessed not unfrequently caused the passions within them, which were suppressed in regard to their sensual manifestations, to break forth still more strongly in the form of spiritual pride,²⁸ and wild fanaticism, against those who thought differently from themselves. From the time of Theodosius I., they opposed heathenism with fury and barbarousness;²⁹ and they also mingled in ecclesiastical controversies in a manner no less violent. Since they despised all learning, and founded their judgment of orthodoxy merely on an obscure feeling of what looked like piety, and what did not,³⁰ it was seldom difficult for a superior head to excite their fanaticism in favour of a certain view. Thus the ambitious bishops of Alexandria, *Theophilus*, *Cyril*, and *Dioscurus*, knew well how to make use of them, partly to work upon the people, partly to overpower their opponents by acts of

²⁷ See Möhler's *Schriften u. Aufsätze* ii. 219.

²⁸ Hieronym. ep. 15, (al. 77.) ad Marcum : Pudet dicere, de cavernis cellarum damnamus orbem, in sacco et cinere volutati de Episcopis sententiam ferimus. Quid facit sub tunica poenitentis regius animus? Catenae, sordes et comae, non sunt diadematis signa, sed fletus. Idem ep. 95. (al. 4.) ad Rusticum : In solitudine cito subrepat superbia : et si parumper jejunaverit, hominemque non viderit, putat se alicujus esse momenti. Oblitusque sui, unde, et quo venerit, intus corde, lingua foris vagatur. Judicat contra Apostoli voluntatem alienos servos : quo gula voluerit porrigit manum : dormit quantum voluerit : nullum veretur : facit quod voluerit : omnes inferiores se putat : crebriusque in urbibus, quam in cellula est : et inter fratres simulat verecundiam, qui platearum turbis colliditur. Comp. Nilus above not. 19.

²⁹ Comp. Libanius above § 78. not. 9. Zosimus v. 23. Eunapius in vita Aedesii : Μοναχούς, ανθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς συνώδης, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔπασχόν τε καὶ ἐποίουν μυρία κακὰ καὶ ἄφραστα. Ἄλλ' ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν εὐσεβὲς ἐδόκει το καταφρονεῖν τοῦ θεῖου τυρανικὴν γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τότε πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, μέλαιναν φορῶν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ δημοσίᾳ βουλόμενος ἀσχημονεῖν.

³⁰ Sozomenus i. 12 : ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοσοφία μαθημάτων μὲν πολλῶν καὶ διαλεκτικῆς τεχνολογίας ἀμελεῖ, ὡς περιέργου, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι σχολῆν ἀφαιρουμένης, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βιοῦν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲν συλλαμβανομένης· μόνη δὲ φυσικὴ καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ φρονήσει παιδεύει τὰ παντελῶς κακίαν ἀναιροῦντα, ἢ μείονα ἐργαζόμενα. Synesius in his *Dion* designates them by the names of τῶν ἀμούσων, τῶν μισολόγων, τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν ἀστεμφῶν καὶ ὑπερόπτων ῥητορικῆς καὶ ποιήσεως, see Clausen de Synesio p. 48.

violence.³¹ The rude mass were as easily excited, in a fanatical manner, against a Chrysostom, at the point of death,³² as against idolaters and Arians. The limits of civil law, and the dignity of magistrates, appear to have been disregarded by them.³³ In their religious fanaticism was united with a cynical indifference to propriety or duty; and too often indolence and vice also were concealed under this mask of piety.³⁴

Contemplation, which was regarded as the most important duty of the monk, as though it led him to an internal union with God, was usually, in the absence of mental cultivation, either a suffering resignation to feeling, without a distinct consciousness of it,³⁵ or a play of anthropomorphic images of the fancy. Hence anthropomorphism was very common among them.³⁶ But incessant

³¹ Witness the insurrection of the Anthropomorphists against Theophilus, Socrates vi. 7, of the Nitrian monks against Orestes in favour of Cyril vii. 13. Destruction of a Valentinian temple, Ambrosius epist. 40. (al. 29.) ad Theodosium.

³² In Cæsarea, comp. Neander's Chrysost. Bd. 2. S. 238.

³³ They frequently interfered violently in behalf of criminals, ex. gr. for disturbers of the public peace in Antioch, Chrysost. orat. 17, et 18, ad popul. Antioch. Theodoret. h. e. v. 19. Law of Arcadius, A.D. 398. (Cod. Theod. ix. xl. 16.), see above, § 91, not. 10.

³⁴ Comp. Neander's Chrysostomus, Bd. 2, S. 108 ff.

³⁵ Yet Anthony said (Cassiani collat. ix. 31.): Non est perfecta oratio, in qua se Monachus, vel hoc ipsum quod orat, intelligit.

³⁶ Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, rejected the anthropomorphism of the monks, in his Easter letter 399. Cassiani coll. x. 2: Quod tanta est amaritudine ab universo propemodum genere Monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Aegypti morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem, velut haeresi gravissima depravatum, pars maxima Seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandum, quod scilicet impugnare Scripturae sanctae sententiam videretur, negans omnipotentem Deum humanae figurae compositione formatum, cum ad ejus imaginem creatum Adam Scriptura manifestissime testaretur. When Seraphin, an old monk highly esteemed, was convinced of his error, he was so smitten with remorse (cap. 3.) eo quod illam Anthropomorphitarum imaginem Deitatis, quam proponere sibi in oratione consueverat, aboleri de suo corde sentiret, ut in amarissimos fletus crebrosque singultus repente prorumpens, in terramque prostratus, cum ejulatu validissimo proclamaret: heu me miserum, tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem aut interpellem jam nescio. So the Anthropomorphites generally (cap. 5.) nihil se retinere vel habere credentes, si propositam non haberint imaginem quandam, quam in supplicatione positi jugiter interpellent, eamque circumferant mente, ac prae oculis teneant semper

occupation with religious subjects, overstrained views, and self-conceit, joined with the want of culture, occasionally led them to other aberrations also from the doctrine of the Church.³⁷ *Audius* in Mesopotamia was still worthy of respect, who separated from the Church on account of its corruption, and founded a sect of monks (*Audiani*) about A. D. 340.³⁸ But the *Messalians* (ܡܫܐܠܝܐ) or *Εὐχίται*,³⁹ who also arose in Mesopotamia (about 360), were mere fanatics, wandering hordes of beggars, who supposed that incessant prayer could blot out all sin; while they undervalued public worship, and were led into the most absurd notions by their coarse imagination. Even *Eustathius*, the founder of monachism in Armenia, came to reject marriage absolutely, and was, on this account, condemned with his followers by the *Synod of Gangra* (between 362 and 370).⁴⁰

In the mean time monachism was developed in forms the most various. Many monks (*Rhemoboth* or *Sarabaitae*),⁴¹ still continued to live in society⁴² like the old ascetics, but were less highly esteemed. Others wandered about in companies (*Βοσκοί*)⁴³ in

affixam. On the Anthropomorphism of Abraames see Theodereti hist. rel. c. 3.

³⁷ Thus some were led to entertain contempt for public worship and the sacraments, as Valens and Heron (Palladii hist. Lausiaca c. 31, et 32), and the Messalians. One Ptolemy went even so far with his hatching and dreaming over divine things, as to arrive at last at Atheism (Palladius l. c. c. 33.)

³⁸ Epiphan. haer. 70. cf. Ancoratus c. 14. Theodoret. h. e. iv. 9. haer. fab. comp. iv. 10. Walch's Kezerhist. iii. 300. Neander ii. iii. 1464. They were Anthropomorphists and Quartodecimani.

³⁹ Epiphan. haer. 80. Theodoret. h. e. iv. 10. haer. fab. iv. 11. Extracts in Photius cod. 52. Walch iii. 481. Neander ii. ii. 514.

⁴⁰ The acts of this synod (ap. Mansi ii. 1095), are the chief source for the knowledge of his doctrines. Socrat. ii. 43. Sozom. iv. 24. Walch iii. 536. In the synodical decree it is also reckoned among their errors in doctrine: *πρεσβυτέρων γεγαμηκότων ὑπερφρονούντες, καὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινομένων μὴ ἀπτόμενοι.* On the contrary, can. 4: *Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* On the time of the synod of Gangra see Ballerini de ant. collect. canonum P. 1. cap. 4. § 1.

⁴¹ Concerning the former, Hieron. ep. 18. (al. 22.) ad Eustochium, concerning the latter, Cassian. collat. xviii. c. 4 and 7. Walch de Sarabaitis (novi commentarii Soc. Gotting. T. V. Comm. hist. p. 1 ss.)

⁴² Also with the *συνεισακτα* in Ambros. sermo. 65. Gregorii Naz. carin. in several passages. See Walch, l. c. p. 23 s. Moreover, there were still ascetics who abstained from certain meats, but not from mar-

Mesopotamia. Those who lived together in convents were called *coenobites*, each convent having its peculiar constitution, among whom the most distinguished since the fifth century were the *ἰκοίμητοι*, *watchers*, for whom *Studius*, in 460, founded one of the most celebrated convents in Constantinople (*Studitæ*).⁴⁴ But amongst the people, the *anchorites* were reckoned the most holy, for they carried their artificial self-tortures the farthest, and vied with each other in inventing new modes of cruelty against their own persons.⁴⁵ The highest point in this art was reached by *Simeon*, who, from the year 420, dwelt on a pillar in the neighbourhood of Antioch.⁴⁶ In this he was imitated by others, and although at first the example was found by individuals to be hazardous,⁴⁷ yet it was wondered at by the mass. Even so late as the twelfth century, similar pillar-saints (*στυλίτης* or *στηλίτης*), appeared in the east.

The female sex could not imitate the men in all these kinds of

riage (*abstinentes* apud Tertullian, see div. 1. § 53. not. 31); these also were now occasionally styled monks, Athanasii epist. ad Dracontium: πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπίσκοπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασι, μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγόνασιν. Augustin. de haeres. c. 40; utentes conjugibus, et res proprias possidentes—habet catholica Ecclesia et Monachos et Clericos plurimos.

⁴³ Sozom. vi. 33. Evagr. i. 21.

⁴⁴ Nicephori hist. eccl. xv. 23. J. J. Müller Studium coenob. Constantinopol. ex monum. Byzantinis illustratum, diss. Lips. 1721. 4.

⁴⁵ An example in Sozom. vi. 28–34.

⁴⁶ In like manner in heathen Syria the *Φαλλοβατεῖς* in the temple at Hierapolis (Lucianus de Dea Syria c. 28. 29.) Respecting *Simeon* see Theodoret's hist. relig. c. 26, and his biographies by his scholar *Antonius* (in act. SS. ad d. 5. Jan.) and his contemporary *Cosmas* (in *Assemani* act. SS. Mart. Occid. et Orient. P. ii. p. 268.) cf. *Stylitica*; *Simeonis Stylitæ senioris* biographiam graecam (a later one derived from that of *Antonius*), junioris orationem graecam prim. ed. et illustr. H. N. Clausen (in the miscellanea Hafniensia ed. F. Münter. Tom. ii. Fasc. 2. Hafn. 1824. 8. p. 227 ss.)

⁴⁷ Nili lib. ii. epist. 114. to the Stylite *Nicander*: ὁ ὑψῶν ἐάντων ταπεινωθήσεται. Σὺ δὲ μηδὲν κατορθώσας ἐπαινούμενον πρᾶγμα, καὶ ὑψώσας σεαυτὸν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ στύλου, καὶ βούλει μεγίστων τυγχάνειν εὐφημιῶν· ἀλλὰ πρόσεχε σαυτῷ, μήποτε ἐνταῦθα παρὰ ἀνθρώπων φθαρτῶν ἀκρατῶς ἐπαινεθεῖς, ἀρτίως τὸ τηρικαῦτα παρὰ τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ταλαισθῆς ἀθλίως παρ' ἐλπίδας, διότι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐνταῦθα ἐνεφορήθης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κρότων. Ep. 115. to the same: "Αποπον ἂν εἶη ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ μὲν τοῦ κίονος ἴστασθαι τῷ σώματι τοῖς πᾶσι φαινόμενον ἔνδοξον, κάτω δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς σύρεσθαι, μηδὲν ἄξιον τῶν οὐρανίων πραγμάτων διανοεῖσθαι βουλόμενον, μόνον δὲ ταῖς γυναιξιν ἡδέως προσλαλοῦντα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις. Πρῶν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἐκ προθυμίας ἐφθέγγου, νῦν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὰ γύναια προσδέχη.

asceticism, though there were convents for them as early as for the male sex (*Ascetriae, Monastriae, Castimoniales, Sanctimoniales, Nonnae*).⁴⁸

It is true that the resolution of devoting themselves to a monastic life had been now publicly declared, and penance imposed on those who drew back; but yet the teachers of the Church looked upon this retractation not merely as possible, without farther permission, but even advisable under certain circumstances.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Pachomius in like manner founded the first. *Pallad. hist. Laus. c. 34. et 38.*—*Nonna* (*Hieron. ep. 18. ad Eustoch.*) *νονίς* (*Pallad. l. c. c. 46.* were names of honour, as among the monks *Nonnus*, according to *Arnobius jun. in Psalm. cv. and cxl. the Egyptian for sanctus, castus, or according to Benedicti regula c. 63. paterna reverentia: according to Jablonski opusc. ed. te Water T. i. p. 176. properly Ennueneh or Nueneh, i. e. quae non est hujus saeculi, quae saeculo renunciavit.*—The lady president was called mother, *Ἀμμᾶς* (*Pallad. l. c. c. 42.*)

⁴⁹ *Epiphan. haer. 61. §. 7: Κρέιττον τοίνυν ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν, καὶ μὴ περισσοτέρας. κρέιττον πεσόντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερώς ἐαντῶ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῶ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς κακῶς ἐργασάμενον, ὡς παραπεσόντα, καὶ κλασθέντα, καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχοντα ἐπιδέματος, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν βέλεσι κρυφίοις κατατιτρώσκεισθαι.* *Hieronym. ep. 97. (al. 8.) ad Demetriadem: Sanctum virginum propositum et coelestis angelorumque familiae gloriam quarundam non bene se agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere, aut contineant, si nolunt nubere. (see above §. 73. not. 6.)* *Augustinus de bono viduit. c. 10: Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant.—Fit autem per hanc minus consideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum a sancto proposito feminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, non parvum malum, ut a maritis separarentur uxores, quasi adulterae sint, non uxores: et cum volunt eas separatas reddere continentiae, faciunt maritos earum adulteros veros, cum suis vxoribus vivis alteras duxerint.* *Concil. Chalced. can. 16. Παρθέναν ἐαντὴν ἀναθεῖσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ θεῷ, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ μονάζοντα, μὴ ἐξεῖναι γάμῳ προσομιλεῖν· εἰ δέ γε εὐρεθείεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἔστωσαν ἀκοινωνητοὶ ὠρίσαμεν δὲ ἔχειν τὴν ἀυθεντίαν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας τὸν κατὰ τόπον ἐπίσκοπον.*

§ 96.

MONACHISM IN THE WEST.

Jo. Mabillon observ. de monachis in Occidente ante Benedictum. (Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Saec. I. Praef. p. 7.)

Monachism was first acknowledged in the West by *Athanasius*, although it was generally looked upon as an excrescence of oriental fanaticism, with a surprise which not unfrequently amounted to contempt and hatred. Yet it also found numerous warm friends, many of whom went as far as Egypt and Palestine, for the purpose of being initiated into the new mode of life.¹ *Ambrose* and *Jerome* were the influential promoters of it in Italy. The former established a monastery at *Milan*.² At the same time convents for both sexes were founded in *Rome*,³ notwith-

¹ On this account Jerome translated the rule of Pachomius into Latin, as he says in the preface (Luc. Holstenii codex regularum i. 59.), propterea quod plurimi Latinorum habitant in Thebaidis coenobiis et in monasterio Metanoëae, qui ignorant aegyptiacum graecumque sermonem.

² Augustini confess. viii. 6: Erat monasterium Mediolani plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis moenia sub Ambrosio nutritore. Id. de moribus eccles. cath. i. 33: vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolani non paucorum hominum, quibus unus Presbyter praeerat, vir optimus et doctissimus.

³ Hieron. ep. 96. ad Principiam de laudibus Marcellae a. d. 412: Nulla eo tempore nobilium feminarum voverat Romae propositum Monachorum, nec audebat propter rei novitatem ignominiosum, ut tunc putabatur, et vile in populis nomen assumere. Haec (Marcella) ab Alexandrinis sacerdotibus, Papaque Athanasio et postea Petro, qui persecutionem Arianæ haereseos declinantes, quasi ad tutissimum communionis suae portum Romam confugerant, vitam beati Antonii adhuc tunc viventis, monasteriorumque in Thebaide Pachumii et virginum ac viduarum didicit disciplinam.—Hanc multos post annos imitata est Sophronia, et aliae.—Hujus amicitia fructuosa est Paula venerabilis. In hujus cubiculo nutrita Eustochium, virginitatis decus, ut facilis aestimatio sit, qualis magistra, ubi tales discipulae.—Audivimus te illius adhaesisse consortio, et nunquam ab illa—recessisse.—Suburbanus ager vobis pro Monasterio fuit, et rus electum pro solitudine. Multoque ita vixistis tempore, ut, ex imitatione vestri, conversatione multarum gauderemus Romam factam Jerosolymam. Crebra virginum monasteria, Monachorum innumerabilis multitudo, ut pro frequentia servientium Deo, quod prius ignominiae fuerat, esset postea gloriae. Epist. 54. ad

standing the unfavourable opinion of the people; and the small islands near the coast, *Gallinaria* (Galinara), Gorgon (Gorgona), *Capraria* (Capraia), *Palmaria* (Palmarola), on the west coast of Italy,⁴ and the islands on the *Dalmatian* coast,⁵ became impor-

Pammachium A. D. 398: Pammachius meus—ἀρχιστρατηγὸς Monachorum. Augustin. de moribus eccl. cath. (388 written in Rome) i. 33: Romae plura (diversoria sanctorum) cognovi, in quibus singuli gravitate atque prudentia et divina scientia praepollentes caeteris secum habitantibus praesunt, christiana caritate, sanctitate et libertate viventibus. Ne ipsi quidem cuiquam onerosi sunt, sed Orientis more et Apostoli Pauli auctoritate, manibus suis se transigunt. Jejunia etiam prorsus incredibilia multos exercere didici, non quotidie semel sub noctem reficiendo corpus, quod est usquequaque usitatissimum, sed continuum triduum vel amplius saepissime sine cibo et potu ducere: neque hoc in viris tantum, sed etiam in foeminis, quibus item, multis viduis et virginibus simul habitantibus, et lana ac tela victum quaeritantibus, praesunt singulae gravissimae probatissimaeque, non tantum in instituendis componendisque moribus, sed etiam instituendis mentibus peritae atque paratae. These fasts, which were manifestly prejudicial to the health, stirred up the people. At the burying of Blaesilla, a daughter of Paula, a young nun, supposed to have been killed by fasting, A. D. 384, the people cried out (Hieronymi ep. 22. al. 25. ad Paulam): Quousque genus detestabile monachorum non urbe pellitur? non lapidibus obruitur? non praecipitatur in fluctus?

⁴ Ambrosii hexaëmeron iii. c. 5: Quid enumerem insulas, quas velut monilia plerumque praetexit, id quibus ii, qui se abdicant intemperantiae saecularis illecebris, fido continentiae proposito, eligunt mundum latere, et vitae hujus declinare dubios anfractus? Hieronymus ep. 84. (al. 30.) de morte Fabiolae about 400: Angusta misericordiae ejus Roma fuit. Peragrabat ergo insulas et totum Etruscum mare, Volscorumque provinciam et reconditos curvorum littorum sinus, in quibus monachorum consistunt chori, vel proprio corpore, vel transmissa per viros sanctos ac fideles munificentia circumibat. Comp. the itinerarium of the heathen Rutilii Numatiani (A. D. 417) i. 439 ss.

Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit,
Squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Grajo cognomine dicunt etc.

and respecting Gorgon *ibid.* v. 517 ss.

Aversor scopulos, damni monumenta recentis:
Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noster enim nuper, juvenis majoribus amplis,
Nec censu inferior, conjugiove minor,
Impulsus furiis, homines divosque reliquit,
Et turpem latebram credulus exsul amat.
Infelix putat illuvie coelestia pasci;
Seque premit laesis saevior ipse Deis.
Num, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta venenis?
Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

⁵ Hieron. ep. 92. ad Julianum: Exstruis monasteria, et multus a te per insulas Dalmatiae Sanctorum numerus sustentatur.

tant seats of monastic establishments. *Martin*⁶ first established in *Gaul* a monastery at *Poictou*;⁷ and afterwards, when he became bishop of *Turonum*, (375–400) another in that city.⁸ About 400, *Honoratus* founded the celebrated monastery on the island *Lerina* (now St Honorat).⁹ Others rose on the island *Lero*¹⁰ (St Marguerite), and the *Stoechades*¹¹ on the south coast of Gaul. *John Cassian*,¹² who was educated among the Egyptian monks, founded two cloisters in *Massilia* (after 410). He died after 432. In *Africa*, notwithstanding *Augustine's* most zealous encomiums on monachism, it found acceptance almost entirely with the lower classes alone;¹³ and the hatred of it was kept up there longer than in any other place.¹⁴

⁶ Severi Sulpicii b. Martini vita. Epistolae iii. de Martino Dialogi. iii. de virtutibus monach. orientalium et b. Martini.

⁷ The monasterium Locociagense, Gregor. Turon. de miraculis s. Martini iv. 30.

⁸ Majus monasterium (Marmoutier).

⁹ A. F. Silfverberg hist. monasterii Lerinensis usque ad ann. 731 enarrata. Havn. 1834. 8. The life of Honoratus, who became bishop of Arles in 426, by his disciple and successor Hilary, may be seen in acta SS. ad d. 16. Jan.

¹⁰ Plinius nat. hist. iii. 5. calls the two islands Lerina and Lero, Strabo iv. 1. 10. ἡ Πλανασία καὶ Λήρων. In later authors (Sidonii carm. xvi. 104. Ennodius in vita Epiphani) they are called Lerinus and Lerus.

¹¹ To the founders of Monachism on these islands, viz., Jovinianus, Minervius, Leontius, and Theodoretus, Cassian dedicated his last seven collations, as he had done the preceding seven to Honoratus and Eucherius. cf. Praefatt. ad coll. xi. et xiii.

¹² Respecting him see §. 87. not. 48.

¹³ Augustin. de opere Monach. c. 22: Nunc autem veniunt plerumque ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberti, vel propter hoc a dominis liberati sive liberandi, et ex vita rusticana, et ex opificum exercitatione et plebejo labore.—Neque enim apparet, utrum ex proposito servitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem et laboriosam fugientes vacui pasci atque vestiri voluerint, et insuper honorari ab eis, a quibus contemni conterique consueverant.

¹⁴ Salvianus Massiliensis (about 450) de gubernat. Dei viii. 4: Ita igitur et in monachis.—Afrorum probatur odium, quia inridebant scilicet, quia maledicebant, quia insectabantur, quia detestabantur, quia omnia in illos paene fecerunt, quae in salvatorem nostrum Judaeorum impietas. Intra Africae civitates, et maxime intra Carthaginis muros, palliatum et pallidum et recisis comarum fluentium júbis usque ad cutem tonsum videre tam infelix ille populus quam infidelis sine convitio atque execratione vix poterat. Et si quando aliquis Dei servus, aut de Aegyptiorum coenobiis, aut de sacris Hierusalem locis, aut de sanctis eremi venerandisque secretis ad urbem illam officio divini operis accessit,

The mode of life of the Western monks was far less strict than that of the Eastern ; partly in consequence of the climate and partly out of regard to the general feeling of the people.¹⁵ Another important point of difference was that the monks in the West soon abandoned mechanical labour.¹⁶ Here also there was not uniformity among them.¹⁷ Besides the monks and nuns who lived in convents, some wandered about,¹⁸ others led an ascetic life, occasionally at considerable expense in the cities,¹⁹ others

simul ut populo apparuit, contumelias, sacrilegia et maledictiones excepit. Nec solum hoc, sed improbissimis flagitiosorum hominum cachinnis et detestantibus ridentium sibilis quasi taureis caedebatur.

¹⁵ Sever. Sulp. dial. i. 8. Edacitas in Graecis gula est, in Gallis natura. Cassian de institut. coenob. i. 11 : Nam neque caligis nos, neque colobiis, seu una tunica esse contentos hiemis permittit asperitas : et parvissimi cuculli velamen, vel melotes gestatio derisum potius, quam aedificationem ullam videntibus comparabit.

¹⁶ Sev. Sulp. vita Mart. c. 10. of the monastery at Turonum : Ars ibi exceptis scriptoribus nulla habebatur : cui tamen operi minor aetas deputabatur : majores orationi vacabant. Yet Augustine de opere monachorum (cf. retract. ii. c. 21.) and Cassian de instit. coenob. lib. x. recommended the monks to resume manual labour.

¹⁷ As in the east, so there were also in the west, tot propemodum typi ac regulae, quot cellae ac monasteria (Cassian. instit. ii. c. 2.) After Rufinus had translated the rules of St Basil into Latin, they were observed in many monasteries.

¹⁸ Cassianus de institutione Coenobiorum x. 23 : in his regionibus nulla videmus monasteria tanta fratrum celebritate fundata (as in Egypt), quia nec operum suorum facultatibus fulciuntur, ut possint in eis jugiter perdurare : et si eis suppeditari quoquomodo valeat sufficientia victus alterius largitate, voluptas tamen otii et pervagatio cordis diutius eos in loco perseverare non patitur. Augustin. de opere monach. c. 28 : Callidissimus hostis tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes provincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant, alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificant : et omnes petunt, omnes exigunt aut suntus lucrosae egestatis, aut simulatae pretium sanctitatis. c. 31 : Illi venalem circumferentes hypocrisim, timent ne vilior habeatur tonsa sanctitas quam comata, ut videlicet qui eos videt, antiquos illos quos legimus cogitet, Samuelem et caeteros qui non tondebantur.

¹⁹ Hieron. ep. 95. (al. 4.) ad Rusticum : Vidi ego quosdam, qui postquam renunciavere saeculo vestimentis duntaxat et vocis professione, non rebus, nihil de pristina conversatione mutarunt. Res familiaris magis aucta quam imminuta. Eadem ministeria servulorum, idem apparatus convivii. In vitro et patella fictili aurum comeditur, et inter turbas et examina ministrorum nomen sibi vindicant solitarii.

imitated the most striking asceticism of the orientals, frequently indeed only in appearance.²⁰

§ 97.

RELATION OF THE MONKS TO THE CLERGY.

The monks as such belonged to the laity, the convents forming separate churches whose presbyters were usually abbots¹ standing in the same dependent relation to bishops as did the other churches with their people. As monachism was considered the perfection of Christianity, it was natural to choose clergymen from the monks. At first the stricter monks were much dissatisfied with this arrangement;² but the aversion to it soon ceased, and even at the end of the fourth century, monastic life was considered to be the usual preparation, and monachism the nursery for the clergy, especially for bishops.³

The idea of transferring monachism, as much as possible, entirely to the clergy, was natural in these circumstances; and it was especially adopted in the *West*. The venerable *Paphnutius* had prevented the celibacy of the clergy from being enacted as

²⁰ Hier. ep. 18. (al. 22.) ad Eustochium: Viros quoque fuge, quos videris catenatos, quibus foeminei contra Apostolum crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium, et nudi patientia frigoris pedes. Haec omnia argumenta sunt diaboli. Talem olim Antonium, talem nuper Sophronium Roma congemit. Qui postquam nobilium introierunt domos, et deceperunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, semper discentes, et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes, tristicium simulant, et quasi longa jejunia furtivis noctium cibis protrahunt.

¹ Alteserra ascetic. ii. 2. iii. 8. vii. 2.

² Cassian. de instit. coenob. xi. 17: Quapropter haec est antiquitas patrum permanens nunc usque sententia, quam proferre sine mea confusione non potero, qui nec germanam vitare potui, nec episcopi evadere manus, omnimodo monachum fugere debere mulieres et episcopos. Neuter enim sinit eum, quem semel suae familiaritati devinxerit, vel quieti cellulae ulterius operam dare, vel divinae theoriae per sanctarum rerum intuitum purissimis oculis inhaerere. Hence monks were not seldom ordained against their will. Epiphanius, ep. ad Joh. Hierosol. Theodoret. hist. relig. c. 13. cf. Bingham lib. iv. c. 7. (vol. ii. p. 189 ss.)

³ Hieron. ep. 95. ad Rusticum: Ita age et vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis. A law of Arcadius A.D. 398. (Cod. Theod. xvi.

an ecclesiastical law, in Nicæa;⁴ but now this regulation took place in the West, first by the influence of *Siricius*, bishop of Rome (385),⁵ whom several councils soon followed. *Eusebius*,

ii. 32.): Si quos forte Episcopi deesse sibi Clericos arbitrantur, ex Monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt. Against the excess of this principle see Augustini ep. 60: Ordini clericorum fit indignissima injuria, si desertores monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eligantur:— nisi forte—vulgares de nobis jocabuntur dicentes: malus monachus bonus clericus est. Nimis dolendum, si ad tam ruinosam superbiam monachos surrigamus, et tam gravi contumelia clericos dignos putemus;—cum aliquando etiam bonus monachus vix bonum clericum faciat, si adsit ei sufficiens continentia, et tamen desit instructio necessaria, aut personae regularis integritas.

⁴ Socrates i. 11: 'Εδόκει τοῖς ἐπισκόποις νόμον νεαρὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἱερωμένους, λέγω δὲ ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, μὴ συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἄς ἔτι λαϊκοὶ ὄντες ἠγάγοντο (just as Can. Illiberit. 33. see Div. I. §. 73. not. 14. and therefore projected probably by Hosius). Καὶ ἐπεὶ περὶ τούτου βουλευέσθαι προύκειτο, διαναστάς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ Παφνούτιος, ἐβόα μακρὰ, μὴ βαρὺν ζυγὸν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀνδράσι, τίμιον εἶναι καὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμίαντον τὸν γάμον (Hebr. xiii. 4.) λέγων, μὴ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς ἀκριβείας μᾶλλον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσβλάψωσιν· οὐ γὰρ πάντας δύνασθαι φέρειν τῆς ἀπαθείας τὴν ἀσκησιν, οὐδὲ ἴσως φυλαχθῆσθαι τὴν σωφροσύνην τῆς ἐκάστου γαμετῆς (σωφροσύνην δὲ ἐκάλει καὶ τῆς νομίμου γυναικὸς τὴν συνέλευσιν). ἀρκείσθαι τε τὸν φθάσαντα κλήρου τυχεῖν, μηκέτι ἐπὶ γάμον ἔρχεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν· μήτε μὴν ἀποξεύγνυσθαι ταύτης, ἣν ἀπαξ ἤδη πρότερον λαϊκὸς ὢν ἠγάγετο. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἄπειρος ὢν γάμου, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπέιν γυναικός. Ἐκ παιδὸς γὰρ ἐν ἀσκητηρίῳ ἀνετέθραπτο, καὶ ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, περιβόητος ὢν. Πείθεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἱερωμένων σύλλογος τοῖς Παφνουτίου λόγοις· διὸ καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου ζήτησιν ἀπεσίγησαν, τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν βουλομένων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὀμιλίας τῶν γαμετῶν καταλείψαντες. So also Sozom. i. 23. Gelasii hist. Conc. Nic. ii. 32. and historia tripartita ii. 14.—The truth of it is doubted by Baronius, Bellarminus, Jo. Stulting (act. SS. Sept. T. iii. p. 784 ss.). On the other side Natalis Alexander hist. eccl. saec. iv. diss. 19. Calixtus de conj. cler. ed. Henke p. 213 ss.

⁵ Epistola ad Himerium Episc. Tarraconensem c. 7: Ii vero, qui illiciti privilegii excusatione nituntur, ut sibi asserant veteri hoc lege concessum: noverint se ab omni ecclesiastico honore, quo indigne usi sunt, apostolicae sedis auctoritate dejectos.—Quilibet episcopus presbyter atque diaconus, quod non optamus, deinceps fuerit talis inventus, jam nunc sibi omnem per nos indulgentiae aditum intelligat obseratum: quia ferro necesse est excidantur vulnera, quae fomentorum non senserint medicinam.—c. 9: Quicumque itaque se ecclesiae vovit obsequiis a sua infantia, ante pubertatis annos baptizari, et lectorum debet ministerio sociari. Qui ab accessu adolescentiae usque ad tricesimum aetatis annum, si probabiliter vixerit, una tantum et ea, quam virginem communi per sacerdotem benedictione perceperit, uxore contentus, acolythus et subdiaconus esse debet; postque ad diaconii gradum, si se ipse primitus continentia praeunte dignum probarit, accedat. Unde

bishop of Vercellæ († 371), and *Augustine*, went still farther, and united with their clergy in adopting a strictly monastic life,⁶

si ultra quinque annos laudabiliter ministrarit, congrue presbyterium consequatur. Exinde, post decennium, episcopalem cathedram poterit adipisci, si tamen per haec tempora integritas vitae ac fidei ejus fuerit approbata.—c. 13 : Monachos quoque, quos tamen morum gravitas et vitae ac fidei institutio sancta commendat, clericorum officiis aggregari et optamus et volumus. In the middle ages it was constantly admitted that this *lex Ecclesiastica* had been unknown to the primitive church. See Calixtus l. c. p. 3 ss. 304 : Many, however, believed it to be the meaning of Conc. Nicaeni can. 3. (according to Dionys. exig. translation : Interdixit per omnia magna synodus, non episcopo, non presbytero, non diacono, nec alicui omnino qui in clero est, licere subintroductam habere mulierem, nisi forte aut matrem, aut sororem, aut amitam, vel eas tantum personas, quae suspicionem effugiunt). cf. Aelfrici canones A. D. 970. (Wilkins. Concil. Magn. Brit. i. p. 250.) c. 5 : At the Nicene synod statuerunt omnes unanimi consensu, quod neque episcopus, neque presbyter, neque diaconus, nec ullus verus canonicus habeat in domo sua uxorem aliquam, nisi matrem etc. Benedictus viii. in Conc. Ticinensi between 1014 and 1024. (ap. Mansi xix. p. 344.) : Nicaeni patres non solum connubium, sed etiam cum mulieribus habitationem clericis omnibus interdicit. So also Alfonsus a Castro († 1550.) tit. Sacerdotium ; Consuetudo, juxta quam matrimonio alligatus promovebatur ad sacerdotium, invaluit usque ad tempora Nicaeni concilii, in quo, ut fertur, generali decreto statutum est, ne aliquis uxorem habens consecratur sacerdos. Quod statutum cum ab aliquibus minime ut decebat observaretur, Siricius Papa de hac re illos acerbissime reprehendit. The Jesuits were the first, in the sixteenth century, who maintained, in opposition to the Protestants, that the celibacy of the priests originated in apostolic times. Calixtus l. c. p. 10 ss. 28 ss. J. Gf. Körner vom Cölibat der Geistlichen. Leipzig 1784. 8. J. A. Theiner u. A. Theiner die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit b. d. christl. Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen. Altenburg 1828. 2 Bde. 8.

⁶ Respecting Eusebius see Ambros. ep. 63. ad Vercellenses §. 66 : Haec enim primus in Occidentis partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctae memoriae conjunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta Monachorum teneret, et Ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate. Maximi Ep. Taurinensis (about 422.) sermo ix. de s. Eusebio, in Muratorii anecdotis T. iv. p. 88 : ut universo Clero suo spiritaliam institutionum speculum se coeleste praeberet, omnes illos secum intra unius septum habitaculi congregavit, ut quorum erat unum atque indivisum in religione propositum, fieret vita victusque communis. Quatenus in illa sanctissima societate vivendi invicem sibi essent conversationis suae et iudices et custodes etc. cf. sermo vii. p. 82.—Respecting Augustine see Augustini vita auct. Possidio c. 5 : Factus ergo presbyter monasterium inter ecclesiam mox instituit, et cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis Apostolis constitutam, maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium in illa societate haberet, sed eis essent

though at first they found no imitators. But we may see how difficult it was to carry out the law of celibacy, though *Jerome*, *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, strongly advocated it, from the frequent repetition of the law, and the mildness with which it was found necessary to punish transgressors.⁷ Still *Leo the Great* extended the requisition even to the sub-deacons (*subdiaconi*).⁸

In the East, on the other hand, the Eustathians were opposed for their very rejection of marriage in the case of priests,⁹ and no law of celibacy was generally adopted. It was the custom, indeed,

omnia communia. After he had become bishop, cap. 11: in monasterio Deo servientes Ecclesiae Hipponensi clerici ordinari coeperunt. Ac deinde—ex monasterio, quod per illum memorabilem virum et esse et crescere coeperat, magno desiderio poscere et accipere episcopos et clericos pax Ecclesiae atque unitas et coepit primo, et postea consecuta est. Nam ferme decem—sanctos—viros continentes—b. Augustinus diversis Ecclesiis—rogatus dedit. Similiterque et ipsi ex illorum sanctorum proposito venientes—monasteria instituerunt, et—caeteris Ecclesiis promotos fratres ad suscipiendum sacerdotium praestiterunt. Comp. August. sermones ii. de moribus Clericorum (at an earlier period sermo 49 and 50 de diversis, in the Benedictine edition, sermo 355 and 356.) ex. gr. sermo i. c. 1: nostis omnes,—sic nos vivere in ea domo, quae dicitur domus episcopii, ut quantum possumus imitemur eos sanctos, de quibus loquitur liber Actuum Apostolorum: Nemo dicebat aliquid proprium, sed erant illis omnia communia,—volui habere in ista domo episcopii mecum monasterium clericorum. Ejusd. epis. 20. 149. 245. cf. Thomassinus P. i. lib. iii. c. 2. and 3. It is a different thing when other monks, elevated to be bishops, as Martin of Turonum, had about them establishments of monks, and continued the monastic life in them.

⁷ Siricii ep. ad Episc. Afr. (A. D. 386.) c. 3. Conc. Carthag. (390.) can. 2. Innocent. I. ep. ad Victricium (404.) cap. 9. Conc. Taurin. (397.) can. 8. Carthag. v. (398.) can. 3. Toletan. i. (400.) can. 1. &c. Conc. Turonense i. (461.) can. 2: Licet a patribus nostris emissa auctoritate id fuerit constitutum, ut, quicumque sacerdos vel levita filiorum procreationi operam dare fuisset convictus, a communione dominica abstineretur: nos tamen huic restrictioni moderationem adhibentes, et justam constitutionem mollientes, id decrevimus, ut sacerdos vel levita conjugali concupiscentiae inhaerens, vel a filiorum procreatione non desinens ad altiorem gradum non ascendat, neque sacrificium Deo offerre vel plebi ministrare praesumat.

⁸ Leo ep. 14. ad Anastas. episc. Thessalon. (A. D. 446.) c. 4. Still this was by no means general till the times of Gregory the Great. See Calixtus l. c. p. 380 ss.

⁹ See above §. 93. not. 39. To this refers also Can. Apost. 5: Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ Πρεσβύτερος, ἢ Διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβάλλετω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένον δὲ καθαιρείσθω. Comp. Drey über die Constitut. und Canones der Apostel S. 339.

towards the end of the fourth century, in several provinces, to select the unmarried for bishops; and in some of these this was extended even to the clergy in general,¹⁰ but in most parts, all clergymen had the liberty of living in wedlock.¹¹

¹⁰ In the chief countries of Monachism. Hieronum. adv. Vigilantium: Quid facient Orientis ecclesiae? quid Aegypti et sedis Apostolicae? quae aut virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt. Epiphani. haer. 59. § 4. Expos. fidei cath. §. 21. Synesius, when about to be bishop of Ptolemais, wrote, among other things, even to his brother Euoptius (ep. 105): *ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς, ὁ τε νόμος, ἢ τε ἱερὰ Θεοφίλου χεὶρ γυναῖκα ἐπιδέδωκε· προαγορεύω τοίνυν ἅπασιν καὶ μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτης οὔτε ἀλλοτρώσισομαι καθάπαξ, οὔτε ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῇ λάθρα συνέσομαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἤκιστα εὐσεβὲς, τὸ δὲ ἤκιστα νόμιμον· ἀλλὰ βουλήσομαί τε καὶ εὖξομαι, συχνά μοι πάντων καὶ χρηστὰ γενέσθαι παιδία.* Comp. above §. 84. not. 33. Clausen de Synesio p. 119.

¹¹ Examples of married bishops in the fourth century. Calixtus p. 253 ss. Theiner I. S. 263 ss. Gregory of Nazianzum was born when his father was a priest, for he makes him say, *carmen de vita sua* v. 512:

*Οὐπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον,
Ὅσος διῆλθε θυσσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.*

(Evasions of Papebrochius, Act. SS. Maji T. ii. p. 370, against Tillemont, who explained honestly the Jesuit Mémoires de Trevoux 1707 Avril p. 711. cf. Calixtus l. c. p. 261 ss. Ullmann's Gregor v. Naz. S. 551 ss.) Whether Gregory of Nyssa was married is matter of dispute. Rupp (Gregor's v. Nyssa Leben u. Meinungen S. 24), with Clemencet and others denies it. Nicephorus Callistus first mentions this marriage, Tillemont also recognises it. St. P. Heyns disp. de Gregorio Nysseno. Lugd. Bat. 1835. 4. p. 6., defends it at length, and has even found a son called Basil. Socrates, v. 22: *Ἐγνων δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. Γενόμενος κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, ἦν νόμῳ γαμήσας πρὶν κληρικὸς γένηται, μετὰ τὸ κληρικὸς γενέσθαι συγκαθευδῆσας αὐτῇ, ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεται τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ πάντων γνώμη ἀπεχομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ καὶ βούλουτο, οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκη νόμου τοῦτο ποιοῦντων. Πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς νομίμης γαμετῆς πεποιήκασιν.*

FIFTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

§ 98.

The church had triumphed over heathenism. It had acquired riches, external influence, and power. The effect of this was seen in the increasing splendour of its ceremonial. At the same time, a great number of those who now pressed into the church brought with them that purely external tendency peculiar to heathen religions, which turned on the sensuous forms of worship, partly with an interest defectively aesthetic, and partly with a superstitious veneration. Even those who were capable of higher views yielded to this propensity, either that the Pagans might be the more readily won over to Christianity, or from a desire to show honour to a supposed pious intention.¹ But in proportion as the internal life evaporated from the Church, and its external reputation increased, the more usual did it become to impress the character of a law externally binding on ecclesiastical usages which had been gradually developed. Thus the entire ecclesiastical life was overbur-

¹ This irruption of heathen usages into the church is acknowledged as early as Baptista Mantuanus in *Fastis mense Febr. et Novembre*, Beatus Rhenanus ad Tertull. contra Marc. lib. v. and de corona militis, Polydorus Vergilius de rerum inventoribus lib. v. c. 1. Baronius ann. 58. § 76. ann. 200. §. 5. It has been shown more at length by (Musard) *les conformitez des ceremonies modernes avec les anciennes*. (Londres) 1667. 8. (new edition, Amsterd. 1744); Conyers Middleton a letter from Rome, showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism (London 1755. 8.); Jo. Marangonius *delle cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso e ad ornamento delle chiese*. Rom. 1744. 4. (comp. the continuation of the same, 1752. S. 511 ss.); Ge. Christ. Hamberger *enarratio rituum, quos Romana ecclesia a majoribus suis gentilibus in sua sacra transtulit*. Gotting. 1751. (reprinted in J. P. Berg *museum Duisburgense* T. I. P. II. p. 363 ss.) John James *Blunt vestiges of ancient manners and customs, discoverable in modern Italy and Sicily*. London 1823.

dened with forms which were merely tolerated at first, but finally converted into laws.²

§ 99.

NEW OBJECTS OF WORSHIP.

Jo. Dallaeus adversus Latinorum de cultus religiosi objecto traditionem. Genevae 1664. 4.

Martyrdom,¹ which presented so strong a contrast to the lukewarmness of the present time, was the more highly venerated in proportion to its remoteness.² The heathen converts naturally enough transferred to the martyrs the honours they had been accustomed to pay their heroes.³ This took place the more readily as the scrupulous aversion to excessive veneration of the creature died away in the church after the victory over heathenism; and

² Leo M. sermo 77. de jejun. Pentecost. 2. Dubitandum non est, quicquid ab Ecclesia in consuetudinem devotionis est receptum, de traditione apostolica, et de Sancti Spiritus prodire doctrina.

¹ On the increased veneration paid to martyrs comp. Sagittarius de natalitiis martyrum cap. 5. § 19 ss. Bossuet's *Gesch. v. Welt u. v. Religion*, fortgesetzt von J. A. Cramer. Erste Fortf. S. 493 ss. Dritte Fortf. S. 285 ss. 329 ss.

² To which even the apologists of the day contributed. Eusebius praep. evang. xiii. c. 11. cites a passage of Plato concerning the worship of demons, and then continues: Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιῶτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις εἰπὼν, παραλαμβάνεσθαι. "Οθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παρῆναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς παρὰ ταύταις ποιῆσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς εὐλόγως καὶ τοῦτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένων. Comp. below not. 33.

³ Respecting the pagan belief that the reliques of distinguished men afforded protection to cities and countries, see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* T. I. p. 280 s. Thus Ælius Aristides (a rhetorician who lived about 170 A.D.) orat. ii. ad Platonem, ed. Dindorf vol. ii. p. 230, calls the Greeks who had fallen in battle against the Persians, ὑποχθονίους τινὰς φύλακας καὶ σωτήρας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλεξικάκους καὶ πάντα ἀγαθούς, καὶ ῥυεσθαί γε τὴν χάραν οὐ χεῖρον ἢ τὸν ἐν Κωλωνῶ κείμενον Οἰδίπουν, ἢ εἰ τις ἄλλοθί που τῆς χάρας ἐν καιρῶ τοῖς ζῶσι κείσθαι πεπίστευται. Respecting Œdipus Valerius Maximus V. 3, externa 3: Oedipodis ossa—inter ipsum Areopagum—et—Minervae arcem honore arae decorata, quasi sacrosancta, colis. In Greece worship was paid especially to the founders of cities, which were built for the most part over their graves. Thus Autolycus was worshipped in Sinope, Tenes in Tenedos, Æneas by the Æneates (Liv. xl. 4). See others noticed in Voss *de idolol.* i. 13, comp. Thucydides v. 11, concerning Brasidas: οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται, περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἦροί τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν.

the despotic form of government became accustomed to a slavish respect for the powerful.⁴ Thus the old custom of holding meetings for public worship at the graves of the martyrs now gave occasion to the erection of altars and churches (*Μαρτύριον*, *Memoria*)⁵ over them. In Egypt, the Christians following an old popular custom, began to preserve the corpses of men reputed to be saints, in their houses;⁶ and while the idea of communion with the mar-

⁴ Compare the honours paid to the emperors: their edicts were *terme l divina, sacra coelestia*: their statutes were honoured by adoration and frankincense (Zorn in miscell. Groning. vol. i. p. 186 ss). Consultationum Zachaei Christ. et Apollonii Philos. (after 408) lib. i. c. 28 (in d'Archevry spicileg. i. p. 12): Apollonius: *cur imagines hominum vel ceris pictas, vel metallis defictas sub Regum reverentia etiam publica adoratione veneramini, et, ut ipsi praedicatis, Deo tantum honorem debitum etiam hominibus datis?* Zacheus: *Istud quidem nec debeo probare nec possum, quia evidentibus Dei dictis non Angelos, nec quoslibet coeli ac terrae vel aëris principatus adorare permittimur. Divini enim speciale hoc nomen officii est, et altior omni terrena veneratione reverentia: sed sicut in hujusmodi malum primum adulatio homines impulit, sic nunc ab errore consuetudo vix revocat; in quo tamen incautum obsequium, non aliquem divinum deprehenditis cultum. Sed propter similitudinem amabilium vultuum gaudia intenta plus faciunt, quam hi forte exigant, quibus defertur, aut perfungi oporteat deferentes; et licet hanc incautioris obsequii consuetudinem districtiores horreant Christiani, nec prohibere desinant sacerdotes, non tamen Deus dicitur cujus effigies salutatur, nec adolentur thure imagines, aut colendae aris superstant, sed memoria pro meritis exponuntur, ut exemplum factorum probabilium posteris praestent, aut praesentes pro abusione castigent. A law of Theodosius II. A. D. 425. (Cod. Theod. XV. IV. 1.): *Si quando nostrae statuae vel imagines eriguntur,—adsit iudex sine adorationis ambitioso fastigio.—excedens cultura hominum dignitatem superno numini reservetur.* cf. de Rhoer dissertt. de effectu relig. christ. in jurisprud. Rom. p. 41 ss.*

⁵ So called at first by Eusebins de vita Const. III. 48. So also Constantine, on no higher authority, indeed, than the *liber pontificalis*, vita 34. Sylvestri, written about the year 870, is said to have built the basilics in Rome over the graves of the apostles Peter and Paul. Comp. Jerome, below, not. 8. Afterwards they were called, too, *Ἀποστολείον*, *Προφητείον*.

⁶ A practice strongly disapproved by St Anthony. Comp. Athanasius in vita Antonii (opp. T. II. p. 502): *τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν βιαζομένων μείναι αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς, κάκεά τελειωθῆναι, οὐκ ἤνεχετο,—διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ τῶν τελευτῶντων σπουδαίων σώματα, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων φιλοῦσι μὲν θάπτειν καὶ περιελίσσειν ὄθονίους, μὴ κρύπτειν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκιμποδίων τιθέναι, καὶ φυλάττειν ἔνδον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, νομίζοντες ἐν τούτῳ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πολλάκις περι τούτου καὶ ἐπισκίτους ἤξιον περιγγέλλει τοῖς λαοῖς: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λαϊκὸν ἐνέτρεπεν,*

tyrs was always increasingly associated with the vicinity of their mortal remains, the latter were drawn forth from their graves and placed in the churches,⁷ especially under the altars.⁸ Thus respect for the martyrs received a sensuous object to centre itself on, and became in consequence more extravagant and superstitious. To the old idea of the efficacy of the martyrs' intercession,⁹ was now added the belief, that it was possible to communicate the desires to them directly; an opinion partly founded on the popular notion that departed souls still hovered about the bodies they had once inhabited;¹⁰ partly on the high views en-

καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέπληττεν, λέγων, μήτε νόμιμον, μήτε ὕλως ὄσιον εἶναι τοῦτο. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῶν Πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν σώματα μέχρι νῦν σώζεται εἰς μνήματα, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου σῶμα εἰς μνημεῖον ἐτέθη—. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐδείκνυε, παρανομεῖν τὸν μετὰ θάνατον μὴ κρύπτοντα τὰ σώματα τῶν τελευτώντων, κἂν ἄγια τυγχάνη· τί γὰρ μείζον ἢ ἀγιώτερον τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος;—Αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο γινώσκων, καὶ φοβούμενος, μὴ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ποιήσωσιν οὕτως σῶμα, ἤπειξεν ἑαυτὸν, συνταξάμενος τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔξω ὄρει μοναχοῖς. In like manner Marcian, Theodoret*i* hist. relig. c. 3. (ed. Schulz. T. iii. p. 1147 s.), and Akepsimas *ibid.* c. 15. p. 1221.

⁷ Translations of the bodies of the saints into churches. The first instances were those of St Andrew, Luke, and Timothy (359), at the command of Constantine. Hieron. *contra Vigilant.* (Comp. the discovering and transferring of the bones of Theseus, by Cimon, Plutarch in *Thes. ad fin.*)

⁸ Ambrosii ep. 22. (al. 85. al. 54.) ad Marcellinam sororem § 13 : Succeedant victimae triumphales in locum, ubi Christi hostia est. Sed ille super altare, qui pro omnibus passus est: isti sub altari, qui illius redempti sunt passione. Hunc ego locum praedestinaveram mihi: dignum est enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos, ubi offerre consuevit: sed cedo sacris victimis dexteram portionem, locus iste martyribus debebatur. Hieronymus *adv. Vigilant.* Male facit ergo Romanus Episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli, secundum nos ossa veneranda, secundum te vilem pulvisculum, offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria? Sozomenus V. 9. u. 19. cf. Goth. Voighti *thysiasteriologia* s. de altaribus vett. Christt. Hamb. 1709. 8. p. 250 ss. The passage Apoc. 6. 9. was not yet used, however, in justification of this practice. See Dallaeus *adv. Latinorum de cultus relig. objecto traditionem* lib. iv. c. 9.

⁹ See Div. 1. § 70. not. 13-21.

¹⁰ This was the opinion of the heathen. cf. Platonis *Phaedon*. Tibullus i. 6, 15. Macrobius *de somn. Scip.* i. 9. u. 13. Porphyrius *de abstin.* ii. 47. Lactantius ii. 2: vulgus existimat, mortuorum animas circa tumulos et corporum suorum reliquias oberrare. cf. Wetstenii *Nov. Test.* i. p. 354. Hence Conc. Illiberitanum. c. 34. Cereos per diem placuit in coemeterio non incendi: inquietandi enim spiritus Sanctorum non sunt. Among the spiritual Origenists this idea did not na-

tertained of the glorified state of the martyrs¹¹ who abide only with the Lord. As Origen first laid the foundation of this new

turally meet with acceptance. cf. Macarii Politici (about 370) sermo de excessu justorum et peccatorum in Cave hist. liter. vol. i. p. 259, and in J. Tollii insignia itineris Italici (Traj. ad. Rhen. 1696. 4.) p. 196. But comp. Ambrosii de viduis c. 9: martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quodam corporis pignore patrocinium vindicare.—isti enim sunt Dei martyres, nostri praesules, speculatores vitae, actuumque nostrorum. — Pseudo-Ambrosii (perhaps Maximi Taurinensis about 430) sermo vi. de Sanctis: Cuncti martyres devotissime percolendi sunt, sed specialiter ii venerandi sunt a nobis, quorum reliquias possidemus. Illi enim nos orationibus adjuvant, isti etiam adjuvant passione: cum his autem nobis familiaritas est. Semper enim nobiscum sunt, nobiscum morantur, hoc est, et in corpore nos viventes custodiunt, et de corpore recedentes excipiunt: hic ne peccatorum labes absumat, ibi ne inferni horror invadat.

¹¹ So that people attributed to them a kind of omnipresence, as the heathen did to the demons (Hesiodi opera et dies v. 121 ss.), cf. Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium: Tu Deo leges pones? Tu Apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodia, nec sint cum Domino suo, de quibus scriptum est: Sequuntur agnum, quocumque vadit (Apoc. 14, 4.)? Si agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Gregorii Naz. orat. xviii. in laudem Cypriani p. 286: *σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύεις ἀνωθεν ὕψους, καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον διεξάγεις λόγον καὶ βίον, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ποίμνιον ποιμαίνεις, ἢ συμποιμαίνεις κ. τ. λ.* Prudentius peristephanon hymn. i. v. 16 ss. ix. v. 97 and often. Sulpicius Severus ep. ii. de obitu b. Martini (ed Lips. 1709. p. 371): non deerit nobis ille, mihi crede, non deerit: intererit de se sermocinantibus, adstabit orantibus: quodque jam hodie praestare dignatus est, videndum se in gloria sua saepe praebebit, et adsidua, sicut ante paullulum fecit, benedictione nos proteget. Ep. iii. p. 381: Martinus hic pauper et modicus coelum dives ingreditur: illinc nos, ut spero, custodiens, me haec scribentem respicit, te legentem. At first Vigilantius (404) resisted this opinion (see below § 106, note 6) and Jerome defended it against him (see above). On this Augustine also combated it, while he endeavoured at the same time to defend independently of it, the practice of praying to the martyrs which had been already established. cf. Augustinus de cura gerenda pro mortuis (A. D. 421) c. 13: Si rebus viventium interessent animae mortuorum, et ipsae nos quando eas videmus alloquerentur in somnis; ut de aliis taceam, me ipsum pia mater nulla nocte desereret, quae terra marique secuta est, ut mecum viveret.—Isaias propheta dicit (63, 16): Tu es enim pater noster: quia Abraham nescivit nos, et Israel non cognovit nos. Si tanti Patriarchae quid erga populum ex his procreatum ageretur ignoraverunt, quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoscendis adjuvandisque miscerentur? With regard to the martyrs, he is not indisposed indeed to allow a miraculous exception (cap. 16), but proceeds: Quamquam ista quaestio vires intelligentiae meae vincit, quemadmodum opitulentur Martyres iis, quos per eos certum est adjuvari; utrum ipsi per se ipsos

kind of respect for martyrs, so the Origenists were the first who addressed them in their sermons as if they were present and besought their intercession.¹² But though the orators were somewhat extravagant in this respect, the poets, who soon after seized upon the same theme, found no colours too strong to describe the power and glory of the martyrs.¹³ Even relics soon began to

adsint uno tempore tam diversis locis,—sive ubi sunt eorum Memoriae, sive praetur suas Memorias ubicunque adesse sentiuntur: an ipsis in loco suis meritis congruo ab omni mortalium conversatione remotis, et tamen generaliter orantibus pro indigentibus supplicantium,—Deus—exaudiens Martyrum preces, per angelica ministeria usquequaque diffusa praebeat hominibus ista solatia, quibus in hujus vitae miseria judicat esse praebenda: et suorum merita Martyrum, ubi vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, maximeque per eorum Memorias, quoniam hoc novit expedire nobis ad aedificandum fidem Christi—mirabili atque ineffabili potestate ac bonitate commendet. Res haec altior est, quam ut a me possit attingi, et abstrusior, quam ut a me valeat perscrutari: et ideo quid horum duorum sit, an vero fortassis utrumque sit, ut aliquando fiant per ipsam praesentiam Martyrum, aliquando per Angelos suscipientes personam Martyrum, definire non audeo; malle a scientibus ista perquirere. cf. de civit. Dei xxii., c. 9. In his sermons he does not attack the usual opinion, ex. gr. sermo de diversis 316. (al. 94.): Ambo (Paulus et Stephanus) modo sermonem nostrum auditis: ambo pro nobis orate.

¹² Basilii M. hom. 19, in xl. Martyres §. 8: οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς χώραν διαλαβόντες, οἰονεὶ πύργοι τινὲς συνεχεῖς, ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καταδρομῆς παρεχόμενοι· οὐχ ἐνὶ τόπῳ ἑαυτοὺς κατακλείσαντες, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐπιξενωφείτες χωρίοις, καὶ πολλὰς πατρίδας κατακοσμήσαντες. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ καθ' ἓνα διαμερισθέντες τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐπιφοιτῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναμιχθέντες ἀλλήλοις, ἠνωμένως χορεύουσιν· ὦ τοῦ θαύματος!—οὔτε ἑλλείπουσιν τῷ ἀριθμῷ, οὔτε πλεονασμὸν ἐπιδέχονται· ἂν εἰς ἑκατὸν αὐτοὺς διέλθῃς, τὸν οἰκείον ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐκβαίνουσιν· ἂν εἰς ἓν συναγάγῃς, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ οὔτω μένουσι, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς φύσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐξάπτοντα μεταβαίνει, καὶ ὅλον ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ ἔχοντι καὶ οἱ τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ πάντες εἰσὶ παρ' ἐκάστῳ·—ὁ θλιβόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα καταφεύγει, ὁ εὐφραϊνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέχει. ὁ μὲν, ἵνα λύσῃ εὖρη τῶν δυσχερῶν· ὁ δὲ, ἵνα φυλαχθῇ αὐτῷ τὰ χρηστότερα· ἐνταῦθα γυνὴ εὐσεβῆς ὑπὲρ τέκνων εὐχομένη καταλαμβάνεται, ἀποδημοῦντι ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰτουμένη, ἀρρώστοῦντι τὴν σωτηρίαν· μετὰ μαρτύρων γενέσθω τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν—
 * Ω χορὸς ἅγιος! ὦ σύνταγμα ἱερόν! ὦ συνουσιsmός! ὦ κοινοὶ φύλακες τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων! ἀγαθοὶ κοινωνοὶ φροντιδῶν, δεήσεως συνωργοὶ, πρεσβευταὶ δυνατώτατοι, ἀστέρες τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἄσθη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν! ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡ γῆ κατέκρυσεν, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ὑπεδέξατο κ. τ. λ. cf. Hom. xxiii. in Mamantem Martyrem. Gregorii Naz. orat. xviii. in laudem Cypriani. Gregorii Nysseni orat. in Theodorum Mart. Daniel's Gesch. v. christl. Beredsamkeit i. 281. In the west Ambrose goes farther in extolling the martyrs, Daniel i. 658.

¹³ So especially the Spanish writer Aurelius Prudentius Clemens

work miracles, and to become valuable articles of commerce on this account, like the old heathen instruments of magic.¹⁴

In proportion as men felt the need of such heavenly intercessors, they sought to increase their number. Not only those persons who were inscribed in the Diptycha* for services done to the church, but also the pious of the Old Testament, and particularly distinguished monks,¹⁵ were taken into the catalogue; and thus a still more comprehensive *saint-worship* arose out of the veneration paid to martyrs.¹⁶ Martyrs before unknown announced themselves also in visions; others revealed the places where their bodies were buried. Till the fifth century, prayers had been offered even for the dead saints;¹⁷ but at that time the practice

(about 405. Poemata ed. Nic. Heinsius. Amst. 1667. 12. Chr. Celarius. Halae 1703. 8.) in his lib. *περὶ στεφανῶν*, containing 14 hymns to the martyrs, comp. H. Middeldorpf comm. de Prudentio et Theologia Prudentiana in Ilgen's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol. ii., ii., 187; and Pontius Paulinus, bishop of Nola, († 431. Letters and poems ed. J. B. le Brun. Paris, 1685. Tomi ii. 4. in bibl. max. PP. T. vi. p. 163 ss.) especially in the 10 natales S. Felicis.

¹⁴ See Augustine, above § 96, note 18. The Law of Theodosius I. A. D. 386, (Cod. Theod. ix., xvii. 7.): *Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat: nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur, Habeant vero in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus pro ejus veneratione, quod martyrium vocandum sit, addant quod voluerint fabricarum.*

¹⁵ Joannes Cassianus collat. vi. c. 1: *In Palaestinæ partibus juxta Tecuae vicum—solitudo vastissima est usque ad Arabiam ac mare mortuum.—In hac summae vitae ac sanctitatis monachi diutissime commorantes, repente sunt a discurrentibus Saracenorum latrunculis intercepti. Quorum corpora—tam a Pontificibus regionis illius quam ab universa plebe Arabum tanta veneratione praerepta, et inter reliquias martyrum condita, ut innumeri populi e duobus oppidis concurrentis gravissimum sibi certamen indixerint, et usque ad gladiatorum conflictum, pro sancta rapina sit eorum progressa contentio, dum pia inter se devotione decertant, quinam justius eorum sepulturam ac reliquias possiderent, aliis scilicet de vicinia commorationis ipsorum, aliis de originis propinquitate gloriantibus. Comp. the dispute about the body of James, Theodoret's hist. relig. c. 21. (ed. Schulz. 3 p. 1239.)*

¹⁶ Thus Ambrose discovered the bodies of *Protasius* and *Gervasius*. Ambrose, epist. 22, ad sororem August. de civ. Dei. xxii. 8. The populace were inclined to regard every ancient unknown grave as the grave of a martyr, *Sulpicius Severus* de vita Martini, c. 11.

¹⁷ Epiphan. haer. 75. §. 7: *καὶ γὰρ δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ*

* *Diptycha*. In Rees's Cyclopædia, Diptycha are explained to be "a double catalogue, in one whereof were written the names of the living, and in the other those of the dead, which were to be rehearsed during the office."

was discontinued as unsuitable.¹⁸ It is true that the more enlightened fathers of the Church insisted on a practical imitation of the saints in regard to morality as the most important thing in the new saint-worship,¹⁹ nor were exhortations to address

ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν—ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων, καὶ Πατριαρχῶν, Προφητῶν καὶ Ἀποστόλων, καὶ Εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ Μαρτύρων, καὶ Ὁμολογητῶν, Ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ Ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀφορισωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως,—ἐν ἐννοίᾳ ὄντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξισούμενος ὁ κύριος τινὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἄν τε μυρία καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἕκαστος ἀνθρώπων. Cf. Constitt. Apostol. viii. c. 12. Cyrill. Hieros. catech. Mystag. v. §. 8. Such intercessions, in their more ancient form, are preserved in the liturgies of the Nestorians, ex. gr. liturgia Theodori Interpretis (in Renaudotii liturgiæ orientalium collectio. Tom. ii. p. 620.): *Domine et Deus noster, suscipe a nobis per gratiam tuam sacrificium hoc gratiarum actionis, fructus scilicet rationabiles labiorum nostrorum, ut sit coram te memoria bona justorum antiquorum, Prophetarum sanctorum, Apostolorum beatorum, Martyrum et Confessorum, Episcoporum, Doctorum, Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, et omnium filiorum Ecclesiæ sanctæ catholicæ, eorum qui in fide vera transierunt ex hoc mundo, ut per gratiam tuam, Domine, veniam, illis concedas omnium peccatorum et delictorum, quæ in hoc mundo, in corpore mortali, et anima mutationi obnoxia peccaverunt aut offenderunt coram te, quia nemo est qui non peccet.* So too liturgia Nestorii ap. Renaudot. l. c. p. 633. cf. Bingham lib. xv. c. 3. §. 16, 17 (vol. vi. p. 330 ss.)

¹⁸ Augustin. serm. 17: *Injuria est enim pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari* (quoted by Innocent III., as sacrae scripturae auctoritas to justify; decretal. Gregorii lib. iii. tit. 41. c. 6, the change of the old formula, *annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli, tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio*, into the modern; *annue, nobis, quaesumus, Domine, ut intercessione b. Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio.*)

¹⁹ Augustin. de vera religione c. 55: *Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia, si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quaerant honores; sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante laetantur, meriti sui nos esse consortes.* Honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. contra Faustum xx. 21: *Populus christianus Memorias Martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen, ut nulli Martyrum, sed ipsi Deo Martyrum, quamvis in Memoriis Martyrum, constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum adsistens altari, aliquando dixit; offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane? sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui Martyres coronavit, ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major adfectus exsurgat ad acuendam caritatem, et in illos, quos imitari possumus, et in illum, quo adjuvante possumus. Colimus ergo Martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus. At vero illo cultu, qui graece latræ di-*

prayer directly to God also wanting;²⁰ but yet the people attributed the highest value to the intercession of the saints whose efficacy was so much prized.²¹ Many heathen customs were incorporated with this saint-worship. Churches, under whose altars their bodies rested, were dedicated to their worship.²² As gods

citur, latine uno verbo dici non potest, cum sit quaedam proprie divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus, nisi unum Deum.

²⁰ Ambrosiaster ad Rom. 1, 22. against those who adored the elements, the stars, &c. Solent tamen pudorem passi, neglecti Dei misera uti excusatione, dicentes per istos posse iri ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suae immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti, cum de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majestatis? Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deserunt creaturae, et relicto Domino servos adorant; quasi sit aliquid plus, quod reservertur Deo. Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat republicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem utique nihil latet (omnium enim merita novit), promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota. Ubi cumque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi. So Chrysostomus in Matth. hom. 52. (al. 53.) §. 3. annexes to the history of the woman of Canaan (Matth. 15. 21.) the admonition: *σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει, πῶς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡττηθέντων καὶ οὐκ ἀνυσάντων, αὕτη ἦν υἱοῦ. τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ προσεδρεία εὐχῆς· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρ' ἡμῶν βούλεται μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀξιουῖσθαι ἢ παρ' ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.* cf. de poenitentia orat. iv. 4: (ὁ θεὸς) *χωρὶς μεσίτου παρακαλεῖται.* Comp. Cramer's dritte Forts. u. Bossuet. S. 350 ss.

²¹ Ambrosius de viduis c. 9: Aegri, nisi ad eos aliorum precibus medicus fuerit invitatus, pro se rogare non possunt. Infirma est caro, mens aegra est et peccatorum vinculis impedita, ad medici illius sedem debile non potest explicare vestigium. Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad praesidium dati sunt, martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quoddam corporis pignore patrocinium vindicare. Possunt pro peccatis rogare nostris, qui proprio sanguine etiam si qua habuerunt peccata laverunt. Isti enim sunt Dei martyres, nostri praesules speculatores vitae actuumque nostrorum. Non erubescamus eos intercessores nostrae infirmitatis adhibere etc. Even Chrysostom recommends (de sanctis martyr. serm. 68. opp. v. 872.) the worship of martyrs and their relics as a means of procuring the forgiveness of sins, and virtues.

²² The churches were still named in different ways, many after their founders (so in Carthage the basilicae Fausti, Florentii, Leontii, in Alexandria the eccl. Arcadii (the old Serapeum) in Rome the basilicae Constantini and Justiniani), others from other circumstances, thus in Carthage basilica restituta, in Alexandria the Caesareum, in Rome the eccl. triumphalis (the old Church of Peter), eccl. Laterana (because on the site of the palace of Lateranus, a contemporary of Nero) see Bingham vol. iii. p. 329. Thus although originally the calling of churches after mar-

and heroes were formerly chosen for patrons, so patron saints were now selected.²³ And since the heathen had been so bitterly accused at an earlier period by the Christians of worshipping dead men,²⁴ they could not now be blamed in their return for ridiculing the new saint-worship.²⁵

tyrs did not denote that they were dedicated to them, yet the meaning attached to the names came gradually to be so understood, and even the distinctions made by Augustine admit of this acceptation, comp. de civitate Dei xxii. 10: An dicent, etiam se habere deos ex hominibus mortuis, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum, sicut alios multos, quos in deorum numerum receptos opinantur? Sed nobis Martyres, non sunt dii.—Nos Martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus: neque ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus Martyribus, sed uni Deo et Martyrum et nostro sacrificia immolamus: ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis, sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum. cf. viii. 27.

²³ Theodoretī graec. affect. curat. disp. 8. (ed Schultze. T. iv. p. 902.) αἱ μὲν γενναῖαι τῶν νικηφόρων ψυχαὶ περιπολοῦσι τὸν οὐρανόν,—τὰ δὲ σώματα, οὐχ εἰς ἐνὸς κατακρύπτει τάφος ἐκάστου· ἀλλὰ πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι ταῦτα διανεμώμεναι, σωτήρας καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ ἰατροὺς ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ὡς πολιοῦχος τιμῶσι καὶ φύλακας· καὶ χρώμενοι πρεσβευταῖς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην, διὰ τούτων τὰς θείας κομιζονται δωρεάς. pag. 921: οἱ δέ γε τῶν καλλνίκων μαρτύρων σηκοὶ, λαμπροὶ καὶ περίβλεπτοι, καὶ μεγέθει διαπρεπεῖς, καὶ παντοδαπῶς πεποικιλμένοι, καὶ κάλλους ἀφιέντες μαρμαρυγὰς· εἰς δὲ τούτους οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δίς γε τοῦ ἔτους ἢ πεντάκις φοιτῶμεν· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν παηγυρεῖς ἐπιτελοῦμεν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τῷ τούτων δεσπότη τούτους ἕμνοισι προσφέρομεν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες αὐτοῦσι τῆς ὑγείας τὴν φυλακὴν· οἱ δὲ τιμὴ νόσφ παλαιότες, τὴν τῶν παθημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴν· αὐτοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄγονοι παῖδας, καὶ στέριφαι παρακαλοῦσι γενέσθαι μητέρες.—καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τινα ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενοι, λιπαροῦσι τούτους ξυνοδοιπόρους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐπανόδου τετυχηκοτες, τὴν τῆς χάριτος ὁμολογίαν προσφέρουσιν· οὐχ ὡς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς προσιόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀντιβολουύντες, καὶ γενέσθαι πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ σφῶν παρακαλοῦντες. ὅτι δὲ τυγχάνουσιν ὄνπερ αὐτοῦσι οἱ πιστῶς ἐπαγγέλλοντες, ἀναφανδὸν μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τούτων ἀναθήματα, τὴν ἰατροῦ δηλοῦντα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν, οἱ δὲ ποδῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ χειρῶν προσφέρουσιν ἐκτυπώματα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ χρυσοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὕλης ἀργύρου πεποιημένα. pag. 923: τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους νεκροὺς ὁ δεσπότης ἀντεισηῆξε τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φροῦδους ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀπένειμε γέρα· ἀντὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Πανδίων, καὶ Διασίων, καὶ Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἑορτῶν, Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Σεργίου—καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτύρων, ἐπιτελοῦνται δημοθιναίαι κ. τ. λ. Comp. Neander's Chrysostomus Bd. 2. S. 128 f.

²⁴ Arnobius adv. gentiles vi. 6.—multa ex his templa—comprobatur, contegere cineres atque ossa, et functorum esse corporum sepulturas, etc.

²⁵ Julianus ap. Cyrill. adv. Jul. x. p. 335: ὅσα δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐξῆς προσευρή-

In the fourth century no peculiar reverence above other saints was as yet shown to the *Virgin Mary*. In consequence of monastic ideas (see § 95, note 23), the Christians merely attributed a high value to her perpetual virginity; and for this reason began to declare the opinion that she had afterwards borne children to Joseph²⁶ to be heretical; as, for instance, Epiphanius (haer. 78) against the *Ἀντιδικομαριανίται*, in Arabia (367); Jerome against *Helvidius*, in Rome (383);²⁷ and the Macedonian bishops against *Bonosus*, bishop of Sardica (392)²⁸; while it was also shown in what way she did not cease to be a virgin, notwithstanding the birth of Christ.²⁹ Besides, the teachers of the

κατε, πολλοὺς ἐπεισάγοντες τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ τοὺς προσφάτους νεκροὺς, τίς ἂν πρὸς ἀξίαν βδελύξεται; Πάντα ἐπληρώσατε τάφων καὶ μνημάτων.—Εἰ ἀκαθαρσίας Ἰησοῦς ἔφη εἶναι πλήρεις τοὺς τάφους (Matth. xxiii. 27.), πῶς ὑμεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν θεόν; cf. vi. p. 201. Misopogen p. 344. Eunapius in vita Aedesii ed. Genev. 1616. p. 65. Ammian. Marcell. xii. 11. Comp. Maximus §. 79. not. 1.

²⁶ Basiliius M. hom. in sanctam Christi generationem c. 5. (opp. T. ii. p. 598), remarks, however, on Matth. i. 25: οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε αὐτήν, ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον the following: τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ὑπόνοιαν παρέχει, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καθαρῶς ὑπηρετήσασθαι τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ κυρίου τῇ ἐπιτελεσθείσῃ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, τὰ νενομισμένα τοῦ γάμου ἔργα μὴ ἀπαρνησαμένης τῆς Μαρίας: ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας παραλυμίνεται λόγῳ, (μέχρι γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἀναγκαῖα ἢ παρθενία, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἀπολυπραγμότητον τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μυστηρίου,) ὅμως διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τῶν φιλοχρίστων τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο εἶναι παρθένος ἢ θεοτόκος, ἐκείνας ἠγοῦμεθα τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτάρκεις.

²⁷ Hieron. adv. Helvidium lib. in opp. ed. Martinay T. iv. P. ii. p. 129, ed. Vallarsi T. ii. Concerning the Antidicomarianites and Helvidius see Walch's *Kekerhist.* iii. 577.

²⁸ Siricii ep. 9 (comp. above, § 94. not. 14.) Walch iii. 598.

²⁹ Tertullianus de carne Christi c. 23: Agnoscimus ergo signum contradicibile (according to Luc. ii. 34.) conceptum et partum virginis Mariae: de quo Academici isti: peperit, et non peperit; virgo, et non virgo.—Peperit enim, quae ex sua carne: et non peperit, quae non ex virili semine. Et virgo, quantum a viro; non virgo, quantum a partu. Clemens Alex. Strom. vii. p. 889: τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαριάμ λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γένησιν, οὐκ οὔσα λεχῶ καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν φασὶ τινες παρθένον εὑρεθῆναι. Epiphanius haer. lxxviii. §. 19. does not hesitate to say, in reference to Luke ii. 23, Exod. xiii. 2: οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἀνοίγων μήτραν μητρός. On the contrary, Ambrosius ep. 42. (al. 81. al. 7.) ad Siricium P.: Haec est virgo, quae in utero concepit: virgo, quae peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum est: Ecce virgo in utero accipiet, et pariet filium (Es. 7, 14.), non enim concepturam tantummodo virginem, sed et parituram virginem dixit. Quae autem est illa porta sanctuarii, porta illa exterior ad Orientem, quae

Church in the fourth century did not refrain from speaking of the faults of Mary;³⁰ and Epiphanius includes certain enthusiastic women in his catalogue of heretics for their extravagant adoration of the Virgin (*Κολλυριδιανοί*.)³¹ The Nestorian controversy first led men to set her at the top of the host of saints, as the mother of God, *θεοτόκος*.

Though it was the general belief that *angels* guarded men, and presented their prayers to God, it was still thought unallowable to address them, because of the passages, *Coloss.* ii. 18, *Revelation of John* xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9.³² *Ambrose* is the first who

manet clausa; et nemo, inquit, pertransibit per eam, nisi solus Deus Israel (*Ezech.* xliv. 2.)² Nonne haec porta Maria est, per quam in hunc mundum redemptor intravit? ...de qua scriptum est, quia Dominus pertransibit per eam, et erit clausa post partum; quia virgo concepit et genuit. Hieronymus adv. Pelagianos lib. ii. (Opp. ed. Martian. T. iv. P. ii. p. 512.): Solus enim Christus clausas portas vulvae virginalis aperuit quae tamen clausae jugiter permanserunt. Haec est porta orientalis clausa, per quam solus Pontifex ingreditur et egreditur, et nihilominus semper clausa est.

³⁰ After the example of Irenaeus iii. 18. Tertull. de carne Christi 7. Origenes in Luc. hom. 17:—Basilus ep. 260. (al. 317.) ad Optimum. Chrysostomus Hom. 45. in Matth. et Hom. 21. in Joh. On the other hand Augustin. de nat. et grat. c. 36: Excepta sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quaestionem,—si omnes illos sanctos—congregare possemus, et interrogare, utrum essent sine peccato, quid fuisse responsuros putamus?

³¹ Concerning them Epiphanius haer. 78. §. 23. Haer. 79. Anacephal. c. 79. Comp. Walch's Ketzerhistorie iii. 625. F. Münter de Collyridianis in the miscellanea Hafniensia t. i. Fasc. 2. Hafn. 1818. p. 153 ss. Their heresy was: ἀντὶ θεοῦ ταύτην παρεισάγειν σπουδάζοντες,—ὡς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀειπαρθένου κολλυρίδα τινα ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ συνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ,—καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν. This usage is perhaps explained by Jerem. xliv. 19. where the women offer cakes to the Queen of heaven; perhaps by Conc. Quinisexti can. 79: "The birth of the Virgin was ἀλόχετος: hence no cake (*σεμίδαλις*) shall be presented after the birthday of Christ προφάσει τιμῆς λοχειῶν τῆς ἀχράντου παρθενομήτορος."

³² Concil. Laodic. can. 35: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν κ. τ. λ. Dionys. exig. translates:—atque angelos (var. lect. angulos) nominare. cf. Theodoret. ad Coloss. ii. 18: Οἱ τῷ νόμῳ συνηγοροῦντες, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σέβειν αὐτοῖς εἰσηγοῦντο, διὰ τούτων λέγοντες δεδύσθαι τὸν νόμον. ἔμεινε δὲ ταῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ· οὐ δὲ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας νόμῳ κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι· καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν. τοῦτο τοῖνυν συνεβούλευον ἐκείνοι γίνεσθαι, ταπεινοφροσύνην δὴθεν κεχηρημένοι, καὶ λέγοντες, ὡς ἀόρατος ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς ἀνεφικτός τε καὶ ἀκατά-

recommends the intercession of the *guardian* angel ;³³ but as yet the Christians had not adopted a more general worship of angels.³⁴

The cross, always a highly honoured symbol among Christians,³⁵ had been more superstitiously venerated ever since the time when Constantine believed that he owed to it his victory over Maxentius.³⁵ But after the tradition had spread, from the end of the fourth century, that Helena (326) had discovered the true cross of Christ,³⁷ relics and even pictures of it

ληπτος, καὶ προσήκει διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὴν θείαν εὐμένειαν πραγματεύεσθαι. Augustini confess. x. 42: Quem invenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? Abeundum mihi fuit ad angelos? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per se ipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt haec, et ciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digui habitus sunt illusionibus. cf. Keilli opusc. acad. T. ii. p. 548 ss.

³³ Ambros. de viduis c. 9: Obsecrandi sunt angeli, qui nobis ad praesidium dati sunt. See not. 21.

³⁴ Augustini collatio cum Maximino c. 14. (Opp. viii. 467.): Nonne si templum alicui sancto Angelo excellentissimo de lignis et lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi et ab Ecclesia Dei, quoniam creaturae exhiberemus eam servitutem, quae uni tantum debetur Deo? In the time of Sozomen there was, it is true, a church in Constantinople named *Μιχαήλιον*, but solely for this reason (Sozom. ii. 3.): *καθότι πεπίστευται ἐνθάδε ἐπιφαίνεσθαι Μιχαὴλ τὸν θείου Ἀρχάγγελον.*

³⁵ But Minucius Felix c. 29: cruces nec colimus, nec optamus.

³⁶ Euseb. de vit. Const. i. 40. ii. 6-9. 16. iv. 21. Sozom. i. 8. in fine.

³⁷ This story is false. Eusebius de vita Const. iii. 25. relates at great length how the holy sepulchre was cleared out at the command of Constantine, not of Helena, and the church of the resurrection built over it, but says nothing of the discovery of the cross. Then not till c. 41 ss. does he speak of the journey of Helena to Palestine, and how she built churches at the spot where Christ was born in Bethlehem, and on the locality of the ascension on the Mount of Olives. The Gaul also, who was in Jerusalem A.D. 333, and mentions all the holy objects in the city in his itinerarium (vetera Rom. itineraria ed. P. Wesseling p. 593.), knew nothing of the holy cross and its finding. The oldest testimony alleged for it, but which notwithstanding does not speak of Helena, is in Cyrilli Hieros. epist. ad Constantium, professedly written about A. D. 351, is a later interpolation. It cannot have been known before the fifth century, for Jerome in catal. s. v. Cyrillus does not mention it, and Ambrose orat. de obitu Theodosii, Jo. Chrysostomus hom. 85. (al. 84.), Paulinus Nolanus epist. 31. (al. 11.), Rufinus hist. eec. x. 7. 8. Socrates i. 17. Sulpic. Sever. hist. sacr. ii. 34. are ignorant of it, since otherwise they would not have related the circumstances of the finding, and especially the recognition of the true cross so differently. The credulous Sozomen (ii. 1.) first speaks of this letter of Cyril. The conclusion of it, in which the Emperor is designated as *δοξάζων τὴν*

began to work miracles,³⁸ became objects of the highest adoration, and were finally put on altars.³⁹

Helena set the first example of a pilgrimage to Palestine, which was soon extensively imitated.⁴⁰ By this means ideas of *the holiness of that country* had increased so much, even to the grossest superstition,⁴¹ that many teachers of the Church openly discouraged these pilgrimages.⁴²

δημοῦσον τριάδα, is decidedly adverse to its authenticity. For Cyril, in the time of Constantius, was not an adherent of the Nicene faith, and that this Emperor was not so might have been unknown a considerable time after, in different places. Comp. Dallaeus adv. Latinorum de cultus religiosi objecto traditionem, Genevae 1664. 4. p. 704. Witsii miscellan. sacra ii. 364.

³⁸ Paulinus Nolanus ep. 31. (al. 11.): The bishop of Jerusalem alone could bestow splinters of the cross, ad magnam fidei et benedictionis gratiam. Quae quidem crux in materia insensata vim vivam tenens, ita ex illo tempore innumeris paene quotidie hominum votis lignum suum commodat, ut detrimenta non sentiat, et quasi intacta permaneat.

³⁹ First mentioned by Sozomen ii. 3. and Nilus. See not. 48. cf. Bingham vol. iii. p. 236.

⁴⁰ Partly in order to be baptised in Jordan (Euseb. de locis Ebr. s. v. *Βηθαβαρά*), which was also the purpose of Constantine (Euseb. de vit. Const. iv. 62.); but also attracted by the marvellous, and the love of relics. Paulinus Nol. ep. 11: the holy cross was shown only at Easter, nisi interdum religiosissimi postulent, qui hac tantum causa illo peregrinati advenerint, ut sibi ejus revelatio quasi in pretium longinquae peregrinationis deferatur. Epist. 36: religiosa cupiditas est loca videre, in quibus Christus ingressus et passus est, et resurrexit, et unde descendit: et aut de ipsis locis exiguum pulverem, aut de ipso Crucis ligno aliquid saltem festucae simile sumere et habere, benedictio est. As the wood of the cross suffered no diminution (note 38.), so also the footsteps of the Lord at his ascension were not worn away. Sulpic. Sever. hist. sacr. ii. 33: cum quotidie confluentium fides certatim Domino calcata diripiat, dampnum tamen arena non sentit: et eadem adhuc sui speciem, velut impressis signata vestigiis terra custodit.

⁴¹ Ex. gr. Augustin. de civ. Dei xxii. 8. Respecting the wonderful power of the terra sancta de Hierosolymis allata.

⁴² Hieron. ep. 13. ad Paulinum: Non Hierosolymis fuisse, sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est.—Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia aequaliter patet aula coelestis.—Beatus Hilarion cum Palaestina esset et in Palaestina viveret: uno tantum die vidit Hierosolymam, ut nec contemnere loca sancta propter viciniam, nec rursus, dominum loco claudere videretur. (On the other hand, epist. 47. ad Desiderium: adorasse, ubi steterunt pedes domini, pars fidei est, et quasi recentia nativitatis et crucis ac passionis vidisse vestigia.) Especially zealous is Gregorii Nysenni epist. *περὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* against these pilgrimages (reprinted also as an appendix to J. II.

Aversion to pictures ceased among Christians in the fourth century. They allowed not merely likenesses of emperors,⁴³ but also of other distinguished men.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it was still reckoned a heathen practice to represent objects of worship by *images*.⁴⁵ At first, allegorical representations of sacred doctrines, and historical pictures taken from the Scriptures or from the his-

Heidegger de peregrinationibus religiosis. Turici 1670. 8.) We see from his letters that even then, Jerusalem was remarkable for corruption of morals, as places of pilgrimage usually are: *εἰ ἦν πλέον ἢ χάρις ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόποις, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεχωρίαζε τοῖς ἐκεῖ ζῶσιν ἡ ἀμαρτία. Νῦν μέντοι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκαθαρσίας εἶδος, ὃ μὴ τολμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονηρίαί, καὶ μοιχεΐαι, καὶ κλοπαί, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεΐαι, καὶ φαρμακείαι, καὶ φθόνοι, καὶ φόνοι.*

⁴³ Likenesses of Constantine and his children were brought into the Labarum, Euseb. de vita Const. i. 31, iv. 69, comp. above, not. 4.

⁴⁴ Thus the Christians of Antioch had likenesses of their bishop Meletius († 381) even during his lifetime, on the seals, rings, vessels, and walls. See Chrysostomi orat. encomiastica in s. Meletium, opp. ii. 519.

⁴⁵ See Div. I. §. 70. not. 5. Euseb. Caesariensis ep. ad Constantiam. (Conc. Nicaeni ii. actio 6. Published more complete by J. Boivin in the notes to Nicephori Gregorae Byzant. histor. ed Bonn. T. ii. p. 1301): *Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τινος εἰκόνας ὡς δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέγραφας, εἰκόνα βουλομένη σοι ταύτην ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεμφθῆναι· τίνα λέγεις καὶ ποίαν ταύτην, ἣν φῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα;—πότερον τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀμετάλλακτον, καὶ φύσει τοὺς αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρας φέρουσαν· ἢ ταύτην ἣν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνείληφε, τῆς τοῦ δούλου μορφῆς περιθέμενος τὸ σχῆμα;—ἀλλὰ τοῦ πρὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς σαρκίου αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ θνητοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα φῆς παρ' ἡμῶν αἰτεῖν· ἄρα γὰρ τοῦτό σε μόνον διέλαθεν τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα, ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς νομοθετεῖ μὴ ποιεῖν ὁμοίωμα μήτε τῶν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, μήτε τῶν, ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῆ κάτω; ἢ ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ αὐτῇ, ἢ καὶ παρ' ἄλλου τοῦτο ἤκουσας; οὐχὶ δὲ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξώρισται καὶ πόρρω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πεφυγάδεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, μόνοις τε ἡμῖν μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβόηται;—οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ, ὅπως γύναιόν τι μετὰ χεῖράς ποτε δύο τινὰς φέρουσα καταγεγραμμένους, ὡς ἂν φιλοσόφους, ἀπέρριψε λόγον, ὡς ἂν εἶεν Παύλου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, οὔτε ὀπίθεν λαβοῦσα, οὔτε ὅθεν τοῦτο μαθοῦσα· ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτῇ, μηδὲ ἕτεροι σκανδαλίζονται, ἀφελόμενος ταύτην παρ' ἑμαυτὸν κατεῖχον, οὐχ ἡγούμενος καλῶς ἔχειν εἰς ἑτέρους ὅλως ἐκφέρειν ταῦτα, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν δίκην εἰδωλολατρῶν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐν εἰκόνι περιφέρειν.* Epiphanius ep. ad Johannem Hierosol. ex vers. Hieronymi (Epiph. opp. ii. 317) relates, that when he had come into the church in Anablatha, a village of Palestine, inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem Ecclesiae tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem, quasi Christi, vel sancti ejusdem. Non enim satis memini, ejus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem, in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. He promises them a new velum which he herewith sends and asks John deinceps praecipere, in Ecclesia Christi ejus-

tory of martyrs, were allowed in the churches. Of these the earliest instances in the East are mentioned by *Gregory* of Nyssa;⁴⁶ in the West, by *Paulinus*, bishop of Nola (409–431, A.D.)⁴⁷ Such pictures were not intended to be worshipped, but were merely for instruction and exhortation.⁴⁸ The likenesses of individuals only were capable of leading the minds of the illiterate astray, so as to worship them. The first pictures of this kind which we find in a Gallic Church at the end of the fifth century do not, it is

modi vela, quae contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi. Asterius, bishop of Amasea (about 400. See Homilies in the *auctarium* P.P. ed. Combefisii) hom. in divitem et Lazarum: *Μη γράφε τὸν Χριστόν. ἀρκεί γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ μία τῆς ἐσωματώσεως ταπεινοφροσύνη, ἣν αὐθαιρέτως δι' ἡμᾶς κατεδέξατο· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς σου βαστάζων νοητῶς τὸν ἀσώμοτον λόγον περιφέρει.* cf. Suiceri thes. eccl. i. 1014. Jo. Dallaei de imaginibus libb. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1642. 8. p. 163 ss. Frid. Spanhemii hist. imaginum. Lugd. Bat. 1686. 8. (Opp. iii. 707). Neander's Chrysostomus ii. 143.

⁴⁶ Greg. Nyss, orat. de laudibus Theodori Mart. c. 2. (Opp. ii. 1011.) in describing the church built in honour of Theodore: *Ἐπέχρωσε δὲ καὶ ζωγράφος τὰ ἄνθη τῆς τέχνης ἐν εἰκόνι διαγραφάμενος, τὰς ἀριστείας τοῦ μάρτυρος, τὰς ἐστάσεις, τὰς ἀλγηδύνας, τὰς θηριώδεις τῶν τυράννων μορφὰς, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τὴν φλογοτρόφον ἐκείνην κάμινον, τὴν μακαριωτάτην τελείωσιν τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ, τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου Χριστοῦ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μορφῆς τὸ ἐκτύπωμα· πάντα ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐν βιβλίῳ τινι γλωττοφόρῳ, διὰ χρωμάτων τεχνουργησάμενος σαφῶς διηγόρευσε τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦ μάρτυρος.* In the orat. de deitate Filii et Spir. s. (l. c. p. 908), he describes a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac. (Augustin. contra Faustum xxii. 73: *factum ita nobile,—ut tot linguis cantatum, tot locis pictum, et aures et oculos dissimulantis feriret.*) Comp. Cramer's Forts. v. Bossuet's Weltgesch. Th. 4, S. 442 ss. Münter's Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen. Heft 1. S. 9 ss.

⁴⁷ Paulin. natal. ix. Felicis:

Propterea visum nobis opus utile, totis
Felicibus domibus pictura illudere sancta:
Si forte attonitas haec per spectacula mentes
Agrestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra etc.

cf. natalis vii. et x. epistl. 30. (al. 12.) Prudentius *περὶ στεφανῶν* hymn. ix. v. 10, hymn. xi. v. 127. Münter i. 18.

⁴⁸ Nilus (see § 85. not. 1.) advised the Eparch Olympiodorus who intended to build a Martyrion and to adorn it with a number of pictures lib. iv. ep. 61.), *ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ μὲν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τοῦ θειοτάτου τεμένουσ ἕνα καὶ μόνον τυπῶσαι σταυρόν· δι' ἐνὸς γὰρ σωτηριώδους σταυροῦ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασώζεται γένος, καὶ τοῖς ἀπηλπισμένοις ἐλπὶς πανταχοῦ κηρύσσεται· ἱστοριῶν δὲ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης πληρῶσαι ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν χειρὶ καλλίστου ζωγράφου τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον, ὅπως ἂν οἱ μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα, μηδὲ δυνάμενοι τὰς θείας ἀναγιώσκειν γραφὰς τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς ζωγραφίας μνήμην τε λαμβάνωσιν τῆς τῶν γνησιῶς τῷ ἀληθινῷ θεῷ δεδουλευκότων ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ πρὸς ἀμιλλαν διεγείρωται τῶν εὐκλεῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων ἀριστευμάτων, δι' ὧν τῆς γῆς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπηλλάξαντο.*

true, imply that they were worshipped; ⁴⁹ but soon after, superstition connected itself with the likenesses of miracle-working persons, which were placed in houses. ⁵⁰ Under Leo the Great, we find the first image of Christ in a Romish Church. ⁵¹

⁴⁹ Severus caused pictures of Martin of Tours and Paulinus of Nola to be brought into the baptistery of the church in Bourges, while the former was probably alive, the latter, certainly so. Pauli Nol. ep. 32. cf. Bingham vol. iii. p. 305.

⁵⁰ Thus Augustine mentions pictures of Peter and Paul, (de consensu evangel. i. 10.) but says of them: Sic omnino errare meruerunt, qui Christum et Apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quaesierunt. Comp. de moribus eccl. cath. i. 34: Novi, multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores. Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando Ecclesiae catholicae maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet. According to Theodoret's hist. relig. c. 26. (ed. Schultze iii. 1272.) Simeon Stylita was held in such honour at Rome even during his lifetime, ὡς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς τῶν ἐργαστηρίων προπυλαίοις εἰκόνας αὐτῷ βραχείας ἀναστήσαι, φυλακὴν τινα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐντεῦθεν πορίζοντας.

⁵¹ According to Severianus (about 400) an opponent of Chrysostom, subsequently bishop of Gabala (tract. in s. crucem in s. Jo. Chrysost. de educandis liberis lib. etc. ed Franc. Combefis. Paris 1656. 8. p. 129), the cross is ἡ τοῦ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως εἰκὼν. In the churches of Paulinus of Nola, Christ appears only in the symbolic form of the lamb at the foot of the cross. In the picture belonging to the S. Maria Maggiore, the oldest extant, which was made under Sixtus III., 432-440, a throne with a book roll, and behind it a cross, forms the central point. In the back ground, Christ appears only as a child, in historical representations from the accounts of his childhood. In the Basilica of St Paul, which was built under Leo I., in the picture of the triumphal arch he is first made to occupy the exact centre as a Saviour (see die bildl. Darstellungen im Sanctuarium d. christl. Kirchen vom 5ten bis zum 14ten Jahrh von J. G. Müller, Trier 1835. 8, S. 42 ss.) These Salvator pictures continue for a long time the only ones. Pictures of the crucified, the Ecce homo, the dead Christ in the bosom of the mother, belong to the middle ages. The caput radiatum or the Nimbus was taken from heathen and transferred to Christian art. See Schoepflin's comment. hist. et crit. p. 69. Münter's Simbilder ii. 28.—The Thomas-Christians in India suppose that Cyril introduced the, to them hateful, pictures. See La Croze hist. du Christianisme des Indes. a la Haye 1724. 4. p. 243. Assemanus bibl. orient. iii. ii. 401. endeavours indeed to prove that this tradition cannot be very old; but it is a remarkable fact that it is also related by the Copt *Elmacin* (about 1250) on whose authority it is repeated by Makriz (about 1400.) See Renaudot hist. Patr. Alex. p. 114, Makrizii hist. coptorum ed Wetzer. Solisb. 1828. 8. p. 53.) On any supposition, it is historically established that pictures were introduced into churches in the time of Cyril.

§ 100.

PLACES AND TIMES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Since *basilicae*¹ had frequently been converted into churches after the time of Constantine, and churches had been built in the form of *basilicae*,² the name *basilica* was also the more readily transferred to the churches themselves,³ because it was susceptible in this instance of a signification so appropriate. The churches, now large and splendid, were divided into three parts: the *νάρθηξ* (*πρόναος*, *ferula*) *porch*, from which the *beautiful gates*, *πύλαι ὠραίαι*, (according to Acts iii. 2-10) led into the *body of the church*, *ναός*, *navis* (where was the *ἄμβων*, *pulpitum*), which again was divided from the *βῆμα*, *sacrarium*, *sacristy*, by *cancelli*, *κιγκλίδες*, a lattice-work. There were usually other buildings attached to the churches, and especially a baptistery, *βαπτιστήριον*, with the font, *piscina*, *fons*, *κολυμβήθρα*. All the buildings were situated in an inclosed court (*αἶθριον*, *αὐλή*, *atrium*), in which was also a *reservoir* or large vessel of water (*κρήνη*, *cantharus*) for washing the hands before entering the church, after the ancient Jewish fashion.

Fasts, hitherto voluntary, were now prescribed by the Church.⁴ *Festival days* were more equally distributed, and, at the same

¹ The Roman *basilica*, an imitation of the *στοὰ βασιλική* in Athens, consisted partly of an oblong four cornered space, which served principally for a place of merchandize, and partly of a second space situated over against the entrance which formed a semicircle, and in which a court was held, the so called *tribunal*. See Vitruv. v. i. Hirt's *Baukunst* iii. 180. Dr F. Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. Stuttgart 1842.

² On the form of the churches, see the description of the city of Rome by Platner, Bunsen, Gerhard, and Röstel i. 419. *Die Basiliken des christl. Roms*. Kupfertafeln u. Erklärung (von Bunsen). München 1843. Fol.

³ Hieronymus ep. 35. epitaph. *Nepotiani*: *basilicas ecclesiae*.

⁴ The older and more liberal view (see Div. i. § 73. not. 1.) is still maintained by Victor Antiochenus (about 400), *comm. in. ev. Marci c. 2.* (bibl. PP. max. T. iv.): *Enimvero inter eos, qui in Moysis, et eos rursum, qui in gratiæ lege jejuniis dant operam, hoc praeter caetera interest, quod illi quidem jejunia a Deo praefinita habebant, quae proinde modis omnibus explere obligabantur, etiamsi alias nolissent; hi vero virtutis amore, liberaque voluntatis electione jejunant verius, quam ulla legis coactione. Quodsi vero quadragesimale vel aliud quodcumque je-*

time, multiplied. In the East, the *Epiphany* was celebrated as the festival⁵ both of the birth and baptism of our Lord; in the West, the 25th December had been adopted as the birth day ever since the middle of the fourth century;⁶ the custom proceeding from Rome and spreading into the differ-

junium definitum habemus, propter ignavos et negligentes, quo nimirum quoque ii officium faciant, praefinitum habemus. Chrysostomus hom. lii. in eos qui primo Pascha jejunt. Cassianus collat. xxi. c. 30: Sciendum sane hanc observantiam quadragesimae, quamdiu ecclesiae illius primitivae perfectio inviolata permansit, penitus non fuisse. Non enim praeepti hujus necessitate nec quasi legali sanctione constricti, arctissimis jejuniorum terminis claudebantur, qui totum anni spatium aequali jejunio concludebant. Socrates v. 22. On the contrary Epiphanius haer. lxxv. 6. Expos. fidei c. 22, derives the Wednesday's and Friday's fasts from an apostolic arrangement. Hieronymus ep. 27. (al. 54.) ad Marcellam: Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem Apostolorum, toto nobis orbe congruo, jejnamus. Leo P. serm. 43, de Quadrages. 6: Apostolica institutio xl. dierum jejunio impleatur. While in the Oriental church all fasting was prohibited on the Saturday, the custom of fasting on this day arose in the West, especially in Rome, perhaps even in the third century (Neander i. 1, 510: Tertullian de jejun. c. 14, does not, however, prove this. See my remarks in the Theol. Stud. and Kritik. 1833, iv. 1149.) In the fourth century, Saturday as a fast day entirely took the place of Wednesday at Rome (Innocent i. ep. 25, ad Decentium. c. 4. Augustini ep. 36. ad Casulanum). cf. Quesnel. diss. de jejunio Sabbati in Eccl. Rom. observato in his edition of the opp. Leonis ii. 544.

⁵ Cassian. collat. x. c. 2. Intra Aegypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniarum die, quem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatæ esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bisarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant, epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Aegypti ecclesias, quibus et initium quadragesimæ et dies paschæ non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur.

⁶ According to epist. Johannis episc. Nicaeni in the auctar. bibl. Patr. ed Combessius t. ii. p. 297, and an Anonymus ap. Cotelierius ad Constitt. Apost. v. 13, which, however, are too modern to be regarded as proper witnesses, although they certainly come near the truth, this day was established by Julius, bishop of Rome (337-352.) An expression of his successors, Liberius (352-366) in Salvatoris natalis is adduced by Ambrosius de virginibus iii. c. 1. Even an ancient Syrian in Assemani bibl. orient. ii. 164, states that the natalis solis invicti falling on this day (Winter-solstice, according to the erroneous reckoning of the Julian calendar on the 25th December, see Ideler's Chronologie ii. 24), was the reason why the natalis Christi was assigned to the same day. So also Jo. Harduin (Acta SS. Junii iv. 702. D.) and especially Jablonski de origine festi nativit. Christi diss. ii. §. 2. (Opusc. ed. te Water iii.

ent parts of the empire. This festival began now to obtain in the East;⁷ and at last, also (shortly before 431) in Egypt.⁸ The Epiphany was observed in addition as the day of baptism, and came to be kept as such even in the West.⁹ The celebration of the passover, as customary in Asia Minor, had been rejected at the council of Nice;¹⁰ and since that time, those who still retained it were regarded as heretics, *Τεσσαρεσκαϊδεκατίται*, Quartodecimani.¹¹ With respect to the appointment of the Easter festival, they followed for the most part the patriarch of Alexandria;¹² yet not always, especially in the West; and

348.) Even so late as the times of Leo the Great, there were many in Rome quibus haec die solemnitatis nostrae non tam de nativitate Christi, quam de novi, ut dicunt, solis ortu honorabilis videatur (Leonis M. sermo xxi. c. 6.) According to Credner de natalitiorum Christi et rituum in hoc festo celebrande solemnium origine, in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol. iii. ii. 228, this festival began in Egypt in the fourth century.

⁷ For example, in Antioch about 380. Chrysost. hom. 31. de natali Christi (ed. Montfauc. ii. 355.): οὕτω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἡ καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγέννηται. What follows furnishes a remarkable illustration of the ease with which customs of a recent date could assume the character of apostolic institutions: παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἐσπέραν αἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωριζομένη—παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαία ἐστὶ, καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης μέχρι Γαδείρων οἰκοῦσι κατάδηλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε.

⁸ Comp. Cassian collat. x. 2. above note 5. On the other hand, in the Acts of the Ephesian council (ap. Mansi iv. 293.) Pauli Episc. Emisensii homilia λεχθείσα κθ' Χοιὰκ (25. Dec.) ἐν τῇν μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας—εἰς τὴν γεννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου κ. τ. λ. About the same time, under bishop Juvenalis the festival was also adopted in Jerusalem, which was united with Alexandria against Antioch. See Basilides Seleuc. de s. Stephano, in S. Joannis Chrysostomi de educandis liberis lib. ejusdem tractatus alii quinque etc. ed. Franc. Combefis. Paris 1656. 8. p. 302.

⁹ The first trace of it is in 360, when Julian, according to Ammian. Marcell. xxi. c. 2. celebrated the Epiphany in the church at Vienne. In the West, the commemoration of the arrival of the Magi (*i. e.*, three kings, according to Psalm lxxii. 10), and the first miracle in Cana were united with this feast. Bingham vol. ix. p. 80. Neander ii. 2, 657 ss.

¹⁰ Comp. Div. 1. §. 60. not. 15. Constantini epist. ad ecclesias de decretis syn. Nic. (ap. Eusebius de vita Const. iii. 18.) et epist. Syn. Nic. ad eccl. Alexandr. ap. Socrates i. 9. ὡς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐφ' ἀδελφούς τοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πρότερον ποιούντας, συμφώνως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν—τὸ πάσχα ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγειν. There is nothing more precise on the subject. This Nicene decree was confirmed by the Conc. Antioch. ann. 341. can. 1.

¹¹ The name first occurs in Conc. Laodic. (about 364) can. 7. Conc. Constant. oec. ii. ann. 381, c. 2. Epiphany. haer. 50. On the other hand Philastrius haer. 87. knows nothing of it.

¹² Leonis ep. 121. (ed. Quesn. 94.): Paschale festum—quamvis in

thus Easter was sometimes observed on different Sundays in different provinces.¹³ The Paschal festival, which was announced at the Epiphany, was preceded by the Quadragesima (τεσσαρακοστή)¹⁴ and divided into the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, hebdomas magna, the *great week*, in which the feria quinta, (ἡ ἁγία πέμπτη), the *paraskevē*, and the *Sabbatum magnum* were distinguished from one another; and into the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, the *week of the resurrection*, which ended with the *Dominica in albis* (καὶνὴ κυριακή). This festival was followed by the *Quinquagesima* (πεντηκοστή), which included the ascension (ἀνάληψις), and ended with *pentecost* (πεντηκοστή.)

The nightly service (*vigiliæ*, παννυχίδες) which preceded the

primo semper mense celebrandum sit, ita tamen est lunaris cursus conditione mutabile, ut plerumque sacratissimæ diei ambigua occurrat electio, et ex hoc fiat plerumque quod non licet, ut non simul omnis Ecclesia quod non nisi unum esse oportet observet. Studuerunt itaque sancti Patres occasionem hujus erroris auferre, omnem hanc curam Alexandrino Episcopo delegantes (quoniam apud Aegyptios hujus supputationis antiquitus tradita esse videbatur peritia), per quem quotannis dies praedictae solemnitatis Sedi apostolicae indicaretur, cujus scriptis ad longinquiores Ecclesias indicium generale percurreret.

¹³ Ambrosii ep. 23. (al. 83.) On the different paschal cycles see Bingham vol. ix. p. 99. Ideler's *Chronologie* Bd. 2. S. 200 ss. In Alexandria a cycle of nineteen years invented by Anatolius was used (ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς.) In Rome, to the time of Leo the Great, and in the West, the cycle of 84 years. With the Alexandrians, Easter festival must fall between 22d March and 25th April; with the Latins, between the 18th March and the 21st April. Hence there was a difference in the keeping of Easter, and hence arose the discussions respecting it. Ideler ii. 254 ff. For this reason, Leo M. ep. 121. (see note 12) applied to the emperor Marcian: obsecro clementiam vestram, ut studium vestrum praestare dignemini, quatenus Aegyptii, vel si qui sunt alii, qui certam hujus supputationis videntur habere notitiam, scrupulum hujus sollicitudinis absolvant, ut in eum diem generalis observantia dirigatur, qui nec paternarum constitutionum normam relinquat, nec ultra praefixos terminos evagetur. Quicquid autem pietas vestra de hac consultatione cognoverit, ad meam jubeat mox notitiam pervenire, ut in divinis mysteriis nulla dissonantiae culpa nascatur.

¹⁴ Among the Orientals seven weeks, among the Westerns who fasted also on the Sabbath (see above, note 6) six; in both cases, therefore, thirty-six days. Cassiani collat. xxi. 24. 25. (qui substantiarum nostrarum omniumque fructuum decimas offerre praecipimur, multo magis necesse est, ut ipsius quoque conversationis nostrae, et humani usus, operumque nostrorum decimas offeramus, quae profecto in supputatione quadragesimae implentur,) 27. 28. Comp. Socrates v. 22.

Easter festival, was observed with great splendour;¹⁵ but now similar vigils were also annexed to other festivals, especially to those in honour of martyrs.

§. 101.

RITES AND CEREMONIES OF WORSHIP.

Christian worship was now invested with a splendour hitherto unknown. The clergy began to wear a peculiar costume while engaged in holy things.¹ In some of the services lights were also used in the day time;² and in the fifth century frankincense began to be employed.³ More attention was paid to the music. The custom of singing in responses, first introduced into the Church at Antioch,⁴ soon spread in the East, and was transferred

¹⁵ Euseb. de vit. Const. iv. 22. Gregor. Nyss. orat. 5. de Paschate Gregor. Naz. orat. 19 et 42.

¹ All the clergy wore the *στιχάριον* (vestis alba tunica); bishops, presbyters, and deacons wore over that the *ωράριον*, (according to Jo. Morinus de sacris Ecclesiae ordinationibus p. 174. *ωράριον*, according to Suicer thes. eccl. ii. 498. *δράριον* lat. orarium, afterwards Stola), bishops and presbyters over that the *φελόνης* or *φαιλόνης* (planeta, casula. comp. Morinus p. 176. Suicer ii. 1422). The *ωμοφόριον* (pallium) distinguished the bishops in the East; in the West it was not yet in use (cf. Pertsch de origine, usu et auctoritate pallii archiepiscopalis. Helmst. 1754. 4. p. 91 ss.) That no tonsure was ever practised either by monks or clergymen may be inferred from Hieronymus ad Ezech. 44, 20: Quod sequitur; caput suum non radent neque comam nutrient, sed tonduentes attondebunt capita sua, perspicue demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut sacerdotes cultoresque Isidis ac Serapis nos esse debere, nec rursus comam demittere, quod proprie luxuriosorum est, barbarorumque et militantium, sed ut honestus habitus sacerdotum facie demonstraretur etc. Comp. Bingham vol. ii. p. 413. iii. 50.

² Before the relics of martyrs, and in the East also during the reading of the Gospel. See Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium. Lactantius (instit. vi. 2) still mocks the heathens on account of it.

³ The first certain trace of it is found in Pseudodionys. Areop. de eccl. hier. c. 3. It had been used before as a mark of honour to the emperors. See §. 99, note 4.

⁴ According to Theodoretus h. e. ii. 19. Flavianus and Diodorus, two monks in Antioch, in the time of Constantius, were its originators: οὔτοι πρῶτοι, διχῆ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χοροὺς, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄδειν τὴν Δαντικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελωδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι πάντοσε διέδραμε, καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα. According to Theodore of Mopsvestia in Nicetæ Acomin, thesaurus orthodoxie v. 30. they

to the Western Church by Ambrose.⁵ The *disciplina arcani* (distinction between the initiated and uninitiated) reached its highest development in the fourth century,⁶ but afterwards gradually disappeared as heathenism ceased. Public worship (λεειτουργία,⁷ missa)⁸ was divided on account of it into several parts

first only translated Antiphonies from the Syriac into Greek : and Socrates vi. 8. attributes the first introduction of this kind of music to Ignatius (Augusti diss. de hymnis Syrorum. Vratisl. 1814. 8. Hahn über den Gesang in der syrischen Kirche, in the Kirchenhist. Archive für 1823. iii. 52.) The custom of singing in responses was especially diffused by the monks, (τὸ ἀντίφωνον, ἀντίφωνοι ὕμνοι.) Comp. generally M. Gerbertus de cantu et musica sacra (tomi ii. typis San-Blasianis 1774. 4.) i. 40. Schöne's Geschichtsforschungen über die kirchl. Gebräuche ii. 191.

⁵ Augustini confess. ix. 6, 7. Paulinus in vita Ambros. p. iv. On the musical character of the Ambrosian singing see Kiesewetter's Gesch. d. europäisch-abendländischen Musik. Leipzig 1834, 4. S. 3.

⁶ Comp. Div. 1. §. 67, not. 3. Basilius de Spir. sancto c. 27. Comp. especially Cyrilli Hieros. catecheses. Hence the formula so frequent among the orators, ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι or οἱ συμμύσται in opposition to the ἀμύητοι : in Augustine, norunt fideles : Frommann de disciplina arcani p. 43.

⁷ Comp. Suiceri thes. eccl. ii. 220. Bingham v. 16, particularly the solemnity of the Lord's Supper, but in other respects every religious service too.

⁸ Missa i. e. missio : as remissa, offensa, for remissio, offensio. Avitus (archbishop of Vienne about 490) in epist. i. : in Ecclesiis, Palatiisque, sive Praetoriis missa fieri pronunciat, cum populus ab observatione dimittitur. In the first part of the service, which consisted of psalms, readings, and sermon, even the unbelieving portion of the people were permitted to join. After their retiring, the proper missa catechumenorum followed, which was a series of prayers, whereby the catechumens, penitents, and possessed, were dismissed in classes (by the call οἱ ἀκουώνητοι μεριπατήσατε. μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων,) &c. (cf. Conc. Carthag. iv. ann. 398. can. 84 : Ut Episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive haereticum, sive Judaeum, usque ad missam catechumenorum. Augustini sermo 49. §. 8 : Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis : manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis.) According to this analogy, the last part of public worship was called missa fidelium, i. e., the service with which the fideles were dismissed, and which ended with the call ἀπολύεσθε, ite, missa est (this dismissal was among the Greeks ἡ ἀπόλυσις τῆς ἐκκλησίας.) Since the last part was the most important, it was also called a particular missa (cf. Ambrosii ep. 20. al. 14. ad Marcellinam sororem : post lectiones atque tractatum dimissis catechumenis—missam facere coepi). Finally, the name was transferred to every public service. Thus it is applied to the meetings of the monks for prayer, Cassian. institt. ii. c. 13, missa nocturna, iii. c. 5, missa canonica.

(missa catechumenorum, and missa fidelium),⁹ and received more definite formularies.¹⁰

Baptism, now preceded by unction, was frequently delayed as long as possible.¹¹ Against this abuse several teachers of the Church zealously remonstrated.¹² The baptism of infants did not

⁹ See not. 8. The Greeks distinguished the parts of public worship in a different manner. See Conc. Laodic. can. 19: *περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς,—καὶ μετὰ τὸ Πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε τοὺς Λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.*

¹⁰ The arrangement of public worship and single formularies had been already established for a long time; but now there were added to them formularies of prayer too; complete liturgies were made, and those of the apostolic churches were soon derived from their founders. Proclus Episc. Constantinop. (about 440) de traditione divinae Missae (in Gallandii bibl. PP. ix. 680): *Πολλοὶ μὲν τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοὺς ἱεροὺς Ἀποστόλους διαδεξαμένων θείοι ποιμένες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἔκθεσιν ἐγγράφως καταλιπόντες, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδεδώκασιν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ πρῶτοι οὗτοι καὶ διαπρύσιοι τυγχάνουσιν ὅ,τε μακάριος Κλήμης, ὁ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαθητῆς καὶ διάδοχος, αὐτῷ τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀποστόλων ὑπαγορευσάντων. (This is the liturgy found in the Constitut. apost. viii. 16, the oldest extant.) καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰάκωβος, ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἐκκλησίας τὸν κλῆρον λαχών.—Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ῥάθυμον καὶ κατωφερὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεωρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς λειτουργίας μῆκος ὀκνοῦντων,—ἐπιτομώτερον παρέδωκε λέγεσθαι.—Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν ὁ ἡμέτερος πατὴρ ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς Ἰωάννης—εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ῥαθυμίαν ἐφορῶν—τὰ πολλὰ ἐπέτεμε, καὶ συντομώτερον τελείσθαι διετάξατο. In the fifth century the liturgy of Basil had been spread almost over all the East. But in addition to it, that of Chrysostom also, proceeding from Constantinople, gradually obtained acceptance. The Alexandrians derived their liturgy from Mark, the Romans from Peter, the Milanites from Barnabas and Ambrose. No liturgy of this period, with the exception of that in the Constitut. apost., has been preserved free from alteration. Comp. Leonis Alatii de libris ecclesiasticis Graecorum diss. ii. Paris 1645. 4. (with Fabricius' remarks in the old edition of his biblioth. graeca appended to vol. v.) Jac. Goar εὐχολόγιον s. rituale Graecorum. Paris 1647. and Venet. 1730. fol. Eus. Renaudotii liturgiarum orientalium collectio. T. ii. Paris 1716. 4. J. A. Assemani codex liturgicus Eccl. universae. P. vi. Romae 1749 ss. 4.*

¹¹ Constitt. apostoll. vii. c. 41. Cyrill. Hieros. catech. myst. ii. c. 3. u. 4. This unction was with *ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ*; the unction after baptism, which had been practised before (see Div. 1. §. 53, not. 25), with *μύρω* or *χρίσματι*, see Suicer thes. eccl. i. 1077, u. ii. 1534. Bingham vol. iv. p. 303.

¹² Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 40. Comp. Ullmann's Gregor v. Naz. S.

become universal till after the time of Augustine. The baptism of heretics was still, in the fourth century, rejected for the most part in the East; and afterwards the baptism of single parties only was excepted.¹³ On the contrary, Augustine established the milder practice of the west on firm principles.¹⁴

As to the *Lord's Supper*, the Christians of that period recognised in it the flesh and blood of Christ, and even spoke of a transformation; but only in a figurative sense.¹⁵ As this rite

466 ss. (On the baptism of children: *δίδωμι γνώμην, τὴν τριετίαν ἀναμείναντας—ἤνικα καὶ ἀκοῦσαί τι μυστικόν, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι δυνατὸν,—οὕτως ἀγιάζειν.*) Basilii M. orat. 13. (Walli hist. bapt. infant. i. 136. 181.) Gregorii Nyss. orat. in eos qui differunt baptismum. Chrysostom (Neander's Chrys. i. 74.)

¹³ Comp. Div. 1. §. 72. not. 22. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Basil rejected it. Münscher's Dogmengesch. iv. 368. The Synod of Laodicea can. 7. and the second oecumenical Synod of Constantinople, can. 7. made exceptions, whose consistency is not obvious. Comp. Drey über apost. Constit. S. 260. Gass in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol. 1842, iv. 120.

¹⁴ Augustinus de baptismo contra Donatistas vi. 47: dicimus, baptismum Christi, i. e. verbis evangelicis consecratum, ubique eundem esse, nec hominum quorumlibet et qualibet perversitate violari. c. 61: Manifestum est, iniquos, quamdiu iniqui sunt, baptismum quidem posse habere; sed salutem, cujus sacramentum baptisma est, habere non posse. c. 78: Dicimus, accipientibus non prodesse (baptismum), cum in haeresi accipiunt consentientes haereticis: et ideo veniunt ad catholicam pacem atque unitatem, non ut baptismum accipiant, sed ut eis prodesse incipiat quod acceperant.

¹⁵ We find the expressions: *μεταβολή, μεταβάλλεσθαι, μεταμορφοῦσθαι, μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι* (similar expressions with regard to the consecrated oil, Münscher iv. 387, and the baptismal water, same author, p. 352. Wundemann ii. 417), and again, *τύπος, ἀντίτυπον*, figura, signum. Hence all churches appeal to the fathers in their favour. Comp. especially the dispute between A. Arnauld, P. Nicole (chief work la perpétuité de la foi de l'église catholique touchant l'eucharistie, 3. T. 1669-1672. T. 4 et 5. par Eus. Renaudot, 1711-1713. 4). and J. Claude (réponse aux deux traités intitulés: la perpétuité etc. Charent. 1666. Réponse au livre de M. Arnauld intitulé: la perpétuité etc. Charent, 1671. 2 voll. 8). Clear passages on this subject are: Augustinus epist. 98. (al. 23.) ad Bonifacium §. 9: Nempe saepe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquant dicamus crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit.—Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se ipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschae solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex

hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Contra Adimantum Manich. c. 12: Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui. Ad Ps. iii: figuram corporis et sanguinis sui. in Joan. tract. xxvi. 18: Qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio nec manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, etiamsi tantae rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat (so all MSS. The editions have interpolations). cf. contra Faustum xx. c. 18. and 21. De doctrina christiana iii. 16. A fragment in Fulgentius in bibl. max. PP. T. ix. p. 177 s. While the Catholic theologians endeavour to explain away these passages by a forced interpretation P. de Marca in his traité du sacrament de l'Eucharistie (published after his death by his relative, the abbot Paul Faget, Paris 1668, and though suppressed soon, reprinted in the Netherlands), candidly acknowledged that the fathers to Chrysostom, and particularly Augustine, did not teach the doctrine of transubstantiation. Very clear passages on this subject are furnished by the polemical demonstrations against Eutyches and the Monophysites, so far as they had been always accustomed to compare the union of the earthly with the heavenly in the Supper, with the incarnation of Christ, and now borrowed a proof from the rite in favour of the fact, that the human nature in Christ did not cease to exist after the union. So Theodoretus Eranistes dial. ii. (ed. Schulze t. iv. p. 126): οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμόν τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῆς οἰκειίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους.—νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. To these polemics belongs also first of all Chrysostom's epist. ad Caesarium, although even Leontius Hierosolym. (or Byzantium, about 600) in Maji scriptt. vett. coll. vii. i. 130, 135. Joannes Damasc. and others cite this letter as belonging to Chrysostom. The same is preserved in Latin in a codex Florentinus, and was first discovered and employed by Peter Martyr. The first edition by Bigot (appended to Palladii vita Chrystom, see above, § 85, not. 6.) was torn out of the copies by royal command (see Chauffepié and Bayle in their dictionnaires art. Bigot). The second edition appeared, according to a copy of Scipio Maffei, with Greek fragments, in Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage i. 235. Comp. especially Salig de Eutychianismo ante Eutychen p. 367. In this letter it is said: antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit. Comp. R. Hospiniani historia sacramentaria. (T. ii. Tiguri 1602. Genev. 1681. fol.) J. A. Ernesti Antimuratorius 1755. (Opusc. theol. p. 1.) Münscher iv. 377. Wundemann ii. 419. How value was still attributed to the fact, that the laity also received the cup, may be seen from Leo I. sermo iv. de Quadrages. (§ 86, not. 6.) Chrysostom. in epist. ii. ad Cor. hom. 18: ἔστι δὲ ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου, οἷον ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δέη τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων· ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν· οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἴσθιε, τὰ δὲ

was looked upon in the light of a sacrifice,¹⁶ the idea was naturally suggested, that God could be propitiated by it, and in this way it was even already abused, and that frequently, by superstition.¹⁷ The Agapæ had been, for a considerable time past, in most countries separated from the Supper,¹⁸ and converted into entertainments which families prepared on the death of relatives, churches on the anniversaries of martyrs, and at which clergy and poor were regular guests.¹⁹ But because the heathen notions of

ὁ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν, ὧν μετείχεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα πρόκειται, καὶ ποτήριον ἔν.

¹⁶ How far see Münscher iv. 400. Wundemann ii. 441. Neander's KG. ii. 2. 707.

¹⁷ Especially as the bread was often taken home (in Egypt universally, see Basilli ep. 93, ad Caesarium). Thus Satyrus, brother of Ambrose, during a shipwreck, took the holy bread, ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit collo, utque ita se dejecit in mare:—his se tectum atque munitum satis credens, alia auxilia non desideravit (Ambrosius de obitu fratris sui Satyri c. 13): A certain Acatius (August. opus imp. contra Julian. iii. c. 162), related to Augustine that he had been born blind, and a surgeon was about to perform an operation for him, neque hoc permisisset religiosam matrem suam, sed id effecisset impositio ex Eucharistia cataplasmate. Comp. Gregor. Naz. orat. xi. in laudem Gorgoniae, p. 186, s. epist. 240. Comp. Münscher iv. 403. Wundemann ii. 446. Neander ii. 2, 705. In like manner the heathen, cf. Etym. Magn. : Ὑγίειαν καλοῦσιν Ἀττικοὶ τὰ πεφυραμένα οἶνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ἐξ ἱεροῦ φέρεται, οἶον θαλλόν τινα ἢ ἄλειμα. Simplicius (about 530.) comm. ad Epictet. c. 38. ed. Schweigh. p. 351 : τὰ προσαγόμενα καὶ ἀνατιθέμενα—μεταλαμβάνει καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος, ὡς καὶ θείας ἐνεργείας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιληψίας τις ὠμολόγησεν ἀπηλλάχθαι δαὶ τῆς τῶν τοιοῦτων μεταλήψεως, καὶ χαλάσας καὶ θαλάσσης κλύδωνας ἔπαυσε. cf. Iobeck Aglaophamus i. p. 766 ss.

¹⁸ As it was now an ecclesiastical law that the Lord's Supper should be taken fasting, so it was also believed that even in the time of the Apostles the agapæ were observed after the Supper. Chrysost. hom. xxvii. in 1. Cor. (on xi. 27.) Pelagius in 1. Cor. xi. 20. Theodoret. in 1. Cor. xi. 16.—Remains of the old custom were still found in several parts of Egypt, in which the Lord's Supper was observed on the Sabbath after the evening meal, Socrates v. 22. Sozom vii. 19. and in the African mode to celebrate the Supper after the evening meal on the Thursday before Easter. Conc. Carthag. iii. ann. 397. c. 29 : Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo coena domini celebratur. cf. Augustin. ep. 54. ad Januarium c. 9.

¹⁹ Comment. in Job (among the works of Origen, belonging to the fourth century) lib. iii. p. 437 : Celebramus (diem mortis) religiosos cum sacerdotibus convccantes, fideles una cum clero, invitantes adhuc egenos et pauperes, pupillos et viduas saturantes, ut fiat festivitas nostra in

the people saw in them the reappearance of their Parentalia and sacrificial festivals, drunkenness soon pervaded them.²⁰ Hence they

memoriam requiei defunctis animabus, quarum memoriam celebramus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem suavitatis in conspectu aeterni Dei. Augustini ep. xxii. ad Aurelium c. 6: istae in coemeteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia non solum honores martyrum a carnali et imperita plebe credi solent, sed etiam solatia mortuorum. Id. contra Faustum xx. 20: Agapae nostrae pauperes pascunt sive frugibus, sive carnibus. —plerumque in agapibus etiam carnes pauperibus erogantur. Theodoret. graec. affect. curat. disp. viii. (ed. Schulze iv. 923.): Ἀντὶ τῶν Πανδίων καὶ Διασίων καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἑορτῶν, Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου—καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μανρικίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτύρων ἐπιτελοῦνται δημοθιναίαι· καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρογυγίας—σώφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι, καὶ κῶμον, καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείου, καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην δακρύοις. Juliani Imp. fragm. (ed. Spanhem. p. 305.): ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ παῖδια διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες—πέιθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς.—τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι (οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι) διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν—πιστοὺς ἐπήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα. The use of these Agapae was defended by the council of Gangra against the darker asceticism of the Eustathians. can. 11: Εἴ τις καταφρονοῖ τῶν ἐκ πίστεως ἀγάπας ποιοῦντων καὶ διὰ τιμὴν τοῦ κυρίου συγκαλοῦντων τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ μὴ ἐθέλοι κοινωνεῖν ταῖς κλήσεσι, διὰ τὸ ἐξεντελίξειν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

²⁰ Even teachers of the church compared them with those heathen festivities. See Theodoret note 19. Chrysostom (hom. xlvii. in s. Julianum) advises his hearers to partake of the meal to be appointed in honour of the martyr beside his church (τοῦ μαρτυρίου πλησίον ὑπο σκηνῆς ἢ ἄμπελου) instead of joining in the heathen feasts in Daphne, a suburb of Antioch. Hence some even supposed that they had been appointed by their ancestors as a substitute for those heathen banquets. See Gregorius Nyss. in vita Gregor. thaumat. Div. i. §. 70. not. 9. So also Augustine explains the origin of them to his church (ep. xxix. ad Alypium, c. 9.): post persecutiones—cum facta pace turbae gentilium in christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his—voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse majoribus nostris, ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festi post eos quos relinquebant alii in honorem ss. Martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur. On the drunkenness at these meals, Ambrosius de Elia et jejuniis c. 17: calices ad sepulcra Martyrum deferunt, atque illic ad vesperam bibunt, et aliter se exaudiri posse non credunt. Augustin ep. 22. ad Aurelium c. 3: Comessiones et ebrietates ita concessae et licita putantur, ut in honorem etiam beatissimorum Martyrum non solum per dies solennes, sed etiam quotidie celebrentur. Gregorius Naz. carn. ccxvii. thus addresses those who took part in such feasts:

Νῦν δὲ τί τάρβος ἔχει με, ἀκούσατε ὃ φιλόκομοι,
Πρὸς τοὺς δαιμονικοὺς αἰτομολεῖτε τύπους.

began to be discountenanced and opposed, and even banished from the Church where it could be done without offence, while the clergy were forbidden to take part in them.²¹ Thus these festivals

On the festivals of the martyrs, sellers in the sanctuary regarded as venal that which was necessary for the feasts, Basilii M. regula major, qu. xl: 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις γινόμενας ἀγορασίας οἰκείας ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν (he then mentions how Christ drove the sellers out of the temple.) Paulinus Nol. nat. s. Felicis ix.: Divendant vina tabernis. Sancta precum domus est Ecclesia. Thus the Manichæan Faustus, not without reason, reproached the Catholics (Augustin. contra Faust. xx. 4.): sacrificia eorum (gentilium) vertistis in agapas, idola in Martyres, quos votis similibus colitis: defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus.

²¹ In the East, the Laodicean council enacted (probably 363) can. 28.: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ ἀκούβιτα στρωννύειν. Accordingly they were, even in Antioch, celebrated beside the places dedicated to the martyrs. See Chrysostom note 20. About 392 they were no longer observed in the greatest part of the West out of Africa. See Augustini ep. xxii. ad Aurelium. c. 4.: per Italiae maximam partem, et in aliis omnibus aut prope omnibus transmarinis Ecclesiis partim nunquam facta sunt, partim vel orta vel inveterata—Episcoporum diligentia et animadversione exstincta atque deleta sunt. In Milan, Ambrose had forbidden them (Augustin. confess. vi. 2., ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis, et quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima.) In Rome, Alethius, at the funeral of his wife, entertained all the poor in the basilica s. Petri (Paulinus Nol. ep. 33.); Pammachius on the contrary gave rich alms on a similar occasion (Hieron. ep. 26. ad Pammach. c. 2.) In Nola they kept vigils on the festival of the birth of St Felix, while all the night through they ate and drank in the church of the saint. Paulinus, since he could not abrogate this practice, endeavoured by means of pictures which he brought into the church to give a more serious direction to the joy (Paulini nat. Felicis ix. Compare above §. 99. not. 47.) In Africa, where those festivals were universal (August. de moribus eccl. cath. i. 34): Novi—multos esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. Augustine used his influence against them. He first of all motioned for their abolition from Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, in the epist. xxii. ad Aurelium cf. c. 6.: mihi videtur facilius illic dissuaderi posse istam foeditatem,—si—oblationis pro spiritibus dormientium, quas vere aliquid adjuvare credendum est, super ipsas memorias non sint suntuosae, atque omnibus petentibus sine typho et cum alacritate praebeantur: neque vendantur (that is, when that which was intended to serve as oblations is not offered for sale there), sed si quis pro religioni aliquid pecuniae offerre voluerit, in praesenti pauperibus eroget. Afterwards he effected their abrogation in Hippo; in what way is related by him ep. xxix. ad Alypium in the year 395. Finally it was enacted by the Conc. Carthag. iii. ann. 397. c. 30: Ut nulli Episcopi vel Clerici in Ecclesia

ceased in most countries, though in some they still continued beyond the present period.²²

SIXTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF MORALS.

§ 102.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS.¹

Stäudlin's *Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu* Bd. 3.—de Wette *Gesch. d. christl. Sittenlehre. Erste Hälfte* S. 334 ss.

THE disposition already manifested in the preceding period to lay too much stress on certain forms of external discipline, had now been much increased by the influence of monachism. Fasting and almsgiving,² as well as prayer, were regarded as expia-

conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur: populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis quantum fieri potest prohibeantur.

²² In Syria they are mentioned at a time so late as that of Theodoret, without blame, see note 19, and Theodoret's *hist. eccles. iii.*, 11, where he relates how the martyrs Juveninus and Maximinus in Antioch were honoured: *μέχρι δέ τήμερον ἐτησίῳ δημοθουσίᾳ γεραίρονται.*—The council Quinisextum, A. D. 692, repeats can. 74 of the can. Laodic. 28 (see note 21).—L. A. Muratori *de agapis sublatis*, in his *anecdota graeca*. Patav. 1709. 4. p. 241. Bingham *vol. vi.* p. 516. *ix.* 147. *x.* 69. Drescher *de agapis comm.* Giessae 1824. p. 39.

¹ There was an ancient controversy concerning the morals of the fathers occasioned by the unfavourable view taken of them by J. Barbeyrac in the preface to the translation of Puffendorf: *le droit de la nature et des gens*. Amst. 1712. 4. On the other side, Remig. Ceiller *apologie de la morale des pères de l'église contre J. Barb.* Paris 1718. 4. J. F. Buddeus *isag. ad univers. theolog.* p. 620. Replied to by Barbeyrac *traité de la morale des pères de l'église*. Amst. 1728. 4.

² Münscher's *Dogmengesch.* iv. 314. de Wette *i.* 354. Ambrosius *de Elia et jejuniis* c. 20: *Pecuniam habes, redime peccatum tuum. Non venalis est Dominus, sed tu ipse venalis es: redime te operibus tuis, redime te pecunia tua. Vilis pecunia, sed pretiosa est misericordia* (according to Dan 4. 24: *peccata tua eleemosynis redime et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum.*) Salvianus (about 450) *adv. avaritiam libb.*

tory of sins. The theatre, dancing, and other amusements,³ were branded as absolutely sinful; oaths,⁴ the taking of interest for money lent,⁵ every kind of self-defence,⁶ capital punishments,⁷ and second marriages,⁸ were rejected. In the fourth century, indeed, those who had been legally divorced were still universally allowed to marry again,⁹ though this was discouraged as well as second marriages generally; but in the fifth century, the Latin church began to forbid the divorced person to marry as long as the other party lived.¹⁰ So prevalent was now the spirit of mona-

iv. expressly makes generosity to churches and convents the surest *remedio peccatorum*.

³ De Wette i. 349. Stäudlin's *Gesch. d. Vorstellungen v. d. Sittlichkeit des Schauspiels*. Gött. 1823.

⁴ Jerome, Basil, especially Chrysostom. See Stäudlin's *Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu* iii. 111. 220. 244., same author's *Gesch. der Vorstellungen und Lehren vom Eide*. Gott. 1824. Hence the *Lex Marciani* A. D. 456 (*Cod. Justin. i. 3, 25*): *ecclesiasticis regulis, et canone a beatissimis Episcopis antiquitus instituto, clerici jurare prohibentur*.

⁵ Basilius M. in Ps. 14. et contra foeneratores. Gregor. Nyss. ep. can. ad Letojum can. 6. Ambrosius de Tobia, c. 2. ss.

⁶ Ambrosius, Augustinus, Basilius, see Stäudlin's *Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu* iii. 65. 149, 219.

⁷ Ambrosius ep. 25 and 26. (al. 51 and 52.) Augustin. ep. 153. ad Macedonium.

⁸ Forbidden by Ambrose and Jerome, disadvised by Chrysostom, a state of widowhood preferred by Augustine, cf. Cotelierus ad *Hermae Pastor. lib. ii. Mand. 4. c. 4.* and in *Constit. apost. iii. 2.* Stäudlin iii. 60. 92. 141. 146. Hence penances were imposed on those who married twice. *Conc. Neocaesar. can. 1. 3.* *Laodic. can. 1.* *Basilii epist. 188.* (ep. can. 1.) *can. 4.* *Comp. ep. can. ii. c. 50.* respecting those who married three times, and *ep. can. iii. c. 80.* respecting those who married more than three times.

⁹ Ambrosiaster in 1. Cor. 7. 15.: *Si infidelis discesserit, liberum habebit arbitrium, si voluerit, nubere legis suae viro, Contumelia enim creatoris solvi jus matrimonii circa eum, qui relinquitur etc.* Eriphan. haer. 59. §. 4.: *ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνηθεὶς τῇ μιᾷ ἀρκεσθῆναι τελευτησάσῃ, [ἢ] ἕνεκέν τινος προφάσεως, πορνείας ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κακῆς αἰτίας χωρισμοῦ γενομένου, συναφθέντα δευτέρα γυναικὶ ἢ γυνὴ δευτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ αἰτιάται ὁ θεὸς λόγος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀποκηρύττει, ἀλλὰ διαβυστάζει διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς, οὐχ ἵνα δύο γυναικας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆ ἔτι περιούσης τῆς μιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποσχεθεὶς, δευτέρα, εἰ τύχοιεν, νόμῳ συναφθῆναι.* cf. Asterius below §. 105. not. 18. Bingham vol. ix. p. 301 ss. 349 ss.

¹⁰ The transition to this view may be traced in Augustinus de *fide et opere* c. 19: *In ipsis divinis sententiis ita obscurum est, utrum et iste, cui quidem sine dubio adulteram licet dimittere, adulter tamen habeatur, si alteram duxerit, ut, quantum existimo, venialiter ipi quisque fallatur.* Still the *Conc. Milevitanum* ii. ann. 416, at which also August-

chism, that the married state began to be considered as something impure,¹¹ and only a tolerated evil.¹² Even certain kinds of food were forbidden.¹³

By means of such excrescences, whose foundations could not be shown in the moral consciousness of mankind, Christian morals now assumed the aspect of a series of arbitrary, divine, despotic, commands.¹⁴ And since those rigorous principles were not at all observed by most people, they promoted the spirit of indifference towards the Divine precepts generally, and prepared the way for the unfortunate distinction between a higher virtue, which was solely for the monks, and a lower, which was sufficient for common Christians.¹⁵

It seems at first sight contradictory to this external strictness,

tine was present resolved, quite unanimously, can. 17 : Placuit, ut secundum evangelicam et apostolicam disciplinam, neque dimissus ab uxore neque dimissa a marito, alteri conjugantur : sed ita maneant, aut sibi met reconcilientur. Quod si contempserint, ad poenitentiam redigantur. In qua causa legem imperialem petendam promulgari. Such too was the opinion of Innocentius I. epist. 6. ad Exsuperium c. 6 : De his etiam requisivit dilectio tua, qui interveniente repudio alii se matrimonio copularunt. Quos in utraque parte adulteros esse manifestum est etc.

¹¹ As Origen. See Div. 1. §. 73. not. 12. Hence Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 13. enacts that the newly-married pair, cum benedictionem acceperint, eadem nocte pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant.

¹² Hieronymus adv. Jovinian. i. 4. with reference to 1. Cor. 7, 1 : Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere : nihil enim bono contrarium est nisi malum. Si autem malum est, et ignoscitur ; ideo conceditur, ne malo quid deterius fiat.—Oro te, quale illud bonum est, quod orare prohibet ? quod corpus Christi accipi non permittit ? Quandiu impleo mariti officium, non impleo Christiani. Yet he was obliged in the epist. 30. (al. 50.) ad Pammachium, pro libris adv. Jovinianum apologia to make some concession. Among other things he writes : Cum toties et tam crebro lectorem admonuerim,—me ita recipere nuptias, continentes viduas virginesque praeferrem : debuerat prudens et benignus lector etiam, ea, quae videntur dura, aestimare de caeteris etc. Augustine is more moderate in the work called forth by this very controversy between Jovinian and Jerome, de bono conjugali. Among other things, he writes c. 8 : duo bona sunt connubium et continentia, quorum alterum est melius. cap. 10 : Certe dubitare fas non est, nuptias non esse peccatum. Non itaque nuptias secundum veniam concedit Apostolus (1. Cor. 7, 6.)

¹³ Against the use of flesh and wine Hieronymus adv. Jovinian. lib. ii.

¹⁴ Comp. de Wette i. 340.

¹⁵ Münscher's Dogmengesch. iv. 311. de Wette i. 346.

yet it is in fact intimately connected with it, that most of the church fathers of this period maintained, in addition to that apparent moral severity,¹⁶ lax principles concerning veracity which threatened the very foundations of genuine virtue.¹⁷

§ 103.

MORALS OF THE CLERGY.

As ecclesiastical offices were no longer attended with dangers and persecutions, but with honour and power, there was a general pressing towards them :¹ all the arts of unworthy flattery and

¹⁶ See Div. 1. §. 63. not. 7.

¹⁷ Ex. gr. Hieronymus epist. 30. (al. 50.) ad Pammachium : Aliud esse *γυμναστικῶς* scribere, aliud *δογματικῶς*. In priori vagam esse disputationem, et adversario respondentem nunc haec nunc illa proponere, argumentari ut libet, aliud loqui, aliud agere, panem, ut dicitur, ostendere, lapidem tenere. In sequenti autem aperta frons, et, ut ita dicam, ingenuitas necessaria est etc. In particular they stretched the limits of allowed accommodation quite too far (*οἰκονομία*), and believed that they could attribute it in the same extent even to Jesus and the apostles. Comp. Suicer s. v. *συγκατάβασις*. ii. 1067. Münscher's Dogmengesch. iv. 154 s. Jahn's Nachträge zu s. theolog. Werken. Tübingen 1821. S. 15 ss. 28 ss. In this way Jerome comm. ad Gal. ii. 11 ss. thought that he could explain the transaction between Peter and Paul by a mere accommodation, but was opposed by Augustine who held stricter principles. (Comp. his writings de mendacio and contra mendacium.) Comp. the correspondence between them on this subject in epist. Hieron. ep. 65. 67—73. 76. see Jahn l. c. P. 31 ff.—Even Chrysostom lays down very questionable principles respecting the allowableness of deception and lying, in certain cases. In this he is followed by his disciple John Cassian coll. xvii. 8. ss. ex. gr. cap. 17 : Itaque taliter de mendacio sentiendum, atque ita eo utendum est, quasi natura ei insit hellebori. Quodsi imminente exitiali morbo sumtum fuerit, fit salubre : caeterum absque summi discriminis necessitate perceptum praesentis exitii est.—Non enim Deus verborum tantum actuumque nostrorum discussor et iudex, sed etiam propositi ac destinationis inspector est. Qui si aliquid causa salutis aeternae ac divinae contemplationis intuitu ab unoquoque vel factum viderit vel promissum, tametsi hominibus durum atque iniquum esse videatur ; ille tamen intimam cordis inspiciens pietatem, non verborum sonum, sed votum dijudicat voluntatis, quia finis operis et affectus considerandus est perpetrantis : quo potuerunt quidam, ut supra dictum est, etiam per mendacium justificari (for example Rahab Jos. 2), et alii per veritatis assertionem peccatum perpetuae mortis incurrere (Delilah Jud. 16.)

¹ Comp. above, § 91, not. 15. cf. Gregorius Naz. below, not. 4.

low intrigue were put in requisition to obtain them, and to rise from a lower to a higher station.² In this way not merely the unprepared but even many absolutely immoral pushed themselves into the clerical office ;³ an objectionable, worldly spirit pervaded the whole order, which frequently perverted what was holy to its own purposes ;⁴ and since that monkish morality required of the

² Gregor. Naz. orat. xliii. (al. xx.) in laudem Basilii c. 26. (ed. Colon. p. 335) : *νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύει τὸ πάντων ἀγιότατον τάγμα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν παντων εἶναι καταγελαστότατον· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ κακουργίας ἢ προεδρίας οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιοτέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι.* Ullmann's Gregor v. Naz. S. 511 ss. Conc. Sardic. c. 1. and 2. against the striving of the bishops for better and richer bishoprics. Basiliius ep. 76. ad Eipscopos suos against simony in the choice of bishops. Can. Chalced. 2. and Can. Apost. 30. against simony generally.

³ Hieron. in ep. ad Titum i. 8. (opp. iv. p. 417) : vere nunc est cernere—in plerisque urbibus, Episcopus, sive Presbyteros, si laicos viderint hospitales, amatores bonorum, invidere, fremere, excommunicare, de Ecclesia expellere, quasi non liceat facere quod Episcopus non faciat ; et tales esse laicos damnatio Sacerdotum sit. The Can. apost. 26, 64, 71, are directed against roughnesses and common offences in the clergy, which, however, must have taken place at this time. See Drey apost. Constitut. S. 339, 344.

⁴ Comp. Hieronymus ep. 34. (al. 2.) ad Nepotianum concerning the law of Valentinian against underhand dealing with inheritances, given above, § 91. not. 14. He then continues : Ignominia omnium Sacerdotum est, propriis studere divitiis. Natus in paupere domo, et in tugurio rusticano, qui vix milio et cibario pane rugientem saturare ventrem poteram, nunc simulam et mella fastidio. Novi et genera et nomina piscium, in quo litore concha lecta sit calleo : saporibus avium discerno provincias ; et ciborum preciosorum me raritas, ac novissime damna ipsa delectant. Audio praeterea in senes et anus absque liberis quorundam turpe servitium. Ipsi apponunt matulam, obsident lectum, purulentiam stomachi et phlegmata pulmonis manu propria suscipiunt. Pavent ad introitum medici, trementibusque labiis, an commodius habeant, sciscitantur : et si paululum senex vegetior fuerit, periclitantur : simulataque laetitia, mens intrinsecus avara torquetur. He describes the life of rich widows ep. 18. (al. 22.) ad Eustochium : Plena adulatoribus domus, plena conviviiis. Clerici ipsi, quos in magisterio esse oportuerat doctrinae pariter et timoris, osculantur capita matronarum, et extenta manu, ut benedicere eos putes velle, si nescias, pretia accipiunt salutandi. In an oration of that time which is found among the sermons of Ambrose (sermo in dominicam xxii. post Pentecosten, and of Augustine (tom. v. app. sermo 82.) it is said on Luc iii. 14 : Si (clericus) non contentus stipendiis fuerit, quae de altario, Domino jubente, consequitur ; sed exercet mercinonia, intercessionones vendit, viduarum munera libenter amplectitur : hic negotiator magis potest videri, quam clericus. Gregorii Naz. carmen de se ipso et adv. Episcopus v. 331

clergy many external things to keep up the appearance of spiss. (in J. Tollii insignia itineris Italici, Traj. ad Rhen. 1696. 4. p. 34 ss.):

331. Ἄγνοια γὰρ κακὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἦσσαν κακόν.
 Τί δ' ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ κακῶν μεμνημένος ;
 Εἰσὶν γὰρ, εἰσὶν ἀθλιώτεροί τινες,
 Δύστην', ἀπευκτὰ τοῦ βίου κυβεῦματα,
 Τὴν πίστιν ἀμφιδέξιοι, καιρῶν νόμους,
 Οὐ τοὺς θεοῦ σέβοντες, εὗριποι λόγων
 Παλιρροῦντες, ἢ κλάδων μετακλίσεις,
 Θῶπες γυναικῶν, τερπνὰ δηλητήρια,
 Μικροῖς λέοντες, τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ' αὖ κύνες,
 Πάσης τραπέζης εὐφνεῖς ἰχνεύμονες,
341. Θύρας κρατούντων ἐκτρίβοντες, οὐ σοφῶν.—
361. Αἰσχρὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἔχει, φράσω δ' ὄμως.
 Ταχθέντες εἶναι τοῦ καλοῦ διδάσκαλοι,
 Κακῶν ἀπάντων ἐσμέν ἐργαστήριον
 Σιγῇ βοῶντες, κἂν δοκῶμεν μὴ λέγειν
 Πρόεδρος ἢ κακία, πονεῖτω μηδὲ εἰς
 Κακὸν γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο συντομώτατον,
367. Καὶ λῶον.— — — — —
375. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντας ῥαδίως καθίζομεν,
 Ἐὰν μόνον θέλωσι, λαοῦ προστάτας,
 Οὐδὲν σκοποῦντες τῶν νέων, ἢ τῶν παλαιοῦν,
378. Οὐ πράξιεν, οὐ λόγον τιν', οὐ συνουσίαν.—
382. Εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσμεν, ὡς τὸν ἐξειλεγμένον
 Χείρω τίθησιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξουσία.
384. Τίς ἂν προβάλοιτ' εὐφρονῶν, ὃν ἀγνοεῖ ;—
393. Ὁ δὲ πρόεδρος ῥαδίως εὐρίσκειται,
 Μηδὲν πονηθεῖς, πρόσφατος τὴν ἀξίαν.
395. Ὡ τῆς ταχείας τῶν τρόπων μεταστροφῆς !—
402. Χθὲς ἦσθα μίμων καὶ θεάτρων ἐν μέσῳ,
 (Τὰ δ' ἐκ θεάτρων ἄλλος ἐξεταζέτω)
 Νῦν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν εἰ ξένη θεωρία.
 Πρώην Φίλιππος, καὶ θεῶ πέμπων κόνιν,
406. Ὡς ἄλλος εὐχὰς, ἢ νοήματ' εὐσεβῆ.—
411. Νῦν εὐσταλής τις, καὶ βλέπων αἰδῶ μόνην,
412. Πλὴν εἰ λαθῶν που πρὸς ἀρχαῖον δράμοις.—
415. Χθὲς ῥητορεύων τὰς δίκας ἀπημπόλει,
416. Στρέφω ἀνω τε καὶ κάτω τὰ τῶν νόμων.—
419. Νῦν μοι δικαστῆς, καὶ Δανιὴλ τις ἀθρόως.
 Χθὲς μοι δικάζων σὺν ξίφει γυμνουμένῳ
 Τὸ βῆμ' ἐποίηεις ἔννομον ληστήριον,
 Κλέπτων, τυραννῶν, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τοὺς νόμους.
 Ὡς ἡμερὸς μοι σήμερον ! οὐδ' ἐσθῆτά τις
 Οὕτως ἀμείβει ῥαδίως, ὡς σὺ τρόπον
 Χθὲς ἐν χορευταῖς ἐστρέφον θηλυδρίαῖς,
 Γάμων δὲ κήρυξ ἦσθα Λυδαῖς ἐν μέσαις,
 Ὡιδὰς λυγίζων, καὶ ποτοῖς γαυρούμενος.

rituality, low hypocrisy pervaded the clerical order.⁵ This corruption of the clergy was not a little increased by the interference of the emperors with ecclesiastical disputes. While on the one

Νῦν σωφρομιστῆς παρθένων καὶ συζύγων.

**Ὡς σου τὸ καλὸν ὑποπτον ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν τρόπου!*

Σίμων μάγος χθές, σήμερον Πέτρος Σίμων!

431. *Φεῦ τοῦ τάχους! φεῦ, ἀντ' ἀλώπεκος λέων!*

The remark is worthy of attention v. 382 s. comp. v. 634 ss.

Οὔτοι μὲν οὕτως· καὶ τάχ' ἂν καὶ βελτίους

Αὐτῶν γενόμενοι κωλύονται τοῖς θρόνοις.

Τὸ γὰρ κρατεῖν τὸν ἄφρανα ποιεῖ χεῖρονα.

Gregorii Naz. orat. ii. (al. 1.) Apologeticus de fuga sua (ed. Col. p. 4 s.): ὅσοι μηδὲν τῶν πολλῶν ὄντες βελτίους, μέγα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ μὴ πολλῶ χεῖρους, ἀνίπτοις χερσίν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, καὶ ἀμνήτοις ψυχαῖς, τοῖς ἀγνωτάτοις ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεισάγουσι, καὶ πρὶν ἄξιοι γενέσθαι προσιέναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μεταποι- οῦνται τοῦ βήματος, θλίβονται τε καὶ ὠθοῦνται περὶ τὴν ἀγίαν τράπεζαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῆς τύπον, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν βίου τὴν τάξιν ταύτην εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ὑπεύθυνον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἀνεξέταστον. Isidor. Pelus. lib. v. ep. 21 : Μεταπεπτωκέναι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ ἱερωσύνης εἰς τυραννίδα, ἀπὸ ταπεινοφροσύνης εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν, ἀπὸ νηστείας εἰς τρυφήν, ἀπὸ οἰκονομίας εἰς δεσποτείαν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς οἰκονόμοι ἀξιούσι διοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δεσπότηαι σφετε- ρίζεσθαι.

⁵ Especially as monachism led them to place so great value on external forms. Gregor. Naz. carmen de seipso et adv. Episc. v. 647 ss. thus describes the spiritual hypocrite:—

647. **Ἐπειτα χαλκὸς χρυσὸν ἠμφισμένος,*

**Ἡ καὶ χαμαιλέοντος ἔκστασις χροῶς,*

Πώγων, κατηφές ἦθος, ἀνέχενος κλάσις,

Φωνὴ βραχεῖα, πιστὸς ἐσκενασμένος,

651. *Νωθρὸν βάδισμα, πάντα, πλην φρενὸς, σοφός.*

696. *Αἰσχρῶν μὲν οὖν αἰσχιστον ἢ τρόπου πλάσις.*

Thus it became the custom, especially in consequence of the example of the monks (see Bingham vol. ii. p. 189 ss.), seemingly to decline receiving ecclesiastical honours when presented. cf. lex Leonis A.D. 469 (Cod. Justin. i. 3, 31.): Nemo gradum sacerdotii pretii venalitate mercetur:—Cesset altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiae, et a sacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium.—Nec pretio, sed precibus ordinetur antistes. Tantum ab ambitu debet esse sepositus, ut quaeratur cogendus, rogatus recedat, invitatus effugiat: sola illi suffragetur necessitas excusandi. Profecto enim indignus est sacerdotio, nisi fuerit ordinatus invitatus. This priestly decorum led of course, very frequently, merely to a mock reluctance and hesitation. cf. Gregorius Naz. orat. xvii. de se ipso p. 466: οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ζητηθῶμεν ἀποκρυπτόμεθα· οὐδ' ἵνα πλείονος ἄξιοι δόξωμεν τιμῆς.

side, the clergy were always carrying their spiritual pride higher ;⁶ on the other, they frequently changed their opinions at the beck of the court. Synods were the theatre on which this new pharisaism of Christian spirituality, added to a rough passionateness, was chiefly exhibited.⁷

In the meantime, however, zeal for morality among the clergy was not rare. This zeal for morality fearlessly found fault with sin where it existed, opposed with spirit tyrannical barbarity,⁸ took under its powerful protection all that needed help,⁹ and left behind even permanent monuments of benevolence and concern for the public good.¹⁰

⁶ See above, § 91. not. 24.

⁷ Comp. the ironical discourse of Gregory of Nazianzum at the second oecumenical council (carmen de vita sua, opp. ii. 27) :

— — — ὃς θέλει δεῦρ' εἰσίτω,
 Κἂν δίστροφός τις ἢ πολύστροφος τύχη·
 Πανήγυρις ἔστηκεν, ἀπίτω μηδεῖς
 Ἄπραγμάτεντος. ἂν μεταστραφῆ κύβος
 (Καιροῦ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν εὐστροφώτερον),
 Ἐχεις τὸ τεχνύδριον, ἔκδραμε πάλιν·
 Οὐκ εὐμαθὲς πίστει τὸ προσκεῖσθαι μιᾷ,
 Βίων δὲ πολλὰς εἰδέναι διεξόδους.

Comp. carmen de se ipso et adv. Episc. v. 152. (ap. Tollius p. 18.) on the same council :

— — — καὶ γὰρ ἦν αἴσχος μέγα,
 Τούτων τιν' εἶναι τῶν καπήλων πίστεως.

In like manner he calls forth the bishops (carmen de vita sua p. 28) Χριστέμποροι. When he was invited to the synod at Constantinople, A. D. 382, he replied, epist. 55. ad Procopium : Ἐχω μὲν οὕτως, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές γράφειν, ὥστε πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκόπων, ὅτι μηδεμιᾶς συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστὸν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκίας, ἢ προσθήκην. Αἱ γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρφίαι (ἀλλ' ὅπως μήτε φορτικὸν ὑπολάβης οὕτω γράφοντα) καὶ λόγου κρείττονες· καὶ θάπτον ἂν τις ἐγκληθεῖη κακίαν ἑτέραν δικάζων, ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων λύσειε. Διὰ τοῦτο εἰς ἑμαυτὸν συνεστάλην κ. τ. λ.—Carmen x. v. 92 ss. (opp. ii. 81) :

Οὐδέ τί που συνόδοισι ὁμόθρονος ἔσομ' ἔγωγε
 Χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἄκριτα μαρναμένων·
 Ἐνθ' ἔρις, ἔνθα μόθος τε, καὶ αἴσχεια κρυπτά πάροιθεν
 Εἰς ἓνα δυσμενέων χῶρον ἀγειρόμενα.

Comp. Ullmann's Gregor v. Naz. S. 269 s.

⁸ See § 91, not. 8.

⁹ See § 91, not. 9.

¹⁰ ξενῶνες οἱ ξενοδοχεῖα, πτωχοτροφεῖα, γηροκομεῖα, νοσοκομεῖα, ὄρφανοτροφεῖα. The institution which Basil founded in Caesarea for strangers

§. 104.

MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON THE PEOPLE.

The clergy thus sinking into degeneracy were now called to solve the most difficult problem that could ever, perhaps, be presented to an order of Christian teachers. A highly cultivated people, but one sunk in unbelief and superstition of every kind, now crowded into the church,¹ impelled, for the most part, by interested motives; a people either for the most part fully devoted to paganism in their heart² or apprehending Christianity from a heathen point of view,³ and transferring into it even heathen customs or Jewish practices.⁴ In addition to this, the new con-

and the sick was very large. After him it was called *Βασιλείας* (Basil. ep. 94. Gregor. Naz. orat. 30 u. 27). Basil also caused to be established, smaller ones of the same kind in the country (Basil. ep. 142, 143). Theodoret got colonnades and bridges built, and a canal made. (Theod. ep. 81.) See Neander ii. i. 292.

¹ See above, § 75, not. 7 and 35.

² Chrysost. in ep. ad Ephes. c. 3. hom. vii. (opp. xi. 44): οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶς βιοῦντες—τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρίων κατελήφασιν, καὶ ἐκ μέσου γεγόνασιν (the monks).—φθόροι δὲ καὶ μυρίων γέμοντες κακῶν εἰσεπήδησαν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—Εἴ τις κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πάσχα πάντας τοὺς προσιόντας—ἐξήτασε σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ,—πολλὰ ἂν εὐρέθη βαρύτερα τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν κακῶν. καὶ γὰρ οἰωνιζομένους, καὶ φαρμακείας καὶ κληδονισμοῖς καὶ ἐπφοδαῖς κεκρημένους, καὶ πεπορευκότας, καὶ μοιχεύσαντας, καὶ μεθύσους, καὶ λοιδοροὺς εὗρεν ἂν.

³ P. E. Müller comm. hist. de genio, moribus et luxu aevi Theodosiani (P. ii. Lips. 1797. 98. 8.) P. i. p. 33 ss. Neander's Chrysostomus Bd. I. S. 236 ss. Abuse of holy things as charms. cf. Hieronymus in Matth. c. 23 (ed. Martian. iv. p. 109: Haec in corde portanda sunt, non in corpore. Hoc apud nos superstitionis mulierculae in parvulis Evangelii et in crucis ligno et istiusmodi rebus usque hodie factitant. Chrysostom. ad pop. Antioch. hom. xix. (T. ii. p. 197): αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδιά ἀντὶ φυλακῆς μεγάλης εὐαγγέλια ἐξαρτῶσι τοῦ τραχήλου, καὶ πανταχοῦ περιφέρουσιν, ὅπου περ ἂν ἀπίωσιν. See above § 99. not. 38. 41. 50. § 101. not. 17. Many of the clergy made use of and fostered this superstition. cf. Conc. Laodic. c. 36: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς, ἢ κληρικούς, μάγους ἢ ἐπαοιδούς εἶναι, ἢ μαθηματικούς, ἢ ἀστρολόγους, ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια. Heineccius Abbildung der alten u neuen griech. Kirche. Leipzig 1711. 5. Th. 3. S. 461. Du Resnel treatise on the pagan sortes Homericæ, sortes Virgilianæ etc. and the Christian sortes Sanctorum in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions t. xix. p. 287 ss.

⁴ See especially Chrysostomi adv. Judæos orat. viii. Bingham vol. vii. p. 274 ss. Neander's Chrysostomus Bd. I. S. 256 ss.

verts were demoralized by all the vices which follow in the train of over-refinement, and confirmed in them by the example of the court which had been growing more corrupt ever since its removal to the East, and by the example of the nobility.⁵ Christian knowledge and Christian faith, in place of unbelief and superstition, and piety for vice, had to be infused into this spiritually dead mass. To be successful, the gospel needed to be proclaimed in its spiritual aspect with apostolic zeal; but the greater portion of the clergy depended for the most part on external means; and thereby gave Christianity the character of a compulsory institute, promoting the superstitious and external view of it.

The Christians soon forgot the principles of religious endurance which they had so prominently exhibited and insisted on in their former persecutions;⁶ and fanatical voices were raised among them calling for a violent suppression of paganism.⁷ It was not

⁵ Comp. the description of the court at Julian's accession. Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 4: *Namque fatendum est pleramque eorum (Palatinorum) partem vitiorum omnium seminarium effusius aluisse, ita ut rempublicam inficerent cupiditatibus pravis, plusque exemplis quam peccandi licentia laederent multos. Pasti enim ex his quidam templorum spoliis, et lucra ex omni odorantes occasione, ab egestate infima ad salutum sublatis divitiarum ingentium, nec largiendi, nec rapiendi, nec absumendi tenuere aliquem modum, aliena invadere semper adsuefacti. Unde fluxioris vite initia pullularunt, et perjuria, et nullus existimationis respectus, demensque superbia fidem suam probrosis quaestibus polluebat. Inter quae ingluvies et gurgites crevere praecepti conviviorum etc.* An orator of the day (Augustini tom. v. app. sermo 82, also in Ambrosii opp. as sermo in dom. xxii, post Pentecosten) complains: *Usque adeo autem hoc inolevit malum, ut jam quasi ex consuetudine vendantur leges, corrumpantur jura, sententia ipsa venalis sit, et nullam jam causa possit esse sine causa.* Salvianus de gubern. Dei is particularly full of complaints of the corruption of his time, ex. gr. iv. 5, 7; vi. 11; vii. 12, 15.

⁶ For example, Justin. apol. i. 2, 4, 12. So still under Constantine, Lactantius institut. v. 19: *religio cogi non potest: verbis potius quam verberibus res agenda est, ut sit voluntas.*—*Nihil est tam voluntarium, quam religio.* c. 20: *nos non expetimus, ut Deum nostrum, qui est omnium, velint, nolint, colat aliquis invitus: nec, si non coluerit, irascimur.* Epitome c. 54: *Religio sola est, in qua libertas domicilium collocavit. Res est enim praeter caeteras voluntaria, nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsitan simulare, non potest velle.*

⁷ So even Julius Firmicus Maternus under Constantine. See § 75, not. 21. Hilarii Pictav. contra Auxentium Mediol. liber init. *Ac primum misereri licet nostrae aetatis laborem et praesentium temporum*

without the co-operation of the Christian clergy that the prohibitions of *heathenism* were always assuming a stricter tone, and that the laws against *Judaism* were more and more circumscribing.⁸ The treatment of heretics, too, became more severe.⁹ At first, the Catholic Christians were contented to render them innocuous by interdicting their meetings or by banishment.¹⁰ The execution of *Priscillian* (§. 86) was still universally regarded with abhorrence.¹¹

congemiscere: quibus patrocinari Deo humana creduntur, et ad tuendam Christi Ecclesiam ambitione saeculari laboratur. Oro vos, Episcopi, qui hoc vos esse creditis, quibusnam suffragiis ad praedicandum Evangelium Apostoli usi sunt? Quibus adjuti potestatibus Christum praedicaverunt, gentesque fere omnes ex idolis ad Deum transtulerunt? Anne aliquam sibi assumebant e palatio dignitatem, hymnum Deo in carcere, inter catenas, et post flagella cantantes? Edictisque Regis Paulus cum in theatro spectaculum ipse esset, Christo ecclesiam congregabat?—Aut non manifesta se tum Dei virtus contra odia humana porrexit: cum tanto magis Christus praedicaretur, quanto magis praedicari inhiaberetur? At nunc, proh dolor! divinam fidem suffragia terrena commendant: inopsque virtutis suae Christus, dum ambitio nomini suo conciliatur, arguitur. Terret exiliis et carceribus Ecclesia, credique sibi cogit, quae exiliis et carceribus est credita: pendet a dignatione communicantium, quae persequentium est consecrata terrore: fugat sacerdotes, quae fugatis est sacerdotibus propagata: diligi sese gloriatur a mundo, quae Christi esse non potuit, nisi eam mundus odisset. Haec de comparatione traditae nobis olim Ecclesiae, nunc quam deperditae, res ipsa, quae in oculis omnium est atque ore, clamavit.

⁸ C. W. de Rhoer dissertt. de effectu relig. christianae in jurisprudentiam Romanam p. 157 ss. Meysenbug de christ. relig. vi et effectu in jus civile. (Gottingae 1828. 4.) p. 42.

⁹ Bingham vol. vii. p. 285 ss. de Rhoer p. 170 ss. Meysenbug p. 38. Riffel geschichtl. Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen Kirche und Staat i. 669.

¹⁰ It is true that Julianus (ap. Cyrill. c. Jul. lib. vi. ed. Spanh. p. 206) accuses the Christians, even in his time: ἀπεσφάξατε οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον τοὺς τοῖς πατρῶοις ἐμμένοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξίσης ὑμῖν πεπλανημένων αἰρετικῶν τοὺς μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν τὸν νεκρὸν θρηγοῦντας. Epist. 52. that under Constantius τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ φυγαδευθῆναι, καὶ διωχθῆναι, καὶ δεσμευθῆναι. πολλὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ σφαγῆναι πλήθη τῶν λεγομένων αἰρετικῶν ὡς ἐν Σαμοσάτοις, καὶ Κυζίκῳ, καὶ Παφλαγονίᾳ, καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ, καὶ Γαλατίᾳ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἄρδην ἀνατραπῆναι πορθηθείσας κόμης. Perhaps, however, this should be understood of extra-judicial murders.

¹¹ Not only by Latinus Pacatus, in his Panegyricus Theodosio dictus c. 29, but also by bishops: Sulpic. Severus hist. sacr. ii. 50: Namque tum Martinus (bishop of Turonum) apud Treveros constitutus, non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret: Maximum orare, ut sanguine infeliciam abstineret: satis superque sufficere, ut Episcopali sententia haeretici judicati Ecclesiis pellerentur: novum

In the meantime, however, Augustine allowed himself to be persuaded that corporal punishments against heretics were allowable and fit;¹² and Leo the Great went so far as to approve the

esse et inauditum nescias, ut causam Ecclesiae iudex saeculi iudicaret. How he behaved when he came again to Treves, after the murder of Priscillian, may be seen in Sulpic. Sever. dial. iii. c. 11-13. Maximus wished that the persecution of the Priscillianists should be continued in Spain; but pia erat sollicitudo Martino, ut non solum Christianos, qui sub illa erant occasione vexandi, sed ipsos etiam haereticos liberaret, Besides cavit cum illa Ithacianae partis communione misceri. Ambrose, too, who was with Maximus as ambassador from Valentinian II., A. D. 387, endeavoured there (Ambros. ep. 24. ad Valentin.) abstinere ab episcopis,—qui aliquos devios licet a fide ad necem petebant. cf. ep. 26. Indeed, at that time every kind of capital punishment was pretty generally regarded as forbidden.

¹² Augustini ep. 93. ad Vincentium § 17: mea primitus sententia non erat, nisi neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum, verbo esse agendum, disputatione pugnandum, ratione vincendum, ne fictos catholicos haberemus, quos apertos haereticos noveramus. Sed haec opinio mea non contradicentium verbis, sed demonstrantium superabatur exemplis. Nam primo mihi opponebatur civitas mea, quae cum tota esset in parte Donati, ad unitatem catholicam timore legum imperialium conversa est, quam nunc videmus ita hujus animositatis perniciem detestari, ut in ea nunquam fuisse credatur etc. cf. retract. ii. 5. How the Donatists attack these new principles, and how Augustine defends them, may be seen in ejusd. contra litt. Petilianii lib. ii. Contra Gaudentium lib. i. Epist. 185. ad Bonifacium, among other things, § 21, it is written: Melius est quidem—ad Deum colendum doctrina homines duci, quam poenae timore vel dolore compelli. Sed non quia isti meliores sunt, ideo illi qui tales non sunt, negligendi sunt. Multis enim profuit (quod experimentis probavimus et probamus) prius timore vel dolore cogi, ut postea possent doceri. Then he refers § 24 the cogite intrare (Luc. xiv. 23.) to this point: ipse Dominus ad magnam coenam suam prius adduci jubet convivas, postea cogi.—In illis ergo, qui leniter primo adducti sunt, completa est prior obedientia, in istis autem, qui coguntur, inobedientia coercetur. Still epist. 100. ad Donatum, Procons. Africae: unum solum est, quod in tua justitia, pertimescimus, ne forte—pro inhumanitate facinorum, ac non potius pro lenitatis christianae consideratione censeas coercendum, quod te per Jesum Christum ne facias obsecramus.—Ex occasione terribilium iudicium ac legum ne in aeterni iudicii poenas incidant, corrigi eos cupimus, non necari; nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus, nec suppliciiis, quibus digni sunt, exerceri. So, too, epist. 139, ad Marcellinum: Poena sane illorum, quamvis de tantis sceleribus confessorum, rogo te, ut praeter supplicium mortis sit, et propter conscientiam nostram, et propter catholicam mansuetudinem commendandam. cf. Ph. a Limborch historia inquisitionis. (Amst. 1692. fol.) lib. i. c. 6. J. Barbeyrac traité de la morale des pères c. 16, § 19. Jerome, however, says, epist. 37. (al. 53.) ad Riparium adv.

putting of them to death.¹³ Besides, the bishops endeavoured, by means of ecclesiastical laws, not only to prevent all contact of the faithful with the opponents of the church,¹⁴ but ventured even to absolve individuals from the obligation of duties which they manifestly owed to heretics.¹⁵

At the same time, the church did not the less continue to deviate from the right path, in her regulations which were instituted for the purpose of gaining over the masses of external professors which had been obtained by external measures, to the side of Christianity internally. She endeavoured to give her *service* the external attractions of the heathen worship, and thus only strengthened the tendency to externalities; while she even invited men to substitute for a genuine interest in religion and the service of God, a feeling quite foreign to piety. On the one hand, many were confirmed in the heathenish, superstitious

Vigilantium: Non est crudelitas pro Deo pietas. Unde et in lege dicit: si frater tuus et amicus et uxor, quae est in sinu tuo, depravare te voluerit a veritate, sit manus tua super eos, et effunde sanguinem eorum, et auferes malum de medio Israel (Deut. xiii. 6 ss.) Chrysostom, indeed, recommends Christian love towards heretics and heathens (hom. 29. in Matth.), but would yet have them restrained, and their assemblies forbidden, and declares himself only against putting them to death (hom. 46. in Matth.) Thus, also, he caused their churches to be taken from the Novatians, Quartodecimani, and other heretics in Asia, and many considered his misfortunes a righteous retribution for this. Socrates vi. 19.—Stäudlin's Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu iii. 238. de Wette Gesch. d. christl. Sittenlehre i. 344.

¹³ The first law of a Christian emperor, authorising capital punishment against certain heretics, is that of Theodosius I. A. D. 382, against the Manichaeans. Sozomen, however, vii. 12, says of all the laws of this emperor against heretics: χαλεπὸς τοῖς νόμοις ἐπέγραφε τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπέξῃει· οὐ γὰρ τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς δέος καθιστᾶν τοὺς ὑπερκόους ἐσποῦδαζεν. (cf. Socrates v. 20.): and Socrates vii. 3, still maintains: οὐκ εἰωθὸς διώκειν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. On the other hand, Leo M. epist. 15. ad Turribium:—etiam mundi principes ita hanc sacrilegam amentiam (Priscillianistarum) detestati sunt, ut auctorem ejus cum plerisque discipulis legum publicarum ense prosternerent.—Profuit diu ista districtio ecclesiasticae lenitati, quae etsi sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen christianorum principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spiritale nonnumquam recurrit remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium.

¹⁴ Bingham, vol. vii. p. 276 ss. 294 ss.

¹⁵ For example, Concil. Carthag. iii. ann. 397. can. 13: Ut Episcopivel clerici, in eos qui catholici Christiani non sunt, etiamsi consanguinei fuerint, nec per donationes, nec per testamentum rerum suarum aliquid conferant.

notion of looking for works acceptable to God in the external rites of his worship; on the other hand, there were not a few, especially in the cities, who went to the churches as if to the theatre, with a mere aesthetic interest; and followed the spiritual orators as they would rhetoricians;¹⁶ while, on the contrary, they did not remain to be present at the Lord's supper,¹⁷ a circumstance which necessarily led to a prohibition of their partaking of it.¹⁸ Meetings for public worship began to be even abused, as occasions for sensual excesses.¹⁹ Finally, *the theological disputes* of this period were also an important obstacle in preventing Christianity from exercising its full power on the men of the age. While they were contending about definitions, as if the essence of Christianity consisted in them; the interest of the understanding being in a one-

¹⁶ Gregor. Naz. orat. 42. (ed. Colon. or. 22, p. 596): οὐ γὰρ ζητοῦσιν ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ ῥήτορας. How the clergy themselves promoted this direction may be seen in orat. 36. (ed. Col. or. 27. p. 465): ὄρω πολλοὺς τῶν νῦν ἱερατεύειν ὑπισχυρομένων, οἱ τὴν ἀπλήν καὶ ἄτεχνον ἡμῶν εὐσέβειαν ἔτεχνον πεποιήκασι, καὶ πολιτικῆς τι καινὸν εἶδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὰ ἅγια μετενηνεγμένης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεάτρων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθέατον μυσταγωγίαν, ὡς εἶναι δύο σκηνὰς, εἰ δέι τολμήσαντα τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας, ὅσον τὴν μὲν πᾶσιν ἀνεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τισί· καὶ τὴν μὲν γελᾶσθαι, τὴν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν θεατρικὴν, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. Chrysostom. de sacerdot. v. 1. of the hearers of sermons: οὐ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τέρψιν ἀκούειν εἰθίσθησαν οἱ πολλοί, καθάπερ τραγωδῶν ἢ κιθαρωδῶν καθήμενοι δικασταί. Id. hom. 30. in Act. Apost. Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos (opp. iv. 296.): Ex litteratis quicumque hodie ordinantur, id habent curae, non quomodo Scripturarum medullas ebibant: sed quomodo aures populi declamatorum flosculis mulceant. Id. praef. in lib. iii. comm. in epist. ad Ephes. Comp. Neander's Chrysostomus i. 118. 320 ss. 327. Ullmann's Gregor v. Naz. S. 155 ss. Daniel's Gesch. d. christl. Beredtsamkeit i. 331. Concerning the applause by clapping of hands during the sermon see B. Ferrarii de ritu sacrarum eccl. vet. concionum. (Mediolani 1621. c. praef. J. G. Graevii. Ultraj. 1692. 8.) lib. ii. c. 24. Bingham vol. vi. p. 187 ss. Daniel i. 334. 605. 677.

¹⁷ Chrysostom. hom. iii. in epist. ad Ephes. (opp. xi. 23): εἰκῆ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκῆ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων. Id. de incomprehensibili hom. iii. 6. (opp. i. 462.)

¹⁸ Conc. Antioch. (341) can. 2. Can. apost. 8 and 9. See Drey über die apost. Constitutionen S. 255.

¹⁹ Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium (ed. Martian. T. iv. P. ii. p. 285), says de vigiliis et pernoctationibus in basilicis Martyrum celebrandis in defence of them: Error autem et culpa juvenum vilissimarumque mulierum, qui per noctem saepe deprehenditur, non est religiosus hominibus imputandus: quia et in vigiliis Paschae tale quid fieri plerumque convincitur, et tamen paucorum culpa non praepjudicat religioni, etc.

sided way excited in favour of it;²⁰ it was no wonder that among many Greeks the interest in favour of Christianity was of the same nature with an interest in sophistical problems;²¹ the holiest relations being torn asunder at the same time by hatred and discord.²² And then, again, as the prevailing systems changed, sometimes one and sometimes another being enforced by worldly power, it was almost an unavoidable consequence that the people should either be made suspicious of Christianity and indifferent to it, or else tempted to employ falsehood and hypocrisy in the most sacred things.²³

It is true that *monachism* appeared likely to subordinate everything to a striving after the highest, by means of its example in giving a wholesome stimulus to the enervated race;²⁴ but it was itself too impure in most of its manifestations to be able to give pure impressions, while it brought confusion into moral ideas by its arbitrary mode of worship. In former times, this external strictness of morals had found a corresponding internal basis in the spirits of men; but now it was to be made prominent among a people devoid of faith in a degree much increased by monachism. Of course the people endeavoured to make the im-

²⁰ Hilarius ad Constantium ii. 5: Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quaestio est,—dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dum alter alteri anathema esse coepit; prope jam nemo Christi est.

²¹ Gregor. Naz. orat. xxxiii. p. 530: ὡς ἔν τι τῶν ἄλκων καὶ τοῦτο φλυαρεῖται ἡδέως, μετὰ τοὺς ἰππικοὺς, καὶ τὰ θέατρα, καὶ τὰ ἄσματα, καὶ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα, οἷς καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τρυφῆς, ἢ περὶ ταῦτα ἐρεσχελία καὶ κομψεία τῶν ἀντιθέσεων. cf. orat. xxi. p. 376. or. xxvi. Gregor. Nyss. orat. de deitate Fil. et Spir. sancti, opp. iii. 466. The law of Theodosius A. D. 388. (Cod. Theod. xvi. iv. 2.): Nulli egresso ad publicum vel disceptandi de religione, vel tractandi, vel consilii aliquid deferendi patescat occasio (cf. Gothofred. ad h. l.), of Marcian A. D. 452. (in Actis Conc. Chalced. ap. Mansi vii. 476. and Cod. Justin. i. 1. 4.) Neander's Chrysost. ii. 118. Ullmann's Gregor. v. Naz. S. 158 ss.

²² Gregor. Naz. orat. xxxii. 4. says of the theological controversies: καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον, ὃ διέσπασε μέλη, διέστησεν ἀδελφούς, πόλεις ἐτάραξε, δῆμους ἐξέμηνεν, ὥπλισεν ἔθνη [ἐπὶ] βασιλεῖς, ἐπανέστησεν ἱερκεῖς λαῶ καὶ ἀλλήλους, λαὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἱερεῦσι, γονεῖς τέκνοις, τέκνα γονεῦσιν, ἀνδρας γυναίξι, γυναίκας ἀνδράσι.

²³ Gregorii Naz. carmen de se ipso et adv. Episc. v. 333 ss. above, § 103, not. 4.

²⁴ Neander's Chrysost. Bd. 1. S. 78, 90.

press of the new law as light as possible,²⁵ to which monachism itself contributed most readily by making a distinction between a higher and lower virtue.²⁶ To introduce a christian morality into the life of society, the church began to extend its penance to smaller offences likewise,²⁷ and at the numerous councils an extensive code of laws was formed, which fixed certain ecclesiastical punishments for different ecclesiastical and moral transgressions, according to their external form. In the Eastern church, this penance was left to the free-will of the transgressors, in the case of private offences; particularly after *Nectarius*, bishop of Constantinople, had abolished (about 391)

²⁵ Chrysostom. orat. de baptismo Christi (opp. ii. 366), complains that many went to the churches: οὐ καθ' ἐκάστην σύναξιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑορτῇ μόνον ἄπαξ ἢ δεύτερον μόλις τοῦ παντός ἐνιαυτοῦ. Id. hom. in princip. Act. I. (opp. iii. 50.) Salvianus de gubern. Dei lib. vi. p. 113: Nos Ecclesiis Dei ludicra anteponimus, nos altaria spernimus et theatra honoramus.—Omni enim feralium ludicrorum die si quaelibet Ecclesiae festa fuerint, non solum ad Ecclesiam non veniunt qui Christianos se esse dicunt; sed si qui inscii forte venerint, dum in ipsa Ecclesia sunt, si ludos agi audiunt, Ecclesias derelinquunt.

²⁶ Comp. an unknown preacher of the day, (Augustini tom. v. app. sermo 82, also in Ambrosii opp. as sermo in dom. xxii. post Pentecost.) on Luc. 3, 12 ss. Nonnulli fratres, qui aut militiae cingulo detinentur, aut in actu sunt publico constituti, cum peccant graviter, hac solent a peccatis suis prima se voce excusare, quod militant.—Illud autem quale est, quod cum ob errorem aliquem a senioribus arguuntur, et imputatur, alicui de illis, cur ebrius fuerit, cur res alienas pervaserit, caedem cur turbulenter admiserit; statim respondeat: Quid habebam facere, homo saecularis et miles? Numquid monachum sum professus aut clericum? Quasi omnis, qui clericus non est aut monachus, possit ei licere, quod non licet. Chrysostom frequently inveighs against the abuses of this distinction, for example, de Lazarò orat. iii. (op. i. 737) in ep. ad Hebr. hom. vii. c. 4. (opp. xii. 79.) Neander's Chrysost. i. 95. Augustin. in Psalm. 48. sermo ii. §. 4.: Cum coeperit Deo quisque vivere, mundum contemnere, injurias suas nolle ulcisci, nolle hic divitias, non hic quaerere felicitatem terrenam, contemnere omnia, Dominum solum cogitare, viam Christi non deserere; non solum a paganis dicitur insanit, sed quod magis dolendum est, quia et intus multi dormiunt, et evigilare nolunt, a suis, a Christianis audiunt *quid pateris?* in Psalm. 90. sermo. i. §. 4.: Quomodo inter Paganos qui fuerit Christianus, a Paganis audit verba aspera,—sic inter Christianos qui voluerint esse diligentiores et meliores, ab ipsis Christianis audituri sunt insultationes,—dicunt: magnus tu justus, tu es Elias, tu es Petrus, de caelo venisti. Insultant; quocumque se verterit, audit hinc atque inde verbum asperum.

²⁷ Cramer's Fort. v. Bossuet's Weltgesch. Th. 5. Bd. 1. S. 379 ss.

the *πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας* (see Div. i. §. 71. note 11.)²⁸ But in the Western church, they began to consider it a necessary condition of forgiveness for all gross sins,²⁹ and in order to set

²⁸ Socrates v. 19. Sozomenus vii. 16. According to Socrates the decree was : *περιελείν μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβύτερον συγχωρήσαι δὲ, ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδῶτι τῶν μυστηρίων μετέχειν.* So Chrysost. in ep. ad Hebr. hom. 31. c. 3. (opp. xii. 289) : *μὴ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καλῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀναλογιζώμεθα, κατ' εἶδος ἕκαστον ἀναλέγοντες. οὐ λέγω σοι "ἐκπόμευσον σαυτόν," οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατηγορήσον, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι συμβουλεύω τῷ προφήτῃ λέγοντι "ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς κύριον τὴν ὁδόν σου (Ps. xxxvi. 5.)." ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ὁμολόγησον, ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ὁμολόγει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, εὐχόμενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μνήμῃ.* In like manner ad illuminandos catech. ii. c. 4. (opp. ii. 240.), de poenitentia hom. vi. c. 5. (ibid. p. 326.), non esse ad gratiam concionandum c. 3. (ibid. p. 663.), in ep. i. ad Corinth. hom. 28. c. 1. ad 1. Cor. xi. 28. (opp. x. 250.) et passim.

²⁹ Augustinus serm. 351. (de poenitentia 1.) § 2 ss. distinguishes tres actiones poenitentiae. Una est, quae novum hominem parturit, donec per baptismum salutare omnium praeteritorum fiat ablutio peccatorum.—Altera,—cujus actio per totam istam vitam, qua in carne mortali degimus, perpetua supplicationis humilitate subeunda est.—Tertia, quae pro illis peccatis subeunda est, quae legis decalogus continent. Respecting the latter: § 9: Implicatus igitur tam mortiferorum vinculis peccatorum detrectat, aut differt, aut dubitat confugere ad ipsas claves Ecclesiae, quibus solvatur in terra, ut sit solutus in caelo; et audet sibi post hanc vitam, quia tantum Christianus dicitur, salutem aliquam polliceri?—Judicet ergo se ipsum homo—et mores convertat in melius.—Et cum ipse in se protulerit severissimae medicinae, sed tamen medicinae sententiam, veniat ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves ministrantur: et tanquam bonus jam incipiens esse filius, maternorum membrorum ordine custodito, a praepositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suae modum.—Ut si peccatum ejus non solum in gravi ejus malo, sed etiam in tanto scandalo aliorum est, atque hoc expedire utilitati Ecclesiae videtur antistiti, in notitia multorum, vel etiam totius plebis agere poenitentiam non recuset, non resistat, non letali et mortiferae plagae per pudorem addat tumorem. However, de Symbolo ad Catechumenos c. 7: Illi, quos videtis agere poenitentiam, scelera commiserunt, aut adulteria, aut aliqua facta immania: inde agunt poenitentiam. Nam si levia peccata (above: venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est, and: levia, sine quibus esse non possumus) ipsorum essent, ad haec quotidiana oratio delenda sufficeret. Leo M. epist. 108. ed Ball. (83. ed. Quesn.) ad Theodorum c. 2: Multiplex misericordia Dei ita lapsibus subvenit humanis, ut non solum per baptismi gratiam, sed etiam per poenitentiae medicinam spes vitae, repararetur aeternae, ut qui regenerationis dona violassent, proprio se judicio condemnantes, ad remissionem criminum pervenirent: sic divinae bonitatis praesidiis ordinatis, ut indulgentia Dei nisi supplicationibus Sacerdotum nequeat obtineri. Mediator enim Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus hanc praepositas Ecclesiae tradi-

aside all difficulties, to change public confession into a private one in the case of private sins.³⁰

It cannot be denied, that this system of penance promoted a certain external propriety of conduct ; and as little can it be disallowed that the church awakened and animated a sympathy, which had almost entirely disappeared from Paganism, by its care for the oppressed and suffering part of humanity, for the poor, the captives, the sick, widows and orphans.³¹ But yet by this new system of legislation, Christian freedom, and genuine morality which has its root in it, were robbed of their true life. A comparison of the present with earlier times in this particular, would yield none but melancholy results.³²

dit potestatem, ut et confitentibus actionem poenitentiae darent ; et eosdem salubri satisfactione purgatos ad communionem sacramentorum per januam reconciliationis admitterent. Cui utique operi incessabiliter ipse Salvator intervenit, nec unquam ab his abest, quae ministris suis exequenda commisit, dicens : Ecce ego vobiscum sum etc. (Matth. xxviii. 20.), ut si quid per servitutem nostram bono ordine et gratulando impletur effectum, non ambigamus per Spiritum sanctum fuisse donatum. cf. Hieronymus comm. in Matth. xvi. 19 : Istum locum : Et dabo tibi claves regni caelorum, Episcopi et Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisaeorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur, cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed eorum vita quaeratur.

³⁰ Leo M. epist. 168. ed. Ball. (ed. Quesn. 136.) c. 2 : Illam etiam contra apostolicam regulam praesumptionem, quam nuper agnovi a quibusdam illicita usurpatione committi, modis omnibus constituo subinvereri. De poenitentia scilicet, quae a fidelibus postulatur, ne de singulorum peccatorum genere libello scripta confessio publice recitetur : cum reatus conscientiarum sufficiat solis sacerdotibus indicari confessione secreta.—Quia non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata, ut ea, qui poenitentiam poseunt, non timeant publicare ; removeatur tam improbabilis consuetudo : ne multi a poenitentiae remediis arceantur, dum aut erubescunt, aut metuunt inimicis suis sua facta reserari, quibus possint legum constitutione percelli. Sufficit enim illa confessio, quae primum Deo offertur, tum etiam, Sacerdoti, qui pro delictis poenitentium peccator accedit. Tunc enim demum plures ad poenitentiam poterunt provocari, si populi auribus non publicetur conscientia confitentis.

³¹ Comp §. 91. not. 9. §. 103. not. 10. Thomassinus p. ii. lib. 3. c. 87. and c. 95 s. Stäudlin's Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu iii. 404.

³² E. g. Chrysostomus hom. 26. in epist. ii. ad Corinth. (opp. x. 623.) ἂν τὰ ἡμέτερά τις ἐξετάσῃ τὰ νῦν, ὄψεται ἡλικὸν τῆς θλίψεως τὸ κέρδος. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνης ἀπολαύοντες ἀναπεπτόκαμεν, καὶ διερρύημεν, καὶ μυρίων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνεπλήσαμεν κακῶν ὅτε δὲ ἤλαυνόμεθα, καὶ σωφρονέστεροι, καὶ ἐπιεικέστεροι, καὶ σπουδιαιότεροι καὶ περὶ τοὺς συλλόγους τούτους ἡμεῖς προθυμότεροι, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιμ ὅπερ γὰρ τῷ χρυσίῳ τὸ πῦρ, τοῦτο ἡ θλίψις

§ 105.

INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON LEGISLATION.

C. W. de Rhoer dissertt. de effectu religionis christianae in jurisprudentiam Romanam. Fasc. I. Groningae 1776. 8. H. O. Aem. de Meysenbug de christianae religionis vi et effectu in jus civile, speciatim in ea, quae Institutiones in primo libro tractant. Gotting. 1828. 4. De l'influence du Christianisme sur le droit civil. des Romains par M. Troplong. Paris 1843. 8.

Though the great changes which had taken place in Roman legislation since Constantine had not been effected by Christianity alone,¹ yet Christian principles and Christian customs, even respect to the Mosaic law,² had an important influence on it; while several laws were directly owing to representations made by the bishops.³ A stop was put to sensual excesses,⁴ rape was punished with death,⁵ immoral *plays* were abolished or checked.⁶

ταῖς ψυχαῖς κ. τ. λ. Hieronymus in vita Malchi init. Scribere disposui,—ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram aetatem,—quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit, et adulta, persecutionibus creverit, et martyriis coronata sit: et postquam ad christianos principes venerit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit. Verum haec alias. Salvianus de avaritia i. l. cf. Rittershusius sacr. lectt. vi. c. 17. Venema hist. eccl. t. iv. p. 260 ss.

¹ de Rhoer p. 39 ss.

² de Rhoer p. 65. 77 s.

³ de Rhoer p. 89 s.—On the influence of Christianity on Constantine's laws (*νόμους ἐκ παλαιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ὀσιώτερον μεταβάλλων ἀνενεοῦτο*) cf. Euseb. de vita Const. iv. 26.

⁴ Cod. Theodos. lib. xv. tit. 8 de lenonibus. Riffel's Gesch. Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen Kirche und Staat i. 108. Laws for lessening concubinage. Meysenbug p. 51.

⁵ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 24. de raptu virginum vel viduarum. Riffel i. 110.

⁶ Comp. the laws Cod. Theodos. lib. xv. tit. 5. de spectaculis; tit. 6. de Majuma; tit. 7. de scenicis. Stäudlin's Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu. Bd. 3. S. 388. Yet it is evident from the law, Cod. Justin. iii. 12, 11. A. D. 469, that at that time, in addition to the *scena theatralis* and the *circense theatrum*, the *ferarum lacrymosa spectacula* also still continued: probably only in the West, for in the East, they appear to have ceased even before Theodosius I. See Müller *comm. de genio, moribus et luxu aevi Theodosiani*. Havn. 1797. P. ii. p. 87.

Contests of gladiators, which had been already prohibited by Constantine, still continued, it is true, at Rome;⁷ but they were entirely abolished by Honorius. Classes of society which had been heretofore almost unrecognised by the laws, were now embraced within their operation. The condition of *slaves*⁸ and of *prisoners*⁹ was improved; the unlimited *power of fathers over their children* abridged;¹⁰ *women*, who had been kept till now in a very inferior position, were invested with greater rights;¹¹ and the *widow and orphan* protected.¹² On the other hand, legislation did not comply every where or in every respect with the peculiar requirements of the Christian morals of this age. The laws became *more bloody* and strict than before.¹³ *Swearing* assumed Christian forms, but was more frequently practised.¹⁴ And though *restrictions to certain marriages* were established, agreeably to Christian principles,¹⁵ the laws against *celibacy* abolished,¹⁶ and *second marriages* rendered difficult,¹⁷ yet the old *liberty of divorce* was but partially limited; and from fear of still greater crimes, the emperors were obliged to admit many causes of valid separation, besides unfaithfulness to the marriage contract.¹⁸

⁷ Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. 12. de gladiatoribus. The self-sacrifice of Telemachus, Theodoret, hist. eccl. v. 26. Comp. Neander's Chrysost. i. 383.

⁸ de Rhoer p. 117 ss. Meysenbug p. 34.

⁹ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 3. de custodia reorum. de Rhoer p. 72.

¹⁰ de Rhoer p. 137 s. Meysenbug p. 45.

¹¹ de Rhoer p. 124.

¹² de Rhoer, p. 111.

¹³ de Rhoer p. 59 ss.

¹⁴ J. F. Malblanc doctrina de jurejurando e genuinis fontibus illustrata. Norimberg. 1781. ed. 2. Tübing. 1820. 8. p. 342. C. F. Stäudlin's Gesch. der Lehren vom Eide. Göttingen 1824. 8. S. 81.

¹⁵ Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. 12. de incestis nuptiis, on forbidden degrees of affinity. de Rhoer p. 248. Besides, marriage between Christians and Jews was forbidden (l. c. iii. 7. 2.) A proposal of marriage made to a nun was punished with death (ix. 25, 2.)

¹⁶ Cod. Theod. viii. 16, l. s. Div. I. §. 56. not. 35.

¹⁷ On the *poenas secundarum nuptiarum* see de Rhoer p. 240. Meysenbug p. 61. v. Löhr in the Archive f. d. civilistische Praxis Bd. 16. (1833) S. 32.

¹⁸ Cod. Theodos. lib. iii. tit. 16. de repudiis. Theodosii ii. Novell. tit. 12. Bingham vol. ix. p. 356 ss. de Rhoer p. 287 ss. Asterii Amaseni (about 400) homil. v. (in Combefisii auct. nov. i. 82): ἀκούσατε δε τῶν αἰ ταύτων κήρυχοι, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς ἰμῖατα εὐκόλως μετενδιόμενοι. αἱ

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION.

§ 106.

The new tendencies of Christian life could not be unperceived, especially as it is certain that the Catholic church was frequently reproached with them by the older Christian parties.¹ Nor were the morally dangerous aspects of these tendencies entirely overlooked by the more acute; though they were too often exculpated on the ground of pious intentions.² The men who looked

τὰς παστάδας πολλάκις καὶ ῥαδίως πηγνύοντες, ὡς πανηγύρεως ἐργαστήρια.—Οἱ μικρὸν παροξυνόμενοι καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαιρέσεως γράφοντες. οἱ πολλὰς χήρας ἐν τῷ ἔην ἔτι καταλιμπάνοντες· πείσθητε, ὅτι γάμος θανάτῳ μόνῳ καὶ μοιχεία διακόπτεται. Hieronymi epist. 84. (al. 30.) ad Oceanum de morte Fabiolae, c. 1: Aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi: aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster praecipit etc.

¹ Faustus (ap. Augustin. contra Faust. xx. 4.): Vos, qui desciscentes a gentibus monarchiae opinionem primo vobiscum divulsistis, id est, ut omnia credatis ex Deo; sacrificia vero eorum vertistis in agapas, idola in Martyres, quos votis similibus colitis; defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus; solennes gentium dies cum ipsis celebratis, ut calendae, et solstitia; de vita certe mutastis nihil: estis sane schisma, a matrice sua diversum nihil habens nisi conventum. The Novatians also rejected the worship of martyrs and relics. See Eulogius Patr. Alex. (about 580) contra Novatianos lib. Vto. (ap. Photius cod. 280. cf. cod. 182): perhaps also Eustathius (Conc. Gangr. c. 20, comp. however Dallaeus adv. Latinorum de cultus religiosi objecto tradit. p. 151.) Eunomius was an opponent of martyr-worship (auctor hujus haereseos. Hieron. adv. Vigilant.) and of monachism (Gregor. Nyssen. contra Eunom. lib. ii.)

² As Hieronym. adv. Vigilant. (opp. iv. ii. p. 284): Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus.—Quod si aliqui per imperitiam et simplicitatem saecularium hominum, vel certe religiosarum seminarum, de quibus vere possumus dicere: confiteor, zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam (Rom. x. 1.) hoc pro honore Martyrum faciunt, quid inde perdis? Causabantur quondam et Apostoli, quod periret unguentum; sed Domini voce correpti sunt (Math. xxvi. 8 ss.) Neque enim Christus indigebat unguento, nec Martyres lumine cereorum: et tamen illa mulier in honore Christi hoc fecit, devotioque mentis ejus recipitur; et quicumque accedunt cereos, secundum fidem suam habent mercedem, dicente Apostolo: unusquisque in suo sensu abundet (Rom. xiv. 5.)

into the ecclesiastical and religious errors of the time more profoundly, and attacked them publicly, were declared heretics by the offended hierarchy; and their voice soon died away without being able to give another direction to the incipient development of ecclesiastical life. To these latter belonged *Aërius*, presbyter in Sebaste, and friend of bishop Eustathius (about 360);³ *Jovinian*, monk at Rome, (about 388) first condemned there by

Augustin. ad Januarium lib. ii. (epist. 55.) § 35: Quod autem instituitur praeter consuetudinem, ut quasi observatio sacramenti sit, approbare non possum, etiamsi multa hujusmodi propter nonnullarum vel sanctorum vel turbularum personarum scandala devitanda, liberius improbare non audeo. Sed hoc nimis doleo, quod multa, quae in divinis libris saluberrime praecepta sunt, minus curantur; et tam multis praesumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia, ut gravius corripiatur, qui per octavas suas terram nudo pede tetigerit (namely neophytus cf. Tert. de cor. mil. c. 3. See Div. 1. § 53. not. 25), quam qui mentem vinolentia sepeliverit. Omnia itaque talia, quae neque sanctorum scripturarum auctoritatibus continentur, nec in conciliis episcoporum statuta inveniuntur, nec consuetudine universae ecclesiae roborata sunt, sed pro diversorum locorum diversis moribus innumerabiliter variantur, ita ut vix aut omnino nunquam inveniri possint causae, quas in eis instituendis homines secuti sunt, ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione resecanda existimo. Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint: ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judaeorum, qui, etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverunt, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis praesumptionibus subjiciuntur. Sed ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque zizania constituta, multa tolerat, et tamen quae sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet nec facit. Id. contra Faustum xx. 21: Aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus, aliud quod praecipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare praecipimur, et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur. Alia est disciplina Christianorum, alia luxuria vinolentorum, vel error infirmorum.

³ Only authority Epiphanius haer. 75. His doctrines *ib.* §. 3: I. τί ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος πρὸς πρεσβύτερον; οὐδὲν διαλλάττει οὗτος τούτου· μία γὰρ ἐστὶ τάξις, καὶ μία τιμὴ καὶ ἐν ἀξίωμα (proofs from New Testament passages, § 5.) II. τί ἐστὶ τὸ πάσχα, ὅπερ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπιτελεῖται;—οὐ χρὴ τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ πάσχα ὑμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός (1 Cor. v. 7.)—III. τί τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ θάνατον ὀνομάζετε ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων;—εἰ δὲ ὅλως εὐχή τῶν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐκέισε ὤνησεν, ἄρα γοῦν μηδεὶς εὐσεβεῖτω, μηδὲ ἀγαθοποιεῖτω, ἀλλὰ κτησάσθω φίλους τινὰς,—καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τι ἐκεῖ πάθῃ.—IV. οὔτε νηστεία ἔσται τεταγμένη· ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαϊκά ἐστί, καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δουλείας.—εἰ γὰρ ὅλως βούλομαι νηστεύειν, οἷαν δ' ἂν αἰρήσομαι ἡμέραν ἀπ' ἐμμουτοῦ νηστεύω διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. The Protestants were frequently accused of the heresy of Aërius. Walch's Ketzerhist. iii. 321.

Siricius, afterwards by Ambrose at Milan ;⁴ some of whose opinions were soon after adopted by two monks of Milan, *Sarmatio* and *Barbatianus* (about 396);⁵ but especially *Vigilantius* (shortly before 404) of Calagurris in Gaul (now Caseres in the district Commenges in Gascogne), presbyter in Barcelona.⁶

⁴ Siricii epist. ad diversos episcopos adv. Jovinianum (about 389) ap. Coustant. epist. 7. Ambrosii rescriptum ad Siricium (epist. 42. ap. Coustant. ep. Siric. 8.) Hieronymi libb. ii. adv. Jovinianum A. D. 392. Augustinus de haeres. c. 82. and in other writings. Doubtless Jovinian was greatly strengthened by the prevailing voice against monachism which was at Rome, and by the death of Blaesilla (384). See §. 96. note 3. He was thus excited to reflection, and was brought to deny the advantages which the monastic state claimed in its favour. Hence also he met with so much acceptance in Rome. See his doctrines in Jerome i. 2 : Dicit, virgines, viduas et maritatas, quae semel in Christo lotae sunt, si non discrepent caeteris operibus, ejusdem esse meriti (August. l. c. virginitatem etiam sanctimonialium, et continentiam sexus virilis in sanctis eligentibus caelibem vitam conjugiorum castorum atque fidelium meritis adaequabat : ita ut quaedam virgines sacrae provectae jam aetatis in urbe Roma, ubi haec docebat, eo audito nupsisse dicantur). Nititur approbare, eos, qui plena fide in baptisate renati sunt, a diabolo non posse subverti (farther below:—non posse tentari : quicumque autem tentati fuerint, ostendi, eos aqua tantum et non spiritu baptizatos, quod in Simone mago legimus : more accurately Jerome adv. Pelag. ii. posse hominem baptizatum, si voluerit, nequaquam ultra peccare : *i. e.* divine grace is communicated fully to man in baptism, and is not increased by the monastic state). Tertium proponit, inter abstinentiam ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum nullam esse distantiam. Quartum, quod et extremum, esse omnium, qui sum baptismum servaverint, unam in regno caelorum remunerationem. Augustine adds l. c. : Omnia peccata, sicut stoici philosophi, paria esse dicebat. (Jovinian said : Hieron. adv. Jov. ii. 20 : Qui fratri dixerit fatue et raca, reus erit Geennae : et qui homicida fuerit et adulter, mittetur similiter in Geennam), and virginitatem Mariae destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam.—Comp. Augustin. retract. ii. 22 : Remanserant autem istae disputationes ejus (Joviniani) in quorundam sermunculis ac susurris, quas palam suadere nullus audebat :—jactabatur, Joviniano responderi non potuisse cum laude, sed cum vituperatione nuptiarum (cf. §. 102. not. 12). Propter hoc librum edidi, cujus inscriptio est de bono conjugali. Walch iii. 655. Neander's KG. ii. ii. 574. Gu. B. Lindner de Joviniano et Vigilantio diss. Lips. 1839. 8. p. 10.

⁵ Ambrosii epist. 63. (al. 82. al. 25.) ad Vercellensem ecclesiam : Audio venisse ad vos Sarmationem et Barbatianum, vaniloquos homines, qui dicunt nullum esse abstinentiae meritum, nullum frugalitatis, nullam virginitatis gratiam, pari omnes aestimari pretio, delirare eos, qui jejunii castigant carnem suam, et menti subditam faciunt etc.

⁶ Concerning his earlier abode in Palestine (396), and his disputes

with Jerome, whom he considered to be a follower of Origen, Hieron. ep. ad Vigilantium (ap. Martian. ep. 36. ap. Vallarsi ep. 61.)—Against the later assertions of Vigilantius Hieron. ep. ad Riparium A. D. 404. (ap. Martian. ep. 37. ap. Vallarsi ep. 109.) adv. Vigilantium lib. A. D. 406.—In the latter it is said: *Martyrum negat sepulchra veneranda* (in ep. ad Riparium: Ais, Vigilantium, qui κατ' ἀντίφρασιν hoc vocatur nomine, nam Dor. nitantius rectius diceretur, os foetidum rursus aperire, et putorem spurcissimum contra sanctorum martyrum proferre reliquias: et nos, qui eas suspicimus, appellare cinerarios et idololatrias, qui mortuorum hominum ossa veneremur), damnandas dicit esse vigilias nunquam nisi in pascha alleluja cantandum (cf. Bingham vol. vi. p. 41 ss.), continentiam haeresin, pudicitiam libidinis seminarium.—Proh nefas, episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes, si tamen episcopi nominandi sunt, qui non ordinant diaconos, nisi prius uxores duxerint, nulli caelibus credentes pudicitiam. Extracts from the writings of Vigilantius: Quid necesse est, te tanto honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid, quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis?—Quid pulverem linteamine circumdatum adorando oscularis?—Prope ritum gentilium videmus sub praetextu religionis introductum in ecclesiis, sole adhuc fulgente moles cercorum accendi, et ubicunque pulvisculum nescio quod in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorant. Magnum honorem praebent hujusmodi homines beatissimis martyribus, quos putant de vilissimis cereolis illustrandos, quos agnus, qui est in medio throni cum omni fulgore majestatis suae illustrat,—Vel in sinu Abrahae, vel in loco refrigerii, vel subter aram Dei animae Apostolorum et Martyrum consederunt, nec possunt suis tumulis, et ubi voluerint, adesse praesentes.—Dum vivimus, mutuo pro nobis orare possumus: postquam autem mortui fuerimus, nullius est pro alio exaudienda oratio. Jerome adds still farther: Praeterea iisdem ad me relatum est epistolis, quod contra auctoritatem Pauli—tu prohibeas, Hierosolymam in usus sanctorum aliqua sumtuum solatia dirigi;—hoc unumquemque posse in patria sua facere; nec pauperes defuturos, qui ecclesiae opibus sustentandi sint.—Asseris, eos melius facere, qui utuntur rebus suis, et paulatim fructus possessionum suarum pauperibus dividunt, quam illos, qui possessionibus venundatis—semel omnia largiuntur.—Dicis: si omnes se clauerint et fuerint in solitudine: quis celebrabit ecclesias? quis saeculares homines lucrifaciet? quis peccantes ad virtutes poterit cohortari? Comp. the writings quoted in §. 102. note 1. Barbeyrac pref. p. 48. Ceillier p. 339 ss. Barbeyrac traité p. 251 ss.—Bayle diction. s. v. Vigilantius. Walch de Vigilantio haeretico orthodoxo. Goett. 1756. (in Pottii syll. comm. theol. vii. 326.) Walch iii. 673. Lindner de Joviniano et Vigilantio p. 40.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§. 107.

IN THE EAST.

In *Persia*, where there were numerous churches under the metropolitan bishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, Christianity had become an object of suspicion ever since it had prevailed in the Roman empire. The recommendation of Constantine therefore, in favour of the Persian Christians, had no permanent or good influence with the king (*Schabur* ii. 309–381.)¹ When a war broke out soon after between the Romans and Persians, *Schabur* began a tedious and horrible persecution of the Christians with the execution of *Simon* bishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* (343), under the pretence of his being a spy of the Romans.² After *Schabur's* death, indeed, this persecution ceased, *Jezdescherd* i. (400–421) being at first even a friend to the Christians; but the fanatic *Abdas*, bishop of *Susa*, by the destruction of a *Pyreion* (404) brought on another persecution as severe, which was finally extinguished by Theodosius II. making war on the Persians (422.)³ The Persian church was always in close connection with the Syrian, and exhibited the same theological tendency. When, therefore, Nestorianism in its native land was forced to give way to violence, it found a secure asylum among Persian Christians; from which time the Persian church separated itself from that of the Roman empire.⁴

¹ Constantini epist. ad regem Persarum ap. Euseb. de vit. Const. iv. 9-13. et ap. Theodoret. i. 24.

² Sozomen. ii. 9-14. Steph. Evod. Assemani acta sanctorum Martyrum orientalium et occidentalium. Romae 1784. fol. Neander's KG. ii. i. 222.

³ Theodoretus v. 38. Socrates vii. 18-21. Neander S. 235 ss.

⁴ §. 88. at the end.

Christianity had also been introduced into *Armenia* as early as the second century.⁵ In the time of Diocletian, it was spread universally by *Gregory the illuminator*,⁶ who gained over king *Tiridates* himself to its side, and was consecrated first metropolitan of Armenia in 302 by Leontius, bishop of Caesarea.⁷ The long contests that followed, with the adherents of the old religion, had an important political character, so far as the one party was supported by the Persian, the other by the Roman emperors.⁸ But when, after the greatest part of Armenia had come under the Persian dominion (428), the Persian kings wished to procure by violence a victory for the Zend-doctrine over Christianity, they found such determined opposition, that they were at last obliged to allow the Christians the free exercise of their religion, after a lengthened war (442—485).⁹ In the fifth century, *Mesrop* gave the Armenians their alphabet and a version of the Bible.¹⁰—Christianity was carried into *Iberia* under Constantine the Great.¹¹

At the same time it was introduced into *Ethiopia* by *Frumen-*

⁵ Dionysius Corinthius according to Eusebius vi. 46. wrote τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν περὶ μετανοίας, ὧν ἐπισκόπευε Μερουζάνης.

⁶ Armenian Lusaworitsch, illuminator. Respecting him see C. F. Neumann's Gesch. der armen. Literatur, Leipzig 1836. S. 13.

⁷ Sozomenus ii. 8. Mosis Chorenensis (about 440) historiae Armeniacae libb. iii. ed. Guilelmus et Georgius Guil Whistoni filii. Londini 1736. 4. p. 256 ss. Bekehrung Armeniens durch d. heil. Gregor Illuminator, nach national histor. Quellen bearbeitet von P. Mal. Samueljan. Wien 1844. 8.

⁸ Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Armenie par M. J. Saint-Martin. (T. ii. Paris 1818. 19. 8.) T. i. p. 306 ss.

⁹ A history of these persecutions, from 439-451, and of the general of the Armenians, Vartan, written by a contemporay, Elisä, bishop of the Amadunians, is: The history of Vartan, by Elisäeus, bishop of the Amadunians, translated from the Armenian by C. F. Neumann. Lond. 1830. 4. Comp. St Martin i. 321. The proclamation in commendation of the Zend-religion, issued before the beginning of the persecution by the Persian general Mihr-Nerseh, is especially deserving of notice, ap. Saint-Martin ii. 472. more correctly in the history of Vartan p. 11.

¹⁰ Gorion's (a disciple of Mesrop) Lebensbeschr. des heil. Mesrop, aus d. Arn. übersetzt u. erläutert von Dr B. Welte (Programm.) Tübingen 1841. 4. Neumann's Gesch. d. arm. Literatur S. 30. Concerning the many Armenian versions of Greek writers in the succeeding period see Saint-Martin i. 7. Neumann S. 71.

¹¹ Rufini hist. eccl. x. 10. Socrates i. 20. Sozomenus ii. 7. Theodoretus i. 23. Moses Chorenensis ii. c. 83.

tius; first at court, and, very soon after, throughout the country.¹² In *southern Arabia* under the *Hamdschars*, Constantine endeavoured to establish Christianity by means of *Theophilus* (about 350.)¹³ He seems, however, not to have produced any considerable effect.

§ 108.

IN THE WEST.

In the preceding period Christianity had been known among the *Goths* (Div. i. § 57), and there was even a Gothic bishop at the council of Nice.¹ After Arianism had been fathered upon them by their ecclesiastical connection with Constantinople,² *Ulfila*, who was consecrated bishop in 348 at Constantinople, became their apostle.³ When the Christian Goths were oppressed by a persecution, he led a great multitude of them into the habitation about Nicopolis in Moesia, which Constantius had assigned them (355), where, after inventing the Gothic alphabet, he translated the Bible into Gothic.⁴ Afterwards, Fridigern broke off from Atha-

¹² Rufinus x. 9. Socrates i. 19. Sozomenus ii. 24. Theodoretus i. 22. Hiobi Ludolfi historiae Aethiopicæ libb. iv. Francof. 1681. fol. lib. iii. c. 2. Ejusdem commentarius ad hist. Aethiopicam. ibid. 1691. fol. p. 283 ss.

¹³ Philostorgius ii. 6. iii. 4. Since it was an Arian Christianity, orthodox historians are silent on the subject.

¹ Among the signatures preserved in Latin: Theophilus Gothorum Metropolis (sc. Episc.) Socrates also mentions the signature of Θεόφιλος τῶν Γόθων ἐπίσκοπος.

² According to Theodoret h. e. iv. 33. Ulfila led away the Goths to Arianism, while he told them ἐκ φιλοτιμίας γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἔριν, δογμάτων δὲ μηδεμίαν εἶναι διαφοράν. It is true, indeed, that the Goths had such a view of the controversy.

³ Respecting him Socrates iv. 33. Sozomenus vi. 37. Theodoretus iv. 33. Philostorgius ii. 5. Jordanis (about 550 in the Eastern Roman Empire, incorrectly called Jornandes, and reckoned a bishop of Ravenna) de rebus Geticis (in Muratorii rerum Italicarum scriptores i. p. 187.) c. 25. More exact information respecting him was first furnished by the letter of Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorus, his disciple, which, transferred to a work of the Arian bishop Maximin, has been again found along with it in a cod. Paris, and printed and explained in: G. Waitz über das Leben u. die Lehre des Ulfila. Hannover, 1840. 4.

⁴ The most complete edition: Ulfilas. Veteris et Novi Test. versionis gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt, edd. H. C. de Gabelentz et Dr J. Loebe. Altenburgi et Lips. vol. i. and vol. ii. P. i. 1836. 1843. 4. Comp. Hug's Einleit. in d. N. T. i. 492.

narich, the leader of the Visigoths, who persecuted the Christians, with a part of the people, was supported by Valens, and spread Christianity among his subjects. And when the Huns pressed upon the Goths, this portion of the Visigoths received a place of residence from Valens, in Thrace, on condition of their becoming Christians (375); and Ulfila was especially active in their conversion. Soon after, Arianism was overthrown by Theodosius. Ulfila died in Constantinople (388), where he endeavoured in vain to revive it. Efforts were now made at Constantinople to procure acceptance for the Nicene confession among the Goths, but without much success.

Arian Christianity was diffused by the *Visigoths* with surprising rapidity among the other wandering German tribes, while it was suppressed in the Roman empire.⁵ The fact of the Arian doctrine being more easily apprehended, and hatred to the Romans, procured the confidence of the Germans in Arianism; and it soon obtained the reputation of being as generally the Christianity of the Germans as Homousianism was of the Romans.

The *Ostrogoths* and *Vandals* first received Arian Christianity from their countrymen.⁶ The *Burgundians* had passed indeed into the Catholic Church after their wandering into Gaul (413); but they afterwards (about 450) adopted Arianism, along with their kings belonging to the Visigothic race. In like manner, Catholic Christianity had been at first received by the *Suevi* in Spain; but Arianism was subsequently disseminated among them by the Visigoths. The older Catholic inhabitants of the countries in which these German tribes had settled, suffered oppression only from the *Visigoths* and *Vandals*.⁷ They were especially

⁵ Walch's *Ketzerhistorie* Th. 2. S. 553 ss. cf. Prosper in *Chron. Imperiali* ad ann. 404. (*Chronica medii aevi* ed. Roesler. Tübing. 1798, 8. T. i. p. 199): Radagaius Rex Gothorum Italiae limitem vastaturus transgreditur. Ex quo Ariani, qui Romano procul fuerant orbe fugati, barbararum nationum, ad quas se contulere, praesidio erigi coepere.

⁶ Jordanis c. 25: Sic quoque Vesegothae a Valente Imp. Ariani potius quam Christiani effecti. De caetero tam Ostrogothis quam Gepidis parentibus suis per affectionis gratiam evangelizantes hujus perfidiae culturam edocentes, omnem ubique linguae hujus nationem ad culturam hujus sectae invitavere.

⁷ Sidonius Apollinaris (*Episc. Arvernorum* 472.) lib. vii. ep. 6.

persecuted by the latter in a most horrible manner after Africa (431–439) had been conquered by them under their first two kings *Geiserich* († 477) and *Hunerich* († 484.)⁸ The Christianity of the Germans was still mixed, to a considerable degree, with heathenism; what rude notions they entertained of the former may be seen in the practice of buying off crimes with money, which they soon transferred to Christian repentance.⁹

Christianity in Britain (Div. i. § 57) was in the meantime very much retarded by the Anglo-Saxons, who had established themselves there from A. D. 449. The Britons still held out in *Wales*, in the mountains of *Northumberland* and *Cornwall*, where alone Christianity was preserved. Shortly before this Christianity had been established in Ireland by *Patricius*¹⁰ (about 430) and spread with rapidity over the island.¹¹ The seat of the bishop soon arose at *Armagh*.

⁸ Victor Episc. Vitensis wrote 487 hist. persecutionis Africanæ sub Genserico et Hunnerico Vandalorum regibus reprinted in Th. Ruinarti historia persecutionis Vandalicæ. Paris. 1694. 8. (Venet. 1732. 4.) Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten iii. 1. S. 3 ff. F. Papencordt's Gesch. d. vandal. Herrschaft in Afrika. Berlin 1837. S. 66. 113. 269.

⁹ cf. Homilia de hæreticis peccata vendentibus in Mabillon museum Italicum T. i. P. ii. p. 27. (according to Mabillon's conjecture, p. 6. belonging to Maximus Taurinensis about 440): Nec mirari debemus, quod hujusmodi hæretici in nostra aberrare coeperint regione.—Nam ut eorum interim blasphemias seponamus, retexamus, quæ sint ipsorum præcepta vivendi. Præpositi eorum, quos Presbyteros vocant, dicuntur tale habere mandatum, ut si quis laicorum fassus fuerit crimen æmissum, non dicat illi: age poenitentiam, deplora facta tua, defle peccata; sed dicat: pro hoc crimine da tantum mihi, et indulgetur tibi.—Suscipit ergo dona Presbyter, et pactione quadam indulgentiam de salvatore promittit. Insipiens placitum, in quo dicitur, minus deliquisse Domino, qui plus contulerit Sacerdoti. Apud hujusmodi præceptores semper divites innocentes, semper pauperes criminosi.

¹⁰ According to Ussher, belonging to Kilpatrick in Dumbarton in Scotland; according to John Lanigan ecclesiastical history of Ireland (2 ed. Dublin 1829. 4 voll.) i. 93. belonging to Bonavem Taverniæ i. e. Boulogne in Picardy.

¹¹ Respecting him see particularly his Confessio (in Patricii opusculis ed. Jac. Waræus. Lond. 1658. 8. and Acta SS. Mart. ii. 517. after an older text in Betham P. ii. App. p. xlix.) In this work nothing is found about his journey to Rome, nor of a papal authorization of a mission to Ireland, of which we find a relation first of all in Hericus vita S. Germani i. 12. (Act. SS. Jul. vii.) about 860. Jocelin, in the 12th century, has introduced still more fables in his vita Patricii (Acta SS. Mart. ii. 540.) Jac. Usserii britani carum ecclesiarum antiquitates.

SECOND DIVISION.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO THE BEGINNING OF THE
MONOTHELITIC CONTROVERSIES, AND THE TIME OF MUHAMMED.

A. D. 451—622.

SOURCES.

I. *Ecclesiastical historians*: The works of the two Monophysites are lost, viz., the presbyter John Ægeates, hist. eccles. lib. x. of which the first five books comprised the period between 428 and 479 (see Photius cod. 41. cf. 55); and of Zacharias Rhetor, bishop of Meletina in lesser Armenia, an excerpt from Socrates and Theodoret, and a continuation to 547 (Greek fragments in Evagrius: 19 Syrian fragments, of which Assemanus bibl. orient. ii. 53, gave an account, communicated in A. Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. x. 361); as also of the Nestorian Basil of Cilicia (presbyter in Antioch, Photius cod. 107.) eccles. hist. libb. iii. from 450 to 518 (Photius cod. 42.)

Still extant are: Theodorus lector in fragments, Evagrius Scholasticus, Nicephorus Callistus (comp. the preface of section 1.)

Gennadius, presbyter in Marseilles, † after 495, and Isidore, bishop of Hispalis, † 636, de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, both in Fabrici bibliotheca eccles. Hamb. 1718. fol.

II. *Profane historians*: Procopius Caesariensis († after 522. de bello Persico libb. ii., de bello Vandalico libb. ii., de bello Gothico libb. iv., historia arcana Justiniani, de aedificiis Justiniani Imp. libb. vi. Opp. ex rec. Gu. Dindorfii voll. iii. Bonnae 1833—38. 8.)—Agathias Myrinaeus (historiarum libb. v., written about 580. ed. B. G. Niebuhr. Bonnae 1828. 8.)

Chronicon paschale (comp. the preface of section 1.)

Theophanes Confessor († 817, chronographia from 285 to 813 ex rec. Jo. Classeni, voll. ii. Bonnae 1839. 41. 8.

Dublin. 1639. 4. auctius Lond. 1687. fol. Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten iii. ii. 19. Irish antiquarian researches by Sir Will. Betham. P. ii. Dublin 1826 and 27. 8.

III. Latin Chroniclers (comp. preface to section 1): Marcellinus Comes till 534, continued by another till 566 (in *Sirmondi opp. ii. Bibl. PP. Lugd. ix. 517.*) Victor, bishop of Tunnuna, from 444 till 566 (ap. *Canisius-Basnage i. 321, best printed in Henr. Florez Espanna Sagrada vi. 382.*) Isidore, bishop of Hispalis, from the creation of the world till 614 (in *Esp. Sagr. vi. 445.*)

IV. Imperial decrees: Codex Justinianus, see preface to section 1.—Novellae (*νεαρά διατάξεις μετὰ τὸν κώδικα.*)

FIRST CHAPTER.

ENTIRE SUPPRESSION OF PAGANISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

§ 109.

In *the East*, the remains of paganism disappeared under Justinian I. (527–565), who abolished the new Platonic school at Athens (529),¹ and compelled the heathens to submit to baptism.² Only the free Maenotts in Peloponnesus clung obstinately to it.³ Even in *the West* it was not yet completely extirpated. Theodorich was obliged to prohibit sacrifices to the gods on pain of

¹ Joh. Malala (about 600) *historia chronica* (lib. xviii. from the creation of the world to the death of Justinian I.) ex rec. Lud. Dindorfii, Bonnæ 1831. 8. p. 451. Exile of the philosophers Damascius, Isidorus, Simplicius, Eulamius, Hermias, Diogenes, and Priscian, into Persia, Agathias ii. 30. cf. Wesselingii *observationum variarum* (Traj. ad Rhen. 1740. 8.) lib. i. c. 28.

² Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. xi. (de paganis et sacrificiis et templis) l. 10. Theophanes i. 276. activity of Johannes Episc. Asiae (probably a missionary bishop for the conversion of the heathen in Asia Minor) see Assemani *bibl. orient. ii. 85.* As late as the year 561 heathens were discovered in Constantinople (Jo. Malala p. 491.)

³ Till the ninth century. See Div. 1. § 44.—According to J. Ph. Fallmerayer *Gesch. d. Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* (2 Th. Stuttg. u. Tübingen 1830. 36.) i. 169, 189. heathen Slavonians had seized upon, from 578 till 589, the interior of Macedonia, Thessaly, Hellas, and the Peloponnesus; but this first happened about 746, though single Slavonian colonies in those parts may have been older. See J. W. Zinkeisen's *Gesch. Griechenlands v. Anfange geschichtl. Kunde bis auf unfere Tage*. Th. 1. (Leipzig 1832.) S. 689. 741.

death;⁴ and at the end of the fifth century many heathen practices were still continued at Rome, and could not be abolished without resistance.⁵ Still longer did various superstitions adhere to those heathen temples which were not destroyed.⁶ In many distant places paganism was maintained for a long time undisturbed. Sacrifices were offered in a temple of Apollo on mount Cassinum, until Benedict (529) transformed it into a chapel of St Martin.⁷ In Sicily,⁸ but especially in Sardinia⁹ and Corsica,¹⁰ there were still many heathens about A. D. 600. Even Gregory the Great did not hesitate now to advise violent measures, with the view of effecting their conversion.¹¹

⁴ See Lindenbrogii cod. legum antt. p. 255.

⁵ cf. Salvianus Massil. above § 79. not. 23. Gelasius P. (492-496) adv. Andromachum Senatorem caeterosque Romanos, qui Lupercalia secundum morem pristinum colenda constituebant (ap. Mansii viii. p. 95 ss.). He shows of what a sacrilege he is guilty, qui cum se Christianum videri velit, et profiteatur, et dicat, palam tamen publiceque praedicare non horreat, non refugiat, non pavecat, ideo morbos gigni, quia daemonia non colantur, et deo Februario non litetur.—Quando Anthemius Imperator Roman venit (about 470), Lupercalia utique gerebantur.—dum haec mala hodieque perdurant, ideo haec ipsa imperia defecerunt, ideo etiam nomen Romanorum, non remotis etiam Lupercalibus, usque ad extrema quaeque pervenit. Et ideo nunc ea removenda suadeo.—Postremo si de meorum persona praescribendum aestimas praedecessorum: unusquisque nostrorum administrationis suae redditurus est rationem.—Ego negligentiam accusare non audeo praedecessorum, cum magis credam fortasse tentasse eos, ut haec pravitas tolleretur, et quasdam extitisse causas et contrarias voluntates, quae eorum intentionibus praepedirent: sicut ne nunc quidem vos istos absistere insanis conatibus velle perpenditis. Beugnot hist. de la destruction du Paganisme en Occident ii. 273.

⁶ Palladium in the temple of Fortune, Procop. de bello goth. i. 15. The temple of Janus i. 25. The Pantheon continued till 610 with its idololatriae sordibus, Paulus Diac. hist. Longob. iv. 37. Beugnot ii. 288.

⁷ Gregorii M. dialog. lib. ii. Beugnot ii. 285. At a still later period heathen rites of worship in holy groves were practised in the diocese of Terracina. Gregorii M. viii. ep. 18. ad Agnellum Episc. Terracin.

⁸ Gregor. M. lib. iii. epist. 62.

⁹ Gregor. M. lib. iv. epist. 26. and lib. ix. epist. 65. ad Januar. Episc. Caralitanum lib. v. epist. 41. ad Constantinam Augustam.

¹⁰ Gregor. M. lib. viii. epist. 1.

¹¹ He prescribes lib. iv. ep. 26. in case a peasant should obstinately persist in heathenism: tanto pensionis onere gravandus est, ut ipsa exactionis suae poena compellatur ad rectitudinem festinare. And lib. ix. epist. 65: Contra idolorum quoque cultores vel aruspices atque

SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

§ 110.

MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSIES.

Sources: Fragments of Acts of Councils collected by Mansi vii. 481.—ix. 700. Liberati breviarium (see preface to §. 88.)—Breviculus hist. Eutych. (see preface to §. 89.)—Leontii Byzantini (about 600?) de sectis liber, in x. actiones distributus (prim. ed. Jo. Leunclavius in legat. Manuelis Comneni ad Armenos. Basil. 1578. 8. in Gallandii bibl. PP. T. xii. p. 621 ss.), actio v.—x. Ejusdem contra Eutychianos et Nestorianos libb. iii. (lat. ex. Fr. Turriani versione ap. Canisius-Basnage, i. 535. ap. Gallandius xii. 658. in Greek Ang. Maji spicileg. roman, x. ii. 1). Zachariae rhet. et Theodori lect. hist. eccl. fragmenta.—Evagrius ii. 5 ss. Theophanes ed. Paris. p. 92 ss.

Works: Walch's Ketzerhistorie vi. 461. vii. and viii. Baur's Lehre v. d. Dreieigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes ii. 37.

The decisions of the council of Chalcedon were regarded by the Egyptian party as completely Nestorian.¹ There was therefore an insurrection of monks in *Palestine*, led on by one of their number, Theodosius, against Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, and favoured by the widowed empress Eudoxia, which was finally

sortilegos Fraternitatem vestram vehementius pastorali hortamur invigilare custodia, atque publice in populo contra hujus rei viros sermonem facere, eosque a tanti labe sacrilegii et divini intentatione judicii, et praesentis vitae periculo, adhortatione suasoria revocare. Quos tamen si emendare se a talibus atque corrigere nolle repereris, ferventi comprehendere zelo te volumus: et siquidem servi sunt, verberibus cruciatusque quibus ad emendationem pervenire valeant, castigare. Si vero sunt liberi, inclusione digna districtaque sunt in poenitentiam dirigendi; ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire verba contemnunt, cruciatus saltem eos corporis ad desideratam mentis valeat reducere sanitatem.

¹ So also the Monophysites related that Leo the Great and Theodoret had been completely reconciled to Nestorius; that the latter had been invited to the Synod of Chalcedon by the Emperor Marcian, but had

quashed after much bloodshed (451–3.)² But in *Alexandria*, a considerable party, headed by the presbyter *Timothy ὁ αἰλουρος*, and the deacon *Peter ὁ μογγός*, (*i. e.* blaesus Liberat. c. 16) separated from the newly-appointed bishop Proterius. The greatest part of this faction continued to maintain the doctrine of one nature, rejected the council of Chalcedon, and considered Dioscurus as unjustly deposed ;³ while, on the contrary, they ap-

died on the way. See Zachariae hist. eccl. in Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. x. 361. and Xenayas, bishop of Mabug, about 500, in Assemani bibl. or. ii. 40. On the other hand, it is remarked by Evagrius ii. 2. that Nestorius had died previously.

² Zachariae fragm. ap. Majus x. 363. Vita S. Euthymii Abbatis († 472) by Cyril of Scythopolis (about 555), in an enlarged form by Simeon Metaphrastes in Cotelerii monum. Eccles. graec. ii. 200. in a shorter, perhaps a genuine form, in the analectis graecis (ed. Benedictini mon. Jac. Lopinus, B. Montfaucon, Ant. Pugetus. Paris. 1688. 4.) p. 1 ss. Juvenal had before sided with the Egyptians, and was also at first at Chalcedon on the side of Dioscurus: but (Zacharias l. c.) accepta demum ab Imperatore promissione de subjiciendis tribus Palaestinae sedibus honori cathedrae hierosolymitanae, mentis oculos sibi obstruxit, solum destituit in certamine Dioscorum, et adversariorum in partes transiit.

³ The most important representative of this tendency which we have is Severus monophysite patriarch of Antioch, from A. D. 513. (See below note 19.) Comp. my comm. qua Monophysitarum veterum variae de Christi persona opiniones inprimis ex ipsorum effatis recens. editis illustrantur (Partic. ii. Gotting. 1835. 38. 4.) i. 9 ss. Severi locus (prim. ed. Mansi vii. 831. Gallandius xii. 733. is, according to Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vii. i. 136. from Severi lib. contra Grammaticum, Joannem Ep. Caesareae): Δύο τὰς φύσεις ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ νοοῦμεν, τὴν μὲν κτιστὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀκτιστον· ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐγράψατο τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον τὴν ἄλογον ταύτην γραφὴν, τί δήποτε δύο φύσεις ὠνόμασαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐνώσεως διαλαμβάνοντες. οὐδεὶς ταύτην ἔστησε τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην μᾶλα δικαίως, τί δήποτε μὴ ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ ἀγίῳ Κυρίλλῳ ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν. Οὐ παυσόμεθα λέγοντες, ὡς δειξάτω τις τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόκι σύνοδον ἢ τὸν τόμον Λέοντος τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ὁμολογήσαντας, ἢ σύνοδον φυσικὴν, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἕνα Χριστόν, ἢ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ τότε γνωσόμεθα, ὡς κατὰ τὸν σοφώτατον Κύριλλον θεωρία μόνῃ ἀνακρίνοντες τὴν οὐσιώδη διαφορὰν τῶν συνεχθέντων ἀπορρήτως εἰς ἓν ἴσασιν καὶ ὡς ἑτέρα ἢ τοῦ λόγου φύσις, καὶ ἑτέρα ἢ τῆς σαρκὸς, καὶ ὡς δύο τὰ ἀλλήλοις συνηρηγμένα καθορώσι τῷ νῷ, δυστώσι δὲ οὐδαμῶς. Ex ejusd. ad Jo. Grammat. lib. ii. c. 1. ap. Majum l. c. p. 138: καὶ τῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἔνωσις, μερότων ἀμειώτων καὶ ἀναλλοιώτων, ἐν συνθέσει δὲ ὑφεστώτων καὶ οὐκ ἐν μονάσιν ιδιουσυστάτοις. Ex ejusd. epist. iii. ad Joannem ducem ap. Majum l. c. p. 71: Ἔως ἂν οὖν εἰς ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, μίαν ὡς ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν σύνθετον ἐπ' ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἀναβάντες κηρύττομεν, ἀναθεματίζοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

proved of the condemnation of Eutyches, for his supposed doctemism.⁴ But as the doctrine of one nature had before led in some cases to the idea of considering the body of Jesus as something

μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν δυάδα φύσεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν δογματίζοντας.—Collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis habita Constantinop. anno 531 ap. Mansi viii. 822: Quod ex duabus quidem naturis dicere unam significat Dei verbi naturam incarnatam, secundum b. Cyrillum et ss. patres: in duabus autem naturis duas personas et duas subsistentias significat. At the same time they allowed that Christ is κατὰ σάρκα ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν (Leontius de sectis act. 5. Evagrius iii. 5.)—Severus ap. Anastasius Sinaita (about 560) in the Ὁδηγὸς adv. Acephalos (prim. ed. J. Gretser. Ingolst. 1606. 4.) c. 18: ὡςπερ ἐπὶ τῆς μῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως μέρος μὲν ταύτης ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, μέρος δὲ τὸ σῶμα, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς μῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως, μέρος τάξιν ἐπέχει ἡ θεότης, καὶ μέρος τὸ σῶμα. This comparison was frequently used by the Monophysites generally after Cyril's example (see ep. ad Succensum above § 88. note 21.), and in like manner by Philoxenus or Xenayas, bishop of Mabug (488-518) in Assemani bibl. orient. ii. 25. Gelasius I. (bishop of Rome 492-496) de duabus naturis in Christo adv. Eutychen et Nestorium (in bibl. PP. and in Jo. Heroldi haereseologia. Basil. 1556. p. 686.): Adhuc autem etiam illud adjiciunt, ut sicut ex duabus rebus constat homo, id est ex anima et corpore, quamvis utriusque rei sit diversa natura, sicut dubium non habetur, plerumque tamen usus loquendi singulariter pronunciet, simul utrumque complectens, ut humanam dicat naturam, non humanas naturas: sic potentiam in Christi mysterio, et unionem divinitatis atque humanitatis unam dici vel debere vel posse naturam: non considerantes, quia cum una natura dicatur humana, quae tamen ex duabus constet, id est ex anima et corpore principaliter, illa causa est, quia nec initialiter anima alibi possit existere, quam in corpore, nec corpus valeat constare sine anima: et merito, quae alterutro sibi sit causa existendi, pariter unam abusive dici posse naturam, quae sibi invicem causam praebeat, ut ex alterutro natura subsistat humana, salva proprietate duntaxat duarum. According to the decrees of the synod at Chalcedon φύσις and οὐσία are synonymous, while τὸ ἄτομον and ἡ ὑπόστασις are different from them. But the monophysites took φύσις, ὑπόστασις and ἄτομον synonymously, and separated ἡ οὐσία from them. See Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vii. 1. 11 ss. my Comm. i. 11. That this was also the phraseology employed by Cyril is acknowledged by Eubulus, bishop of Lystra, ap. Majus l. c. p. 31. who endeavours to exculpate him on that account. And that this controversy was more about correctness of expression than of idea, even the monk Eustathius, with all his bitterness against Severus, is obliged to allow. See Majus l. c. p. 291. and my Comm. i. 23.

⁴ Collatio Cathol. cum Severianis ap. Mansi t. viii. p. 818: qualem opinionem de Eutychē habetis? Orientales dixerunt: Tanquam haereticus, magis autem princeps haeresis. Zacharias (ap. Evagrium iii. 5.): οἱ τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς φαντασίαν νοσοῦντες ἀνὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, καὶ τὸν μονήρη διώκοντες βίον, ὡςπερ ἔρμαιφ τυλὶ περιτυχεῖν οἰθθέντες Τιμοθέφ (Aeluro),

superhuman,⁵ so also now, many attributed peculiar excellencies to it.⁶ To the most influential advocates of the doctrine of one nature, Athanasius and Cyril, was now added *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*, whose writings were doubtless composed in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century,⁷ and therefore coin-

—δρομαίοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ ὡς διελεγχθέντες πρὸς Τιμοθέου, ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν εἶναι κατὰ σάρκα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐς τοῦπίσω ἀνεχώρου. Prevailing notion respecting the doctrine of Eutyches: Hormisdæ P. epist. 30. ad Caesarium: Eutyches carnis negans veritatem,—ut Manichæam phantasiam phantasiam ecclesiæ Christi—insereret etc. Justinianus in Codice i. i. 5: (anathematizamus) et Eutychetem mente captum, *phantasiam inducentem*. Vigiliis Tapsensis (about 484) adv. Eutychen libb. v. (opp. ed. P. F. Chiffletius. Divione 1664. 4.) in the beginning of lib. iii.: Eutychiana hæresis in id impietatis prolapsa est errore, ut non solum verbi et carnis unam credat esse naturam, verum etiam hanc eandem carnem non de sacro Mariæ virginis corpore adsuntam, sed de coelo dicat, juxta infandum Valentini et Marcionis errorem, fuisse deductam. Ita pertinaciter verbum carnem adserens factum, ut per virginem, ac si aqua per fistulam, transisse videatur, non tamen ut de virgine aliquid, quod nostri sit generis, adsumsisse credatur. Liberatus c. 11. Samuel presbyter in Edessa went so far as to attempt to prove to the Eutychians veram humani generis carnem a Deo assumtam, et non de coelo exhibitam, nec crassi aëris substantiam in carne incessisse formatam (Genadius de vir. illustr. c. 82.)

⁵ See Theodoret's erasmistes et Isidor. Pelus. § 89. not. 2.

⁶ So said Dioscurus (in Maji nova coll. vii. i. 289.): 'Ι. Χρ. γεόμενος ἄνθρωπος—τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεκοινώηκε πάθεισιν οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν. Ἀνδ μὴ γένοιτο ἐνὸς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὁμοούσιον τὸ αἶμα Χριστοῦ. Timotheus Aelurus (l. c. p. 277.): Φύσις δὲ Χριστοῦ μία μόνη θεότης (consequently not as according to Severus: φύσις σύνθετος), and: εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄνθρωπος κατὰ φύσιν καὶ νόμον ὁ μέλλων ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἄνθρωπος ἐν μήτρα τῆς παρθένου, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέχθη ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰ μὴ πρῶτον τῆς παρθενίας διαλυθείσης.

⁷ De hierarchia coelesti, de hierarchia ecclesiastica, de nominibus divinis, de theologia mystica, epistolæ (ed. Paris. 1644. 2 voll. fol.) falsely ascribed to the Dionysius mentioned in Acts xvii. 34, who, according to Dionys. Corinth. ap. Euseb. iii. 4. iv. 23. was the first bishop of Athens. The first trace of these writings which has been preserved to us belongs to the beginning of the 6th century, when Joannes Scythopolitanus wrote scholia on them (Le Quien disertt. Damasc. prefixed to his edition of Joannes Damasc. i. fol. xxxviii. verso). The Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Severus, cites them (see note 8.), and the no less respectable orthodox writer Ephraemius, who, from 526, was patriarch of Antioch, refers to them (ap. Photius cod. 229. ed. Hoeschel. p. 420.) When, however, in the collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis in the year 531, the Monophysites appealed to them (Mansi viii. 817.), Hypatius, archbishop of Ephesus, judged ostendi non posse, ista vera

cided with the mode of expounding the doctrine of Christ's person adopted by Cyril.⁸ Among the many heretical names which the party received from its opponents,⁹ the appellation *Μονοφυσῖται* was the most common. On the other hand they called the opposite party *Δυοφυσῖται*, or *Διφυσῖται*.¹⁰

The death of Marcian inspired († 457) the Monophysites with new hopes. At *Alexandria*, Proterius was killed in an insurrec-

esse, quae nullus antiquus memoraverit. Subsequently many were found in the Greek Church who always asserted the spuriousness of these writings (Maximi prol. in schol. Dionys. p. 45, Photius cod. 1.). In the Latin Church, in which they had been widely diffused from the 9th century, Laurentius Valla († 1457) was the first that detected the imposition. He was followed in his opinion by the ablest scholars of the day; and Jo. Dallaeus de scriptis, quae sub Dionysii Areop. et Ignatii Ant. nominibus circumferuntur. Genevae 1666. 4. finally exhibited in a copious form the evidence of their spuriousness. cf. le Quien l. c. Salig de Eutychianismo ante Eutychen. Wolfenbuttelae 1723. 4. p. 159 ss. J. G. V. Engelhardt diss. de Dionysio Plotinizante. Erlang. 1820. 8. Id. de origine scriptorum Areopagiticorum. Erl. 1823. 8. The same writer's Die angebl. Schriften des Areopagiten Dionysius, überf. u. m. Abhandlungen begleitet. Suizbach 1823. 2 Theile. 8. Baumgarten-Crusius de Dionysio Areop. comm. 1823 (opusc. theol. p. 261.) departing from the opinions of others, attributes these writings to the third century, and thinks they were written with the object of transferring the Greek mysteries to Christianity. See against this hypothesis Ritter Gesch. d. christl. Philos. ii. 519.

⁸ He combats the excrescences of it, the doctrines of a confusion and transmutation de eccles. hierarchia c. 3. (opp. i. 297. 299), de divinis nominibus c. 2. (l. c. p. 501). The principal passage is in epist. iv. ad Cajum (opp. ii. 75): οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων ἐπέκεινα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος γεγονώς. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, οὐ κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεία δράσας, οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος Θεοῦ, καινὴν τινα τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένως. The last words of this passage are addressed by Severus epist. ad Joannem ducem in Maji collect. vii. 1, 71, as a φωνὴν τοῦ πανσόφου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγητικοῦ, and enlarged by the addition of τὸν ἀνδρωθέντα θεὸν, τὸν ταύτην (ἐνέργειαν) καινοπρεπῶς πεπολιτευμένον, μίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν φύσιν τε καὶ ὑπόστασιν θεανδρικήν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην. The Monophysites obtained from Dionysius a new formula in addition to the old Athanasian one.

⁹ At different times and places, for example, Acephali Severiani, Aegyptii, Jacobitae, Timotheani, etc.—Facundus Episc. Hermianensis (about 540) pro defensione iii. capitulorum (libb. v. prim. ed. Jac. Sirmond. Paris. 1629. 8. ap. Gallandius T. xi. p. 665) libb. i. c. 5. et iv. c. 3: Acephali vocantur a Graecis, quos significatius nos Semieutychianos possumus appellare. This name, however, never became usual.

¹⁰ So Timotheus Aclurus in Maji coll. vii. 1, 277.

tion; and *Timotheus Ælurus*, chosen bishop. The emperor, *Leo I.* (457—474) actually requested a new decision of the bishops respecting adherence to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. But as the majority declared themselves in favour of the synod,¹¹ *Timotheus Ælurus* was banished, and *Timotheus σαλοφακιάλος* nominated in his place (460), who succeeded in maintaining the tranquillity of Alexandria by his prudent, conciliating conduct towards the opposite party. It is true, that new commotions

¹¹ The letters are collected in the codex encyclius. Mansi T. vii. p. 777 ss. gives their form, and the writings themselves also in the same volume, p. 521 ss. Most remarkable is the epist. *Episcoporum Pamphyliae*. Ibid. p. 573 ss.:—doctrina—quae a S. Nicaeno concilio gratia spiritali prolata est—omnia complet et omnibus valde sufficit—Nos et Nicaenum synodum debito honore veneramus, et Chalcedonensem quoque suscipimus, veluti scutum eam contra haereticos opposcentes, et non anathema (leg. mathema, μάθημα) fidei existentem. Non enim ad populum a papa Leone et a S. Chalcedonensi concilio scripta est, ut ex hoc debeant scandalum sustinere, sed tantummodo sacerdotibus, ut habeant quo possint repugnare contrariis. Duarum namque naturarum sive substantiarum unitatem in uno Christo declaratam invenimus a pluribus apud nos consistentibus sanctis et religiosissimis patribus, et nequaquam veluti mathema aut symbolum his qui baptizantur hoc tradimus, sed ad bella hostium reservamus. Si vero propter medelam eorum, qui per simplicitatem scandalizati noscuntur, placuerit vestrae potentiae, Christo amabilis imperator, S. Leoni Rom. civ. episcopo, nec non aliorum pariter sanctitati, propter istorum (sicut dixi) condescensionem et satisfactionem, quatenus idem sanctissimus vir literis suis declaret, quia non est symbolum neque mathema epistola, quae tunc ab eo ad sanctae memoriae nostrum archiepiscopum Flavianum directa est, et quod a sancto concilio dictum est, sed haereticae pravitatis potius increpatio: simul et illud, quod ab eis est dictum, “in duabus naturis,” quod forte eis dubium esse dignoscitur, dum a patre prolatum sit propter eos, qui veram Dei verbi incarnationem negant, his sermonibus apertius indicatum, ita tamen, ut in nullo sanctae synodo fiat injuria. Nihil enim differt, sive duarum naturarum unitas inconfusa dicatur, sive ex duabus eodem modo referatur. Sed neque si una dicatur verbi natura, inferatur autem incarnata, aliud quid significat, sed idem honestiori sermone declarat. Nam et invenimus saepius hoc dixisse ss. patres. Apud vestrae pietatis imperium, quod significat vestra potentia decenter ago, quia ipsa synodus permanebit, sicut ecclesiae membra discerpta copulabuntur hoc sermone curata, et ea, quae contra sacerdotes nefanda committuntur, cessabunt, et ora haereticorum contra nos aperta damnabuntur, et omnia reducuntur ad pacem, et fiet, sicut scriptum est, unus grex et unus pastor. Quoniam et dominus Christus multa condescensione circa nos usus, et humanum salvavit genus: et quia cum dives esset, utique divinitate, pauper factus est pro nobis, secundum quod homo fieri voluit, ut nos illa paupertate ditaremur, sicut b. Paulus edicit etc.

arose soon after even in Antioch. *Peter* the Fuller (ὁ γυαφεύς), a monk of Constantinople, and an enemy of the council of Chalcedon, endeavoured to carry through here, the favourite formula of the Monophysites *θεὸς ἐσταυρώθη*, and even to introduce it into the *Trishagion*;¹² succeeded in gaining over the monks to his party; and put himself in the place of the deposed patriarch; but not long after he was banished by an imperial decree (about 470), and there was hope of seeing the schism gradually disappear and be every where forgotten. But it proved incurable when *Basiliscus*, having driven the Emperor Zeno Isauricus from the throne (476. 477), declared in favour of the Monophysites, reinstated Timotheus Ælurus and Peter the Fuller in their dignities, and by the *En-cyclion*, required all bishops (476) to condemn the synod of Chalcedon.¹³

It was not long, indeed, before the persevering *Acacius*, patriarch of Constantinople, succeeded in exciting a popular tumult,

¹² The elder *τρισάγιον* consisted of the words Jes. 6, 3. cf. Constitt. apost. viii. 12. Miraculous origin of the later one under Theodosius II. (Felicis Papae ep. ad Petrum Full. ap Mansi vii. 1041. Acacii ep. ad. eund. ibid. p. 1121): "Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος (ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς), ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. cf. Suiceri thes. ii. 1310. Bingham vi. p. 37 ss. Walch's Ketzerhistorie vii. 239.

¹³ In the *Ἐγκύκλιον* (ap. Evagrius iii. 4), it is said: *θεσπίζομεν τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ βεβαίωσιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐζωΐας, τουτέστι τὸ σύμβολον τῶν τῆ ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πάλαι μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐκκλησιασθέντων—μόνον πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις τὸν ὀρθόδοξον λαὸν, ὡς μόνον τῆς ἀπλανοῦς πίστεως ὄρον, καὶ ἀρκοῦν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν μὲν καθόλου πάσης αἰρέσεως, ἔνωσιν δὲ ἄκραν τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐχόντων δηλαδὴ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν, καὶ τῶν εἰς βεβαίωσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβόλου πεπραγμένων ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει ταύτῃ—παρὰ τῶν ῥ' ἀγίων πατέρων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλει κατὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Νεστορίου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐκείνου φρονησάντων τὰ δὲ διελόντα τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ εὐταξίαν τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς, δηλαδὴ τὸν λεγόμενον τόμον Λέοντος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἐν ὄρφῃ πίστεως ἢ ἐκθέσει συμβόλων—εἰρημένα καὶ πεπραγμένα εἰς καινοτομίαν κατὰ τοῦ μνημονευθέντος ἀγίου συμβόλου τῶν τῆ ἀγίων πατέρων, θεσπίζομεν ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ πανταχοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἀγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων ἀναθεματίζεσθαι, καὶ πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι παρ' οἷς ἂν εὐρίσκηται.—θεσπίζομεν τοὺς πανταχοῦ ἀγιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους ἐμφανίζομένῳ τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ ἡμῶν ἐγκυκλίῳ γράμματι καθυπογράφειν σαφῶς καταμηνύοντας, ὅτι δὴ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ στοιχοῦσι συμβόλῳ τῶν τῆ ἀγίων πατέρων, ὅπερ ἐπεσφράγισαν οἱ ῥ' πατέρες ἅγιοι, ὡς ἔδοξεν ὀριστικῶς καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα συνελθοῦσι κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσίων μητρόπολιν ὀρθοδόξοις καὶ ὁσίοις πατράσιν. cf. J. Gu. Berger heno-tica Orientis. Vitemb. 1723. 4. p. 1 ss.*

which was the means of restoring *Zeno Isauricus* to the throne (477—491); but in the meantime, the principles of the Monophysites had been so firmly established in Egypt by those occurrences, that Zeno, by the advice of Acacius, issued the *Henoticon*¹⁴ (482), in which both parties were to be brought into a state of peace and union by reducing the points at issue to more general principles. *Peter Mongus* was patriarch of Alexandria, and subscribed the Henoticon. Many Monophysites, however, displeased at this, separated from him, and were called *Ἀκέφαλοι*, without a head.¹⁵ *Peter the Fuller* was once more appointed patriarch of Antioch (485); though many Syrian bishops were deposed because they would not subscribe the Henoticon. The most decided opposition to church fellowship with the Mo-

¹⁴ Ap. Evagrius iii. 14: Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Ζήνων—τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Πεντάπολιν κ. τ. λ.—γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς ἐσπουδάσαμεν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ αἱ πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίαι ἕτερον σύμβολον, ἢ μάθημα, ἢ ὄρον πίστεως, ἢ πίστιν πλὴν τοῦ εἰρημένου ἁγίου συμβόλου τῶν τῆς ἀγίων πατέρων, ὅπερ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἱ μνημονευθέντες ῥὶ ἅγιοι πατέρες, οὔτε ἐσχήκαμεν, οὔτε ἔχομεν, οὔτε ἔξομεν.—ὧ καὶ ἐξηκολούθησαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων συνελθόντες, οἳ καὶ καθελόντες τὸν ἀσεβῆ Νεστόριον, καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἐκείνου μετὰ ταῦτα φρονούντας ὄντινα καὶ ἡμεῖς Νεστόριον ἅμα καὶ Εὐτυχῆ, τὰναντία τοῖς εἰρημένοις φρονούντας, ἀναθεματίζομεν, δεχόμενοι καὶ τὰ εἰς κεφάλαια τὰ εἰρημένα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης γενομένου Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸν καὶ θεὸν τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου, ἕνα τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο· ἐνὸς γὰρ εἶναι φαμέν τὰ τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, ἅπερ ἐκουσίως ὑπέμεινε σαρκί. τοὺς γὰρ διαιρούντας, ἢ συγχέοντας, ἢ φαντασίαν εἰσάγοντας οὐδὲ ὄλως δεχόμεθα· ἐπεὶπερ ἡ ἀναμάρτητος κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σάρκωσις ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου προσθήκην υἱοῦ οὐ πεποίηκε.—πάντα δὲ τὸν ἕτερόν τι φρονήσαντα, ἢ φρονούντα, ἢ νῦν ἢ πρόποτε, ἢ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, ἢ οἷα δῆποτε συνόδῳ, ἀναθεματίζομεν. Berger henotica Orientis p. 42 ss.

¹⁵ These considered Timothy Ælurus as the last legitimate patriarch. See Eustathii mon. epist. ad Timoth. Scholasticum, in Maji coll. vii. 1, 277: Τοῦτῳ (Τιμοθέῳ Αἰλούρω) καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μίχρι τῆς σήμερον οὐ κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Σευήρου, ἀκεφάλους αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύοντες. However, Timotheus himself seems to have died before the division, since Severus esteems him highly. See his words l. c. Διοσκόρου δὲ καὶ Τιμοθέου, τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστῶν—τοὺς ἀγῶνας τιμῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι. It might be expected that the strictest Monophysites should have belonged to the Acephali, who considered even the body of Jesus as something higher, and these found passages in Timotheus Ælurus, which agreed with them (see note 6), though he had maintained that the body of Christ is of like essence with our own.

nophysites was presented by the Roman patriarchs, who had become entirely independent of the emperor since the downfall of the Western empire (476). All remonstrance proving vain, *Felix II.* issued an anathema (484)¹⁶ against Acacius, and communion between the Eastern and Western churches was entirely broken off.

But even in the East, the Henoticon proved but a weak bond of union, since the questions left indeterminate in it, were continually employing the minds of men. At Constantinople, the council of Chalcedon stood high in estimation; and *the Acoemetæ* even continued in communion with the Church of Rome. In Alexandria, the decrees of this council were rejected. In the East, opinions on the subject were divided. Among all these churches, it is true, external fellowship was for the most part maintained by the Henoticon; but it could not be otherwise than that there should be coldness between the parties, which often led to open quarrels. Such was the situation of affairs at the accession of the emperor *Anastasius* (491–518). He adopted the principle of avoiding all interference in religious matters, except to protect the peace of the citizens against fanaticism.¹⁷ But he could

¹⁶ Felicis epist. ad Acacium ap. Mansi vii. p. 1053. The conclusion: Habe ergo cum his, quos libenter amplecteris, portionem ex sententia praesenti, quam per tuæ tibi direximus ecclesiae defensorem, sacerdotali honore, et communione catholica, nec non etiam a fidelium numero segregatus; sublatum tibi nomen et munus ministerii sacerdotalis agnosce, S. Spiritus judicio et apostolica auctoritate damnatus, numquam anathematis vinculis exuendus.—Theophanes p. 114: Ἀκάκιος δὲ ἀναισθητῶς ἔσχε περὶ τὴν καθάραισιν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Φίλικος) ἐξῆρε τῶν διπτύχων.

¹⁷ Evagrius iii. 30: Οὗτος ὁ Ἀναστάσιος εἰρηναῖός τις ὦν, οὐδὲν καινουργεῖσθαι παντελῶς ἠβούλετο, διαφερόντως περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν.— Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδος ἀνὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους οὔτε ἀναφανδὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐκηρύττετο, οὔτε μὴν ἐκ πάντων ἀπεκηρύττετο. ἕκαστοι δὲ τῶν προεδρευόντων, ὡς εἶχον νομίσεως, διεπράττοντο. Κἂν ἔνιοι μὲν τῶν ἐκτεθειμένων αὐτῇ μάλα γεννικῶς ἀντείχοντο, καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμίαν ἐνεδίδοσαν συλλαβὴν τῶν ὀρισθέντων παρ' αὐτῆς, οὐ μὴν γράμματος ἀλλαγὴν παρεδέχοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπεπήδων τῆς παρῆρησίας, καὶ κοινωνεῖν παντελῶς οὐκ ἠνεύχοντο τοῖς μὴ δεχομένοις παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἐκτιθέμενα. Ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ὀρισθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναθέματι περιέβαλον αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν Λέοντος τόμον. Ἄλλοι τοῖς ἐνωτικοῖς Ζήνωνος ἐνισχυρίζοντο καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διερῥωγότες τῇ τε μιᾷ καὶ ταῖς δύο φύσεσιν, οἱ μὲν τῇ συνθήκῃ τῶν γραμμάτων κλαπέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ εἰρημικώτερον μᾶλλον ἀποκλίναντες· ὡς πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἰδίας ἀποκριθῆναι μοίρας,

not prevent all outbreaks of the latter. In Constantinople itself, he was threatened by the seditious *Vitalianus*, who put himself forth as a defender of the Chalcedonian synod (514), and was obliged to promise to him that he would effect a restoration of communion with Rome. But all negotiations to bring this about were frustrated by the extravagant demands of the Roman see; and Anastasius carried with him to the grave the hatred of all the friends of the council of Chalcedon, as may be seen by many narratives written after his death.¹⁸

Under *Justin I.* (518–527), a popular tumult finally compelled the general and solemn adoption of the Chalcedonian council at Constantinople, and the renewal of Church-communion with Rome (519). The same measures were soon after taken in the East; the Monophysite bishops were deposed, particularly *Severus*, patriarch of Antioch,¹⁹ *Xenayas* or *Philoxenus*, bishop of Mabug,

καὶ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς προεδρεύοντας.—“Ἀπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος θεώμενος τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξωθέητο, εἴ που κατελιήφει ἢ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῖς τόποις τινὰ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον κηρύττοντα, ἢ ταύτην ἀναθέματι περιτιθέοντα.

¹⁸ Evagrius iii. 32 : ὁ Ἀναστάσιος δόξαν μανιχαϊκῆς (νομίσεως) παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶχεν. Theodor. lect. ii. 6 : Μανιχαῖοι καὶ Ἀρειανοὶ ἔχαιρον Ἀναστασίῳ. Μανιχαῖοι μὲν, ὡς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοῦσης αὐτοὺς (Symmachi P. ep. ad Orientales ap. Mansi viii. p. 220 : Declinemus sacrilegum Eutychetis errorem cum Manichaea malitia congruentem), Ἀρειανοὶ δὲ ὡς Κλέαρχον τὸν θεῖον πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀναστασίου ὁμόδοξον ἔχοντες. Victor Episc. Tununensis (about 555) in his Chronicon (in Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage, vol. i. p. 326) : Messala V. C. Cos. Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, sancta Evangelia, tamquam ab idiotis Evangelistis composita, reprehenduntur et emendantur. (P. Wesselingii diss. de Evangelii jussu Imp. Anast. non emendatis append. to his diatribe de Judaeorum Archontibus. Traj. ad Rh. 1738.) On the contrary, Liberati breviarium c. 19 : Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus episcopus ab imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tamquam evangelia falsasset, et maxime illud Apostoli dictum : qui apparuit in carne, justificatus est in spiritu (1 Tim. iii. 16.) Hunc enim immutasse, ubi habet ΟΣ id est Qui, monosyllabum graecum, littera mutata Ο in Θ, vertisse et fecisse ΘΣ, id est Deus, ut esset : Deus apparuit per carnem. Tamquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per Severum monachum. —P. E. Jablonski exercit. de morte tragica Anastasii Dicori, Francof. ad Viadr. 1744. (Opusc. ed. te Water. T. iv. p. 353.) Among the Monophysites Zeno and Anastasius were reckoned orthodox. See Zachariae hist. ecci. in Maji coll. x. i. 366.

¹⁹ To the fragments of his works which were known before (a list is given in Cave i. 500), many new ones have been added, which are scattered through A. Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vii. i. Fragments of his

Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus; and the greater number of them fled to Alexandria; for in Egypt, Monophysitism was so generally prevalent, that Justin durst not undertake any thing against it there.

This very congregating of so many bishops in Alexandria now led to internal divisions among the Monophysites themselves.²⁰ From the controversy between Severus and Julian respecting the question whether the body of Christ was subject to that corruption, τῆ φθορᾶ, and was therefore φθαρτόν τι, or not,²¹ which has come upon human bodies by the fall, arose the first and most obstinate dispute, that of the *Severians* (Theodosiani,²² Φθαρτολάτραι) and the *Julianists*²³ (Gajanitae, Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται, Phantasiastae). Soon after there sprang from the former the Ἀγνοηταί, or Themistian.²⁴ On the other hand, the Julianists were divided into the Ἀκτισηταί and Κτιστολάτραι. About 530, the celebrated *John Philoponus*²⁵ promulgated his errors respecting the Tri-

comm. in Lucam and in Acta Apost. are given in Maji classicorum auctorum x. 408. Fragments and a Confession of Faith, addressed to the Emperor Anastasius, out of the Arabic in the Spicilegium romanum T. iii. (Romae 1840. 8.) p. 722. Liber ad Julian. Episc. Halicarn. out of the Syriac in the Spicileg. rom. x. 169.

²⁰ Concerning them as a peculiar source: Timotheus presb. de variis haereticis ac diversis eorum in Ecclesiam recipiendi formulis, in Cotelierii monum. Eccles. gr. iii. 377. Comp. Walch's Ketzerhist viii. 520. Baur's Dreieinigkeit ii. 73.

²¹ Comp. my comm. qua Monophysitarum variae de Christi persona opinioniones illustrantur. Partic. ii. Gotting. 1835. 38. 4.

²² A fragment of Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria, which extends over this disputed question, is given out of the Arabic in the Spicileg. rom. iii. 711. Among other things it is written, Nisi Christus—in sua carne eas qualitates habuisset, quae sine peccato consistere possunt, scil. nisi ejus caro par nostrae esset, tum quod ad essentiam attinet, tum etiam quod ad patiendum;—nunquam stimulus mortis destructus fuisset i. e. peccatum. Comp. especially Severi liber ad Julianum, quo demonstrat, quid sacri libri doctoresque Ecclesiae docuerint circa incorruptibilitatem corporis J. Chr. out of the Syriac in the Spicileg. rom. x. 169.

²³ Juliani anathematismi x. in Syriac in J. S. Assemani biblioth. Vatic. codd. mss. catal. P. I. T. iii. (Romae 1759. fol.) p. 223. in Lat. in my Coimm. ii. 5.

²⁴ Fragments of Themistius in Maji coll. vii. 1, 73. In order to perceive his view, the following sentences are of importance: Μία τοῦ Λόγου θεανδρική ἐνέργειά τε καὶ γνώσις. But τὰ μὲν θεϊκῶς, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως ὁ αὐτὸς ἐνήργησεν (consequently also ἐγίνωσκεν.)

²⁵ That a great part of his life does not belong to the seventh cen-

nity²⁶ and the resurrection,²⁷ drawn from the Aristotelian philosophy, among the Monophysites (Philoponiaci, Tritheitae; on the other side, Condobauditae and Cononitae) in opposition to whom *Damian*, patriarch of Alexandria, appeared to fall into the Sabelian error (Damianitae). At the same time, the doctrine of *Stephanus Niobes*, who removed all distinction of natures in Christ after their union, was condemned by the other Monophysites (Niobitae).²⁸

§ 111.

CONTROVERSIES UNDER JUSTINIAN I.

Justinian I. (527–565) a zealous adherent of the council of Chalcedon¹ endeavoured to restore unity and order both in state

tury, as has been usually assumed, is shown by Ritter *Gesch. d. christl. Philos.* ii. 501, and confirmed by a letter which he wrote, when an old man, to the Emperor Justinian. See *Spicileg. rom.* iii. 739.—His writings were: In *Hexaëmeron*, disp. de Paschate (ed. B. Corderius. Vienn. 1630. 4. more correctly printed in Gallandius xii. 471), de aeternitate mundi contra Proclum lib. (Venet. 1535), Commentaries on Aristotle.—Among other lost books was one adv. Synod. Chalcedonensem (Photius cod. 55.) Fabricii bibl. gr. vol. ix. p. 359 ss. (ed. Harles vol. x. p. 639 ss.

²⁶ Leontius de sectis act. v. § 6, makes Philoponus say to the church: εἰ δύο λέγετε φύσεις ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀνάγκη ὑμᾶς καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις εἰπεῖν.—ναὶ ταῦτό ἐστι φύσις καὶ ὑπόστασις. Ἐἴτα πάλιν ἡ ἐκκλησία· εἰ ταῦτό ἐστι φύσις καὶ ὑπόστασις, οὐκοῦν λέγομεν καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος τρεῖς φύσεις, ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογουμένως τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἔχει.—Ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Φιλόπονος· ὅτι καὶ ἔστω τρεῖς φύσεις λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. Ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ μερικαὶ οὐσίαι, καὶ μία κοινή· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Φιλόπονος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι εἰσὶ τρεῖς μερικαὶ οὐσίαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, καὶ ἔστι μία κοινή. Comp. the important fragments out of Philoponi dial. *Διαιτητῆς* ap. Joh. Damascenus de haeresibus c. 83.—His book on the Trinity against John, patriarch of Constantinople (Photius cod. 75.) is lost. J. G. Scharfenberg de Joh. Philop. Tritheismi defensore diss. Lips. 1768. 4. Joh. Philoponus, eine dogmenhist. Erörterung von F. Trechsel in the *theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1835. i. 95. Baur's *Dreieigkeit* ii. 13. Ritter ii. 512.

²⁷ Timotheus in Cotelerii monum. Eccl. gr. iii. 413. Philoponus's book *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* (Photius cod. 21.) is lost. Ritter ii. 511.

²⁸ Dionysius Patr. Antioch. in Assemani bibl. orient. ii. 72. Timotheus l. c. p. 397. 407 ss. 417 ss. Baur ii. 92.

¹ A new memorial of it is his *λόγος δογματικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μοναχοῦς*, which Majus *Scriptt. vett. nova coll.* vii. i. 292, has published.

and church by means of laws ; for which purpose he tried to bring back the Monophysites in particular, into the church. These endeavours were turned to advantage by a secret Monophysite court party, at whose head stood his spouse, *Theodora*,² who exercised great influence over him, and who, in the hope of bringing the Catholic Church, step by step, to Monophysitism, persuaded the emperor that the Monophysites took offence simply at points in the Catholic Church, which could be removed without a violation of orthodoxy. But since the dominant church had also its representatives at court, the emperor was led sometimes by the one party, sometimes by the other, to enact regulations, whose natural consequence was to increase rather than remove the causes of dispute.

The conferences between Catholic and Monophysite bishops, which Justinian³ caused to be held, were, on the whole, fruitless. The original Monophysite formula—"God was crucified"—which had been approved of by many, even among the Catholics in the East (*θεοπασχίται*),⁴ but which some Scythian monks under Justin I. had in vain attempted to introduce both at Rome and Constantinople (519–521),⁵ was declared orthodox by Justinian (533),

² Respecting her see Procopii hist. arcana c. 9.

³ The protocol of the one A. D. 531 : collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis ap. Mansi viii. 817.—Johannes Episc. Asiae speaks of several in Assemani bibl. orient. ii. 89.

⁴ See Walch's Ketzehist. vii. 261. 311 ff.

⁵ Walch vii. 262. Under Anastasius the addition in the Trishagion (see § 110, not. 12) was also introduced at Constantinople, (see Zachariae hist. eccl. ap. Assemani bibl. or. ii. 59, and in Maji nova coll. x. 375, comp. Dioscuri Diac. ep. ad Hormisdam ap. Mansi viii. 480.) Its abrogation during the reaction under Justin doubtless occasioned the monks to defend the formula. Hormisdæ Ep. Rom. ep. ad Possessorem Episc. Afric. Constantinopoli exulantem (ap. Mansi viii. 498) : Ubi non variae tentationis aculei ? Quales per hunc fere jugem annum quorundam Scytharum, qui monachos prae se ferebant specie non veritate, professione non opere, subtili tectas calliditate versutias, et sub religionis obtentu famulantia odiis suis venena pertulimus.—Nunquam apud eos caritas novo commendata praecepto, nunquam pax dominico relicta discessu : una pertinacis cura propositi, rationi velle imperare, non credere : contentores auctoritatum veterum, novarum cupidi questionum ; solam putantes scientiae rectam viam, qualibet concepta facilitate sententiam : eousque tumoris elati, ut [ad] arbitrium suum utriusque orbis putent inclinandum esse judicium etc. The answer of one of the Scythian monks to this, Joh. Maxentii ad epist. Hormisdæ

with the evident purpose of conciliating the Monophysites.⁶ This step, however, was without success. In Egypt the Monophysites

responsio (Bibl. PP. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 539 ss.):—Non est facile credendum, hanc esse epistolam cujus fertur nomine titulata, praesertim cum in ea nihil, ut diximus, rationis aut consequentiae reperitur, sed tota criminationibus obtreccionibusque vanis—videatur referta.—Quod monachis responsum quaerentibus Romanus Episcopus dare omnino distulerit, eosdemque post multa maris pericula, longique itineris vexationem, nec non etiam afflictionem prolixi temporis, quo eos apud se detinuit, vacuos et sine ullo effectu ad has partes venire compulerit, quod omnibus paene catholicis notum est, nec ipsi queunt haeretici denegare.—Nam et ipsi haeretici ad hoc ubique hanc ipsam, cui respondimus, epistolam proferunt, quatenus et saepedictis monachis invidiam concitent, et omnes quasi ex auctoritate ejusdem Romani Episcopi prohibeantur Christum filium Dei unum confiteri ex trinitate. Sed quis hanc sententiam catholicam non esse ausus est profiteri, quam universa veneratur et amplectitur Dei ecclesia? Confidenter etenim dicere audeo, non quod, si per epistolam, seu quod, si viva voce hic in praesenti positus idem Romanus prohiberet Episcopus Christum filium Dei unum confiteri ex sancta et individua trinitate, nunquam eidem Dei ecclesia acquiesceret, nunquam ut Episcopum catholicum veneraretur, sed omnino ut haeticum penitus execraretur. Quia quisquis hoc non confitetur non est dubium, quod Nestorianae perfidiae tenebris excaecatus, quartum et extraneum a sancta et ineffabili Trinitate eum, qui pro nobis crucem sustinuit, praedicare contendat.—An forte illos rationi credere, non imperare judicat, qui Christum unam personam quidem ex Trinitate, non autem unum ex Trinitate esse fatentur? Sed hi qui hoc dicunt, potius rationi velle imperare, non credere, penitus vincuntur, etc. The Episcopi Africani in Sardinia exules also sided with the Scythian monks: comp. their book composed by Fulgentius Ruspensis lib. de incarnatione et gratia Dom. nostri J. C. ad Mon. Scyth. (Fulgentii opera ed. Paris. 1684. 4. p. 277 ss.) Fulgentius Ferrandus Diac. Carthag. ad Anatolium Diac. Rom. Dionysius exiguus praef. ad versionem epistolae Procli Archiep. Const. ad Armenos (ap. Mansi v. 419.)

⁶ The Monophysites accused the orthodox, before the emperor, of not acknowledging dominum passum carne, vel unum eum esse de sancta Trinitate, nec ejusdem esse personae tam miracula quam passiones (cf. collatio Cathol. cum Sever. ap. Mansi viii. 832.) The Acoemetae did really deny esse confitendum, b. Mariam vere et proprie Dei genetricem; et unum de Trinitate incarnatum et carne passum (Liberatús c. 20.) evidently misled by their adherence to Rome (Sam. Basnage annal. politico-eceles. iii. 701.) Justiniani lex A. D. 533. (Cod. i. i. 6.)—Unius ac ejusdem passiones et miracula, quae sponte pertulit in carne, agnoscetes. Non enim alium Deum Verbum, et alium Christum novimus, sed unum et eundem.—Mansit enim Trinitas et post incarnatum unum ex Trinitate Dei verbum: neque enim quartae personae adjectionem admittit sancta Trinitas.—Anathematizamus—Nestorium anthropolatram, et qui eadem cum ipso sentiunt—qui negant nec confitentur Dominum nostrum J. C. filium Dei et Deum nostrum incarnatum et homi-

continued to be the prevailing party, though Justinian (536) again appointed a Catholic patriarch of Alexandria, *Paul*. But on the other hand, the secret endeavours of Theodora to spread Monophysitism in Rome and Constantinople were equally fruitless. *Anthimus*, who had been promoted to the see of Constantinople by her (535), was soon after (536) deposed for being a Monophysite.⁷ *Vigilius*, elevated to the see of Rome, with the secret understanding that he was to declare in favour of Monophysite doctrines (538),⁸ soon found it expedient to break through his agreement.

nem factum et crucifixum unum esse ex sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate.—Epist. Joannis Ep. Romae ad Justin. (ibid. L. 8. et. ap. Mansi viii. 797): comperimus, quod fidelibus populis proposuistis Edictum amore fidei pro submovenda haereticorum intentione, secundum apostolicam doctrinam, fratrum et Coëpiscoporum nostrorum interveniente consensu. Quod, quia apostolicae doctrinae convenit, nostra auctoritate confirmamus. The formula, however, was still suspected in the West of being Monophysite, and Bishop Cyprian of Toulon (about 550) was obliged to defend himself against Bishop Maximus of Geneva, quod beatitudo Vestra imperitiam nostram judicat esse culpandam, eo quod Deum hominem passum dixerim (the document is communicated by Schmidt in Vater's kirchenhist. Archive für 1826. S. 307.) The addition to the Trishagion (§ 110, not. 12) continued to be used by the Catholics in Syria (see Ephraem. Patr. Antioch. about 530 apud Photius cod. 228. Assemani bibl. orient. i. 518), till it was rejected by the Conc. Quinisextum can. 81. After that time it was retained only by the Monophysites and Monothelites (Walch's Ketzehist. ix. 480.) Among the Catholics the idea arose that a quaternity, instead of a Trinity, was introduced by it. See Jo. Damasc. de fide orthod. iii. 10. See Royaards in the Nederlandsch Archief voor kerkel. Geschiedenis ii. 263. (1842.)

⁷ Acta Syn. Constantinop. ann. 536 ap. Mansi viii. 873 ss.

⁸ Liberatus c. 22. In him and in Victoris Tunun. Chronic. (ap. Canisius-Basnage i. 330) is found the epist. Vigilius to the Monophysite bishops, Theodosius, Anthimus, and Severus, where we read among other things: me eam fidem, quam tenetis, Deo adjuvante et tenuisse et tenere significo.—Oportet ergo, ut haec, quae vobis scribo, nullus agnoscat, sed magis tanquam suspectum me sapientia vestra ante alios existimet habere, ut facilius possim haec, quae coepi, operari et perficere. In the Confession of Faith appended to it in Liberatus: Non duas Christum confitemur naturas, sed ex duabus naturis compositum unum filium, unum Christum, unum Dominum. Qui dicit in Christo duas formas, unaquaque agente cum alterius communione, et non confitetur unam personam, unam essentiam, anathema. Qui dicit: quia hoc quidem miracula faciebat, hoc vero passionibus succumbebat (Leo § 89. not. 7): et non confitetur miracula et passiones unius ejusdemque, quas

In the meantime these theological proceedings were increased by the revival of the *Origenist controversy*. Origen had, by degrees, obtained many devoted admirers among the monks in Palestine. One of them, *Theodorus Ascidas*, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who had come to court, and gained the confidence of the emperor, protected the Origenists in propagating their doctrines in Palestine, sometimes by violent means.⁹ But at last the opposite party prevailed, by the aid of *Mennas*, patriarch of Constantinople, and obtained from Justinian a condemnation of the Origenist errors (about 544).¹⁰ It was more with the design of diverting attention from Origenism than of being revenged on his orthodox opponents, that Theodorus now persuaded the emperor¹¹ that the reconciliation of the Monophysites with the or-

sponte sua sustinuit, carne nobis consubstantiali, anathema sit. Qui dicit, quod Christus velut homo misericordia dignatus est, et non dicit ipsum Deum Verbum et crucifixum esse, ut misereatur nobis, anathema sit. Anathematizamus ergo Paulum Samosatenum, Dioscorum (leg. Diodorum), Theodorum, Theodoritum et omnes, qui eorum statuta coluerint, vel colunt. Soon after this, however, he proved his orthodoxy to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople. Epist. ad Justinian. ap. Mansi ix. 35, ad Mennam ibid. p. 38.

⁹ Chief authority, vita s. Sabae by Cyrillus Seythopolitanus (in Cotelieri monum. Eccles. graec. T. iii.) from cap. 36 . cf. Walch de Sabaitis (novi comm. Soc. Gotting. vii. 1.)

¹⁰ In the epist. ad Mennam Archiepisc. Const. adv. impium Origenem ap. Mansi ix. 487. Here, p. 524, Mennas is ordered, *συναγαγείν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνδημοῦντας κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ὀσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους, καὶ τοὺς—μοναστηρίων ἡγουμένους, καὶ παρασκευάσαι πάντας—τὸν—Ὀριγένην—ἀναθεματίσαι*, and from this *σύνodus ἐνδημοῦσα* proceeded, without doubt, the 15 canons against Origen (prim. ed. Petr. Lambecius in comment. bibl. August. Vindob. viii. 435, ap. Mansi ix. 395), though their title favours the fifth oecumenical council: See M. Lequien Oriens christianus iii. 210. Walch's Ketzehist. vii. 660.

¹¹ The Origenist Domitian, bishop of Ancyra, himself admitted in libello ad Vigilium (in Facundi Episc. Hermianensis pro defens. trium capitul. lib. iv. c. 4): *prosiluerunt ad anathematizandos sanctissimos et gloriosissimos doctores sub occasione eorum, quae de praesistentia et restitutione mota sunt, dogmatum, sub specie quidem Origenis, omnes autem, qui ante eum et post eum fuerunt, sanctos anathematizantes. Hi vero, qui proposuerant hujusmodi dogma defendere, id implere nullo modo voluerunt: sed talem relinquentes conflictum, conversi sunt, ut moverent adversus Theodorum, qui fuit Mopsvestenus episcopus, et moliri coeperunt, quatenus anathematizaretur et ille, ad abolitionem, ut putabant, eorum, quae contra Origenem mota constiterant. Liberatus c. 24: Theodorus Caesareae Cappadociae episcopus, dilectus et famili-*

thodox would be much facilitated by a public condemnation not only of *Theodore of Mopsuestia*,¹² who had been long in somewhat evil repute among the orthodox, but also of *Theodoret's* writings against Cyril and the letter of *Ibas* to Maris, though the two latter had been expressly pronounced orthodox by the council of Chalcedon.¹³ Justinian accordingly condemned, in an edict (544), the three chapters (*τρία κεφάλαια*, *tria capitula*).¹⁴ In the East they very easily coincided with this measure; but in the West it was so much the more obstinately resisted.¹⁵ On this account Justinian summoned *Vigilius*, bishop of Rome, to Constantinople (546), and prevailed on him there to condemn, in like manner, the three chapters (518)¹⁶ in a document called

aris principum,—cognoscens Origenem fuisse damnatum, dolore damnationis ejus, ad ecclesia conturbationem, damnationem molitus est in Theodorum Mopsvestenum, eo quod Theodorus multa opuscula edidisset contra Origenem, exosusque et accusabilis haberetur ab Origenistis.

¹² The enmity of the abbot Sabba to him *Vita Sabae* (see note 9), c. 72, 74.—A Synod convened for the purpose at Mopsuestia by the imperial command (550), came to the conclusion, Theodorum veterem, qui per istam civitatem fuit episcopus, in antiquis temporibus extra praedicationem divini mysterii fuisse, et sacris diptychis ejectum esse: et—in illius vocabulum, inscriptum esse Cyrillum sanctae memoriae (see *Mansi* ix. 286.) The testimonies of the ancients against Theodorus, collected in the collatio v. of the fifth oecumenical council, must be very cautiously received; for instance, Theodore's name, in the two laws of Theodosius II. against Nestorius (p. 249 ss.) is a later addition.

¹³ Theodoret in the actio viii. (ap. *Mansi* vii. 189.) Ibas after a long investigation, act. ix. and x. after which the Roman ambassadors expressly declare: ἀναγνωσθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ (that very epist. ad Marin.) ἐπέγνωμεν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν ὀρθόδοξον.

¹⁴ *i. e.* three points, articles: not as J. H. Mücke de tribus capitulis concilii Chalced. Lips. 1766. 4. p. 6. thinks, the three decrees of the council of Chalcedon, for there was no such decree respecting Theodore. The first edict of Justinian is lost, except fragments in *Facundus* ii. 3, iv. 4. See *Norisii* diss. de synodo quinta c. 3. *Walch's Ketzerhist.* viii. 150.

¹⁵ Their leading reasons are given by *Fulgentius Ferrandus* epist. vi. ad Pelagium et Anatolium at the conclusion of the following sentences: Ut concilii Chalcedonensis, vel similium nulla retractatio placeat, sed quae semel statuta sunt, intemerata servantur. Ut pro mortuis fratribus nulla generentur inter vivos scandala. Ut nullus libro suo per subscriptiones plurimorum dare velit auctoritatem, quam solis canonicis libris ecclesia catholica detulit.

¹⁶ The particulars are related by *Facundus* lib. contra *Mocianum* scholast.—The *Judicatum* is no longer extant, except in a fragment in

judicatum. But Vigilius was soon induced to hesitate, by the decided opposition of the greater number of the Western bishops,¹⁷ and he refused to adopt the emperor's second edict against the three chapters (551).¹⁸

Justinian now convened *the fifth oecumenical council at Constantinople* (553),¹⁹ at which Vigilius not only refused to attend, but even defended the three chapters in the so-called *Constitutum*.²⁰ The Synod, therefore, broke off all Church communion with him,²¹ and approved without qualification all the decrees of the emperor hitherto made respecting religion.²² No farther

the Latin translation of the epist. Justin. ad Concilium oecum. v. (ap. Mansi ix. 181.)

¹⁷ Victor Tunnum. in Chron. (l. c. p. 332): Post Consulatum Basilii V. C. anno ix. (549). Illyriciana Synodus in defensione iii. capitum Justiniano Aug. scribit, et Benenatum, primae Justinianae Civitatis episcopum, obtrectatorem eorundem iii. capitum condemnat.—Post Cons. Bas. V. C. anno x. (550) Africani Antistites Vigilium Romanum Episcopum, damnatorem iii. Capitulum synodaliter a catholica communione, reservato ei poenitentiae loco, recludunt, et pro defensione memoratorum iii. Capitulum literas satis idoneas Justiniano Principi per Olympium Magistrarium mittunt. Also defences of the three chapters by Facundus and Rusticus.

¹⁸ Or the *ὁμολογία πίστεως Ἰουστ. Αὐτοκράτορος*, preserved in the Chron. Alexandr. ed. du Fresne p. 344 ss. ap. Mansi ix. 537.—Concerning the conduct of Vigilius see especially *epistola legati Francorum, qui Constantinopolim proficiscebantur, ab Italiae clericis directa A. D. 551.* ap. Mansi xi. 151.

¹⁹ Acta in Mansi ix. 157 ss. Natalis Alexander hist. eccl. saec. vi. T. v. p. 502 ss. J. Basnage histoire de l'église liv. x. c. 6. Norisii diss. de synodo v. (Patav. 1673. opp. ed. Ballerini, Veron. 1729. T. i. p. 437.) Against him Garnerii diss. de syn. v. (first appended to his *Liberatus*. Paris. 1675. improved in the auctar. opp. Theodoret. p. 493. also in Theodoret. ed. Schultze v. 512.) On the other side the Ballerini: *defensio* diss. Noris. adv. Garn. (in Noris. opp. iv. 985.)

²⁰ Ap. Mansi ix. 61-106.

²¹ Justinian declared, with reference to Vigilius, to the synod in a rescript (in the Acta of the Synod collatio vii. ap. Mansi ix. 367.): ipse semetipsum alienum catholicae ecclesiae fecit, defendens praedictorum capitulum impietatem, separans autem semetipsum a vestra communione. His igitur ab eo factis, alienum Christianis judicavimus nomen ipsius sacris diptychis recitari [leg. resecuri], ne eo modo inveniamur Nestorii et Theodori impietati communicantes.—Unitatem vero ad apostolicam sedem et nos servamus, et certum est quod et vos custodietis. Without sufficient reason the Ballerini, in their *defensio* (Norisii opp. iv. 1035) declare this writing to be spurious.

²² The 13 anathemas appended to Justinian's *ὁμολογία* (ap. Mansi

notice was taken of the Origenists,²³ a circumstance which we shall not be far from the truth in attributing to the artful management of Theodorus Ascidas, who was the leading person at the council. Vigilius at length (554) assented to the decisions of the council,²⁴ to which step he was doubtless influenced chiefly by the success of the imperial arms in Italy under Narses. Immediately after he set out on his return to Rome, but died by the way in Syracuse (555). His successor, *Pelagius I.*, acknowledged at once the authority of the fifth Synod,²⁵ which led to a tedious schism between several Western Churches and Rome. Among the writers who, during this controversy, opposed the condemnation of the three chapters, the most distinguished are *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, deacon in Carthage, († before 551);²⁶

ix. 557.) are for the most part verbally repeated in the 14 anathemas of the Synod (l. c. p. 376 ss.) So also the 6th imperial anathema in the 10th of the council: *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογῆι τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἶναι θεὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ κύριον τῆς δόξης, καὶ ἓνα τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

²³ Though as early as Cyrillus Scythopolit. in vita Sabae c. 90. and Evagrius iv. 37. the formal condemnation of Origen is attributed to the 5th council by confounding it with the synod under Mennas (see note 10.), as was afterwards generally believed. See on the other side Walch's *Ketzerh.* viii. 280.

²⁴ Vigilli epist. ad Eutychiun Archiepisc. Constant. prim. ed. P. de Marca in diss. de decreto Papae Vigilli pro confirmatione v. Syn. (in ejusd. dissertt. iii. a Baluzio editis. Paris. 1669. 8. and appended to Boehmer's edition of the concord. Sac. et Imp. p. 227.) ap. Mansi ix. 413 ss. The remarkable commencement: *Τὰ σκάνδαλα, ἀπερ ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους ἐχθρὸς τῷ σύμπαντι κόσμῳ διήγειρεν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, οὕτως ὡς τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα πρὸς τὸ ἀνατρέψαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν—πληρῶσαι οἶψ δήποτε τρόπῳ σπουδάζοντα, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὀνόματος ἰδίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἡμετέρου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων, διὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἢ τοῦ γράφειν, διάφορα πλάσασθαι πεποιήκεν· εἰς τοσοῦτον, ὅτι ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων ἡμῶν—ἐν τῇ τῶν τρισάκρων συνόδων μᾶ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει ἀμώμως διατελοῦντας, τοῖς σοφίσμασι τῆς οὐτω ποιηρᾶς πανουργίας, αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρισε διελεῖν.—Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν—πάσης συγχύσεως τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀποκινηθείσης, πρὸς εἰρήνην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνεκαλέσατο κ. τ. λ.*

²⁵ Victor Tunnun. in Chron. Post consulatum Basilii V. C. anno xviii. Pelagius Romanus archidiaconus, trium praefatorum defensor Capitulorum, Justiniani principis persuasione de exsilio redit: et condemnans ea, quae dudum constantissime defendebat Romanae Ecclesiae Episcopus a praevaricatoribus ordinatur.

²⁶ Opp. ed. Fr. Chiffletius. Divione 1649. Bibl. PP. Lugd. T. ix. Bibl. PP. Gallandii xi. 329. Among his letters the most remarkable are those in answer to questions addressed to him from Rome ad Ana-

Facundus, bishop of Hermiane († about 570);²⁷ *Rusticus*, deacon in Rome; ²⁸ *Liberatus*, deacon in Carthage (about 553);²⁹ *Victor*, bishop of Tunnuna († after 565).³⁰

Shortly before his death (564), Justinian was misled by his excessive desire to bring back the Monophysites to the Church, so as to elevate to the rank of orthodoxy the doctrine of the *Aphartodocetae*. *Eutychius*, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed for his opposition to this measure; and the like fate awaited *Anastasius Sinaita*, patriarch of Antioch; when the death of the emperor (565) became the death likewise of the new doctrine.³¹

§ 112.

DEVELOPMENT OF MONOPHYSITE CHURCHISM.

The efforts of Justinian to reunite the Monophysites with the Catholic Church were so far from successful, that the sect was always becoming more distinct under his reign, and internally established. The later dominion of the Arabians, by which the Monophysites were especially favoured, rendered the breach incurable.

Only a small part of the Egyptians followed the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria, who had been appointed by Justinian. The

tolium, quod unus de Trinitate passus dici possit, et ad Pelagium et Anatolium [546] pro tribus capitulis.

²⁷ By whom is the chief work in favour of the three chapters pro defensione iii. Capitulum libb xii. (about 548), and contra Mocianum scholasticum (opp. prim. ed. Jac. Sirmond. Paris. 1629. 8. emendatus in bibl. PP. Gallandii xi. 665.)

²⁸ Lib. adv. Acephalos ad Sebastianum (in bibl. PP. ap. Gallandius xii. 37.)

²⁹ Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum (ed. Jo. Garnerius. Paris. 1675. 8. Ap. Mansi ix. 659. and ap. Gallandius xii. 119.)

³⁰ Chronicon ab orbe condito, only the second part is extant from 444 to 565 (ap. Canisius-Basnage i. 321. plur. in locis restitut. ap. Gallandius xii. 221.)

³¹ Evagrius iv. 38-40. Eutychii vita, composed by one of his adherents Eustathius or Eustratius (in the Greek original Acta SS. April. Tom. i. append. p. 59.), has been dressed out with praises even to the miraculous. Walch's Ketzerhist. viii. 578. According to Eustathius, Justinian was misled by Origenists.

more numerous Monophysites chose another patriarch; and thus they continued till the present day under the name of *Copts*.¹ The *Æthiopian Church* was always in connexion with them.²

The Christians in *Armenia*³ also attached themselves ecclesiastically in the fifth century to the Greek emperors, by whose aid they held out against the Persians, and accordingly agreed to the Henoticon of Zeno.⁴ After Monophysitism had obtained acceptance among them, in consequence of these proceedings, they remained all the more faithful to it from the time of Justin I., since the Persians favoured all parties separated from the Greek Church. In vain did Kyrion, patriarch of Georgia, endeavour to procure an approval of the council of Chalcedon in Armenia also;⁵ a Synod at *Twin* (595)⁶ declared itself decidedly in favour of

Taki-eddini Makrizii (a lawyer in Cairo † 1441) *hist. Coptorum Christianorum in Aegypto, arab. et lat. ed. H. J. Wetzer. Scisbaci 1828. 8.* (A complete and more accurate edition, with a translation, may be shortly expected from Prof. Wüstenfeld.) Eusebii Renaudot *historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum. Paris. 1713. 4.* Michael Le Quien *Oriens christianus in iv. patriarchatus digestus, quo exhibentur ecclesiae patriarchae caeterique praesules totius Orientis. (Paris. 1740. 3. T. fol.) T. ii. p. 357.*

² Jobi Ludolf *historia Aethiopica. Francof. ad M. 1681. Commentarius ad hist. Aeth. 1691. and appendix ad hist. Aeth. 1693.* All in fol.—Maturin Veyssier *la Croze histoire du christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie. à la Haye 1739. 8.*

³ The older literature respecting Armenian church history in Clem. Galani *hist. Armena eccl. et polit. Colon. 1686. Francof. et Lips. 1701. 8.* (a reprint of vol. i. of the *Conciliatio eccl. Armenae cum Romana, Romae 1651. 3 voll. fol.*), la Croze, le Quien l. c. is almost useless, since the Mechitarists, united Armenian monks, have begun to publish on the island of S. Lazzaro at Venice, the numerous Armenian historians, and to prepare an Armenian history. Their principal work is the history of Armenia by P. Michael Tschamtschean († 1823) in the Armenian language, 3 volumes 4to. 1784. With it are connected the works of Saint-Martin and C. F. Neumann. *Comp. Mémoires sur l'Arménie par J. Saint-Martin. Tomes ii. Paris 1828. 29. Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI., dit Jean Catholicos († 925) trad. de l'arménien en français par J. Saint-Martin. Paris 1841. 8.* C. F. Neumann's *Gesch. d. armen. Literatur. Leipzig 1836. 8.*

⁴ In the year 491, at a synod at Edschmiadsin, the Henoticon was adopted, and the decrees of the council of Chalcedon rejected, Tschamtschean ii. 225. *Mémoires sur l'Arménie par J. Saint-Martin i. 329.*

⁵ See respecting him Neumann's *Gesch. d. arm. Lit. S. 94.*

⁶ Twin (also written Thevin or Thovin), in the province of Ararat, at that time the residence of the Armenian kings and patriarchs. Galanus

Monophysitism; and thus the *Armenian Church* still continues, to the present day, as a sect separated from the other Monophysite Churches,⁷ merely by peculiar customs.

In *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* the Monophysites had nearly become extinct by persecution and want of a clergy, when *Jacob Baradaï*, or *Zanzalus*, by unwearied diligence (from 541 to 578), set in order their churches, and supplied them with pastors. From him the Syrian Monophysites received the name *Jacobites*.⁸

§ 113.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN AUGUSTINISM AND SEMIPELAGIANISM.

G. F. Wiggers pragm. Darstellung des Augustinismus und Pelagianismus.
Th. 2. (Hamburg 1833.) S. 224.

The Western Churches were but little disturbed by the Monophysite controversy. On the contrary, the struggle between Augustinism and Semipelagianism continued especially in Gaul (comp. § 87, note 47, and following) though without leading to actual schisms in the Church. At first the Semipelagians had so much the advantage that their most distinguished defender *Faustus*, formerly abbot of the monastery at *Lerins*, afterwards bishop of *Reji* (*Reiz*) († after 490), compelled a certain presbyter, *Lucidus*, to retract the Augustinian doctrines,¹ and his Semipelagian creed was generally approved at the councils of *Arelate* and *Lyons* (475).² Hence *Arnobius* the younger,³ author of the hist. arm. c. 10. Le Quien i. 1360. and other older writers, place this synod earlier. Comp. however, Aug. Majus in the spicilegium Rom. x. ii. 450. annotation 3.

⁷ Comp. Eccl. Armeniacaë canones selecti in Ang. Maji vett. scriptt. nova coll. x. ii. 269. One of the most remarkable of these customs is that the Armenians use unmixed wine at the Lord's Supper, p. 303, and keep the day of Epiphany as the festival of the birth and baptism of Jesus, p. 307.

⁸ Assemani bibl. orient. T. ii.—Le Quien. l. c. T. ii.

¹ Fausti Rejensis epist. ad Lucidum, and Lucidi errorem emendantis libellus ad Episcopos ap. Mansi vii. 1008. Comp. Walch's Ketzehist. v. 90.

² His chief work de gratia Dei et humane mentis libero arbitrio libb. 2. (Bibl. Patr. Lugd. viii. 525.) was subscribed there. His creed is given by Wiggers ii. 235.

³ See his comm. in Psalmos (bibl. PP. Lugd. viii. 238.) Wiggers ii. 348.

*Praedestinatus*⁴ (both about 460), and *Gennadius*, presbyter at Massilia († after 495),⁵ express these sentiments without disguise. They had even penetrated to Upper Italy; and *Magnus Felix Ennodius*, bishop of Ticinum, from 511–521, professed them.⁶

Augustinism was hated in Gaul, especially on account of the doctrine of an unconditional decree of God, which, in the form it had there assumed, distorted by the consequences drawn from it by its obstinate defenders on the one hand, and still more by its too eager opponents on the other,⁷ was completely and necessarily fatal to all morality.⁸ Some, indeed, did not hesitate to attribute

⁴ Prim. ed. J. Sirmond. Paris. 1643. 8. (recus. in bibl. PP. Lugd. xxvii. 543. Bibl. PP. Gallandii x. 357.) The first book contains a short sketch of 90 heresies (the 90th that of the *Praedestinatorum*), the second a liber sub nomine Augustini confictus, in which the Augustinian doctrine was presented with great exaggeration (as it had been previously in the capitulis calumniantium, which Prosper refuted, see § 87. note 52. Wiggers ii. 184.), the third a refutation of this book. Walch v. 227. Wiggers ii. 329. Perhaps Arnobius was the author, as Sirmond and the Benedictines *histoire littéraire de la France* ii. 349. suppose. Comp. however Wiggers ii. 349.

⁵ De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, continuation of Jerome (in biblioth. eocl. J. A. Fabricii. Hamb. 1718): de fide s. de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis liber ad Gelasium Papam (ed. Elmenhorst. Hamburg. 1614. 4.) Wiggers ii. 351.

⁶ cf. lib. ii. epist. 19. (see opera best in Sirmondi opp. T. i.) Wiggers ii. 356.

⁷ Lucidus was forced to condemn the following propositions: quod praescientia Dei hominem violenter compellat ad mortem, vel quod cum Dei pereant voluntate, qui pereunt,—alios deputatos ad mortem, alios ad vitam praedestinos. The Pseudo-Augustinus *Praedestinatus* lib. ii. says: Quem voluerit Deus sanctum esse, sanctus est, aliud non erit: quem praescierit esse iniquum, iniquus erit, aliud non erit. Praedestinatio enim Dei jam et numerum justorum, et numerum constituit peccatorum, et necesse erit constitutum terminum praeteriri non posse.—De Deo Apostolus dicit: Quos vocavit, hos praedestinavit (Rom. viii. 30.) Si praescientem et praedeterminantem et vocantem in Apostolo legitis; nobis ut quid impingitis crimen ob hoc, quod dicimus, praedeterminasse Deum homines sive ad justitiam sive ad peccatum?—Invictus enim in sua voluntate permanet Deus, cum homo adsidue superetur. Si ergo invictum confitemini Deum, confitemini et hoc, quia quod eos voluit ille, qui condidit, aliud esse non possunt. Unde colligimus apud animum, quia quos Deus semel praedestinavit ad vitam, etiamsi negligant, etiamsi peccent, etiamsi nolint, ad vitam perducentur inviti: quos autem praedestinavit ad mortem, etiamsi currant, etiamsi festinent, sine causa laborant. cf. § 87. note 31.

⁸ Praefatio *Praedestinati*:—Quis hanc fidem habens sacerdotum

these errors directly to Augustine ;⁹ but for the most part it was usual, in order not to tread too closely on the honoured man, to distinguish between himself and his adherents at that time,¹⁰ that these last could be the more safely condemned as heretics under the name of *Predestinarians*.¹¹

In Rome and Africa, on the other hand, the doctrines of Augustine were strictly followed.¹² Thus Gallic Semipelagianism was threatened with extinction from this quarter, and that the more readily, inasmuch as even in Gaul were many adherents of

benedictionibus caput inclinare desideret, et eorum sibi precibus et sacrificiis credat posse succurri? Si enim haec nec prodesse volentibus, nec obesse nolentibus incipiant credi, cessabunt omnia Dei sacerdotum studia, et universa monitorum adminicula vana videbuntur esse figmenta: atque ita unusquisque suis erit vitiis occupatus, ut criminum suorum delectationem Dei praedestinationem existimet, et ad bonum a malo transitum, nec per sacerdotum Dei (studia?), nec per conversionem suam, nec per legem dominicam se posse invenire confidat.

⁹ Faustus only alludes to him (if Lucidus be not meant, as Wiggers ii. 232. assumes) de grat. Dei et hum. ment. lib. arb. i. 4: si ergo unus ad vitam, alter ad perditionem, ut asserunt, deputatus est, sicut quidam Sanctorum dixit, non judicandi nascimur, sed judicati. Ibid. c. 11: igitur dum liberi interemtor arbitrii in alterutram partem omnia ex praedestinatione statuta et definita esse pronunciat etc.—Gennadius de script. eccl. c. 38. speaking of Augustine: Quis tanto studio legat, quanto ille scripsit? Unde et multa loquenti accidit, quod dixit per Salomonem Spir. S.: In multiloquio non effugies peccatum (Prov. x. 19.)—Error tamen illius sermone multo, ut dixi, contractus, lucta hostium exaggeratus, necdum haeresis quaestionem dedit.—Ennodius lib. ii. ep. 19. contradicts the doctrine that man has freedom only to do evil, and adds: Video, quo se toxica libycae pestis extendant: arenosus coluber non haec sola habet pernicioza, quae referat.

¹⁰ So particularly Praedestinatus. In the praef.: Silerem—si non etiam audacter sub Augustini nomine libros ederent.—Quis enim nesciat, Augustinum orthodoxum semper fuisse doctorem, et tam scribendo quam disputando omnibus haereticis obviasse?

¹¹ Violent controversy in the 17th century on the question whether there ever was a particular sect of the Predestinarians, as the Jesuits (particularly J. Sirmond historia Praedestiniana. Paris. 1648. in ej. opp. t. iv. and in Gallandii bibl. PP. x. 401.) and the older Lutherans asserted, while the Jansenists (especially G. Manguin accurata historiae Praedestinianae J. Sirmondi confutatio, in his vindiciis praedestinationis et gratiae p. 443 ss.), Dominicans, and Reformed, denied it. Impartial historians agree with the latter (comp. Semler in the original introduction prefixed to Baumgarten's Polemik iii. 312.)—Wiggers ii. 365.

Augustine, and among them two distinguished bishops, *Avitus*, archbishop of Vienne (490–523), and *Caesarius*, bishop of Arles (502–542).¹³ Those same Sycthian monks who had raised so much disturbance by their efforts to introduce the formula, “one of the Trinity was crucified” (§ 111. note 5.), also renewed the struggle against Pelagianism, which seemed to them to be closely connected with Nestorianism, and against Semipelagianism.¹⁴ After they had been banished from Rome, because Hormisdas had pronounced judgment too indefinitely on Faustus, they brought the question of the latter’s orthodoxy before the African bishops living in Sardinia (523); in whose name *Fulgentius*, bishop of Ruspe († 533), now defended Augustine against the writings of Faustus.¹⁵ In consequence of this, Semipelagianism was rejected in Gaul also, under the leadership of *Caesarius* at the synod of *Arausio* (Oranges, 529), and the Augustinian system adopted, though in a form essentially modified.¹⁶ Thus also no teacher of Semipelagianism was condemned by name;¹⁷ and

¹³ *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti opera* (poems, letters, homilies) ed. J. Sirmond. Paris. 1643. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. ix. 560.) *Caesarii opp.* (especially homilies, many incorrectly attributed to him) in the bibl. PP. Lugd. viii. 819. 860. xxvii. 324. Wiggers ii. 368.

¹⁴ Walch v. 117. Wiggers ii. 394.

¹⁵ *Epistola synodica Episc. Afric. in Sardinia exulum ad Jo. Maxentium etc.* ap. Mansi viii. 591.—*Fulgentii Ruspensis libb. iii. de veritate predestinationis et gratia dei* (his libb. vii. adv. Faustum are lost) together with his other works (libb. iii. ad Monimum—several writings against the Arians, and other doctrinal treatises) published. Paris 1684. 4. in bibl. PP. Lugd. ix. 16.

¹⁶ The 25 capitula of the Synod, to which a sketch of the doctrine of grace, in the form of a Confession of Faith, is annexed, ap. Mansi viii. 711. Here the Augustinian doctrines of original sin, and of grace, as the only source of all that is good, are introduced; afterwards it is said in the Confession of Faith: *Quam gratiam—omnibus, qui baptizari desiderant, non in libero arbitrio haberi, sed Christi novimus simul et credimus largitate conferri.—Hoc etiam secundum fidem catholicam credimus, quod accepta per baptismum gratia omnes baptizati, Christo auxiliante et cooperante, quae ad salutem animae pertinent possint et debeant, si fideliter laborare voluerint, adimplere.* If sufficient grace be granted to all in baptism, it depends on man to embrace or to resist it, and there is no *gratia irresistibilis* and no *decretum absolutum*. These latter, therefore, do not result, as Wiggers ii. 441, supposes, as necessary consequences from the positions of the Synod. The Synod does not teach them, because it does not recognise them.

¹⁷ Hence Faustus is still honoured in Provence as a saint, which is

not long after the principles were again taught without giving offence,¹⁸ although even rigid Augustinism continued to have its adherents.¹⁹

§. 114.

HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

After the Roman Empire had been annoyed and overrun by barbarians, the necessity of struggling against paganism no longer calling forth spiritual activity, and the study of the so-called heathen sciences having become increasingly suspicious, especially in the eyes of the monks, scientific cultivation was deteriorated more and more, inasmuch as the free movement of the spirit was hindered by the narrowing restraints of orthodoxy, and attention exclusively directed to single barren speculations, by the disputes carried on with so much zeal.¹ How narrowly they began in the West to judge of the writings of the older fathers, according to the standard of the new orthodoxy, is proved by the so called *Decretum Gelasii de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*.²

indeed censured by some (for example, Baronius ad ann. 490, § 42), but defended by others. Comp. J. Stilling de S. Fausto comm. hist. in *Actis SS.* Sept. vii. 651.

¹⁸ So by the African bishop Junilius (about 550), *de partibus divinae legis* (bibl. PP. Lugd. x.) ii. 12, 15, by Gregory, archbishop of Tours († 595) *Miraculorum* (bibl. PP. xi.) ii. 1, vii. 1, 2, 9, 11, 13, by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome († 604). Comp. G. F. Wiggers de *Gregorio M. ejusque placitis anthropologicis* comm. ii. Rostochii 1838—40. 4.

¹⁹ To these belong Fulgentius Ferrandus—see § 111, note 26. Comp. his *Paraeneticus ad Reginum comitem*; Facundus, bishop of Hermiane—see § 111, note 27, contra *Mocianum* ap. Gallandius xi. 811; Isidore, archbishop of Seville († 636) *Sentent.* ii. 6.

¹ Bossuet's *Weltgesch.* continued by J. A. Cramer v. ii. 52. L. Wachler's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Literatur.* (Zweite Umarbeit. Frankf. a. M. 1823) ii. 5. Münscher's *Dogmengesch.* iii. 44.

² In some MSS. it is attributed to Damasus (366–384), in the Spanish MSS. to Hormisdas (514–523), but commonly to a Roman Synod under Gelasius (496). On the contrary, it is wanting in the Dionysian collection of decrees (525), and in the Spanish (about 600) is placed entirely at the end, behind the decrees of Gregory the Great, which points to a later addition. It is afterwards first mentioned, but without

The writers who were engaged in the various controversies have been already named. In the Western Church, *Faustus Rejensis* (§ 113. note 1. 2.), *Fulgentius Ruspensis* (§ 113. note 15.), *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, *Facundus Hermianensis*, *Liberatus* (§ 111. note 26 ff.); among the Orientals, *Leontius Byzantinus* (preface to § 110), and *Johannes Philoponus* (§ 110. note 25.)

There was now less and less of independent investigation; and instead of it men were content with compilations from the highly esteemed older fathers.³ By way of exegesis began the series of the so-called *catenae*;⁴ in the East with *Procopius of Gaza* (about 520),⁵ in the West with *Primasius*, bishop of Adrumetum

the name of an author, by the English bishop Adhelmus (about 680) de virginitate c. 11, first attributed to Gelasius by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (about 860) opusc. L. capitulorum c. 24. That it was gradually enlarged is shown by the different existing texts (three in Mansi viii. 153). In like manner, the difference of authors may be inferred from the fact that the opera Cypriani are placed both among the *libris recipiendis* and the *non-recipiendis*. At the time of Hormisdas the basis of this list was already in existence (Horm. ep. ad Possessorem ap. Mansi viii. 499: Non improvide veneranda patrum sapientia fidei potestati quae essent catholica dogmata definiit, certa librorum etiam veterum in auctoritatem recipienda, sancto Spiritu instruente, praefigens), but not in the form of a decree, since, in the latter case, Dionysius would have adopted it. At the time of Hormisdas the opera Fausti were also not yet in it, since Hormisdas hesitates to condemn Faustus. The decree, however, must have received its present form substantially in the first half of the sixth century, because in it no writings and heretics of this century whatever are mentioned, and only the first four general councils. Single interpolations were freely made afterwards. Thus, in Hincmar's time the canones Apostolorum were not yet adduced among the Apocryphis. cf. Mansi viii. 145, 151. Regembrecht de canonibus Apostolorum et codice Eccl. hispanae diss. Vratisl. 1828. 8. p. 52.—In this decree are mentioned, among other things, the historia Eusebii Pamph. the opuscula Tertulliani, Lactantii, Clementis Alex., Arnobii reckoned among the *libris apocryphis, qui non recipiuntur*.

³ Cassiodorus instit. div. praef. Quapropter tractatores vobis doctissimos indicasse sufficiat, quando ad tales remisisse competens plenitudo probatur esse doctrinae. Nam et vobis quoque erat praestantius praesumpta novitate non imbuti, sed priscorum fonte satiari.

⁴ J. F. S. Augustin de catenis PP. graec. in N. T. observationes. Halae 1762. (in J. A. Noesseltii iii. commentatt. ad hist. eccl. pertinent. Halae 1817. 8. p. 321 ss.)

⁵ Comm. in Octateuchum, in Esaïam, Proverbia, in xii. Proph. minores etc. cf. Fabricii bibl. gr. vol. vi. p. 259, (ed. Harles vol. vii. p. 563.) Augustin l. c. p. 385. In Ang. Maji classicorum auctorum e

(about 550).⁶ Most of the works, too, of *Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* († after 562),⁷ and of *Isidore, bishop of Hispalis* († 636),⁸ are written in the compilation method. The *Χριστιανικὴ τοπογραφία* of the Nestorian *Cosmas Indicopleustes* (about 535), in its remarkable theologico-geographical part, is only a compilation, chiefly from the works of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia.⁹

Distinguished as an independent thinker in this age of imitation and authorities was the Aristotelian philosopher *Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius* († 525), who, however, in his philosophical writings,¹⁰ refers so little to Christianity, that one is led to doubt not only of the authenticity of the theological

Vaticanis codd. editorum T. vi. (Romae 1834. 8.) are published besides comm. in Genesin usque ad cap. xviii. and fragm. in cant. Salomonis; T. ix. (1837) comm. in Salom. Proverbia, catena in cant. cant.

⁶ Comm. in epistolas Pauli.

⁷ Thus his comment. in Psalmos is drawn from Augustine; his *historia eccl. tripartita* in 12 books (see preface to § 1).—*De institutione divinarum literarum* libb. ii. (a more correct title is: *Institutiones quemadmodum divinae et humanae debeant intelligi lectiones* libb. ii. See Credner's *Einl. in d. R. T. i. i. 15.*) Historically important are his *variae epistolae* libb. xii. Of his *de rebus gestis Gothorum* libb. xii. there remains only the extract by Jordanis (see § 108, note 3.) His book *de vii. disciplinis* was much used in the middle ages. Opp. ed. J. Garetius. Rothomagi 1679. (Venet. 1729) 2 vol. fol. *La vie de Cassiodore* par F. D. de Ste Marthe. Paris 1694. 12. Cassiodorus by Stäudlin, in the *Kirchenhist. Archive* for 1825, p. 259 ff. and 381 ff. Ritter's *Gesch. d. christl. Philos.* ii. 598. Bähr's *christl. römische Theologie*, S. 418.

⁸ Comm. in libros hist. Vet. Test.—*De ecclesiasticis officiis* libb. ii.—*Sententiarum s. de summo bono* libb. iii. (important for the middle ages. *Sententiarum*.)—*Regula Monachorum*.—*De scriptoribus eccles.*—and many others. See the chief work *Originum s. Etymologiarum* libb. xx.—*Hist. Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum in Hispania*.—Opp. ed. J. Grial. Madr. 1599. (Paris. 1601. Colon. 1617) fol. Faust. Arevalo. Romae 1797. vii. voll. 4. Bähr. S. 455.

⁹ Prim. ed. B. de Montfaucon in collect. nov. PP. Graec. T. ii. (Paris. 1706): recus. in Gallandii bibl. PP. T. xi. p. 401 ss. The Nestorianism of Cosmas was first pointed out by La Croze *hist. du Christianisme des Indes* T. i. p. 40 ss. cf. Semler *hist. eccl. selecta capita* i. p. 421 ss.

¹⁰ His principal work: *de consolatione philosophiae* libb. v. Besides this, translations from the writings of Porphyry and Aristotle, and commentaries on the same. He laid the foundation of the predilection for the Aristotelian philosophy in the West, as John Philoponus did at the same time in the East (§ 110. note 25.)

works¹¹ ascribed to him, but even whether he could have been a Christian.¹²

The prevailing dialectic development of Christian doctrine must have been as unsatisfactory as it was injurious to deeper religious spirits, and therefore mysticism, in opposition to it, obtained a fuller and better developed form in the works of *Pseudodionysius Areopagita*,¹³ which appeared towards the end of the fifth century. These writings, tracing up the divine essence, in the manner of the new Platonists, above all existence and perception, and representing all things to proceed in regular gradation out of it as their essence, proposed to teach how man, rightly apprehending his own position in the chain of being, might elevate himself through the next higher order to communion with still higher orders, and finally with God himself. At present they spread but gradually in the oriental church, till they penetrated in the middle ages into the west also, and so became the basis of all the later Christian mysticism.

There were now but few institutions for the advancement of theological learning any where; in the West none whatever.¹⁴

¹¹ Adv. Eutychen et Nestor. de duabus naturis et una persona Christi.—Quod Trinitas sit unus Deus et non tres dii ad Symmachum.—Utrum Pater, Filius et Sp. S. de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur. Comp. Hand in the Encyclopädie of Ersch and Gruber xi. 283. Bähr's christl. römische Theologie S. 423. On the other hand, Gust. Baur de A. M. S. Boëthio christianae doctrinae assertore, Darmst. 1841. 8. is in favour of the authenticity.

¹² Much used in the schools of the middle ages. In the eighth century he was even enrolled among the saints, and in addition to two other Severini, worshipped on the 23d October. That he was a Christian is denied by Gottf. Arnold, (Kirchen u. Ketzehist. Th. i. B. 6. cap. 3. § 7.) and Hand l. c. On the contrary, G. Baur asserts that he was at least outwardly a Christian. Comp. Ritter's Gesch. d. christl. Philos. ii. 580.

¹³ Comp. § 110, not. 7, and Engelhardt's works there quoted. Ritter's Gesch. d. christl. Philosophie ii. 515. Die christl. Mystik in ihrer Entwicklung u. in ihren Denkmalen von A. Helfferich (2 Th. Gotha 1842) i. 129, ii. 1.

¹⁴ Cassiodor. de inst. div. lit. praef. : Cum studia saecularium literarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem (comp. Sartorius Versuch über die Regierung der Ostgothen während ihrer Herrschaft in Italien. Hamburg 1811. S. 152 ss. Manso Gesch. des ostgoth. Reichs in Italien. Breslau 1824. S. 132), ita ut multa pars hominum per ipsa se mundi prudentiam crederet adipisci; gravissimo sum (fateor) dolore permotus, quod scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent, cum mun-

The monkish contempt displayed by *Gregory the Great*, bishop of Rome (from 590–604),¹⁵ for the liberal sciences,¹⁶ contributed much to the daily increasing neglect of them; but the later

dani auctores celeberrima procul dubio traditione pollerent. Nisus sum ergo cum b. Agapito Papa urbis Romae, ut sicut apud Alexandriam multo tempore fuisse traditur institutum, nunc etiam in Nisibi civitate Syrorum ab Hebraeis sedulo fertur exponi (see below § 122, not. 5), collatis expensis in urbe Romana professos doctores scholae potius acciperent christianae, unde et anima susciperet aeternam salutem, et casto atque purissimo eloquio fidelium lingua comeretur. Sed cum per bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in Italico regno certamina desiderium meum nullatenus valuisset impleri: quoniam non habet locum res pacis temporibus inquietis; ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsus, ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos, Domino praestante, conficerem etc. What substitute was adopted may be seen from Conc. Vasense iii. ann. 529 can. 1: Hoc enim placuit, ut omnes presbyteri, qui sunt in parochiis constituti, secundum consuetudinem, quam per totam Italiam satis salubriter teneri cognovimus, juniores lectores—secum in domo—recipiant: et eos—psalmos parare, divinis lectionibus insistere, et in lege domini erudire contendant: ut sibi dignos successores provideant. In Spain we find the first trace of a kind of episcopal seminaries, Conc. Tolet. ii. ann. 531 can. 1: De his, quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiae annis clericatus officio manciparit, hoc statuimus observandum, ut mox detonsi vel ministerio lectorum cum traditi fuerint, in domo Ecclesiae sub episcopali praesentia a praeposito sibi debeant erudiri.

¹⁵ Pauli Warnefridi (about 775) de vita S. Gregor. Papae libb. iv. (prim. ed. Jo. Mabillon in the annales Ord. S. Bened. saec. i. p. 385) and Johannis Eccl. Rom. Diaconi (about 875) vita S. Greg. libb. iv. both in the iv. tome of the Benedictine edition of Gregory's works. Comp. the life composed by the Benedictines, and given in that volume. G. F. Wiggers de Gregorio M. ejusque placitis anthropologicis comm. ii. Rostoch. 1838. 4. p. 11.—Gregory's most important works (see Bähr's christl. röm. Theologie. S. 442. Wiggers p. 35): Expositionis in Job. s. moralium libb. xxxv.—Liber pastoralis curae ad Joh. Ravennae Episc. (by Anastasius Sinaita, patriarch of Antioch, immediately translated into Greek.)—Dialogorum de vita et miraculis Patrum Ital. et de aeternitate animarum libb. iv. (translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias about 744).—Epistolarum libb. xiv. (according to the older arrangement libb. xii.)—Liber Sacramentorum de circulo anni s. Sacramentarium.—Antiphonarius s. gradualis liber.—Opp. ed. Petr. Gussanvillaeus. voll. iii. Paris 1675. fol. studio et labore Monachorum Ord. S. Bened. e Congr. S. Mauri voll. iv. Paris 1705. fol. locupletata a J. B. Galliccioli. Venet. 1768 ss. voll. xvii. 4. Concerning the modern abbreviators of Gregory see Oudinus de scriptt. eccl. ant. i. 1544.

¹⁶ For example, in the epistola ad Leandrum prefixed to his exposit. libri Jobi: Non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque praepositionum casusque servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.—Lib. xi.

traditions of his hostility to all literature, are not to be fully believed.¹⁷

New fields were now opened to ecclesiastical writers in collecting and arranging *the saints' traditions*, in which *Gregory, archbishop of Tours (573–595)*,¹⁸ and *Gregory the Great*,¹⁹ led the way; and in the preparation of *ecclesiastical law*.²⁰ In the Greek Church,²¹ soon after the council of Chalcedon, appeared the

epist. 54. ad Desiderium, Episc. Viennensem: pervenit ad nos, quod sine verecundia memorare non possumus, Fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere. Quam rem ita moleste suscepimus, ac sumus vehementius aspernati, ut ea, quae prius dicta fuerant, in gemitus et tristitiam verteremus: quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt etc.

¹⁷ Joannes Sarisburiensis (about 1172) in his *Policraticus* lib. ii. c. 26: Doctor sanctus ille Gregorius—non modo Mathesin jussit ab aula, sed, ut traditur a majoribus, incendio dedit probatae lectionis scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo. Lib. viii. c. 19. fertur b. Gregorius bibliothecam combussisse gentilem, quo divinæ paginæ gratior esset locus, et major auctoritas, et diligentia studiosior. Barthol. Platina (about 1480) de vitis Pontificum, in vita Gregorii: Neque est cur patiamur, Gregorium hac in re a quibusdam—carpi, quod suo mandato veterum aedificia sint dirupta, ne peregrini et advenae—posthabitis locis sacris, arcus triumphales et monumenta veterum cum admiratione inspicerent. Platina tries to defend him from the charge. Id. in vita Sabiniani: Paululum etiam absuit, quin libri ejus (Gregorii) comburerentur, adeo in Gregorium ira et invidia exarserat homo malevolus. Sunt qui scribant, Sabinianum instigantibus quibusdam Romanis hoc in Gregorium molitum esse, quod veterum statuas tota urbe, dum viveret, et obtruncaverit et disjecerit, quod quidem ita vero dissonum est, ut illud, quod de abolendis aedificiis majorum in vita ejus diximus. Against the credibility of these stories see P. Bayle dictionnaire hist. et crit. Art. Gregoire not. H. and M. Jo. Barbeyrac de la morale des Pères c. 17, § 16. What Brucker hist. phil. iii. 560, says in their defence is of no importance.

¹⁸ De gloria Martyrum libb. ii. de gloria Confessorum lib. i. de virtutibus et miraculis s. Martini libb. iv. de vitis Patrum lib. i. in his opp. ed. Theod. Ruinart, Paris 1699. fol. (comp. Div. 1, § 53, not. 46.) Dr C. G. Kries de Greg. Tur. Episc. vita et scriptis, Vratisl. 1839. 8.

¹⁹ Dialogorum libb. iv. see above, not. 15.

²⁰ A. Gallandii de vetustis canonum collectionibus dissertationum sylloge (Dissertations of Coustant, de Marca, the Ballerini, Berard, Quesnell, etc.) Venetiis 1778. fol. recus. Moguntiaci 1790. T. ii. 4. (L. T. Spittler's) Geschichte des kanonischen Rechts bis auf die Zeiten des falschen Isidorus. Halle 1778. 8.

²¹ Jos. Sim. Assemani bibliotheca juris orientalis, civilis et canonici. Romae 1762—66. T. v. 4. (incomplete, contains merely the Codex canonum eccl. Graecae and the Codex juris civilis eccl. Graecae.) F. A. Biener de collectionibus canonum Eccl. Graecae schediasma litterarium. Berol. 1827. 8.

so-called *apostolic canons*,²² claiming to form the unalterable basis of all ecclesiastical arrangements. About the same time the Christians began to put together the decrees of councils in the order of the subjects, instead of in the old chronological way. The oldest collection of this kind now extant is that of *Johannes Scholasticus* of Antioch (afterwards patriarch of Constantinople † 578),²³ which was in great repute for several centuries. Justinian's code was also so rich a source for ecclesiastical matters, that particular collections of church laws were made soon after his time, out of his institutes.²⁴ Those of John Scholasticus were at a later period adapted to Justinian's by a new collection of canons,²⁵ and thus arose the first *Nomocanon*.²⁶

In the Latin Church there was not even a tolerably complete chronological collection of the canons till that made after the council of Chalcedon, since known as the *prisca translatio*.²⁷ A still fuller collection was afterwards made by *Dionysius Exiguus* (about 500)²⁸ in a better translation, to which was added, in a second part, a collection of the papal decretals. In *Spain* there had been a collection of canons, between 633 and 636, on the model of that by Dionysius (the Greek ones in a particular version), and of papal decretals for the use of the Spanish Church,²⁹

²² See Div. I, § 67, not. 5.

²³ Published in Guil. Voëlli et H. Justelli bibliotheca juris canonici veteris (T. ii. Paris 1661. fol.) ii. 449.

²⁴ The collectio lxxxvii. capitulorum, collected by Johannes Scholasticus from the novellae; the coll. xxv. capit. from the codex and novellae (published in G. E. Heimbach anecdota. T. ii. Lips. 1840. 4.); and that erroneously published under the name of Theod. Balsamon in Voëlli et Justelli bibl. juris ii. 1223 collectio constitt. ecclesiasticarum, which was compiled at the time of Heraclius, perhaps also of Justin II. from the pandects, codex and novellae. Comp. F. A. Biener's Gesch. d. Novellen Justinians, Berlin 1824. 8. S. 166.

²⁵ In this form it is found in Voëlli et Justelli bibl. ii. 603.

²⁶ Though this name is much more modern. See Biener's Gesch. d. Novellen S. 194. Heimbach anecd. T. ii. Prolegom. p. lv.

²⁷ Best edition that of the Ballerini opp. Leonis iii. 473, from which Mansi vi. 1105. Concerning it comp. Ballerini de ant. collectionibus canonum (before T. iii. opp. Leonis and in Gallandii sylloge), P. ii. cap. 2, § 3. Spittler S. 129.

²⁸ Published in Voëlli et Justelli biblioth. i. 101. Ballerini l. c. P. iii. cap. 1—3. Spittler S. 134. According to Drey, über die Constit. u. Kanones d. Apostel p. 203, even before the end of the fifth century.

²⁹ Published by Ant. Gonzalez in 2 Div. Collectio canonum Eccl.

which was afterwards called the collection of *Isidore*,³⁰ because it was erroneously ascribed to the most celebrated man of that time, Isidore, archbishop of Hispalis († 636). The laws respecting penance had gradually become so numerous as to require a separate work. *Johannes jejunator* (ὁ νηστευτής), patriarch of Constantinople (from 585–593), wrote the *ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων*,³¹ the first libellus poenitentialis (rules of penance).

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE HIERARCHY.

§ 115.

PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY.

The clergy, and particularly the bishops, received new privileges from *Justinian*. He entrusted the latter with civil jurisdiction over the monks and nuns, as well as over the clergy.¹

hispanae, Matrili 1808, and epistolae decretales ac rescripta Rom. Pontiff. Matrili 1821. fol. comp. Ballerini l. c. P. ii. cap. ii. § 2. P. iii. c. 4. M. E. Regenbrecht de can. Apostolorum et codice Eccl. hispanae diss. Vratisl. 1828. 8. Eichhorn on the Spanish collection of the sources of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin for the year 1834. (Berlin 1836. 4to.) historical and philosophical class, p. 89.

³⁰ According to Eichhorn, p. 113, since Pseudoisidore.

³¹ Afterwards variously interpolated; published in J. Mórini comm. hist. de disciplina in administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae. Paris 1651, fol. in append.

¹ Novellae Justin. 79 et 83 (both A. D. 539.) More particular notices are given in Nov. 123, cap. 21: Si quis autem litigantium intra x. dies contradicat iis, quae judicata sunt, tunc locorum iudex causam examinet.—Si iudicis sententia contraria fuerit iis, quae a Deo amabili Episcopo judicata sunt: tunc locum habere appellationem contra sententiam iudicis.—Si vero crimen fuerit, quod adversus quamlibet memoratarum reverendissimarum personarum inferatur,—iudex ultionem ei inferat legibus congruentem. Further, in a criminal accusation: Si Episcopus distulerit iudicare, licentiam habeat actor civilem iudicem adire. cf. B. Schilling de origine jurisdictionis eccles. in causis civilibus. Lips. 1825. 4. p. 41 ss.

Episcopal oversight of morals, and particularly the duty of providing for all the unfortunate (§ 91, notes 8–10), had been established till the present time only on the foundation of ecclesiastical laws; but Justinian now gave them a more general basis, by founding them on the civil law also.² He made it the duty of the bishops, and gave them the necessary civil qualifications, to undertake the care of prisoners, minors, insane persons, foundlings, stolen children, and oppressed women;³ and invested them with the power of upholding good morals⁴ and impartial administration of justice. It is true, that he established a mutual inspection of the bishops and of the civil magistrates; but he gave in this respect to the latter considerably smaller privileges than to the former.⁵ For example, he gave the bishops a legal influence over the choice of magistrates,⁶ and security against general oppression on their part;⁷ allowed them to interfere in case of refusal of justice;⁸ and, in special instances, even constituted them judges of those official personages.⁹ In like manner,

² C. W. de Rhoer de effectu relig. christ. in jurisprudentiam rom. fasc. 1. Groningae 1776. 8. p. 94. C. Riffel's geschichtl. Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen Kirche und Staat. (Mainz 1836) i. 622.

³ Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. de episcopali audientia (i. e. judicio.) l. 22.—l. 30.—l. 27. l. 28.—l. 24.—l. 33.

⁴ In addition to their former powers against pimps (Cod. Th. xv. viii. 2) and sorcerers (Cod. Th. ix. xvi. 12) Justinian gave them also the privilege of interfering against gaming (Cod. Just. i. iv. 25.)

⁵ The Praesides provinciarum were obliged to see to it that bishops observed ecclesiastical laws relating to ecclesiastical things (Cod. Just. i. iii. 44, § 3. Nov. cxxxii. c. 6), particularly those relating to the unalienableness of Church possessions (Nov. vii. in epil.) and the regular holding of synods (Nov. cxxxvii. c. 6.) They could only, however, put the bishops in mind of their duty, and then notify the emperor.

⁶ Nov. cxlix. c. 1.

⁷ Cod. Just. i. iv. 26, Nov. cxxxiv. c. 3.

⁸ Nov. lxxxvi. c. 1.

⁹ Nov. lxxxvi. c. 4. (A. D. 539): Quodsi contingat aliquem ex subditis nostris ab ipso clarissimo provinciae praeside injuria affici, jubemus eum sanctissimum illius urbis Episcopum adire, ut ille inter cl. praesidem, eumve, qui se ab eo injuria affectum putat, judicet. If the president (of a province) were condemned, and gave no satisfaction, the matter was referred to the emperor, and in case he found the episcopal sentence just, the president was condemned to death. According to Nov. viii. c. 9. cxxviii. c. 23, every magistrate, after laying down his office, was obliged to remain fifty days in the province to satisfy any claims that might be made against him. If he removed sooner, every one injured might complain to the bishop.

he conveyed to them the right of concurrence in the choice of city officials,¹⁰ and a joint oversight of the administration of city funds, and the maintenance of public establishments.¹¹ Thus the bishops became important personages even in civil life; and were farther honoured by Justinian, in freedom from parental violence,¹² from the necessity of appearing as witnesses, and from taking oaths.¹³

Finally, *Heraclius* committed to them jurisdiction over the clergy in criminal cases also (628).¹⁴

§ 116.

DEPENDENCE OF THE HIERARCHY ON THE STATE.

Notwithstanding these great privileges, the hierarchy became still more dependent on the State. As the emperors sent their civil laws to be promulgated by the Praetorian prefects, so, in like manner, ecclesiastical laws went forth from them to the patriarchs,¹ and the magistrates were directed to watch the observance of them by the bishops.² None doubted the emperor's

¹⁰ Cod. Just. i. iv. 17, Nov. cxxviii. 16.

¹¹ Cod. Just. i. iv. 26.

¹² Novell. lxxxii.

¹³ Novell. cxxiii. c. 7.

¹⁴ The law issued to the patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius, of which merely the contents are given in the Constitutt. Imper. appended to the Codex Justin. is found complete in Jo. Leunclavii juris Graeco Romani (tomi ii. Francof. 1596. fol.) i. 73, and in Voëlli et Justelli biblioth. juris can. ii. 1361: The offences (ἐγκλήματα) of clergymen are to be judged by the bishop κατὰ τοὺς θείουσ κανόνας. εἰ δέ γε νομίσοι σφοδρότερας ἐπεξελεύσεωσ ἀξίον καθιστάναι τὸν κρινόμενον, τηρικαῦτα τὸν τοιοῦτον—τοῦ περικειμένου κελεύομεν γυμνοῦσθαι σχήματος, καὶ τοῖσ πολιτικοῖσ ἀρχουσι παραδιδόσθαι, τὰσ τοῖσ ἡμετέροισ διωρισμένασ νόμοισ τιμωρίας ὑποσχησόμενον.

¹ For example, Nov. 6, epilogus: Sanctissimi igitur Patriarchae cujusque diocesis haec in sanctissimis Ecclesiis sub se constitutis proponant, et Dei amantissimis Metropolitanis quae a nobis sancita sunt nota faciant. Hi vero ipsi in sanctissima Ecclesia metropolitana haec rursus proponant, et Episcopis, qui sub ipsis sunt, manifesta faciant. Quilibet vero illorum in Ecclesia sua haec proponat, ut nemo in nostra sit republica, qui ea—ignoret. F. A. Biener's Gesch. der Novellen Justinian's. Berlin 1824. S. 31 f. comp. S. 25 ss.

² See § 115, not. 5.

right to enact laws touching the external relations of the Church, and even subjects connected with its internal constitution;³ but it was more suspicious when the emperors began now to decide questions of faith by edicts, and when Synods were assembled almost entirely for the purpose of adopting imperial articles of faith. The Greek bishops became more and more accustomed to sacrifice their conviction to circumstances;⁴ but the bishops of Italy, favoured by the political condition of their country, were able for the most part to assert a firmer position.

§ 117.

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Ever since the beginning of the Monophysite controversy in the East, the sees of Alexandria and Antioch had become so

³ Biener l. c. S. 157 ss. 161 ss. Thus Justinian, Nov. 123, c. 3, where he fixes the amount to be given by the bishops pro inthronisticis, uses the expression: *Κελεύομεν τοίνυν τοὺς μὲν μακαριωτάτους ἀρχιεπισκόπους καὶ πατριάρχας, τουτέστι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Θεουπόλεως, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων.* When the Emperor Maurice had made a law, *ut quisquis publicis administrationibus fuerit implicatus, ei neque ad ecclesiasticum officium venire, neque in monasterium converti liceat*: Gregory the Great, lib. iii. ep. 65, ad Mauricium Aug. remonstrated against the second part of the prohibition. Ex. gr. Ego vero haec Dominis meis loquens, quid sum nisi pulvis et vermis? Sed tamen quia contra auctorem omnium Deum hanc intendere constitutionem sentio, Dominis tacere non possum.—Ad haec ecce per me servum ultimum suum et vestrum respondebit Christus dicens: Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite excubitorum, Caesarem, de Caesare Imperatorem, nec solum hoc, sed etiam patrem Imperatorum feci. Sacerdotes meos tuae manui commisi, et tu a meo servitio milites tuos subtrahis? Responde, rogo, piissime Domine, servo tuo, quid venienti et haec dicenti responsurus es in iudicio Domino tuo?—Ego quidem jussioni subjectus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci: et quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat, ecce per suggestionis meae paginam serenissimis Dominis nuntiavi. Utrobique ergo quae debui exsolvi, qui et Imperatori obedientiam praebui, et pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.

⁴ Epistola Legatis Francorum, qui Constantinopolim proficiscebantur, ab Italiae clericis directa A. D. 551 ap. Mansi ix. p. 153: Sunt graeci Episcopi habentes divites et opulentas ecclesias, et non patiuntur duos menses a rerum ecclesiasticarum dominatione suspendi: pro qua re secundum tempus, et secundum voluntatem principum, quidquid ab eis quaesitum fuerit, sine altercatione consentiunt. Comp. § 92, not. 1 and 2.

weak that the patriarchs of Constantinople only, upheld by the privileges granted them at the council of Chalcedon,¹ were able to vie with the Roman patriarchs.² But while the former were dependent on imperial caprice, and constantly harassed by the Greek spirit of controversy, the latter enjoyed the most perfect freedom in ecclesiastical things, and the advantage of standing at the head of the West, which was less inclined to controversies about faith, and therefore more united.³ After the extinction of the West Roman empire (476), by which, however, they had been never molested, but often furthered,⁴ the Roman bishops became subject to German princes, who left them at perfect liberty to manage all affairs within the Church according to their pleasure. This was particularly the case with *Theoderich*, king of the Arian Ostrogoths (493–526),⁵ to whom the schism between Rome and Constantinople gave sufficient security from all dangerous combinations of the Catholic hierarchy. And when, on the death of Bishop Anastasius, there was a contested election

¹ The Monophysite party which predominated under Basiliscus suspended these privileges in part, Evagrius iii. 6: (Timotheus Aelurus) ἀποδίδωσι τῇ Ἐφεσίων καὶ τὸ πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον, ὅπερ αὐτὴν ἀφείλεν ἢ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδος: but by the law Cod. Justin. i. ii. 16, (by Zeno, not, as the title has it, by Leo) the decrees of Chalcedon were revived, to be in force ever after.

² Order of the Roman bishops: Leo I. the Great † 461, Hilary † 468, Simplicius † 483, Felix II. † 492, Gelasius I. † 496, Anastasius II. † 498, Symmachus † 514, Hormisdas † 523, John I. † 526, Felix III. † 530, Boniface II. † 532, John II. † 535, Agapetus I. † 536, Silverius banished by Belisarius 537, Vigilius † 555, Pelagius I. † 560, John III. † 573, Benedict I. † 578, Pelagius II. † 590, Gregory I. the Great † 604, Sabinianus † 606, Boniface III. † 607, Boniface IV. † 615, Deusdedit † 618, Boniface V. † 625.

³ See above, p. 205.

⁴ See above, § 94, not. 12, and 66.

⁵ On the course pursued by the Ostrogoth kings towards the Church, see G. Sartorius Versuch über die Regierung der Ostgothen während ihrer Herrschaft in Italien. Hamburg 1811. S. 124 ss. 306 ss. J. C. F. Manso Gesch. des ostgoth. Reichs in Italien. Breslau 1824. S. 141 ss. Theoderich says (Cassiodori variarum lib. ii. ep. 27): Religionem imperare non possumus: quia nemo cogitur, ut credat invitus. King Theodahat to the emperor Justinian (Ibid. x. ep. 26): Cum divinitas diversas patiatur religiones esse, nos unam non audemus imponere. Retinemus enim legisse nos, voluntarie sacrificandum esse Domino, non cujusquam cogentis imperio. Quod qui aliter facere tentaverit, evidenter caelestibus jussionibus obviavit.

between Symmachus and Laurentius (498),⁶ he waited till required by both parties to decide,⁷ and then quietly allowed a Roman synod under Symmachus to declare all interference of the laity in the affairs of the Roman Church entirely inadmissible.⁸

⁶ According to Theodorus lector lib. ii. (ed. Vales. Amstelod. p. 560) Laurentius was chosen by an imperial party on condition of subscribing the Henoticon. cf. Anastasii lib. pontificalis c. 52, in vita Symmachi.

⁷ Anastasii lib. pontificalis c. 52, in vita Symmachi: Et facta contentione hoc constituerunt partes, ut ambo ad Ravennam pergerent ad iudicium Regis Theodorici. Qui dum ambo introissent in Ravennam, hoc iudicium aequitatis invenerunt, ut qui primo ordinatus fuisset, vel ubi pars maxima cognosceretur, ipse sederet in sede apostolica. Quod tandem aequitas in Symmacho invenit.

⁸ Synodus Romana iii. sub Symmacho (in the collections cited erroneously as the Syn. Rom. iv. s. palmaris, see Pagi ad ann. 502 num. 3 ss.) ap. Mansi viii. 266 ss. The protocol of a synod held after the death of Pope Simplicius was here read, and the decrees passed at it declared nugatory as proceeding from a layman. This protocol is given in the Acta of the synod referred to, and runs thus: Cum in unum apud b. Petrum Apostolum resedissent, sublimis et eminentissimus vir, praefectus praetorio atque patricius, agens etiam vices praecellentissimi regis Odoacris, Basilius dixit: Quamquam studii nostri et religionis intersit, ut in episcopatus electione concordia principaliter servetur ecclesiae, ne per occasionem seditionis status civitatis vocetur in dubium: tamen admonitione beatissimi Papae nostri Simplicii, quam ante oculos semper habere debemus, hoc nobis meministis sub obtestatione fuisse mandatum, ut propter illum strepitum, et venerabilis ecclesiae detrimentum, si eum de hac luce transire contigerit, non sine nostra consultatione cujuslibet celebretur electio. Nam et cum quid confusionis atque dispendii venerabilis ecclesia sustineret, miramur praetermissis nobis quidquam fuisse tentatum, cum etiam sacerdote nostro superstite nihil sine nobis debuisset assumi. Quare si amplitudini vestrae vel sanctitati placet, incolumbia omnia, quae ad futuri antistitis electionem respiciunt, religiosa honoratione serveinus, hanc legem specialiter praeferentes, quam nobis haeredibusque nostris christianae mentis devotione sancimus: Ne unquam praedium, seu rusticum seu urbanum, vel ornamenta aut ministeria ecclesiarum—ab eo qui nunc antistes sub electione communi fuerit ordinandus, et illis qui futuris saeculis sequentur, quocumque titulo atque commento alienentur. Si quis vero aliquid eorum alienare voluerit, inefficax atque irritum iudicetur; sitque facienti vel consentienti, accipientique anathema etc. At this enactment the following voices were now raised at the synod under Symmachus: Perpendat s. Synodus, uti praetermissis personis religiosis, quibus maxime cura est de tanto pontifice, electionem laici in suam redegerint potestatem, quod contra canones esse manifestum est.—Scriptura evidentissimis documentis constat invalida. Primum quod contra patrum regulas a laicis, quamvis religiosis, quibus nulla de ecclesiasticis facultatibus aliquid disponendi legitur unquam attributa facultas, facta videtur. Deinde quod nullius

Thus the Roman bishops were so far from being hindered by any superior power, that it proved an advantageous circumstance to them in the eyes of their new masters, that they steadfastly resisted innovations of faith made in Constantinople, till they gained a new victory over the changeable Greeks under the emperor Justin. The natural consequence of this was, that while the patriarchs of Constantinople were constantly sinking in ecclesiastical esteem on account of their vacillation in these controversies, the bishops of Rome still maintained their ancient reputation of being the defenders of oppressed orthodoxy.⁹

Under these favourable circumstances, *the ecclesiastical* pretensions of the Roman bishops, who now formed the only centre of Catholic Christendom in the West, in opposition to the Arian conquerors, rose high without hindrance. They asserted that not only did the highest ecclesiastical authority in the West belong to them, but also superintendence of orthodoxy and maintenance of ecclesiastical laws throughout the whole Church. These claims they sometimes founded on imperial edicts¹⁰ and decrees of synods;¹¹ but for the most part on the peculiar rights

praesulis apostolicae sedis subscriptione firmata docetur. The arrangement was declared null, and, on the contrary, another of similar import was passed to secure ecclesiastical property from the synod.

⁹ Cod. Just. i., i. 7, below not. 23.

¹⁰ Hilarii P. epist. xi. (Mansi vii. 939): *Fratri enim nostro Leontio nihil constituti a sanctae memoriae decessore meo juris potuit abrogari:—quia Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, ut quidquid ecclesiis earumque rectoribus—apostolicae sedis antistes suo pronunciasset examine, veneranter accipi tenaciterque servari, cum suis plebibus caritas vestra cognosceret: nec unquam possent convelli, quae et sacerdotali ecclesiastica praeceptione fulcirentur et regia.*

¹¹ Epist. synod. Rom. ad Clericos et Monachos Orient. A. D. 485 (Mansi vii. 1140): *Quotiens intra Italiam propter ecclesiasticas causas, praecipue fidei, colliguntur domini sacerdotes, consuetudo retinetur, ut successor praesulum sedis apostolicae ex persona cunctorum totius Italiae sacerdotum juxta sollicitudinem sibi ecclesiarum omnium competentem cuncta constituat, qui caput est omnium; Domino ad b. Petrum dicente: Tu es Petrus etc. Quam vocem sequentes cccxviii. sancti patres apud Nicaeam congregati confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem sanctae Romanae ecclesiae detulerunt (comp. above, § 94, not. 28, 35, 60): quam utramque usque ad aetatem nostram successiones omnes, Christi gratia praestante, custodiunt. Gelasii ep. iv. ad Faustum (Mansi viii. 19): *Quantum ad religionem pertinet, nonnisi apostolicae sedi juxta canones debetur summa judicii totius. Ejusd. ep. xiii. ad Episc. Dardaniae (Mansi viii. 54): Non reticemus autem, quod cuncta**

conferred on Peter by the Lord.¹² After the *synodus palmaris*, called by Theoderich to examine the charges newly raised by the Laurentian party against Symmachus (503), had acquitted him without examination, in consequence of the circumstances,¹³ the

per mundum novit ecclesia, quoniam quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum, sedes b. Petri Apostoli jus habeat resolvendi, utpote quod de omni ecclesia fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio, siquidem ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerint, ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus.

¹² Gelasii decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis (Mansi viii. 157, comp. on it § 114, not. 2): quamvis universae per orbem catholicae diffusae ecclesiae unus thalamus Christi sit, sancta tamen Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis caeteris ecclesiis praelata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit: Tu es Petrus etc. Cui data est etiam societas b. Pauli Apostoli,—qui non diverso, sicut haeretici garrunt, sed uno tempore, uno eodemque die gloriosa morte cum Petro in urbe Roma sub Caesare Nerone agonizans, coronatus est. Et pariter supradictam s. Romanam ecclesiam Christo domino consecrarunt, aliisque omnibus in universo mundo sua praesentia atque venerando triumpho praetulerunt. (Gregorii M. lib. iv. in 1 Reg. 5, ed. Bened. iii. ii. 250: Saulus ad Christum conversus caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesiae principatum. Comp. above § 94, not. 37.)

¹³ Syn. Rom. iv. sub Symmacho s. palmaris, in the collections falsely cited as Syn. iii. See Pagi ad ann. 503, num. 2 ss. C. L. Nitzschii disp. de Synodo palmari. Viteberg. 1775 (reprinted in Pottii sylloge commentt. theoll. iv. 67.)—The Acts ap. Mansi viii. 247. After Symmachus had been in danger of his life at the synod from his enemies, he declared (relatio Episcop. ad Regem p. 256): Primum ad conventum vestrum—sine aliqua dubitatione properavi, et privilegia mea voluntati regiae submisi, et auctoritatem synodi dedi: sicut habet ecclesiastica disciplina, restaurationem ecclesiarum regulariter poposci: sed nullus mihi a vobis effectus est. Deinde cum venirem cum clero meo, crudeliter mactatus sum. Uterius me vestro examini non committo: in potestate Dei est, et domini regis, quid de me deliberet ordinare. (Compare above, § 92, not. 15.) The synod having reported this to the king, he answered (l. c. p. 257): miramur denuo fuisse consultum: cum si nos de praesenti ante voluissemus judicare negotio, habito cum proceribus nostris de inquirenda veritate tractatu, Deo auspice, potuissemus invenire justitiam, quae nec praesenti saeculo, nec futurae forsitan displicere potuisset aetati.—Nunc vero eadem, quae dudum, praesentibus intimamus oraculis.—Sive discussa, sive indiscussa causa, proferte sententiam, de qua estis rationem divino judicio reddituri: dummodo, sicuti saepe diximus, haec deliberatio vestra provideat, ut pax Senatui populoque Romano, submota omni confusione, reddatur. For the further proceedings of the synod see their protocol, p. 250: Dei mandata complentes Italiae summum dedimus rectorem, agnoscentes nullum nobis laborem alium remansisse, nisi ut dissidentes cum humilitate propositi

apologist of this synod, *Ennodius*, bishop of Ticinum (511), first gave utterance to the assertion, that the bishop of Rome is subject to no earthly judge.¹⁴ Not long after an attempt was made to give a historical basis to this principle by supposititious *Gesta* (acts) of former popes; ¹⁵ and other falsifications of older docu-

nostri ad concordiam hortaremur. They proceed to consider quanta inconvenienter et praejudicialiter in hujus negotii principio contigissent:—maxime cum illa quae praemisimus inter alia de auctoritate sedis obstant: quia quod possessor ejus quondam b. Petrus meruit, in nobilitatem possessionis accessit:—maxime cum omnem paene plebem cernamus ejus communioni indissociabiliter adhaesisse: and therefore concluded: ut Symmachus Papa sedis apostolicae praesul, ab hujusmodi propositionibus impetitus, quantum ad homines respicit (quia totum causis obsistentibus superioris designatis constat arbitrio divino fuisse dimissum), sit immunis et liber.—Unde secundum principalia praecepta, quae nostrae hoc tribuunt potestati, ei, quidquid ecclesiastici intra sacram urbem Romanam vel foris juris est, reformamus totanque causam Dei judicio reservantes etc. Just as before also the Conc. Cirtense A. D. 305 (see Augustin. contra Cresonium iii. 27) put down the accusation against several bishops of their being Traditores, with the asseveration: habent Deum, cui reddant rationem.

¹⁴ Magni Felicis Ennodii (opp. ed. J. Sirmond. Paris 1611, recusa in Gallandii bibl. PP. xi. 47) libellus apologeticus pro Synodo iv. Romana (Mansi viii. 274): Non nos b. Petrum, sicut dicitis, a Domino cum sedis privilegiis, vel successores ejus, peccandi judicamus licentiam suscepisse. Ille perennem meritorum dotem cum haereditate innocentiae misit ad posteros: quod illi concessum est pro actuum luce, ad illos pertinet, quos par conversationis splendor illuminat. Quis enim sanctum esse dubitet, quem apex tantae dignitatis attollit? in quo si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt quae a loci decessore praestantur: aut enim claros ad haec fastigia erigit, aut qui eriguntur illustrat. Praenoscit enim, quid Ecclesiarum fundamento sit habile, super quem ipsa moles innititur. p. 284: Aliorum forte hominum causas Deus voluerit per homines terminare: sedis istius presulem suo, sine quaestione, reservavit arbitrio, in direct contradiction to the epist. Rom. Conc. A. D. 378, above § 92, not 15.

¹⁵ Namely Conc. Sinuessanum de Marcellini P. condemnatione (quod thurificasset) pretended to be held A. D. 303. (Mansi i. 1249 ss. The bishops say to him: Tu eris judex: ex te enim damnaberis, et ex te justificaberis, tamen in nostra praesentia.—Prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam): Constitutio Silvestri Episc. urbis Romae et Domini Constantini Aug. in Concil. Rom. pretended to be in 324 (Mansi ii. 615 ss. Cap. 20: Nemo enim judicabit primam sedem, quoniam omnes sedes a prima sede justitiam desiderant temperari. Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo judex judicabitur): Synodi Rom. (alleged to be held A. D. 433) acta de causa Sixti iii. stupro accusati, et de Polychronii Hierosolym. accusatione (Mansi v. 1161.) Comp. P. Coustant diss. de antiquis canonum collectionibus

ments in favour of the Roman see now appeared in like manner.¹⁶ Still the Roman bishops (or as they were already called in Italy, by way of distinction, *papa*)¹⁷ did not yet demand any other kind of honour than was paid to the other apostolic sees,¹⁸ ac-

§ 97-99, (in Gallandii de vetustis canonum collectionibus dissertationum sylloge i. 93.)

¹⁶ Thus the passage in Cyprian's lib. de unit. eccl. (see Div. i. § 68, not. 10) appears already corrupted in Pelagii ii. ep. vi. ad Episc. Istriae (Mansi ix. 898.)

¹⁷ Thus, for instance, as early as in the councils held under Symmachus (see above notes 8 and 13) and in Ennodius (see note 14. Sirmond ad Ennod. lib. iv. ep 1): In the other regions of the West, however, the title Papa continued for a long time to be a name of honour applied to every bishop (Walafrid Strabo about 840 de rebus eccl. c. 7, in Hittorp's collection, p. 395: Pabst a Papa, quod cujusdam paternitatis nomen est, et Clericorum congruit dignitati) till Gregory VII. forbade it, A. D. 1075. Comp. Jo. Diecmann de vocis Papae aetatibus diss. ii. Viteberg. 1671. 4. In the East Πάπας was especially the title of the patriarchs of Rome and Alexandria.—Just so in Italy the see of Rome was especially Sedes apostolica; in other countries of the West every episcopal see was so styled, cf. Gregorii Tur. hist. Franc. iv. 26: Presbyter—Regis praesentiam adiit et haec effatus est: Salve, Rex gloriose, Sedes enim apostolica eminentiae tuae salutem mittit uberrimam. Cui ille, numquid, ait, Romanam adisti urbem, ut Papae illius nobis salutem deferas? Pater, inquit Presbyter, tuus Leontius (Ep. Burdegalensis) cum provincialibus suis salutem tibi mittit.

¹⁸ Pelagius i. ad Valerianum (Mansi ix. 732): quotiens aliqua de universali synodo aliquibus dubitatio nascitur, ad recipiendam de eo quod non intelligunt rationem,—ad apostolicas sedes pro recipienda ratione conveniant.—Quisquis ergo ab apostolicis divisus est sedibus, in schismate eum esse non dubium est. Comp. above § 94, not. 5. Gregorii M. lib. vii. ep. 40. ad Eulogium Episc. Alexandr. Suavissima mihi Sanctitas vestra multa in epistolis suis de s. Petri Apostolorum principis cathedra locuta est, dicens, quod ipse in ea nunc usque in suis successoribus sedeat.—Cuncta quae dicta sunt in eo libenter accepi, quod ille mihi de Petri cathedra locutus est, qui Petri cathedram tenet. Et cum me specialis honor nullo modo delectet, valde tamen laetatus sum, quia vos, sanctissimi, quod mihi impendistis, vobismetipsis dedistis.—Cum multi sint Apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu solo Apostolorum principis sedes in auctoritate convaluit, quae in tribus locis unius est. Ipse enim sublimavit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere, et presentem vitam finire dignatus est (Rome); ipse decoravit sedem, in qua Evangelistam discipulum misit (Alexandria); ipse firmavit sedem, in qua septem annis, quamvis discessurus, sedit (Antioch.) Cum ergo unius atque una sit sedes, cui ex auctoritate divina tres nunc Episcopi praesident, quidquid ego de vobis boni audio, hoc mihi imputo. Si quid de me boni creditis, hoc vestris meritis imputate, quia in illo unum sumus, qui ait: ut omnes unum sint etc. (Jo. 17, 21.) cf. Wiggers

knowledging that they were subject to general councils,¹⁹ and that the bishops were bound by duty to hear them only in case of delinquency. In other respects, they admitted that these bishops were equal to them in dignity.²⁰

de Gregorio M. ejusque placitis anthropologicis comm. ii. Rostoch. 1838. 4. p. 29. The flattery of Eulogius may be explained by his straitened condition, which Gregory relieved even by presents (cf. lib. vi. ep. 60, vii. 40, viii. 29.) Isidorus Hisp. etymol. vii. 12 (in Gratiani decreto dist. xxi. c. 1): Ordo Episcoporum quadripartitus est, id est in Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Metropolitanis atque Episcopis. Patriarcha graeca lingua summus patrum interpretatur, quia primum *i. e.* apostolicum retinet locum: et ideo quia summo honore fungitur, tali nomine censetur, sicut Romanus, Antiochenus et Alexandrinus. Here, therefore, the pope still stands in the same rank completely with the other patriarchs.

¹⁹ Gelasius ep. xiii. (Mansi viii. 51): confidimus, quod nullus jam veraciter Christianus ignoret, uniuscujusque synodi constitutum, quod universalis ecclesiae probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exsequi sedem prae caeteris oportere, quam primam, quae et unamquamque synodum sua auctoritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione custodit, pro suo scilicet principatu, quem b. Petrus apostolus domini voce perceptum, ecclesia nihilominus subsequente, et tenuit semper et retinet.

²⁰ Gregorii M. lib. ix. epist. 59, ad Joh. Episc. Syracus. Si qua culpa in Episcopis invenitur, nescio quis ei (Sedi apostolicae) subjectus non sit: cum vero culpa non exigit, omnes secundum rationem humilitatis aequales sunt. Lib. xi. ep. 37. ad Romanum defensorem: Pervenit ad nos, quod si quis contra clericos quoslibet causam habeat, despectis eorum Episcopis, eosdem clericos in tuo facias iudicio exhiberi. Quod si ita est, quia valde constat esse incongruum, hac tibi auctoritate praecipimus, ut hoc denuo facere non praesumas.—Nam si sua unicuique Episcopo jurisdictio non servatur, quid aliud agitur, nisi ut per nos, per quos ecclesiasticus custodiri debuit ordo, confundatur? (Lib. ii. ep. 52: mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo.)—Lib. viii. ep. 30, ad Eulogium Episc. Alexandr. Indicare quoque vestra Beatitudo studuit, jam se quibusdam (the patriarch of Constantinople) non scribere superba vocabula, quae ex vanitatis radice prodierunt, et mihi loquitur, dicens: sicut jussistis. Quod verbum jussionis peto a meo auditu remove, quia scio, qui sum, qui estis. Loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ergo jussi, sed quae utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi. Non tamen invenio vestram Beatitudinem hoc ipsum, quod memoriae vestrae intuli, perfecte retinere voluisse. Nam dixi, nec mihi vos, nec cuiquam alteri tale aliquid scribere debere: et ecce in praefatione epistolae, quam ad me ipsum qui prohibui direxistis, superbae appellationis verbum, universalem me Papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat, quia vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit praebet.—Nec honorem esse deputo, in quo fratres meos honorem suum perdere cognosco.—Si enim universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat

After ecclesiastical peace had been restored between Rome and Constantinople, the kings of the Ostrogoths became suspicious of their Catholic subjects generally, and, in particular, of the Romish bishops, because the latter had broken off communion with Constantinople. *John I.*, indeed, in his capacity of regal ambassador, procured the restoration of their Churches to the Arians in the Greek Church; yet he was obliged to end his life in prison.²¹ The kings maintained a strict oversight of the choice of the Catholic bishops, reserving to themselves the confirmation, or absolute nomination of them.²² Yet even now the Gothic rule was not so dangerous to the papacy as the Byzantine, which latter began after the conquest of Italy (553—554). It is true that Justinian honoured the Roman see,²³ but he distinguished the Constantinopolitan with no less favour;²⁴ and endeavoured in

se hoc esse, quod me fatetur universum. Sed absit hoc. Recedant verba, quae vanitatem inflant et caritatem vulnerant.

²¹ Anastasii lib. pontific. c. 54, in vita Joannis. *Historia miscella* lib. 15, (in Muratori scriptt. Ital. i. 103.) *Manso* *Gesch. d. ostgoth. Reiches in Italien* S. 163 ss.

²² Thus Theoderich appointed the Romish bishop, Felix III. *Cassiodori variarum* lib. viii. ep. 15. *Comp. Sartorius* *Vers. über die Regierung der Ostgothen in Italien* S. 138 ss. 308 s.—Athalarich's edict addressed to John II. against bribery at the election of popes and bishops A. D. 533. *Cassiod. variar.* ix. ep. 15, with a commentary ap. *Manso* l. c. P. 416 ff.

²³ Justinian, A. D. 533, to the patriarch of Constantinople. *Cod. Justin.* i. i. 7: οὔτε γὰρ ἀνεχόμεθά τι τῶν εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ὁράντων καταστασιν, μὴ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης καὶ πατριάρχου) ἀναφέρεσθαι μακαριότητι, ὡς κεφαλῇ οὔσῃ πάντων τῶν ὁσιωτάτων τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερέων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ, ὅσάκις ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μέρεσιν αἰρετικοὶ ἀνεφύησαν, τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ὀρθῇ κρίσει τοῦ ἐκείνου σεβασμίον θρόνου κατηργήθησαν. *Ibid.* l. 8. *Justinianus ad Joannem* ii. P. *Nec enim patimur quicquam, quod ad Ecclesiarum statum pertinet, quamvis manifestum et indubitatum sit, quod movetur, ut non etiam vestrae innotescat sanctitati, quae caput est omnium sanctarum Ecclesiarum. Per omnia enim (ut dictum est) properamus, honorem et auctoritatem crescere vestrae sedis.*

²⁴ *Cod. Justin.* i. ii. 25: Ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησία πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ. On the other hand, the right of the highest ecclesiastical court, which was conveyed to the patriarch of Constantinople at Chalcedon (*comp. above* § 93, not. 15), if indeed it ever extended beyond the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, appears to have fallen into oblivion. The right of appeal is thus fixed by Justinian *Cod. i. iv. 29*: Bishop—Metropolitan and his Provincial synod—Patriarch. From the decision of the last, as from that of the Praetorian prefect, there could be no appeal (*Cod. Just. vii. lxii. 19.*) No complaint is to

the end to convert both merely into instruments to enable him to rule both in church and state. Two of his creatures, *Vigilius* and *Pelagius I.*, successively filled the Roman see; and in the controversy concerning the three chapters it soon became apparent how hazardous to Rome this dependence on Byzantium was. For a long time in the Western Church the rejection of the three chapters was considered a violation of orthodoxy; and on this account the bishops of the diocese of Italy broke off communion with Rome. The bishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna* were indeed reconciled; when, oppressed by the Arian Lombards, they were compelled to set greater value on communion with the Catholic Church (570–580); but the archbishop of *Aquileia* (who, since the incursions of the Lombards into Italy (568), resided on the island *Grado*) and the *Istrian* bishops were more obstinate, and did not renew their fellowship with Rome till the year 698.²⁵

But even this dangerous period of dependence on Byzantium ceased for Rome, after the incursion of the Lombards into Italy

be brought before the patriarch first, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τὴν αἰτίασιν τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεΐῃ, ἐφ' ᾧτε παραπεμφθῆναι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῷ τῆς χώρας θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ. τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ ἄδεια μὲν ἔσται τὴν αἰτίασιν ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις πατριάρχαις, i. e., unless accompanied with the petition that the matter shall be delegated to the bishop of the province. For in that case it shall be allowed to bring the complaint before the patriarch. Then § 2: Εἰ μέντοι παραπεμφθείσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως παρὰ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου πατριάρχου ἢ τινι τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων μητροπολιτῶν, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, ἐνεχθείη ψῆφος, καὶ μὴ στερχθείη παρὰ θατέρου μέρους, ἐκκλητός τε γένηται. τῆνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον (*Vers. lat. ad Archiepiscopalem hanc sedem*) φέρεσθαι τὴν ἔφεσιν, κάκεισε κατὰ τὸ μέχρι νῦν κρατοῦν ἐξετάζεσθαι, i. e., if the complaint is delegated by the patriarch to a metropolitan or another bishop, and a sentence passed which the one party is dissatisfied with, and an appeal is made; then the appeal shall be to the archbishop (consequently with the omission of some intermediate courts, according to the rule *Cod. Just. vii., lxii., 32, § 3: eorum sententiis appellatione suspensis, qui ex delegatione cognoscunt, necesse est eos aestimare—qui causas delegaverint judicaudas*). ὁ ἀρχιερατικὸς θρόνος, is every delegating patriarch, not exclusively, (as has been assumed after the Latin translation of Anton. Augustinus, which in this law is entirely false,) the patriarch of Constantinople. Even Ziegler *Geschich. der Virchl. kerfassungsformen* S. 232 ss. has entirely misunderstood this law.

²⁵ J. F. B. M. de Rubeis de schismate eccl. Aquilejensis diss. hist. Venet. 1732. 8. Republished in an enlarged form in ejusd. monumenta eccl. Aquilejensis. 1740. fol. Walch's *Ketzerhist.* viii. 331. N. C. Kist de Kerk en het Patriarchaat van Aquileja in the *Archief voor kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, i. 118.

(568). From that time the Greek dominions in this country were confined to *the exarchate of Ravenna, the Duchy of Rome and Naples, the cities on the coast of Liguria, and the extreme provinces of Lower Italy*. Continually threatened by the Lombards, and often forsaken by the Greek emperors, these districts were frequently obliged to protect themselves. At the head of all measures for defence appeared the popes as the richest possessors,²⁶ whose own interest it was to avert the rule of those Arian barbarians. Thus they not only gained great political influence in Grecian Italy,²⁷ but also obtained a more indepen-

²⁶ As the emperors called their fortunes *patrimonium* (namely *patrimonium privatum* s. *dominicum* their private property, and *patrim. sacratum* s. *divinae domus*, their domains. See Gutherius de offic. dom. Aug. lib. iii. c. 25. Pancirolius ad notit. dignitatum Imp. orient. c. 87); so the churches called their possessions *patrimonia* of their saints. That of the Roman church was therefore *patrimonium* s. *Petri*: at the same time also the single estates which were managed by *defensoribus* or *rectoribus* were called *patrimonia*. cf. Zaccaria diss. de patrimoniis s. Rom. Eccl. in his commentationes de rebus ad hist. atque antiquit. Ecclesiae pertinentibus dissert. latinae (Fulginae. Tomi. ii. 1781. 4.) ii. 68. Planck's Gesch. d. christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. i. 629. C. H. Sack de patrimoniis Eccl. Rom. circa finem saeculi vi. in his commentationes, quae ad theol. hist. pertinent, tres. Bonnae 1821. 8. p. 25. ss. For an account of the activity of the Popes in protecting Italy comp. Gregorii M. lib. v. ep. 21. ad Constantinam Aug.: Viginti autem jam et septem annos ducimus, quod in hac urbe inter Langobardorum gladios vivimus. Quibus quam multa hac ab Ecclesia quotidianis diebus erogantur, ut inter eos vivere possimus, suggerenda non sunt. Sed breviter indico, quia sicut in Ravennae partibus Dominorum Pietas apud primum exercitum Italiae saccellarium habet, qui causis supervenientibus quotidianas expensas faciat, ita et in hac urbe in causis talibus eorum saccellarius ego sum. Et tamen haec Ecclesia, quae uno eodemque tempore Clericis, monasteriis, pauperibus, populo, atque insuper Langobardis tam multa indesinenter expendit, ecce adhuc ex omnium Ecclesiarum premitur afflictione, quae de hac unius hominis (Johannis Jejunat.) superbia multum gemunt, etsi nihil dicere praesumunt.

²⁷ Gregorii M. lib. ii. ep. 31. ad cunctos milites Neapolitanos: Summa militiae laus inter alia bona merita haec est, obedientiam sanctae Republicae utilitatibus exhibere, quodque sibi utiliter imperatum fuerit, obtemperare: sicut et nunc devotionem vestram fecisse didicimus, quae epistolis nostris, quibus magnificum virum Constantium Tribunum custodiae civitatis deputavimus praeesse, paruit, et congruam militaris devotionis obedientiam demonstravit. Unde scriptis vos praesentibus curavimus admonendos, uti praedicto viro magnifico Tribuno, sicut et fecistis, omnem debeatis pro serenissimorum Dominorum utilitate, vel conservanda civitate obedientiam exhibere etc. Comp. the excerpt from the

dent position in ecclesiastical matters in relation to the Greek emperors. As citizens, they remained subject to the Greek emperors, and their representatives, the exarchs of Ravenna.²⁸

Towards the end of this period the flame of controversy was again kindled between the two first patriarchs of Christendom, when *John Jejunator* began to assume the title of a Patriarcha universalis, οἰκουμηνικός (587).²⁹ Even *Pelagius II.* grew very warm respecting it,³⁰ and still more *Gregory the Great.* These popes rejected that appellation altogether, as antichristian and devilish; without, however, making the desired impression on the Emperor Maurice and the court patriarch.³¹ So much the acts of Honorius i. (625, 638), by Muratori, antiquitt. Ital. v. 834 from Cencii Camerarii lib. de censibus, and published more fully by Zaccaria l. c. p. 131. from the collect. Cam. of Cardinal Deusdedit. Idem in eodem (i. e., Honorius in suo Registro) Gaudisso Notario et Anatolio Magistro militum Neapolitanam civitatem regendam committit, et qualiter debeat regi, scriptis informat. It does not follow from these passages, as Dionysius de Ste Marthe in vita Gregorii lib. iii. c. 9. no. 6. (Gregg. opp. iv. 271.) and Zaccaria l. c. p. 112. 131. conclude from them that the city of Naples belonged to the patrimonium s. Petri; but that the popes who had important possessions there (a patrimonium Neapolitanum and Campanum, Zaccaria p. 111.) when the city was hard pressed (cf. Gregor. M. lib. ii. ep. 46. ad Johannem Episc. Ravennae: De Neapolitana vero urbe, excellentissimo Exarcho instanter imminente, vobis indicamus, quia Arigis—valde insidiatur eidem civitati, in quam si celeriter dux non mittatur, omnino jam inter perditas habetur) and required speedy aid, took the necessary measures instead of the exarch. cf. Sack l. c. p. 52.

²⁸ Cf. Gregorii M. lib. iii. ep. 65. above § 116. not. 3. For the official authorities concerning the relations of the ecclesiastical to the civil power, especially concerning the right of the exarchs to confirm the choice of a pope, see the liber diurnus Romanorum Pontiff. See on this subject on the following period.

²⁹ At first applied by flatterers to all patriarchs. See § 93. not. 20. § 94. not. 72. Ziegler Gesch. der kirchl. Verfassungformen, S. 259. Justinian gives the patriarch of Constantinople the title, τῷ ἀγιοτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως καὶ οἰκουμηνικῆ πατριάρχῃ. Cod. i. 1. 7. Novell. iii. v. vi. vii. xvi. xlii.

³⁰ Gregorii M. lib. v. ep. 18. 43. ix. 68. The letter viii. Pelagii ad universos Episc. (Mansi. ix. 900.) relative to this point is pseudo-isidorian. See Blondelli Pseudoisidorus p. 636 ss.

³¹ Gregorii M. lib. v. ep. 18. ad Johann.—Si ergo ille (Paulus) membra dominici corporis certis extra Christum quasi capitibus, et ipsis quidem Apostolis subjici partialiter evitavit (I Cor. i. 12. ss.): tu quid Christo, universalis scilicet Ecclesiae capiti, in extremi judicii es dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibi met conaris universalis appellatione supponere? Quis, rogo, in hoc tam perverso vocabulo, nisi ille

more, therefore, did Gregory thank Providence when *Maurice's* murderer *Phocas* (602) ascended the throne;³² and Phocas repaid the pope's favour by taking his part against the patriarch,³³

ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis Angelorum Legionibus secum socialiter constitutis, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse et solus omnibus praeesse videretur? Certe Petrus Apostolorum primus, membrum sanctae et universalis Ecclesiae, Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? et tamen sub uno capite omnes membra—Numquid non—per venerandum Chalcedonense Concilium hujus apostolicae sedis Antistites, cui Deo disponente deservio, universales oblato honore vocati sunt? (Comp. § 94. not. 72.) Sed tamen nullus unquam tali vocabulo appellari voluit, nullus sibi hoc temerarium nomen arripuit: ne si sibi in Pontificatus gradu gloriam singularitatis arriperet, hanc omnibus fratribus denegasse videretur. Ep. 19. ad Sabinianum Diac. (Apocrisarium.) Ep. 20. ad Mauricium Aug. ep. 21. ad Constantinam Aug. ep. 43. ad Eulogium Ep. Alexandr. et Anastasium Antiochenum. Lib. vii. ep. 4. 5. and 31. ad Cyriacum Ep. Constant. ep. 27. ad Anastas. Antioch. ep. 33. ad Mauricium Aug.: De qua re mihi in suis jussionibus Dominorum Pietas praecipit, dicens, ut per appellationem frivoli nominis inter nos scandalum generari non debeat. Sed rogo, ut Imperialis Pietas penset, quia alia sunt frivola valde innoxia, atque alia valde nociva. Numquidnam cum se Antichristus veniens Deum dixerit, frivolum valde erit, sed tamen nimis perniciosum? Si quantitatem sermonis attendimus, duae sunt syllabae; si vero pondus iniquitatis, universa pernicies. Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum praecurrit, quia superbiendo se caeteris praeponeit. Nec dispari superbia ad errorem ducitur, quia sicut perversus ille Deus videri vult super omnes homines: ita quisquis iste est, qui solus Sacerdos appellari appetit, super reliquos Sacerdotes se extollit. Ep. 34. ad Eulogium Alex. et Anastas. Ant. How earnestly Gregory rejected for himself this title, may be seen in lib. viii. ep. 30. ad Eulogium Ep. Alex. above not. 18. According to Joannes Diac. (about 825) in vita Greg. M. ii. 1. Gregory may have assumed the title servus servorum Dei, to put to shame the patriarch of Constantinople. Even Augustine called himself ep. 130 and 217. servus servorum Christi, Fulgentius ep. 4. servorum Christi famulus. Among Gregory the Great's letters, there are now only three before which he so styles himself. But even so late as the eleventh century other bishops too, as well as kings and emperors, employed this title. See du Fresne glossar. ad scriptt. med. et. inf. lat. s. v. servus.

³² Comp. the congratulatory letter of Gregory lib. xiii. ep. 31. ad Phocam Imp. ep. 38. ad Leontiam Aug.

³³ The patriarch Cyriacus was an adherent of Maurice (Theophanes i. 446. 453.) Anastasius de vitis Pontific. c. 67. Bonifacius iii.: Hic obtinuit apud Phocam Principem, ut Sedes apostolica B. Petri Apostoli caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, i. e., Ecclesia Romana, quia Ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium Ecclesiarum scribebat. With

though after him that disputed title was constantly assumed by the see of Constantinople.³⁴

At this time the popes also began to bestow the pallium (which all bishops in the East received at their consecration)³⁵ on the most distinguished bishops of the West, for the purpose of symbolising and strengthening their connection with the Church of Rome.³⁶

the same words Paulus Warnefridi de gestis Longob. iv. 37. Doubtful by J. M. Lorenz examen decreti Phocae de primatu Rom. Pont. Argent. 1790. Schröckh xvii. 72. Remarkable is the view of the subject taken by the Ghibelline Gotfridus Viterbiensis (about 1186) in his Pantheon p. xvi. (Pistorii rer. Germ. scriptt. ed. Struve ii. 289).

Tertius est Papa Bonifacius ille benignus,
Qui petit a Phoca munus per secula dignum,
Ut sedes Petri prima sit; ille dedit.
Prima prius fuerat Constantinopolitana;
Est modo Romana, meliori dogmate clara.

³⁴ Even Heraclius, successor of Phocas, in his laws gives again this title to the patriarch of Constantinople. See Leunclavii jus Graeco-Romanum. T. i. p. 73 ss.

³⁵ See above § 101. not. 1. Against the opinion almost universally adopted from Petrus de Marca de conc. Sac. et Imp. lib. vi. c. 6. that the old pallium, a splendid mantle, was a part of the imperial dress, and therefore bestowed only by the emperors, or with their permission by the patriarchs, see J. G. Pertsch de origine, usu, et auctoritate, pallii archiepiscopalis. Helmst. 1754. 4. p. 56 ss.

³⁶ The oldest document on the subject is Symmachi P. ep. ad Theodorum Laureacensem (Mansi viii. p. 228) about 501: Diebus vitae tuae palli usum, quem ad sacerdotalis officii decorem et ad ostendendam unanimitatem, quam cum b. Petro Apostolo universum gregem dominicarum ovium, quae ei commissae sunt, habere dubium non est, ab apostolica sede, sicut decuit, poposcisti, quod utpote ab eisdem Apostolis fundatae ecclesiae majorum more libenter indulsumus ad ostendendum te magistrum et archiepiscopum, tuamque sanctam Laureacensem ecclesiam provinciae Pannoniorum sedem fore metropolitanam. Idcirco pallio, quod ex apostolica caritate tibi destinamus, quo uti debeas secundum morem ecclesiae tuae, solerter admonemus pariterque volumus, ut intelligas, quia ipse vestitus, quo ad missarum solemniam ornaris, signum praetendit crucis, per quod scito te cum fratribus debere compati ac mundialibus illecebris in affectu crucifigi etc. (The formula in the liber diurnus cap. iv. tit. 3. is abbreviated from this epistle.) According to Vigilii P. ep. vii. ad Auxanium Arelatensem (Mansi ix. p. 42.) Symmachus also invested Caesarius, bishop of Arles, with the pallium. These investitures became more frequent under Gregory the Great, not only of metropolitans, as John of Corinth, Leo of Prima Justinianea, Vigilii of Arles, Augustine of Canterbury, but also simple bishops, as of Donus of Messina, John of Syracuse, John of Palermo, &c. See Pertsch l. c. p. 134 ss. Though

FOURTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF MONACHISM.

§. 118.

THE LITERATURE MAY BE SEEN IN THE PREFACE TO § 95.

In the East, monachism continued in its manifold forms.¹ Justinian favoured it by his laws,² though he endeavoured to re-

Vigilius P. ep. vi. ad Auxaniam Arelatensem (Mansi ix. p. 40.) writes : De his vero, quae Caritas vestra tam de usu pallii, quam de aliis sibi a nobis petiit debere concedi, libenti hoc animo etiam in praesenti facere sine dilatione potuimus, nisi cum christianissimi Domini filii nostri imperatoris hoc, sicut ratio postulat, voluissemus perficere notitia; and Gregorius i. lib. ix. ep. 11. ad Brunichildem Reginam, while he mentions to Synagrius, bishop of Autun, gifted with the pallium, the necessity of the imperial approbation; yet it was probably sought for only when hostile relations existed with the kingdom to which the pallium was sent. See Pertsch l. c. p. 196 ss. That a tax was early connected with this investiture, see Gregorii i. lib. v. ep. 57. ad Johannem Ep. Corinth. (also ap. Gratianus dist. C. c. 3.): Novit autem Fraternitas vestra, quia prius pallium nisi dato commodo non dabatur. Quod quoniam incongruum erat, facto Concilio tam de hoc quam de ordinationibus aliquid accipere sub districta interdictione vetuimus. The decree referred to is in Mansi ix. p. 1227.

¹ Comp. the description, Evagrius i. 21. The spirit of the oriental monks of this period may be gathered from Johannis Moschi (about 630) *λειμών*, pratum spirituale (in Latin in Herib. Rosweydi vitae patrum. Antverp. 1615. fol. p. 855 ss. The Greek original, though defective, is found in Frontonis Ducaei auctarium bibl. PP. ii. 1057. The chasms are supplied in Cotelerii monum. Eccl. Gr. ii. 341). Even here complaints of the decay of monachism appear ex. gr. c. 130: οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην μέχρι θανάτου ἐτήρησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπλατύναμεν τὰς κοιλίας ἡμῶν καὶ βαλάντια κ. τ. λ. cf. cap. 52 and 168.

² Cod. Justin. i. 3. 53. (A. D. 532) forbids, μηδένα παντελῶς, μήτε βουλευτὴν μήτε ταξεώτην ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι, but adds: πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐκ νηπίας ἡλικίας, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἔφηβον ἐκβάσης, ἔτυχε τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις μοναχοῖς ἐγκαταλελεγμένος, καὶ διαμείνας ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος. τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ ἐφίεμεν αὐτῷ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλθεῖν,—τὴν τετάρτην μὲντοι μοῖραν τῆς αὐτοῦ περιουσίας ἀπάσης παρέχων τοῖς

strain the irregular wanderings of the Coenobites.³ While the Stylites in the East still attracted the highest wonder, especially one *Daniel*,⁴ in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, under the Emperors Basiliscus and Zeno, an attempt in the neighbourhood of Treves to imitate them was interdicted by the bishops of the place.⁵ On the other hand, the *κατειργμένοι* of the East, especially in Gaul, found many admirers (*Reclausi*, *Recluses*).⁶

§ 119.

BENEDICTINES.

Jo. Mabillonii annales ordinis S. Benedicti, vi tomi (the 6th edited by Edm. Martene reaches to the year 1157.) Paris. 1703—1739. auct. Lucae 1739—1745. fol.—Lucae Dacherii et Jo. Mabillonii acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti (six centuries to 1100.) ix. voll. 1668—1701. fol.

In the West, *Benedict*, a native of Nursia in Umbria,¹ gave a

βουλευταίς, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ. § 3; "Ἐτι θεσπίζομεν, εἴτε ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ μονήρῃ βίῳ ἐλθεῖν βουλευθείη, εἴτε γυνή τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιπούσα πρὸς ἄσκησιν ἔλθοι, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ζημίαι παρέχειν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οἰκεία πάντως λαμβάνειν. cf. Novell. cxxiii. c. 40: Εἰ δὲ συνεστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ γάμου ὁ ἀνὴρ μόνος ἢ ἡ γυνή μόνη εἰσέλθῃ εἰς μοναστήριον, διαλυέσθω ὁ γάμος, καὶ δίχα ῥεπουδίον. (On the other hand Gregorius M. lib. xi. ep. 45: Si enim dicunt, religionis causa conjugia debere dissolvi, sciendum est, quia etsi hoc lex humana concessit, divina lex tamen prohibuit. cf. Bingham vol. iii. p. 45). Cod. Just. i. 3. 55: Ut non liceat parentibus impedire, quominus liberi eorum volentes monachi aut clerici fiant, aut eam ob solam causam exheredare (cf. Nov. cxxiii. c. 41). Nov. v. c. 2. allows slaves to go into convents contrary to the will of their masters.

³ Novella v. de Monachis (A. D. 535) cap. 4: Εἰ δὲ τις ἀπαξ εἰντὸν καθιερώσας τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος τυχῶν, εἶτα ἀναχωρῆσαι τοῦ μοναστηρίου βουλευθείη, καὶ ἰδιώτῃν τυχὸν ἐλέσθαι βίον· αὐτὸς μὲν ἴστω, ποίαν ὑπὲρ τούτου δώσει τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀπολογία, τὰ πράγματα μέντοι ὅποσα ἂν ἔχοι ἡνίκα εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον εἰσῆι, ταῦτα τῆς δεσποτείας ἔσται τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν παντελῶς ἐξάξει. cap. 7.: Εἰ δὲ ἀπολιπὼν τὸ μοναστήριον, καθ' ὅπερ τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶχεν, εἰς ἕτερον μεταβαίνοι μοναστήριον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἢ αὐτοῦ περιουσία μενέτο τε καὶ ἐκδικεῖσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ προτέρου μοναστηρίου, ἐνθα ἀποταξάμενος τοῦτο κατέλιπε. προσήκων δὲ ἔστι τοὺς εὐλαβεστάτους ἡγουμένους μὴ εἰσδέχεσθαι τὸν τοῦτο πράττοντα.

⁴ Acta Danielis ap. Surium ad d. 11 Dec.

⁵ Gregor. Turon. hist. Franc. viii. 15.

⁶ Ex. gr., Gregor. Tur. ii. 37. v. 9. 10. vi. 6.

¹ His biographer is Gregorius M. in dialogorum lib. secundo.

new form to the monastic life. After he had long lived a hermit's life, he founded a convent on a mountain in Campania, where the old castrum Cassinum was situated (hence called *monasterium Cassinense, monte Cassino*). Here he introduced a new system of rules (529)² which mitigated the extreme rigour of the Eastern monks,³ prescribed a variety of suitable employments,⁴ but was distinguished especially by this, that it exacted

² *Regula Benedicti* in 73 Capp. in Hospinian and many others, best in Luc. Holstenii codex regularum monastic. et canon. (Romae 1661. iii. voll. 4). auctus a Marian. Brockie (August. Vindel. 1759. vi. tomi fol.) i. 3. and thence in Gallandii bibl. PP. xi. 298. Among the numerous commentaries the best are by Edm. Martene. Paris. 1690. 4. and by Augustin Calmet. Paris. 1734. T. 2. 4. General regulations: cap. 64: In Abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio, ut hic constituatur, quem sibi omnis concors congregatio secundum timorem Dei, sive etiam pars, quamvis parva, congregationis, saniori consilio, elegerit. Cap. 65: Quemcunque elegerit Abbas cum consilio fratrum timentium Deum, ordinet ipse sibi Praepositum. Qui tamen Praepositus illa agat cum reverentia, quae ab Abbate suo ei injuncta fuerint, nihil contra Abbatis voluntatem aut ordinationem faciens. Cap. 21: Si major fuerit congregatio, eligantur de ipsis fratres boni testimonii et sanctae conversationis, et constituentur Decani, qui solitudinem gerant super Decanias suas. Cap. 3: Quoties aliqua praecipua agenda sunt in monasterio, convocet Abbas omnem congregationem, et dicat ipse unde agitur. Et audiens consilium fratrum, tractet apud se, et quod utilius judicaverit faciat. Si qua vero minora agenda sunt in monasterii utilitatibus, seniorum tantum utatur consilio. Cap. 5: Primus humilitatis gradus est obedientia sine mora. Haec convenit iis, qui nihil sibi Christo carius aliquid existimant: propter servitium sanctum, quod professi sunt, seu propter metum gehennae, vel gloriam vitae aeternae, mox ut aliquid imperatum a majore fuerit, ac si divinitus imperetur, moram pati nesciunt in faciendo.

³ Cap. 39. Appoints for the daily food cocta duo pulmentaria (ut forte, qui ex uno non poterit edere, ex alio reficiatur). Et si fuerint inde poma aut nascentia leguminum, addatur et tertium. Farther panis libra una and cap. 40. hemina vini. (different opinions concerning the hemina, see in Martene comm. in Reg. S. Bénéd. p. 539 ss.) On the other hand carniun quadrupedum ab omnibus abstinenceatur comestio, praeter omnino debiles et aegrotos. Cap. 36: balneorum usus infirmis, quoties expedit, offeratur. Sanis autem, et maxime juvenibus, tardius concedatur.

⁴ Cap. 48: Otiositas inimica est animae: et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina. Between these the horae canonicae, namely the Nocturnae vigiliae, Matutinae, Prima, Tertia, Sexta, Nona, Vespera and Completorium (see respecting them Cap. 8-19.), Cap. 16. justified by Ps. 118. 164. Septies in die laudem dixi tibi, and v. 62. media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi. Comp. § 95. not. 8.

a promise from all who entered, never to leave the monastery again, and strictly to observe its rules.⁵ This system was soon diffused in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Instead of the former diversity of monasteries, unity now appeared; and thus arose the first proper monastic order or association of many monasteries under a peculiar rule. The straitening of vows in this Benedictine rule was followed by the declaration of marriage being invalid in the case of monks;⁶ while the monks and nuns who had left their monasteries began to be violently brought back into them.⁷

⁵ Cap. 58: After ordering a probation time of the noviter venientis ad conversionem: si habita secum deliberatione promiserit se omnia custodire et cuncta sibi imperata servare, tunc suscipiatur in congregatione, sciens se jam sub lege regulæ constitutum, quod ei ex illa die non liceat egredi de monasterio, nec collum excutere de subjugo regulæ, quam sub tam morosa deliberatione licuit aut excusare, aut suscipere. Suscipiendus autem in oratorio coram omnibus promittat de stabilitate sua, et conversione morum suorum, et obedientia coram Deo et sanctis ejus, ut si aliquando aliter fecerit, ab eo se damnandum sciat, quem irridet. De qua promissione sua faciat petitionem ad nomen Sanctorum, quorum reliquiae ibi sunt, et Abbatis praesentis. Quam petitionem manu sua scribat, aut certe, si non scit literas, alter ab eo rogatus scribat, et ille novitius signum faciat, et manu sua eam super altare ponat. Cap. 59: Si quis forte de nobilibus offert filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minori aetate est, parentes ejus faciant petitionem, quam supra diximus. Et cum oblatione ipsam petitionem et manum pueri involvant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant. Cap. 66: Monasterium autem, si possit fieri, ita debet construi, ut omnia necessaria, id est aqua, molen-dinum, hortus, pistrinum, vel artes diversae intra monasterium exercean-tur, ut non sit necessitas Monachis vagandi foras, quia omnino non expedit animabus eorum.

⁶ The older appointment (see § 95. note 49.), that the breaking of the vow should be punished with church-penance, is still repeated by Leo I. ep. 90. ad Rusticum c. 12. (Propositum monachi—deseri non potest absque peccato. Quod enim vovit Deo, debet et reddere. Unde qui relicta singularitatis professione ad militiam vel ad nuptias devolutus est, publicae poenitentiae satisfactione purgandus est), and Gelasius I. ep. 5. ad Episc. Lucaniae (ap Gratian. Causa xxvii. Qu. 1. c. 14.) Also Conc. Aurelian. i. ann. 511. c. 21. pre-supposes the validity of marriage. (Monachus si in monasterio conversus vel pallium compro-batus fuerit accepisse, et postea uxori fuerit sociatus, tantae praevarica-tionis reus nunquam ecclesiastici gradus officium sortiatur.) On the contrary, first, the Conc. Turonicum ii. ann. 567. c. 15: (Monachus) si —uxorem duxerit, excommunicetur, et de uxoris male sociatae consortio etiam judicis auxilio separetur.—Qui infelix monachus,—et illi, qui eum exceperint ad defensandum, ab ecclesia segregentur, donec revertatur ad septa monasterii, et indictam ab Abbate—agat poenitentiam, et post satisfactionem revertatur ad gratiam.

⁷ Thus Gregory the Great ordered, with reference to a married nun

Of literary pursuits among the monks we find no trace, either in Benedict's rule, or among the first Benedictines.⁸ It was *Cassiodorus* who made the first attempt of this kind in the convent built by him called *Vivarium* (Coenobium Vivariense. 538) near Squillacci in Bruttia, whither he had withdrawn;⁹ and where, in addition to other useful employments, an endeavour was made to introduce learned occupations also into a monastery.¹⁰

(ap. Gratian. C. xxvii. Qu. 1. c. 15.), and with reference to another who had merely returned ad saecularem habitum, lib. vii. ep. 9. ad Vitalianum Ep. A. D. 597. (ap. Gratian. l. c. c. 18): Instantiae tuae sit, praedictam mulierem una cum Sergio defensore nostro comprehendere, et statim non solum ad male contemptum habitum sine excusatione aliqua revocare, sed etiam in monasterio, ubi omnino districte valeat custodiri, detrudere. And lib. i. ep. 40. A. D. 591: Quia aliquos Monachorum usque ad tantum nefas prosiliisse cognovimus, ut uxores publice sortiantur, sub omni vigilantia eos requiras, et inventos digna coërcitione in monasteriis, quorum monachi fuerant, retransmittas.

⁸ See Rich. Simon critique de la bibliothèque de Mr. Ell. du Pin. (Paris 1730. 4 Tom. 8.) i. 212.

⁹ That he introduced the rules of Benedict into his convent, as the Benedictines (see Garetius in the vita Cass. prefixed to his opp. p. 27.) supposed, has been justly denied by Baronius ad ann. 494.

¹⁰ For this purpose he wrote in particular his works de institutione divinarum litterarum, and de artibus ac disciplinis liberalium litterarum, comp. § 114. note 7. He exhorts, above all things, to study the Holy Scriptures and the fathers. But then he adds de instit. div. litt. c. 28: Verumtamen nec illud Patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur: quia exinde non minimum ad sacras scripturas intelligendas sensus noster instruitur.—Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis, ut nec humanis nec divinis litteris perfecte possit erudiri: aliqua tamen scientiae mediocritate suffultus, eligit certe quod sequitur:

Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes.

Quia nec ipsum est a Monachis alienum hortos colere, agros exercere, et pomorum foecunditate gratulari. Cap. 30: Ego tamen fateor votum meum, quod inter vos quaecumque possunt corporeo labore compleri, Antiquariorum mihi studia (si tamen veraciter scribant) non immerito forsitan plus placere; quod et mentem suam relegendo scripturas divinas salubriter instruant, et Domini praecepta scribendo longe lateque disseminent. (Comp. the directions for copying and revising manuscripts cap. 15. and the treatise de orthographia.)—Cap. 31: Sed et vos alloquor fratres egregios, qui humani corporis salutem sedula curiositate tractatis, et confugientibus ad loca sanctorum officia beatæ pietatis impenditis. Et ideo discite quidem naturas herbarum, commixionesque specierum sollicita mente tractate. He recommends to them the writings of Dioscorides, Hippocrates, and Galen. Comp. Stäudlin in the Kirchenhist. Archive für 1825. S. 413 ss.

The Benedictines, already accustomed to a well regulated activity, very soon followed this example; and thus they could now be useful to the West in many ways.

They reclaimed many waste lands, actively advanced the cause of education,¹¹ handed down to posterity the history of their time in chronicles, and preserved to it by their copyists, for the most part indeed as dead treasures, the writings of antiquity.¹²

§ 120.

RELATION OF THE MONKS TO THE CLERGY.

Though the clergy continued to be very often chosen from among the monks, yet there were in the convents no more ordained monks than were required by the necessities of the monks' congregation; and many convents had no presbyter whatever.¹ The old rule that all convents should be under the inspection of the bishops of the dioceses in which they were situated,² was first

¹¹ The permission to undertake the care of *pueros oblatos*, given by Benedict in his rule c. 59. (see above note 5.) was soon and often taken advantage of. See Gregory M. dial. ii. cap. 3: *Coepere etiam tunc ad eum Romanae urbis nobiles et religiosi concurrere, suosque ei filios omnipotenti Deo nutriendos dare.* For these *pueri oblato* in particular, the monastery schools were erected, of which the first intimation is found in the so-called *Regula Magistri* c. 50. (ap. Holstenius-Brockie t. i. p. 266) composed about 100 years after Benedict, where it is prescribed in the three hours from the first to the third, *infantuli in decada sua in tabulis suis ab uno litterato litteras meditentur.*

¹² cf. Mabillon *acta SS. Ord. Ben. T. i. Praef. no. 114 et 115.*

¹ Presbyters were sent into the convents by the bishops (*directi, deputati*) ad *missas celebrandas.* Gregor. M. lib. vi. ep. 46. vii. 43.—*Abbots prayed and received permission in monasterio Presbyterum, qui sacra Missarum solemnia celebrare debeat, ordinari.* Ibid. vi. 42. ix. 92: or a presbyter was appointed to the convent, *quem et in monasterio habitare, et inde vitae subsidia habere necesse fuit, ibid. iv. 18.*—On the other hand Gregory lib. vi. ep. 56. praises a convent of which he had heard, *et Presbyteros et Diaconos cunctamque congregationem unanimes vivere ac concordēs.*

² Conc. Chalced. c. 4:—*ἔδοξε μηδένα μὲν μηδαμῶ οἰκοδομῆν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἐπισκόπου τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ.* can. 8: *Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων καὶ μοναστηρίων καὶ μαρτυρίων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν*

departed from in Africa, where many put themselves under the superintendence of distant bishops, especially the bishop of Carthage, to keep themselves secure against oppression.³ In the remaining part of the West, the duty of the monasteries to be spiritually subject to the diocesan bishops was still strictly enforced.⁴ On the other hand, synods and popes took them under their protection in opposition to episcopal oppression, and made it a fundamental principle that the bishops should not interfere with their internal administration.⁵ *Gregory the Great*, in particular, was distinguished for his protection of convents.⁶

ἐκάστη πόλει Ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παράδοσιν, διαμενέωσαν, καὶ μὴ καταυθαδιάζεσθαι ἢ ἀφηγιᾶν τοῦ ἰδίου Ἐπισκόπου.

³ Conc. Carthag. ann. 525. dies secunda (ap. Mansi viii. 648.) The prayer of Abbas Petrus to Bishop Boniface of Carthage, p. 653 :—humiles supplicamus, ut—a jugo nos clericorum, quod neque nobis neque patribus nostris quisquam superponere aliquando tentavit, eruere digneris. Nam docemus, monasterium de Praecisu, quod in medio plebium Leptiminensis ecclesiae ponitur, praetermisso eodem Episcopo vicino, Vico Ateriensis ecclesiae Episcopi consolationem habere, qui in longinquo positus est.—Nam et de Adrumetino monasterio nullo modo silere possumus, qui praetermisso ejusdem civitatis Episcopo de transmarinis partibus sibi semper presbyteros ordinaverunt.—Et cum sibi diversa monasteria, ut ostenderent libertatem suam, unicuique prout visum est, a diversis Episcopis consolationem quaesierint : quomodo nobis denegari poterit, qui de hac sede sancta Carthaginensis ecclesiae, quae prima totius Africanæ ecclesiae haberi videtur, auxilium quaesivimus? etc. cf. Concil. Carthagin. ann. 534. (Mansi viii. 841.) cf. Thomassinus P. i. L. iii. c. 31.

⁴ Conc. Aurelian. i. (511) can. 19. Epaonense (517) can. 19. Arelatense v. (554) can. 7.

⁵ So first Concil. Arelatense iii. A. D. 456. (Mansi vii. 907.), which limited the rights of the bishop of the diocese in the convent of Lerins as follows, ut clerici, atque altaris ministri a nullo, nisi ab ipso, vel cui ipse injunxerit, ordinentur; chrisma non nisi ab ipso speretur; neophyti si fuerint, ab eodem confirmantur; peregrini clerici absque ipsius praecepto in communionem, vel ad ministerium non admittantur. Monasterii vero omnis laica multitudo ad curam Abbatis pertineat : neque ex ea sibi Episcopus quidquam vindicet, aut aliquem ex illa clericum, nisi abbate petente, praesumat. Hoc enim et rationis et religionis plenum est, ut clerici ad ordinationem Episcopi debita subjectione respiciant; laica vero omnis monasterii congregatio ad solam ac liberam Abbatis proprii, quem sibi ipsa elegerit, ordinationem dispositionemque pertineat; regula, quae a fundatore ipsius monasterii dudum constituta est, in omnibus custodita.

⁶ Comp. especially Greg. M. lib. viii. ep. 15. ad Mariuvianum Ravennae Episc. : Nullus audeat de redivibus vel chartis monasterii minuere.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

§ 121.

How much the sensuous tendency of public worship,¹ of which we have already spoken, was farther developed in this period, and how many new superstitious notions sprung from it,² is best seen in the writings of *Gregory the Great*, a man who, with much real piety, had also very many monkish prejudices and great credulity; while by his high reputation in the Western Church,

—Defuncto Abbate non extraneus nisi de eadem congregatione, quem sibi propria voluntate congregatio elegerit, ordinetur.—Invito Abbate ad ordinanda alia monasteria aut ad ordines sacros tolli exinde monachi non debent.—Descriptio rerum aut chartarum monasterii ab Ecclesiasticis fieri non debet.—Quia hospitandi occasione monasterium temporibus decessoris vestri nobis fuisse nunciatum est praegravatum: oportet ut hoc Sanctitas vestra decenter debeat temperare. He orders a bishop to restore what he had taken from a convent *xenii quasi specie*. lib. viii. ep. 34. On the other hand he admonishes all bishops to keep a strict watch over the discipline and morals of the convents, lib. vi. ep. 11. viii. ep. 34.—Other privileges which Gregory is alleged to have granted to convents, for instance the celebrated *privilegium monasterii S. Medardi in Soissons* (see appendix to his letters in the Benedictine edition No. 4.) are spurious. cf. *Launoji opp.* iii. ii. 90. *Thomassinus*. P. i. lib. iii. c. 30.

¹ For it there is a decree *Gregorii M.* (*Opp. ed. Maur.* ii. 1288. *Mansi* x. 434. also in *Gratianus dist.* 92. c. 2.) characteristically: In sancta Romana Ecclesia—dudum consuetudo est valde reprehensibilis exorta, ut quidam ad sacri altaris ministerium Cantores eligantur, et in Diaconatus ordine constituti modulationi vocis inserviant, quos ad praedicationis officium eleemosynarumque studium vacare congruebat. Unde fit plerumque, ut ad sacrum ministerium dum blanda vox quaeritur, quaeri congrua vita negligatur, et cantor minister Deum moribus stimulet, cum populum vocibus delectat. He therefore arranges that not deacons but sub-deacons and minores ordines should be employed in the singing.

² *Comp. Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Gesch. des Christenthums. Bd. 3. Heft 1. (Berlin 1824.) S. 132 ss.*

he did much to introduce new forms of worship, and diffuse a multitude of superstitions.

The chief part of the reverence paid to saints came more and more to consist in the superstitious worship of relics,³ of whose miraculous power the most absurd stories were told. The consequence of this was, that *the moral aspect* of saint-reverence was still farther lost sight of by an age which longed only for the marvellous. As this tendency now began to give rise to impos-

³ Gregor. M. lib. iv. ep. 30. ad Constantinam Aug.: Serenitas vestra—caput S. Pauli Apostoli, aut aliud quid de corpore ipsius, suis ad se jussionibus a me praecepit debere transmitti.—Major me moestitia tenuit, quod ille praecipitis, quae facere nec possum, nec audeo. Nam corpora SS. Petri et Pauli App. tantis in Ecclesiis suis coruscant miraculis atque terroribus, ut neque ad orandum sine magno illuc timore possit accedi.—Examples. Among other things, that in opening the grave of Laurentius monachi et mansionarii, qui corpus ejusdem Martyris viderunt, quod quidem minime tangere praesumserunt, omnes intra X. dies defuncti sunt (Exod. xxxiii. 20.)—Romanis consuetudo non est, quando Sanctorum reliquias dant, ut quidquam tangere praesumant de corpore: sed tantummodo in pyxide *brandeum* mittitur, atque ad sacratissima corpora Sanctorum ponitur. Quod levatum in Ecclesia, quae est dedicanda, debita cum veneratione reconditur: et tantae per hoc ibidem virtutes fiunt, ac si illuc specialiter eorum corpora deferantur (in like manner Gregor. Turon. de gloria Martyr. i. 28.) Unde contigit, ut b. recordationis Leonis P. temporibus, sicut a majoribus traditur, dum quidam Graeci de talibus reliquiis dubitarent, praedictus Pontifex hoc ipsum brandeum allatis forcibus incidit, et ex ipsa incisione sanguis effluxerit. In Romanis namque vel totius Occidentis partibus omnino intolerabile est atque sacrilegum, si Sanctorum corpora tangere quisquam fortasse voluerit. Quod si praesumserit, certum est, quia haec temeritas impunita nullo modo remanebit.—Sed quia serenissimae Dominae tam religiosum desiderium esse vacuum non debet, de catenis, quas ipse S. Paulus Ap. in collo et in manibus gestavit, ex quibus multa miracula in populo demonstrantur, partem aliquam vobis transmittere festinabo, si tamen hanc tollere limando praevaluero. namely quibusdam petentibus, diu per catenas ipsas ducitur lima, et tamen ut aliquid exinde exeat non obtinetur.—Lib. ix. ep. 122. ad Recharedum Wisigoth. Regem: Clavem vero parvulam a sacratissimo b. Petri Ap. corpore vobis pro ejus benedictione transmisimus, in qua inest ferrum de catenis ejus inclusum; ut quod collum illius ad martyrium ligaverat, vestrum ab omnibus peccatis solvat. Cruceam quoque dedi latori praesentium vobis offerendam, in qua lignum Dominicae crucis inest, et capilli b. Joannis Baptistae. Ex qua semper solatium nostri Salvatoris per intercessionem praecursoris ejus habeatis. cf. lib. iii. ep. 33. A number of similar miraculous stories are found in the works of Gregory of Tours, see note 6.

ture in introducing false relics,⁴ it had also the effect of developing, to a much greater extent, the saints' sayings relating to the miraculous. The old martyrs, of whom for the most part the names alone were handed down,⁵ were furnished with new descriptions of their lives, while the new saints were dressed out with wonderful narratives; even martyrs, with the histories of martyrs, were entirely fabricated anew.⁶

In the worship of saints, *angels* were now without hesitation made to participate, to whom also churches were dedicated.⁷

Pictures became more common in the churches. In the East authentic likenesses of Christ now appeared in public,⁸ and were

⁴ Gregor. M. lib. iv. epist. 30. ad Constantinam Aug. : Quidam Monachi Graeci huc ante biennium venientes nocturno silentio juxta ecclesiam S. Pauli corpora mortuorum in campo jacentia effodiebant, atque eorum ossa recondebant, servantes sibi dum recederent. Qui cum tenti, et cur hoc facerent diligenter fuissent discussi, confessi sunt quod illa ossa ad Graeciam essent tanquam Sanctorum reliquias portaturi. Concil. Caesaraugust. ii. (592) can. 2 : Statuit S. Synodus ut reliquiae in quibuscunque locis de Ariana haeresi inventae fuerint, prolatae a Sacerdotibus, in quorum ecclesiis reperiuntur, pontificibus praesentatae igne probentur (the old German ordeal.)

⁵ Gregor. M. lib. viii. ep. 29. see Div. 1. § 53. not. 46.

⁶ The writings of Gregory, archbishop of Tours, afford abundant proofs of all this. See above § 114. not. 18. Among many other things we find also in him for the first time (de gloria mart. i. 95). the legend belonging to the Decian persecution de septem dormientibus apud urbem Ephesum. It had been derived from an old tradition which is even found in Pliny nat. hist. vii. 52. but which being afterwards transferred to Christian martyrs, was differently localized. Thus it appears in the Coran (Surat 18.) to be transplanted into Arabia, subsequently it was carried into Gaul (Pseudo-Gregor Tur. epist. ad Sulpic. Bituric.), to Germany (Nicephori Call. hist. eccl. v. 17), and also to the north (Paulus Diac. de gestis Longob. i. 4).

⁷ Comp. § 99. not. 34. As presents had been made to the deities in heathen Rome, so now they were frequently made to saints and angels. cf. lex Zenonis (Cod. Just. i. ii. 15). : Si quis donaverit aliquam rem—in honorem Martyris, aut Prophetae, aut Angeli, tanquam ipsi postea oratorium aedificaturus, — cogitur opus, quamvis nondum inchoatum fuerit, perficere per se vel per heredes. Justiniani A. D. 530. (l. c. l. 26.) : in multis jam testamentis invenimus ejusmodi institutiones, quibus aut ex asse quis scripserat Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum heredem : then the inheritance of the church of the place was to be applied to the benefit of the poor. Si vero quis unius ex Archangelis meminerit, vel venerandorum Martyrum, in that case the nearest church dedicated to him shall be heir.

⁸ The picture of Christ by Luke first mentioned by Theodorus lector

the principal means of establishing there the worship of images;⁹ but in the West the latter was still rejected.¹⁰

Justinian was distinguished for building splendid churches.¹¹

To the festivals were added the two feasts of Mary, *festum purificationis* (ὑπαπαντή) on the second of February; and *festum annunciationis* (ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρα) on the 25th March.¹²

On the three days before the ascension (jejunium rogationum),

about 518, which was soon followed by pictures of other holy persons from the same hand. But after this appeared the εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι, a counterpart of the ἀγάλματα διοπετῆ of heathenism, first noticed in Evagrius iv. 27. See Div. i. § 21. not. 4.

⁹ Comp. especially the fragment of Leontii (bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus † about 620) apologia pro Christianis adv. Judaeos in the Acts of the Conc. Nic. ii. ann. 787. Act. 4. (Mansi xiii. 43.) where he defends προσκύνησις before the pictures, mentions even αἱμάτων ῥύσεις ἐξ εἰκόνων and designates the pictures as πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐκκλησιῶν προκείμενα καὶ προσκυνοῦμενα. Neander's Kirchengesch. ii. 2. 627 ss.

¹⁰ Gregorii Magni lib. ix. ep. 105. ad Serenum Massiliensem Ep.: Praeterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod Fraternalitas vestra, quosdam imaginum adoratores adspiciens, easdem in Ecclesiis imagines confregit atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisset indicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in Ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quae legere in codicibus non valent. (as Paulinus Nilus § 99. not. 47. and 48.) Tua ergo Fraternalitas et illas servare, et ab earum adoratione populum prohibere debuit: quatenus et litterarum nescii haberent, unde scientiam historiae colligerent, et populus in picturae adoratione minime peccaret. Lib. xi. ep. 13. ad eundem: quod de scriptis nostris, quae ad te misimus, dubitasti, quam sis incantus apparuit. Amplification of the above. Among other things, frangi ergo non debuit, quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum. cf. lib. ix. ep. 52. ad Secundinum: Imagines, quas tibi dirigendas per Dulcidum Diaconum rogasti, misimus. Unde valde nobis tua postulatio placuit: quia illum toto corde, tota intentione quaeris, cujus imaginem prae oculis habere desideras, ut te visio corporalis quotidiana reddat exercitatum: ut dum picturam illius vides, ad illum animo inardescas, cujus imaginem videre desideras. Ab re non facimus, si per visibilia invisibilia demonstramus. Scio quidem, quod imaginem Salvatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas, sed ob recordationem filii Dei in ejus amore recalescas, cujus te imaginem videre desideras. Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur.

¹¹ Procopius Caesariensis de aedificiis Justiniani libb. vi.

¹² Bingham. vol. ix. p. 170 ss. J. A. Schmidii prolusiones Marianae sex. Helmst. 1733. 4. p. 116 ss. 103 ss.

Mamercus or *Mamertus*, bishop of Vienne (452), had instituted solemn rites of penance and prayer, accompanied by fasting and public worship (*litaniae, rogationes*), appointed for the three days before the ascension (*jejunium rogationum*).¹³ To this festival *Gregory the Great* added new ceremonies (*litanía septiformis*).¹⁴ He also improved the church-music (*cantus Gregorianus*).¹⁵

Justinian first transferred to the spiritual relationship (*cognatio spiritualis*) between the god-father and the god-child, the civil consequences arising from corporeal affinities.¹⁶

Gregory the Great, in his *Sacramentarium*, gave that form to the Roman *liturgy relative to the Lord's Supper*, which it has substantially preserved ever since.¹⁷ The earlier notions of this rite, and of its atoning power, became more exaggerated in proportion as the idea became general, which was thrown out by *Augustine* as a conjecture,¹⁸ that men would be subjected to a

¹³ Sidonius Apollinaris Ep. Arvernorum († 482) epistolarum lib. vii. ep. 1. lib. v. ep. 14. — Gregor. Tur. ii. 34. Bingham. vol. v. p. 21.

¹⁴ Appendix ad Gregorii epistolas no. iii. and sermo tempore mortalitatis (in the older edition, lib. xi. ep. 2.)

¹⁵ Joannes Diac. de vit. Gregorii lib. ii. c. 7. Martin. Gerbert de cantu et musica sacra (Bambergae et Frib. 1774. t. ii. 4), t. i. p. 35 ss. Jos. Antony's archäologisch-liturg. Lehrbuch d. gregorian. Kirchengesanges. Münster 1829. 4.

¹⁶ Ideas of regeneration in baptism, of spiritual generation, of the brotherly relation of Christians, had before led men to compare the relations of the baptiser, of the godfather, and the baptized, with corporeal relationship. cf. Fabii Marii Victorini (about 360) comm. in ep. ad Gal. (in Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. iii. ii. 37): per baptismum, cum regeneratio fit, ille qui baptizatum perficit, vel perfectum suscipit, pater dicitur. cf. Gothofr. Arnoldi hist. cognationis spiritualis inter Christianos receptae. Goslar. 1730. 8. p. 44 ss. From this now proceeded the decree of Justinian, Cod. lib. v. tit. 4. de nuptiis l. 26:—Ea persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis—a sacrosancto suscepit baptismate: cum nihil aliud sic inducere potest paternam affectionem et justam nuptiarum prohibitionem, quam hujusmodi nexus, per quem Deo mediante animae eorum copulatae sunt. The relation was considered as a sort of adoption. See du Fresne Glossar. s. v. Adoptio et Filiolatus.

¹⁷ Joannes Diac. de vita Greg. ii. 17. Sed et Gelasianum codicem, de missarum solemnibus multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla superadjiciens, in unius libelli volumine coarctavit. Jo. Bona rerum liturg. libb. ii. Colon. 1764. 8. and frequently. Best edited in his Opp. omnibus. Antverp. 1723. fol. Th. Christ. Lillenthal de canone Missae Gregoriano. Lugd. Bat. 1740. 8.

¹⁸ Entirely distinct from the purifying fire of the last day, the belief

purifying fire immediately after death.¹⁹ *Gregory the Great* did much to confirm these notions by descriptions of the tortures of departed souls, and the mitigation of such tortures by the sacrifice offered in the Supper.²⁰ In proportion as the latter assumed

in which has been general since Origen (see Div. i. § 63, not. 12), and in which even Augustine seems to believe, August. de civ. Dei xx. 25, apparere in illo iudicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias poenas futuras. On the other hand, liber de viii. quaestionibus ad Dulcitium § 13: Tale aliquid (ignem, tribulationis tentationem) etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit, quaeri potest, et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusve salvari. De civ. Dei xxi. 26: Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur, qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti,—non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. Dallaei de poenis et satisfactionibus humanis libb. vii. Amst. 1649. 4. J. G. Chr. Hoepfner de origine dogmatis de purgatorio. Hal. 1792. 8. Münscher's Dogmengeschichte Th. 4. S. 425.

¹⁹ Caesarius Arelat. hom. viii. on 1 Cor. iii. 11–15, (in Bibl. PP. Lugd. viii. 826,) has the Augustinian distinction between peccata capitalia and minuta, and teaches that the latter are expiated by an ignis transitorius or purgatorius; but yet he places the latter in the time of the final judgment. Ille ipse purgatorius ignis durior erit, quam quicquid potest poenarum in hoc saeculo aut cogitari, aut videri, aut sentiri. Et cum de die iudicii scriptum sit, quod erit dies unus tanquam mille anni, et mille anni tanquam dies unus: unde scit unusquisque, utrum diebus aut mensibus, an forte etiam et annis per illum ignem sit transiturus. Et qui modo unum digitum suum in ignem mittere timet, quare non timeat, ne necesse sit tunc non parvo tempore cum animo et corpore (consequently after the resurrection) cruciari? Et ideo totis viribus unusquisque laboret, ut et capitalia crimina possit evadere, et minuta peccata ita operibus bonis redimere, ut aut parum ex ipsis, aut nihil videatur remanere, quod ignis ille possit absumere.—Omnes sancti, qui Deo fideliter serviunt,—per ignem illum—absque ulla violentia transibunt. Illi vero, qui, quamvis capitalia crimina non admittant, ad perpetranda minuta peccata sint faciles, ad vitam aeternam—venturi sunt; sed prius aut in saeculo per Dei justitiam vel misericordiam amarissimis tribulationibus excoquendi, aut illi ipsi per multas elemosynas, et dum inimicis clementer indulgent, per Dei misericordiam liberandi, aut certe illo igne, de quo dixit Apostolus, longo tempore cruciandi sunt, ut ad vitam aeternam sine macula et ruga perveniant. Illi vero, qui aut, homicidium, aut sacrilegium, aut adulterium, vel reliqua his similia commiserunt, si eis digna poenitentia non subvenerit, non per purgatorium ignem transire merebuntur ad vitam, sed aeterno incendio praecipitabuntur ad mortem. cf. Ondinus de scriptoribus eccl. i. 1514.

²⁰ Greg. M. dialog. lib. iv. c. 39: Qualis hinc quisque egreditur, talis in iudicio praesentatur. Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse

the form of a *tremendi mysterii*, the seldomer did the people partake of it, so that it was necessary for the Church to enact laws on the subject.²¹ In other respects the ideas of the nature of the elements in the Supper suffered no change (§ 101. note 15.)²²

ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod veritas dicit, quia si quis in S. Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc seculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro (Matth. xii. 31.) In qua sententia datur intelligi, quasdam culpas in hoc seculo, quasdam seculo vero in futuro posse laxari.—Instances of such tormented souls, *ibid.* ii. 23, iv. 40, especially iv. 55: Si culpa post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio hostiae salutaris adjuvare, ita ut hanc nonnumquam ipsae defunctorum animae expetere videantur, with two examples. Peter listening artlessly asks (iv. 40): Quid hoc est, quaeso, quod in his extremis temporibus tam multa de animabus clarescunt, quae ante latuerunt: ita ut apertis revelationibus atque ostensionibus venturum saeculum inferre se nobis atque aperire videatur? To which Gregory replies (c. 41): Ita est: nam quantum praesens saeculum propinquat ad finem, tantum futurum saeculum ipsa jam quasi propinquitate tangitur, et signis manifestioribus aperitur.

²¹ Conc. Agathense (506) can. 18: Saeculares, qui natale domini, pascha, et pentecosten non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur.

²² Gelasius P. de duabus in Christo naturis adv. Eutychem et Nestorium (cited as genuine even by his contemporaries Gennadius de script. c. 94, and Fulgentius Rusp. in epist. xiv. ad Fulgentium Ferrandum cap. 19, in Gallandii bibl. T. xi. p. 334, and therefore doubted without reason by Baronius, Bellarminus, and others. It is found in the bibl. PP., in Heroldi haereseologia. Basil. 1556. fol. p. 683 etc.): Certe sacramenta, quae suminus, corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinae efflicimur consortes naturae, et tamen esse non desiuit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et suminus, ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam transeant Spiritu S. perficiente substantiam permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura, sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repraesentant. Facundus Hermian. pro defens. iii. capitul. ix. 5: Nam sacramentum adoptionis suscipere dignatus est Christus, et quando circumcisus est, et quando baptizatus est; et potest sacramentum adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus: non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis: sed quod in se mysterium corporis ejus et sanguinis contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit. Cramer's Forts. v. Bossuet Th. 5. Bd. 1. S. 200 ff.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY, AND ITS CONDITION WITHOUT THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

I. IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

§ 122.

During the reign of Justinian I., the people dwelling on the Black Sea, viz., the *Abasgi*, *Alani*, *Lazi*, *Zani*, and *Heruli*, declared themselves in favour of Christianity, and for the Catholic Church. But the *Nestorians* and *Monophysites* made much more important acquisitions to the cause, during this period, in Asia and Africa.

The *Nestorians*¹ not only maintained themselves in *Persia*, where they enjoyed exclusive protection (§ 88. at the end), but also spread themselves on all sides in Asia, particularly into *Arabia*² and *India*,³ and it is said, in the year 636, even as far as *China*.⁴ Along with the theological tendencies of the Syrian

¹ Concerning them, compare especially Jos. Sim. Assemani diss. de Syris Nestorianis, Part ii. tom. iii. of the biblioth. orientalis.

² Assemanus l. c. p. 607 s.

³ Cosmas Indicopleustes (about 535) christ. topographiae lib. iii. says that there was a Christian Church ἐν τῇ Ταπροβάνῃ νήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρῃ Ἰνδία, (namely lib. xi. : ἐκκλησία τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Περσῶν χριστιανῶν with a πρεσβύτερος ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος) : οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ περαιτέρω. So too in Male. But ἐν τῇ Καλλιάνῃ—ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος. So also ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένη Διοσκορίδους.—Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Βάκτροις, καὶ Οὔννοις, καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ λοιποῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ Περσαρμενίοις, καὶ Μήδοις, καὶ Ἐλαμίταις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ χώρῃ Περσίδος καὶ ἐκκλησῖαι ἄπειροι, καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ χριστιανοὶ λαοὶ πάμπολλοι κ. τ. λ. Hence the Christiani S. Thomae. cf. Assemanus l. c. p. 435 ss. again discovered in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese in Malabar (about A. D. 780 all the Persian Christians, among whom were the Indian, declared themselves disciples Thomae Apostoli. See Abulpharagius ap. Assem. l. c. p. 438.)

⁴ That is, if the monumentum Syro-Sinicum be genuine, which is said to have been erected A. D. 781, and discovered 1625 in the city

Church, whence they had come forth, they preserved its learning likewise; and were thus the introducers of Greek science into Asia. Their school in *Nisibis* was the only theological institution of Christendom in the sixth century.⁵

The *Monophysites*, on the other hand, spread themselves from Alexandria towards the south. Among the *Hamdschars* or *Homerites* Christianity had been early established (§ 107); though it did not become general till the time of Anastasius.⁶ But when Dhu-Nowas, a Jewish king of this people, afterwards persecuted the Christians with violence (522), the Æthiopian king Elesbaan came to their aid (529); in consequence of which the Homerites were subject to Æthiopian rulers for 72 years.⁷

Si-an-fu in the province Schen-si, copies of the inscription on it having been sent to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries. First published in Athanas. Kircheri prodromus Copticus. Rom. 1636. 4. p. 74 and in ejusd. China illustrata. ibid. 1667. fol. p. 43 ss. also in Mosheim hist. Tartarorum eccl. Helmst. 1741. 4. App. p. 4. The genuineness of the monument has always been doubted by many. So in particular by La Croze, against whom Assemanus bibl. orient. iii. ii. 538 defends it. Renaudot anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, Paris 1718, p. 228; Mosheim hist. Tart. eccl. p. 9. Deguignes Untersuchung über die im 7ten Jahrh. in Sina sich aufhaltenden Christen. Greifsw. 1769. 4; Abel Remusat nouveaux mélanges. Paris 1829, ii. 189; and Saint Martin on Lebeau hist. du Bas-Empire (new edition, Paris 1824. voll. xi.) vi. 69, hold it to be genuine. On the contrary, Beausobre (hist. de Manichée c. 14), Neumann in the Jahrbüchern f. wissenschaftl. Kritik 1829. S. 592, and Von Bohlen (das alte Indien, Königsberg 1830, Th. 1. S. 383) have once more declared it to be a work of the Jesuits.

⁵ It was formed at the end of the fifth century out of the exiled remains of the school of Edessa (comp. § 88 at the end.) Respecting it comp. Assemani bibl. orient. iii. ii. 927 ss. cf. p. 80, and the passage of Cassiodorus given above, § 114, not. 14. The African bishop, Junilius, (about 550), relates in the preface to his work de partibus divinae legis respecting the origin of it, that he had become acquainted with quendam Paulum nomine, Persam genere, qui in Syrorum schola in Nisibi urbe est edoctus, ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, sicut apud nos in mundanis studiis Grammatica et Rhetorica, ordine ac regulariter traditur. He had read, drawn up by him, regulas quasdam, quibus ille discipulorum animos, divinarum scripturarum superficie instructos, priusquam expositionis profunda patefaceret, solebat imbuere, ut ipsarum interim causarum, quae in divina lege versantur, intentionem ordinemque cognoscerent, ne sparsim et turbulente, sed regulariter singula discerent. These regularia instituta he gives here with some alteration of the form.

⁶ Theodori Lect. hist. eccl. ii. where they are called Ἰμμυρηνοί.

⁷ Comp. the varying accounts of the contemporaries Johannis Episc.

As the Homerite Christians were Monophysites, the Monophysite doctrines were carried to other parts of Arabia.⁸ Under Justinian the *Nubians* were also converted to Christianity by the Monophysites of Alexandria.⁹

II. AMONG THE GERMAN NATIONS.

Planck's Gesch. d. christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung. B. 2.

§ 123.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GERMAN NATIONS.

The first German people converted to the Christianity of the Catholic Church were the *Franks*, who since 486 had been masters of the greatest part of Gaul. *Chlodowich*, King of the Salian Franks, influenced by his Queen Chrotechildis, and by a vow made at the battle of *Tolbiacum* (Zülpich 496), was bap-

Asiae in Assemani bibl. orient. i. 359; Simeonis Episc. in Perside epist., preserved in Zachariae hist. eccl. ap. Assemani l. c. p. 364, and in Maji coll. x. i. 376; and Procopius de bello Persico i. c. 17 and 20. Martyrium Arethae (Arethas, head of the Christian city Nadschran), hitherto known only in the work of Simeon Metaphr. but recently published in the original in J. Fr. Boissonade anecdota graeca v. 1. (Paris 1833.) Walchii hist. rerum in Homeritide seculo sexto gestarum, in the novis commentariis Soc. Reg. Gottingensis iv. 1. Johannsen historia Jemanae (Bonnae 1828) p. 88 ss. Jost's Gesch. der Israeliten v. 253, 354. Lebeau hist. du Bas-Empire ed. Saint Martin viii. 48. On the chronology, see De Sacy in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. L. 531, 545.—Respecting Gregentius, archbishop of Taphara, who was in the highest repute under the Christian viceroy, Abraham, see Gregor. disp. cum Herbano Judaeo ed. Nic. Gulonius. Lutet. 1586. 8. and νόμοι τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, composed by Gregentius, ap. Boissonade v. 63.

⁸ Assemani bibl. orient. iii. ii. 605. The Arab tribes among whom Christianity was propagated, are pointed out in Ed. Pocockii spec. hist. Arabum ed. Jos. White. Oxon. 1806, p. 141.

⁹ Abulpharagius in Assem. bibl. orient. T. ii. p. 330. Comp. Letronne nouvel examen de l'inscription grecque du roi nubien Silco, considérée dans ses rapports avec la propagation de la langue grecque et l'introduction du christianisme parmi les peuples de la Nubie et de l'Abyssinie, in the Mémoires de l'institut royal de France, Acad. des inscriptions. T. ix. (1831) p. 128.

tized by Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and his people followed his example.¹ From the Franks Christianity was propagated among the *Allemanni*, who were subject to them.²

So far as the inclination of all Romans that had been subjected to the yoke of the Germans leaned immediately to the Franks as Catholic Christians,³ the latter obtained an important predominance of influence over the other German people. For this reason the others successively came over at this time to the Catholic Church.⁴ This took place in regard to the *Burgundians*, under their King Sigmund (517); the *Suevi*, under their Kings Cararich (550–559) and Theodemir I. (559–569);⁵ the *Visigoths*, under their King Reccared at the council of Toledo (589).⁶ Since the *Vandalic* kingdom in Africa (534), and that of the *Ostro-*

¹ Gregorii Turonensis († 595) historiae Francorum (libb. 10, till the year 591, best edited in Dom Martin Bouquet rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores. T. ii. Paris 1739, fol.) lib. ii. c. 28–31. F. W. Rettberg's Kirchengesch. Deutschlands Bd. i. (Göttingen 1845. 8.) S. 270. Dr C. G. Kries de Greg. Tur. vita et scriptis. Vratisl. 1839. 8. Gregor v. Tours u. s. Zeit, Von J. W. Löbell. Leipzig 1839. 8.—Tradition of the oil flask brought by a dove found first in Hincmar in vita Remigii cap. 3. The Ampulla itself first came to light at the coronation of Philip II., 1179, and was broken in the year 1794, at Rhül's command. Comp. de Vertot diss. au sujet de la sainte ampulle (Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. T. ii. Mém. p. 669.) C. G. v. Murr über die heil. Ampulle in Rheims. Nürnberg u. Altdorf 1801. 8.

² Bishopric of Vindonissa (now Windisch in the canton Aargau) transferred to Constance in the 6th century. Sosimus, the first known bishop of Augsburg, A. D. 582. C. J. Hefele's Gesch. d. Einführung des Christenth. im südwestl. Deutschland. Tübingen 1837. S. 112.

³ Gregor. Tur. hist. ii. 36: Multi jam tunc ex Gallis habere Francos dominos summò desiderio cupiebant. Unde factum est, ut Quintianus Rutenorum (Rodez) Episcopus per hoc odium ab urbe depelleretur (by the Visigoths.) Dicebant enim ei: quia desiderium tuum est, ut Francorum dominatio possideat terram hanc. Hence Chlodowich gave his war against the Visigoths the appearance of being undertaken chiefly from religious zeal. He said to his people l. c. c. 37: Valde moleste fero, quod hi Arriani partem teneant Galliarum. Eamus cum Dei adiutorio, et superatis redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.

⁴ A history of Arianism among the German nations in Walch's Ketzehist. ii. 553.

⁵ The history of Carrarich's conversion in Gregor. Turon. de miraculis S. Martini i. c. 11; but Theodemir first propagated the catholic faith among the people, and therefore Isidorus Chron. Suevorum even makes him the first catholic king of the Suevi. See Ferrera's span. Geschichte. Bd. 2.

⁶ Aschbach's Gesch. d. Westgothen. Frankf. a. M. 1827. S. 220 ff.

goths in Upper Italy (553), had been destroyed, Arianism also lost its dominion in those territories.

On the contrary, it revived under the rule of the *Lombards* in Italy (from 568), and was longest maintained among this people.⁷

In other parts, the amalgamation of the German conquerors with the older inhabitants of their land,⁸ and the development of the new European nations, were universally effected by similarity of faith.⁹

At the end of this period began the conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons* in Britain. Augustine, sent thither by Gregory the Great with 40 Benedictines (596), was first received by Ethelbert, King of Kent, through the influence of his Queen Bertha, who was a Frank. From Kent Christianity was gradually diffused in the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.¹⁰

⁷ Paulus Warnefridi, Diaconus (about 774): *de gestis Longobardorum* libb. vi. (best in Muratori scriptor. Italic. Tom. i. Mediol. 1723, fol.)

⁸ Formerly marriages between the two parties were universally forbidden by the Church; but among the Visigoths they were also prohibited by the civil code: See *leges Visigothorum* (best edition: *Fuero juzgo en latin y castellano, por la real Academia española*. Madrid 1815. fol.) iii. i. 2. (a law of king Recesvinth from 649–672): *priscae legis remota sententia hac in perpetuum valitura lege sancimus, ut tam Gothus Romanam, quam etiam Gotham Romanus, si conjugem habere voluerit,—facultas eis nubendi subjaceat.*

⁹ H. I. Royaard's über d. Gründung u. Entwicklung der neuurop. Staaten im Mittelalter, bes. durch d. Christenth. aus d. *Archief Deel 2.* übersetzt v. G. Kinkel, in *Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.* v. i. 67.

¹⁰ Beda Venerabilis († 735) *historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* libb. v. ed. Fr. Chiffletius. Paris 1681. 4. Joh. Smith. Cantabrig. 1722. fol. Jos. Stevenson (*Beda's opp. hist. T. i.*) Lond. 1838. 8. J. A. Giles (*Beda's opp. vol. 2 et 3.*) Lond. 1843. 8. *Das erste Jahrh. d. engl. Kirche, od. Einführung und Befestigung des Christenthums bei den Angelsachen in Britannien*, v. D. K. Schrödl. Passau 1840. 8. [*Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3 vols. 8vo, London 1823, fourth edition. *Lingard's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, second edition, 2 vols. 8vo, 1845. Lond.]

§ 124.

HIERARCHY IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Eugen Montag's *Gesch. der deutschen staatsbürgerlichen Freiheit*. (Bamb. u. Würzb. 1812. 8.) Bd. 1. Th. 1. S. 205 ff. Th. 2. S. 1 ff. K. F. Eichhorn's *deutsche Staats- u. Rechtsgeschichte*. (4 Theile. 4te Ausg. Göttingen 1834–36. 8.) i. 217. 478. Gregor v. Tours u. s. *Zeit von T. W. Löbell* S. 315. S. Sugenheim's *Staatsleben des Klerus im Mittelalter*. Bd. 1. Berlin 1839.

Although the ecclesiastical constitution and code which had been formed in the Roman Empire were adopted by the German nations,¹ yet the relations of the hierarchy received a peculiar form. The kings soon saw how much their power could be supported and strengthened by the reputation of the clergy;² and they endeavoured therefore to bind more closely to themselves the heads of the clergy, the bishops and abbots. Churches and monasteries received considerable possessions from their hands,³ while the bishops and abbots, as the temporary possessors, became *the vassals* (ministeriales) of the king,⁴ were often employed in affairs of the state, and were thus invested with a very important political influence. The possessions of the Church were

¹ As all conquered nations lived according to their own law (*Lex Ripuariorum* tit. xxxi. § 3), so the clergy, according to Roman law, *Lex Ripuar.* tit. lviii. § 1: *Legem Romanam, qua Ecclesia vivit.* Comp. Eichhorn i. 172, 217.

² Chlodovaei *praeceptum pro Monasterio Reomaensi*, in *Bouquet rerum gall. scriptt.* iv. 615: *Servos Dei, quorum virtutibus gloriamur et orationibus defensamur, si nobis amicos acquirimus, honoribus sublimamus atque obsequiis veneramur, statum regni nostri perpetuo augere credimus, et saeculi gloriam atque caelestis regni patriam adipisci confidimus.* Löbell S. 318.

³ *Gregor. Turon. hist. Franc.* vi. 46: *Chilperich, king in Soissons (from 561–584), ajebat plerumque: Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiae nostrae ad Ecclesias sunt translatae: nulli penitus nisi soli Episcopi regnant: periit honor noster et translatus est ad Episcopos civitatum.* Comp. Hüllmann's *Gesch. des Ursprungs der Stände in Deutschland* (2te Ausg. Berlin 1830) S. 114 ff.

⁴ *Fredegarii (about 740) chron.* c. 4: *Burgundiae barones, tam Episcopi quam caeteri leudes. c. 76: Pontifices caeterique leudes.* G. I. Th. Lau on the influence which the feudal tenure system has exercised on the clergy and papacy in *Illgen's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.* 1841. ii. 82.

only by degrees freed from all taxes ; but those bestowed out of the royal exchequer continued to be devoted to military services,⁵ which were in some instances rendered in person.⁶ Besides, the kings regarded them as feudal tenures (*beneficia*), and frequently did not scruple to resume them.⁷ It was stipulated by law, that the choice of a bishop should be confirmed by the king ;⁸ but for the most part, the kings themselves appointed to vacant sees.⁹ Synods could not assemble without the royal per-

⁵ *Gregor. Tur. v. 27.* Chilpericus rex de pauperibus et junioribus Ecclesiae vel basilicae bannos jussit exigi, pro eo quod in exercitu non ambulassent. Non enim erat consuetudo, ut hi ullam exsolvent publicam functionem. From this it does not follow, as Löbell says (p. 330), that in general the church was not required by duty to furnish troops from its property. Rather does the text shew that it had not been usual only till the time of Chilperich. *Comp. Planck ii. 222. Montag i. i. 314. Eichhorn i. 202, 506, 516. Sugenheim i. 315.*

⁶ In a battle against the Lombards (572) there were the bishops Salonius and Sagittarius, qui non cruce caelesti muniti, sed galea aut lorica saeculari armati, multos manibus propriis, quod pejus est, interfecisse referuntur. *Gregor. Turon. iv. 43. (al. 37.)*

⁷ *Conc. Arvernense (at Clermont) ann. 535. c. 5.* Qui reiculum ecclesiae petunt a regibus, et horrendae cupiditatis impulsu egentium substantiam rapiunt ; irrita habeantur quae obtinent, et a communione ecclesiae, cujus facultatem auferre cupiunt, excludantur. *Comp. Conc. Parisiens. (about 557)* against those qui facultates ecclesiae, sub specie largitatis regiae, improba subreptione pervaserint. Even judicial miracles take place, ex. gr. when Charibert, king of Paris (562—567) wished to take away a property belonging to the church at Tours. *Gregor. Tur. de miraculis S. Martini i. 29. Planck ii. 206. Hüllmann S. 123 ff.*

⁸ *Conc. Aurelian. v. ann. 549. c. 10 :* cum voluntate regis, juxta electionem cleri ac plebis—a metropolitano—cum comprovincialibus pontifex consecratur.

⁹ Ex. gr. *Gregor. Turon. de SS. Patrum vita c. 3. de S. Gallo :* Tunc etiam et Aprunculus Treverorum episcopus transiit. Congregatique clerici civitatis illius ad Theodoricum regem (king of Austrasia 511—534) S. Gallum petebant episcopum. Quibus ille ait : Abscedite et alium requirite, Gallum enim diaconum alibi habeo destinatum. Tunc eligentes S. Nicetium episcopum acceperunt. Arverni vero clerici consensu insipientium facto cum multis muneribus ad regem venerunt. Jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat pullulare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus, aut compararetur a clericis. Tunc ii audiunt a rege, quod S. Gallum habituri essent episcopum.—The Concil. Paris ann. 615 wished indeed (can. 1) to have the choice by canons restored ; but king Chlotarius II. modified that decree in his confirmatory edict, as follows (*Mansi x. p. 543*) : Episcopo decedente in loco ipsius, qui a metropolitano ordinari debet cum provincialibus, a clero et populo eligatur ; et si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem principis ordi-

mission; their decrees had to be confirmed by the king, being previously invalid. In the mean time they began to consult about the affairs of the Church even in the meetings of the king's vassals or council (*Placitum regis, Synodus regia, Synodale concilium*).¹⁰ Synods became more rare, and at length ceased entirely.

This arrangement completed the downfall of the metropolitan system, which had been already weakened in many ways. The king became the only judge of the bishops.¹¹ But in proportion as *they* rose higher in civil relations, the other clergy sank so much the deeper. No free man was allowed to enter the church without the royal permission.¹² Hence the clergy were chosen for the most part from among the serfs; and on this very account the bishop acquired an unlimited power over them, which frequently manifested itself in the most tyrannical conduct.¹³ The

netur: vel certe si de palatio eligitur, per meritum personae et doctrinae ordinetur. Comp. the formulas in *Marculfi* (about 660) *formularum* l. i. c. 5, (in *Baluzii Capitularia Regum Franc.* T. ii. p. 378): *Praeceptum Regis de Episcopatu* c. 6. *Indiculus Regis ad Episcopum*, ut alium benedicat; and in the *Formulis Lindenbrogii* c. 4: *carta de Episcopatu* (*ibid.* p. 509.) *Sugenheim* i. 86. *Löbell* S. 335.

¹⁰ *Just. F. Runde Abhandlung v. Ursprung der Reichsstandschaft der Bischöfe u. Aehte, Göttingen 1775.* 4. (The treatise on the same subject, appended, p. 93, is by Herder, and is also reprinted in his works on philosophy and history. *Calsruhe edition.* Part 13, p. 219.) *Planck* ii. 126. *Hüllmann* S. 186 ff. *Montag* i. ii. 54.

¹¹ *Gregory Turon.* says to king *Chilperich*: *Si quis de nobis, o Rex, justitiae tramitem transcendere voluerit, a te corrigi potest: si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis: si autem nolueris, quis te condemnabit, nisi is qui se pronunciauit esse justitiam?* *Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc.* v. 19.

¹² See *Marculfi formularum* lib. i. c. 19. (*Baluzii Capitul.* ii. p. 386) and *Bignon's* remarks on it (*ibid.* p. 901.)

¹³ Even before this time, it appears that monks had been punished with blows by their abbots, *Cassian. collat.* ii. 16. *Palladii hist. Lausiaca* c. 6, *Benedicti regula* c. 70. Bishops were now instructed by synods to punish in this manner also the offences of the inferior clergy. See *Concil. Agathense ann. 506, can. 41.* *Epaonense ann. 517, c. 15.* The *Concil. Matisconense* i. ann. 581, c. 8, prescribes the Mosaic number uno minus de quadraginta ictus. How the bishops often treated their clergy may be seen from *Concil. Carpentoractense (527)*: *hujusmodi ad nos querela pervenit, quod ea quae a quibuscunque fidelibus parochiis conferuntur, ita ab aliquibus Episcopis praesumantur, ut aut parum, aut prope nihil ecclesiis, quibus collata fuerant, relinquatur.*

administration of justice among the clergy was at first conducted according to Roman principles of legislation, as they were in force before Justinian (§ 91. note 5 ff.),¹⁴ till the *Synod of Paris* (615) gave the clergy the privilege of being brought before a mixed tribunal, in all cases which hitherto belonged to the civil judge alone.¹⁵ A wider influence was given to the bishops by committing to them an oversight of the entire administration of justice,¹⁶ while their spiritual punishments were made more effectual by connecting with excommunication civil disadvantages also.¹⁷ On the other hand, in the application of their discipline they were bound to regard the intercession of the king.¹⁸

Concil. Toletanum iii. (589) capitul. 20 : cognovimus Episcopos per parochias suas non sacerdotaliter deservire, sed crudeliter desaevire.

¹⁴ Planck ii. 161. Montag i. ii. 106. Schilling de orig. jurisdictionis eccles. in causis civilibus. Lips. 1825. 4. p. 46.

¹⁵ In the Edictum Clotarii ii., confirming this synod, we have : Ut nullus judicum de quolibet ordine clericos de civilibus causis, praeter criminalia negotia, per se distringere aut damnare praesumat, nisi convincitur manifestus, excepto presbytero aut diacono. Qui vero convicti fuerint de crimine capitali, juxta canones distringantur, et cum pontificibus examinentur. Comp. Planck. ii. 165. Rettberg's Kirchengesch. Deutschl. i. 294.

¹⁶ Chlotarii Regis constitutio generalis A. D. 560 (in Baluzii Capitularia Regum Franc. i. 7. Walter corpus juris Germ. ant. ii. 2) : VI. Si judex aliquem contra legem injuste damnaverit, in nostri absentia ab Episcopis castigetur, ut quod perpere judicavit, versatim melius discussione habita emendare procuret. Conc. Toletanum iii. (589) cap. 18 : —judices locorum vel actores fiscalium patrimoniorum ex decreto gloriosissimi domini nostri simul cum sacerdotali concilio autumnali tempore die Kal. Nov. in unum convenient, ut discant, quam pie et juste cum populis agere debeant, ne in angariis aut in operationibus superfluis sive privatum onerent, sive fiscalem gravent. Sint enim prospectores episcopi secundum regiam admonitionem, qualiter judices cum populis agant ; ut aut ipsos praemonitos corrigant, aut insolentias eorum auditibus principis innotescant. Quodsi correptos emendare nequeverint, et ab ecclesia et a communione suspendant.

¹⁷ Decretio Childeberti Regis A. D. 595 : II.—Qui vero Episcopum suum noluerit audire, et excommunicatus fuerit, perennem condemnationem apud Deum sustineat, et insuper de palatio nostro sit omnino extraneus, et omnes facultates suas parentibus legitimis amittat, qui noluit sacerdotis sui medicamenta sustinere.

¹⁸ Conc. Parisiense v. (615), can. 3 : Ut si quis clericus—contempto episcopo suo ad principem vel ad potentiores homines—ambularit, vel sibi patronos elegerit, non recipiatur, praeter ut veniam debeat promereri. Chlotar II. repeats in his edict confirming this canon, but adds : Et si pro qualibet causa principem expetierit, et cum ipsius principis

Under these circumstances, the popes could not directly interfere in ecclesiastical matters; and their communication with the established church of the country depended entirely on the royal pleasure.¹⁹

§ 125.

MORAL INFLUENCES OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GERMAN NATIONS.

As is usual among rude people when coming into closer contact with the more enlightened, there proceeded from the Romans,

epistola ad episcopum suum fuerit reversus, excusatus recipiatur. Conc. Toletan. xii. ann. 681, c. 3: quos regia potestas aut in gratiam benignitatis receperit, aut participes mensae suae effecerit, hos etiam sacerdotum et populorum conventus suscipere in ecclesiasticam communionem debebit: ut quod jam principalis pietas habet acceptum, neque a sacerdotibus Dei habeatur extraneum. Confirmed in Conc. Tolet. xiii. ann. 683, c. 9. cf. J. G. Reinhard de jure Principum Germaniae circa sacra ante tempora Reformationis exercito. Halae 1717. 4. p. 359.

¹⁹ Hence Pelagius I. was obliged to use the utmost pains in defending himself to king Childebert against the suspicion of heresy which he had drawn on himself by condemning the three chapters. Pelagii i. ep. 16, ad Childeb. Reg. (Mansi ix. p. 728): Since one must give no offence even to the little ones: quanto nobis studio ac labore satagendum est, ut pro auferendo suspicionis scandalo obsequium confessionis nostrae regibus ministremus; quibus nos etiam subditos esse sanctae Scripturae praecipunt? Veniens etenim Rufinus vir magnificus, legatus excellentiae vestrae, confidenter a nobis, ut decuit, postulavit, quatenis vobis aut beatae recordationis papae Leonus tomum a nobis per omnia conservari significare debuissimus, aut propriis verbis nostrae confessionem fidei destinare. Et primam quidem petitionis ejus partem, quia facilius fuit, mox ut dixit, implevimus.—Ut autem nullius deinceps, quod absit, suspicionis resideret occasio, etiam illam aliam partem, quam memoratus vir illustris Rufinus admonuit, facere mutavi, scilicet propriis verbis confessionem fidei, quam tenemus, exponens. Then follows a diffused confession of faith, in which, however, he mentions only four oecumenical synods, not the fifth. At the same time he writes to Sapaudus Episc. Arelat. (Ep. 15, l. c. p. 727) praying, ut, si epistola, quam—ad—Childebertum regem direximus, in qua de institutis beatissimorum patrum nostrorum fidem catholicam nostro per Dei gratiam sermone deprompsimus, tam ipsi gloriosissimo regi, quam caritati tuae, vel aliis fratribus coëpiscopis nostris placuit, rescripto tuae caritatis celerius agnoscamus. cf. Preuves des libertés de l'église Gallicane c. 3. Planck ii. 673.

then greatly corrupted, pernicious influences rather than enlightenment to the Germans, which were exhibited among the latter in the roughest form, less hidden in their case by the external rites prevalent among the Romans. Christianity, as it was then proclaimed, a series of dogmas and laws, could not restrain this corruption. While it presented *expiations* for all offences, in addition to its prohibitions of them, there was opened up to wild barbarity a way of first enjoying the lust of sin, and then of procuring exemption from the guilt of it. There was little concern for instruction. The public services of religion by means of their pomp and the use of a foreign, *i. e.*, the Latin language, awakened dark feelings rather than right ideas. As the grossest notions were entertained of hell, so also were similar ideas prevalent respecting the power of the church, the influence of the saints,¹ the merit of ecclesiastical and monkish exercises, the value of alms to the church and to the poor.² These notions

¹ Even under them an aristocracy was formed. When the Huns approached Metz (Gregor. Tur. hist. ii. 6.), Saint Stephen implored in the heavenly regions the Apostles Peter and Paul to protect the town, and received from them the answer: vade in pace, dilectissime frater, oratorium tantum tuum carebit incendio. Pro urbe vero non obtinebimus, quia dominicae sanctionis super eam sententia jam processit.

² cf. vita s. Eligii Episc. Noviomensis libb. iii. written A. D. 672. by his contemporary Audoenus Archiep. Rotomag. in Luc. d'Achery spicilegium ed. ii. Tom. ii. p. 76 ss. Eligius, bishop of Noyon, was considered a man of extraordinary sanctity (vitae lib. ii. c. 6. p. 92: Huic itaque viro sanctissimo inter caetera virtutum suarum miracula id etiam a Domino concessum erat, ut sanctorum Martyrum corpora, quae per tot saecula abdita populis hactenus habebantur, eo investigante ac nimio ardore fidei indagante patefacta proderentur: siquidem nonnulla venerabantur prius a populo in locis, quibus non erant, et tamen quo in loco certius humata tegerentur, prorsus ignorabatur.) The more remarkable, therefore, is his exhortation, contained in the vitae lib. ii. c. 15, p. 96 ss. He refers first to the judgment-day, then to the points of faith, then to the duty of performing opera christiana, and thus continues: Ille itaque bonus Christianus est, qui nulla phylacteria, vel adinventiones diaboli credit.—Ille, inquam, bonus Christianus est, qui hospitibus pedes lavat, et tanquam parentes carissimos diligit; qui juxta quod habet pauperibus eleemosynam tribuit; qui ad Ecclesiam frequentius venit, et oblationem quae in altari Deo offeratur exhibet; qui de fructibus suis non gustat, nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat; qui stateras dolosas et mensuras duplices non habet; qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram; qui et ipse caste vivit, et filios vel vicinos docet, ut caste et cum timore Dei

were strengthened by legends and miracles, which were certainly in part an imposition of the clergy,³ but were far from exerting any good moral influence on the people.⁴ Crimes of

vivant; et quoties sanctae solemnitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem etiam cum propria uxore custodit, ut secunda conscientia ad Domini altare accedere possit; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem dominicam memoriter tenet, et filios ac filias eadem docet. Qui talis est, sine dubio verus Christianus est.—Ecce audistis, Fratres, quales sint Christiani boni: ideo quantum potestis cum Dei adiutorio laborate, ut nomen christianum non sit falsum in vobis. Sed ut veri Christiani esse possitis, semper praecepta Christi et cogitate in mente, et implete in operatione. Redimite animas vestras de poena, dum habetis in potestate remedia; eleemosynam juxta vires facite, pacem et charitatem habete, discordes ad concordiam revocate, mendacium fugite, perjurium expavescite, falsum testimonium non dicite, furtum non facite, oblationes et decimas Ecclesiae offerite, luminaria sanctis locis juxta quod habetis exhibete, symbolum et orationem dominicam memoria retinete, et filiis vestris insinuate.—Ad Ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite, Sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite, diem dominicam pro reverentia resurrectionis Christi absque ullo servili opere colite, Sanctorum solemnitates pio affectu celebrate, proximos vestros sicut vos ipsos diligite etc.—Quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal aeterni judicis venientes dicetis: Da, Domine, quia dedimus; miserere, quia misericordiam fecimus; nos implevimus quod jussisti, tu redde quod promisisti.

³ The Arians blamed the catholic clergy for this. So Gregorius Turon. de glor. mart. i. 25: Theodegisilus hujus rex regionis, cum vidisset hoc miraculum, quod in his sacratis Deo fontibus gerebatur, cogitavit intra se dicens, quia ingenium est Romanorum (Romanos enim vocitant homines nostrae religionis) ut ita accidat, et non est Dei virtus. c. 26: Est enim populus ille haereticus, qui videns haec magnalia non compungitur ad credendum, sed semper callide divinarum praeceptionum sacramenta nequissimis interpretationum garrulationibus non desinit impugnare. On the contrary, the catholics related many impostures of miracles wrought by the Arian priests, Gregor. Tur. hist. ii. 3, de gloria Confess. c. 13. Comp. the miraculous histories in Löbell, p. 274, and the judgment delivered respecting them, p. 292. The reason why cures performed at the graves of saints should be credible it is impossible to perceive. The presents which those gifted with miraculous power had to expect from pious simplicity induced deception even here.

⁴ Gregor. de glor. mart. i. 26. While a person was filling his vessel with that wonder-working water from a priest, manum alterius extendit ad balneum, cultrumque furatus est.—How holy rites were made instrumental in crime may be seen from the words of the monster Fredegundis, the spouse of Chilperich, to the assassins she had hired to murder king Sigbert (575. See Gesta Regum Franc. c. 32, in Bouquet rer. Gall. scriptt. T. ii. p. 562): Si evaseritis vivi, ego mirifice honorabo vos

the grossest kind were common among the clergy,⁵ as well as the kings⁶ and the people, without aversion to them being exhibited, while public opinion did not declare against them in a manner conformable to the spirit of Christianity.⁷ The moral influence of Christianity on the multitude was confined to the external influence of church laws and church discipline, so far as these were respected. The period of legal discipline, as a preparation for the gospel, was now restored.

Though every thing heathen was strictly forbidden,⁸ yet secret

et sobolem vestram : si autem corrueritis, ego pro vobis eleemosynas multas per loca Sanctorum distribuam.

⁵ Löbell's Gregor v. Tours S. 309.

⁶ Assassination was an every-day occurrence, and even the clergy were employed as instruments: Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc. vii. 20, viii. 29. Several Frankish kings lived in polygamy; Chlotar, for instance, with two sisters, Gregor. Tur. iv. 3. Dagobert tres habebat ad instar Salomonis reginas maxime et plurimas concubinas. Fredegarii Chronicon c. 60. Löbell S. 21.

⁷ Thus Gregory Tur. relates, without disguise, the crimes of Chlodowich, and yet he passes this judgment on him, ii. 40: *Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius, et augebat regnum ejus, eo quod ambularet recto corde coram eo, et faceret, quae placita erant in oculis ejus.* Löbell's (p. 263) exculpation of this judgment is of no avail. It is nothing but moral barbarousness, when Gregory admits and disapproves the crimes of Chlodowich, and yet designates him as pious on account of his confession. Comp. iii. 1: *Velim, si placet, parumper conferre, quae Christianis beatam confitentibus Trinitatem prospera successerint, et quae haereticis eandem scindentibus fuerint in ruinam.*—*Hanc Chlodovechus Rex confessus, ipsos haereticos adjutorio ejus oppressit, regnumque suum per totas Gallias dilatavit: Alaricus hanc denegans, a regno et populo, atque ab ipsa, quod majus est, vita multatur aeterna.* Moral barbarousness is also shewn in the sentiments expressed concerning Guntrannus Boso v. 14: *Guntchramnus alias sane bonus, nam ad perjuriam nimium praeparatus erat.* Comp. ix. 10: *fuit in actu levis, avaritiae inhians, rerum alienarum ultra modum cupidus, omnibus jurans, et nulli promissa adimplens.* In like manner, concerning king Theudebert, iii. 25: *magnum se atque in omni bonitate praecipuum reddidit. Erat enim regnum cum justitia regens, sacerdotes venerans, Ecclesias munerans, pauperes elevans, et multa multis beneficia pia ac dulcissima accommodans voluntate. Omne tributum, quod in fisco suo ab Ecclesiis in Arverno sitis reddebatur, clementer indulsit.* Comp. de vitis Patrum c. 17, § 2: *Nam Theudebertus—(cum) multa inique exerceret, et ab eodem (Nicetio) plerumque corripere, quod vel ipse perpetraret, vel perpetrantes non argueret etc.*

⁸ Theodorich's prohibition, see § 109, not. 4. Childebert's I. law, de abolendis idololatriae reliquiis A. D. 554, in Baluzii capitul. i. 5.

idolatry⁹ and apostacy from Christianity¹⁰ frequently appeared. It was still more common for the new Christians to be unable entirely to lay aside reverence for their old gods, and the power they were supposed to possess.¹¹ Thus the remains of old pagan superstition were preserved among the people along with Christianity.¹² In civil legislation, all traces of heathenism were like-

⁹ Even as late as the time of Gregory of Tours, an image of Diana was worshipped at Treves. (Greg. Tur. hist. viii. 15.) In Herbadilla at Nantes, about the same time, were statues of Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Diana and Hercules. (Mabillon Acta SS. Ord. s. Bened. i. 683.) In like manner there was found in Luxovium, when Columbanus came thither about 590, *imagine lapidearum densitas, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant* (Jonas in vita Columbani c. 17. in Mabillon Acta SS. Ord. s. Bened. ii. 13.) Martinus Ep. Bracarenensis (about 570) wrote *de origine idolorum* (ed. A. Majus, *classicorum auctorum* iii. 379), *pro castigatione rusticorum, qui adhuc pristina paganorum superstitione detenti, cultum venerationis plus daemoniis quam Deo persolvunt*. The Roman names of deities were frequently transferred to Celtic and German deities also; and therefore the peculiar character of this worship cannot always be perceived. Beugnot hist. de la destruction du Paganisme en Occident. (Paris 1835) ii. 307.

¹⁰ Conc. Aurelian, ii. ann. 533. can. 20.

¹¹ Thus said the Arian Agilanes, ambassador of the Visigoths, to Gregory of Tours (hist. Franc. v. 43) : *sic vulgato sermone dicimus, non esse noxium, si inter gentilium aras et Dei ecclesiam quis transiens utraque veneretur*.

¹² Conc. Turon. ii. ann. 567. c. 22. against the heathen mode of celebrating the Calends of January. Then : *Sunt etiam, qui in festivitate cathedrae domni Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt, et post missas redeuntes ad domos proprias ad gentilium revertuntur errores, et post corpus Domini sacratas daemone escas accipiunt*. Conc. Autissiodorensis ann. 578. c. 1 : *Non licet Kalendis Januarii vetula aut cervolo facere, vel strenas diabolicas observare*. c. 4 : *Non licet ad sortilegos vel ad auguria respicere, non ad caragios, nec ad sortes, quas sanctorum vocant, vel quas de ligno aut de pane faciunt, adspicere*. Conc. Narbon. ann. 589. c. 14 : against viros ac mulieres divinatores, quos dicunt esse caragios atque sorticularios. c. 15 : *Ad nos pervenit, quosdam de populis catholicae fidei execrabili ritu diem quintam feriam, quae dicitur Jovis, multos excolere, et operationem non facere*. On the celebration of the Kal. Jan. Isidorus Hisp. de eccles. officiis i. 40 : *Tunc miseri homines, et quod pejus est etiam fideles, sumentes species monstruosas in ferarum habitu transformantur; alii foemineo gestu demutati, virilem vultum effoemant; nonnulli etiam de fanatica adhuc consuetudine, quibusdam ipso die observationem auguriis profanantur: perstrepunt omnia saltantium pedibus, tripudiantium plausibus, et quod his turpius est nefas, nexis inter se utriusque sexus choris, inops animi, furens vino turba*

wise rejected,¹³ though the most extended freedom of divorce remained,¹⁴ and *the ordeal*¹⁵ still continued. The attempt of Gregory the Great to adopt into the services of the church par-

miscetur. On belief in auspices and sorcery among the Franks, see Löbell's *Gregor v. Tours*, S. 271.

¹³ On the history of ancient national privileges, the Salic law under Chlodwig, the Burgundian under King Gundobald, † 516, the Ripuarian under King Theoderich 511-534, the Alemannic under Chlotar II. in 613-628, the Bavarian under Chlotar II. or Dagobert I. 613-638. See Eichhorn's *Deutsche Staats und Rechtsgesch.* i. 220. Editions of the laws in *Baluzii Capitularia Reg. Franc. T. i.* J. P. Canciani *barbarorum leges antiquae.* Venet. 1781-92. 5 Tomi fol. *Walter corp. juris Germ. ant. T. i.* cf. prologus *Leg. Ripuar* (in many editions incorrectly printed as *prol. Leg. Sal.*): *Theodoricus Rex Francorum, cum esset Cathalaunis, elegit viros sapientes;—ipso autem dictante jussit conscribere legem Francorum, Alamannorum et Bojoariorum, et unicuique genti, quae in ejus potestate erat, secundum consuetudinem suam: addiditque addenda, et improvisa et incomposita resecauit; et quae erant secundum consuetudinem Paganorum, mutavit secundum legem Christianorum. Et quidquid Theodoricus Rex propter vetustissimam Paganorum consuetudinem emendare non potuit, posthaec Hildebertus rex inchoavit corrigere; sed Chlotharius rex perfecit. Haec omnia Dagobertus rex—renovavit, et omnia veterum legum in melius transtulit; unicuique quoque genti scriptam tradidit.*

¹⁴ By the *lex Burgund.* tit. 34. c. 3. the husband could put away an adulteram, maleficam, vel sepulcrorum violatricem without ceremony; if he does so without these reasons, he was obliged to make her indemnification (c. 2. 4. and *Lex Bajuvar.* tit. vii. c. 14). By agreement of both parties, however, marriage could be annulled without any difficulty. See the formulae in the *Formulis Andegavensibus* (from the sixth century *prim. ed. Mabillon analect. iv. 234*) c. 56, and *Marculfi formularum lib. ii. c. 30.* The *libellus repudii* adopted by Marculf runs thus: *Certis rebus et probatis causis inter maritum et uxorem repudiandi locus patet. Idcirco dum et inter illo et conjuge sua illa non caritas secundum Deum, sed discordia regnat, et ob hoc pariter conversare minime possunt, placuit utriusque voluntas, ut se a consortio separare deberent. Quod ita et fecerunt. Propterea has epistolas inter se uno tenore conscriptas fieri et adfirmare decreverunt, ut unusquisque ex ipsis, sive ad servitium Dei in monasterio, aut ad copulam matrimonii se sociare voverit, licentiam habeat etc.*

¹⁵ Which was used even in questions belonging to Christianity itself. *Comp. Can. Caesaraugust.* § 121. not. 4.—*Gregor. Tur. de glor. mart. i. 81:* *Arianorum presbyter cum diacono nostrae religionis altercationem habebat. At ille—adjecit dicens: Quid longis sermocinationum intentionibus fatigamur? Factis rei veritas adprobetur: succendatur igni aeneus, et in ferventi aqua annulus cujusdam projiciatur. Qui vero eum ex ferventi unda sustulerit, ille justitiam consequi comprobatur: quo facto pars diversa ad cognitionem hujus justitiae convertatur etc.*

ticular heathen rites, at the time of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, is quite singular.¹⁶

III. OLD BRITISH CHURCH.

§ 126.

Since the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, ecclesiastical as well as social order had been subverted among the Britons, who manfully strove for their freedom.¹ But the Irish Church was still in a very prosperous state. Their convents were distinguished for their discipline and learning,² as well as their efforts to diffuse Christianity towards the north. The monk *Columba* in particular (about 565 † 597) converted a great part of the northern *Picts*, became their spiritual leader as abbot of the monastery

¹⁶ Gregor. M. lib. xi. Ep. 76. ad Mellitum Abbatem (also in Bedae hist. eccl. Angl. i. 30.) : Cum vos Deus omnipotens ad—Augustinum Episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet, quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa, quae in eis sunt, idola destruantur. Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construuntur, reliquiae ponantur : quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari : ut, dum gens ipsa eadem fana non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca, quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet his etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas immutari : ut die dedicationis vel natalitiis SS. Martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant et religiosis conviviis solemnitatem celebrent. Nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esum suum animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant : ut, dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscondere impossibile esse non dubium est : quia is, qui locum summum adscendere nititur, necesse est ut gradibus vel passibus, non autem saltibus eleveletur.

¹ Gildas Badonicus (560-580) de excidio Britanniae liber querulus (in three parts historia ; epistola ; increpatio in clericum), best edited in Thom. Gale historiae Britannicae, Saxon., Anglo-Danicae scriptores xv. Oxon. 1691, thence in Gallandii bibl. PP. xii. 189.

² Jo. Ph. Murray de Britannia atque Hibernia saeculis a sexto inde ad decimum litterarum domicilio, in the novis commentariis Soc. Reg. Gotting, T. i. comm. hist. et philol. p. 72 ss.

founded by him on the island *Ily* (*St Iona*), and transmitted this relation to his successors.³

Close as the union was between the British and Irish Churches, they could yet have little connexion of importance, on account of their remoteness, with other Churches. Hence they had retained many old arrangements, and developed them in a peculiar way, after such usages had been altered in other countries.⁴ Since the

³ Beda hist. eccl. iii. 4: Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant, esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter exstitit et Monachus.

⁴ These appear in the following controversy, and relate to (a) the reckoning of Easter. The Britons were by no means Quarto-decimani, though they were often called so from ignorance (ex. gr. Bedae chron. ad ann. 4591), and appealed too, themselves, to John and the Asiatics (for example, Colman, Beda, h. e. iii. 25). Beda hist. eccl. iii. 4: Paschae diem non semper in luna quartadecima cum Judaeis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem dominica, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada, celebrabant. Namely, ii. 2: Paschae diem a decimaquarta usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant. Quae computatio octoginta quatuor annorum circulo continetur. The Romans, on the other hand (ii. 19), adstruebant, quia dominicum Paschae diem a quintadecima luna usque ad vicesimam primam lunam oporteret inquiri. The difference, therefore, was, that the Easter festival fell on different Sundays in many years. The cause of this was, that owing to the previous confusion on the subject, and for the purpose of removing it (see above, § 100, not. 13), the Aquitanian Victorius first (457), and afterwards the Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus (525), had made new Easter tables, which, in succession, were brought into use, first in Italy, and then in the other Western churches (see Ideler's Chronologie ii. 275). On the contrary, the British church had retained the old cycle of 84 years. The state of the controversy is more minutely developed by Jac. Usseus britannicarum Ecclesiarum antiquit. Dublin, 1639, 4. p. 925. Humphr. Prideaux connexion of Scripture history, ii. 273. Ideler's Chronol. ii. 295. (b.) The tonsure. The Roman clergy were in coronam attonsi; the British, as also the monks elsewhere, in older times, see Paulini Nol. ep. vii., had the fore part of the head bald. The former called their tonsure tonsuram Petri, and that of the Britons tonsuram Simonis Magi (Beda h. e. v. 21). Usseus brit. Eccl. antiqu. p. 921. (c) Lanfrancus ep. ad. Terdelvacum Hibern. regem, written 1074 (in J. Usseus vet. epistolarum hibernicarum syll. Dublin, 1632, 4. p. 72), accuses them, quod quisque pro arbitrio suo legitime sibi copulatam uxorem, nulla canonica causa interveniente, relinquit, et aliam quamlibet, seu sibi vel relictæ uxori consanguinitate propinquam, sive quam alius simili improbitate deseruit, maritali seu fornicaria lege, punienda sibi temeritate conjungit. Quod Episcopi ab uno Episcopo consecrantur. Quod

condemnation of the three chapters, a great mistrust of the Romish orthodoxy had arisen here also.⁵

When *Augustine* formed a new Church with Roman arrangements among the Anglo-Saxons, he required the British clergy

infantes baptismo sine chrismate consecrata baptizantur. Quod sacri ordines per pecuniam ab Episcopis dantur. But from these the abuses 1 and 4, which afterwards prevailed, may have sprung. We have also to direct attention to the following peculiarities of the British-Irish church, which are not touched on in the disputes. They had (a) no celibacy of the priests. Patrick himself was sprung from priests, see *Patricii confessio*: patrem habui Calpurnium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri. Synodus Patricii about 456, can. 6. (in D. Wilkins concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae i. 2): Quicumque clericus ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem—si non more romano capilli ejus tonsi sint (i. e., cut short generally, the differences of tonsure arose subsequently), et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnantur, et ab Ecclesia separentur. Synodus Hibern. in d' Achery spicilegium i. 493: Qui ab accessu adolescentiae usque ad trigesimum annum aetatis suae probabiliter vixerit, una tantum uxore virgine sumta contentus, quinque annis Subdiaconus, et quinque annis Diaconus, quadragesimo anno Presbyter, quinquagesimo Episcopus stet. The Irish Clement defended the marriage of a bishop as late as the eighth century. Bonifacii ep. 67. (b) A peculiar liturgy. *Usser brit. Eccles. antiqu. p. 916.* (c) The monks had a peculiar system of rules. *Usser p. 918.*—That the British-Irish Church derived its origin from Asia Minor, and had preserved a purer, simpler Christianity, are mere empty conjectures, which have been carried to an extravagant length, especially by Münter in the *Theol. Studien u. Krit.* 1833, iii. 744. The opinion that the Britains, as Quarto-decimani, had the Asiatic mode of celebrating the passover, an opinion which principally lies at the foundation of that belief, is obviously false.

⁵ *Comp. § 111. not. 25. § 117. not. 25. § 124. not. 19.* Gregorii magni ep. ad Episcopos Hiberniae A. D. 592 (lib. ii. ep. 36): Reducat caritatem vestram tandem integritas fidei ad matrem, quae vos generavit, Ecclesiam.—Nam in synodo, in qua de tribus capitulis actum est, aperto liquet nihil de fide convulsum esse vel aliquatenus immutatum, sed (sicut scitis) de quibusdam illic solummodo personis est actitatum.—Quod autem scribitis, quia ex illo tempore inter alias provincias maxime flagellatur Italia, non hoc ad ejus debetis intorquere exprobrum, quoniam scriptum est: quem diligit Dominus castigat.—Ut igitur de tribus capitulis animis vestris ablata dubietate possit satisfactio abundanter infundi, librum, quem ex hac re sanctae memoriae decessor meus Pelagius Papa scripserat, vobis utile judicavi transmittere. Quem si deposito voluntariae defensionis studio, puro vigilantique corde saepius volueritis relegere, eum vos per omnia secuturos, et ad unitatem nostram reversuros nihilominus esse confido. However, at a later period, Columbanus defended, with zeal, the three chapters against Boniface IV. See below, note 13.

(Culdees)⁶ to adopt the Roman ecclesiastical arrangements, especially with regard to the mode of reckoning Easter; and to yield to him, as archbishop of Canterbury, the primacy of all Britain.⁷ But the negotiations at two meetings (603) led to no agreement;⁸ they gave rise rather to bitter hatred between the two parties.⁹

⁶ Keledei, Kyledei, Latinised Colidei, the British appellation for priests and monks (Kele-De *i. e.* servus Dei, as elsewhere too, for example, in Gregory the Great, the clergy are often called *servi Dei*). When the Roman regulations were subsequently adopted generally in these lands, the name continued to be applied principally to the clergy, who in their corporations held fast by the old British modes. It was, however, given also to all priests to the time of the Reformation, by those who spoke in British. See Hector Boëthius *hist. Scotorum* lib. vi. p. 95: *Invaluit id nomen apud vulgus in tantum, ut sacerdotes omnes ad nostra paene tempora vulgo Culdei, i. e. cultores Dei, sine discrimine vocitarentur.* *Comp. historical account of the ancient Culdees of Iona and of their settlements in Scotland, England, and Ireland, by John Jamieson. Edinburgh, 1811, 4. J. W. J. Braun de Culdeis comm. Bonnae 1840, 4.*

⁷ Gregory the Great had conferred this on him (lib. xi. ep. 65. *Beda h. e. i. 29: Tua vero fraternitas—omnes Britanniae sacerdotes habeat—subjectos.* He derived the right of doing so from this fact, that the British church, as well as the Anglo-Saxon, was a daughter of the Roman (see note 5).

⁸ Respecting them see *Beda h. e. ii. 2.* The Britons had not only a different mode of celebrating the Easter festival, *sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae contraria faciebant.* *Qui cum, longa disputatione habita, neque precibus, neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum ejus assensum praeberere voluissent, sed suas potius traditiones universis, quae per orbem sibi in Christo concordant, ecclesiis praeferrent, sanctus pater Augustinus—finem fecit.* At the second meeting Augustine said to them: *Quia in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, imo universalis Ecclesia, contraria geritis; et tamen si in tribus his mihi, obtemperare vultis, ut Pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi—juxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae Ecclesiae compleatis, ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini praedicetis; caetera quae agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.* At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant. The papal primacy was not at all a subject of dispute. The first rank among the bishops was conceded to the popes by the Britons, but they believed so in an erroneous way (see note 5). But the popes themselves did not yet lay claim to a greater ecclesiastical power than that of other apostolic sees (see § 117, note 18-20); and so one appealed against the Britons not to papal authority but to the *statuta canonica quaternae sedis Apostolicae, Romanae videlicet, Hierosolymitanae, Antiochenae, Alexandrinae, to the old councils, and to the universalis Ecclesiae catho-*

At this time the Irish monk *Columbanus* came into the kingdom of Burgundy (about 590), where he acquired great reputation by his strict piety and cultivated mind, and founded several convents, particularly that at *Luxovium* (Luxeuil). Here he not only introduced a peculiar system of monastic rules, but also continued faithful to the peculiarities of his mother Church, and defended the Irish mode of celebrating Easter with great zeal.¹⁰ At length he displeased king Theodorich II., on account of his boldness; was banished (about 606); laboured some years in the conversion of the Alemanni at the lake of Constance; then transferred this task to his pupil *Gallus*; founded the convent *Bobium* in a valley in the Appenines in Liguria, where he inspired the same desire for learning for which the monks of his country were

licae unanimem regulam (see Cummiani ep. ad Segienum Huensem Abbatem, in J. Usserii vet. epist. hibernicarum sylloge p. 27, 28). The Britons did not consider the pope as the sole successor of Peter, but all bishops: Gildas de excidio Britanniae P. iii. cap. 1., describes bad priests as sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus usurpantes (comp. § 94, note 36). That the Britons acknowledged no ecclesiastical power of the pope over them, is proved by their opposition to the Roman regulations, an opposition which continued in Ireland down to the twelfth century. Spelman (Conc. Brit. i. 108) has published for the first time, from a Cottonian MS. in the old British language, the following declaration of Dinooth, abbot of the monastery of Bangor, which he is said to have made to Augustine: Notum sit et absque dubitatione vobis, quod nos omnes sumus et quilibet nostrum obedientes et subditi ecclesiae Dei, et Papae Romae, et unicuique vero Christiano et pio, ad amandum unumquemque in suo gradu in caritate perfecta, et ad juvandum unumquemque eorum verbo et facto fore filios Dei. Et aliam obedientiam, quam istam, non scio debitam ei, quem vos nominatis esse Papam; nec esse patrem patrum vindicari et postulari: et istam obedientiam nos sumus parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano continuo. Praeterea nos sumus sub gubernatione episcopi Caerlionis super Osca, qui est ad supervidendum sub Deo super nobis, ad faciendum nos servare viam spiritualem. It is however spurious. See Döllinger's Gesch. d. christl. Kirche i. ii. 218. Stevenson on Bedae h. e. ii. 2. p. 102.

⁹ Thus Augustine's successor, Laurentius (Beda ii. 4), complained that the Scottish bishop, Dagamus, ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio, quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. Comp. Beda ii. 20: usque hodie moris est Brittonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis.

¹⁰ Columbani epist. i. ad Gregor. Papum (among Gregory's letters, lib. ix. ep. 127), and epist. 2. ad Patres Synodi cujusd. Gallicanae.

chiefly distinguished.¹¹ He died A. D. 615.¹² His letter to Gregory the Great on the subject of the celebration of Easter, as well as that to Boniface IV. against the condemnation of the three chapters, still attest the free spirit of the Irish Church.¹³

¹¹ cf. *Antiquissimus quatuor Evangeliorum Codex Sangallensis* ed. H. C. M. Rettig. Turici 1836, 4. praef. Hence the important discoveries of modern times in the *Codd. Bobiensibus*, at present very much scattered. See *Amad. Peyron de bibliotheca Bobiensi comm. prefixed to his Ciceronis orationem fragmenta inedita*. Stuttg. et Tubing. 1824. 4.

¹² His life by his pupil Jonas, abbot of Luxovium, in *Mabillon Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* ii. 3. Neander's *Denkwürdigk.* iii. ii. 37 ff. Gu. Chr. Knottenbelt *disp. hist. theol. de Columbano*. Lugd. Bat. 1839. 8. —His works (regula coenobialis, sermones xvi., epistolae vi., carmina iv.), ed. Patricius Flemingus. Lovanii 1667. recensita et aucta in *Gallandii bibl.* PP. xii. 319.

¹³ *Ep. ad Gregor.*: Forte notam subire timens Hermagoricae novitatis, antecessorum et maxime Papae Leonis auctoritate contentus es. Noli te quaeso in tali quaestione humilitati tantum aut gravitati credere, quae saepe falluntur. Melior forte est canis vivus in problemate Leone mortuo (*Eccl.* ix. 4). Vivus namque sanctus emendare potest, quae ab altero majore emendata non fuerint.—non mihi satisfacit post tantos, quos legi auctores, una istorum sententia Episcoporum dicentium tantum: “Cum Judaeis Pascha facere non debemus.” Dixit hoc olim et Victor Episcopus, sed nemo Orientalium suum recepit commentum. *Epist.* 5. ad Bonifacium iv. cap. 4: Vigila itaque quaeso, Papa, vigila, et iterum dico, vigila: quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilius, quem caput scandali isti clamant, qui vobis culpam injiciunt. c. 10: ex eo tempore, quo Deus et Dei filius esse dignatus est, ac in duobus illis ferventissimis Dei Spiritus equis, Petro scilicet et Paulo Apostolis—per mare gentium equitans, turbavit aquas multas, et innumerabilium populorum millibus multiplicavit quadrigas; supremus ipse auriga curus illius, qui est Christus,—ad nos usque pervenit. Ex tunc vos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior et clarior est; et, si dici potest, propter Christi geminos Apostolos—vos prope caelestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci dominicae resurrectionis singulari praerogativa (comp. *Firmilianus Div.* I. § 68, not. 12. *Augustinus* § 94. not. 5). Et ideo sicut magnus honor vester est pro dignitate cathedrae, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut non perdatis vestram dignitatem propter aliquam perversitatem. Tandiu enim potestas apud vos erit, quamdiu recta ratio permanserit: ille enim certus regni caelorum clavicularius est, qui dignis per veram scientiam aperit, et indignis claudit. Alioquin, si contraria fecerit, nec aperire nec claudere poterit. c. 11: Cum haec igitur vera sint, et sine ulla contradictione ab omnibus vera sapientibus recepta sint (licet omnibus notum est, et nemo est qui nesciat, qualiter Salvator noster sancto Petro regni caelorum contulit claves, et vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescio quid, prae

THIRD DIVISION.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MONOTHELITIC CONTROVERSY, AND
FROM THE TIME OF MUHAMMED TO THE BEGINNING OF THE
CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES.

FROM 622—726.

FIRST CHAPTER.

RESTRAINING OF THE CHURCH IN THE EAST.

§ 127.

Though the Persians tolerated the Nestorians, they hated the Catholic Christians, as was apparent in the war which *Kesra* (Chosröes) *II. Parviz* carried on against the East Roman empire from A. D. 604, and especially in the taking of Jerusalem (614). On this account the victories of *Heraclius* from 621, ending with the dethronement of Chosröes by his son *Schirujeh* (Siröes) (628) were of importance in relation to the Church. Besides, Heraclius brought back the wood of the true cross which had been carried off; and instituted a festival in commemoration of it, the *σταυρώσιμος ἡμέρα*, *festum exaltationis* (14th of September).¹

In the meantime, a far more dangerous enemy of the Church had appeared in Arabia. *Muhammed*, in the year 611, began to preach Islamism, at first in private, and then publicly among the Koreish in Mecca. At first, indeed, he was

caeteris vobis majoris auctoritatis, ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis); noveritis minorem fore potestatem vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitatis hoc in cordibus vestris: quia unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatem fecit potestatis et praerogativae; ita ut libertas veritati ubique ab omnibus detur, et aditus errori ab omnibus similiter abnegetur etc.

¹ Theophanis *Chronographia* p. 245-273, among other things says, of the conduct of Chosröes in the conquered lands, p. 263. ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου θρησκείαν πρὸς τὸ πλήξαι τὸν βασιλέα.

obliged to give way to his enemies (15th July 622 *Hedschra*),² but gained over the city *Yatschreb* (Medina al Nabi) in his favour; extended his dominion and his doctrines thence, prince and prophet in one person, till they spread far into Arabia; at length conquered Mecca (630); consecrated the *Caaba* as the chief temple of Islamism; and bequeathed to his successors (*Chalifs*) Arabia, as a country completely subject to their faith and their dominion († 632).³

Islamism, whose holy writings are contained in the *Koran*,⁴ collected by Abubekr, was a compound of Judaism and Christianity in its essential features.⁵ But it made the doctrine of the infinite sublimity of God its basis, in a way so much one-sided as that *an absolute dependence* of man on God resulted from it; and ideas of a likeness and an inward union between man and God, and consequently the fundamental principles of all the higher morality, found no place in the system. By making it a religious duty to wage war on infidels, by its fatalism, and its

² Ideler's Chronologie Bd. 2. S. 482 ff.

³ Abulfeda de vita Muhammedis ed. J. Gagnier. Oxon. 1723. fol. La vie de Mohammed par J. Gagnier. Amsterd. 1732. 2 voll. 8. translated into German by Ch. F. R. Vetterlein, Köthen 1802-1804. v. Hammer-Purgstall's Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser moslimischer Herrscher. Bd. 1. Mohammed d. Prophet. Leipzig 1837 (Comp. Umbreit in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1841. i. 212). Gust. Weil's Mohammed d. Prophet, s. Leben u. s. Lehre, aus handschriftl. Quellen u. d. Koran geschöpft. Stuttgart 1843. 8.—On the miracles of Muhammed and his character, see in Tholuck's vermischten Schriften i. 1.

⁴ Arab. et lat. ed. Lud. Maraccius, Patav. 1698 fol. French par Savary, Paris 1783. 2 voll. 8. German by F. E. Boysen, Halle 1775. 8. by F. S. G. Wahl, Halle 1828. 8. literally translated with annotations by Dr L. Ullmann. Bielefeld u. Crefeld, 3te Aufl. 1844. 8.—G. Weil's hist. krit. Einleit. in den Koran. Bielefeld 1844. 8. [English by G. Sale.]

⁵ Weil's Mohammed see not. 3. Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer innern Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker, von I. I. I. Döllinger. Regensburg 1838. 4. Dettinger's Beiträge zu einer Theologie des Korans, in the Tübingen Zeitschr. f. Theol. 1831. iii. 1.—Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume angenommen? von Abr. Geiger, Bonn 1833. 8.—Maier's christl. Bestandtheile des Koran, in the Freiburger Zeitschr. f. Theol. Bd. 2. Heft. 1. S. 34. (1839). C. F. Gerock's Darstellung der Christologie des Koran. Hamburg und Gotha 1839. 8.—On the relation of Islamism to the gospel, in Möhler's Schriften u. Aufsätzen, herausgeg. v. Döllinger i. 348.

sensual promises, it excited among the rude and powerful people of the Arabs so unconquerable a spirit for war, and so wild a desire for conquest,⁶ that the two neighbouring kingdoms, the Persian and the Byzantine, could not withstand such resistance amid their internal weaknesses. The provinces of the Byzantine empire, which lay nearest, were the more easily conquered, inasmuch as the greater number of the inhabitants consisted of Monophysites who joyfully met the Arabians as their deliverers. The conquest of *Syria* was begun under the first Chaliph *Abubekr* († 634), and completed under the second, *Omar* (639), under whom the valiant Amru also overcame Egypt (640). Under *Osman* the Persian empire was conquered (651). During the reign of the *Ommiades*, their general *Musa*, brought first the entire northern coast of Africa (707), and then Spain also (711), under the Arabian dominion; while, on the other side, the Arabians advanced several times as far as Constantinople, and twice besieged the city for a long time (669 till 676, and 717 till 718).

Jews and Christians were tolerated by the Arabs on condition of paying a poll-tax; and though sometimes severely oppressed, yet they were not compelled to change their religion.⁷ Still,

⁶ Mohamed. See a representation of the influence of his faith on the middle ages by K. E. Oelsner. Frankf. a. M. 1810. 8. Muhammed's religion by Döllinger, see not. 5.

⁷ Muhammed was tolerant at first of other religions (cf. Sura ii. et v.): afterwards, however, he made it the duty of believers, by the 9th and 67 Surats, to carry on religious war, for the purpose of exterminating idolaters and making Jews and Christians tributary (comp. Gerock's *Christologie des Koran* S. 118). Before this he had granted the Christians of some parts of Arabia, as well as the Jews and Sabaeans, letters of freedom, though doubtless both the *Testamentum et pactiones initae inter Mohammedem et christianae fidei cultores* (first brought from the East by the capuchin Pacificus Scaliger, and printed at Paris 1630, 4to. and often afterwards), and the *Pactum Muhammedis, quod indulsit Monachis montis Sinai et Christianis in universum* (in Pococke descr. of the East. Lond. 1743. fol. i. 268. translated into German, 2d edition, Erlangen 1771. 4. i. 393), in which distinguished privileges are secured to all Christians, are spurious. The humiliating terms under which Omar, at the taking of Jerusalem 637, allowed freedom of religion to the Christians there (*Le Beau hist. du Bas-Empire* xii. 421), express, on the contrary, the spirit with which the subjugated Christians were treated at a later time. cf. Th. Chr. Tychsen comm. qua disquiritur, quatenus Muhammedes aliarum religionum sectatores toleraverit, in the commentationes Soc. Reg. Gotting. xv. 152.

however, the advantages held out to those who adopted Islamism attracted many converts; and thus Christianity not only lost all political importance in the conquered provinces, but the number of its confessors was always diminishing in proportion to that of the Moslems. The catholic patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, remained unoccupied; for their possessors, living in the Greek empire, were merely titulars.

SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 128.

MONOTHELITIC CONTROVERSY.

Original Documents in the Acts of the first Lateran Synod, A. D. 649 (ap. Mansi x. 863,) and the sixth General Council, A. D. 680 (ap. Mansi xi. 190.) Anastasii bibliothecarii (about 870) collectanea de iis quae spectant ad histor. Monothelit. (prim. ed. J. Sirmond. Paris 1620. 8. in Sirm. opp. T. iii. in bibl. PP. Lugdun. xii. 833. ap. Gallandius T. xiii. and scattered in Mansi T. x. and xi.)

Historical authorities: Theophanes (comp. the preface to section 2.)

Works: F. Combefisii hist. haeresis Monothelitarum ac vindiciae actorum sextae synodi in his nov. auctarium Patrum. ii. 3. (Paris 1648.) Walch's Ketzerhist. ix. 3. Neander's KG. iii. 353.

A fresh attempt to bring the Monophysites back to the Catholic Church was followed by no other consequence than that of introducing into the latter a new element of controversy.

When the emperor *Heraclius* (A. D. 611–641) during his Persian campaign abode in Armenia and Syria (from 622), he thought he perceived that the Monophysites were particularly stumbled at the consequence arising from the catholic doctrine, viz., *two manifestations of will* (ἐνέργειαι) in the person of Christ. *Sergius*, patriarch of Constantinople, having been applied to on the point, declared that the adoption of an *active will*, and a *manifestation of will*, was not inconsistent with the received creed of the Church; and therefore the emperor, as well as several bishops,

decided in favour of this opinion.¹ But when one of these bishops, *Cyrus*, whom the emperor had appointed patriarch of Alexandria, reunited (633)² the Severians of that place with the Catholic Church by articles of agreement, in which the Monophysite doctrine of one volition was expressed; *Sophronius*, a Palestinian monk, who happened to be there at the time, raised the first opposition to this doctrine, which he afterwards continued with zeal after he became patriarch of Jerusalem (634).³ Sergius now advised that nothing should be said on the disputed point.⁴ Pope Honorius agreed with him, not only in this advice, but in the doctrinal view of the matter.⁵ Sophronius was quieted by

¹ Cyri Episc. Phasidis epist. ad Sergium (ap. Mansi xi. 561.) mentions κέλευσις of Heraclius to Arcadius, archb. of Cyprus, δύο ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγεσθαι κωλύουσα. Sergius ad Cyprum (ibid. p. 525.) rests on the authority Cyril of Alexandria, who speaks of μίαν ζωοποιὸν ἐνέργειαν, and on Mennas' letter to Virgilius, which says, ἐν τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θέλημα καὶ μίαν ζωοποιὸν ἐνέργειαν, though he is willing to be instructed by stronger reasons in favour of the contrary opinion. More decidedly Theodorus episc. Pharan. (Fragments ibid. p. 567 ss.) εἶναι μίαν ἐνέργειαν ταύτης δὲ τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεόν, ὄργανον δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.

² Cyri epist. altera ad Sergium (ap. Mansi xi. 561.) with the nine articles of agreement appended, p. 563. In the seventh we read: τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μιᾷ θεαυδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ, κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον (Dionys. Areopag. epist. iv. ad Cajum. Comp. § 110. not. 8. The orthodox read καινῇ θεανδρική ἐνεργείᾳ).

³ Sophronii Synodica ap. Mansi xi. 461.—His other extant writings (saints' lives, discourses, &c.), to which many have been added in the Spicilegium Romanum T. iii. and iv. (1840) do not refer to Monothelism.

⁴ Sergii ep. ad Honorium (ap. Mansi xi. 529), contains the most credible account of the beginning of the controversy. He assures Cyrus that his advice was, μηκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ τιμὴ συγχωρεῖν, μίαν ἢ δύο προφέρειν ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, καθάπερ αἱ ἄγμαι καὶ οἰκουμηνικαὶ παραδεδώκασι σύνοδοι, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἐνεργεῖν ὁμολογεῖν τὰ τε θεία καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ πᾶσαν θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ ἐνέργειαν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σεσαρκωμένου θεοῦ λόγου ἀδιαιρέτως προῖεναί, καὶ εἰς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν μὴ μίαν ἐνεργείαν φωνὴν—θορυβεῖν τὰς τιμῶν ἀκοὰς, ὑπολαμβάνοντων, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει ταύτην προφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ—ἡνωμένων δύο φύσεων.—ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν δύο ἐνεργειῶν ῥῆσιν πολλοὺς σκανδαλίζων.—ἔπεσθαι ταύτῃ τὸ καὶ δύο πρεσβεῦειν θελήματα ἐναντίως πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχοντα,—δύο τοὺς τὰναντία θέλοντας εἰσάγεσθαι, ὅπερ δυσσεβές.

Honorii epist. i. ad Sergium (ap. Mansi xi. 537). Extracts from the epist. ii. ad eundem, ibid. p. 579.

the incursions of the Arabs; but the spark which had fallen on spirits so susceptible of dogmatic speculation could not be extinguished. In vain did the emperor now issue the *Ἐκθεσις* (638),⁶ composed by Sergius for the purpose of putting down the controversy. The West, too, now rose up against the new doctrine. The monk *Maximus*,⁷ a former companion of Sophronius, roused up Africa against it; Pope *John IV.* refused to adopt the *Ecthesis*;⁸ and Pope *Theodore* excommunicated *Paul*, patriarch of Constantinople (646). Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of *Constans II.* (A. D. 642—668) to restore internal tranquillity by means of the edict called *τύπος* (648),⁹ which merely

⁶ Ap. Mansi x. 992.—ὅθεν ἕνα ἴσμεν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ.—καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάτε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη κηρύττομεν, καὶ πᾶσαν θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σεσαρκωμένῳ τῷ λόγῳ προσέμεμεν,—οὐδαμῶς συγχωροῦντες τινὶ τῶν πάντων μίαν ἢ δύο λέγειν ἢ διδάσκειν ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, καθάπερ αἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ παραδεδόκασι σύνοδοι. What follows is word for word the same as the passage from Sergii ep. ad Honor., given in note 4. But he continues, εἰ γὰρ ὁ μιὰς Νεστόριος καίπερ διαιρῶν τὴν θείαν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ δύο εἰσάγων υἱοὺς, δύο θελήματα τούτων εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, τὸν αὐτοῦ δὲ ταυτοβουλίαν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναπλαττομένων δύο προσώπων ἐδόξεσε, πῶς δυνατὸν, τοὺς τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, καὶ ἕνα υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν δοξάζοντας δύο καὶ ταῦτα ἐναντία θελήματα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι; ὅθεν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατακολουθοῦντες, ἐν θελημα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ.—ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὡς ἐν μηδεὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὀρμῆς, ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν θεοῦ λόγου, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὄσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἡβούλετο.

⁷ Who is also worthy of notice as a commentator on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. See Neander's KG. iii. 344. Ritter's Gesch. d. christl. Phil. ii. 535. His works, for the most part, against the Monothelites were edited by Franc. Combefisius. Paris. 1675. 2 voll. fol. Prefixed to the first volume is the Greek life of Maximus, important in the history of the Monothelites. The doctrines of the Duothelites and Monothelites are most clearly represented in contrast in *Maximi disp. cum Pyrrho*, opp. ii. 159.

⁸ *Johannis ep. ad Constantinum Imp. in Anastasii collectan.* ap. Mansi x. 682.

⁹ Ap. Mansi x. 1029.—ἔγνωμεν ἐν πολλῷ καθεστάναι σάλῳ τὸν ἡμέτερον ὀρθόδοξον λαόν, ὡς τινῶν μὲν ἐν θέλημα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ δοξαζόντων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνεργεῖν τάτε θεία καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· ἄλλων δὲ δογματιζόντων δύο θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας δύο ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ λόγου οἰκονομίας· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν ἀπολογία προτιθεμένων διὰ τὸ ἐν πρόσωπον ὑπάρχειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. ἐν δύο ταῖς φύσεσιν ἀσυνχύτως καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως θέλοντα καὶ ἐνεργῶντα τάτε θεία καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς

recommended silence on the point, without giving a preference to either view ; although that tranquillity was most desirable in the kingdom so severely oppressed from without.¹⁰ Pope *Martin I.* at the *first Lateran synod* (649),¹¹ even ventured to anathematise the doctrine of one will, and the two imperial decrees relating to it. *Martin I.* indeed was now deposed, and, together with *Maximus*, brought to Constantinople (653), where both were condemned to end their life in exile after much severe treatment.¹² This had the effect of restoring communion between Rome and Constantinople, at least for a time,¹³ though it was broken off again under *Constantine Pogonatus* (668–685). To remove this, the emperor summoned the *sixth general council* (680), where pope *Agatho* triumphed in procuring a confirmation by the synod of the doctrine of two wills,¹⁴ as copiously unfolded by him in an

ἀδιαιρέτως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνὶ προσώπῳ συνελθούσας φύσεις, καὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν σώζεσθαι καὶ μένειν διαφορὰν, καταλλήλως καὶ προσφνῶς ταῖς φύσεσι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν ἐνεργεῖν τάτε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.—θεσπίζομεν, τοὺς ἡμετέροισι ὑπηκόοις—μὴ ἀδειαν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος περὶ ἐνὸς θελήματος ἢ μιᾶς ἐνεργείας, ἢ δύο ἐνεργειῶν καὶ δύο θελημάτων, οἷανδήποτε προφέρειν ἀμφισβήτησιν, ἔριν τε, καὶ φιλονεικίαν. There is said to be τὸ πρὸ τῆς ἀνωτέρω τῶν εἰρημένων ζητήσεων προελθούσης φιλονεικίας ἀπανταχοῦ φυλαχθῆναι σχῆμα. Sharp threats against those who disobey.

¹⁰ The opponents derided the Typus as : ἀνεύρηγον πάντη καὶ ἀνεθέλητον, τουτέστιν ἄνουον, καὶ ἄψυχον, καὶ ἀκίνητον αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς δόξης θεὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. ἐδογματίσαν, τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀψύχοις παραπλησίως εἰδώλοισι (Epistola Abbatum et Monachorum in Synodo Lateranensi ap. Mansi x. 908). So too *Martin* in his address. Ibid. p. 880.

¹¹ The Acts in Mansi x. 863. On the bad state of the Latin text see *Walch's Ketzerhist.* ix. 222. The 20 canons in the fifth *Secretarius*, can. x. ss. are directed against the Monothelites. Can. xiv. runs thus : Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos cum una voluntate et una operatione, quae ab haereticis impie confitetur, et duas voluntates pariterque et operationes, hoc est, divinam et humanum, quae in ipso Christo Deo in unitate salvantur, et a sanctis patribus orthodoxe in ipso praedicantur, denegat et respuit, condemnatus sit.

¹² See *Martini epist.* xv. et xvi. and the commemoratio eorum, quae saeviter acta sunt in Martinum, given together from *Anastasio collectan.*, in Mansi x. 851. *Neander* iii. 375. For an account of the sufferings of *Maximus* see acts and letters ap. Mansi xi. 3. *Anastasio Presb.* epist. ad *Theodosium* in opp. *Maximi* i. 67. *Neander* iii. 386.

¹³ Namely, between the patriarch *Peter* and pope *Vitalianus*. cf. *Acta Synodi oecum.* vi. Actio xiii. ap. Mansi xi. 572 : "Ἐτι ἀνεγνώσθη—ἐπιστολὴ Πιτροῦ—πρὸς Βιταλιανὸν—ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ πνευματικῆς εὐφροσύνης πρόξενον ἡμῖν τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ὁμοψύχου καὶ ἀγίας ἀδελφότητος γέγονεν.

¹⁴ *Agathonis epistola ad Imperatores* ap. Mansi xi. 233–286.—p.

epistle, after an examination which terminated in peace and order.¹⁵ An anathema was pronounced on all *Monothelites*,¹⁶ and

239 : Cum duas 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 et humanam etc.—p. 243 : Apostolica ecclesia—unum dominum nostrum J. Ch. confitetur ex duabus et in duabus existentem naturis—et ex proprietatibus naturalibus unamquamque harum Christi naturarum perfectam esse cognoscit, et quidquid ad proprietates naturarum pertinet, duplicia omnia confitetur.—Consequenter itaque—duas etiam naturales voluntates in eo, et duas naturales operationes esse confitetur et praedicat. Nam si personalem quisquam intelligat voluntatem, dum tres personae in s. Trinitate dicuntur, necesse est, ut et tres voluntates personales, et tres personales operationes (quod absurdum est et nimis profanum) dicerentur.—Ipse dominus noster J. Ch.—in sacris suis evangeliiis protestatur in aliquibus humana, in aliquibus divina, et simul utraque in aliis de se patefaciens.—orat quidem ad Patrem ut homo, ut calicem passionis transageret, quia in eo nostrae humanitatis natura absque solo peccato perfecta est, Pater, inquiring, si possibile est etc. (Matth. xxvi. 39). Et in alio loco Non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat (Luc. xxii. 42). Farther, the passages Phil. ii. 8. obediens usque ad mortem, Luc. ii. 51. obediens parentibus, Jo. vi. 38. descendi de coelo, ut non faciam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me, cf. Jo. v. 30. also from the Old Testament, Ps. xl. 9, Ut faciam voluntatem tuam, Deus meus, volui. Ps. liv. 8. voluntarie sacrificabo tibi. Then follow testimonies from the fathers. On the mode in which the two wills co-operate Agatho says nothing.

¹⁵ The definitio (*ὄρος*) of the sixth council in the actio xviii. ap Mansi xi. 631 ss.—p. 637 : ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν, υἱὸν κύριον μονογενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀχωρίστως, ἀδιαιρέτως γνωριζόμενον, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἐκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης.—Καὶ δύο φυσικὰς θελήσεις ἦτοι θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διδασκαλίαν ὡσαύτως κηρύττομεν· καὶ δύο μὲν φυσικὰ θελήματα οὐχ ὑπεναντία, μὴ γένοιτο, καθὼς οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἔφησαν αἰρετικοὶ ἀλλ' ἐπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα, καὶ μὴ ἀντιτίπον, ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον [ἀντίπαλον], μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι.—ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ αὐτοῦ σὰρξ, σὰρξ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου λέγεται καὶ ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ φυσικὸν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ θέλημα ἴδιον τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου λέγεται καὶ ἔστι, καθά φησιν αὐτός· “ ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρὸς ” (Jo. vi. 38.), ἴδιον λέγων θέλημα αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἴδια αὐτοῦ γέγονεν· ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ἡ παναγία καὶ ἄμωμος ἐψυχωμένη αὐτοῦ σὰρξ θεωθεῖσα (deificata) οὐκ ἀνηρέθη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ὄρω τε καὶ λόγῳ διέμεινεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα θεωθὲν οὐκ

also on Honorius;¹⁷ and thus Church unity was restored in the Roman empire.

ἀηρέθη, σέσωσται δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν θεολόγον Γρηγόριον λέγοντα: “ τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν τὸ κατὰ τὸν σωτήρα νοούμενον οὐδὲ ὑπεναντίον σεῶ θεωθέν, ὄλον.” δύο δὲ φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. τῷ ἀληθινῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν δοξάζομεν, τουτέστι θείαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν κατὰ τὸν θεηγόρον λέοντα τρανέστατα φάσκοντα: “ ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκάτερα μορφή μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε, τοῦ μὲν λόγου κατεργαζομένου τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκτελοῦντος ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος” (comp. § 89. not. 7).

¹⁶ The name *Μονοθεληται* first in Johannes Damasc.

¹⁷ John IV., in the epist. ad Constantin. (note 8), had endeavoured to exculpate Honorius on the ground that he merely asserted *quia in salvatore nostro duae voluntates contrariae, id est, in membris ipsius* (cf. Rom. vii. 23.) *penitus non consistant, quoniam nihil vitii traxit ex praevaricatione primi hominis.* So too Maximus in epist. ad Marinum ap. Mansi x. 687. and in the *disputatio cum Pyrrho* ibid. p. 739. In all the measures afterwards taken in Rome against the Monothelites, no mention was made of Honorius. On the other hand, Synodus oecum. vi. actio xiii. (ap. Mansi xi. 556.), pronounces an anathema on Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Petrus, Paulus, Theodorus, bishop of Pharan, καὶ Ὁνώριον τὸν γενόμενον πάπαν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ εὐρηκέναι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν γενομένων παρ’ αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων πρὸς Σέργιον κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ ἐξακολουθήσαντα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀσεβῆ κυρώσαντα δόγματα. This anathema was repeated act. xvi. p. 622. act. xviii. p. 655, &c. Leo II., in his epist. ad Constant. Imp., in which he confirms the council (ap. Mansi xi. 731): *Anathematizamus—nec non et Honorium, qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicae traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana prodicione immaculatam subvertere conatus est.* cf. ejusd. epist. ad Episc. Hispaniae ap. Mansi xi. 1052, and ad Ervigium Regem Hispaniae ibid. p. 1057. Also in the confession of faith subscribed by the following popes at their accession (*liber diurnus cap. ii. tit. 9. professio 2.*), the anathema was pronounced against auctores novi haereticij dogmatis, Sergium etc.—*una cum Honorio, qui pravus eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit.*—Anastasius biblioth. ep. ad Joannem Diaconum (collectanea ed. Sirmond. p. 3.), is the first that endeavours again, after the example of John IV., whose letter he reproduced, to excuse Honorius, *licet huic sexta sancta Synodus quasi haeretico anathema dixerit.* But later Catholic historians deny even this fact. Platina in *vita Honorii I.*: *Ferunt Heraclium—Pyrrhi—et Cyri fraudibus deceptum in haeresim Monothelitarum incidisse.*—*Hos tamen postea tanti erroris auctores, hortante Honorio et veram ante oculos literis et nunciis ponente, relegavit Heraclius.* According to Baronius, the acts of the sixth council have been corrupted, and instead of Honorius we should read Theodorus. Bellarmine maintains that the letters of Honorius are either spurious or interpolated. According to Pagi, Garnier, the Ballerini, and others, Honorius was not condemned for heresy, but for negligence; and according to Combesisius and others, even with the consent of Pope Agatho. Against all these evasions see Richer historia

§ 129.

CONCILIIUM QUINISEXTUM.

At the last two general councils, no attention had been paid to the laws affecting the constitution of the Church. To supply this defect, and to receive a complete synodical code, the emperor *Justinian II.* (reigned from 685–695, and from 705–711,) called a new oecumenical council in the Trullus at Constantinople (692),¹ at which 102 canons were passed, for the most part giving legal expression merely to older Church usages, and repeating older canons. It appears that the Greek bishops had expressly entertained the design, both here and at Chalcedon, of reminding the Roman patriarchs, again exalted by their new victory, of the limits of their power. Particularly unacceptable to the Romans were the six canons *concerning the Church laws to be esteemed valid,*² *the marriage of priests,*³ *the rank of the*

concil. general. i. 296. Du Pin de antiqua eccl. discipl. p. 349. Bosuet defensio declar. Cleri Gallic. ii. 128.

¹ Names: Concilium Trullanum, Σύνοδος πενθέκτη, Conc. quinisextum. The Greeks consider it merely as a continuation of the sixth council, and call its decisions *κανόνες τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου.* The Acts are given in Mansi xi. 921.

² Can. ii. confirms 85 canones Apost., while the Roman church, after Dionysius, adopted only the first 50. This council also sanctioned, as church laws, the canons of the councils of Nice, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople in A. D. 381, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Sardica, Carthage and Constantinople, A. D. 394. Also the canons of Dionysius Alexandrinus, Petrus Alex., Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssene, Gregory of Nazianzum, Amphilochius of Iconium, Timotheus Alex., Cyril Alex., and Gennadius patriarch of Constantinople. Lastly, also of Cyprian and his synod. All other canons are prohibited as not genuine. (*μηδενὶ ἐξείναι—ἐτέρους παρὰ τοὺς προκειμένους παραδέχσθαι κανόνας ψευδεπιγράφως ὑπὸ τινων συντεθέντας τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καπηλεύειν ἐπιχειρησάντων.*): In that list, however, many western synods, and all decretals of Romish bishops, are passed over.

³ Can. xiii.: Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδεδόσθαι διέγνωμεν, τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξιούσθαι χειροτονίας καθομολογεῖν, ὡς οὐκέτι ταῖς αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς· ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθῶντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τάξεως, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ νόμους συνοικέσια καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐρῶσθαι βουλόμεθα· μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς γαμετὰς συνάφειαν διαλύοντες, ἢ ἀποστεροῦντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν προσήκουσα ὁμιλίας. Ὡστε εἴ τις ἄξιός εὐρεθῆι πρὸς

*patriarch of Constantinople,*⁴ *against fasting on Saturday,*⁵ *against the eating of blood and things strangled,*⁶ *and against pictures of the Lamb.*⁷ Though the papal legates had subscribed

χειροτονίαν ὑποδιακόνου ἢ διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, οὗτος μηδαμῶς κωλύεσθω ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον βαθμὸν ἐκβιβάζεσθαι γαμετῇ συνοικῶν νομίμῳ, μήτε μὴν ἐν τῷ τῆς χειροτονίας καιρῷ ἀπαιτείσθω ὁμολογεῖν, ὡς ἀποστήσεται τῆς νομίμου πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν γαμετὴν ὁμίλιας. ἵνα μὴ ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ εὐλογηθέντα τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ γάμον καθυβρίζειν ἐκβιασθῶμεν, τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνῆς βοώσης· ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔξευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωρίζετω (Matth. xix. 6.) καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου διδάσκοντος τίμιον τὸν γάμον καὶ τὴν κοίτην ἀμίαντον (Heb. xiii. 4.) καὶ δέδεσαι γυναικί, μὴ ζῆται λύσιν (1 Cor. vii. 27.)—*χρῆ τοὺς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντας ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μεταχειρήσεως ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι ἐν πάσιν.*—*Εἴ τις οὖν τολμήσῃ, παρὰ τοὺς ἀποστολικούς κανόνας κινούμενος, τινὰ τῶν ἱερωμένων, πρεσβυτέρων φαμέν ἢ διακόνων ἢ ὑποδιακόνων, ἀποστερεῖν τῆς πρὸς νόμιμον γυναῖκα συναφείας τε καὶ κοινωνίας, καθαιρεῖσθω.* Ὡσαύτως καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα προφάσει εὐλαβείας ἐκβάλλει, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἐπιμένων δὲ καθαιρεῖσθω (cf. Can. Apostol. v. § 97. not. 9.) Bellarmin. de cler. i. 10. supposes, respecting this subject: *Tempore hujus synodi (Trullanae) coepit mos Graecorum, qui nunc est.*—Besides, can. iii. forbids the clergy marrying a second time, and marriage with a widow. Can. vi. forbids marriage after ordination. Can. xii. forbids bishops to remain in the married state: *εἰς γνώσιν ἡμετέραν ἦλθεν, ὡς ἐν τε Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ ἐτέροις τόποις οἱ τῶν ἐκέισε θεοφιλέστατοι πρόεδροι συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προελθούσαν χειροτονίαν, οὐ παραιτοῦνται.*—*ἔδοξεν ὥστε μηδαμῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνεσθαι τοῦτο δὲ φαμέν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀβετήσει ἢ ἀνατροπῇ τῶν ἀποστολικῶς προνενομοθετημένων, ἀλλὰ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ προκοπῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῶν λαῶν πρόμηθούμενοι κ. τ. λ. cf. Can. xlvi. According to Zonaras and Theod. Balsamo ad Can. Apost. v. these were the first ecclesiastical prohibitions against the marriage of bishops, though Justinian had forbidden them by a civil law (Cou. i. iii. 48). cf. Calixtus de conjugio Clericorum ed. Henke p. 389 ss.*

⁴ Can. xxxvi., referring to Can. Constant. iii. (§ 93. not. 9.) and Can. Chalced. xxviii. (ibid. not. 14.), and in the same words as the latter. So, too, in Can. xxxviii. the 17th canon of Chalced. (ibid. note 3.) is repeated word for word.

⁵ Can. lv.: *Ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς νηστείας τοῖς ταύτης σάββασιν νηστεύειν παρὰ τὴν παραδοθείσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν (comp. § 100. not. 14.) ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ὥστε κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρασαλεύτως τὸν κανόνα τὸν λέγοντα: “εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὐρεθῆι τῇ ἁγίᾳ κυριακῇ νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.” (Can. Apostol. lxvii.)*

⁶ Can. lxvii.

⁷ Can. lxxxii.: *Ἐν τισὶ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων γραφαῖς ἀμνὸς δακτύλῳ τοῦ προδρόμου δεικνύμενος ἐγχαράττεται (according to Joh. i. 29.)—τὸν τοῦ αἵροντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου ἀμνοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμνοῦ ἀναστυλοῦσθαι ὀρίζομεν. See § 99. not. 51.*

them, yet Pope *Sergius I.* refused to accept them. Justinian meant to have him brought to Constantinople, but was prevented by the rebellion of the garrison of Ravenna, and soon after by his deposition.⁸ Thus this council was acknowledged only in the East, but not in the West;⁹ and was the first public step which led to the separation of the two Churches.

§ 130.

FORTUNES OF MONOTHELITISM.

The emperor *Philippicus Bardanes* (711–713) revived once more the Monothelitic doctrine, and made it the prevailing faith, though merely for a short time.¹ Only Rome withstood him.² But the Greek bishops were as ready to subscribe a Monothelitic confession of faith as they were to return to orthodoxy at the command of the next emperor, *Anastasius II.*³

⁸ cf. Anastas. biblioth. in vita Sergii.

⁹ Ap. Beda de sex aetatibus and Paulus Diac. hist. Longob. vi. 11. it is called Synodus erratica. By degrees, however, several of the less offensive canons began to be cited, as Canones Syn. vi., those who did so being misled by the example of the Greeks (see note 1). Gratian (Decret. P. I. dist. xvi. c. 6.) translates a Greek account of this Synod, and then naively adds: Ex his ergo colligitur, quod sexta synodus bis congregata est: primo sub Constantino Imp., et nullos canones constituit, secundo sub Justiniano filio ejus, et præfatos canones promulgavit. Thus, then, he also adopts several of the canons. It was not till after the Reformation that the conciliabulum pseudosextum was again discovered. cf. Calixtus p. 401 ss.

¹ The chief authority on this subject is the epilogus ad Acta Syn. vi. of the contemporary Agathon, deacon and librarian of the church at Constantinople (prim. ed. F. Combefsius in the nov. auctar. PP. ii. 199. ap. Mansi xii. 189.) Farther, Theophanes p. 319 ss. Walch's Ketzehist. ix. 449.

² Anastasii bibl. vita Constantini. Paulus Diac. hist. Longob. vi. 33.

³ The miserable spirit of the Greek bishops is particularly expressed in the exculpatory letter which John, who had been elevated to the see of Constantinople by Philippicus, addressed to pope Constantine, after the state of things had been entirely changed (appended to Agathon's Epilogus ap. Combefis. p. 211 ss. Mansi p. 195 ss.) Among other things he says: οἶδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς,—ὡς οὐ λίαν ἀντιτύπως καὶ σκληρῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνάγκην ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἀνευ τινὸς τέχνης καὶ περινοίας καθέστηκεν εὐμαρές· ἐπεὶ καὶ Νάθαν ὁ προφήτης οὐκ ἀπερικάλυπτον τὸν ἔλεγχον τὸν περὶ τῆς μοιχείας τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου προσήγαγε τῷ Δαβὶδ, καίτοι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ προφητικῶν τετιμημένου χαρίσματος. Κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅπερ φησὶν ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος, ἐνδιδοῖναι μικρὸν τῷ ἦθει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεδεξάμεθα,

In Syria, however, a small party of Monothelites remained for a long time. Here all Christian parties had a political importance. The *Jacobites* were favourable to the Arabians; the *Catholics* to the Greek emperors, hence called *Melchites* (from מלכ). On the other hand, an independent party had collected in mount Libanus, about the monastery of St *Maro*, who adopted the Monothelitic doctrines, chose for themselves a patriarch of Antioch (the first was *John Maro* † 701), and under the name of *Maronites*⁴ continued to hold the doctrine of one will in Christ till the time of the Crusades.⁵

ὥστε τὴν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τῆς πίστεως ὕμολογίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ λέξεσιν, ἀλλάγε ταῖς ἐννοίαις φυλάττεσθαι ἀπαράβατον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν λέξεσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν πράγμασιν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος βοᾷ· καὶ πάλιν ἰκανῶς ἄτοπον καὶ λίαν αἰσχρὸν διορίζεται, τὸ περὶ τὸν ἦχον σμικρολογεῖσθαι.—Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς καὶ κατὰ περίστασιν συμβάσεως τρόπον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν γεγενημένων προελθεῖν πειθόμενοι, ἀγιώτατοι, μὴ ἀσύγνωστον ἡμῖν τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔγκλημα προσαγαγεῖν καταδέξασθε· ἀλλὰ κἄν τι τῆς ἀκριβείας ἡμῖν ἡμαρτῆσθαι ὑπονοῆται, τῇ παραθέσει τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν οἰκονομικῶς προελθόντων ἀπολυνέσθω ἀνεύθυνον καὶ πάσης ἐλεύθερον κατακρίσεως. He then appeals to the bishops of the Robber Synod at Ephesus, who had condemned Flavian unjustly, καὶ ὁμῶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ Χαλκηδῶνα ἀγία συνόδῳ ἤρκεσε τούτοις πρὸς τελείαν ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἢ τῆς ὑγιοῦς ὁμολογίας σύνθεσις, &c., and concludes that he has offered an ἀπολογία ἰσχυράν τε καὶ ἕνομον.

⁴ Johann Damasc. lib. de vera sententia c. 8. Epist. de hymno trishagio c. 5. Eutychiei annal. Alex. T. ii. p. 192.

⁵ The modern Maronite writers, namely, Abraham Echellensis in several works, Faustus Nayron diss. de origine et religione Maronitarum. Rom. 1679. 8. Ejusd. enoplia fidei catholicae. Ibid. 1694. 8. Assemani bibl. orient. i. 496, have introduced confusion into the history of their sect, 1. By asserting that the Maronites were never Monothelites, but were always orthodox (in addition to the opposite reasons given by Renaudot histor. patr. Alexandr. p. 149 ss. is the testimony of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, about 725, de haeresibus et synodis, in the spicilegium Romanum vii. 65. that the Maronites rejected the sixth synod. The grounds given by both parties may be found in M. Le Quien oriens christ. iii. 1. Walch's Ketzehist. ix. 474.); 2. By identifying the Mardaites (whose name is erroneously derived from מרד) with the Maronites. On the contrary, Anquetil Duperron recherches sur les migrations des Mardes, ancien peuple de Perse in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tome 50. p. 1., has shown that the Mardaites, or Mards, a warlike people in Armenia, were placed as a garrison on Mount Libanus by Constantine Pogonatus A. D. 676. (Theophanes p. 295), but withdrawn as early as 685 by Justinian ii. (Theoph. p. 302 s.)

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

§ 131.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF ITALY.

Important for the history of this and the following period is Anastasii bibliothecarii (about 870) *liber pontificalis s. vitæ Rom. Pontif.*¹ ed. C. Annib. Fabrotus in the corp. hist. Byz. T. xix. Paris 1649. fol., Fr. Blanchini. Rom. 1718—35. iv. T. fol. Jo. Vignolius. Romæ 1724. 4. with the biographies of the later popes in L. A. Muratorii *rerum Ital. scriptor.* T. iii. p. i.—*Liber*

¹ The *liber pontificalis* has arisen from former *catalogis Pontificum* which we know only in part. The first known catalogus, which was composed under Liberius, 354, and contains few other notices besides those relating to chronology, furnished ground for subsequently attributing to Damasus the first collection of the *vitæ Pontificum*. The second known catalogus under Felix iv. (526-530) has taken the former into itself only in part, but enlarged it by other accounts. From these catalogis arose, at the end of the seventh century, the first edition of the *liber pontificalis*, which concludes with Conon († 687) and is still extant in a Veronese and a Neapolitan MS. (see Pertz in the *Archiv. d. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* V. 68). The second edition of it in the Cod. Vatican 5269, concludes with Constantine († 714). The lives that follow were appended successively by contemporaries, and Anastasius can only have composed the last till Nicolaus I. († 868), and have published the book anew in this form. The lives of Hadrian II. and Stephen VI. († 891), subsequently added, are attributed to one Gulielmus Bibliothecarius. From what has been said, it may be seen how even Beda, Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, could cite the *liber pontificalis*; and how Pseudoisidorus could use it. Just as the older shorter lives, which merely furnish notices of time, and short accounts of ordinations, church buildings, regulations and arrangements of popes, and respecting martyrdoms and heresies, have become uncertain by the mixing up of doubtful traditions with true accounts; so, on the other hand, the more copious lives, from the end of the seventh century and onward, have great historical value, as they were written by contemporaries. cf. Emm. a Schelstrate *de antiquis Rom. pont. catalogis, ex quibus lib. pontificalis concinnatus fuit, et de lib. pont. auctore ac præstantia.* Jo. Ciampini *examen lib. pontif.* Fr. Blanchini *praef. in lib. pont.*, all together prefixed to Muratori's edition. See a description of the city of Rome by Platner, Bunsen, Gerhard, and Röstel i. 207.

diurnus Roman. Pontificum, collected about 715, prim. ed. Luc. Holstenius. Rom. 1658. 3.²) J. Garnerius. Paris 1680. 4. (Supplementum in J. Mabillon museum Italicum, i. i. 32. Paris 1687. 4.) reprinted in Chr. G. Hoffmanni nova scriptorum ac monumentorum collect. T. ii. Lips. 1733. 4.

The political consequence of the *popes*³ in Italy increased, in proportion as the Greek emperors, now pressed by the Saracens too, were forced to leave to them chiefly the defence of their Italian possessions against the Lombards.⁴ Still they continued subjects of the emperors, had to be confirmed by them in office,⁵ and

² This edition, better than that of Garnier, was immediately suppressed by the Romish censors. Its history (see especially Baluzii. not. ad de Marca de concord Sac. et Imp. lib. i. c. ix. § 8.), and an account of its variations may be seen in Schoepffini commentt. hist. crit. Basil. 1741. 4. p. 499 ss. In addition to the two codd. used by Holsten and Garnier, a third is noticed by Launojus diss. de Lazari et Magdal. in provinciam adpulsu cap. 10. obs. 10.

³ Honorius I. from 625-638, Severinus † 640, John IV. † 642, Theodore † 649, Martin I. banished 654, † 655, but even in 654 Eugenius I. was again chosen, † 657, Vitalianus † 672, Adeodatus † 676, Domnus I. † 678, Agatho † 682, Leo II. † 683, Benedict. II. † 685, John V. † 686, Conon † 687, Sergius I. † 701, John VI. † 705, John VII. † 707, Sisinnius † 708, Constantine † 714, Gregory II. † 731.

⁴ Comp. above, § 117. not. 26. cf. liber diurnus cap. ii. tit. iv. Account of the Romans de electione Pontificis ad Exarchum:—Et ideo supplicantes quaesumus, ut inspirante Deo celsae ejus dominationi, nos famulos voti compotes celeriter fieri praecipiat: praesertim cum plura sint capitula, et alia ex aliis quotidie procreentur, quae curae sollicitudinem et pontificalis favoris expectant remedium.—Propinquantium quoque inimicorum ferocitas, quam nisi sola Dei virtus atque Apostolorum Principis per suum Vicarium, hoc est Romanum Pontificem, ut omnibus notum est, aliquando monitis comprimit. aliquando vero flectit ac modigerat hortatu, singulari interventu indiget, cum hujus solius pontificalibus monitis, ob reverentiam Apostolorum Principis, parentiam offerant voluntariam: et quos non virtus armorum humiliat, pontificalis increpatio cum obsecratione inclinat. The popes possessed already some small forts; probably erected, in the first place, for protection of their patrimony. Thus Anastasius in vita xc. Gregorii II., relates, that the Lombards had taken from him the Cumanum castrum, and that the pope having in vain required them to surrender it, John, Dux Neapolitanus, retook it from them, and gave it back to the former possessor. Pro ejus redemptione lxx. auri libras ipse Sanctissimus Papa, sicut promiserat antea, dedit.

⁵ As had become customary under the Ostrogoth kings. Agatho, however, received from Constantine Pogonatus divalem jussionem, per quam relevata est quantitas, quae solita erat dari pro ordinatione Pontificis facienda: sic tamen, ut si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem

paid them taxes.⁶ While the Monothelitic troubles gave the popes an opportunity of even appointing a vicar in Palestine now overrun by the Saracens,⁷ *Martin I.* was still made to feel bitterly the emperor's power; and *Vitalianus* was compelled to bow to Monothelitism supported by imperial patronage. But by their triumph at the sixth synod the popes strengthened anew their ancient calling as defenders of the true faith;⁸ and began at this time to attribute to themselves the title *Episcopus Universalis*, which Gregory the Great had declared to be antichristian.⁹ The *Quinisextum* could no longer humble them in the West. When Justinian II. attempted to bring Pope Sergius I. to Con-

ferri, non debeat ordinari qui electus fuerit, nisi prius decretum generale introducatur in regiam urbem secundum antiquam consuetudinem, et cum eorum conscientia et jussione debeat ordinatio provenire (Anastasius in vita lxxx. Agathonis). Benedict II. received from the same emperor the privilege ut persona, qui electus fuerit ad Sedem Apost. e. vestigio absque tarditate Pontifex ordinetur (Anastasius in vita lxxxii. Bened.). Still, however, this did not obviate the necessity of confirmation. See the forms in liber diurnus, cap. ii. de ordinatione Summi Pontificis. Namely, tit. 1. Nuntius ad Exarchum de transitu Pontificis. Tit. 2. Decretum de electione Pontificis. (Subscribed by totus Clerus, Optimates, et Milites seu Cives). Tit. 3. Relatio de electione Pontificis ad Principem. Tit. 4. De electione Pontificis ad Exarchum. On the same subject, tit. 5. ad Archiepisc. Ravennae, tit. 6. ad Judices Ravennae, tit. 7. ad Apocrisiarium Ravennae, to effect the speedy confirmation. Tit. 8. Ritus ordinandi Pontificis, and tit. 9. Professio pontificia.

⁶ Ex. gr. Anastas. in vita lxxxiv. Cononis: Hujus temporibus pietas Imperialis relevavit per sacram jussione suam ducenta annonae capita (i. e. capitationem), quae patrimonii custodes Brutiae et Lucaniae annue persolvebant.

⁷ This was done by the popes Theodore and Martin I. during a vacancy in the see of Jerusalem, though the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem protested against it. See lib. Stephani Episc. Dorensis ad Synod. Rom. (Mansi T. X. p. 899), and Martini P. epist. ad Johannem Episc. Philadelphiae (ibid. p. 805 ss.), comp. Walch's *Ketzerhistorie* Th. 9. S. 280. comp. S. 214 and 240.

⁸ Comp. Agathonis P. ep ad Imperatores (see above, § 128. not. 14) ap. Mansi xi. p. 239: Petrus spirituales oves ecclesiae ab ipso redemptore omnium terna commendatione pascendas suscepit: cujus annitente praesidio haec apostolica ejus ecclesia nunquam a via veritatis in qualibet erroris parte deflexa est, cujus auctoritatem, utpote Apostolorum omnium principis, semper omnis catholica Christi ecclesia, et universales synodi fideliter amplectentes, in cunctis seculae sunt etc.

⁹ So first in the liber diurnus cap. iii. Tit. 6. ap. Hoffmann ii. 95. in the promissio fidei Episcopi, which falls between 682 and 685.

stantinople to compel him to subscribe the decrees of the Quinixentum, the garrison of Ravenna rose in rebellion,¹⁰ and soon after (701) the mere suspicion of such an intention caused a new uproar against the exarch.¹¹ Hence, in order to confirm his own authority in Italy, Justinian II. invited Pope *Constantine* to visit him, and overloaded him with exceedingly high marks of honour (710).¹² The loose connexion between Rome and the empire was soon after shown in the refusal of the former to obey the heretic Philippicus Bardanes (711–713).¹³

The oppressed Church of Africa now yielded to the claims of Rome without resistance.¹⁴ On the other hand they still met with much opposition in Italy. *The bishops of Ravenna* ventured to build higher claims on the fact that their city was the seat of the exarch, in accordance with Grecian principles, and even maintained for some time the independent management of the Church of the exarchate, when Rome would not accommodate herself to the imperial Monothelitism.¹⁵ Among the *Lombards*

¹⁰ Anastasius vit. lxxxv. Sergii says: Sed misericordia Dei praeveniente, beatoque Petro Apostolo et Apostolorum Principe suffragante, suamque ecclesiam immutilatam servante, excitatum est cor Ravennatis militiae etc.

¹¹ Anastas vit. lxxxvi. Joannis VI.

¹² Anastas. vit. lxxxix. Constant.: In die autem, qua se vicissim viderunt, Augustus Christianissimus cum regno in capite se prostravit, pedes osculans Pontificis.

¹³ Anastasii vit. lxxxix. Constant.—Pauli Diac. hist. Longobard. vi. 34.

¹⁴ Comp. the letter of the African bishops to Pope Theodore in the Acts of the Conc. Lateran. ann. 649. Secretarius ii. (Mansi x. 919.): Magnum et indeficientem omnibus Christianis fluentem redundantem, apud apostolicam sedem consistere fontem nullus ambigere possit, de quo rivuli prodeunt affluenter, universum largissime irrigantes orbem Christianorum, cui etiam in honorem beatissimi Petri patrum decreta peculiarem omnem decrevere reverentiam in requirendis Dei rebus.—Antiquis enim regulis sancitum est, ut quidquid, quamvis in remotis vel in longinquo positis ageretur provinciis, non prius tractandum vel accipiendum sit, nisi ad notitiam almae sedis vestrae fuisset deductum, ut hujus auctoritate, juxta quae fuisset pronunciato, firmaretur, indeque sumerent caeterae ecclesiae velut de natali suo fonte praedicationis exordium, et per diversas totius mundi regiones puritatis incorruptae manerent fidei sacramenta salutis. Taken almost word for word from the letters of Innocent I. and Zosimus to the African bishops. Comp. the passages § 94. not. 20. 35.

¹⁵ Anastas. vit. lxxix. Domini I. (676-678): Hujus temporibus Ec-

catholicism found many adherents since the time of Queen Theodelinda and her son King *Adelwald* (616–620); and from the time of King *Grimoald* († 671) became the prevailing system among them.¹⁶ Still, however, they remained at variance with the popes;¹⁷ and Upper Italy asserted its ecclesiastical independence.¹⁸ Theological learning continued to be in a low state in Italy.¹⁹

§ 132.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

The superior dignity of the Romish Church was the more readily admitted in the West on account of its being the only apostolic Church in that region, as well as the only medium of

clesia Ravennatum, quae se ab Ecclesia Romana segregaverat causa autocephaliae, denuo se pristinae Sedi Apostolicae subjugavit. Vit. lxxxii. Leonis II. (683-684): Hujus temporibus percurrente divali jussione clementissimi Principis restituta est Ecclesia Ravennatis sub ordinatione Sedis Apostolicae.—typum autocephaliae, quem sibi elicuerant, ad amputanda scandala Sedis Apostolicae restituerunt.

¹⁶ Though always mixed with idolatry still. See *vita s. Barbati* (bishop of Benevent † 682) in the *Actis Sanct. Febr. iii. 139*: *His diebus quamvis sacri baptismatis unda Longobardi abluerentur, tamen priscum gentilitatis ritum tenentes, sive bestiali mente degebant, bestiae simulacro, quae vulgo Vipera nominatur, flectebant colla, quae debite suo debebant flectere creatori. Quin etiam non longe a Beneventi monibus devotissime sacrilegam colebant arborem, in qua suspenso corio, cuncti qui aderant terga vertentes arbori, celerius equitabant, calcaribus cruentantes equos, ut unus alterum posset praeire, atque in eodem cursu retroversis manibus in corium jaculabantur, sicque particulam modicam ex eo comedendam superstitione accipiebant. Et quia stulta illic persolvebant vota, ab actione nomen loco illi, sicut hactenus dicitur, *Votum imposuerunt.**

¹⁷ *Planck's Gesch. d. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. ii. 669 ff.*

¹⁸ It is true that there is also found an *indiculum* (sacramenti) *Episcopi de Longobardia* in the *liber diurnus cap. iii. Tit. 8*, but such an oath was taken only by the bishops of the Roman patriarchal territory (the middle and south of Italy), who were now under the Lombard dominion.

¹⁹ This is clear, particularly from *Agathonis ep. ad Impp. in the Actis Syn. Constantinop. ann. 680. Act. iv. (ap. Mansi xi. 235.)*, where he repeatedly says of the legates whom he sends to the council: *non nobis eorum scientia confidentiam dedit*, with the general remark: *nam apud homines in medio gentium positos et de labore corporis quotidianum victum cum summa haesitatione conquiritentes, quomodo ad plenum poterit inveniri scripturarum scientia?*

ecclesiastical connexion with the East. But the greatest impression was made by the halo of holiness which surrounded that city in the eyes of the Westerns; so that everything proceeding from it was regarded as sacred.¹

The connexion of the *French Church* with Rome was slight since the time of Gregory the Great. The chief authority lay continuously in the hand of the king; and thus all traces of metropolitan government had disappeared. Among the political disturbances of the French empire in the 7th century, the Church also fell into great disorder; the bishops took part in the feuds of the nobles; clergy and monasteries became ungovernable; and the better few, who wished to call attention to morality and discipline, were persecuted.² The robbing of Churches was not uncommon; and *Charles Martell* (major-domus from 717–741) even distributed ecclesiastical revenues and offices in usufruct to valiant soldiers (as *beneficium, precarium*.)³

¹ For example, Anastas. vit. xc. Gregor. ii., after the account of the great victory gained by Duke Eudo of Aquitania over the Saracens at Toulouse (721): Eudo announced it to the pope, *adjiciens, quod anno praemisso in benedictionem a praedicto viro eis directis tribus spongiis, quibus ad usum mensae (perhaps the altar?) Pontificis apponuntur, in hora, qua bellum committebatur, idem Eudo Aquitaniae princeps populo suo per modicas partes tribuens ad sumendum eis, nec unus vulneratus est, nec mortuus ex his, qui participati sunt.*

² So Leodegar, bishop of Autün, who was put to death by the major-domus Ebrün 678. Aigulf, abbot of a monastery at Lerins, wished merely to keep order among his monks, but was therefore abused, banished, and, in 675, murdered. See the lives of both in Mabillon Act. SS. Ord. Benedicti, saec. ii. p. 679 ss. 656 ss.

³ Comp. above, § 124. not. 7. Bonifacius ep. 132 (ed Würdtwein ep. 51.) ad Zachariam about 742: *Franci enim, ut seniores dicunt, plus quam per tempus lxxx. annorum Synodum non fecerunt, nec Archiepiscopum habuerunt, nec Ecclesiae canonica jura alicui fundabant vel renovabant. Modo autem maxima ex parte per civitates Episcopales sedes traditae sunt Laicis cupidis ad possidendum, vel adulteratis Clericis, scortatoribus, et publicanis saeculariter ad perfruendum. De Majoribus domus regiae libellus vetusti scriptoris in, du Chesne hist. Francorum scriptt. T. ii. p. 2: Carolus—res Ecclesiarum propter assiduitatem bellorum laicis tradidit. Hadriani P. I. ep. ad Tilpinum Archiep. Rhem. in Flodoardi hist. eccl. Rhem. lib. II. c. 17, and ap. Mansi xii. p. 844. Hincmar epist. vi. ad Episc. diocesis Remensis c. 19: *Tempore Caroli Principis,—in Germanicis et Belgicis ac Gallicanis provinciis omnis religio Christianitatis paene fuit abolita, ita ut, Episcopis in paucis locis residuis, Episcopia Laicis donata et rebus di-**

The *Spanish Church* appears to have gradually relaxed in humble subjection to the Roman see since catholicism had prevailed among the Goths likewise; although that subordination had been shewn as long as the Church stood under the pressure of Arianism.⁴ Here also the king, as feudal lord of the bishops,

visa fuerint; adeo ut Milo quidam tonsura Clericus, moribus, habitu et actu irreligiosus laicus Episcopia, Rhemorum ac Trevirorum usurpans simul per multos annos pessumdederit, et multi jam in orientalibus regionibus (East Franks) idola adorarent et sine baptismo manerent. cf. Chronicon Viridunense (written about 1115) in Bouquet rer. Gall. et Franc. script. T. iii. p. 364. But for this even the clergy abused him after his death. Boniface wrote to Athelbald, king of Mercia, to deter him from a similar course (Baronius ann. 745 no. 11.): Carolus quoque Princeps Francorum, multorum monasteriorum eversor, et ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios commutator, longa torsione et vevenda morte consumtus est. (This passage, however, is wanting in the editions of Boniface's letters, ap. Serarius ep. 19). A hundred years later, on the contrary, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in the prologus in vitam b. Remigii (written about 854), and still more fully in his epist. Synodi Carisiacensis ad Ludov. Germ. Regem. A. D. 858 (Capitularia Caroli Calvi tit. xxvii. c. 7. ap. Baluzius ii. p. 108. Bouquet l. c. p. 659): Carolus Princeps, Pipini Regis pater, qui primus inter omnes Francorum Reges ac Principes res Ecclesiarum ab eis separavit atque divisit, pro hoc solo maxime est aeternaliter perditus. Nam S. Eucherius Aurelianensium Episc.—in oratione positus ad alterum est saeculum raptus, et inter caetera, quae Domino sibi ostendente conspexit, vidit illum in inferno inferiori torqueri. Cui interroganti ab Angelo ejus ductore responsum est, quia Sanctorum judicatione, qui in futuro judicio cum Domino judicabunt, quorumque res abstulit et divisit, ante illud judicium anima et corpore sempiternis poenis est deputatus, et recipit simul cum suis peccatis poenas propter peccata omnium, qui res suas et facultates in honore et amore Domini ad Sanctorum loca in luminaribus divini cultus, et alimoniis servorum Christi ac pauperum pro animarum suarum redemptione tradiderant. Qui in se reversus s. Bonifacium et Fulradum, Abbatem monasterii s. Dionysii, et summum Capellanum Regis Pipini ad se vocavit, eisquae talia dicens in signum dedit, ut ad sepulchrum illius irent, et si corpus ejus ibidem non reperissent, ea quae dicebat, vera esse concredent. Ipsi autem—sepulchrum illius aperientes, visus est subito exisse draco, et totum illud sepulchrum interius inventum est denigratum, ac si fuisset exustum. Nos autem illos vidimus, qui usque ad nostram aetatem duraverunt, qui huic rei interfuerunt, et nobis viva voce veraciter sunt testati quae audierunt atque viderunt. cf. Acta SS. Februarii t. iii. p. 211 ss.

⁴ Planck's Gesch. d. christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung Bd. ii. 692 ff. On the Romish vicars in Spain who appeared during the Arian period, see P. de Marca de concordia Sac. et Imp. lib. v. c. 42. Caj. Cenni de antiquitate Eccl. Hispanae (2 Tomi. Romae 1741. 4.) i. 200.

was the head of the Church ;⁵ but at the same time the bishops attained to a peculiarly great importance, both by their weighty voice in the election of the king, and by the necessity of supporting a tottering throne by means of spiritual authority.⁶ Thus the connexion with Rome ceased.⁷ The bishop of the royal metropolis, Toledo, was primate of the Spanish Church,⁸ and raised himself to a self-importance, which exhibited itself very decidedly even in opposition to the Roman see.⁹ King *Witiza* (701–710)

⁵ The king called councils, Cenni ii. 89, and was supreme judge, even of bishops, ii. 153.

⁶ Planck ii. 235. 246. Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc. iii. c. 30: Sumpserant enim Gothi hanc detestabilem consuetudinem, ut si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum adpeterent: et qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerent regem. Comp., in particular, Concil. Tolet. iv. (633) cap. 75. (ap. Mansi x. p. 637 ss.): Post instituta quaedam ecclesiastici ordinis—postrema nobis cunctis sacerdotibus sententia est, pro robore nostrorum regum et stabilitate gentis Gothorum pontificale, ultimum sub Deo iudice ferre decretum. A long admonition to maintain fidelity to the kings. Then: Nullus apud nos praesumptione regnum arripiat, nullus excitet mutuas seditiones civium, nemo meditetur interitus regum: sed et defuncto in pace principe, primates totius gentis cum sacerdotibus successorem regni concilio communi constituent. Then follows the solemn condemnation of every one who should resist: Anathema sit in conspectu Dei Patris et angelorum, atque ab ecclesia catholica, quam profanaverit perjurio, efficiatur extraneus, et ab omni coetu Christianorum alienus cum omnibus impietatis suae sociis etc. Finally: Anathema sit in conspectu Christi et apostolorum ejus, atque ab ecclesia cath. etc. as above. Finally, Anathema sit in conspectu Spiritus sancti, et martyrum Christi etc.—But further on also: Te quoque praesentem regem, futurosque sequentium aetatum principes humilitate qua debemus deprecari, ut moderati et mites erga subjectos existentes cum justitia et pietate populos a Deo vobis creditos regatis.—Ne quisquam vestrum solus in causis capitum aut rerum sententiam ferat, sed consensu publico, cum rectoribus, ex iudicio manifesto delinquentium culpa patescat.—Sane de futuris regibus hanc sententiam promulgamus, ut si quis ex eis contra reverentiam legum, superba dominatione et fastu regio, in flagitiis et facinore, sive cupiditate crudelissimam potestatem in populis exercuerit, anathematis sententia a Christo domino condemnetur, et habeat a Deo separationem atque iudicium etc.

⁷ Cenni. ii. 46. 62. 154.

⁸ Cenni ii. 197.

⁹ From Gregorii M. lib. vii. ep. 125. 126. it is plain that the same sent the pallium to Archbishop Leander of Hispalis. It may be that the latter was already dead († 599) when it came to him, so that for this reason no trace is found of his assuming it, as Cenni ii. 225, supposes. That little value generally was attributed to the Roman pallium, is proved by the fact, that the succeeding archbishops did not seek

at length broke off all connection with it ;¹⁰ but this step was

for it, and that, before the invasion of the Saracens, no other Roman pallium came to Spain, Cenni ii. 252.—That self-consciousness and independence are expressed particularly in the explanations of Archbishop Julian of Toledo, respecting the remarks made by Benedict II. against his confession of faith, in Conc. Toletan xv. (688) ap. Mansi xii. 9. They conclude with the words p. 17 : Jam vero si post haec et ab ipsis dogmatibus patrum, quibus haec prolata sunt, in quocumque [Romani] dissentiant, non jam cum illis est amplius contendendum, sed, majorum directo calle inhaerentes vestigiis, erit per divinum judicium amatoribus veritatis responsio nostra sublimis, etiamsi ab ignorantibus aemulis censeatur indocilis.

¹⁰ Witiza is a remarkable example of the manner in which the clergy, treating of the historical persons of the middle ages, handled those who displeased them. The oldest writer of his history Isidorus Pacensis (about 754. Chronicon in España Sagrada por Henrique Florez T. viii. p. 282 ss.), speaks in highly commendatory terms of his reign. He notices the ecclesiastical regulations made under his sanction in two places ; first at the Aera 736 (698 p. C.), when Witiza reigned along with his father Egica, p. 296 : Per idem tempus Felix, urbis Regiae Toletanae Sedis Episcopus, gravitatis et prudentia excellentia nimia pollet, et Concilia satis praeclara etiam adhuc cum ambobus Principibus agit. (To these councils also belongs Conc. Toletan. xviii. (701) at which, perhaps, the decrees above alluded to were enacted. cf. Roderici Ximenii hist. Hispan. iii. c. 15 : Hic [Witiza] in ecclesia S. Petri, quae est extra Toletum, cum episcopis et magnatibus super ordinatione regni concilium celebravit, quod tamen in corpore canonum non habetur.) The second passage of Isidorus p. 298 : Per idem tempus (towards the end of Witiza's reign) divinae memoriae Sinderedus urbis Regiae Metropolitanus Episcopus sanctimoniae studio claret : atque longaevo et merito honorabiles viros, quos in suprafata sibi commissa Ecclesia repetit, non secundum scientiam zelo sanctitatis stimulat (probably he was zealous against unchastity) atque instinctu jam dicti Witizae Principis eos sub ejus tempore convexare non cessat. The first aspersions of Witiza appear in the Frankish Chron. Moissiacense (about 818) ad ann. 715, in Pertz monumenta Germaniae hist. i. 290 : His temporibus in Spania super Gothos regnabat Witicha.—Iste deditus in feminis, exemplo suo sacerdotes ac populum luxuriose vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini. Sarraceni tunc in Spania ingrediuntur. In Spain these aspersions first appear in the Chron. Sebastiani Episc. Salmanticensis seu Alphonsi iii. Regis (about 866 in España Sagrada T. xiii.) They have been extended and exaggerated by Rodericus Ximenius, archbishop of Toledo, in the historia Hispaniae (A. D. 1243) lib. iii. c. 15–17, and Lucas, Episc. Tudensi, in the continuation of Isidore's Chronicon (A. D. 1236). After relating many infamous deeds of Witiza, it is stated by Rodericus l. c. c. 16. in Andr. Schotti Hispania illustrata (Francof. 1603. 4 Tomi. fol.) ii. 62 : Verum quia ista sibi in facie resistebant, [clerici] propter vexationem pontificis [Episc. Toletani] ad Romanum pontificem appellabant. Witiza facinorosus timens, ne suis criminibus obviarent, et po-

attended with no important consequence, inasmuch as an incursion of the Saracens took place soon after.

§ 133.

ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, Christianity had at first to struggle against heathenism with various fortune, but was afterwards diffused by degrees in all the Anglo-Saxon states. Those who preached it were for the most part Roman missionaries; *Northumberland* alone being converted by the Scottish clergy, who introduced here the regulations of the ancient British Church. Old controversies between them and the Roman-English clergy were soon renewed; however, after a conference between both parties at the synod of *Streaneshalh* (now *Whitby*, not far from *York*, *Synodus Pharensis* 664), the king of *Northumberland*, *Oswiu*, decided in favour of the Roman ordinances.¹ And since

pulum ab ejus obedientia revocarent, dedit licentiam, immo praeceptum, omnibus clericis, ut uxores et concubinas unam et plures haberent juxta libitum voluptatis, et ne Romanis constitutionibus, quae talia prohibent, in aliquo obedirent, et sic per eos populus retineretur. Lucas Tudensis (ibid. iv. 69.): Et ne adversus eum insurgeret s. ecclesia, episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus et caeteris ecclesiae Christi ministris carnales uxores lascivus Rex habere praecepit, et ne obedirent Romano Pontifici sub mortis interminatione prohibuit. The state of the matter appears to have been this. *Witiza*, in conjunction with *Sinderedus*, archbishop of *Toledo*, opposed licentiousness in priests, and perceived that it could be eradicated only by allowing them to marry. The latter had been general among the Arians, and abolished when they joined the Catholic Church (cf. *Conc. Tolet. iii. ann. 589 c. 5*): *Compertum est a sancto Concilio, Episcopos, Presbyteros et Diaconos venientes ex haerese carnali adhuc desiderio uxoribus copulari: ne ergo de cetero fiat etc.* Thus the prejudicial alteration which had taken place for 100 years, by the prohibition of the council, could be clearly noticed. Hence *Witiza* allowed priests to marry, and declared the Roman decretals, forbidding it, to be of no binding force. *Comp.* a defence of King *Witiza* by *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar*, translated into German, from the Spanish, in *Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie* i. 379 ff. *Aschbach's Gesch. der Westgothen* S. 303 ff.

¹ *Bedae hist. eccl. gentis Anglorum* iii. 25. The remarkable conclusion of the dispute between the Scotch bishop, *Colman*, and the English presbyter, *Wilfrid*. The former appealed to *Anatolius* and *Columba*, the latter to *Peter*, and closed with the passage, *Matth. xvi. 18*: tu es Pe-

the well-ordered schools of the Irish monasteries always attracted many young Anglo-Saxons to Ireland,² and by this means might become dangerous to the Roman regulations, Rome sent forth into England, for the purpose of giving a check to this influence, the learned *Theodore*, born at Tarsus, as archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), and the abbot *Hadrian*, who everywhere strengthened the Roman ordinances, and, by the erection of schools, rendered those journies to Ireland superfluous.³ No less

trus etc. King Oswiu then said: Verene, Colmane, haec illi Petro dicta sunt a Domino? Qui ait: vere, Rex. At ille: habetis, inquit, vos proferre aliquid tantae potestatis vestro Columbae datum? At ille ait: nihil. Rursum autem Rex: si utrique vestrum, inquit, in hoc sine ulla controversia consentiunt, quod haec principaliter Petro dicta, et ei claves regni caelorum sunt datae a Domino? Responderunt: etiam utique. At ille ita conclusit: et ego vobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille, cui ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi vel valeo, hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis, ne forte me adveniente ad fores regni caelorum, non sit qui reserat, averso illo qui claves tenere probatur. Haec dicente Rege faverunt assidentes quique sive adstantes, majores una cum mediocribus, et abdicata minus perfecta institutione, ad ea quae meliora cognoverant, sese transferre festinabant.

² Beda iii. 27: multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum.—relicta insula patria, vel divinae lectionis vel continentioris vitae gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticae conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt, alii magis circumeundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scoti libentissime suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum praebere curabant. cf. Murray in nov. comm. Soc. Gott. (see above, § 126. not. 3) T. I. p. 109.

³ Beda iv. 2. (Theodoros) peragrata insula tota, quaquaversum Anglorum gentes morabantur,—rectum vivendi ordinem, ritum celebrandi pascha canonicum, per omnia comitante et cooperante Adriano disseminabat. Isque primus erat archiepiscopus, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret. Et quia literis sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum cetera, scientiae salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant: ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomicae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum volumina suis auditoribus contraderent. Indicio est, quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui latinam graecamque linguam aequae ut propriam, in qua nati sunt, norunt. Neque unquam prorsus ex quo Britanniam petierunt Angli, feliciora fuere tempora, dum et fortissimos christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium vota ad nuper audita caelestis regni gaudia penderent: et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros qui docerent: et sonos cantandi in ecclesia—ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt etc.

active in favour of the Roman Church was also *Wilfrid*, a noble Anglo-Saxon,⁴ who even, when a young priest, had turned the scale at the synod of Streaneshalh, had been afterwards for a time bishop of York; and, driven thence, had preached, not without fruit, to the Frieslanders; and, lastly, had converted *Sussex* (about 680 † 709) where heathenism remained longest among the Anglo-Saxons.

It is true that the original missionary-dependence of the Anglo-Saxon Church on Rome gradually ceased; here also the kings put themselves in possession of the same ecclesiastical privileges, which kings asserted in the other German kingdoms;⁵ the Latin language connecting with Rome was obliged to suffer along with itself, even in the Liturgy, the Anglo-Saxon tongue;⁶ but notwithstanding such considerations, Rome continued to maintain an authority in the Anglo-Saxon Church which it did not now exercise in any other German Church.⁷

Emulation with the Irish institutions for educational purposes also introduced into the Anglo-Saxon schools a very great activity. Not only did they distinguish themselves by the study of the Greek language, which Theodore had established in the whole of the West, but its revival unquestionably contributed to the development of the Anglo-Saxon dialect, even as the language of writing.⁸ At the end of this period, England possessed the most

⁴ Vita s. Wilfridi by the contemporary Eddius (*Æddi*), cognomento Stephanus (cantandi magister in Northumbrorum Ecclesiis, invitatus de Cantia a reverendissimo viro Wilfrido, Beda hist. eccl. iv. 2.), in Th. Gale historiae britannicae, saxonicae, anglo-danicae scriptores xv. Oxon. 1691. fol. p. 40. Lappenberg's Geschichte von England. Bd. 1. (Hamburg 1834) S. 167.

⁵ Theodore was still in Rome when nominated archbishop of Canterbury, after Wighard, who had been sent thither to be ordained, had died (Beda iii. 29. iv. 1). But the decision of Rome in favour of Wilfrid, who had been expelled from the see of York (Eddius in vita Wilfridi ap. Gale i. 67), was not regarded; Wilfrid, on the contrary, was put in captivity (l. c. p. 69). The bishops were for the most part appointed by the kings (Lappenberg's Gesch. v. England i. 183), who had also the power of confirming the decrees of synods, and the highest judicial power over the clergy (Lappenberg i. 194).

⁶ Lappenberg i. 196.

⁷ Planck's christ. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. ii. 704 ff.

⁸ Caedmon, a monk in the monastery of Streaneshalh † 680 (Beda iv. 24. non ab hominibus,—sed divinitus adjutus gratis canendi donum

learned man of the West, *the venerable Bede*, a monk in the monastery of *Peter and Paul* at Yarrow († 735).⁹ The new branch of ecclesiastical literature founded by John the Faster, in his penitential law-book, had been first adopted by the

acceptit), author of poetical paraphrases of biblical books, especially of Genesis. See Caedmon's metrical paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon, by Benj. Thorpe. London, 1832. 8.—Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, afterwards bishop of Sherborne † 709, translated the Psalms (King Alfred said of him, according to Wilhelm. Malmesb. ap. Gale i. 339: *nulla unquam aetate par ei fuit quisquam poësin anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere*). As early as the year 680, there existed a version of the four gospels by Aldred. (Selden praef. ad scriptt. hist. angl. ed. Twysden p. 25): also Ekbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, translated the gospels; Bede, the gospel of John.—Beowulf, a heroic poem, received its present form at this time from the hands of Christians (ed. G. F. Thorkelin, Kopenh. 1817. 4. translated into German by L. Ettmüller, Zurich 1840. 8.) In like manner, about the year 700, there existed a poem (by Aldhelm?) descriptive of the conversion of the Myrmidonians by the apostle Andrew, and another on the finding of the cross by the empress Helena, composed by one Cynewulf. See Andrew and Elene, published by J. Grimm. Cassel 1840. 8vo.

⁹ As a proof of his wide-spread fame is adduced Sergii P. I. ep. ad Ceolfridum (abbot of the cloister there), A. D. 700, quoted in Guilelmi Malmesburiensis († 1143) de reb. gestis Regum Angl. i. 3.:—hortamur Deo dilectam bonitatis tuae religiositatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis (without doubt the cloister in question), non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artis literatura imbuti,—absque aliqua immoratione religiosum famulum Dei (Bedam) venerabilis monasterii tui ad veneranda limina Apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli, amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostrae mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere. Stevenson, however, in his Introduction prefixed to Bedae opp. hist. Tom. 1. p. x., shews that the word Bedam is wanting in an old MS. of this epistle, and was inserted by William of Malmesbury, but that Bede could not have been called at that time.—Bede's writings embrace Natural Philosophy, Chronology, Philosophy, Grammar, Astronomy, Arithmetic, &c., and give a view of all the learning of the time. In particular, *Historia ecclesiast. gentis Anglorum* libb. v., from Julius Cæsar till 731. (ed. Fr. Chiffletius. Paris, 1681. 4. Joh. Smith. Cantabrig. 1722. fol.) *De sex aetatibus mundi liber*. Lives of English monks. (*Opera historica ad fidem Codd. MSS. rec. Jos. Stevenson, T. ii. Lond. 1838. 41. 8*). Numerous commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, homilies, letters, &c. *Opp. ed. Basil. 1563. T. viii. fol. Colon. 1688. T. iv. fol. ed. J. A. Giles, 5 voll. Lond. 1843. 8. H. Gehle disp. de Bedae ven. vita et scriptis. Lugd. Bat. 1838. 8.*

British Church in the West,¹⁰ and, after its example, was also used among the Anglo-Saxons by *Theodore*, *Bede*, and *Egbert* of York († 767).¹¹ On the other hand, these *libelli pœnitentiales* do not seem to have as yet obtained currency any where out of England.

Endeavours were always proceeding from the Anglo-Saxon states to reconcile the Britons and Irish with the Roman Church as the common mother-church,¹² and to unite them with the Church of the Anglo-Saxons. But although the abbot *Adamnan*, at the beginning of the eighth century, had laboured to effect this object, not without success, among the Britons and in the south of Ireland,¹³

¹⁰ These *libelli pœnitentiales* were constantly altered, that they might continue useful in practice: on the other hand, the earlier were transferred more or less verbally into the later. Hence hardly any one has come down to us entirely free from alterations; and in many cases it is difficult to decide to what author an extant *pœnitentiale* is to be attributed. Among the Irish the oldest known was that of *Columbanus*, a part of which was published in *Columb. opp. ed. Patric. Fleming. Lovan. 1667.* (See *F. F. Mone's Quellen u. Forschungen zur Gesch. d. deutschen Literatur u. Sprache. Bd. 1. Aachen u. Leipzig 1830. S. 494*), another by *Cumin* († 661), an extract from which was published by *Fleming l. c. and Bibl. PP. Lugd. xii. 42.* (see *Mone, S. 490*), and which is the same work as the so-called *Canones pœnitentiales Hieronymi* (*opp. ed. Martianay v. 5.*) (*Mone S. 497.*)

¹¹ *Theodori liber pœnitentialis* printed in its oldest existing form in the ancient laws and institutes of England. London 1840. fol. and taken from this in *Dr F. Kunstmann's latein. Pœnitentialbücher der Angelsachsen. Mainz 1844. S. 43.* *Theodori capitula de redemptione peccatorum* (*ap. Kunstmann P. 106.*) give the oldest instructions how to purchase penitential seasons by siuging, prayer, and by money.—*Beda de remediis peccatorum* (*ap. Kunstmann S. 142*), elaborated, perhaps, by *Egbert*; and therefore *Beda's* canons are also occasionally attributed to the latter, and the *Ballerini de ant. collectionibus canonum p. iv. c. 6*, have assigned the whole to him. *Egbert's Pœnitential Latin and Anglo-Saxon* is given in *Wilkin's Conc. M. Brit. i.* A fourth book was published by *Mone l. c. i. 501.* *Comp. Ballerini l. c. Wasser-schleben's Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Kenntnissz der Beichtbücher in dess. Beitr. zur Gesch. d. vorgratianischen Kirchenrechtsquellen. Leipzig 1839. S. 78.*

¹² Hence the fable which first appears in *Beda i. 4.*, that the British king, *Lucius*, in the second century, applied to *Pope Eleutherus*, *obsecrans, ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur*, and that the British church was thus founded. cf. *D. Thiele de Ecclesiae britann. primordiis partt. 2. (Halae 1839. 8.) i. 10. ii. 14.*

¹³ *Beda v. 16.*

and the monk *Ekbert* had gained over the northern Picts to the side of Rome,¹⁴ yet the breach was not removed by this means.¹⁵ It was not till the decline of the Irish Church amid the continued civil wars,¹⁶ that, towards the end of the eleventh century, Dublin first came to attach itself to the archbishop of Canterbury;¹⁷ afterwards the archbishop of Armagh, *Malachy* († 1148), was active in favour of Rome;¹⁸ till at last Ireland and Wales

¹⁴ Beda v. 23.

¹⁵ Beda v. 24. says, when he speaks of the condition of his times (735): Brittones maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum et totius catholicae Ecclesiae statum pascha minus recto moribusque improbis impugnant. About the same time Gregory III. (731-741.) warns the German bishops of the British errors. See an epistle among those of Boniface ep. 129: Gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam, vel venientium Britonum abjiciatis.

¹⁶ Bernardus Claraevall. de vita s. Malachiae c. 10. (opp. ed. Montfaucon i. 673): Mos pessimus inoleverat quorundum diabolica ambitione procerum, sedem sanctam (Armachanam) obtentum iri haereditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu et familia sua.—Et eousque firmaverat sibi jus pravum—generatio mala,—ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed Episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo exstiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati, et absque Ordinibus, literati tamen. Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam—dissolutio ecclesiasticae disciplinae, censurae enervatio, religionis evacuatio.—Nam—sine ordine, sine ratione mutabantur et multiplicabantur Episcopi pro libitu Metropolitanis, ita ut unus Episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulae paene Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos. Hence also, perhaps, may be explained the statement of Ekkehardus († 1070, a monk in St Gallen, to which place many Irish came at that time) in his liber benedictionum: In Hibernia Episcopi et Presbyteri unum sunt (ex MS. in Arx Gesch. v. St Gallen i. 267).

¹⁷ Lanfranc, A. D. 1074, consecrated Patricius, who was chosen bishop of Dublin, and obtained from him the promise of canonical obedience. All subsequent bishops of Dublin were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. See J. Usserii veterum epistolarum hibernicarum sylloge, Dublinii 1632. 4. p. 68. 118. 136, but for this very reason hated by the other Irish bishops. After this, Gillebertus Ep. Lunicensis (of Limerick) endeavoured, as well as Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to induce the other Irish also to come to the same conclusion, l. c. p. 77 ss. The church of Waterford also attached itself to England 1096, p. 92.

¹⁸ He stood in close connection with St Bernard, and died in a journey to Rome in Clairvaux. Bernard wrote on this lib. de vita et rebus gestis s. Malachiae (Opp. ed. Montf. i. 663.) Malachy was legatus sedis Apost. per totam Hiberniam, but did not desire the pallium. In Clairvaux he educated young Irishmen, and then founded, by their instrumentality, Cistercian monasteries in Ireland (vita Mal. c. 16. Us-

were conquered by Henry II.,¹⁹ and thus the complete association of the British and Irish Church with Rome was effected.

§ 134.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY.

Schmidt's *Kirchengesh.* iv. 10. Neander's *Kirchengesch.* iii. 72. Rettberg's *Gesch. d. Kirche Deutschlands.* Bd. i. Göttingen 1845.

The attempts to convert the Germans, whether made by Franks, or by Irish and Anglo-Saxons, were as yet but partially successful.

The Irish *Kilian*¹ lost his life in the cause at Würzburg (689); as also *Emmeram*² at Ratisbon (654). In Bavaria, however, better success attended *Rupert*,³ bishop of Worms, who baptized Duke

serii vett. epist. hibern. p. 102). Immediately after him came the first pallia to Ireland. See *Chronica de Mailros* (ed. Edinburgi 1835. 4.) p. 74: Anno MCLI Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum suum Johannem Papirum transmisit in Hiberniam, quo nunquam antea pallium delatum fuerat.

¹⁹ Pope Hadrian IV. made a gift of Ireland, A. D. 1155, to the king. See the Bull in *Usserii vett. epist. hib.* p. 109. comp. *Johannis Sarisburiensis* (who, as royal ambassador, had prevailed on the pope to do so) *Metalogicus* lib. iv. in fine. *Giraldi Cambrensis* (about 1190) *expugnatio Hiberniae* (in the *Historicis Angl. Normannicis.* Francof. 1602. fol.) *M. Chr. Sprengel's* *Gesch. v. Grossbritannien.* Th. I. (a continuation of the *Universal History of the world*, part 47) S. 433.—Wales was conquered since 1157. See *Giraldi Cambr. descriptio Cambriae* (in the above quoted collection). *Sprengel* l. c. P. 378.

¹ *Acta SS.* ad d. 8. Jul. C. F. Hefele's *Gesch. d. Einführung des Christenth. im südwestl. Deutschland.* Tübingen 1837. S. 372.

² See life of *Aribo*, fourth bishop of Freisingen († 753). See *Acta SS.* ad d. 22. Sept. B. A. Winter's *Vorarbeiten zur Beleuchtung d. baier. u. österr. Kirchengesch.* (2 Bde. München 1805. 1810), ii. 153. According to Winter ii. 169, he was not a native of Pictavium, in West Franconia, as has been usually assumed, but of Petavio, now Pettau, in Pannonia.

³ *Act. SS.* ad d. 27. Mart. *Rupert* came to Bavaria at the time of a Frankish King *Childebert*. According to the Salzburg tradition, the king was *Childebert II.*, at the end of the sixth century; but, according to *Valesius*, *Mabillon*, *Pagi*, and especially *Hansiz* (*Germania sacra* ii. 51.) *Childebert III.* a hundred years later. On the contrary, *M. Filz*, a Benedictine, and Prof. in Salzburg, has reasserted, conformably

Theodore II. († 696), and founded the Church of Salzburg († 718); as also *Corbinian*,⁴ who gathered a church in Freisingen († 730).

On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon monks endeavoured to spread Christianity among the kindred north-German races. *Wilfrid* was the first who preached among the Frieslanders († 677).⁵ Afterwards *Willebrord*, first bishop of Wiltaburg (Utrecht) from 696–739 laboured, along with his associates,⁶ with much success, under the protection of the Franks, among the West Frieslanders and the surrounding territories; but the East Frieslanders remained steadfast to paganism. The Saxons even murdered the two *Ewalds* who visited them;⁷ and *Suidbert*,⁸ who had at first been received among the Boructiarii, was afterwards obliged to retreat, when they were subdued by the Saxons; and obtained from Pipin an island in the Rhine to establish a convent on it (Kaiserswerth) † 713.

to the ancient tradition, that Rupert came to Bavaria A. D. 580, and died in 623. See his treatise on the true period of the apostol. *Wirksamkeit d. heil. Rupert in Baiern*. Salzburg 1831. 8. The same writer in the *Anzeigelblätt. d. Wiener Jahrb. d. Literatur*, Bd. 64. (1833) S. 23. Bd. 80. (1837.) S. 1. In the meantime, however, the younger age of Rupert is maintained by Blumberger, Benedictine in Göttweih, in the *Vienna Jahr.* Bd. 73. S. 242. u. Bd. 74. S. 147, and by Rudhart in the *Munich gel. Anzeigen*. Bd. 5. 1837. S. 587.

⁴ See life of Aribo, Bishop of Freisingen. See *Acta SS.* ad d. 8 Sept.

⁵ See § 133. not. 4. *Beda hist. eccl.* v. 19. *Eddius ap. Gale* p. 64. *H. J. Royaards Geschiedenis der invoering en vestiging van het Christendom in Nederland 3te Uitg.* Utrecht 1844. p. 127.

⁶ *Beda hist. eccl.* v. c. 10 ss. *Villebrord's life by Alcuin in Mabilonii Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Saec. iii. P. i.* p. 601. *Royaards* p. 159.

⁷ *Beda v. c.* 11. *Acta SS.* ad 3 Oct. *L. v. Ledebur das Land u. Volk der Bructerer.* Berlin 1827. S. 277. *Royaards* p. 201.

⁸ *Beda v. c.* 12. *Acta SS.* ad d. 1 Mart. *Ledebur* S. 280. *Royaards* p. 197.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE
WORSHIP OF IMAGES TO THE REFORMATION.

FROM A.D. 726—1517.

FOR THE GENERAL LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, SEE THE LITERATURE
PREFIXED TO THE SECOND PERIOD.

FIRST DIVISION.

TO THE TIME OF NICOLAUS I. OR TO THE APPEARANCE OF THE
PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

FROM 726—858.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

Sources are, the Byzantines : Nicephorus (patriarch of Constantinople, † 828) till 769, Theophanes († 817) till 813, and his continuator, Constantinus Porphyrogenneta († 959), Josephus Genesisius about 940 (A.D. 813-867), Georgius Monachus (till 959), Simeon Logotheta (till 967), Leo Grammaticus (till 1013). From these Georgius Cedrenus (1057), Joh. Zonaras (1118), and Michael Glykas (1450 ?) have drawn their histories.

§ 1.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING IMAGE-WORSHIP.

Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum in utroque imperio promulgata, collecta et illustrata a Melch. Haiminsfeldio Goldasto, Francof. 1608. 8. Jo. Dallaeus de imaginibus, Lugd. Bat. 1642. 8. Lud. Maimbourg. hist. de l'heresie des iconoclastes, Paris 1679. u. 83. 2 voll. 12. Frid. Spanhemii historia imaginum restituta, Lugd. Bat. 1686. 8. (recus. in ejusd.

opp. T. ii., p. 707). Walch's *Ketzerhistorie*, Th. 10, u, 11. Neander's *KG.* iii. 398. Gfrörer's *KG.* iii. 1. 97. F. Ch. Schlosser's *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des ostromischen Reichs*, Francf. a. M. 1812. 8. The Roman Catholic point of view is maintained by J. Marr, *der Bilderstreit der Byzant. Kaiser.* Trier 1839. 8.

The worship of images had long assumed a very unchristian form,¹ when *Leo III. Isauricus* (716–741), an intelligent and powerful prince, became opposed to it,² but in what way is uncertain.³ At first he was satisfied with a simple prohibition (726), but afterwards he commanded the pictures themselves to be taken away (730).⁴ The measure was enforced by the removal of *Germanus*,⁵ patriarch of Constantinople, who opposed him, in whose

¹ Comp. p. 1. Div. 2. Even the author of the oratio adv. Constantinum Cabalinum, a fanatical image worshipper of the 8th century, knew of no other reply, c. 13. to the objection of opponents: ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ἐθεοποίησεν τὰς εἰκόνας θὰν ὀφείλεις διδάξαι τὸν ἀγράμματον λαόν. cf. Joannis Damasc. opp. ed. Le Quien ii. 621 and 622.

² Attempts at explanation may be found in Walch x. 202. Schlosser S. 161. Deserving of attention is Theophanes ad. ann. vi. Leonis p. 336.: Τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἠνάγκαζεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ τοὺς Μοντανούς βαπτίζεσθαι, and then ad. ann. vii. follow the first declarations against images in which the renegade Beser, and Constantine, bishop of Nakolia, were principal assistants of the emperor. In the Synodicon vet. c. 138. (in Fabricii bibl. graec. xi. 248) Leo is said: τῇ πλάνῃ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπισκόπου Νακωλείας, καὶ Βίσηρ Πατρικίου σαρακηνόφρονος τῶν αἰρεσιάρχων χραινόμενος. It is worthy of remark that Leo considered the ravages of a volcano that arose in the Cretan sea as a punishment for the worship of images. Nicephori breviar. p. 37: ὡς ἐκ τῶν εἰκονισμάτων ἰδρύσεως τε καὶ προσκυνήσεως γεγονέαι οἰόμενος τὸ τεράστιον, cf. Theophanes p. 339.

³ The emperor's own explanations in a letter to Gregory II., bishop of Rome, cf. Gregorii epist. i. ad. Leonem. ap. Mansi xii. 959: αἱ εἰκονες εἰδώλων τόπον ἀναπληροῦσι.—οἱ προσκυνοῦντες αὐτὰς εἰδωλολάτραι.—οὐ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος καθ' ὁμοίωμα, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός, μήτε ἐν οὐρανῷ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Exod. xx. 4.)—πληροφόρησόν με τίς ἡμῖν παρέδωκε σέβεσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα· καγὼ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι θεοῦ νομοθεσία ἐστὶ.

⁴ Comp. especially Theophanes p. 336, 343. Nicephorus p. 37, 38.

⁵ Subservient as he had shown himself under Philippicus in acknowledging the Monotheletic doctrines, and afterwards renouncing them (Theophanes p. 320. Nicephorus p. 31. Walch's *Ketzergesch.* ix. 466), he was now immovable in favour of images. Three letters of his are in the Actis Concil. Nicaeni ii. Actio iv. ap. Mansi xiii. 99. The third ad. Thomam Episc. Claudeopoleos is a long defence in favour of the use of pictures. In p. 125 he dwells particularly on the miracles wrought by them, among which the greatest in his view was ἡ ἐν Σωζο-

place was put the pliant *Anastasius*; and by the vigorous suppression of some tumultuous movements.⁶ He was obliged to allow his measures to be blamed with impunity only in Rome, which refused obedience to him,⁷ and in the East, which was now subject to the Saracens;⁸ but in his own empire, *the friends of images* (εικονολάτραι, ξυλολάτραι, ειδωλολάτραι) were soon compelled to conceal themselves, and the fanatics who resisted the imperial power had to repent bitterly of their opposition. Another superstition also was threatened by means of the enlightenment party, *the opponents of images*, (εικονομάχοι, εικονοκλάσται, εικονοκαύσται, χριστιανοκατήγοροι);⁹ but since it was not created by a religious feeling, but merely by the emperor's will, this party

πόλει τῆς Πισιδίας τὸ πρὶν ὑπάρχουσα εἰκὼν τῆς παναχράντου θεοτόκου, ἐκ τῆς γεγραμμένης παλάμης αὐτῆς τὴν τοῦ μύρου βλύσιν προχέουσα. Also in his lib. de synodis et haeresibus he speaks in brief terms respecting the image controversy in the Spicilegium Romanum T. vii. (Romae 1842. 8.) i. 59. Here the only thing he maintains against the opponents of images is: εἰ, ὡς φησὶ ὑμεῖς, ειδῶλων δίκην τὰ σεπτὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἀπειργετε εἰκονίσματα, μικροῦ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ κείρια τῆς πίστεως ἀνατρέπετε.—οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν βέβαιόν τι ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν παράδοσις ἔξειν δυήσεται, τὰ πρὶν ἀθετήσασα.

⁶ Namely, the revolt in Greece and the Cyclades (Theophanes p. 339. Nicephorus p. 37), and the rebellion in Constantinople at the taking down of the crucifix (called ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής) ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοκρατείοις Gregor. ii. ep. i. ad. Leonem ap. Mansi xii. 969. Theophanes 339 (who calls it τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰκόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης), comp. Walch x. 178. Schlosser S. 177.

⁷ Gregorii. epistolae 2 ad Leonem Imp. (not. 726, but written after 730. Walch x. 173) in the Actis Concil. Nicaeni ii. ap. Mansi xii. 959. On the ignorance and indecency in them see Bower's lives of the popes iv. 365. Walch xi. 271. ex. gr. p. 966: καὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία καταπαίζουσί σου· γύρωσον εἰς τὰς διατριβὰς τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ εἰπέ· ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ καταλύτης καὶ διώκτης τῶν εἰκόνων· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰς πινακίδας αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ρίψουσι, καὶ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐπαυδέυθης ὑπὸ τῶν φρονίμων, παιδευθήσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρόνων. Ἐγραψας, ὅτι Ὁζίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Rather Hezekiah 2 Kings 18, 4.) μετὰ ὀκτακοσίου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξήγαγε τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ὀκτακοσίου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξήγαγον τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Ἀληθῶς καὶ Ὁζίας ἀδελφός σου ἦν, καὶ τὸ σὸν πείσμα εἶχε, καὶ τοὺς τότε ἱερεῖς ἐτυράννησεν ὥσπερ σύ (Uzziah 2 Chron. 26, 16-18). ἐκέκινον γὰρ τὸν ὄφιν ὁ ἡγιασμένος Δαβιδ εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν μετὰ τῆς ἀγίας κιβωτοῦ.—p. 967: συνέφερε σοι, βασιλεῦ, τῶν δύο προκειμένων, αἰρετικὸν σε ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἢ διώκτην καὶ καταλυτὴν τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ζωγραφιῶν τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου.

⁸ Johannis Damasceni λόγοι γ' ἀπολογητικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας in opp. ed. Le Quien. T. i. p. 305 ss.

⁹ Germanus lib. de synodis et haeres. in Spicil. Rom. vii. i. 61 :

fostered a superficial free-thinking, rather than a beneficial reformatory tendency. The measures taken against images were also honestly prosecuted by *Constantius Copronymus* (741—775), equally honoured by his subjects as a prince, and beloved by his

Ἄπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κρατούντων τὰ πραγματα, ἐκμανῆς ἀγανάκτησις τοῖς εὐλαβῶς διάγειν προαιρουμένοις ἐπινενόηται. Τοῦ γε χάριν καὶ κίνδυνος οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ λιαν ὀλέθριος, πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπεριεῖληχε, πλείστων ἱερέων τε καὶ λαϊκῶν, περισσοτέρως δὲ τῶν τῷ μοναχικῷ ἀσκουμένων τάγματι θεοσεβεστάτων ἀνδρῶν, μετανάστων τῶν οἰκείων γεγενημένων, καὶ ἐν ἐξυρία καὶ γυμνητεύσει, μετὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ ἐρήμωσιν παραπεμφθέντων. Οὐ γὰρ ἠρκέσθησαν οἱ τὰ νῦν τοῦ κηρύγματος τὸν λόγον ἐπιδευκτικῶς ὑποφαίνοντες τῇ τῶν σανίδων μόνον ἐκποίησει τὰ τῶν ἁγίων περιαιρεθαι εἰκονίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν γραφίδι ἐφάμιλλον τούτοις κόσμησιν τῶν σεπτοτάτων νεῶν ὀλικῶς ἐξορτύττεσθαι καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοῖς θείοις θυσιαστηρίοις τὰ τῶν σεβασμίων καὶ ἱερῶν τραπεζώσεων συμβολικὰ ἐπενδύματα, ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύρᾳ συμποικιλθέντα, χύδην ἀπομορξάμενοι, ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν οἴκοις ἀνέθεσαν, ὅτι καὶ χαρακτῆρες ἁγίων εὔρηται ἰστορούμενοι. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ πάσης ἀνοσιουργίας ἀνάμεστον δρᾶν οὐκ ἐνάρκησαν· τὰ γὰρ τῶν μακαρίων καὶ αἰοιδίμων Μαρτύρων λείψανα, ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων συγκομισθέντα, καὶ ἐν τιμίοις κιβωρίοις σωρηδὸν ἐντεθέντα ἀπογυμνώσαντες, πυρὶ κατανάλωσαν, τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς διὰ πίστιν ἠθληκότας καταπατήσαι καὶ ἀτιμάσαι σπουδάσαντες. Holy vessels furnished with images and clothes cannot have been taken away in consequence of general measures, but only occasionally by zealous enemies to images; for the Conc. Constant. of 754 forbids such things, καθὼς τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀτάκτως φερομένων προέγεγονεν (Mansi xiii. 332.) How far the fanaticism of individual foes to pictures had proceeded may be seen from the fact, that at this synod, even a bishop was accused (vita Stephani jun. in *Analecta Graeca* ed. Mon. Bened. Congr. S. Mauri. Paris 1688, 4. i. 480), ὡς ὅτι ἅγιον δίσκον τῶν ἀχράντων τοῦ θεοῦ μυστηρίων κατεπάτησεν, διότι περ ἐκτετύπωτο εἰκόνας σεπτῶν τοῦ τε Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ προδρόμου. So also relics may have been attacked by individuals, but certainly very rarely, because traces of it must have been found in the polemics of the period. The tendency, it is true, of the enemies of images must have turned itself also in consistent development against relic and saint worship, and several may have even proceeded so far as to reject and renounce it. But the party, on the whole, dependent on the imperial will, did not go so far, without doubt even with regard to the general, popular disposition. It even expressly warded off from itself the suspicion of wishing to attack the worship of saints, Conc. Const. ann. 754 Anath. ix. and xi., see not. 11 at the end. It is therefore a very exaggerated statement, when Theophanes p. 340. says of Leo: οὐ μόνον γὰρ περὶ τὴν σχετικὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ὁ δυσσεβῆς ἐσφάλλετο προσκύνησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανάγου θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν ὁ παμμίαιρος, ὡς οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ Ἄραβες, ἐβδελύττετο. The persecutions also of the opponents of images have been greatly exaggerated by later historians, see Walch x. 286.

soldiers as a general. After *Artabasdu*, who had endeavoured to procure more adherents to his cause by favouring image-worship, had been conquered (741–743),¹⁰ and while this practice was constantly assuming a more fanatical character, especially among the monks, the emperor procured its solemn rejection, by calling a general council at *Constantinople* (754),¹¹ though the decrees of this council were not admitted in the East,¹² and at Rome.¹³ And because the monasteries were the places of resort to which

¹⁰ Theophanes p. 347 ss.

¹¹ The *ōros* of this council in the *Acta Concilii Nic. ii. ap. Mansi xiii. 205 ss. cf. p. 216* : 'Απέστησεν ἡμᾶς (Ἱ. Χ.) ἐκ τῆς φθοροποιῦ τῶν δαιμόνων διδασκαλίας ἧτοι τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνης τε καὶ λατρείας καὶ τὴν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκύνησιν παραδέδωκεν. p. 221 : Πᾶλιν δὲ—ὁ τῆς κακίας δημιουργὸς οὐκ ἠπόρησε κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς τε καὶ τρόπους πονηρᾶς ἐπινοίας, ὥστε ὑπο χεῖρα δι' ἀπάτης ἐαυτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ἐν προσχῆματι Χριστιανισμοῦ τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς ἐπανήγαγε, πείσας τοῖς ἰδίοις σοφίσμασι τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρώντας μὴ ἀποστήναι τῆς κτίσεως, ἀλλὰ ταύτην προσκυνεῖν καὶ ταύτην σέβεσθαι, καὶ θεὸν τὸ ποίημα οἶεσθαι τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κλήσει ἐπονομαζόμενον. p. 225 : Διὸ δὴ καθὼς πάλοι ὁ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτὴς Ἰησοῦς τοὺς εαυτοῦ πανσόφους μαθητὰς καὶ ἀποστόλους τῆ τοῦ παναγεστάτου πνεύματος δυνάμει ἐπὶ ἐκμειώσει τῶν τοιούτων κατὰ παντὸς ἐξαπέστειλεν, οὕτως καὶ νῦν τοὺς αὐτοῦ θεράποντας, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐφαμίλλους, πιστοὺς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς ἐξανέστησε, τῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος σοφισθέντας δυνάμει, πρὸς καταρτισμὸν μὲν ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκαλίαν, καθάρισιν δὲ δαιμονικῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐπαιρομένων κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγχιν διαβολικῆς μεθοδείας καὶ πλάνης. p. 251 : that they who painted pictures of Christ fell either into the Eutychian, or p. 255 : into the Nestorian heresy, p. 324 : ὁμοφώνως ὀρίζομεν, ἀπόβλητον εἶναι καὶ ἄλλοτριαν καὶ ἐβδελυγμένην ἐκ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας πᾶσαν εἰκόνα ἐκ παντοίας ὕλης καὶ χρωματουργικῆς τῶν ζωγράφων κακοτεχνίας πεποιημένην (p. 328) : μηκέτι τολμᾶν ἄνθρωπον τὸν οἰοδῆποτε ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον ἐπιτήδευμα. ὁ δὲ τολμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος κατασκευάσαι εἰκόνα, ἢ προσκυνῆσαι, ἢ στήσαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ οἴκῳ, ἢ κρύψαι, εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος εἶεν, καθαιρεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ μονάζων ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀναθεματιζέσθω, καὶ τοῖς βασιλικαῖς νόμοις ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω ὡς ἐναντίος τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, καὶ ἐχθρὸς τῶν πατρικῶν δογμάτων. Among the thirteen anathemas affixed are to be remarked ix. (p. 345) : Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογῇ τὴν ἀειπάρθενον Μαρῖαν κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοτόκον, ὑπερτέραν τε εἶναι πάσης ὄρατῆς καὶ ἀοράτου κτίσεως, καὶ μετὰ εἰλικρινοῦς πίστεως τὰς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐξαιτεῖται πρεσβείας ὡς παρῆρσιαν ἐχούσης πρὸς τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντα θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἀνάθεμα. xi. (p. 348) : Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογῇ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἁγίους, πρὸ νόμου, καὶ ἐν νόμῳ, καὶ ἐν χάριτι τῷ θεῷ, εὐαρεστήσαντας, τιμίους εἶναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι, καὶ τὰς τούτων οὐκ ἐξαιτεῖται προσευχὰς ὡς παρῆρσιαν ἐχόντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου πρεσβεύειν, κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν, ἀνάθεμα.

¹² *Συνοδικὸν* of Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, about 766, in *Actis Conc. Nic. ii. ap. Mansi xii. 1135. comp. Walch x. 376.*

¹³ Cf. *Concilium Lateranense A.D. 769 ap. Mansi xii. 713 ss.*

the picture-worshippers now fled, and which nourished their fanaticism that frequently broke forth into tumultuous resistance severer measures against the monks followed, amounting in some provinces to absolute persecution.¹⁴ By this means, Constantine has become the object of monkish abhorrence; and they have revenged themselves richly on him by historical misrepresentations.¹⁵

Under *Leo IV. Chazarus* (775–780), the laws against image-worship were still rigidly enforced. *Irene*, on the contrary, was friendly to it (780–802). At first, indeed, she was compelled to be cautious, by the voice of the capital and the soldiery; but afterwards, in conjunction with the new patriarch *Tarasius*,¹⁶ she called a synod, which was broken up by an insurrection at Constantinople,¹⁷ but met again at *Nice* (Conc. œcumenic vii., 787) and restored image-worship.¹⁸ The decrees of this synod remained

¹⁴ Constantine (762) first put Andrew to death, ἐλέγχοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ οὐάλεντα νέον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀποκαλοῦντα αὐτόν. Theophanes p. 363. Continued obstinacy called forth a series of cruelties from 766 to 775. Theophan. p. 367 ss. Nicephorus p. 45 ss. Acta S. Stephan. in the *Analectis graecis* ed. Monach. Benedict. Paris. 1688. 4. p. 396 ss. Comp. Walch x. 403. Schlosser S. 228 ff.

¹⁵ Comp. Walch x. 413. On the surnames Copronymos (see the account of Theoph. p. 334) and Caballinus see Walch x. 356.—Against Theophanes, p. 370: πανταχοῦ μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως, ὡς ἀνωφελείς, καὶ ἀγράφως ἀποκηρύττων, διὼ ἡμῖν πηγάζει πᾶσα βοήθεια· καὶ τὰ ἅγια λείψανα αὐτῶν κατορύττων, καὶ ἀφανιστοῦ κ. τ. λ. (cf. not. 9) see Walch x. 401. But much superstition connected with the relics certainly disappeared. Concil. Nic. ii. can. 7 ap. Mansi xiii. 427: τῇ οὖν ἀσεβεῖ ἀίρεσει τῶν Χριστιανοκατηγόρων καὶ ἄλλων ἀσεβήματα συνηκολούθησαν—ἕτερα τινὰ ἔθη παραλελύκασιν, ἃ χρὴ ἀνανεωθῆναι—ὅσοι οὖν σεπτοὶ ναοὶ καθιερώθησαν ἐκτὸς ἁγίων λειψάνων μαρτύρων, ὀρίζομεν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατάθεσιν γενέσθαι λειψάνων μετὰ καὶ τῆς συνήθους εὐχῆς.

¹⁶ S. Tarasii vita by his pupil Ignatius Acta SS. Febr. iii. 576.

¹⁷ See in particular the συγγραφή σύντομος δηλωτικὴ τῶν πραχθέντων πρὸς τῆς συνόδου ap. Mansi xii. 990 ss. Theophanes p. 389.

¹⁸ Its acts in Mansi xii. 951—xiii. 820. In the ὄρος Actio vii. ap. Mansi xiii. 377 it is said: ὀρίζομεν σὺν ἀκριβεῖα πάση καὶ ἐμμελεῖα παραπλησίως τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰς σεπτὰς καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας—ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἱεροῖς σκεύεσι καὶ ἐσθῆσι, τοῖς χοῖσι τε καὶ σάνισιν, οἴκοις τε καὶ ὁδοῖς,—(ὅσῳ γὰρ συνεχῶς δι' εἰκονικῆς ἀνατυπώσεως ὀρῶνται, τοσοῦτον καὶ οἱ ταύτας θεώμενοι διανίστανται πρὸς τὴν τῶν πρωτοτύπων μνήμην τε καὶ ἐπιπόθησιν) καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀποπέμνουν, (οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει, ἀλλ' ὄν τρόπον τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασι) καὶ θυμαμάτων καὶ φώτων

also in force under *Nicephorus* (802–811) and *Michael Rhangabe* (811–813), though there were always many opposed to such worship, especially among the troops.¹⁹

Leo V. Armenus (813–820), one of the best princes,²⁰ appeared against image-worship,²¹ which had been carried by the heat of controversy to the greatest absurdities,²² caused it to be prohibited

προσαγωγήν πρὸς τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ποιείσθαι, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐσεβῶς ἰθίσται· ἢ γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνας τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει, καὶ ὁ προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκόνα προσκυνεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου τὴν ὑπόστασιν. In the confession of faith of the synod, ib. p. 132, it is said: τὰς ἀγίας καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα, καὶ περιπτυσσόμεθα,—τιμῶμεν καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα, καὶ τιμητικῶς προσκυνούμεν.—Exclamations of the synod: Νέου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ νέας Ἑλένης αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη, and τῷ μὴ ἀσπαζομένῳ τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας ἀνάθεμα.

¹⁹ Comp. the relation of *Theophanes* p. 425: some (τινὲς τῶν δυσσεβῶν τῆς μιαρᾶς αἰρέσεως τοῦ θεοστυγοῦς Κωνσταντίνου) broke into the imperial tomb, προσέειπτον τῷ τοῦ πλάνου μνήματι τοῦτον ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ οὐ θεὸν ἀνάστηθι, λέγοντες, καὶ βοήθησον τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀπολλυμένη.

²⁰ Particular sources: The *chronographica narratio eorum quae tempore Leonis contigerunt* annexed to *Theophanes*; *S. Nicephori Patr. vita* by *Ignatius* in the *Actis SS. Mart.* ii. 296, Greek in the *Append.* p. 704; *S. Nicetae vita* by *Theosterictus* *Acta SS. April.* i. 261, Greek in the *Append.* p. xxii.; *S. Theophanis vita* prefixed to his *chronography* and *Act. SS. Mart.* ii. 218; *S. Theodori Studitae vita* by *Michael Monachus* in *Sirmondii opp.* v. i. *S. Nicolai Studitae vita* in *Act. SS. Febr.* i. 538.

²¹ *Chronograph. narratio* p. 435: λέγων πρὸς τινὰς ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἄλλοις ἕνεκέν, φησι, ταῦτά πως ἔχουσιν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ κατακυριευόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων; ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι τὰς εἰκόνας, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδέν· καὶ βούλομαι αὐτὰς καταστρέψαι· βλέπετε γάρ, φησιν, ὅσοι βασιλεῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτὰς, ἀπέθανον, οἱ μὲν ἐκδιωχθέντες, οἱ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ πεσόντες· ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ μὴ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὰς ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ μετὰ δόξης προκομισθεὶς εἰς τὰ τῶν βασιλέων κοιμητήρια ἐτάφη ἐν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις. λοιπὸν ἐκείνους κἀγὼ βούλομαι μιμήσασθαι, καὶ καταστρέψαι τὰς εἰκόνας κ. τ. λ. Still more remarkable are the words of the emperor to the patriarch *Nicephorus* ib. p. 437: ὁ λαὸς σκανδαλίζεται διὰ τὰς εἰκόνας, λέγοντες, ὅτι κακῶς αὐτὰς προσκυνούμεν, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη κυριεύουσιν ἡμῶν συγκατάβατι τι μικρὸν, καὶ ποιήσον οἰκονομίαν εἰς τὸν λαόν, καὶ τὰ χαμηλὰ περιέλωμεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, πείσον ἡμᾶς δι' οὗ ἕνεκεν [leg. ἐκείνα] προσκυνεῖτε, τῆς γραφῆς μὴ ἐχούσης ῥητῶς πώποτε. The patriarch had no other answer than: ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ, καλῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν ὀρισθέντα ὑπὸ τε τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πατέρων, οὔτε παρασλεύομεν, οὔτε περισσώτερόν τι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκονομοῦμεν.

²² Cf. *Michaelis Balbi et Theophili Impp. epist. ad Ludov. Pium* A. D. 824 (preserved in Latin in the *Acts of the Paris Synod*, A. D. 825) *ap. Goldast.* l. c. p. 610 ss. *Mansi* xiv. 417: There we read: multi de ecclesiasticis seu et laicis viris alieni de apostolicis traditionibus facti,

by a synod at Constantinople (815),²³ and punished the disobedient, for the most part, monks, under the leadership of the fanatical *Theodore Studita*. *Michael II. Balbus* (820–829), tolerated the practice in private,²⁴ without, however, satisfying the friends of images by that concession. But since such toleration led to increasing encroachments, *Theophilus* (829–842) renewed vigorous measures against images, and their zealous defenders, the monks.²⁵ Soon after his death, *Theodora* once more allowed the worship of images to be ecclesiastically adopted (842),²⁶ and caused the memory of this triumph to be perpetuated by a yearly

et neque paternos terminos custodientes, facti sunt inventores malarum rerum. Primum quidem honorificas et vivificas cruces de sacris templis expellebant, et in eadem loca imagines statuebant ponebantque lucernas coram eis, simul et incensum adolebant, atque eas in tali honore habebant, sicut honorificum et vivificum lignum, in quo Christus verus Deus noster crucifigi dignatus est propter nostram salutem. Psallebant et adorabant, atque ab eisdem imaginibus auxilium petebant. Plerique autem linteaminibus easdem imagines circumdabant, et filiorum suorum de baptismatis fontibus susceptrices faciebant. (One Spatharius, who had done this, is almost elevated to the rank of a saint by Theodorus Stud. lib. i. epist. 17). Alii vero religiosum habitum monasticum sumere volentes, religiosiores personas postponebant, qui prius comam capitis eorum suscipere solebant, adhibitibus imaginibus quasi in sinum earum decidere capillos eorum sinebant. Quidam vero sacerdotum et clericorum colores de imaginibus radentes, immiscuerunt oblationibus et vino, et ex hac oblatione post missarum celebrationem dabant communicare volentibus. Alii autem corpus Domini in manus imaginum ponebant, unde communicare volentes accipere fecerunt. Nonnulli vero sprete ecclesia, in communibus domibus tabulis imaginum pro altariis utebantur, et super eas sacrum ministerium celebrabant, et alia multa his similia illicita, et nostrae religioni contraria in ecclesiis fiebant, quae a doctioribus et sapientioribus viris satis indigna esse videbantur. A counterpart of fanaticism in the Iconoclasts may be seen in vita Stephani jun. above not. 9.

²³ Cf. Mansi xiv. 235 ss. Walch x. 687. Especially Michaelis ep. ad Lud. P. (l. c.): Propterea statuerunt orthodoxi Imperatores et doctissimi Sacerdotes, locale adunare concilium.—Talia ubique communi consilio fieri prohibuerunt, et imagines de humilioribus locis efferri fecerunt, et eas, quae in sublimioribus locis positae erant, ut ipsa pictura pro scriptura haberetur, in suis locis consistere permiserunt, ne ab indoctioribus et infirmioribus adorarentur, sed neque eis lucernas accenderent, neque incensum adolerent, prohibuerunt.

²⁴ Theodori Studitae vita c. 102—122 et Nicolai Stud. vita.

²⁵ Still there are no instances of capital punishments, Walch x. 715.

²⁶ Walch x. 764 u. S. 784 ff. Schlosser S. 544 ss.

festival (ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας).²⁷ Still opponents of images appear afterwards in the Greek Church ;²⁸ but as the opposition to them did not arise from a true development of the popular mind, but solely from the emperor's will, it left no traces of a deep awakening in the direction of reform.

§ 2.

CONDITION OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

In this period of controversy about images, when orthodoxy was so frequently changed according to court-caprice, the Greek clergy, yielding to the fear of man and immoderate ambition, sank to an abandoned condition ;¹ while, on the other hand, the compulsion exercised towards the monks, called forth the most fearful fanaticism. Hence every thing bowed before such fanaticism at the times in which the monks' cause was triumphant. As the Church had lost her free characteristic nature, so also had the theological sciences. The only person worthy of distinction is *Johannes Damascenus* (*Chrysorrhœas*, *Mansur*) from the year

²⁷ Leo Allatius de dominicis et hebdomadibus Graecorum appended to his work de eccl. occid. atque orient. perpetua consensione, Colon. Agripp. 1648. 4. p. 1432. Walch x. 799.

²⁸ According to Nicolai Papae i. epist. ad universos Catholicos (ap. Mansi xv. 161) he had been assured by the Byzantine ambassadors who invited him to the synod of Constantinople A. D. 861. maxime eandem ecclesiam (Constantinopolitanam) ab Iconomachis redivivam contentionem excitantibus vexari, Christumque per singula conventicula blasphemari. Hence the decrees in favour of images at the synod of Constantinople A. D. 869. can. iii. and vii. ap. Mansi xvi. 400 and 401, and at that of A. D. 879, ap. Mansi xvii. 494. Comp. Walch x. 808.

¹ For example, the patriarch Anastasius, at first a tool of Leo Isaurus, but afterwards changed under the pretender Artabasdu (Theophanes p. 348 : κρατήσας τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωποιαὶ ξύλα ᾤμοσε τῷ λαῷ· ὅτι μὰ τὸν προσηλωθέντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως μοι εἶπε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μὴ λογίσῃ υἶὸν θεοῦ εἶναι, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Μαρία, τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστὸν, εἰ μὴ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἡ γὰρ Μαρία αὐτὴν ἔτεκεν, ὡς ἔτεκεν ἐμὲ ἡ μήτηρ μου ἡ Μαρία). Constantine punished him in the severest manner, Theoph. p. 353 : πάλιν δὲ ὡς ὁμόφρονα αὐτοῦ ἐκφοβήσας καὶ δουλώσας ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐκάθισε.—Comp. the mode in which the bishops, who, just before the synod of Nice, had been violently opposed to the worship of pictures (Theoph. p. 389. and the συγγραφὴ σύντομος ap. Mansi xii. 990), retracted their sentiments at it, Act. 1. ap. Mansi xii. 1015 ss.

730, a monk in the Laura of St Sabas, † about 760.² On the other hand, the works of the fanatical *Theodore*, abbot of the monastery Studium from 798, † 826,³ are only of historical importance.

§ 3.

PAULICIANS.

Petri Siculi (about 870) *historia Manichæorum* (gr. et lat. ed. Matth. Raderus, Ingolst. 1604. 4. J. C. L. Gieseler. Gotting. 1846. 4.) Photius *adv. recentiores Manichæos* libb. iv. (in J. Christ. Wolfianecdotis gr. T. i. et ii. Hamb. 1722. 23. 8. and in Gallandii bibl. pp. xiii. 603.) Armenian accounts respecting the Paulicians,¹ in the Tübingen Quartalschrift. 1835. S. 54. F. Schmidii *hist. Paulicianorum orientalium* diss. Hafniae. 1826. 8. *Die Paulicianer*, a treatise in Winer's u. Engelhardt's *neuem krit. Journ. d. theol. Literat.* Bd. 7. St. 1. u. St. 2. Gieseler's *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Paulicianer*, in the *theol. Studien u. Kritiken.* Jahrg. 1829. Heft. 1. S. 79 ss. Neander's *KG.* iii. 492. Gfrörer's *KG.* iii. i. 196.

In Armenia, the struggle of Christianity with Parsism² had also favoured the blending together of both religions, and thus the dualist-christian parties called *children of the sun*, i.e., *sun-worshippers* by the other Armenian Christians, had maintained

² His principal work Πηγή γνώσεως in three parts, 1) τὰ φιλοσοφικά, 2) περὶ αἰρέσεων, 3) ἔκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. (cf. C. J. Lénström de expositione fidei orthodoxae auct. Jo. Damasceno. Upsal. 1839. Ritter's *Gesch. d. christl. Philos.* ii. 553.)—Besides *ἱερὰ παράλλαλα*. Controversial writings against heretics, discourses, letters, ed. Michael le Quien, Paris. 1712. 2 voll. fol.

³ His numerous writings, discourses, and letters, against the Iconoclasts are for the greater part collected in Jac. Sirmundii opp. T. v. Besides these the *κατηχήσεις* (lat. ed. J. Livinejus, Antwerp. 1602. 8. cf. J. J. Müller *Studium coenob. Constant. illustratum* diss. philol. hist. Lips. 1721. p. 32 ss.) and much beside in part unprinted, cf. Fabricii bibl. gr. T. ix. p. 234.

¹ The oldest in the treatise of Johannes v. Ozun (patriarch of Armenia from 718-729) against the Paulicians, in *Domini Johannis Phil. Ozniensis, Armenorum Catholici, opera*, ed. J. N. Aucher. Venet. 1834. 8. Comp. Neumann's *Gesch. der armen. Literatur* S. 107. In this work, however, there is less a representation of the peculiarities of the Paulicians than reports of scandalous actions which were every where circulated respecting the Dualists.

² Comp. above Div. 2. § 107.

their existence longest in this country.³ About 660, one *Constantine* appeared as a reformer, proceeding from a dualistic, probably a Marcionite Church, in Mananalis in Samosata. This man had been moved by reading the New Testament writings, especially those of Paul; and made his public appearance in the like-minded church at *Kibossa*, situated in the province of Colonia in *Armenia prima*. His design was, without renouncing his dualistic fundamental principle, to restore, as a genuine disciple of Paul (*Sylvanus*), a genuine Pauline Church (*Macedonia*), († about 684). He found successors like himself (*Symeon*, Titus † about 690. *Paulus* † about 715. *Gegnaisius*, *Timotheus* † about 745. *Josephus*, *Epaphroditus* † about 775. *Baanes* till 801), under whom the *Paulicians* (*Παυλικιανοί*)⁴ continued to spread themselves farther into Asia Minor, and had *Phanaröa* in Helenopontus as their chief settlement. In addition to the peculiar dualistic doctrines, their characteristic marks were the affixing of a high value to the universal use of the Holy Scriptures,⁵ and a rejection of all externalities in religion.⁶ Their abhorrence of

³ Tschamtschean's (respecting him see Div. 2. § 112, not. 3.) *Gesch. Armeniens* i. 765. Neander iv. 451.

⁴ Ap. Germanus de haeresibus et synodis in the *Spicil. Rom.* vii. i. 70 (comp. § 1, not. 5) *Παυλιανῖται*. The affirmation, that they received these names from two Manicheans, Paul and John, sons of Callinice, who are said, at an earlier but uncertain period, to have spread Manicheism from Samosata to Phanaröa, is nothing but a later Catholic fiction. Doubtless, the name was originally given by them by the Catholic Church on account of the high value they attached to Paul. See *Theol. Studien u. Krit.* 1829. S. 82 ff. They did not so style themselves, Photius i. c. 6: τοὺς μὲν ἀληθῶς ὄντας Χριστιανούς Ῥωμαίους οἱ τρισαλιτήριοι ὀνομάζουσιν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν κλήσιν—τῶν Χριστιανῶν περιάπτουσιν. c. 9: καθολικὴν δὲ ἐκκλησίαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν καλοῦσι συνέδρια.

⁵ To Sergius, the Paulician female, who converted him, said (*Petrus Sic.* p. 56): ἵνατι τὰ θεῖα οὐκ ἀναγινώσκεις εὐαγγέλια; to which he replied: οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν κοσμικοῖς οὖσιν ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκειν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις. (It was not an ecclesiastical regulation, but a popular delusion, like that refuted by Chrysostomus de Lazaro orat. iii. Opp. iii. 56, that the reading of the bible is only for monks.) On which she said: οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ὡς σὺ ὑπολαμβάνεις· οὐ γάρ ἐστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· πάντας γὰρ θέλει σωθῆναι ὁ Κύριος, καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

⁶ Their errors were according to *Petrus Sic.* p. 16 ss.: Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς γνώρισμα τὸ δύο ἀρχὰς ὁμολογεῖν, ποιητὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν· καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ποιητὴν καὶ ἐξουσιαστήν, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος (namely τὸν πατέρα ἐπουράνιον). To the Catholics they

images might have brought many a vigorous opponent of image-worship nearer to them ;⁷ but under the image-assailing emperors they could the less reckon on their being spared, because the enemies of images had to avoid the danger of being classed with them.⁸ At first, gross immorality of various kinds was also charged against the Paulicians, into which, bye-paths from their system may have certainly led them ;⁹ but afterwards, when

said : ὑμεῖς πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν κοσμοποιητὴν· ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς ἐκείνον περὶ οὗ ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Κύριος λέγει, ὅτι οὔτε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκηκόατε οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑώρακατε.—Δεύτερον τὸ τὴν πανύμνητον καὶ ἀειπαρθένον θεοτόκον μηδὲ κἂν ἐν ψιλῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων τάττειν ἀπεχθῶς ἀπαριθμήσει, μηδὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθῆναι τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλ' οὐρανόθεν τὸ σῶμα κατενεγκεῖν (Photius i. c. 7 : δι' αὐτῆς δὲ, ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος, διεληλυθέναι.) Καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τόκον καὶ ἄλλους, φασίν, υἱοὺς ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ. (According to Photius they were fond of expressing themselves thus : πιστεύομεν εἰς τὴν παναγίαν θεοτόκον, ἐν ᾗ εἰσηλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ κύριος, and understood this with reference to Gal. iv. 26, τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, and said, ἐν αὐτῇ πρόδρομον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν.)—Τρίτον τὸ τὴν θείαν καὶ φρικτὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μετάληψιν ἀποτρέψαι· οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους περὶ τοῦτο πείθειν οἷσθαι· λέγοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖπνον, ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου, ὡς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον. (Phot. i. 9 : τὸ σωτήριον διαπτύοντες βάπτισμα, ὑποπλάττονται παραδέχεσθαι αὐτὸ, τὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ῥήματα τῇ τοῦ βαπτίσματος φωνῇ ὑποβάλλοντες· καὶ γὰρ φασιν, ὁ Κύριος ἔφη· ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν.)—Τέταρτον τὸ τὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μυρίαὺς ὕβρεσι περιβάλλειν. (Phot. i. 7 : τὸν σταυρὸν, ἅτε δὴ ξύλον φασί, καὶ κακούργων ὄργανον, καὶ ὑπὸ ἄρᾶν κείμενον, οὐ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι.)—Πέμπτον τὸ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν οἰανοῦν βίβλον παλαιάν, πλάνους καὶ ληστὰς τοὺς προφήτας ἀποκαλοῦντες. Of the New Testament they adopted four gospels, fourteen epistles of Paul, the epistles of James, John, and Jude, and the Acts of the Apostles, with unaltered text : τὰς δύο καθολικὰς τοῦ μεγάλου—Πέτρου τοῦ πρωταποστόλου οὐ δέχονται, ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακείμενοι, καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ὀνειδισμοῖς μυρίαὺς περιβάλλουτες. (Phot. i. 8 : ὅτι γέγονεν ἐξαρνός, φασί, τῆς εἰς τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ Χριστὸν πίστεως, perhaps with reference to Gal. ii. 11 ff. See Theol. Studien und Krit. 1829. S. 109.)—Ἐκτον τὸ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποτρέπεσθαι· φασί δὲ, ὅτι τηλικαῦτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου συνήχθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ χρὴ αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ψιλῶ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ μόνῳ ἀπεχθανόμενοι. According to Photius i. 9, they called their houses of meeting προσευχάς.

⁷ John of Ozun (see note 1) says, that the Paulicians begin their attempts at conversion with attacking image-worship (p. 79), and that many Iconoclasts, driven out from the Catholic Church, had gone over to them (p. 89).

⁸ Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. S. 89.

⁹ Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. S. 120 ff.

Sergius, as *Tychicus*, set himself in antagonism to *Baanes* surnamed ὁ ῥυπαρός on account of his immorality (801), a beneficial reform was effected in the greater part of the sect who sided with him,¹⁰ and he procured for himself the reputation of a second founder, not only by this antagonism, but by the unwearied and successful efforts he put forth for the extension of the sect.¹¹ But this very enlargement gave rise to new persecutions, which were so violent, under *Leo the Armenian*, that many *Paulicians*, and with them *Sergius* too, fled from lesser *Armenia* to the territories of the *Saracens*. The *Emir* in *Melitene* assigned to them, as a place of residence, the little town of *Argaum*; from which place, notwithstanding the dissuasions of *Sergius*,¹² they began unceasing predatory marches into the *Byzantine* territory. After *Sergius's* death († 835), they resolved to entrust the spiritual oversight of the Church to all the *συνεκδήμους* of it, instead of to one person.¹³ But after a political character also had now been

¹⁰ *Petrus Sic.* p. 58 ss.: οἱ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ (*Σεργίου*) ἀναφανέντες, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὸν δυσώδη βόρβορον τῆς ἀκολασίας καὶ τὴν αἰσχουργίαν τῶν μiasμάτων καὶ τὰς εἰς θεὸν βλασφημίας ἐξάιρετοι τῇ κακίᾳ ὑπῆρχον, ἀλλ' ὅμως φευκταῖοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ βδελυκτοὶ πᾶσιν ἐφαίνοντο· ὅθεν καὶ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπατώμενοι· οὗτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν μiasμοὺς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἀκολασίας αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόμενος, τὰς δυσφημίας δὲ πάσας ὡς σωτήρια περιπτυσσόμενος δόγματα, ἀρετὰς τινὰς δολίως ὑπεκρίνετο, καὶ εὐσεβείας μὀρφωσιν περικαλύψας τὸν λύκον ὡς ἐν κωδίῳ προβάτου,—ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν ἄριστος ὁδηγὸς σωτηρίας καταφαίνεσθαι.—Ἐν τοιαύταις τοίνυν ταῖς μεθοδείαις μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο τοὺς ἀστηρίκτους ἐξαπατῶσιν.

¹¹ He himself said on this point in one of his letters (*Petrus Sic.* p. 60. *Phot.* i. c. 21): ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου ἔδραμον κηρύσσων τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῖς ἐμοῖς γόνασι βαρήσας. In another letter he says, respecting the establishment of the different churches (*Petrus Sic.* p. 66): τὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ (probably *Episparis* in *Phanaröa*). See *Phot.* i. 18) ἐκκλησίαν ὠκοδόμησε *Παῦλος*, τὴν δὲ *Μακεδονίαν* (*Kibossa*) *Σιλουανὸς* (*Constantinus*) καὶ *Τίτος* (*Symeon*). καὶ Ἀχαΐαν (*Mananalis*) ἀνιστόρησε *Τιμόθεος* (*Gegnasius*). Τὴν τῶν *Φιλιππησίων* ἐκκλησίαν ἐλειτούργησεν Ἐπαφρόδιτος (*Josephus*). τὴν *Λαοδικέων* καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν *Κολασσέων* ἐμαθήτευσεν *Τυχικός* (*Sergius*). *Petrus* adds: *Κολασσαεῖς* μὲν λέγει τοὺς Ἀργαούτας, Ἐφεσίους δὲ τοὺς ἐν *Μοφουεστία*, *Λαοδικεῖς* δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας κύνας τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς χώραν (i. e., τοὺς *Κυνοχωρίτας*).

¹² He said (*Petrus Sic.* p. 62): ἐγὼ τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀναιτιὸς εἰμι· πολλὰ γὰρ παρήγγελλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μοι.

¹³ *Petrus Sic.* p. 70 s: Μαθηταὶ δὲ τούτου (*Σεργίου*) ὑπῆρχον μυστικώτεροι *Μιχαὴλ* κ. τ. λ. οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ καὶ συνεκδήμοι (cī. *Av.*).

forcibly impressed on it, it soon after received a temporal head. When the bigoted empress Theodora caused persecution to be renewed against them, fresh crowds of them fled to Argaum, under the leadership of *Karbeas* (about 844), who soon stepped forth at the head of the whole sect. Their power increased, partly by the union of the Baanites and Sergiots,¹⁴ hitherto divided, and partly by the founding of new settlements, among which *Tephrica* soon became a border establishment very dangerous to the Byzantine territory.¹⁵ Thus *Karbeas*, at the head of armies, could now give regular battle to the Byzantine generals, allied as he was with the Saracens.¹⁶ During this time, there proceeded from the Paulicians an impulse towards a reform of the old dualistic parties in Armenia; and the sect of the *Thontrakians*, in the province of Ararat, was formed by one *Sambat*, between 833 and 854.¹⁷

xix. 29, 2 Cor. viii. 19, in the same way as Marcion addressed his adherents, *συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενοι*. Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 9 and 36) παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενοι, ὡς μερεῖς (i. e., μισοὶ ἱερεῖς) τινες, τὸν ἅπαντα λαὸν τὸν συναθροισθέντα ἐν τῷ Ἀργαοῦ, μετὰ τὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν Σεργίου θάνατον, ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προηγησαμένων λυμαινόμενοι, ἰσότημοι πάντες ὑπῆρχον, μηκέτι ἓνα διδάσκαλον ἀνακηρύξαντες, καθάπερ οἱ πρόων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσοι ὄντες. Ἐχουσι δὲ καὶ ὑποβεβηκότας μερεῖς, νοταρίους παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζομένους. Photius i. c. 9: Τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερέων τάξιν ἐπέχοντας οὐχ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ συνεκδήμους καὶ νοταρίους ἐπονομάζουσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε σχήματι, οὔτε διαίτη, οὔτε τινὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ βίον σεμνότερον ἐπιτελοῦντι τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδείκνυνται.

¹⁴ Petrus Sic. p. 70: Μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Σεργίου, μὴ φέροντες οἱ αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ ἑαυτῶν τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ τὸν ὀνειδισμόν, ὃν παρὰ πάντων ὀνειδίζοντο, ἤρξαντο ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς Βανιώτας, ὅπως ἐξαλείψωσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὸν ὀνειδισμόν αὐτῶν. Εἰς δὲ τις, Θεόδοτος ὀνόματι, ὁ συνέκδημος Σεργίου, λέγει: “μηδὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις: πάντες γὰρ μέχρι ἀναδείξεως τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν μίαν πίστιν εἶχομεν.” καὶ οὕτως τοῦ φονεῦν ἀπαύσαντο. Cf. Photius i. c. 23.

¹⁵ Constantini Porphyrog. Continuator iv. c. 16. Cedrenus p. 541.

¹⁶ Constantini Porph. Cont. iv. c. 16. 23—25.

¹⁷ Tschamtschean's Gesch. v. Armenien ii. 884. Neander iv. 451. Neumann's Gesch. d. armen. Liter. S. 127.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Anastasio bibliothecarii (about 870) *liber pontificalis* (see Vol. i. Div. ii. preface, § 131). The Frank historians, especially *Annales Laurissenses* (usually called *plebeji* or *Loiseliani*) from 741—829 (the second part from 788 composed by Einhard): and *Annales Einhardi* from 741—829, a corrected version of the *Laurissenses*:—*Annales Fuldenses* from 680—901, the original reaches to 830, and continued in successive portions till 838, 863, 882, 887, and 901, by contemporaries.—*Annales Bertiniani* from 741—882, the original likewise to 830, from 835—861 composed by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, and from 861—882 by Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims. All these works are best edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* ed. G. H. Pertz. *Scriptorum* Tom. i. Hanover, 1826. fol.

Einhardi († 844) *vita Caroli M.* (*Einhardi omnia quae exstant opera* ed. A. Teulet. Tomi ii. Paris 1840. 43. 8. Life and conduct of Charlemagne described by Einhard. Introduction, original, explanation, collection of original documents, by J. C. Ideler. 2 Bde. Hamburg u. Gotha 1839. 8.) *Monachi Sangallensis de gestis Caroli M.* libb. ii. (884—887 probably not written by Notkerus balbulus, see Pertz *Monum. Germ.* ii. p. 729.) *Thegani vita Ludovici Pii* (written 835, with additions to 838). (*Astronomii*) *Vita Imp. Lud. P.* (Pertz ii. p. 604). *Nithardi historiarum* libb. iv. (written 841—843). All in the *Monumenta Germaniae T.* ii.

On the entire sources see J. Chr. F. Bähr's *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur im karoling. Zeitalter* (Carlsruhe 1840. 8.) S. 143 ss.

FIRST CHAPTER.

CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS BY BONIFACE.

Sources: *Bonifacii epistt.* ed. Nic. Serarius, Mogunt. 1605. recus. 1629. 4. Steph. Würdtwein, *ibid.* 1789. fol. (comp. *Allgem. Lit.-Zeit.* Octob. 1790. S. 49 ff.) *Bonifacii vita* by Willibald (about 760) in *Monumenta Germaniae hist.* ii. 331. by Othlonus (about 1050) ap. Canisius-Basnage iii. 337. cf. *Acta SS. Junii* i. 452. Mabillon *Act. SS. Ord. Bened. saec. iii.* ii. 1.

Works: Nic Serarii *Moguntiacarum rerum* [libri V. Mog. 1604. 4. denuo ed. G. Chr. Johannes, Francof. 1722. fol.] lib. tertius. *Casp. Sagittarii antiquitates gentilismi et christianismi Thuringici*, Jenae 1685. 4. H. Ph Gudenii *diss. de Bonif. Germanorum Apost. and ejusd. observatt. miscell. ex historia Bonifacii selectae.* both Helmst. 1720. 4. J. S. Semler *diss. de propagata per Bonifacium inter Germanos relig. chr.* Hal. 1765.

J. F. Chr. Löffler's *Bonifacius*, Gotha 1812. 8. *Bonifacius, d. Apostel. d. Deutschen*, v. J. Ch. A. Seiters. Mainz 1845. 8. H. J. Royaards *Geschiedenis der Invoering en vestiging van het Christendom in Nederland*. 3te Uitg. Utrecht 1844 p. 219. F. W. Rettberg's *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*. Bd. 1. (Göttingen 1846) S. 330.

§ 4.

In proportion as the influence of the Franks on the different German tribes was greater or less, Christianity met with greater or less acceptance among them, not so much by general organised plans, as by the voluntary activity of individuals. Hence ecclesiastical discipline was still entirely unknown, and heathenism was not unfrequently mixed with Christianity.¹ At this time *Winfried* (Boniface), an English monk, full of the piety of an age which consisted in mingling together an attachment to external forms, and, in the English Church in particular, subjection to the Roman See, resolved to be apostle of Germany. After an unsuccessful attempt in Friesland (715), he went to Rome (718), to procure there full powers for the conversion of the Germans.² The first successful fruit of his labours he met with among the *Hessians* about *Amoeneburg* (722). Highly pleased with this, Pope Gregory II. consecrated him bishop (723), and thus bound him and his active ministry still more closely to the Roman See.³ Recommended by the pope to Charles Martell,

¹ Comp. Gregorii Papae II. capitulare datum Martiniano Episcopo caet. in Bavariam ablegatis A. D. 716, ap. Mansi xii. p. 257. Sterzinger v. d. Zustände der baier. Kirche unter Theodo II. in the Abhandl. d. churf. baier. Academie Bd. 10. [München 1776] S. 137 ff.

² The document giving him full power (Othlon. lib. i. c. 12, Bonif. ep. ed. Serarii 118, ed. Würdtw. 2) closes thus: *Disciplinam denique sacramenti, quam ad iniciandos Deo praevis credituros tenere studeas, ex formula officiorum sanctae nostrae sedis apostolicae, instructionis tuae gratia praelibata, volumus ut intendas. Quod vero actioni susceptae tibi deesse perspexeris, nobis, ut valueris, intimare curabis.*

³ Boniface's oath, Othlon. i. 14, in Bonif. epist. l. c. *In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Imperante domno Leone a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno septimo post consulatum ejus. Sed et Constantini magni imperatoris ejus filii anno iy. indictione vj. Promitto ego Bonifacius, Dei gratia episcopus, tibi beato Petro Apostolorum principi, vicarioque tuo beato Gregorio Papae et successoribus ejus, per Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, Trinitatem insepara-*

and provided by the latter with a letter of safety, he first completed the conversion of the Hessians, and then went into *Thuringia*. Gregory III. appointed him archbishop and apostolic vicar (732),⁴ and in this capacity Boniface began, after a third journey to Rome (738), to arrange the ecclesiastical relations of Germany. He first divided *Bavaria* into four dioceses (*Salzburg, Freisingen, Regensburg, Passau*, 739);⁵ then he established (741) for East Franconia, Hesse, and Thuringia, the bishoprics of *Würzburg, Eichstätt, Buraburg* (at Fritzlar, 787 united with Mainz), and *Erfurt*;⁶ and at the first German coun-

bilem, et hoc sacratissimum corpus tuum, me omnem fidem et puritatem sanctae fidei catholicae exhibere, et in unitate ejusdem fidei Deo operante persistere, in qua omnis Christianorum salus sine dubio esse comprobatur: nullo modo me contra unitatem communis et universalis ecclesiae suadente quopiam consentire: sed, ut dixi, fidem et puritatem meam atque concursum tibi, et utilitatibus ecclesiae tuae, cui a Domino Deo potestas ligandi 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: sin minus, fideliter statim Domino meo Apostolico renuntiabo. Quod si, quod absit, contra hujus promissionis meae seriem aliquid facere quolibet modo, seu ingenio vel occasione tentavero, reus inveniar in aeterno judicio, ultionem Ananiae et Sapphirae incurram, qui vobis etiam de rebus propriis fraudem facere vel fulsum dicere praesumserunt. Hunc autem indiculum sacramenti ego Bonifacius exiguus episcopus manu propria scripsi, atque ponens supra sacratissimum corpus beati Petri, ita ut praescriptum est, Deo teste et iudice, praestiti sacramentum, quod et servare promitto. This oath is, with a few alterations, entirely like the *Indiculus Episcopi* which the pope exacted from the bishops belonging to his patriarchal diocese, of which two formulas have been preserved in the lib. diurnus cap. iii. tit. 8 and 9. Similar oaths it was usual to take in Spain, even at an earlier period, the bishops to the metropolitan and the inferior clergy to the bishop. Conc. Tolet. iv. ann. 633, can. 17. Conc. Tolet. xi. ann. 675, can. 10. cf. Zaccaria diss. de jurejurando, quo Archiepiscopi pallio donati, et Episcopi in sacra ipsorum ordinatione obedientiam Romano Pontifici pollicentur cap. 1-3 (in ejusd. de rebus ad. hist. atque antiquitt. ecclesiae pertinentibus dissertt. latinae Fulginiae 1781. 4. Tom. ii. p. 264 83.)

⁴ Bonif. epist. 122, ed. Serar. 25 Würdtw.

⁵ Sterzinger's Entwurf v. d. Zustande der baier. Kirche v. 717. b. 800. in d. Neuen hist. Abhandl. d. churf. baier. Academie. Bd. 2. S. 315.

⁶ Boniface consecrated no bishop for Erfurt, but probably reserved

cil (742), subordinated the new church, so far as the ecclesiastical government of the Frankish rulers allowed, to the pope.⁷ As seminaries and resting points of Christianity, he founded monasteries : *Ohrdruf* for Thuringia (724) ; *Fritzlar* and *Amöneburg* for Hesse (732). The most celebrated was *Fulda* (744.) In the meantime Boniface had entered into an association with the new Frankish rulers, Karlmann and Pipin, which proved of no small importance in the course of the great ecclesiastical developments of this century. He made *Mainz* (745) his archiepiscopal seat, but resigned it (753) to his pupil Lullus, for the sake of preach-

this diocese for himself, since otherwise he would have been without a diocese till 745, till he united it after his elevation to the see of Mainz with this archbishopric. Thus all difficulties are most readily solved. *Comp. Seiters* p. 306 ff.

⁷ The seven resolutions of this synod were announced by Karlmann as capitularies (*Mansi* xii. 365. *Pertz Monum. Germ.* iii. 16) : Ego Carlmannus, dux et princeps Francorum—cum consilio servorum Dei et optimatum meorum Episcopos, qui in regno meo sunt, cum Presbyteris—congregavi,—ut mihi consilium dedissent, quomodo lex Dei et ecclesiastica religio recuperetur, quae in diebus praeteritorum principum dissipata corrui; et per consilium sacerdotum et optimatum meorum ordinavimus per civitates Episcopos, et constituimus super eos Archiepiscopum Bonifacium, qui est Missus s. Petri. Statuimus per annos singulos synodum congregare, ut nobis praesentibus canonum decreta et Ecclesiae jura restaurentur, et religio christiana emendetur etc. The additional measures taken by Boniface are related by him in his *epist.* ed. Serar. 105. ed. Würdtw. 73. ad Cudberthum : Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu et confessi sumus fidem catholicam et unitatem, et subjectionem Romanae Ecclesiae, sine tenus vitae nostrae, velle servare : sancto Petro et Vicario ejus velle subijci : synodum per omnes annos congregare : Metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quaerere : et per omnia, praecepta Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur. Et isti confessioni universi consensimus et subscripsimus, et ad corpus sancti Petri principis Apostolorum direximus, quod gratulando Clerus et Pontifex Romanus suscepit.—Et unusquisque Episcopus, si quid in sua dioecesi corrigere vel emendare nequiverit, itidem in synodo coram Archiepiscopo et palam omnibus ad corrigendum insinuet, eodem modo, quo Romana Ecclesia nos ordinatos cum sacramento constrinxit, ut si Sacerdotes vel plebes a lege Dei deviasse viderim, et corrigere non potuerim, fideliter semper sedi apostolicae et Vicario S. Petri ad emendandum indicaverim. Sic enim, ni fallor, omnes Episcopi debent Metropolitanano, et ipse Romano Pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est, notum facere : et sic alieni fient a sanguine animarum perditarum.

ing among the Frieslanders.⁸ He died the death of a martyr at Dockum (5th June, 755).

The chief traits in Boniface's character are, an exaggerated notion of the external unity of the church, and obedience to its statutes, as well as a deep reverence for the Roman See, without which he undertook nothing. As he himself sought for ecclesiastical laws, even with regard to the most indifferent actions of daily life,⁹ so was he severe and persecuting against all who departed from Roman-ecclesiastical regulations,¹⁰ as in the instance of the two clergymen, *Adelbert* and *Clement*.¹¹ Thus he bound

⁸ Till the death of the Friesian king Radbod (719), Utrecht still belonged to Friesland; Wiltaburg, which lay opposite to it, to Franconia. (vita Bonifacii auct. Wilibaldo § 13. Pertz ii. p. 839. Gesta abb. Fontanell. c. 3. l. c. p. 277.) From this time Frankish rule spread more and more towards the east, especially after Charles Martel's victory, 734 (Fredeger c. 109). Thus, therefore, a much better prospect of success presented itself here since the first missionary labours of Boniface.

⁹ Which had been abundantly furnished to him by Rome, because such fetters of the conscience bound at the same time to the Roman See. For example, Gregorii iii. epist. ad Bonif. [ed. Serar. 122. Würdtw. 25, ap. Mansi xii. 277]: *agrestem caballum aliquantos adjunxisti comedere, plerosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps, sanctissime frater, sinas, sed quibus potueris modis Christo juvante per omnia compesce, et dignam eis indicito poenitentiam. Immundum enim est et execrabile. Zachariae epist. ad Bon. [ed. Serar. 142. Würdtw. 87, ap. Mansi xii. 345]: - flagitasti a nobis, quae recipienda, quae respuenda sint. Imprimis de volatilibus, i. e., graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis, quae omnino cavendae sunt ab esu Christianorum. Etiam et fibri et lepores et equi salvatici multo amplius vitandi. Attamen, sanctissime frater, de omnibus e Scripturis sacris bene compertus es.—Et hoc inquisisti, post quantum temporis debet lardum comedi. Nobis a Patribus institutum pro hoc non est. Tibi autem petenti consilium praebemus, quod non oporteat illud mandi, priusquam super fumo siccetur aut igne coquatur. Si vero libet, ut incoctum manducetur, post Paschalem festivitatem erit manducandum.—Seiters, p. 226, 451, would consider these regulations as directed merely against impediments to civilization. In this way, certainly, the use of raw flesh generally, not of single beasts, might be accounted for, but not the entire use of certain beasts. Besides, Zacharias expressly refers to holy Scripture and the fathers. It is obvious that he makes his Italian usages, respecting meats, Christian laws relative to food.*

¹⁰ Particularly also against married priests, who are designated as fornicatores. Reutberg i. 323.

¹¹ Bonif. ep. ad Zachariam P. [ed. Serar. ep. 135. Würdtw. 67]:

the new German Church to Rome still more firmly than the En-

Maximus tamen mihi labor fuit contra duos haereticos pessimos et publicos et blasphemos contra Deum et contra catholicam fidem. Unus qui dicitur Adelbert natione generis Gallus est; alter qui dicitur Clemens genere Scotus est: specie erroris diversi, sed pondere peccatorum pares. Contra istos obsecro apostolicam auctoritatem vestram, quod meam mediocritatem defendere et adjuvare, et per scripta vestra populum Francorum et Gallorum corrigere studeatis,—ut per verbum vestrum isti duo haeretici mittantur in carcerem,—et nemo cum eis loquatur vel communionem habeat.—Propter istos enim persecutiones et inimicitias et maledictiones multorum populorum patior.—Dicunt enim de Adelberto, quod eis sanctissimum Apostolum abstulerim, patronum et oratorem, et virtutum factorem, et signorum ostensorem abstraxerim. Sed pietas vestra audiens vitam ejus judicet. In primaeva enim aetate hypocrita fuit, dicens quod sibi angelus Domini in specie hominis de extremis finibus mundi mirae et tamen incertae sanctitatis reliquias attulerit, et exinde posset omnia quaecunque a Deo posceret impetrare: et tunc demum—domos multorum penetravit et captivas post se mulerculas duxit oneratas peccatis,—et multitudinem rusticorum seduxit, dicentium quod ipse esset vir apostolicae sanctitatis, et signa atque prodigia faceret. Deinde conduxit Episcopos indoctos qui se contra praeccepta canonum absolute ordinaverunt. Tum demum in tantam superbiam elatus est, ut se aequipararet Apostolis Christi. Et dedignabatur in alicujus honore Apostolorum vel Martyrum ecclesiam consecrare, impropere hominibus etiam, cur tantopere studerent sanctorum Apostolorum limina visitare. Postea, quod absurdum est in proprii nominis honore dedicavit oratoria, vel, ut verius dicam, sordidavit. Fecit quoque cruciculas et oratoriola in campis, et ad fontes, vel ubicumque sibi visum fuit: et jussit ibi publicas orationes celebrari, donec multitudines populorum, spreto caeteris Episcopis, et dimissis antiquis ecclesiis, in talibus locis conventus celebrarent, dicentes: Merita sancti Adelberti adjuvabunt nos. Ungulas quoque et capillos suos dedit ad honorificandum et portandum cum reliquiis S. Petri principis Apostolorum. Tum demum, quod maximum scelus, et blasphemia contra Deum esse videbatur, fecit. Venienti enim populo et prostrato ante pedes ejus, et cupienti confiteri peccata sua dixit: Scio omnia peccata vestra, qui mihi cognita sunt omnia occulta. Non est opus confiteri, sed dimissa sunt peccata vestra praeterita: securi et absoluti redite ad domos vestras cum pace. Alter autem haereticus, qui dicitur Clemens, contra catholicam contendit ecclesiam, et canones ecclesiarum Christi abnegat et refutat: tractatus et sermones SS. Patrum, Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii recusat. Synodalia jura spernens, proprio sensu affirmat, se post duos filios, in adulterio natos sub nomine Episcopi esse posse christianae legis Episcopum. Judaismum inducens judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Contra fidem quoque SS. Patrum contendit, dicens, quod Christus filius Dei descendens ad inferos omnes, quos inferni carcer detinuit, inde liberavit, credulos et incredulos, laudatores Dei simul et cultores idolorum: et multa alia horribilia de praedestinatione Dei contraria fidei

glish was.¹² On the other hand, his true Christian piety, which shone forth under all external forms, and his strict morality, which exceeded even his reverence for Rome, are worthy of all respect.¹³

catholicae affirmat. This led to the assembling of a synod at Rome, whose acts are in Mansi. xii. 373. Zachariae P. epist. iii. ad Bonif. [ed. Serar. ep. 144, 139, 138, b. Mansi xii. 321, 334, 336.] Walch's Ketzehist. x. 1. Neander's KG. iii. iii. Rettberg i. 314, 324.

¹² Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten iii. ii. 76.

¹³ Bonifacii ep. ad Zachariam [ed. Serar. ep. 132. ed. Würdtw. 51] : After complaining that a layman in Rome wished to obtain a dispensation, ut in matrimonium acciperet viduam avunculi sui, quae et ipsa fuit uxor consobrini sui, et ipsa illo vivente discessit ab eo, he continues : carnales homines, idiotae Alemanni vel Bajoarii vel Franci, si juxta Romanam urbem aliquid facere viderint ex his peccatis, quae nos prohibemus, licitum et concessum a sacerdotibus esse putant, et nobis improprium deputant, sibi scandalum vitae accipiunt. Sicut affirmant, se vidisse annis singulis in Romana urbe, et juxta ecclesiam in die vel nocte quando, Kalendae Januarii intrant, paganorum consuetudine choros ducere per plateas, et acclamationes ritu Gentilium, et cantationes sacrilegas celebrare : et mensas illa die vel nocte dapibus onerare : et nullum de domo sua vel ignem vel ferramentum vel aliquid commodi vicino suo praestare velle. Dicunt quoque, se vidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu phylacteria et ligaturas, et in brachiis et cruribus ligatas, habere, et publice ad vendendum venales ad comparandum aliis offerre. Quae omnia eo, quod ibi, a carnalibus et insipientibus videntur, nobis hic et improprium et impedimentum praedicationis et doctrinae perficiunt.—Si istas paganas ibi paternitas vestra in Romana urbe prohibuerit, et sibi mercedem et nobis maximum profectum in doctrina ecclesiastica acquirat. Other traits of liberal thinking against Rome may be seen in Rettberg i. 413.

SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY.

§ 5.

EXTENSION OF THE PAPAL POWER IN THE WEST, TO THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Sources : Codex Carolinus in Muratorii script. rerum Ital. T. iii. P. 2. p. 73 ss., best besides other original documents in : Cajet. Cenni monumenta dominationis pontificiae, (Romae 1760. 61. Tomi ii. 4. Comp. Ritter's review in Ernesti's theol. Bibl. vi. 524. 911.) T. i.

François Sabbathier essai historique-critique sur l'origine de la puissance temporelle des Papes, a la Haye 1765. 8. J. R. Becker, über den Zeitpunkt der Veränderung in der Oberherrschaft über die Stadt Rom, Lübeck 1769. 8. Die Karolinger u. die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit, v. J. Ellendorf. 2 Bde. Essen 1838. 8. Planck's Gesch. d. christl. kirchl. Gesellschafts- u. Vereinsverf. Bd. 2. S. 714 ff.

The prohibition of image-worship by the emperor *Leo the Isaurian* (see § 1.) was the cause of Rome, under the guidance of the popes,¹ being in a state of rebellion against the emperors,

¹ Gregory II. from 715-731, Gregory III. † 741, Zachary † 752, Stephanus II. † 757, Paul I. † 767, Constantine II. † 768, Stephanus III. † 772, Hadrian I. † 795, Leo III. † 816, Stephanus IV. † 817, Paschalis I. † 824, Eugenius II. † 827, Valentinus † 827, Gregory IV. † 844, Sergius II. † 847, Leo IV. † 855, Benedict III. † 858. The female pope, Johanna (Johannes Anglicus or Johann VIII.), who is said to have sat in the chair between Leo IV. and Benedict III., is a later fable. It is disputed when this story first appeared. In some MSS. of the liber pontificalis, it has been interpolated from Martinus Polonus. Kist (Nederlandsch Archief voor kerkelijke Geschiedenis III. 27) has drawn attention to the circumstance that, in two Milan Codd. of it, the texts of the vitae of Leo IV., Benedict III., and Nicolaus I., differ very much from the printed texts, and that the design of preventing the possibility of making a female pope appears to have had an influence in part on the printed texts of these lives. But when, p. 39, he wishes to find in a remark of Muratori's, the text of these MSS. relating to the female pope, he ventures to bring the words of Muratori

to allude to the point without sufficient authority. In the older editions of the Chronicles of Marianus Scotus († 1086) and of Sigebertus Gemblacensis († 1113) is found a short passage respecting the female pope, but in the MSS. it is wanting, and was probably inserted at first by the original editors (Monum. Germ. hist. ed. Pertz, Scriptorum v. 551, vi. 340, 470). Thus there appears to remain, as the first voucher for the fact, a person who has been for the most part overlooked, viz., Stephanus de Borbone lib. de vii. donis Spir. S. (written about 1225, in Lyons) in J. Quetifii et A. J. Echardi scriptores Ord. Praedicator. i. 367: *Accidit autem, mirabilis audacia, imo insana, circa ann. Dom, MC. [CM ?] ut dicitur in chronicis. Quaedam mulier literata, et in arte nōndi (notandi ?) edocta, adsumto virali habitu, et virum se fingens, venit Roman, et tam industria, quam literatura accepta, facta est notarius curiae, post diabolo procurante cardinalis, postea Papa. Haec impraegnata cum ascenderet peperit. Quod cum novisset Romana justitia, ligatis pedibus ejus ad pedes equi distracta est extra urbem, et ad dimidiam leucam a populo lapidata, et ubi fuit mortua, ibi fuit sepulta, et super lapidem super ea positum scriptus est versiculus: "Parce pater patrum papissae edere partum."* The same story appears in an enlarged form in Martini Poloni († 1278) chron., and here the passage is perhaps genuine, although it is also wanting in several MSS. (Murator, ad Anastas. p. 247. cf. Ptolemaeus Lucensis about 1312) hist. eccl. xvi. 8. (in Muratori scriptt. rer. Ital. xi. 1013): *Omnes, quos legi, praeter Martinum, tradunt, post Leonem IV. fuisse Benedictum III. Martinus autem Polonus ponit Johannem Anglicum VIII. Even John XX. († 1227) called himself John XXI.* See G. G. Leibnitii flores sparsi in tunulum Papissae (in the Biblioth. hist. Goetting. first part 1758 p. 297 ss.) p. 330. From this time forward, the story was generally believed (comp. the list of writers who repeat it down to the Reformation in Sagittarii introd. i. 679) (see Leibnitius l. c. p. 303-309), the sella stercoraria belonging to her was pointed to (Platina de vitis Pont. no. 106. Leibnit. l. c. p. 335), and statues of her were shown (Mabillon iter Italicum p. 157. Leibnit. p. 333): till in the fifteenth century some (Aeneas Sylvius in ep. 130. Platina l. c.) doubted, and Jo. Aventinus († 1534) in the Annal. Bojorum lib. iv. first rejected it. From this time, being denied by the Catholics, it was adopted and defended by self-entangling Protestant polemics till Dav. Blondel (Question si une femme a été assise en siège papal de Rome entre Léon IV. et Benoît III. Amsterd. 1649, 8. Joanna Papissa s. famosae quaestionis, an foemina ulla inter Leonem IV. et Bened. III. RR. PP. media sederit *ἀνάκτιστος*. Amstelod. 1657. 8.), whom Ph. Labbeus (cenotaphium Jo. Papissae in diss. de scriptoribus eccl. Paris, 1660. i. 385. ap. Mansi xv. 38) transcribed, settled the matter, though the female pope was still defended by F. Spanheim (diss. de Joh. Pap. in Opp. ii. 577 ss., in French, histoire de la Papesse Jeanne, by J. Lensfant 1694., second edition by A. des Vignoles, à la Haye 1720. 2 T. in 12.) The copious literature of this topic may be seen in Sagittarii introd. i. 676. ii. 626. Fabricii bibl. gr. vol. x. p. 935. At the head of the numerous grounds that lie against the existence of a female pope stand those from which it is inferred that Benedict III. immediately succeeded Leo IV. 1. Prudentius, bishop of Troyes († 861), author of the part of the

Annales Bertiniani that relates to this topic, says ad ann. 855 (Monum. German. hist. ed. Pertz. i. 449): Mense Augusto Leo, apostolicae sedis antistes, defunctus est, eique Benedictus successit: and ad ann. 858 (p. 452): Benedictus Romanus pontifex moritur: Nicolaus—substitutur. By these testimonies from a contemporary are also obviated the general doubts raised by Kist (Nederlandsch Archief iii. 53) against the received chronology of these popes. 2. Hincmari epist. xxvi. ad. Nicolaum i. A.D. 867. (ed. Sirmond. ii. 298): Missos meos cum literis Romam direxi. Quibus in via nuntius venit de obitu P. Leonis. Pervenientes autem Romam cum praefatis literis, et intervenientibus praedictis Episcopis, Domnus nomine et gratia Benedictus mihi, quod nostis, privilegium inde direxit. 3. Diploma Bened. in confirmationem privilegiorum Corbejae (ap. Mansi xv. 113, but it was given even by Mabillon de re diplom. p. 436., much more minutely, from the original) at the conclusion: Scriptum—in mense Octobri indictione quarta. Bene valete. Datum Nonas Octobrias—Imp. Dn.—Aug. Hlothario—anno tricesimo nono, et P. C. (post Consulatum) ejustanno xxxix., sed et Hludovico novo Imp. ejus filio anno vii., Ind. quarta. sign. Benedicti Pape (consequently, the 7th Oct. 855. Leo IV. † 17th July 855. Lotharius † 28th Sept. 855. in Prüm). 4. A Roman denarius, on one side of which is: Hlotharius Imp.; on the other, the inscription round it S. Petrus, and in the middle B. N. E. P. A. (Benedictus Papa). See J. Garampi de nummo argent. Bened. III. P. M. Rom. 1749. 4. Köhler's Münzbelustig. Bd. xx. S. 305. That the people in Rome knew nothing of the female pope, in the middle of the eleventh century follows. 5. From an epist. Leonis P. IX. ad. Michaelen Constantinop. Patriarch. opist. A.D. 1054 c. 23 (ap. Mansi xix. 649): Absit autem, ut velinus credere, quod publica fama non dubitat asserere, Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae contigisse, ut enuchos contra primum Nicaeni concilii capitulum passim promovendo, foeminam in sede Pontificum suorum sublimasset aliquando. Hoc tam abominabile scelus, detestabileque facinus etsi enormitas ipsius vel horror fraternaue benevolentia non permittit nos credere etc. Origin of the fable: according to Baronius ann. 869, no. 5. a satire on John VIII. ob nimiam ejus animi facilitatem et mollitudinem; according to others, on the dissolute popes John X. (so Aventinus l. c.), or John XI. or XII. (Onuphrius Panvinius in notis ad Platinam); according to Bellarminus de Rom. Pont. iii. 24, transferred from the see of Constantinople to the Roman (cf. Leon. ix. epist.); according to Leibnitz (l. c. p. 367), true of some one Pontifex (bishop) Joannes Anglicus; according to C. Blascus de collect. can. Isidor. Merc. cap. xvi. § 2 and Henke (KG. ii. 23), a satirical representation of the origin of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals; according to Gfrörer KG. iii. ii. 978, it also referred, in a reproving spirit, to a connection which Leo IV. wished to conclude with the Byzantines. According to Schmidt (KG. iv. 379), it arose from a misrepresentation of the sella stercoraria (respecting it see Mabillon comm. in ordinem Rom. in the Museum Ital. T. II. p. cxxi). Recently the Genevan, Galiffe Pictet, has declared the female pope to be the honourable widow of Leo IV. (Nederlandsch Archief iii. 78. 87). But the Romish Jesuit, Secchi, has declared it to be an invention of the schismatic Greeks, particularly of Gregory As-

without, however, entirely separating itself from the empire.² For they feared the dominion of the Lombards ; who, under *Luitprand* (712–744), were only waiting for a favourable opportunity of forthwith extending their sway over Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna ; while the popes had been endeavouring to prevent them by every means in their power.

It is true that the Greek emperors avenged themselves for this rebellion on the popes, by separating from the latter the provinces of the Greek empire which had been hitherto subject to Rome's ecclesiastical oversight, and stretched out their arm so far as to confiscate the Roman patrimonies ;³ but the popes

besta, and Photius ! When Prof. Kist, in his treatises on the female pope (*Nederl. Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis* iii. 1. v. 461), endeavours to show that the inquiry on this subject cannot yet be considered as finished ; he is only correct so far, as the occasion and origin of the fable are not yet explained. It is probable that it will never be possible to arrive at certainty respecting them.

² Anastasius in vit. xc. Gregorii ii. : Cognita vero Imperatoris nequitia, omnis Italia consilium iniit, ut sibi eligerent Imperatorem, et Constantinopolim ducerent. Sed compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem Principis.—blando omnes sermone, ut bonis in Deum proficerent actibus et in fide persisterent, rogabat. Sed ne desisterent ab amore vel fide Romani Imperii, admonebat. Theophanes p. 338 : Γρηγόριος ὁ Πάπας Ῥώμης τοὺς φόρους Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥώμης ἐκώλυσε, et p. 342 : ἀπέστῃσε Ῥώμην τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑπακοῆς Λέοντος καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν βασιλείας. The last passage, which is repeated by all the Byzantine writers, must be corrected and explained by that from Anastasius. Still Baronius ad ann. 730. § 5. follows the Greek writers with the application : Sic dignum posteris idem Gregorius reliquit exemplum, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur haeretici principes, si saepe moniti in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur. So too Bellarminus de Rom. Pont. v. 8 : Gregorius Leoni Imp. iconomacho a se excommunicato prohibuit vectigalia solvi ab Italis, et proinde mulctavit eum parte imperii. This Ultramontane view, defended even so late as the 18th century by A. Sandini, J. S. Assemani, and others, is controverted, particularly by the Gallican Natalis Alexander, L. E. du Pin, J. B. Bossuet, etc. Comp. Walch's *Ketzerhist.* x. 263.

³ Theophanes, p. 343. merely mentions the confiscation of the Roman patrimonies in Sicily and Calabria. On the contrary, Hadrianus P. i. ep. ad Carol R. de imaginibus in fine (*Mansi* xiii. 868), says that he has reminded the Greek emperors de dioecesi tam Archiepiscoporum quam et Episcoporum sanctae catholicae et apostolicae Romanae Ecclesiae, and prayed for their restitution, quae tunc cum patrimonii nostris abstulerunt, quando sacras imagines deposuerunt. That the

gained proportionably in the new western kingdoms. At the commencement of this period England was the only one of the countries in the West which was closely united with the popes; and the numerous pilgrimages of the English to Rome caused (A. D. 794) *Offa*, king of Mercia, to erect an English establishment in that city.⁴ But the notions entertained of Peter, heaven's porter, who considered what was done to his successors as done to himself, made a deep impression even out of England, and were therefore unceasingly insisted on by the popes.⁵ *Boniface*, having been invited (743) by *Carlmann* and *Pipin* to assist in restoring order to the Frankish Church, which had got into wild confusion under *Charles Martell*, appeared in this new task also as the papal legate,⁶ and thus brought the Frank rulers, as well as the newly-ordered Frankish Church, into closer connection with Rome.⁷ Afterwards, as archbishop of Mainz, and most dis-

vicariat-relation of the bishop of Thessalonica, in particular, was abolished at that time, may be fairly concluded from Nicolai i. epist. ad Michael. Imp. (ap. Mansi xv. 167.)

⁴ That it was not Ina, King of Wessex, 726, but Offa, King of Mercia, who introduced Peter's pence, may be seen from Sprengel, in the allg. Weltgesch. Th. 47. S. 123.

⁵ Comp. Div. 2. § 133. note 1. Gregorii ii. epist. i. ad Leonem Imp. (ap. Mansi xii. 971): τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλείαι τῆς δύσεως Θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι. Comp. the addresses of the popes to the Frankish kings, in which they constantly refer to beatum Petrum clavigerum regni caelorum, or janitorem r. c.; and, in particular, Claudi locum, below § 11. note 11.

⁶ Bonifac. epist. ad Zachariam P. ed. Serar. 132: Notum similiter sit paternitati vestrae, quod Carolomannus, Dux Francorum, me accersitum ad se, rogavit, ut in parte regni Francorum, quae in sua est potestate, synodum facerem congregari: et promisit, se de ecclesiastica religione, quae jam longo tempore i. e. non minus quam per lx. vel lxx. annos calcata et dissipata fuit, aliquid corrigere et emendare velle. Quapropter si hoc, Deo inspirante, veraciter implere voluerit, consilium et praeceptum vestrae auctoritatis i. e. apostolicae habere et sapere debeo.

⁷ At first not without doubts and scruples on the part of many Frankish bishops. Thus Boniface wished even to send pallia to the new metropolitans of Rheims, Rouen, and Sens (743). Zacharias was ready at once (op. ad Bonif. in Bonif. epp. 144. Mansi xii. 321): Qualiter mos pallii sit, vel quomodo fidem suam exponere debeant hi, qui pallio uti conceduntur, eis direximus. But soon after two drew back, and Zacharias asks Boniface with surprise about the original cause (Bonif. epp. 143. Mansi xii. 324), quod autea nobis una cum memoratis prin-

tinguished bishop of the kingdom, his efforts were constantly directed to the establishment of the papal authority in this country also. When therefore Pipin wished for *the title* as well as *the power* of king, and needed a priestly declaration that this transference of loyalty was consonant with the divine laws, partly in order to obviate the conscientious scruples of the Franks,⁸ and partly not to render insecure all succeeding oaths of allegiance by one act of perjury; he could only seek for this sanction from the pope, as the acknowledged high priest; and Zacharias, by his ready consent (752),⁹ laid the new kings under an obligation to render still more important services to Rome.

cipibus Galliarum pro tribus palliis suggestisti, et postea pro solo Grimone (Archbp. of Rouen). In the mean time, 748, Zachariae ep. ad diversos Episc. Galliae et Germaniae, particularly to the bishops of Rouen, Beauvais, Noyon, Tongern, Speyer, Terouanne, Cambrai, Würzburg, Laon, Meaux, Cöln, and Strassburg (Mansi xii. 344): Gaudeo in vobis, charissimi, quoniam fides vestra, et unitas erga nos pretiosa est et manifesta,—dum ad fautorem et magistrum vestrum a Deo constitutum beatum Apostolorum principem Petrum benignissima voluntate conversi estis.—Et nunc Deo cooperante est aggregata Sanctitas vestra nostrae societati in uno pastoralis ovili etc.

⁸ How firmly and truly the Franks adhered to the Merovingian kingly race may be seen from Löbell's Gregorius von Tours, S. 220. It was natural for Pipin to wish that this loyalty should be transferred to his family.

⁹ Respecting this are the accounts of contemporaries: the author of the Appendix to Fredegarii chron. concludes with this occurrence, and probably wrote immediately after (Bouquet ii. 460): Quo tempore una cum consilio et consensu omnium Francorum, missa relatione a sede apostolica auctoritate percepta, praecelsus Pippinus electione totius Franciae in sedem regni cum consecratione Episcoporum et subjectione Principum una cum Regina Bertradane, ut antiquitus ordo deposcit, sublimatur in regno. The conclusion which a copyist has attributed to him from a Codex of Gregor. Turin. de gloria confessorum in the year 767, transcribed by the former (Bouquet v. 9): Pippinus, Rex pius, per auctoritatem et imperium sanctae recordationis domni Zachariae Papae, et unctionem sancti chrismatis per manus beatorum sacerdotum Galliarum, et electionem omnium Francorum,—in regni solio sublimatus est. Postea (754 in St Denys) per manus ejusdem Stephani pontificis—in Regem et Patricium, una cum praedictis filiis Carolo et Carlomanno in nomine sanctae Trinitatis unctus et benedictus est.—Pontifex—Francorum principes benedictione et Spiritus sancti gratia confirmavit, et tali omnes interdicta et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut numquam de alterius lumbis Regem in aevo praesumant eligere sed ex ipsorum, quos et divina pietas exaltare dignata est, et sanctorum Apos-

When the Lombard king, *Aistulph* (752) had already overrun the Exarchate, and threatened Rome, *Stephen II.* flew to Pipin for aid.¹⁰ This was readily granted, and in two campaigns (754

tolorum intercessionibus per manus vicarii ipsorum beatissimi Pontificis confirmare et consecrare disposuit. The *Annales Laurissenses*, written in the first years of Charlemagne, ad ann. 749 [751] (*Pertzii monum. Germaniae hist. i. 136*): Burghardus Wirzeburgensis Episcopus et Folradus Capellanus missi fuerunt ad Zachariam Papam, interrogando de Regibus in Francia, qui illis temporibus non habentes regalem potestatem, si bene fuisset, an non. Et Zacharias Papa mandavit Pippino, ut melius esset illum Regem vocari, qui potestatem haberet, quam illum, qui sine regali potestate manebat; ut non conturbaretur ordo, per auctoritatem apostolicam jussit Pippinum Regem fieri. Ad ann. 750 [752]: Pippinus secundum morem Francorum electus est ad Regem, et unctus per manum sanctae memoriae Bonifacii Archiepiscopi (denied by Le Cointe, Eckhart, and Rettberg *K. G. Deutschl. i. 380*), et elevatus a Francis in regno in Sussionis civitate. Hildericus vero, qui false Rex vocabatur, tonsoratus est et in monasterium missus. A later ultramontane view, Gregorii VII. (in Gratiani decret. P. ii. Causa xv. qu. vi. c. 3): Alius etiam Romanus Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, Regem Francorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo, quod tantae potestati erat inutilis, a regno deposuit; et Pipinum, Caroli magni Imp. patrem, in ejus locum substituit, omnesque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis, quod illi fecerant, absolvit. Cf. J. Gu. Loebell *disp. de causis regni Francorum a Merovingis ad Carolingos translati. Bonnae 1844. 4.*

¹⁰ Anastasius in vit. xciv. Stephani ii.: cernens ab imperiali potentia nullum esse subveniendi auxilium, tunc quemadmodum praedecessores ejus, beatae memoriae dominus Gregorius, et Gregorius alius, et dominus Zacharias, beatissimi Pontifices, Carolo, excellentissimae memoriae, Regi Francorum, direxerunt, petentes sibi subveniri propter oppressiones ac invasiones, quas et ipsi in hac Romanorum provincia a nefanda Longobardorum gente perpassi sunt: ita modo et ipse—clam per quandam peregrinum suas misit literas Pipino etc. Comp. the pope's address between the first and second campaigns. *Cod. Carol. no. iii. iv. vi. vii. especially no. iii.*: Ego Petrus Apostolus—qui vos adoptivos habeo filios, ad defendendum de manibus adversariorum hanc Romanam civitatem et populum mihi a Deo commissum, sed et domum, ubi secundum carnem requiesco, de contaminatione gentium eruendam, vestram omnium dilectionem provocans adhortor, et ad liberandam Ecclesiam Dei mihi a divina potentia commendatam omnino protestans admoneo.—Sed et domina nostra, Dei genitrix semper virgo Maria, nobiscum vos magnis obligationibus adjurans protestatur, atque admonet et jubet, sicut simul etiam throni atque dominationes, et cunctus caelestis militiae exercitus, nec non et martyres atque confessores Christi et omnes omnino Deo placentes, et hi nobiscum adhortantes et conjurantes protestantur etc.—Praestate ergo populo meo Romano, mihi a Deo commisso,—praesidia totis vestris viribus, ut ego Petrus vocatus Dei Apostolus, in hac vita, et in die futuri examinis vobis alterna impendens patrocinia, in regno Dei

and 755) the Lombards were compelled to give up all they had taken. Pipin himself assumed the Patriciate of Rome,¹¹ and made the Pope *Patricius* of the Exarchate,¹² both, however, tacitly acknowledging the supremacy of the Greek empire. It now became a part of the papal policy to prevent all friendly connection between the Lombards, whom they still feared, and the Franks;¹³ in which design they succeeded so well, that when new

lucidissima ac praeclara vobis praeparem tabernacula, atque praemia aeternae retributionis, et infinita paradisi gaudia vobis pollicens adinvicem tribuam.—Non separemini a populo meo Romano: sic non sitis alieni aut separati a regno Dei, et vita aeterna. Quidquid enim poscetis a me, subveniam vobis videlicet, et patrocinium impendam.—Si autem, quod non credimus, et aliquum posueritis moram;—sciatis vos ex auctoritate sanctae et unicae Trinitatis per gratiam apostolatus, quae data est mihi a Christo Domino, vos alienari pro transgressione nostrae adhortationis a regno Dei et vita aeterna.

¹¹ The patriciate was a dignity established by Constantine the Great, the highest after the imperial, which was bestowed for life, and was capable of being united with different offices. *Patricius Romae* was properly governor of Rome, who at the same time possessed the authority of a *Patricius*. Before this time German kings had received the title of a consul or *Patricius* from emperors (Eichhorn's *deutsche Rechtsgesch.* i. 170.) Pipin received it from Stephen as representative of the Roman people. See the appendix to *Gregor. Tur. not.* 9.

¹² Anastasius in *vit. Stephani* ii. *Comp. Savigny's Gesch. des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter* Bd. i. (2te Ausg. Heidelberg 1834) S. 357. Pertz in the *Monum.* iv. ii. 7. Gfrörer's *K. G.* iii. ii. 571. Hence Hadrianus ad Carol. M. (*Cod. Car. no. 85. ed. Cenni p. 521*) A. D. 790, contrasts the *Patriciatu* b. *Petri* with the *Patriciatu* Caroli.

¹³ *Comp. Stephani* iii. ep. ad Carolum et Carolomanum respecting a marriage projected between the two royal families A. D. 770, in the *Cod. Carol. no. 45*: Quod certe si ita est, haec propria diabolica est immissio, et non tam matrimonii conjunctio, sed consortium nequissimae adventionis esse videtur.—Quae est enim, praecellentissimi filii, magni Reges, talis desipientia, ut penitus vel dici liceat, quod vestra praeclara Francorum gens, quae super omnes gentes enitet, et tam splendida ac nobilissima regalis vestrae potentiae proles, perfida, quod absit, ac foentissima Langobardorum gente polluat, quae in numero gentium nequaquam computatur, de cujus natione et leprosum genus oriri certum est?—Quapropter et b. Petrus, princeps Apostolorum, cui regni caelorum claves a Domino Deo traditae sunt, et caelo ac terra ligandi solvendique concessa est potestas, firmiter Excellentiam vestram per nostram infelicitatem obtestatur,—ut nullo modo quisquam de vestra fraternitate praesumat filiam jam dicti Desiderii, Langobardorum Regis, in conjugium accipere, nec iterum vestra nobilissima germana, Deo amabilis Gisila, tribuatur filio saepe fati Desiderii.—Praesentem itaque

inroads were made by the Lombards under *Desiderius*, *Charlemagne* having been summoned to his assistance by *Hadrian I.*, appeared immediately in order to destroy the kingdom of the Lombards (774). After Charles had confirmed and enlarged the grants made by Pipin,¹⁴ he exercised in Italy all imperial rights,¹⁵ even in ecclesiastical matters,¹⁶ till at length the very

nostram exhortationem atque adjurationem in confessione b. Petri ponentes, et sacrificium super eam atque hostias Deo nostro offerentes, vobis cum lacrymis ex eadem sacra confessione direximus. Et si quis, quod non optamus, contra hujusmodi nostrae adjurationis atque exhortationis seriem agere praesumserit, sciat, se auctoritate Domini mei b. Petri, Apostolorum principis, anathematis vinculo esse innodatum et a regno Dei alienum, atque cum diabolo et ejus atrocissimis pompis, et ceteris impiis, aeternis incendiis concremandum deputatum. At vero qui observator et custos istius nostrae exhortationis exstiterit, caelestibus benedictionibus a Domino Deo nostro illustratus, aeternis praemiorum gaudiis, cum omnibus Sanctis et electis Dei particeps effici mereatur. Still Charlemagne married Desideria, though he put her away a year after.

¹⁴ Anastasius in vita Hadriani i. Pertz in the Monum. iv. ii. 8.

¹⁵ Gfrörer's K. G. iii. ii. 581.

¹⁶ In the disputes about investiture, it was asserted by the imperial party that these ecclesiastical rights had been formally bestowed on King Charles by the Pope and a Roman synod. They referred to Leonis p. viii. privilegium, given in 963 to the emperor Otto (in Pertz monum. vi. ii. 166): B. Hadrianus—domno Carolo, victoriosissimo Regi Francorum ac Longobardorum, ac Patricio Romanorum, ac ordinationem apostolicae sedis et episcopatum concessit. This document, however, is probably spurious. See Pertz l. c. Dönniges Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto i. (Berlin 1839) S. 102. More copious accounts are found in several works belonging to the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. So in the *Collectio can. tripartita*, written in the time of Urban II., and in Ivo's decree (in Pertz monum. iv. ii. 160 note): after Desiderius was taken captive, Carolus Romam reversus, constituit ibi synodum cum Adriano Papa.—Adrianus autem Papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi Pontificem et ordinandi apostolicam sedem, dignitatem quoque Patriciatus ei concesserunt. Insuper Archiepiscopos, Episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere diffiniverunt, et ut, nisi a Rege laudetur et investiatur Episcopus, a nemine consecretur. Et quicumque contra hoc decretum esset, anathematis eum vinculo innodaverunt, et nisi resipisceret, bona ejus publicari praeceperunt. This account was also inserted in the *Chronicle of Siegbert of Gemblours* in the monastery of Anchin at Douay 1113, (Pertz monum. scriptt. vi. 393. Hence poor Siegbert was accused by Baronius ann. 774 no. 10 of a deceitful fabrication. Pagi, however, critt. iii. 343, perceived that this passage was interpolated by others). The same account

appearance of the supremacy of the Greek emperor vanished,¹⁷ so that Charles (*novus Constantinus*)¹⁸ received the West Roman imperial crown from the hands of Leo III. (25th Dec. 800.)¹⁹ The Pope, assuming all the rights of the former Exarch, began to

also appears in somewhat different words in a treatise composed A. D. 1109 at Naumburg by the bishop Waltram, or the abbott Conrad (Tüb. theol. Quartalschr. 1838 S. 348) de investitura Episcoporum (in Schardii syntagma tractatum de imperiali jurisdictione p. 72, and in the Tübingen theol. Quartalschr. 1837 S. 187). The truth of the case is, that Charles now began to exercise in Italy also in the capacity of governor-general of the country, the same rights which he had always exercised in the empire of the Franks. It was not till a later time that the opinion was entertained that these rights must have been established by papal concessions; though Charles had not to receive privileges from the pope, but the pope from him.

¹⁷ That they were still acknowledged as late as 785 is proved by Hadriani P. ep. ad Constantinum et Irenen (in Actis Conc. Nic. ii. Actio iii. ap. Mansi xii. 1056).

¹⁸ Hadriani p. i. ep. ad Carolum A. D. 777 (Cod. Carol. no. 49): Et sicut temporibus b. Sylvestri Rom. Pont. a sanctae recordationis piissimo Constantino M. Imperatore per ejus largitatem sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris S. Dei Ecclesia, i. e., b. Petri Apostoli, germinet atque exsultet:—quia ecce novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus Imperator his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae Ecclesiae bb. Apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignatus est. Sed et cuncta alia, quae per diversos Imperatores Patricios etiam et alios Deum timentes, pro eorum animae mercede et venia delictorum—b. Petro Apostolo—concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Langobardorum per annorum spatia, abstracta atque ablata sunt, vestris temporibus restituantur. Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus etc. Many find here a reference to the Donatio Constantini M., namely, de Marca de conc. Sac. de et Imp. lib. iii. c. 12 (according to whom it was forged, A. D. 767, jussu Romanorum Pontiff. pia quadam industria.) On the contrary, it is shown by Cenni monum. domin. Pontiff. i. 304, that Hadrian had here before his eyes only the Acta Sylvestri, to which he also refers in the ep. ad. Constantinum et Irenen (in the Actis Conc. Nic. ii. Act. ii., ap. Mansi xiii. 529), and which first served for the basis of the later Donatio Constantini. Probably, too, the expression in the prominent treatise, viz. potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est had also an influence on the later forgery.

¹⁹ 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 capiti ejus imposuit, et a cuncto Romanorum populo acclamatum est: Karolo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria! Et post

exerciso the patriciate of Rome also. Rome itself continued an imperial city,²⁰ the popes were obliged to swear fidelity to the emperor, acknowledging him as their lord and judge;²¹ though the papal dignity was held to be superior to all ecclesiastical courts,²² and the first in the world.²³

Laudes ab Apostolico more antiquorum principum adoratus est, atque ablato Patricii nomine, Imperator et Augustus est appellatus. Alcuini *Leben von D. F. Lorenzt.* Halle 1829. S. 218 ff.

²⁰ In Charlemagne's will (*vita Car. M. per Einhardum c. 33*) stand the nomina metropolium civitatum: Roma, Ravenna, Mediolanum etc.

²¹ *Comp. Caroli M. ep. ad Leonem iii. P. (Alcuini epist. 84. Mansi xiii. 980)* referring to his entering on the episcopal see, A. D. 795: *Perlectis Excellentiae vestrae litteris, et audita decretali chartula, valde, ut fateor, gavisus sumus, seu in electionis unanimitate, sue in humilitatis vestrae obidientia, et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate.—Sicut enim cum beatissimo praedecessore vestrae sanctae paternitatis pactum inii, sic cum beatitudine vestra ejusdem fidei et caritatis inviolabile foedus statuere desidero.—Nostrum est, secundum auxilium divinae pietatis, sanctam ubique Christi Ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum, et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire. Vestrum est, sanctissime pater, elevatis ad Deum cum Moyse manibus, nostram adjuvare militiam, quatenus vobis intercedentibus, Deo ductore et datore, populus christianus super inimicos sui sancti nominis ubique semper habeat victoriam, et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi toto clarificetur in orbe. Vestrae vero auctoritatis prudentia canones ubique sequatur; quatenus totius sanctitatis exempla omnibus evidenter in vestra fulgeant conversatione, et sanctae admonitionis exhortatio audiatur ab ore; quatenus sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in caelis est (Matth. v. 16). The abbot Angilbert, who had to convey this letter to the pope, he at the same time charges (*Caroli. ep. ad Angilb. ap. Mansi xiii. 981*): *Domnum apostolicum Papam nostrum admoneas diligenter de omni honestate vitae suae, et praecipue de sanctorum observatione canonum, de pia sanctae Dei Ecclesiae gubernatione.—Ingerasque ei saepius, quam paucorum honor ille, quem praesentialiter habet, annorum, quam multorum est perpetualiter merces, quae datur bene laboranti in eo. Et de simoniaca subvertendo haeresi diligentissime suadeas illi, quae sanctum ecclesiae corpus multis male maculat in locis. Et quidquid mente tenes saepius querelis agitare inter nos.* On the oath to be taken by the popes to the emperor, see below §. 6, not. 4 and 5. Baluzius in *notis ad Agobardum. ii. 122. ejusd. praef. in Capitularia §. 21 ss.* On the *Missi dominici* in Rome, see *Muratorii antiqu. Ital. medii aevi diss. ix. Tom. i. p. 455 ss. Ch. G. F. Walchii diss. hist. de missis dominicis Pontificis Romani iudicibus. Jenae 1749. 4.**

²² When A.D. 800, Leo III. had been maltreated and fled to Charlemagne, and when many accusations were brought against him, the em-

§ 6.

PROGRESS OF THE PAPAL POWER AFTER CHARLEMAGNE.

The immediate successors, too, of Charlemagne maintained their civil lordly rights over Rome¹ and the Pope.² But the

peror assembled a synod in St Peter's Church to examine the case. This synod, however, declared: *Nos sedem apostolicam, quae est caput omnium Dei Ecclesiarum, judicare non audemus. Nam ab ipsa nos omnes, et Vicario suo judicamur, ipsa autem a nemine judicatur, quemadmodum et antiquitus mos fuit.* And Leo spontaneously cleared himself by an oath, Anastasius in vita Leonis III. On the origin of that view, see vol. i. Div. 2, § 117, not. 14, 15.

²³ The relations of that time are plainly described by Alcuinus epist. 80. [ed. Froben.] ad Carolum R. A. D. 799: *Tres Personae in mundo altissimae hucusque fuerunt: apostolica sublimitas, quae b. Petri principis Apostolorum sedem vicario munere regere solet.—Alia est imperialis dignitas, et secundae Romae secularis potentia.—Tertia est regalis dignitas, in qua vos Domini nostri J. C. dispensatio rectorem populi christiani disposuit, caeteris praefatis dignitatibus potentia excellentiorem, sapientia clariorem, regni dignitate sublimiorem.* Ecce in te solo tota salus Ecclesiarum Christi inclinata recumbit. Tu vindex scelerum, tu rector errantium, tu consolator moerentium, tu exaltatio bonorum, etc.

¹ The Act of Lewis the Debonaire (in Pertz monum iv. ii. 6), in which he, among other things, makes a present of the civitatem Romanam cum ducatu suo et surburbanis, etc., also to the pope was interpolated in the eleventh century, cf. Ch. G. F. Walch censura diplomatis, quod Ludov. P. Paschali i. concessisse fertur. Lips. 1749. also in Potii sylloge comm. theoll. vi. 278, and Pertz. l. c.

² Examples: An inquiry instituted against Leo III., who had executed some Romans. See vita Ludov. Pii per Astronomum c. 25 ap. Pertz. ii. 619.—Stephanus iv. statim postquam pontificatum suscepit, jussit omnem populum Romanum fidelitatem cum juramento promittere Hludowico (Theganus de gestis Ludov. P. c. 16, ib. p. 594), and when he travelled to the emperor, praemisit legationem, quae super ordinatione ejus Imperatori satisfaceret. (Astronomus c. 26).—When Lothar was crowned in Rome (823) the abbot of the monastery Farfa complained to him, suum monasterium ablata pristina libertate sub tributo ac pensione a Romanis Pontificibus constrictum, multasque possessiones eidem monasterio violenter ablatas. The result of the inquiry was, quod praedictum monasterium nullatenus sub jure et dominatione praefatae Romanae Ecclesiae, vel sub tributo et pensione esse

natural effect of their situation was to inspire the popes with the desire of bringing their power into some proportion with the honour assigned them; the aversion of the Romans to the rule of the barbarous Franks aided them in this; and it needed only weak and disunited princes to insure success to their efforts. Traces of such an endeavour were exhibited even under the government of Lewis the Debonaire.³ Though *Eugenius II.*, in addition to the Romans, had been expressly reminded by the Emperor Lothar (824) of his allegiance,⁴ yet *Gregory IV.*, at

deberet, and Paschalis I. was obliged to restore omnes res, quas ex eodem monasterio potestas antecessorum ejusdem injuste abstulerat. See the diplomata Lotharii in the Chronicon Farfense in Muratorii scriptt. rer. Ital. ii. ii. 386.

³ Astronomus c. 37: Sub hoc tempore [ann. 823] perlatum est Imperatori, Theodorum Prinicerium S. Ecclesiae Romanae et Leonem Nomenclatorem luminibus privatos, ac deinde decollatos in domo episcopali Lateranensi. Invidia porro interfectoibus inurebatur, eo quod diceretur, ob fidelitatem Lotharii eos, qui interfecti sunt, talia fuisse perpressos. In qua re fama quoque Pontificis laedebatur, dum ejus consensui totum adscriberetur. Missi were sent to Rome and Paschalis P. ab interfectorum nece se cum plurimis Episcoporum sacramento purgavit.

⁴ Astronomus c. 38: Immediately after Eugenius II. ascended the episcopal throne (824), Lotharius comes to Rome, cumque de his, quae accesserant, quereretur, quare scilicet hi, qui Imperatori sibi que et Francis fideles fuerant, iniqua nece peremti fuerint, et qui superviverent ludibrio reliquis haberentur: quare etiam tantae querelae adversus Romanorum Pontifices judicesque sonarent; repertum est, quod quorundam Pontificum vel ignorantia vel desidia, sed et judicum caeca et inexplebili cupiditate, multorum praedia injuste fuerint confiscata. Ideoque reddendo quae injuste sublata erant, Lotharius magnam populo Romano creavit laetitiam. Statutum etiam juxta antiquum morem, ut ex latere Imperatoris mitterentur, qui judicariam exercentes potestatem, justitiam omni populo, tempore quo visum foret Imperatori, aequa lance penderent. The Constitutio Romana, by which Lotharius at that time restored order in Rome, may be seen in Pertz monum. iii. 239. At that time clergy and people were obliged even swear anew, Continuator supplementi Longobardicorum Pauli Diac. ap. Bouquet vi. 173: Et hoc est juramentum, quod Romano clero et populo ipse (Lotharius) et Eugenius P. facere imperavit: Promitto ego ille per Deum omnipotentem et per ista sacra iv. Evangelia, et per hanc crucem D. N. J. C. et per corpus beatissimi Petri principis Apostolorum, quod ab hac die in futurum fidelis ero dominis nostris Imperatoribus Hludowico et Hlothario diebus vitae meae, juxta vires et intellectum meum, sine fraude atque malo ingenio, salva fide, quam repromisi domino Apostolico: et quod

the rebellion of the sons of Lewis (833), appeared willing to interfere as a superior mediator in their favour.⁵ But he was withstood in the attempt. By the treaty of *Verdun* (843) the popes received in the Emperor *Lothar* a less powerful master, who besides was frequently employed out of Italy, while Rome was often threatened by the invasions of the Saracens now commencing.

non consentiam, ut aliter in hac sede Romana fiat electio Pontificis nisi canonice et juste, secundum vires et intellectum meum : et ille qui electus fuerit, me consentiente, consecratus Pontifex non fiat, priusquam tale sacramentum faciat in praesentia Missi domini Imperatoris et populi, cum juramento, quale dominus Eugenius Papa sponte pro conservatione omnium factum habet per scriptum.

⁵ Astronomus c. 48. When it was reported of Gregory, who was in the camp of the sons, quod ideo adesset, ut tam Imperatorem quam Episcopos excommunicationis irretire vellet vinculis, si qui inobedientes essent suae filiorumque Imperatoris voluntati : parum quid subripuit Episcopis Imperatoris praesumptionis audaciae, asserentibus nullo modo se velle ejus auctoritati succumbere : sed si excommunicans adveniret, excommunicatus abiret : cum aliter se habeat antiquorum auctoritas Canonum. Paschasius Radbertus in vita Walae Abb. lib. ii. (in Pertz monum. ii. 562) says of the bishops on Lewis's side : insuper consiliabantur firmantes, proh dolor, quod eundem Apostolicum, quia non vocatus venerat, deponere deberent.—Quibus auditis Pontifex plurimum mirabatur ac verebatur. Unde et ei dedimus (the bishops and monks of Lothar's party) nonnulla SS. Patrum auctoritate firmata, praedecessorumque suorum conscripta, quibus nullus contradicere possit, quod ejus esset potestas, inno Dei et b. Petri Apostoli, suaque auctoritas, ire, mittere ad omnes gentes pro fide Christi et pace Ecclesiarum, pro praedicatione Evangelii et adsertione veritatis, et in eo esset omnis auctoritas b. Petri excellens, et potestas viva ; a qua oporteret universos judicari, ita ut ipse a nemine judicandus esset (comp. § 5. not. 22). Quibus profecto gratanter acceptis valde confortatus est. Agobard, though on the pope's side, yet writes to Lewis, de comparatione utriusque regiminis c. 4 : Certe, clementissime domine, si nunc Gregorius Papa irrationabiliter et ad pugnandum venit, merito et pugnatus et repulsus recedet. Si autem pro quiete et pace populi et vestra laborare nititur, bene et rationabiliter obtemperandum est illi, non repugnandum.—Gregorii ep. ad Episcop. regni Francorum (ap. Mansi xiv. 521, a reply to a writing of Lewis's bishops, which is now lost) : Bene autem subjungitis, memorem me esse debere jurisjurandi causa fidei facti Imperatori. Quod si feci, in hoc volo vitare perjurium, si annuntiavere ei omnia, quae contra unitatem et pacem Ecclesiae et regni committit : quod si non fecero, perjurus ero, sicut et vos, si tamen juravi. Hincmar epist. 41. ad Hadrianum II. : Et quomodo Gregorius subreptus cum Lothario patri suo repugnante in Franciam venit, et pax postea in Francia ut antea non fuit, et ipse Papa cum tali honore, sicut decuerat, et sui antecessores fecerunt, Romam non rediit.

Thus attempts could now be made to avoid the legal sanction of the emperor at the election of popes.⁶ At the choosing of *Sergius II.* (844) this neglect of the imperial authority was indeed blamed,⁷ but yet it was repeated at that of *Leo IV.* (847).⁸ This pope even manifested an ambitious design, by means of new forms which he had inserted in the writing addressed to the princes,⁹ though he still saw himself under the necessity of giving valid assurances of his allegiance,¹⁰ perhaps in consequence of the examination of a conspiracy which was alleged to have been projected at Rome.¹¹ Hence, at the election of *Benedict III.* (855)

⁶ See above, note 4. So still in Gregory IV. Einhardi annales ann. 827: Gregorius—electus, sed non prius ordinatus est, quam legatus Imperatoris Romam venit, et electionem populi, qualis esset. examinavit.

⁷ Prudentii Trecensis ann. (or ann. Bertiniani) ann. 844: Quo (Sergio) in sede apostolica ordinato, Lotharius filium suum Hludovicum Romam cum Drogone, Mediomatricorum Episcopo, dirigit, acturos, ne deinceps decedente Apostolico quisquam illic praeter sui jussionem missorumque suorum praesentiam ordinetur antistes. Qui Romam venientes, honorifice suscepti sunt etc. Anastasius bibl. in vita Sergii: Tunc demum in eadem Ecclesia (s. Petri) sedentes pariter tam beatissimus Pontifex, quam magnus Rex, et omnes Archiepiscopi atque Episcopi—fidelitatem Lothario magno Imperatori semper Augusto promiserunt.

⁸ When Rome was just threatened by the Saracens (Anastasius in vita cv. Leonis IV.): Romani—novi electione Pontificis congaudentes, coeperunt iterum non mediocriter contristari, eo quod sine imperiali non audebant auctoritate futurum consecrare Pontificem, periculumque Romanae urbis maxime metuebant, ne iterum, ut olim, aliis ab hostibus fuisset obsessa. Hoc timore et futuro casu perterriti, eum sine permissu Principis Praesulem consecraverunt, fidem quoque illius, sive honorem post Deum per omnia et in omnibus conservantes.

⁹ He first put his name before the names of the princes, and avoided the appellation Dominus, hitherto used towards them. cf. Garnerius ad libr. diurnum Pontiff. Rom. p. 151.

¹⁰ Anastasius in vita Leonis IV. in fine: A Roman leader, Daniel, complained of another, Gratian, before the Emperor Lewis, that he had said privately to him: Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium praebent, sed magis quae nostra sunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Graecos, et cum eis foedus pacis componentes Francorum Regem et gentem de nostro regno et dominatione expellimus? The emperor immenso furore accensus hastened to Rome, instituted an enquiry, but found the accusation groundless. It had been, however, calculated from probability, and may lead us to infer what was the general voice in Rome.

¹¹ Leo IV. ad Ludov. Imp. (so according to Pius II. in d'Archery spicileg. iii. 811) in Gratiani decreto P. ii. C. 2 Qu. 7 c. 41: Nos si in-

they did not venture to proceed again without the emperor's sanction.¹² But inasmuch as the Carlovingian princes generally, with the full consciousness of mastery over their clergy, allowed themselves to be misled into the practice of yielding up to them even rights superior to their own, with the view of employing them as an instrument so much the more powerful in their hands; inasmuch as they allowed themselves by turns to be deposed by their bishops,¹³ thinking that they could again make their

competenter aliquid egimus, et in subditis justae legis tramitem non conservavimus, vestro ac Missorum vestrorum cuncta volumus emendare iudicio. Leo IV. Lothario Augusto (ap. Gratianus P. i. dist. x. c. 9.): De capitulis vel praeceptis imperialibus vestris, vestrorumque (pontificum) praedecessorum irrefragabiliter custodiendis et conservandis, quantum valuimus et valemus Christo propitio, et nunc, et in aeternum nos conservaturos modis omnibus profiteamur. Et si fortasse quilibet aliter vobis dixerit vel dicturus fuerit, sciatis eum pro certo mendacem. On this document see Baluzzii praef. ad T. I. Capitularium § 21 ss. On the interpolation pontificum see Antonii Augustini de emendatione Gratiani lib. i. dial. 19.

¹² Anastas. in vita Benedictii III.: Clerus et cuncti proceres decretum (electionis) componentes propriis manibus roboraverunt, et, consuetudo prisca ut poscit, invictissimis Lothario ac Ludovico destinaverunt Augustis. Imperial Missi appeared, and were introduced with solemnity, and in their presence finally Benedict was consecrated.

¹³ The Concil. Paris. ann. 829, in an epistle to the emperors Lewis and Lothar, lib. iii. c. 8 (Mansi xiv. 597), first asserts that bishops are the judges of kings: Petimus humiliter vestram Excellentiam, ut per vos filii et proceres vestri nomen, potestatem, vigorem et dignitatem sacerdotalem cognoscant.—Illud etiam ad exemplum eis reducendum est, quod in ecclesiastica historia (Rufini x. 2) Constantinus Imp. Episcopis ait Deus, inquit, constituit vos sacerdotes, et potestatem vobis dedit de nobis quoque iudicandi: et ideo nos a vobis recte iudicamur; vos autem non potestis ab hominibus iudicari caet. This doctrine was first brought into life by the Synod of Compiègne (833), by which the sons of Lewis caused their father to be condemned to do public penance (Conventus Compendiensis ap. Mansi xiv. 647. Pertz iii. 365), for the purpose of making him unfit to reign (Capitul. lib. vi. c. 338: Quod ad militiam saecularem post poenitentiam redire nemo debeat). Afterwards a council at Aix-la-Chapelle 842 deposed the emperor (Nithard histor. iv. 1 bei Pertz ii. 668). When Lewis the German 858 had invaded the kingdom of Charles the Bold, he procured a decree approving of his conquest, from a council at Attigny, under Archbishop Wenilo of Sens. When afterwards he was overpowered by Charles, the latter caused him to be brought to penitence by his bishops; but he would not declare his sentiments till he had asked his bishops, quia, Deo gratias, nihil sine illorum consilio feci (legatio Episcoporum ap. Baronius

authority inviolable, by episcopal unction; ¹⁴ so also the emperors believed that they could place themselves in a secure position if they derived a peculiar divine right in their favour from papal unction, and by this means established the dangerous opinion that the imperial dignity was communicated by the pope. ¹⁵

ann. 859. no. 6. Pertz iii. 458). All these episcopal decisions, however, were only valid so far as the princes who had procured their enactments were able or willing to maintain them with uprightness.

¹⁴ Caroli Calvi libellus proclamationis adv. Wenilonem Archiepisc. Senonum. A. D. 859. c. 3. (ap. Baronius ann. 859 no. 25. Pertz. iii. 462): A qua consecratione vel regni sublimitate supplantari vel projici a nullo debueram, saltem sine audientia et judicio Episcoporum, quorum ministerio in Regem sum consecratus, et qui throni Dei sunt dicti, in quibus Deus sedet, et per quos sua decernit judicia; quorum paternis correptionibus et castigatoriis judiciis me subdere fui paratus, et in praesenti sum subditus.

¹⁵ Charlemagne himself crowned his son Lewis the Debonaire as emperor (Annales Einhardi ad ann. 813): evocatum ad se apud Aquas-grani filium suum Hludovicum Aquitaniae Regem. coronam illi imposuit et imperialis nominis sibi consortem fecit. When Stephen IV. visited the emperor, 816, he bestowed on him spiritual consecration (Astronomus c. 26). In the same manner Lewis appointed his son Lotharius emperor, who was crowned by Pope Paschalis at his visit to Rome (Annalis Einhardi ad ann. 823): Lotharius again caused his son, Lewis II., to be crowned in Rome by Leo IV. (Prudentii Trec. ann. ad ann. 850). But this Lewis II. himself writes as early as the year 871 to the Greek emperor Basil (Muratori scriptt. Ital. ii. ii. 243): unctione et sacratione per summi Pontificis manus impositionem divinitus sumus ad hoc culmen provecti.—Carolus M. abavus noster unctione hujusmodi per sumum Pontificem delibutus primus ex gente et genealogia nostra—et Imperator dictus et christus Domini factus est—Si calumniaris Rom. Pontificem, quod gesserit: calumniari poteris et Samuel, quod spreto Saule, quem ipse unxerat, David in Regem ungere non renuerit.

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE FRANK EMPIRE.

Capitularia regum Francorum,¹ preserved partly in the original, partly in the *Capitularium libb. vii.*, of which the first four books were collected by Abbot Ansegisus 827, and the last three books² by Benedictus Levita about 845, ed. Steph. Baluzius. Paris. 1677. ed. nova cura Petri de Chinia. Paris. 1780. ii. voll. fol. The *Capitularia* enlarged and improved in Pertz monum. iii., the *Capitularium libri* by Ansegisus, *ibid.* iii. 256. those by Benedictus Levita *ibid.* iv. ii. 39.

§ 7.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Since the Frank Church had been raised from its decayed condition by Carlmann and Pipin, it began to develop its resources with freshness and power under the management of the Carolingians, and to exercise a most important influence among the churches of the West.

The general belief was, that there must be a return to the old laws of the church, in order that men might have a secure guide in this renovation. But many decisions of that ancient church could not be brought into harmony with the fundamental principles of civil and feudal law, by which the relations of churches and clergy had been principally established, and which it was thought impossible to abandon without endangering the state. Hence arose an antagonism between the rights of the church resuscitated, and the prevailing rights of the state—an antago-

¹ On the capitularia generally, see Eichhorn's *deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*. i. 626.

² Benedictus Levita drew not merely from the capitularies but also from other secular and ecclesiastical laws, and has adopted in particular many *Pseudo-isidoriana* likewise. See the accurate specification of his services by Knust in Pertz monum. iv. ii. 19.

nism which could only be prevented from breaking forth by powerful rulers, but which, under weak princes, threatened to produce a dangerous contest between church and state.

Carlmann and Pipin immediately reinstated metropolitans in their ancient rights,³ and endeavoured, if possible, to diminish the evil of commendator-bishops and abbots;⁴ but the feudal relations of churches and monasteries remained unaltered.⁵ Charlemagne, it is true, wished to restore the ancient mode of choosing bishops;⁶ the laws issued on that point were not, however, universally carried out; for no choice could be made without the king's special permission,⁷ and most of the bishops continued to be appointed by the kings.⁸ In the opinion, indeed,

³ Capit. ann. 742. c. 1. ann. 755. c. 2.

⁴ Carlomanni capitulare Liftinense ann. 743. c. 2: Statuimus quoque cum consilio servorum Dei et populi christiani, propter imminencia bella et persecutiones caeterarum gentium quae in circuitu nostro sunt, ut sub precario et censu aliquam partem ecclesialis pecuniae (goods, possessions) in adiutorium exercitus nostri cum indulgentia Dei aliquanto tempore retineamus, ea conditione, ut annis singulis de unaquaque casata (farmhouse) solidus, *i. e.*, xii. denarii, ad Ecclesiam vel ad Monasterium reddatur; eo modo, ut si moriatur ille cui pecunia commodata fuit, Ecclesia cum propria pecunia revestita sit. Et iterum, si necessitas cogat, ut princeps jubeat, precarium renovetur, et rescribatur novum. Et omnino observetur, ut Ecclesiae vel Monasteria penuriam et paupertatem non patiantur, quorum pecunia in precario praestita sit: sed si paupertas cogat, Ecclesiae et domui Dei reddatur integra possessio. Eugen Montag's *Gesch. d. deutschen staatsbürgerl. Freiheit* (2 Bde. Bamb. u. Würzb. 1812) i. i. 333.

⁵ The fealty-duties were so severe in many monasteries that Lewis the Debonaire, 817, lightened them, and established three classes, monasteria, quae dona et militiam facere debent,—quae tantum dona dare debent sine militia,—quae nec dona nec militiam dare debent, sed solas orationes pro salute Imperatoris vel filiorum ejus et stabilitate imperii, see the list in Baluz. capit. i. 589, and the commentary annexed, ii. 1092

⁶ Capit. Aquisgranense A. D. 803 c. 2. (Baluz. cap. i. 379), repeated word for word capit. Aquisgr. A. D. 817 c. 2. (Baluz. i. 564. Pertz. monum. iii. 206). Comp. *Formulae diversae in Episcoporum promotionibus usurpatae post restitutam electionum libertatem* ap. Baluz. ii. 591. Especially on the management of the choice by royal missi: *Adlocutio Missorum Imp. Ludov. P. ad clerum et plebem electionis causa congregatum*, *ib.* p. 601.

⁷ Conc. Valentinum ann. 855 c. 7. (Mansi xv. 7.)

⁸ Baluzius ad *Concilia Galliae Narbonensis* (Paris. 1668. 8.) p. 34. *EjUSD. not. ad capitul. ii. 1141.* Comp. *Thegani vita Ludovici Imp. c.*

of ecclesiastics, this was regarded as an abuse; but that bishops should be confirmed and invested by kings was universally held to be necessary.⁹ The Carolingians allowed the possessions of the church to be continually set apart to foreign purposes. Bishoprics, indeed, were no longer bestowed in usufruct, but single estates and abbeys were conferred in this way on valiant soldiers (Abbacomites).¹⁰ The feudal system was also introduced

20: Consiliariis suis magis credidit quam opus esset; quod ei fecit occupatio psalmodiae et lectionum assiduitas, et aliud quod ille non incipiebat. Quia jam dudum illa pessima consuetudo erat, ut ex vilissimis servis fiebant summi pontifices: hoc non prohibuit. Leo IV. epist. ad Lothar. et Ludov. Aug. about 853 (in Gratiani decret. P. I. dist. 63. c. 16.):—Vestram mansuetudinem deprecamur, quatenus Colono humili diacono eandem Ecclesiam [Reatinam] ad regendum concedere dignemini; ut vestra licentia accepta, ibidem eum Deo adjuvante consecrare valeamus Episcopum. Sin autem in praedicta Ecclesia nolueritis ut praeficiatur Episcopus, Tusculanam Ecclesiam, quae viduata existit, illi vestra Serenitas dignetur concedere; ut consecratus a nostro praesulatu, Deo omnipotenti vestroque imperio grates peragere valeat. So, too, John VIII. petitions King Carlmann, 879, to bestow the bishopric of Vercelli on one Conspertus (ap. Mansi xvii. 125), and afterwards announces the appointment to the inhabitants of Vercelli (l. c. p. 166), with the remark, quoniam—Carolomanus—ipsum Vercellensem episcopatum more praecessorum suorum regum et imperatorum concessit huic Consperto, etc.

⁹ Hincmar epist. 12. ad Ludov. iii. Franc. Regem: Episcopi talem eligant, qui et s. Ecclesiae utilis, et regno proficuus et vobis fidelis ac devotus cooperator existat; et consentientibus clero et plebe eum vobis adducant, ut secundum ministerium vestrum res et facultates Ecclesiae, quas ad defendendum et tuendum vobis Dominus commendavit, suae dispositioni committatis, et cum consensu ac litteris vestris eum ad metropolitanum Episcopum ac coëpiscopos ipsius dioeceseos, qui eum ordinare debent, transmittatis.

¹⁰ For this Lewis the Debonaire was very much blamed as early as 828, at Worms, by Wala, abbot of Corvey (Paschasius Radbertus in vita Walae ii. 3. in Pertz monum. ii. 549): Ecce Rex noster, ut saepe ostensum est, de facultatibus Ecclesiarum multa in suis suorumque praesumit usibus.—Si respublica sine suffragio rerum Ecclesiarum subsistere non valet; quaerendus est modus et ordo cum summa reverentia et religione Christianitatis, si quid vos vestrique ab Ecclesiis ob defensionem magis quam ad rapinam accipere debeatis. The Concil. Paris. ann. 829. lib. iii. c. 15. (Mansi xiv. 600) requests the emperor, ut—quasdam sedes episcopales, quae rebus propriis viduatae, immo annullatae esse videntur, dum tempus habetis, et opportunitas se praebuerit, de earum sublevatione et consolatione cogitetis. That they were not deficient also in lay abbots may be seen from capitul. ann. 825. c. 10. (ap. Pertz

into the lower situations of the church. Not only were candidates for ordination obliged to take a sort of oath of fealty to the bishop,¹¹ but even civil rulers considered the churches founded by them as loans, which they had at their disposal, and thus *the right of patronage*¹² was developed.

iii. 294. according to Baluz. i. 635. ann. 823. c. 8): Abbatibus quoque et laicis specialiter jubemus, ut in monasteriis, quae ex nostra largitate habent, Episcoporum consilio et documento ea quae ad religionem canonicorum, monachorum, sanctimonialium pertinent, peragant. Agobardus de dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum c. 4. exculpates Lewis the Debonaire on this account: quoniam de sacris rebus in laicales usos illicite translatis dicimus, non fecit iste dominus Imperator, sed praecessores ejus, et propterea isti impossibile est omnia emendare, quae antecedentes male usurpata dimiserunt. Frequently, perhaps, did powerful laymen themselves take possession of church property, Conc. Aquisgran. ann. 836 ad Pippinum Regem Aquitaniae lib. i. c. 3: Sunt etiam quidam —sibi in Deo oblatis sacratisque rebus auferendis impunitatem inaniter promittentes, qui—solent dicere: Quid mali, quidve discriminis est, si rebus ecclesiasticis in nostris pro libitu nostro utimur necessitatibus? Quid curae est inde Deo sanctisque ejus, ob quorum amorem Deo dicantur oblatae, cum utique in eorundem sanctorum usus nihil ex his cedat? Et ubi Deus haec, quae Ecclesiarum rectores opponunt, jussit sibi offerri, praesertim cum omnia quae in terris sunt sua sint, et ille ea ad usus hominum creaverit? Under Lewis's sons the case was still worse. See the complaints of the bishops A.D. 844 in the *Conventus ad Theodonis villam* c. 4. and the *Concilio in Verno palatio* c. 12. (Baluzii capit. ii. 10. 18. Pertz monum. iii. 382. 385.) Conc. Valentinum ann. 855. c. 8. Planck ii. 542. Montag's *Gesch. d. deutschen staatsbürgerlichen Freiheit* i. i. 337. Möhler's *Schriften* i. 322.

¹¹ See an example of such an oath in the *Deutschen Abschwörungs-Glaubens-Beichtund Betformeln vom 8ten bis 12ten Jahrh.*, herausgeg. von H. F. Massmann, Quedlinb. u. Leipzig 1839. S. 182.

¹² To the builder of a church remained by law the possession of it (Conc. Francof. ann. 794. c. 54. in Baluz. capit. i. 270. Pertz monum. iii. 75), and the privilege of appointing to it a suitable presbyter, who, however, was obliged to obtain the bishop's approval, and to continue subject to his superintendence like other clergymen (Conc. Rom. ann. 826 and 853 c. 21. ap. Mansi xiv. 1006). However, so early as between the years 649 and 664 the Conc. Cabilon. c. 14. complains, quod oratoria per villas potentum jam longo constructa tempore et facultates ibidem collatas ipsi, quorum villae sunt, Episcopis contradicant, et jam nec ipsos clericos, qui ad ipsa oratoria deserviant, ab Archidiacono coerceri permittant. Agobardus de privilegio et jure sacerdotii c. 11 (Opp. i. 134): increbuit consuetudo impia, ut paene nullus inveniatur anhelans et quantulumcunque proficiens ad honores et gloriam temporalem, qui non domesticum habeat sacerdotem, non cui obediat, sed a quo incessanter exigit licitam simul atque illicitam obedientiam, non solum

Ecclesiastical legislation,¹³ the highest judicial power in church affairs,¹⁴ the management and confirmation of ecclesiastical decrees,¹⁵ remained with the king, who summoned the spiritual as

in divinis officiis, verum etiam in humanis; ita ut plerique inveniantur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent, aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos, quibus feminae sedent, regant, aut agellos provideant. Et quia tales, de quibus haec dicimus, bonos sacerdotes in domibus suis habere non possunt,—non curant omnino quales clerici illi sint, quanta ignorantia coeci, quantis criminibus involuti; tantum ut habeant presbyteros proprios, quorum occasione deserant Ecclesias, seniores et officia publica. Quod autem non habeant eos propter religionis honorem, apparet ex hoc, quod non habent eos in honore. Unde et contumeliose eos nominantes, quando volunt illos ordinari Presbyteros, rogant nos aut jubent, dicentes: habeo unum clericionem, quem mihi nutrivimus de servis meis propriis, aut beneficialibus, sive pagensibus, aut obtinui ab illo vel illo homine, sive de illo vel illo pago: volo, ut ordines eum mihi Presbyterum. Comp. Isidor Kaim's Kirchenpatronatrecht nach seiner Entstehung, Entwicklung und heutigen Stellung im Staate. Th. i. die Rechtsgeschichte. Leipzig 1845.

¹³ The numerous ecclesiastical regulations in the Capitularies afford proof of this. When Charlemagne, A.D. 802, caused a general revision of legislation to be undertaken (Eichhorn's deutsche Rechtsgesch. i. 613), several capitularies respecting ecclesiastical things proceeded from it also.

¹⁴ Capitulare Francofordiense A.D. 794 c. 4: Statutum est a domino Rege et s. Synodo, ut Episcopi justitias faciant in suas parochias. Si non obedierit aliqua persona Episcopo suo de Abbatibus, Presbyteris, Diaconibus etc., veniant ad Metropolitanum suum, et ille dijudicet causam cum suffraganeis suis. Comites quoque nostri veniant ad iudicium Episcoporum. Et si aliquid est, quod Episcopus metropolitanus non possit corrigere vel pacificare, tunc tandem veniant accusatores cum accusato cum litteris Metropolitanis, ut sciamus veritatem rei. Capitulare tertium ann. 812 c. 1: Ut Episcopi, Abbates, Comites, et potentiores quique si causam inter se habuerint ac se pacificare noluerint ad nostram jubeantur venire praesentiam.

¹⁵ De Marca lib. vi. c. 24-28. Comp. the acts of the councils called together by Charlemagne, at Arles, Rheims, Tours, Chalons, and Mainz, (ap. Mansi xiv. 55 ss.) in the introductory and concluding addresses. Ex. gr. praef. ad Conc. Mogunt. ann. 813 (p. 64): Gloriosissimo Imp. Carolo Aug. verae religionis rectori ac defensori s. Ecclesiae.—venimus secundum jussionem vestram in civitatem Moguntinam: gratias agimus Deo, quia s. Ecclesiae suae tam pium ac devotum in servitio Dei concessit habere rectorem, qui suis temporibus sacrae sapientiae fontem aperiens, oves Christi indesinenter sanctis reficit alimentis, ac divinis instruit disciplinis etc.—After enumerating their employments: De his tamen omnibus valde indigemus vestro adiutorio atque sana doctrina, quae et nos jugiter admoneat, atque clementer erudiat, quatenus ea quae paucis subter perstrinximus capitulis, a vestra auctoritate firmentur si

well as the civil feudatories to diets,¹⁶ conducted spiritual causes by the *Apocrisarius* (or *Archicapellanus*, afterwards *Archicancellarius*),¹⁷ as he did civil causes by the *Comes Palatii*; and sent round into every province two extraordinary judges (*missi*), a bishop and a count,¹⁸ to exercise in common the highest over-

tamen vestra pietas ita dignum esse judicaverit : et quicquid in eis emendatione dignum reperitur, vestra—inperialis dignitas jubeat emendare. Concluding words of the Conc. Arelat. (p. 62) : Haec igitur sub brevitate, quae emendatione digna perspeximus, quam brevissime annotavimus, et domino Imperatori praesentanda decrevimus, poscentes ejus clementiam, ut si quid hic minus est, ejus prudentia suppleatur : si quid secut quam se ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur : si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio divina opitulante clementia perficiatur. Accordingly Charlemagne says, in the libr. Carolinis praef. ad lib. i. : Ecclesiae in sinu regni gubernacula suscepimus :—nobis (Ecclesia) ad regendum commissa est ; and Lewis the Debonaire declares, in the prologus ad capit. Aquisgr. ann. 816 (Baluz. i. 562), it to be his duty, ut quicquid sive in ecclesiasticis negotiis, sive in statu republicae, emendatione dignum prospexissemus, quantum Dominus posse dabat, nostro studio emendaretur.

¹⁶ For which, since 811, the clergy begin to form a proper curia (hall) for deliberation on ecclesiastical matters, Planck ii. 139.

¹⁷ Walafrid. Strabo de rebus eccles. c. 31. : Quemadmodum sunt in palatiis praeceptores vel comites palatii, qui saecularium causas ventilant, ita sunt et illi quos summos Capellanos Franci appellant, Clericorum causis praelati. Hincmar de ordine palatii § 13. calls the spiritual minister Apocrisarium i. e. responsalem negotiorum ecclesiasticorum. See Eichhorn's deutsche Rechtsgesch. i. 194.

¹⁸ Comp. Eichhorn's deutsche Rechtsgesch. i. 681. Cf. capitulare iii. ann. 789. c. 11. (Baluz. capitul. i. 244), capitula data Missis dominicis belonging to the year 802 (p. 375), capitulare Noviomagense belonging to the year 806 cap. 4. (p. 453), capitulare anni 828 (p. 657) : Haec sunt capitula, quae volumus ut diligenter (Missi) inquirant. Primo de Episcopis quomodo ministerium expleant, et qualis sit illorum conversatio vel quomodo Ecclesias et clerum sibi commissum ordinatum habeant atque dispositum, vel quibus rebus maxime studeant, in spiritualibus videlicet aut in saecularibus negotiis. Deinde quales sint adjutores ministerii eorum, i. e. Chorepiscopi, Archipresbyteri, Archidiaconi et Vicedomini, et Presbyteri per parochias eorum, quale scilicet studium habeant in doctrina, vel qualem famam habeant secundum veritatem in populo. Similiter de omnibus monasteriis inquirant juxta uniuscujusque qualitatem et professionem. Similiter et de caeteris Ecclesiis nostra auctoritate in beneficio datis. Utrum Episcopi in circumueundo parochias suas caeteras minores Ecclesias grauent, aut populo oneri sint, et si ab ipsis aut a ministris eorum indebita exenia a Presbyteris exigantur.—Quae personae vel de quibus causis culpabiles ad praesentiam nostram venire debeant, discernendum est. Exceptis Epis-

sight and power in things ecclesiastical as well as civil. Bishops and counts were every where instructed to work in common, and mutually to support one another ;¹⁹ while ecclesiastical usurpations were not endured.²⁰ The pope's supremacy was acknowledged. The kings inquired of him in matters of ecclesiastical legislation,²¹ and consulted him in difficult questions ;²² but till

copis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, qui ad placita nostra semper venire debent isti venient, si in talibus culpis et criminibus deprehensi fuerint quales inferius adnotatae sunt. Capitula Misso cuidam data A.D. 803. c. 5. (Baluz. i. 402. Pertz monum. iii. 122) : referebatur de Episcopis, Abbatibus, vel caetris nostris hominibus, qui ad placitum vestrum venire contempserint. Illos vero per bannum nostrum ad placitum vestrum bannire faciatis. Et qui tunc venire contempserint, eorum nomina annotata ad placitum nostrum generale nobis repraesentes. Cf. Franc. de Roye de Missis dominicis, eorum officio et potestate. Andegavi 1672. 4. iter. ed. J. W. Neuhaus. Lips. 1744. 8.

¹⁹ *Capitulare Bajoaricum ann. 803 c. 4. (Baluz. i. 450. Pertz monum. iii. 127) : Ut Episcopi cum comitibus stent, et Comites cum Episcopis, ut uterque pleniter suum ministerium peragere possint. Comp. Ludovici Germ. Regis conventus Mogunt. ann. 851. l. De concordia Episcoporum Comitumque fidelium (Pertz, monum. iii. 411).*

²⁰ Thus preventions of the administration of justice by the privilege of Asylum. *Capitulare ann. 779. c. 8. (Baluz. i. 197. Pertz iii. 36), capitula, quae in lege Salica mittenda sunt, ann. 803. (Baluz. i. 387. Pertz iii. 113) c. 2 : Si homo furtum fecerit, aut homicidium vel quodlibet crimen foras committens infra immunitatem fugerit, mandet Comes vel Episcopo, vel Abbati, vel Vicedomino,—ut reddat ei reum.—Si eum reddere noluerit, in prima contradictione solidis xv. culpabilis iudicetur.—Si nec ad tertiam inquisitionem consentire voluerit, quicquid reus damnus fecerit, totum ille, qui eum infra immunitatem retinet,—solvere cogatur. Et ipse Comes veniens licentiam habeat ipsum hominem infra immunitatem quaerendi, ubicunque eum invenire potuerit.*

²¹ So Pipin in Zacharias, about 747. See Zachar. epist. ad Bonifacium (in epist. Bonif. ed. Serarii epist. 139. ed. Würdtwein ep. 74. ap. Mansi xii. 334) : *Agnoscas, charissime, flagitasse a nobis Pippinum, excellentissimum majorem domus gentis Francorum, per suum hominem, nomine Ardobanium, religiosum Presbyterum, aliquanta capitula de sacerdotali ordine, et quae ad salutem animae pertinent : simul etiam et pro illicita copula qualiter sese debeant custodire juxta ritum Christianae religionis, et sacrorum canonum instituta.—Illius vocibus aurem accommodantes, in brevi eloquio conscripta apostolica documenta direximus etc. These capitula Zachariae P. ad Pippinum missa, besides an epistle to the same, are given in Serarius, Mansi, and Würdtwein ll. cc.—A more copious Codex canonum, namely, an enlarged Dionysian collection, was received from Charlemagne, 774, by Hadrian I. An epitome of the first part, or the synodical decrees, may be seen in Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage ii. 266. Mansi xii. 859 ss. The first part is*

the time of Lewis the Debonaire they allowed him no other influence over the Frank church, than that of advice, admonition, and remonstrance.²³ Under that weak prince, however, the Frank bishops felt that they were partly threatened, by the continued civil disturbances,²⁴ and partly instigated, to enlarge the power of the church. Hence they began to assert the church's supremacy,²⁵ and to adduce the Roman see as the natural point of its

printed complete in J. Hartzheim *Concilia Germaniae* i. 131 ss. A description of the entire Codex see in *Ballerini de antt. Canonum collect.* P. iii. c. 2. J. C. Rudolph *nova comm. de cod. cann. quem Hadr. I. Carolo M. dono dedit.* Erlangg. 1777. 8. *Spitler's Gesch. d. canon. Rechts* S. 168 ss.

²² *Comp. epist. Caroli. M. ad Episc. A.D. 799* (in *Baluzii capit. i. 327*): *Et hoc vobiscum magno studio pertractandum est, quid de illis Presbyteris, unde approbatio non est et semper negant, faciendum sit. Nam hoc saepissime a nobis et progenitoribus atque antecessoribus nostris ventilatum est, sed non ad liquidum hactenus definitum. Unde ad consulendum Patrem nostrum Leonem Papam sacerdotes nostros mittimus. Et quicquid ab eo vel a suis perceperimus, vobis una cum illis quos mittimus, renuntiare non retardabimus. Vos interdum vicissim tractate adtentius, quid ex his vobiscum constituamus una cum praedicti s. Patris institutionibus etc.* So respecting the ordinations performed by the country bishops, *capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 803. l. c. p. 380*: *quod jurgium cum enucleatius discutere voluissemus, placuit nobis ex hoc apostolicam sedem consulere, jubente canonica auctoritate atque dicente: Si majores causae in medio fuerint devolutae, ad sedem apostolicam, ut s. Synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit, incunctanter referatur.* *Comp. vol. i. § 94. note 20.*

²³ Therefore, many capitularia were issued, apostolicæ sedis hortatu, monente Pontifice, ex praecepto Pontificis. At the Synod of Frankfurt, 794, two papal legates were present, Theophylactus ac Stephanus Episcopi, vicem tenentes ejus, a quo missi sunt, Hadriani Papae (*Ann. Einhardi ap. Pertz. i. 181*): but yet Charlemagne had the presidency. See *Synodica Concilii ad Episc. Galliae et Germaniae ap. Mansi xiii. 884*: *congregatis nobis,—praecipiente piissimo et gloriosissimo domino nostro Carolo rege.*

²⁴ During the reign of Lewis the Debonaire, bishops were frequently deposed for taking part in insurrection, ex. gr. in 818 the bishops of Milan, Cremona, and Orleans, as being concerned in Bernhard's conspiracy, 835; Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, &c. The sentences, it is true, proceeded from synods; but these were called by the emperor, and composed of the political opponents of the accused.

²⁵ Thus the *Concil Paris. ann. 829 lib. i. c. 3.* (*Mansi xiv. 537*) again brings forward the passage *ep. Gelasi P. ad Anastasium Imp. ann. 494* (*Mansi viii. 31.*): *Duo sunt,—quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacrata Pontificum et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus Domino in*

support.²⁶ And since the bishops certainly needed protection against worldly tyranny, the right of appeal in particular, which had been transferred to the pope at Sardica, was recalled,²⁷ but soon enlarged, so that every bishop might choose the pope to be his judge instead of his own provincial synod.²⁸ Civil govern-

divino reddituri sunt examine rationem; and the passage from Fulgentius de veritate predestinationis et gratiae (lib. ii.): Quantum pertinet ad hujus temporis vitam in Ecclesia nemo Pontifice potior, et in saeculo Christiano Imperatore nemo celsior invenitur. Accordingly, the council demands, for the future, that suitable respect should be paid to the bishops. Moreover, the original cause of the perplexities are given with perfect justice and truth (Mansi xiv. 603): Specialiter unum obstaculum ex multo tempore jam inolevisse cognovimus: id est, quia et principalis potestas diversis occasionibus intervenientibus, secus quam auctoritas divina se habeat, in causas ecclesiasticas prosilierit, et sacerdotes partim negligentia, partim ignorantia, partim cupiditate in saecularibus negotiis et sollicitudinibus mundi, ultra quam debuerant, se occupaverint. Et hac occasione aliter quam divina auctoritas doceat in utraque parte actum extitisse dubium non est.

²⁶ Conc. Parisiensis ann. 849. Synodica ad Nomenojum Ducem (ap. Mansi xiv. 923): omnem laesisti Christianitatem, dum vicarium b. Petri apostolicum, cui dedit Deus primatum in omni orbe terrarum sprevisisti.

²⁷ In the codex presented by Hadrian to Charlemagne were found certainly (see Hartzheim Concil. Germ. i. 190) the *Canones Sardicenses* (see vol. i. § 94, note 7); but there was also the African prohibition of appeal, *ad transmarina* (Hartzheim i. 228), and the *epist. Conc. Afric. ad Coelestin.* (Hartzheim i. 233), see vol. i. § 94, note 61. Out of this codex Charlemagne inserted the most important canons in the *Capitulare Aquisgram. s. primum ann. 789*; but here we do not find those Sardican canons that establish the right of appeal to Rome, but rather the Nicene and Antiochian canons, which attribute the highest authority to the provincial synod. Accordingly, even all complaints against bishops were decided by synods, *Thomassina vetus et nova Ecclesiae disciplina de beneficiis P. ii. lib. 3. c. 109.* Benedictus Levita is the first who has in his collection of capitularies the Sardican decrees. *Cap. lib. vi. c. 64: Et judicato in aliqua causa Episcopo liceat iterare judicium, et, si necesse fuerit, libere Episcopum adire Romanum. Cf. lib. vii. c. 103, c. 412.*

²⁸ The theory which Benedictus Levita has adopted in addition to the Sardican regulation, was developed, *lib. vii. c. 315: Placuit, ut, si Episcopus accusatus appellaverit Romanum Pontificem, id statuendum, quod ipse censuerit* (a manifest falsification of the expression of the *Epitome Codicis ab Hadriano Carolo M. donati ap. Mansi xii. 872: Si Episcopus damnatus appellaverit Rom. Pont., id observandum, quod ipse censuerit.*) *Cf. lib. vii. c. 173. Addit. iv. c. 27.* Accordingly, Gregory IV., as early as the year 835, raised his claims, while he asserted, in reference to the accused Aldricus, bishop of Mans (*epist. ad universos Episc. ap. Mansi xiv. p. 513*): *Liceat illi post auditionem*

ments themselves, by calling in the papal authority to their aid, when they felt their weakness on the occasion of unusual ecclesiastical matters, furnished ground for the opinion that such authority could not be dispensed with in important ecclesiastical regulations.²⁹ Thus papal influence over the Frank church increased very perceptibly,³⁰ and new ideas of church polity arose, to which Pseudoisidore, in his decretals, tried to give a historic basis.

Primum dioeceseos, si necesse fuerit, nos appellare :—nullusque illum ante haec iudicet aut iudicare praesumat. And Leo IV. (epist. ad. Episc. Britanniae ap. Mansi xiv. p. 882): Nullam damnationem Episcoporum esse unquam censemus, nisi aut ante legitimum numerum Episcoporum, qui fit per xii. Episcopos, aut certe probata sententia per lxxii. idoneos testes.—Et si inter eos, quos damnandos esse dixerunt homines, fuerit Episcopus, qui suam causam in praesentia Romanae sedis Episcopi petierit audiri, nullus super illum finitivam praesumat dare sententiam : sed omnino eum audiri decernimus.

²⁹ When, for example, Ebbo, who had been deposed from the archbishopric of Rheims, on account of a rebellion, 835, was appointed, after 844, bishop of Hildesheim by Lewis the German, (Conc. Tricassini ann. 867, ep. ad Nicolaum P. ap. Mansi xv. 794) auctoritate cujusdam privilegii—a b. Gregorio Papa sibi collati, connivente supra—sua restitutione, ministerium pontificale sine tenus exercuit. In this privilege was contained in transmigratione alterius parochiae ut episcopali et praedicationis licenter fungeretur officio. (The doubts which Baluzius in his Regino p. 599, raises against the genuineness of this privilege are unsatisfactory; even Rhabanus, Ebbo's metropolitan, in ep. ad Heribaldum c. 34, *ibid.* p. 518, attests, eum ab apostolica sede in locum suum restitutum esse). Thus, now, in an unusual case, a pope had both restored a deposed bishop to his office, and sanctioned his removal. By this means, the rule that had been hitherto observed was broken through (*capitul. vi. ann. 806, c. 10, ap. Baluz. i. 456*): ne de uno loco ad alium transeat Episcopus sine decreto Episcoporum : we find it afterwards even in Hincmar, the opponent of the Pseudoisidorian principles, de translationibus Episcoporum c. 7. (written 872) *Opp. ii. 744*. Episcopus de civitate, in qua ordinatus est, transferatur ad aliam civitatem synodali dispositione, vel apostolicae sedis consensione. *Comp. Thomassinus P. ii. lib. 2, c. 63*.

³⁰ Respecting the earlier limits of Roman influence, and its gradual enlargement, see Agobard de dispensatione eccles. rerum c. 20. (Cf. *adv. legem. Gundobadi c. 12*): Verum quia sunt, qui Gallicanos canones aut aliarum regionum putent non recipiendos, eo quod legati Romani seu Imperatoris in eorum constitutione non interfuerint (*adv. leg. Gund. l. c. quod neoterici Romani eos non commendaverint*): restat, ut etiam SS. Patrum doctrinas et expositiones diversosque tractatus, ut sunt Cypriani, Athanasii etc., doceant non esse recipiendos : quia cum haec tractarent,—legati Romani s. Imperatoris non aderant. Melius mihi sentire videntur, qui secundum Domini dictum, ubi duo vel tres in

§. 8.

RESTORATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER.

The Carolingians chiefly sought to reform the state of morals among the laity¹ as well as the clergy,² but met with great opposition in consequence of the grossness of the age.³ For this end

nomini Domini congregatos agnoscent, Dominum quoque inter eos affuisse non dubitant.—Ubiunque enim catholici Ecclesiarum rectores pro Ecclesiarum utilitatibus cum Dei timore in ejus nomine et honore conveniunt, quicquid consonanter s. scripturis statuunt, nulli proculdubio spernenda, immo veneranda omnibus esse debent.

¹ Prohibitions of heathenism capit. Liftinense ann. 743, c. 4, Pertz iii 18, comp. the *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* *ibid.* p. 19, and in the capitularies very often.—*Statuta Salisburgensia* ann. 799: Ut omnis populis honorifice cum omnibus supplicationibus devotione, humiliter et cum reverentia absque pretiosarum vestium ornatu vel etiam illecebroso cantico et lusu saeculari cum laetaniis procedant, et discant Kyrieleyson clamare, ut non tam rustice, ut nunc usque, sed melius discant.

² So *Carlomanni capit. i.* ann. 742, c. 2 (ap. Baluz. i. 146): *Servis Dei per omnia omnibus armaturam portare vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere omino prohibuimus.*—Nec non et illas venationes et sylvaticas vagationes cum canibus omnibus servis Dei interdiximus. Similiter ut accipitres et falcones non habeant. c. 6. Punishments for lewdness in the clergy, *Pipini capit. ann. 744, c. 8* (*ibid.* p. 158): Similiter diximus, ut neque clericus mulierem habeat in domo sua, quae cum illo habitet, nisi matrem, aut sororem, vel neptem suam. All these laws were frequently repeated.

³ Respecting *Gewillieb*, archbishop of Mainz, see *Othlonus in vita Bonif. i. c. 44.* Comp. especially *capitulare viii.* ann. 803, ap. Baluz. i. 405 ss. *Petitio populi ad Imperatorem: Flexis omnes precamur poplitibus majestatem vestram, ut Episcopi deinceps, sicut hactenus, non vexentur hostibus, sed quando vos nosque in hostem pergimus, ipsi propriis resideant in parochiis, Deoque fideliter famulari studeant etc.*—*Quosdam enim ex eis in hostibus et praeliis vulneratos vidimus, et quosdam perisse cognovimus.*—*Illud tamen vobis et omnibus scire cupimus, quod non propterea haec petimus, ut eorum res aut aliquid ex eorum pecuniis, nisi ipsis aliquid sponte nobis dare placuerit, aut eorum Ecclesias viduari cupiamus.*—*Scimus enim res Ecclesiae Deo esse sacratas etc.* In consequence of this petition, it was resolved at a synodalis conventus (p. 409), ut nullus sacerdos in hostem pergat, nisi duo vel tres tantum Episcopi—propter benedictionem et praedicationem populi reconciliationem, et cum illis electi sacerdotes, qui bene sciant populis poenitentias dare, Missas celebrare, de infirmis curam habere, sacratique olei cum sacris precibus unctionem impendere, et hoc maxime

they found a weighty support in the *vita canonica*⁴ first introduced by *Chrodegang* (bishop of Metz from 742–766) among his clergy. This system of rules having been confirmed by Charlemagne,⁵ and with some additions by Lewis the Debonaire at Aix-la-chapelle, 816,⁶ was soon adopted in almost all the cities of the Frank empire (*Canonici*⁷ *cathedrales* and *collegiati*,

*praevidere, ne sine viatico quis de saeculo recedat. Hi vero nec arma ferant, nec ad pugnam pergant,—sed tantum sanctorum pignora et sacra ministeria ferant et orationibus pro viribus insistant, ut populis qui pugnare debet, auxiliante Domino victor existat.—Reliqui vero, qui ad Ecclesias suas remanent, suos homines bene armatos nobiscum, aut cum quibus jusserimus, dirigant; et ipsi pro nobis et cuncto exercitu nostro Missas, letanias, oblationes, eleemosynas faciant, orantes Deum caeli, ut proficiamus in itinere quo perginus, victoresque Deo adminiculante existamus. Gentes enim et Reges earum, quae sacerdotes secum pugnare permiserunt, neque praevalebant in bello, nec victores extiterunt, quia non erat differentia inter laicos et sacerdotes, quibus pugnare non est licitum. Haec vero Galliarum, Hispaniarum, Langobardorum, nonnullasque alias gentes et Reges earum fecisse cognovimus, quae propter praedictum nefandissimum scelus nec victores extiterunt, nec patrias retinuerunt. To this is attached the following regulation: Quia instante antiquo hoste audivimus, quosdam nos suspectos habere propterea quod concessimus—sacerdotibus—, ut in hostes—non irent,—nec arma ferrent,—quod honores sacerdotum et res Ecclesiarum auferre vel minuere eis voluissemus, quod nullatenus facere velle vel facere volentibus consentire omnes scire cupimus.—Et ut haec certius credantur et per futura tempora conserventur, praecipimus, ut nullus res Ecclesiae nisi precario possideat etc.—Novimus multa regna et Reges eorum propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, abstulerunt—et pugnantibus dederunt etc. We see here how the prejudices of a people, accustomed to war and feudal duties, were overpowered by religious prejudices. The *petitio* in question had been, doubtless, brought about artfully.*

⁴ *Chrodogangi regula sincera* ap. Mansi xiv. 313. Cf. Thomassini *vet. et nov. Eccl. discipl.* P. i. lib. iii. c. 9. *Retberg's Kirchengesch. Deutschlands* i. 495.

⁵ *Capit. Aquisgr. ann. 789. c. 71.* (ap. Baluz. i. 238): *Qui ad clericatum accedunt, quod nos nominamus canonicam vitam, volumus, ut illi canonicè secundum suam regulam omnimodis vivant, et Episcopus eorum regat vitam, sicut Abba Monachorum. Capit. i. ann. 802. c. 22. (ibid. p. 369.)*

⁶ *The regula Aquisgranensis in Hartzhemii Conc. Germ. i. 430.*

⁷ The title *Canonicus* was indeed already in use, but in the sense of *canoni s. matriculae Ecclesiae adscriptus, or canonem frumentarium percipiens* (see Muratori *diss. de Canonicis in the antiquitt. Itall. medii aevi* v. 183): and was now first used in the signification of a cleric *regulariter i. e. canonicè viventis.*

Monasteria canonicorum). In like manner the maintenance of order among the country clergy was secured by the division of dioceses into *Archidiaconatus*,⁸ which began to be made about the same time as the preceding regulation, and of these again into *Archipresbyteratus* or *Decanias*.⁹ On the other hand, the *Chorepiscopi*, who were often used as helps instead of the bishops, were, for the most part, removed;¹⁰ and finally it was

⁸ Heddo first divided his bishopric of Strassburg into seven archdeaconries, and received for this, 774, the approval of Hadrian I. Grandidier hist. de l'église de Strasbourg, vol. i. p. 176. 291. vol. ii. original document no. 66. Planck ii. 584.

⁹ Thomassinus P. i. l. ii. c. 5. The clergy of every deanery came together on the calends of every month, chiefly for spiritual exercises and deliberations (Hincmari capitula anno xii. Episcopatus superaddita c. 1. opp. ed. Sirmond. i. 731: Et semper de Kalendis in Kalendis mensium, quando Presbyteri de Decaniis simul conveniunt, collationem de poenitentibus suis habeant, qualiter unusquisque suam poenitentiam faciat): but to these were soon joined luxurious banquets. See Hincmari capitula Presbyteris data ann. 852. c. 15. (opp. i. 714): Ut, quando Presbyteri per Kalendas simul convenerint, post peractum divinum mysterium et necessariam collationem non quasi ad prandium ibi ad tabulam resideant, et per tales inconvenientes pastellos (meal-times) se invicem gravent, quia inhonestum est et onerosum. Saepe enim tarde ad Ecclesias suas redeuntes majus damnum de reprehensione conquirunt, et de gravedine mutua contrahunt, quam lucrum ibi faciant.—Et ideo peractis omnibus, qui voluerint, panem cum caritate et gratiarum actione in domo confratris sui simul cum fratribus suis frangant, et singulos biberes (drunk) accipiant, maxime autem ultra tertiam vicem poculum ibi non contingant, et ad Ecclesias suas redeant.—In Germany the archdeaconship coincided with the province, the deanship with the aut (centen. orig.)

¹⁰ Hence Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, had complained of this in a letter to Pope Leo IV. (see Flodoardi, canon in Rheims, † 966, hist. Eccl. Remensis lib. iii. c. 10), quod terrena potestas hac materia saepe offenderet, ut videlicet Episcopo quolibet defuncto per Chorepiscopum solis Pontificibus debitum ministerium perageretur, et res ac facultates Ecclesiae saecularium usibus expendenterentur, sicut et in nostra Ecclesia jam secundo actum fuisset. Besides, many bishops of this kind also consecrated themselves at their convenience. See Benedictus Levita in capitularium lib. vi. c. 121: Placuit ne Chorepiscopi a quibusquam deinceps fiant, quoniam hactenus a nescientibus sanctorum patrum et maxime Apostolicorum decreta, suisque quietibus ac delectationibus inhaerentibus facti sunt. Thus, then, the decisions of ancient councils were renewed for the purpose of checking the country bishops (see vol. i. § 91. not. 19.) See capit. ecclesiast. ann. 789. c. 9. Cap. Francof. ann. 794. c. 20. (ap. Pertz c. 22.)

established that those still existing should not have episcopal dignity and privileges, but only sacerdotal authority.¹¹ For the amelioration of the monastic institutions, *Benedict*, abbot of Aniane († 821),¹² was very active in his endeavours, who accordingly reformed several monasteries, and at whose instance the *capitulare Aquisgranense de vita et conversatione monachorum*¹³ was issued by Lewis the Debonaire A. D. 817.

In general, Charlemagne chose the Church of Rome as the most ancient church of the West for his model in the ecclesiastical enactments he made. As he had received from *Adrian I.* a *codex canonum*,¹⁴ so he afterwards sent to the same person for the *Sacramentarium Gregorii M.*¹⁵ and two singers, that he might introduce the Roman church-music into his empire.¹⁶

¹¹ In the controversy whether the spiritual rights of bishops belonged to the country bishops, Hincmar declared his opinion against the latter (Flodoardus l. c.), so also Pseudoisidorus, from whom Benedictus Levita capitul. lib. vi. c. 369, compiled a decision to this effect. On the other hand, those rights were defended by Rabanus Maurus lib. de Chorepiscopis et dignitate atque officio eorum (appended to de Marca de concordia sacerdot. et Imp., ed Böhmer p. 1261.) However Albericus mon. Triumfontium (about 1240) in chron. ad ann. 849, Audradus Chorepiscopus Senonensis—Parisius ad concilium evocatus est, et non solum ipse, sed etiam omnes alii Chorepiscopi, qui erant in Francia, in eodem concilio depositi sunt.

¹² From him proceeded Codex regularum ed. Luc. Holstenius, Romae 1661. recus. Paris. 1664. 4. Concordia regularum ed. Hugo Menardus. Paris. 1638. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Liter. im karolingischen Zeitalter, S. 366.

¹³ Baluz. cap. i. 579.

¹⁴ See above § 7. not. 21.

¹⁵ Hadriani epist. ad Car. in Cod. Carol. no. 82. ap. Mansi xii. 798. Landulphus Senior (about 1070) hist. Mediolan. lib. ii. c. 10. (Muratori scriptt. rer. Ital. iv. 73) first speaks of a Roman council under Hadrian, which had rejected the Ambrosian ritual, on which Charlemagne, at the destruction of the Lombard empire, omnes libros Ambrosiano titulo sigillatos—alios comburens, alios trans montes secum detulit. This narrative is given in excerpt by Gulielm. Durandus (1286) rationale divin. offic. lib. v. c. 2. See Carolus M. below not. 16.

¹⁶ Monachus Sangallensis de gestis Car. M. lib. i. c. 11. Ann. Laurissenses ad ann. 787. (Pertz. i. 170.) Vita Adriani in Mabillonii museum Ital. i. ii. 41. (cf. capit. eccles. ann. 789. c. 79. Capit. in Theodonis villa promulgatum ann. 805. c. 2.) Carolus M. contra Synodum Graeciae pro adorandis imaginibus gestam lib. i. c. 6: Nostrae partis ecclesia dum a primis fidei temporibus cum ea [Eccl. Romana] perstaret in sacrae religionis unione,—venerandae memoriae genitoris

The laws concerning marriage were also conformed to the principles of the Roman church,¹⁷ the benediction of a priest was made necessary to its legality,¹⁸ and points about marriage, as matters referring to the making of wills, were referred to the bishops.¹⁹ The old freedom of divorce²⁰ was restricted by laws.²¹ Until the time of Charlemagne the party not accused of crime was permitted to marry again ;²² but afterwards the Roman notion began to prevail more and more, viz., that divorced persons could not marry

nostri—Pipini regis cura et industria, sive adventu in Gallias—Stephani Romanae urbis antistitis, est etiam ei in psallendi ordine copulata, ut non esset dispar ordo psallendi, quibus erat compar ardor credendi.—Quod quidem et nos, conlato nobis a Deo Italiae regno, fecimus, S. Romanae Ecclesiae fastigium sublimare cupientes, et reverendissimi Papae Adriani salutaribus exhortationibus parere nitentes : scil, ut plures illius partis Ecclesiae, quae quondam apostolicae sedis traditionem in psallendo suscipere recusabunt, nunc eam omni diligentia amplectantur :—quod non solum omnium Galliarum provinciae, et Germania, sive Italia, sed etiam Saxones et quaedam Aquilonaris plagae gentes, per nos Deo annuente ad verae fidei rudimenta conversae, facere noscuntur.—Singing schools in Metz and Soissons. Mon. Sang. : ut nunc usque—ecclesiastica cantilena dicatur Metensis, apud nos vero qui Teutonica s. Teutisca lingua loquimur, aut vernacule Met aut Mette, vel secundum Graecam derivationem usitato vocabulo Metisca nominetur. Cf. Thomassinus P. i. l. ii. c. 80.

¹⁷ G. W. Böhmer über die Ehegesetze im Zeitalter Karls d. G. und seiner nächsten Regierungsnachfolger. Göttingen 1826. 8.

¹⁸ Capit. lib. vi. c. 130. 327. 408. lib. vii. c. 179.

¹⁹ Planck ii. 275 ff. Böhmer S. 126 ff.

²⁰ See vol. i. § 125. not. 14.

²¹ The lawful causes of divorce see in Böhmer S. 89 ff.

²² Thus Pipin allowed the husband who had put away his wife for adultery capit. ann. 757. c. 8 : si vult, potestatem habet accipere aliam. Capit. ann. 752, c. 5 : Si qua mulier mortem viri sui cum aliis hominibus consiliavit,—ille vir potest ipsam uxorem dimittere, et, si voluerit, aliam accipiat. The same thing is even allowed the husband, cap. 9, si quis necessitate inevitabili cogente in alium ducatum s. provinciam fugerit,—et uxor ejus—eum sequi noluerit. At that time, however, they were less strict even in Rome, cf. Gregorii ii. ep. ad Bonifacium A. D. 726. c. 2. ap. Mansi xii. 245. (also in Gratianus caus. xxxii. qu. 7. c. 18) : si mulier infirmitate correpta non voluerit debitum viro reddere,—ille, qui se non poterit continere, nubat magis. Zacharias P. about 744 (ap. Gratian. l. c. c. 23. and in Lombardi sent. lib. iv. dist. 34) : Concubuisti cum sorore uxoris tuae ? Si fecisti, neutram habeas : et si illa, quae uxor tua fuerit, conscia sceleris non fuit, si se continere non vult, nubat in Domino, cui velit. Still Pope Leo VII. († 939) writes in epist. ad Eberhardum ducem Bojariae (in Aventini annal. Bajorum lib

again so long as the other party was alive.²³ The discipline of the church was enforced not only by spiritual terrors,²⁴ but also by secular punishments.²⁵ In particular, *the yearly visitations* made by the clergy to inspect the churches (*Synodi*)²⁶ served to preserve a certain outward decency.

iv. c. 23. ed. Gundling. p. 461): Si quispiam uxori adulterae repudium remiserit, nec hi conjuges in gratiam redigi conniverint, nulla lex, nulla religio vetat illum novas facere nuptias. Satius enim est casto connubio frui, quam multarum amore deperire aut scortari. This epist. ad Eberh., which Aventinus gives in excerpt, is still extant (ap. Mansi xviii. 379); but this passage, and another which Aventinus had, is wanting in it; a circumstance that must make one very suspicious about the integrity of the printed papal letter.

²³ So first Conc. Paris. ann. 829. lib. iii. c. 2. (Mansi xiv. 596): quod nisi causa fornicationis, ut Dominus ait, non sit uxor dimittenda, sed potius sustinenda. Et quod hi, qui causa fornicationis dimissis uxoribus suis alias ducunt, Domini sententia adulteri esse notentur. This regulation is adopted by Benedictus Levita in his collection of Capitularies (Capitt. lib. vi. c. 235) but he perverts the sense of the first sentence by leaving out nisi, so as to make it have the opposite sense. Benedict has preserved several capitula of older synods against the remarrying of divorced persons (lib. vi. c. 63. c. 87. vii. c. 73. c. 381), though he does not omit to give also the opposite regulations of Frank kings (Ex. gr. lib. v. c. 21. from capit. ann. 757. c. 8. see above not. 22.) But the civil law did not yet go as far as the ecclesiastical view. See Lotharii i. legg. Langobard. c. 92. (in Walter corp. juris germ. T. iii. p. 656): Nulli liceat excepta causa fornicationis adhibitam sibi uxorem relinquere, et deinde aliam copulare. S. Böhmer S. 108 ff.

²⁴ Comp. the epistola Jesu Christi (in Baluzii capitul. ii. 1396) fabricated in Charlemagne's time, with horrible threats against those who did not keep Sunday holy, who observed heathen usages, &c.

²⁵ Childebert's decretio A. D. 595. c. 2. (see vol. 1. Div. 2. § 124. note 17.) against those excommunicated for incest, who continued obstinate. More general Pipini capit. vern. ann. 755. c. 9: Si aliquis ista omnia contemserit, et Episcopus emendare minime potuerit, Regis judicio exilio condemnetur. Cf. capit. lib. vii. c. 215.—Synodus Regiaticinia [Pavia] A. D. 850. c. 12. (ap. Mansi xiv. 934): Hoc autem omnibus Christianis intimandum est, quia hi, qui sacri altaris communione privati, et pro suis sceleribus reverendis adytis exclusi publicae poenitentiae subjugati sunt, nullo militiae secularis uti concilio, nullamque reipublicae debent administrare dignitatem etc.

²⁶ An improvement of the old church visitation (cf. Conc. Taracon. ann. 516 c. 8: ut antiquae consuetudinis ordo servetur, et [Ecclesiae] annuis vicibus ab Episcopo dioceses visitentur). Carol. M. capit. ann. 769 c. 7: Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque Episcopus parochiam suam solícite circumeat, et populum confirmare et plebes docere, et investigare et prohibere paganas observationes, divinosque vel sortilegos, aut auguria, phylacteria, incantationes, vel omnes spurcicias gentilium

§ 9.

PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY.

To the Carlovingians the clergy were indebted for new possessions and privileges. *The tithes* granted to the Church by Charlemagne, 779, were at first, indeed, reluctantly and irregularly paid, but yet they were carried out into execution.¹ Parishes received

studeat. Capit. ii. ann. 813 c. 1: Ut Episcopi circumeant parochias sibi commissas, et ibi inquirendi studium habeant de incestu, de parricidiis, fratricidiis, adulteriis, cenodoxiis et aliis malis, quae contraria sunt Deo, quae in sacris Scripturis leguntur quae Christiani devitare debent. Capit. lib. vii. c. 148, 465. Conc. Arelatense ann. 813 c. 17. (Mansi xiv. 61): Ut unusquisque Episcopus semel in anno circumeat parochiam suam. Noverint sibi curam populorum et pauperum in protegendis ac defendendis impositam. Ideoque dum conspiciunt, iudices ac potentes pauperum oppressores existere, prius eos sacerdotali admonitione redarguant; et si contempserint emendari, eorum insolentia Regis auribus intimetur, ut quos sacerdotalis admonitio non flectit ad justitiam, regalis potestas ab improbitate coërceat. A description of the synods in Regino de disciplina eccl. lib. ii. c. 1. ss. Hartzhemii Conc. Germ. ii. 511. Jo. Morini comm. hist. de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae lib. vii. c. 3. F. A. Biener's Beitr. zu d. Gesch. d. Inquisitionsprocesses. Leipz. 1827. S. 28 ss. Eichhorn's Kirchenrecht ii. 73.

¹ People had very early begun to consider ecclesiastical oblations as a continuation of the Old Testament first fruits and tithes (vol. i. § 53, note 16), and to assert that the laity should proportion the greatness of their oblations to that standard. For a long time this was only enforced as a moral duty, but subsequently it was demanded on pain of ecclesiastical punishment (Conc. Matisconense ann. 585, c. 5): let the disobedient person a membris Ecclesiae omni tempore separetur. A letter of Pipin's to Lullus, archbishop of Mainz, A. D. 764, ap. Baluz. i. 185, desires that the bishops should institute a thanksgiving feast, on account of a rich harvest, et faciat unusquisque homo sua eleemosyna, et pauperes pascat. Et sic praevidere faciatis et ordinare de verbo nostro, ut unusquisque homo, aut vellet, aut nollet, suam decimam donet, viz., to the poor. Charlemagne made the church law, which required a tenth, the law of the state also, capit. ann. 779, c. 7: De decimis, ut unusquisque suam decimam donet, atque per jussionem Pontificiis dispensetur. Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae (Pertz iii. 49) c. 16: Et hoc Christo propitio placuit, ut undecunque census aliquid ad fiscum pervenerit, sive in frido, sive in qualicunque banno, et in omni redistributione [*i.e.*, redivit] ad Regem pertinente, decima pars Ecclesiis et Sacerdotibus reddatur, c. 17: Similiter secundum Dei mandatum praecipimus, ut omnes decimam partem substantiae et laboris sui Ecclesiis et Sacerdotibus donent, tam

a secure endowment, to which, in particular, a certain extent of land (*mansus ecclesiasticus*) free of all rent and taxes also belonged.² To this were added, not only many donations,³ but, as the

nobiles quam ingenui, similiter et liti, juxta quod Deus unicuique dedit Christiano, partem Deo reddant; subsequently also often repeated. According to a capit. anni inc. in Martene et Durand coll. ampl. vii. 10, the disobedient shall first be excommunicated, and if then they will not submit, they shall be compelled by civil punishments, succeeding one another by gradation. This ecclesiastical tithe must be distinguished from that tenth which, at the time of the Romans, colonists had to pay from the *ager publicus* to the state as rent, and which subsequently had come with the possession of that *ager* into many other hands, and had also in a great measure fallen into the hands of the church (*Birnbaum die rechtl. Natur der Zehnten*. Bonn 1831. 8). Such colonists had now to pay a double tithe *decimam et nonam*; hence capit. Francof. ann. 794, c. 23: *Ut decimas et nonas sive census omnes generaliter donent, qui debitores sunt ex beneficiis et rebus Ecclesiarum.—Et omnis homo ex sua proprietate legitimam decimam ad Ecclesiam conferat. Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida fames irrepsit, ebullire vacuas annonas a daemonibus devoratas, et voces exprobrationis auditas. Planck ii. 397. Gfrörer iii. ii. 609. Kühlen-thal's Gesch. des deutschen Zehntens. Heilbronn 1837. 8.*

² Ludov. P. capit. ann. 816, c. 10: *Statutum est, ut unicuique Ecclesiae unus mansus integer absque ullo servitio adtribuatur, et Presbyteri in eis constituti non de decimis, neque de oblationibus fidelium, non de domibus, neque de atriis vel hortis juxta Ecclesiam positis, neque de praescripto manso aliquod servitium faciant praeter ecclesiasticum. Et si aliquid amplius habuerint, inde Senioribus suis debitum servitium impendant.* On *Mansus* see Eugen Montag's *Gesch. d. deutschen staatsbürgerl. Freiheit*, i. 1. 273 u. 325. The Conc. Rom. ann. 826, c. 16 (repeated ann. 853, ap. Mansi xiv. 1005) forbids the bishop *res immobiles de subjectis plebibus seu aliis pijs locis in proprio usu habere.*

³ Also by *contractus precarios*, Planck ii. 390. Montag i. i. 278. Kunstmann's *Rabanus Maurus* S. 20.—What means were employed in part to obtain these donations may be seen from *Caroli M. capitulare* ii. ann. 811, c. 5: *Inquirendum etiam, si ille saeculum dimissum habeat, qui quotidie possessiones suas augere quolibet modo et qualibet arte non cessat, suadendo de caelestis regni beatitudine, comminando de aeterno supplicio inferni, et sub nomine Dei aut cujuslibet sancti tam divitem quam pauperem, qui simplicioris naturae sunt, et minus docti atque cauti inveniuntur, si rebus suis expoliant, et legitimos heredes eorum exheredant, ac per hoc plerosque ad flagitia et scelera propter inopiam, ad quam per hoc fuerint devoluti, perpetranda compellunt, ut quasi necessario furta et latrocinia exercent, cui paternarum [rerum] hereditas, ne ad eum perveniret, ab alio praerepta est. Cap. 6: Iterum inquirendum, quomodo seculum reliquisset, qui cupiditate ductus propter adipiscendas res, quas alium videt possidentem, homines ad perjuriam et falsa testimonia pretio conducit; et Advocatum sive Praepositum non*

feudal system prevailed, many private estates were converted into ecclesiastical fiefs.⁴ Many churches received judicial power over their colonists,⁵ perhaps also over the free men that dwelt among them; many also received other *Regalia*⁶ (rights belonging to royalty). From *Charlemagne's* time all prelates were obliged to keep *advocates* (*Advocati Ecclesiae*)⁷ for transacting the secular affairs incompatible with their spiritual calling.

justum ac Deum timentem, sed crudelem ac cupidum, ac perjuriam parvipendentem inquiri etc.

⁴ Capit. iii. ann. 811, c. 3: Dicunt etiam, quod quicumque proprium suum Episcopo, Abbati, vel Comiti aut Judici vel Centenario dare noluerit, occasiones quaerunt super illum pauperem, quomodo eum condemnare possint, et illum semper in hostem faciant ire, usque dum pauper factus volens nolens suum proprium tradat aut vendat, alii vero, qui traditum habent, absque ullius inquietudine domi resideant. Charles the Bald desired, on the contrary, that every one should come under the feudal obligations, conventus apud Marsnam ann. 847 (*Baluz. ii. 44. Pertz iii. 395*): Volumus etiam, ut unusquisque liber homo in nostro regno seniore[m] qualem voluerit, in nobis et in nostris fidelibus accipiat. *Eichhorn's deutsche Rechtsgesch. i. 724.*

⁵ Such cases had already happened singly among the Merovingians, but now they were more frequent. Thus Treves received the privilege of immunity from the jurisdiction of counts, for church possessions from Pipin 761 (*Honthelm hist. dipl. i. 120*, confirmed by Charlemagne 773, p. 132, and Lewis the Debonaire, 816, p. 167). Osnabruck received from Charlemagne, 804, immunity from all judicial courts, even from that of Missi (*Möser's osnabrück. Gesch. 3te Aufl. Berlin 1819, i. 405*). Montag i. i. 220. *Eichhorn i. 735.*

⁶ Comp. Montag i. 285. Thus Lewis the Debonaire in particular bestowed on many monasteries and churches, the right of tolls, markets, and coinage (*Walch diss. de pietate Lud. P. 1748*, in *Pottii syll. comm. theol. iv. 280*). Therefore Heimoldus in *chronic. Slav. lib. i. c. 4, § 2*, says that Lewis was so indulgent to the clergy, ut *Episcopos, qui propter animarum regimen principes sunt caeli, ipse eosdem nihilominus principes efficeret regni.*

⁷ *Caroli capit. ii. ann. 813 c. 14: Ut Episcopi et Abbates Advocatos habeant. Et ipsi habeant in illo comitatu propriam hereditatem. Et ut ipsi recti et boni sint, et habeant voluntatem recte et juste causas perficere. Cf. Lotharii capit. tit. iii. c. 7. c. 9. c. 18. Pippini Ital. Reges. leges Langobard. c. 7.* These *Advocati* had to appear in courts on behalf of the church they represented, to attend to the administration of justice in them (*Montag i. i. 232 ss. 244 ss.*) Many churches had for protection also *Defensores Ecclesiae* (*Montag. S. 250*): Both offices, however, were soon united (*Montag. S. 254 ff.*), and the expressions, *Advocati, Defensores, Vicedomini*, became synonymous. The appointment of such officers originated in the older, particularly African, synodical decrees, though the new *Advocati* were quite differ-

Charlemagne *exempted* the clergy more than ever from the jurisdiction of the civil courts; but the king continued to be supreme judge of all clergymen, even of bishops.⁸ And since a more accurate distinction of the peculiar limits belonging to the rights of the clergy did not take place as Charles had intended,⁹ spiritual aspirings after greater freedom and power were certainly the more encouraged by this means under the feeble government of his successors. The bishops strove to obtain the pope for their spiritual judge;¹⁰ and, on the other hand, to raise ent from the earlier subordinate Defensores. Cf. Thomassinus P. i. lib. ii. cap. 97 ss. Planck ii. 452. Eichhorn's deutiche Rechtsgesch. i. 787. Kaim's Kirchenpatronatrecht i. 70.

⁸ Comp. vol. i. Div. ii. § 124, note 15. Caroli M. alia capitula add. ad leg. Longob. ann. 801. c. 1: Volumus primo, ut neque Abbates, neque Presbyteri, neque Diaconi, neque Subdiaconi, neque quislibet de clero, de personis suis ad publica vel ad secularia iudicia trahantur vel distringantur, sed a suis Episcopis iudicati iustitiam faciant. (Cf. capit. Aquisgran. ann. 789 c. 37: Ut Clerici ecclesiastici ordinis, si culpam incurrerint, apud ecclesiasticos iudicentur, non apud seculares). Si autem de possessionibus, sive ecclesiasticis, sive suis propriis, super eos clamor ad iudicem venerit, mittat iudex clamantem cum Misso suo ad Episcopum, ut faciat ei per advocatum iustitiam percipere. Si vero talis aliqua inter eas exorta fuerit intentio, quam per se pacificare non velint aut non possint, tunc per advocatum Episcopi, qualem lex iusserit, causa ipsa ante Comitem vel iudicem veniat, et ibi secundum legem finiatur, anteposito quod dictum est de persona clericorum. (Cf. capit. Francof. ann. 794 c. 28. Et si forte inter clericum et laicum fuerit orta altercatio, Episcopus et Comes simul conveniant, et unanimiter inter eos causam definiant secundum rectitudinem). Still the final decision belonged to the king and his ministers. Lothar. imp. in lege Longobard. lib. ii. tit. 45. c. 2. (Baluz. ii. 337): Ut omnes Episcopi, Abbates et Comites, excepta infirmitate vel nostra iussione, nullam habeant excusationem, quin ad placita Missorum nostrorum veniant, aut talem vicarium mittant, qui in omnibus causis pro illis rationem reddere possit. Caroli Calvi capit. tit. 40 ann. 859 c. 7. (ibid. p. 211): Ut si Episcopi suis laicis injuste fecerint, et ipsi laici se ad nos inde reclamaverint, nostrae regiae potestati secundum nostrum et suum ministerium ipsi Archiepiscopi et Episcopi obedient,—sicut temporibus avi et patris nostri juxta et rationabilis consuetudo fuit. Eichhorn i. 177.

⁹ Capitulare interrogationis de iis, quae C. M. pro communi omnium utilitate interroganda constituit [ann. 811] c. 4:—discutiendum est atque inveniendum, in quantum se Episcopus aut Abbas rebus secularibus debeat inserere, vel in quantum Comes vel alter laicus in ecclesiastica negotia. Hic interrogandum est acutissime, quid sit quod Apostolus ait: "Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. (2 Tim. ii. 4), vel ad quos sermo iste pertineat.

¹⁰ See above § 7. not. 27 ff.

themselves to be judges of kings;¹¹ an attempt was also made to change the previously existing right of arbitration possessed by the bishops (vol. i. § 91, note 4) into a compulsory judicial power over the laity, in certain cases.¹² The royal authority, however, over spiritual fief holders was still too firmly established

¹¹ See above § 6. not. 13.

¹² *Capitt. lib. vi. c. 366*: *Volumus atque praecipimus, ut omnes ditioni nostrae Deo auxiliante subjecti, tam Romani, quam Franci, Alamanni, Bajuvarii, Saxones, Thuringii, Fresones, Galli, Burgundiones, Britones, Langobardi, Wascones, Benventani, Gothi, et Hispani—hanc sententiam, quam ex 16mo Theodosii Imp. libro—sumsimus, et inter nostra capitula—posuimus, legem cunctis perpetuo tenendam; id est: Quicumque litem habens, sive possessor sive petitor fuerit, vel in initio litis, vel decursis temporum curriculis, sive cum negotium peroratur, sive cum jam coeperit promi sententia, si iudicium elegerit sacrosanctae legis Antistitis, illico sine aliqua dubitatione, etiamsi alia pars refragatur, ad Episcoporum iudicium cum sermone litigantium dirigatur.—Omnes itaque causae, quae vel praetorio jure vel civili tractantur, Episcoporum sententiis terminatae, perpetuo stabilitatis jure firmentur; nec liceat ulterius retractari iudicium, quod Episcoporum sententia deciderit.* That this law which also belongs to the 18 extravagancies of the *Cod. Theod.* published in *Jac. Sirmondi appendix Codicis Theodosiani, Paris 1631. 8.* (see *novellae constitutiones Imp. Theodosii ii. etc. xviii. constitutiones quas J. Sirmondus divulgavit ed. G. Haenel. Bonnae 1844. 4. p. 445*), is not at all a *lex Constantini*, which it pretends to be, may be seen from *Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. ed. Ritteri vi. 339. Savigny Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im Mittelalter ii. 281, 296. Eichhorn's Kirchenrecht ii. 131.* (although it has been recently pronounced genuine by *Jungk diss. de originibus et progressu episcopalis iudicii in causis civilibus laicorum, Berol. 1832. 8.* and by *G. Haenel l. c. p. 429*). But even the capitulary form which is only met with in *Benedict's collection* proceeds neither from *Charlemagne* (to whom it has often been referred) nor from any other Frank king. *C. S. Berardus (Gratiani canones genuini ab apocryphis discreti. Taurini 1752. T. iv. 4.) i. 444, and Jodocus le Plat diss. de spuriiis in Gratiano canonibus P. iii. c. 14.* (in *Gallandii sylloge ed. Mogont. ii. 843 not. 8.*) declare it to be a *fabrication of Benedict*; *Schmidt Kirchengesch. v. 161* and *Eichhorn deutsche Rechtsgesch. i. 776*, which says the same thing, declare it to be a *Pseudoisidorianum*. Since that *lex Const.* is also found in *Codd. of breviarii Alaricii*, since moreover *Benedict* used for his collection of capitularies the documents collected by *Archbishop Riculf* (see *preface*), and since such records were brought from *Spain* by *Riculf* (see *Hincmar. Laud. c. 24*); this law may have arisen among the *Visigoths*, with whom the bishop's power was very considerable (see vol. i. *Div. 2. §. 132, note 6.*) Thus even the subsequent royal renewing and confirmation of it may have been originally a *Visigothic deed*, so that *Benedict* only added the names of several states, to make it a *Frank regulation*.

for them to succeed in obtaining anything in opposition to the will of the king.

§ 10.

EFFORTS OF THE CARLOVINGIANS TO PROMOTE THEOLOGICAL CULTURE.

Jo. Launoji de scholis celebrioribus s. a Carolo Magno s. post eundem Car. per Occidentem instauratis liber, Paris. 1672. 8. (in addition to Jo. Mabilionii iter German. republished by J. A. Fabricius, Hamb. 1717. 8). L. Thomassini vet. et nov. Eccl. discipl. P. ii. lib. i. c. 96-100. Histoire littéraire de la France par des religieux Benedictins de la Congrég. de S. Maur. (Paris 1733 ss. 20 Tomes 4. is continued). T. iv. et v. Bossuet's Weltgeschichte, continued by J. A. Cramer, v. ii. 118-180. C. H. van Herwerden comm. de iis, quae a Carolo M. tum ad propagandam religionem christ. tum ad emendandam ejusdem docendi rationem acta sunt. Lugd. Bat. 1825. 4. Dr J. Chr. F. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Literatur im karoling Zeitalter, Carlsruhe 1840. 8.

As soon as Charlemagne had become acquainted with the liberal sciences in Italy, he became anxious to introduce them immediately into his own kingdom, and in particular among the clergy. Accordingly he invited to his court learned foreigners,¹ for instance *Petrus Pisanus*, *Paulus Warnefridi*, († 799)² *Paulinus*, patriarch of Aquileia († 804),³ and in 782, the most distinguished of all, *Flaccus Alcuinus* or *Albinus* († 804).⁴ By precept and example, he excited a zeal for those studies, and

¹ Annales Laurissenses ad ann. 787 (ap. Pertz. i. 171): Et domnus Rex Carolus a Roma artis gramaticae et computatoriae magistros secum adduxit in Franciam, et ubique studium literarum expandere jussit. Ante ipsum enim domnum Regem Carolum in Gallia nullum studium fuerat liberalium artium.

² From him we have de historia Longobardorum libb. vi. et historiae miscellae lib. xvi., afterwards enlarged by the addition of 8 books (both best edited in Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptor. T. I.) Vitae Gregorii M., Benedicti, etc. Excerpta de primis Metensium Episcopis (in Pertz. monum. Germ. hist. ii. 260). Homiliarium.

³ Bähr S. 356.

⁴ Controversial writings against Adoptians. Biblical commentaries. Doctrinal writings, especially de fide S. Trinitatis libb. iii. ad. Car. M. De Virtutibus et vitiis I. Vitae S. Willebrordi, Martini, etc. Homiliae. De vii. artibus. Carmina. Espec. epistolae 232. Opp. ed Frobenius. Ratisbon, 1777. Tomi ii. fol. Alcuin's life by Dr F. Lorenz. Halle 1829. 8. Bähr S. 302. 78. 192.

erected schools attached to cathedrals and monasteries,⁵ in which the *trivium* and *quadrivium*⁶ were taught. Monastic schools were divided from A. D. 817 into external and internal.⁷ Though

⁵ Car. M. epist. ad Baugulfum Abb. Fuldensem, or rather a circular letter to all bishops and abbots A. D. 787 (Baluz. i. 201. Pertz. iii. 52): Notum sit—devotioni vestrae, quia nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse, ut episcopia et monasteria—etiam in literarum meditationibus, eis qui, donante Domino, discere possunt, secundum uniuscujusque capacitatem, docendi studium debeant impendere: qualiter sicut regularis norma honestatem morum, ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut qui Deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non negligent recte loquendo. Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere. Nam cum nobis in his annis a nonnullis monasteriis saepius scripta, dirigerentur, cognovimus in plerisque—eorumdem et sensus rectos et sermones incultos. Unde factum est, ut timere inciperemus, ne forte, sicut, minor erat in scribendo prudentia, ita quoque et multo minor esset, quam recte esse debuisset, in eis ss. Scripturarum ad intelligendum sapientia. Quamobrem hortamur vos literarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum Scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Tales vero ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alios instruendi, etc. Capitul. Aquisgr. ann. 789. c. 70. (Baluz. i. 237):—non solum servilis conditionis infantes sede etiam ingenuorum filios (Canonici et Monachi) adgregent sibi que socient. Et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia discant.—Mentioned repeatedly by Concil. Cabilonense [A. D. 813] can. 3. T. König's geschichtl. Nachrichten über das Gynnas. zu Münster in Westphalen seit Stiftung dess. durch. Karl d. G. bis auf die Jesuiten. Münster 1821. 8. Respecting Charlemagne's literary occupations see Alcuin's life by Lorenz. pp. 20, 164; on his alleged Academy *ibid.* p. 169.

⁶ The notion of seven artes liberales, though previously indicated, proceeds from Augustine de ordine lib. ii. Encyclopaedie of Martianus Capella (about 460) containing the seven liberal sciences, Satyricon lib. ix.; Boëthius († 524) de arithmetica lib. iii. (where i. l. the name and establishment of the Quadrivium are first met with); Cassiodorus († after 562) de vii. disciplinis; the first manuals and those much used in the middle ages proceeded from him. See Jac. Thomasius in the Observationibus select. Halens. T. ii. p. 40 ss. F. Cramer's Gesch. d. Erziehung und des Unterrichts in d. Niederlanden während des Mittelalters, Stralsund 1843. S. 5. The division into the trivium and quadrivium is given in the memorial lines:—

Gram. loquitur, Dia, verba docet, Rhe verba colorat;
Mus canit, Ar numerat, Geo. ponderat, As. colit astra.

⁷ Scholae exteriores or canonicae, and interiores, in consequence of

Lewis the Debonaire,⁸ *Lotharius*, and *Charles the Bald*,⁹ were friends and patrons of the sciences no less than their great ancestor, yet in their times those institutions suffered from internal disturbances,¹⁰ and fell into still greater disorder in the suc-

the regulation in the capitulare of the year 817. § 45, (Pertz. iii. 202), *ut schola in monasterio non habeatur, nisi eorum, qui oblati sunt.* Comp. Kunstmann's *Rabanus Maurus* S. 54. R. v. Raumer's *Einwirkung des Christenth, aus die althochdeutsche Sprache.* Stuttgart 1845. S. 199.

⁸ Capit. Altiniacense ann. 822 c. 3. (ap. Pertz. iii. 231). Capit. Aquisgr. ann. 825. c. 6. (ap. Pertz. iii. 243). Conc. Paris. vi. ann. 829 lib. i. c. 30. (ap. Mansi xiv. 558). The passage of the epist. of this council ad Ludov. Imp. [lib. iii. c. 12]: *Similiter obnixæ ac suppliciter vestrae celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternum sequentes saltem, in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis scholæ publicæ ex vestra auctoritate fiant: ut labor patris vestri et vester per incuriam, quod absit, labefactando non pareat, must be understood of the higher places of education.* C. E. Bulaei hist. Acad. Paris i. 159.

⁹ *Herici Mon. ad Car. Calvum, about A. D. 876 (Dedication prefixed to his lib. vi. carminum de vita S. Germani, see Bouquet vii. 562): Illud vel maxime vobis æternam parat memoriam, quod famatissimi avi vestri Caroli studium erga immortales disciplinas non modo ex æquo repræsentatis, verum etiam incomparabili fervore transcenditis: dum quod ille sopitis eduxit cineribus, vos fomento multiplici tum beneficiorum, tum auctoritatis usquequaque provehitis, immo, ut sublimibus, sublimia conferam, ad sidera perurgetis. Ita vestra tempestate ingenia hominum duplici nituntur adminiculo, dum ad sapientiæ abdita persequenda omnes quidem exemplo allicitis, quosdam vero præmiis invitatis. Id vobis singulare studium effecistis, ut sicubi terrarum magistri florent artium,—hos ad publicam eruditionem undecunque vestra celsitudo conduceret, comitas attraheret, dapsilitas provocaret. Dum te tuosque ornamentis sapientiæ illustrare contendis, cunctarum fere gentium scholas et studia sustulisti. Spretis ceteris in eam mundi partem, quam vestra potestas complectitur, universa optimarum artium studia confluxerunt.*

¹⁰ Conc. Valentinum iii. [ann. 855] c. 18. (ap. Mansi xv. 11.): *Ut de scholis tam divinæ quam humanæ literaturæ, necnon et ecclesiasticæ cantilenæ, juxta exemplum prædecessorum nostrorum, aliquid inter nos tractetur, et si potest fieri, statuatur atque ordinetur: quia ex hujus studii longa intermissione, pleraque Ecclesiarum Dei loca et ignorantia fidei et totius scientiæ inopia invasit.* Conc. Lingonense ann. 859, c. 10. (Mansi xv. 539): *Ut scholæ ss. Scripturarum, et humanæ quoque literaturæ, unde annis præcedentibus per religiosorum Imperatorum studium magna illuminatio, Ecclesiæ et eruditionis utilitas processit, deprecandi sunt pii principes nostri, et omnes fratres et coëpiscopi nostri instantissime commonendi, ut—constituantur undique scholæ publicæ, scilicet ut utriusque eruditionis, et divinæ scilicet et humanæ,*

ceeding stormy reigns. Among the schools which flourished from the time of Charlemagne, besides the *Schola Palatina*,¹¹ those of *Tours, Lyons, Orleans, Rheims, Fulda, old and new Corbey, Hirschau, Reichenau, and St Gallen*,¹² are especially deserving of notice. Among the learned men, by the number and importance of whom the Frank empire was distinguished in the ninth century above all the West, the most worthy of mention are, *Agobard*, archbishop of Lyons († 841)¹³ *Rabanus Maurus*, 822, abbot in Fulda, 847, archbishop of Mainz, († 856),¹⁴ *Haimo*, bishop of Halberstadt, († 853),¹⁵ *Walafrid Strabo*, a scholastic in Fulda, 842 abbot in Reichenau, († 849),¹⁶ *Servatus Lupus*, abbot at Ferrierers, († 862),¹⁷ *Ratramnus*, monk in Corbie, (†

in Ecclesiae Dei fructus valeat accrescere : quia, quod nimis dolendum est et perniciosum maxime, divinae Scripturae verax et fidelis intelligentia jam ita delabatur, ut vix ejus extrema vestigia reperiantur.

¹¹ Bähr S. 19. 31. 42.

¹² Hüllmann's *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*. iv. 307. Bähr S. 21. 43.

¹³ Among his writings are four against the Jews, several against the superstitions of the time (adv. legem Gundobadi, et impia certamina, quae per eam geruntur. Liber contra judicium Dei. De grandine et tonitruis. Epist. ad Barthol. Episc. Narbon. de quorundam illusionem signorum. De picturis et imaginibus) and on the contemporary political events (de divisione imperii Francorum inter filios Lud. Imp. flebilis epistola. Liber apologeticus pro filiis Lud. P. Chartula porrecta Lotharia Aug. in Syn. Compendiensi). Opp. prim. ed. Papir. Masson, Paris. 1605. 8. castigatus St. Baluzius, Paris. 1666. 2 voll. 8. and by this ap. Gallandius xiii. 405. C. B. Hundeshagen de Agobardi vita et scriptis. P. i. vita. Giessae 1831. 8. Bähr S. 383. Gfrörer iii. ii. 747.

¹⁴ Writings: Commentaries on almost all the biblical books. Homilies. Moral writings. On the customs of the church (De clericorum institutione et ceremoniis eccl. libb. iii. De sacris ordinibus, sacramentis divinis, et vestimentis sacerdot. De disciplina eccl. libb. iii.) Opp. ed. G. Colvenerius. Colon. 1627. vi. T. fol. Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus, v. D. F. Kunstmann, Mainz 1841. 8. Hrab. Maurus, der Schöpfer des deutschen Schulwesens, Programm von R. Bach. Fulda 1835. 4. Bähr S. 415. 105.

¹⁵ Biblical Commentaries.—Historiae eccl. brevium libb. x. (ed. Jo. Maderus, Helmst. 1671.) Bähr S. 408.

¹⁶ De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum (in scriptt. de div. offic. ed. Melch. Hittorp, Colon. 1568.) Glossa ordinaria in Biblia (ed. Antverp. 1634. 6 voll. fol.) Vitae S. Galli, Othmari et al. Bähr S. 100. 217. 398.

¹⁷ A work on predestination. Epistolae 132. Opp. ed. St. Baluz., Paris. 1664. emend. Antverp. 1710. 8. Bähr S. 456.

after 868),¹⁸ *Claudius*, bishop of Turin, († 839),¹⁹ and *Christianus Druthmar*, monk in Corbie, († about 840),²⁰ are distinguished as grammatical scholars; as a philosopher, *John Scotus or Erigena*, at the court of Charles the Bald († after 877).²¹

¹⁸ Called Bertramus merely by a continued error of the copyists. He was not abbot at Orbais, nor should be confounded with Ratramnus, abbot of Neuvillers in Elsass. Hist. lit. de la France v. 333. De partu virginis. De praedestinatione libb. ii. Contra Graecorum errores libb. iv. De corpore et sanguine Domini. Bähr S. 471.

¹⁹ The following works of his have been published: Praefatio in libros informationum literae et spiritus super Leviticum, ad Theodemirum Abb. and the conclusion of this work (in Mabillonii vett. analecta ed. ii. p. 90); comm. in libros Regum ad Theodemirum Abb. (in Bedae et Claudii Taur. aliorumque opuscula a Canonicis regul. s. Salvatoris edita. Bononiae 1755. fol. p. 4. From this commentary nothing more than the introductions to separate books had been published before in F. A. Zachariae biblioth. Pistoriensis, Aug. Taurin. 1752. fol. p. 60. the complete edition has remained quite unnoticed in Germany); praef. in catenam ad Matthaëum, ad Justum Abb. (in the spicilegium Romanum T. iv. Romae 1840. S. p. 301); praef. in commentarios ad epist. Pauli ad Theodemirum Abb. (in Maji scriptt. vett. nova collectio vii. i. 274); praef. in epist. ad Rom. (in Fabricii bibl. mediae et infimae Latin. i. 1087); comm. in epist. ad Galatas (Paris. 1542. 8. Bibl. Patrum, Lugd. xiv. p. 134); praefatio exposit. in epist. ad Ephesios ad Ludov. Pium (ap. Mabillon. l. c. p. 91); expositio epist. ad Philemonem (in the spicileg. Rom. ix. i. 109); dicta in lectionem s. Evangelii sec. Matthaëum viii. 1-13; xi. 25-29; xx. 1-16; and in ep. ad Rom. viii. 1-27 (in Claudii Taur. Ep. ineditorum operum specimina, praemissa de ejus doctrina scriptisque diss., exhibuit A. Rudelbach, Havn. 1824. 8.) Many are still lying in the libraries. Cf. Rich. Simon. hist. crit. des principaux commentateurs du N. T. p. 353. The same author's critique de la bibliothèque de Mr. du Pin. i. 284. Oudin de scriptt. eccl. ii. 26. Claudius of Turin by Dr T. Schmidt in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol. 1843. ii. 39.

²⁰ Comm. in evang. Matthaëi, ed. Argentorati 1514. op. Jo. Secerii, Haguenae 1530. Bibl. PP. Lugd. xv. 86. cf. Rich. Simon hist. des princip. comm. du. N. T. p. 370. The same author's critique de la bibl. de Mr. du Pin. i. 299. That Druthmar does not belong to the 11th century, as after Fabricius bibl. med. et inf. Latin. i. 374. is assumed even by Wachler Gesch. d. Literatur, Th. 2. (2te Umarbeit. S. 59) may be seen in histoire lit. de la France, v. 85. Bähr S. 401.

²¹ The contemporaries Hincmar and Anastasius (ep. ad Carolum in Usherii vett. epist. Hibern. sylloge. Dublin. 1632. p. 40 ss.) call him Scottigena, Trithemius for the first time Erigena. The story of his return to England and violent death has been often derived from the act of confounding him with one Johannes presbyter et monachus ex Ealdsaxonum genere (Asserii hist. Alfredi regis) s. Mabillon ann. Benedict.

For the instruction of the people little could be done, since the requirements demanded of the pastors²² must still have been very low were it for no other reason than the want of books.²³

lib. xxxv. § 39. lib. xxxviii. § 72. Hist. lit. de la France, v. 418. Hjort S. 44. See on the opposite side Staudenmaier S. 115. Works : De divisione naturae libb. v. (ed. Th. Gale, Oxon. 1681. fol.) De prae-destinatione Dei.—Opera S. Dionysii latine versa. Joh. Scotus Erig., od. v. d. Ursprung einer christlichen Philosophie u. ihrem heill. Beruf, v. D. Peder Hjort, Kopenh. 1823. 8. H. Schmid der Mysticismus des Mittelalters in seiner Entstehungsperiode, Jena 1824. 8. S. 114 ff. Joh. Scot. Erig. u. die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit v. Dr F. A. Staudenmaier Th. 1. Frkf. a. M. 1834. Dr Nic. Möller, Joh. Scot. Erig. Mainz 1844. Philosophia Erigenae ex ipsius principiis delineata ab A. Torstrick. P. i. Gotting. 1844. 8. Helfferich die christl. Mystik. Gotha 1842. 2 Th. Baur's Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit ii. 274. Ritter's Gesch. der christl. Philos. iii. 206. Die Lehre des Joh. Scotus Erigena vom Wesen des Bösen von M. Frommüller, in Steudel's Tübinger Zeitschrift s. Theol. 1830. i. 49. iii. 74.

²² Freculph, bishop of Lisieux, writes to Rabanus (Rab. opp. ii. 4) : nulla nobis librorum copia suppeditat,—dum in episcopio nostrae parvitati commisso nec ipsos novi veterisque testamenti reperi libros, multo minus horum expositiones.

²³ Capit. Aquisgran. ann. 789. cap. 68. especially capitula de doctrina clericorum in the capitulare Aquense ann. 802. (Pertz iii. 107) : Haec sunt, quae jussa sunt discere omnes ecclesiasticos : 1. fidem catholicam s. Athanasii et caetera quaecunque de fide ; 2. symbolum etiam apostolicum ; 3. orationem dominicam ad intelligendum pleniter cum expositione sua ; 4. librum sacramentorum pleniter tam canonem missasque speciales ad commutandum pleniter ; 5. exorcismum super catechumenum sive super daemónicos ; 6. commendationem animae ; 7. poenitentialem ; 8. computum ; 9. cantum Romanorum in nocte ; 10. et ad missa similiter ; 11. Evangelium intelligere, seu lectiones libri comitis ; 12. homilias dominicis diebus et solemnitatibus dierum ad praedicandum canonem ; monachi regulam similiter et canonem firmiter ; 13. librum pastorem canonici atque librum officiorum ; 14. epistolam Gelasii pastorem ; 15. scribere chartas et epistolas. Hincmar's (archbp. of Rheims) capitula Presbyteris data ann. 852. may be considered a commentary on these (ap. Mansi xv. 475) c. 1 : Ut unusquisque Presbyterorum expositionem symboli, atque orationis dominicae juxta traditionem orthodoxorum patrum plenius discat, exinde praedicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat. Praefationem quoque canonis et eundem canonem intelligat, et memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat, et orationes missarum, Apostolum quoque et Evangelium bene legere possit ; psalmorum etiam verba et distinctiones regulariter, et ex corde cum canticis consuetudinariis pronuntiare sciat. Nec non et sermonem Athanasii de fide, cujus initium est : " Quicumque vult salvus esse," memoriae quisque commendet et sensum illius intelligat, et verbis communibus enuntiare queat. Farther, he must know by

Charles particularly recommended frequent preaching,²⁴ and to this end caused a *homiliarium* to be compiled;²⁵ which plan of popular instruction was followed under his successors.²⁶ *Theo-*

heart c. 2. ordinem baptizandi, c. 3. exorcismos et orationes ad catechumenos faciendum, ad fontes quoque consecrandum, et caeteras preces super masculos et feminas, pluraliter atque singulariter, c. 4. ordinem reconciliandi atque unguendi infirmos, orationes quoque eidem necessitati competentes, similiter ordinem et preces in exequiis atque agendis defunctorum, nec minus exorcismos et benedictiones aquae et salis. c. 8. homilias xl. Gregorii quisque Presbyter studiose legat et intelligat: et ut cognoscat, se ad formam lxxii. discipulorum in ministerio ecclesiastico esse promotum, sermonem praedicti doctoris de lxxii. discipulis a Domino ad praedicandum missis plenissime discat ac memoriae tradat. Computo etiam necessario et cantu per anni circulum plenissime instruat. Similar are the capitula Walterii Episc. Aurelianensis (Mansi xv. 503).

²⁴ Capit. i. ann. 813. c. 14. and the synods held in the same year. Arelatens. c. 10. Mogunt. c. 25. Rhemens. c. 14. 15. Turon. c. 4. c. 17: quilibet Episcopus habeat homilias continentes necessarias admonitiones, quibus subjecti erudiantur.—Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur. Cabilonense c. 2. Theodulphi capit. ad parochiae suae sacerdotes c. 28. (ap. Mansi xiii. 28): Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui Scripturas scit, praedicet Scripturas: qui vero nescit, saltem hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat, ut declinent a malo et faciant bonum, inquirant pacem et sequantur eam etc. Neander's K. G. iii. 246. iv. 219. Schmidt in theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1846. ii. 250. K. v. Raumer's Einwirkung des Christenth. auf die althochdeutsche Sprache. Stuttgart 1845. S. 250.

²⁵ Carol. M. in homiliarium Pauli Diac. about 788. (ap. Baluz. i. 203. Bouquet v. 622): quia curae nobis est, ut Ecclesiarum nostrarum ad meliora semper proficiat status, oblitteratam paene majorum nostrorum desidia reparare vigilantissimo studio literarum satagimus officinam, et ad pernoscenda sacrorum librorum studia nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo.—quia ad nocturnale officium compilatas quorundam casso labore, licet recto intuitu, minus tamen idonee reperimus lectiones; earundem lectionum in melius reformare tramitem, mentem intendimus, idque opus Paulo Diacono familiari nostro eliminandum injunximus.—Qui nostrae celsitudini devote parere desiderans, tractatus atque sermones et homilias diversorum catholicorum Patrum perlegens, et optima quaeque decerpens in duobus voluminibus per totius anni circulum congruentes cuique festivitati distincte et absque vitiis nobis obtulit lectiones. Quarum omnium textum nostra sagacitate perpendentes, nostra etiam auctoritate eadem volumina constabilimus, vestraeque religioni in Christi Ecclesiis tradimus ad legendum. The homiliarium was printed, Spira 1482. Basil. 1493 fol. and in the 16th century frequently.

²⁶ Ludov. P. capit. Aquisgr. ann. 816. c. 28. Syn. Mogunt. ann. 847. c. 2. repeats the can. 17. Conc. Turon. ann. 813. [see note 24].

dulph, bishop of Orleans († 821), one of the trustiest assistants of Charlemagne, also established schools for the common people in his diocese.²⁷ His example was followed by some, but probably not many.²⁸ It was generally believed, that the people were sufficiently furnished with knowledge if they knew the *pater noster* and the creed;²⁹ and even this small requirement was enforced by punitive laws.³⁰ Spiritual compositions which

How low the state of preaching had fallen about this time in Italy may be seen from the rescriptum consultationis Epp. ad domn. Ludovic. ii. Imp. [about 855] c. 3. ap. Baluz. ii. 352.

²⁷ On Theodulph see hist. lit. de la France iv. 459. Bähr S. 359. See capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes (ap. Mansi xiii. 993 ss.) c. 20: Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant, et si quilibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas literas eis commendare vult, eos suscipere et docere non renuant, sed cum summa caritate eos doceant.—Cum ergo eos docent, nihil ab eis pretii pro hac re exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiant, excepto quod eis parentes caritatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint.

²⁸ Herardi Archiep. Turonensis capitula A. D. 858. c. 17. (Baluz. i. 1286): Ut scholas Presbyteri pro posse habeant et libros emendatos. Walterii Episc. Aurelian. cap. c. 6. (Mansi xv. 506): Ut unusquisque Presbyter suum habeat clericum, quem religiose educare procuret: et si possibilitas illi est, scholam in Ecclesia sua habere non negligat.

²⁹ The precept to learn both was often repeated, Ex. gr. Conc. Mogunt. 813. c. 45. (Mansi xiv. 74): Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem dominicam discere semper admoneant sacerdotes populum christianum. Volumusque, ut disciplinam condignam habeant, qui haec discere negligunt, sive in jejunio, sive in alia castigatione emendentur. Propterea dignum est, ut filios suos donent ad scholam, sive ad monasteria, sive foras Presbyteris, ut fidem catholicam recte discant, et orationem dominicam, ut domi alios edocere valeant. Et qui aliter non potuerit, vel in sua lingua hoc discat. Properly it should have been also learned in Latin, and hence arose the popular belief combated by Charlemagne in the capitul. Francof. ann. 794. c. 50: Ut nullus credat, quod non nisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit: quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur, et homo exauditur, si justa petierit. In particular, every one was to teach his godsons, Raumer's *Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die ahdutsche Sprache* S. 266. A written exhortation to learn both, and to teach their godchildren, belonging to this period, in German and Latin, is published in Massmann's *deutschen Abschwörungs-, Glaubens-, Beichtund Betformeln vom Sten bis zum 12ten Jahrh.* Quedlinb. u. Leipz. 1839. S. 150.

³⁰ Cap. Aquens. ann. 802, c. 15 (Pertz iii. 106): Ut nullus infantem vel alium ex paganis de fonte sacro suscipiat, antequam symbolum et orationem dominicam Presbytero suo reddat. Capit. ann. 804, c. 2 (Pertz iii. 130): Et si quis ea nunc non teneat, aut vapulet, aut jejundet de omni potu excepta aqua, usque dum haec pleniter valeat. Et

now began to appear in the native language,³¹ i.e., in the German, could only influence the multitude, in the first instance, through the priests.³² Spiritual poems were especially adapted to bring Christian ideas into the living consciousness of the people.³³ Among these, two poetical *Harmonies of the gospels* must be noticed, the one in the old Saxon language, and in the alliteration form (about 830), which in a true poetic spirit attaches itself to the popular poesy;³⁴ the other, by the Weissenburg monk *Otfried* (868) in the Frankish dialect and in rhyme, which

qui ista consentire noluerit, ad nostram praesentiam dirigatur. Feminae vero aut flagelliis aut jejuniis constringantur. Quod Missi nostri cum Episcopis praevideant ut ita perficiatur: et Comites similiter adjuvant Episcopis, si gratiam nostram velint habere, ad hoc constringere populum, ut ista discant. Cf. Conc. Mogunt. not. 28.

³¹ On the fragments of an old (?) German Matthew see Räumler's *Einwirk. d. Christenth. auf die altheutsche Sprache* S. 35, the Gospel Harmony of Tatian (ed. J. A. Schmeller, Viennae 1841. 4), Raumer S. 36, catechetical memorials (published in Massmann's *deutschen Abschwörungs-, Glaubens-, Beicht- und Betformeln*), Raumer S. 47, fragments of sermons, Raumer S. 66. An interlinear version of the Benedictine rule by Kero, and a translation of Isidorus de *nativitate Domini*, Raumer S. 42.

³² The German glosses on Biblical and ecclesiastical writers were intended for the clergy in particular. See Raumer S. 81, 218.

³³ *Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiae xxvi. interpretatio theotisca.* ed. Jac. Grimm. Gottingae 1830. 4. Spiritual songs belonging to the 9th century, in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben f. Gesch. deutscher Sprache u. Literatur.* Th. I. (Breslau 1830) S. 1 ff. A translation of the Psalms in the low German dialect, published by F. H. v. d. Hagen. Breslau 1816, 4. Dr K. G. P. Mackernagel's *deutsches Kirchenlied.* Stuttgart 1841 gr. 8. S. 38.

³⁴ *Heliand*, or the old Saxon Gospel Harmony, published by J. A. Schmeller, two parts, München 1830 and 39, 4to. Without doubt what the praef. in *librum ant. lingua Saxonica conscriptum in Flacii catalog. testium veritatis* no. 101, p. 126, relates of Lewis the Debonaire, refers to it: Praecepit cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in germanicam linguam poëtice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur. Qui jussis imperialibus libenter obtemperans—ad tam difficile tamque arduum se statim contulit opus.—Igitur a mundi creatione initium capiens, juxta historiae veritatem quaeque excellentiora summatim decerpens, et interdum quaedam ubi commodum duxit mystico sensu depingens, ad finem totius Veteris ac Novi Testamenti interpretando more poëtico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit etc. Cf. Walch de pietate Ludov. P. diss. § 20, in Pottii *syll. comm. theol.* iv. 309. Dr

maintains a spiritual didactic tone.³⁵ The Latin Church music was studied by the clergy alone ;³⁶ while the people sang simply *Kyrieelaison*.³⁷

§ 11.

POSITION OF THE FRANK CHURCH IN THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING IMAGE-WORSHIP.

See the literature before § 1. especially Walch's *Ketzer hist.* xi. 1.

In the controversy concerning images, the Frank Church gave evident proof, not only of its independence of the Romish see, but of its higher theological culture. Of the transactions, indeed, of the synod at *Gentiliacum* (767),¹ connected with a Greek embassy, we know nothing further ; but Charlemagne caused a refutation of the decrees of the second Nicene council (*libri Carolini*),² to be

A. F. C. Vilmar's *deutsche Alterthümer im Heliand als Einkleidung der evangel. Geschichte.* Marburg 1845. 4.

³⁵ Krist, das älteste von Otfried im 9ten Jahrh. verfasste hochdeutsche Gedicht, kritisch herausgeg. von C. G. Graff. Königsberg 1831. 4. On both Gospel Harmonies see Gervinus *Gesch. d. poet. National-Literatur der Deutschen Th. i.* (3te Ausg. Leipz. 1846) S. 81. Vilmar's *Vorlesungen über die Gesch. d. deutschen National-Literatur.* Marburg u. Leipzig 1845. S. 33.

³⁶ Of whom many were exclusively occupied with this department. See Agobardus de *correctione antiphonarii* c. 18, (ed. Baluz. ii. 99) : *quamplurimi ab ineunte pueritia usque ad senectutis canitiem omnes dies vitae suae in parando et confirmando cantu expendunt, et totum tempus utilium et spiritalium studiorum, legendi videlicet et divina eloquia perscrutandi, in istiusmodi occupatione consumunt ; quodque animabus eorum proculdubio valde est noxium, ignari fidei suae, inscii Scripturarum sanctarum, et divinae intelligentiae inanes ac vacui, hoc solum sibi sufficere putant ; et ob hoc etiam ventosi et inflati incedunt, si sonum et vocem decantationis utcunque addiscant, et in numero cantorum deputari videantur.*

³⁷ *Stat. Salisb. ann. 799, f. § 8, not. 1.* Dr H. Hoffmann's *Gesch. d. deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit.* Breslau 1832, S. 3.

¹ *Annales Lauriss. ad ann. 767* : *Tunc habuit domnus Pippinus Rex in supradicta villa [Gentiliaco] Synodum magnam inter Romanos et Graecos de s. Trinitate et de Sanctorum imaginibus.*

² *Prim. ed. Eli. Phili. (Elias Philyra, i. e., Jean du Tillet, afterwards bishop of Brioux, then of Meaux. See du Chesne scriptt. Franc. ii. p. 352) 1549. Reprinted in Goldasti imperial. decret. de cultu imaginum*

drawn up (790),³ and, without being satisfied with Pope Hadrian's reply,⁴ the worship of pictures was rejected at *the Synod of Frank-*

p. 67 ss., and in his *collectio constitutionum imperialium* i. 23 ss. Last: *Augusta Conc. Nic. ii. censura h. e. Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu* libb. iv. ed. Ch. A. Heumann. Hanover, 1731. 8. Mentioned by the *Syn. Paris* (see below, note 8), and *Hincmar opusc. adv. Hincmar. Laudunensem* c. 20.—*Sixti Senensis praeef. in biblioth. sanctam* (Venet. 1566) p. 3, advances the singular opinion, in which, however, others have followed him, that *Andr. of Carlstadt* was the author. On the other hand, *Baronius ad ann. 794, § 30*. *Bellarmino* and many others say, that they were the work of a heretic, and sent to Rome by *Charlemagne* for condemnation. Correct is the opinion of *Sirmond Concil. Gall. ii. 19*. *Natalis Alex. diss. de imaginibus in his hist. eccl. v. 782*. *Hist. lit. de la France iv. 410, &c.* *Comp. chiefly Walch's Ketzerhist. xi. 49*. that these books were written in 790 follows from the *praeef. ad lib. i.*, according to which the *Nicene synod* was held *ferme ante triennium*. *Charlemagne* alone appears as the speaker, for example, *lib. i. c. 6: Venerandae memoriae genitoris nostri—Pipini regis cura* etc. Certainly he got assistance, according to the usual assumption, from *Alcuin*, which has been recently defended against *Frobenius's* doubts, expressed in his edition of *opp. Alcuini ii. 459*, by *Lorenz in Alcuin's Leben* (life) p. 132. *Neander K. G. iii. 475*. *Gfrörer K. G. iii. ii. 624*.

³ Fundamental principles of these books: *lib. ii. c. 21: Solus igitur Deus colendus, solus adorandus, solus glorificandus est, de quo per Prophetam dicitur: "Exaltatum est nomen ejus solius" (Ps. cxlviii. 13): cujus etiam Sanctis, qui triumphato diabolo cum eo regnant, sive quia viriliter certaverunt, ut ad nos incolumis status Ecclesiae perveniret, sive quia eandem Ecclesiam assiduis suffragiis et intercessionibus adjuvare noscuntur, veneratio exhibenda est: imagines vero, omni sui cultura et adoratione seclusa, utrum in basilicis propter memoriam rerum gestarum et ornamentum sint, an etiam non sint, nullum fidei catholicae adferre poterunt praejudicium: quippe cum ad peragenda nostrae salutis mysteria nullum penitus officium habere noscantur. Lib. iii. c. 16: Nam dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus praeter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis Sanctorum imagines non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permitimus: illi vero paene omnem suae credulitatis spem in imaginibus collocent; restat, ut nos Sanctos in eorum corporibus vel potius reliquiis corporum, seu etiam vestimentis veneremur, juxta antiquorum Patrum traditionem: illi vero parietes et tabulas adorantes in eo se arbitrentur magnum fidei habere emolumentum, eo quod operibus sint subjecti pictorum. Nam etsi a doctis quibusque vitari possit hoc, quod illi in adorandis imaginibus exercent, qui videlicet non quid sint, sed quid innuant venerantur, indoctis tamen quibusque scandalum generant, qui nihil aliud in his praeter id quod vident venerantur et adorant.*

⁴ *Epist. Hadriani P. ad Carol. R. de imaginibus, qua confutantur illi, qui Synodum Nicaenam ii. oppugnarunt, ap. Mansi xiii. 759. (p.*

furt (794),⁵ according to later accounts, with the approbation of the English Church.⁶ An embassy which King Michael *Balbus* sent to Lewis the Debonaire, and to Rome,⁷ led to another declaration of *the Synod of Paris* (825) against image-worship, at this

795: *praedecessores nostri saepius dicti sanctissimi pontifices in sacris conciliis talem dedere sententiam: si quis sanctas imagines Domini nostri J. Chr. et ejus genitricis, atque omnium Sanctorem secundum ss. Patrum doctrinam venerari noluerit, anathema sit. Cf. Conc. Lateran. ann. 769. Act. iv. ap. Mansi xii. 720).*

⁵ Conc. Francofordiensis can. ii. prim. ed. du Tillet in praef. ad libr. Carol. (from an old Cod. Ecclesiae Remensis, see Baluz. ad capit. ii. 753) ap. Mansi xiii. 909: *Allata est in medium quaestio de nova Graecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus Sanctorum, ita ut deificae Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema judicarentur. Qui supra, sanctissimi Patres nostri, omnimodis et adorationem et servitum eis renuentes contemserunt atque consentientes condemnauerunt. Comp. Annales Laurissenses ad ann. 794 of the Frankfurt Synod: Pseudosynodus Graecorum, quam falso septimam vocabant, et pro adorandis imaginibus fecerunt, rejecta est a Pontificibus. Einhard. de gest. Car. M. ad ann. 794. Synodus etiam, quae ante paucos annos in Constantinopoli sub Irene et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non solum septima, verum etiam universalis erat appellata, ut nec septima nec universalis haberetur dicereturve, quasi supervacua in totum omnibus abdicata est (the Nicene synod was closed at Constantinople). Basquez, Suarez, Surius, Vinius, and others, pretend that the decrees of the Nicene synod were confirmed at Frankfurt, and, on the contrary, the Pseudo-septima, A. D. 754, rejected. Baronius, Bellarmine, Natalis Alex., and others, think that the Nicene decrees were misunderstood and rejected in a false sense. Barruel du Pape et de ses droits religieux, Paris 1803, ii. 402, declares the Frankfurt Acts suppositious. Correct is the opinion of Sirmond ad Conc. Francof. Petav. dogmat. theol. lib. xv. c. 11. J. Mabillon de cultu sacrarum imaginum, prefixed to his Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. saec. iv. vol. i.*

⁶ So first Simeon Dunelmensis (about 1100) *hist. de gestis regum Anglorum* (in Twysden *hist. Angl. scriptores decem i. 111*), from whom first Rogerus de Hoveden (about 1198) in his *annal. Anglican.* ad. ann. 792, drew. comp. Wilkins *Conc. magn. Britann. i. 73. Dallengaeus de imag. lib. iii. c. 2, p. 380. Gfrörer K. G. iii. ii. 621.*

⁷ Its object see in Michaelis Balbi ep. ad Ludov. P. A. D. 824 (cf. § 1. not. 22): *Propterea quidam illorum, qui noluerunt suscipere Concilia localia et a veritate redargui, fugerunt hinc et venerunt ad antiquam Romam,—injuriam et calumnias Ecclesiae inferentes et verae religioni detrahentes.—Unde honorem Ecclesiae Christi quaerentes fecimus literas ad s. Papam antiquae Romae, et eas missimus per praedictos Missos nostros ad eum.—De caetero ordinet vestra spiritalis Dilectio, ut cum omni honore et illaesione ad eum veniant, auxilium eis*

time accompanied with an express rebuke of the pope.⁸ The Franks, indeed, were not successful in reconciling the pope and

ferentes in his, quae Deo placeant,—jubentes ei, ut si amodo manifesti fuerint quidam seductores pseudo-christiani, Ecclesiae calumniatores, illuc eos expellere etc.

⁸ Acta Synod. Paris. prim. ed. (Jac Bongars) Francof. 1596. 12. Also in Goldasti imp. decret. p. 623. First included in the collections of Councils, by Mansi xiv. 415. Comp. Walch xi. 96. Synod. Paris. ad Ludov. et Lotharium Imp. (ap. Goldast. p. 626 ss.) :—primum epistolam domini Hadriani Papæ, quam pridem pro imaginibus erigendis Constantino Imp. et Herenae matri ejus ad eorum precationem in transmarinis partibus direxit, coram nobis legi fecimus, et quantum nostrae parvitati res patuit, sicut juste reprehendit illos, qui imagines Sanctorum temerario ausu in illis partibus confringere et penitus abolere præsumserunt, sic indiscrete noscitur fecisse in eo, quod superstitiose eas adorare jussit. Inseruit etiam in eadem epistola quaedam testimonia ss. Patrum, quantum nobis datur intelligi, valde absona, et ad rem, de qua agebatur, minime pertinentia. Eandem porro Synodum [Nicaenam] cum s. memoriae genitor vester coram se suisque perlegi fecisset, et multis in locis, ut dignum erat, reprehendisset, et quaedam capitula, quae reprehensione patebant, praenotasset, eaque per Angilbertum Abbatem eidem Hadriano Papae direxisset, ut illius judicio et auctoritate corrigerentur; ipse rursus favendo illis, qui ejus instinctu tam superstitiosa quamque incongrua testimonia memorato operi inseruerant, per singula capitula in illorum excusationem respondere quae voluit, non tamen quae decuit, conatus est. Talia quippe quaedam sunt, quae in illorum objectionem opposuit, quae remota pontificali auctoritate, et veritati et auctoritate refragantur. Sed licet in ipsis objectionibus aliquando absona, aliquando inconvenientia, aliquando etiam reprehensione digna testimonia defensionis gratia proferre nisus sit; in fine tamen ejusdem apologiae sic sentire et tenere et praedicare ac praecipere de his quae agebantur professus est, sicut a b. Papa Gregorio institutum esse constabat (see vol. i. Div. 2, § 121, not. 10). Quibus verbis liquido colligitur, quod non tantum scienter, quantum ignoranter in eodem facto a recto tramite deviaverit. Venerabilis namque Freulfus Episc. subtiliter prudenterque, quæliter ipse et Adegarius socius illius (the two Frank ambassadors, who had accompanied the Greek ambassadors to Rome), egissent, viva voce parvitati nostrae innotuit. Sed cum prudenti relatu illius cuncta cognovissemus, qualiter partim veritatis ignorantia, partim pessimae consuetudinis usu hujus superstitionis pestis illis in partibus (Rome and Italy) inolevisset, et priora et posteriora studiosissime considerassemus, intelleximus, quantum nobis res patuit, quo zelo ad haec considerata vestra s. Devotio excitata fuerit. Non enim ignoramus animum vestrum magno taedio posse affici, cum illos a recto tramite quoquo modo conspiciatis deviare, qui, summa auctoritate praediti, deviantes quosque debuerant corripere (the Pope). Sed quoniam maximum vobis in eo obstaculum erat, eo quod pars illa, quae debebat errata corrigere, suaque auctoritate hujusce superstitionis errori obniti, ipsa prorsus

the Greeks by means of their views;⁹ but, on the other hand, neither did the popes venture to treat the Franks, as their predecessors treated the Greeks. Throughout the ninth century, the worship of images continued to be rejected in the empire of the Franks,¹⁰ without Rome excommunicating any one on that account.

eidem superstitioni non solum resistere, verum etiam incauta defensione contra auctoritatem divinam et ss. Patrum dicta nitebatur suffragari, aperuit vobis Dominus ostium juxta optatum vobis desiderium, ut licentiae vobis ab eadem tribueretur auctoritate tantae rei cum vestris quaerendi familiariter veritatem—quatenus sancto vestro desiderio ac vigilantissimo studio veritas patefacta, dum se in medium ostenderet, etiam ipsa auctoritas volens nolensque veritati cederet atque succumberet.

⁹ This was the object, the Parisian fathers advising for this end the following l. c. p. 631: Credimus itaque, quod illos reprehendendo, illisque compatiendo, istos vero demulcendo, laudando et praeferendo, eorumque auctoritatem magnis laudum praeconiis efferendo, et s. Romanae Ecclesiae condignam laudem deferendo, veritatem tamen ex testimoniis ss. Scripturarum et sententiis ss. Patrum in medium proferendo, et veraciter sobrieque exponendo, poterit vestra sanctissima Devotio, sicut optat, utrisque consulere. Sic quippe refragator vinculis veritatis modo blandiando, modo honorando, modo secundum rationem veritatem demonstrando subtiliter adstrictus, non audebit aliter docere, quam quod veritas habet etc. In the same spirit also Lewis issued his letter to Eugenius II. and the commonitorium [instruction] to the ambassadors sent to Rome, Jeremy, archbishop of Sens and Jonas, bp. of Orleans (ap. Goldast. p. 747. Baluzii capitull. I. 643, and thence in Mansi in the app. ad T. xv. 435.) In these instructions we read among other things: Sed et vos ipsi tam patienter ac modeste cum eo de hac causa disputationem habeatis, ut summopere caveatis, ne nimis ei resistendo eum in aliquam inrevocabilem pertinaciam incidere compellatis, sed paulatim verbis ejus quasi obsequendo magis quam aperte resistendo ad mensuram, quae in habendis imaginibus tenenda est, eum deducere valeatis. Postquam vero hanc raticnem de earundem imaginum causa consummaveritis, si tamen hoc ad nihilum Romana pertinacia permiserit,—eum interrogetis, si ei placeat, ut nostri Legati pariter cum suis in Graeciam pergant etc.

¹⁰ Anastasius in his praef. in septimam Synodum ad Joann. viii. Papam about 880 (ap. Mansi xii. 983): Quae enim super venerabilium imaginum adoratione praesens Synodus docet, haec et apostolica sedes vestra—antiquitus tenuit, et universalis Ecclesia semper venerata est et hactenus veneratur: quibusdam dumtaxat Gallorum exceptis, quibus utique nondum est harum utilitas revelata. Ajunt namque, quod non sit quodlibet opus manuum hominum adorandum etc. The annales Metenses (towards the end of the 10th century) write ad ann. 794, still without ever stumbling at them, after the old annalists, Pseudosynodus

This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Frank Churches, in some cases, went still farther than the Greeks themselves, in the ninth century, in opposing this practice. *Claudius*, as bishop of Turin (from 820-839) opposed the reigning prejudices with such freedom as soon to provoke the opposition,¹¹ (before 424) of

Graecorum pro adorandis imaginibus habita, et falso septima vocata, ab Episcopis damnatur (ap. Pertz. I. 335).

¹¹ Comp. above, § 10, not. 19. The root of his doctrines was Augustinism, comp. his praef. in comm. ad epist. Pauli (in Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vii. i. 275) : De admonitione fratrum et exhortatione, unde rogasti quod scriberem, ut votum quod voverunt Domino reddant, —nullam admonitionem meliorem potui invenire, quam epistolae primae Pauli Apostoli, quam misi, quia tota inde agitur, ut merita hominum tollat, unde maxime nunc monachi gloriantur, et gratiam Dei commendat, per quam omnis qui vovit, quod vovit, Domino reddat. Expositio epist. ad Philem. (Spicileg. Rom. ix. i. 110) : Gratia est, quia nullo merito, nec opere salvamur. To this also his opponents point, Jonas de cultu imag. lib. 1. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xiv. 169) : Patet, te dicta b. Augustini,—de cujus dictis nihil te latere jactitabas, penitus ignorasse. Dungalii liber respons. (l. c. p. 204) : Augustinum adsumit, a cujus subtilitate ingenii christianique sensus rectitudine longissime distat. Alios quidem praeter eum solum paene omnes abjicit. On his peculiar doctrines see Claudii libri informationum literae et spiritus super Leviticum ad Theodemirum Abbatem A. D. 823, at the conclusion (in Mabillonii vett. annal. p. 91) : Et quia ita est, non jubemur ad creaturam tendere, ut efficiamur beati, sed ad ipsum Creatorem : de quo si aliud quam oportet ac sese res habet nobis persuadetur, perniciosissimo errore decipimur.—Beatitudine autem alterius hominis non fit alter beatus.—Neque prudentia cujusdam fit prudens alius, aut fortis fortitudine, aut temperans temperantia, aut justus justitia hominis alterius quisquam efficitur : sed coaptando animum illis incommutabilibus regulis luminibusque virtutum, quae incorruptibiliter vivunt in ipsa veritate sapientiaque communi, quibus et ille coaptavit et fixit animum, quem istis virtutibus praeditum sibi ad imitandum proposuit. Voluntas ergo adhaerens communi atque incommutabili bono impetrat prima et magna hominis bona, cum ipsa sit medium quoddam bonum. Et ideo non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum, quia si pie vixerunt non sic habentur, ut tales quaerant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminati laetantur, meriti sui nos esse consortes etc. (from Augustin. de vera relig. c. 55). Hanc adstruendo et defendendo veritatem, opprobrium factus sum vicinis meis, et timor notis meis : in tantum, ut qui videbant nos, non solum deridebant, sed etiam digito unus alteri ostendebant. Sed consolatus est nos Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis in omni tribulatione nostra etc. Claudii comm. in Gal. 6. 5. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xiv. 164) : Obscure licet docemur per hanc sententiam novum dogma, quod latitat : dum in praesenti saeculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari ; cum autem

ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noe rogare posse pro quoquam, sed unumquemque portare onus suum.—Claudii apologeticum atque rescriptum adv. Theodemirum Abb. was, in 1461, still in the monastery of Bobbio (see Tull. Ciceronis oratt. fragm. inedita ed. Am. Peyron. Stuttg. 1824. 4. p. 13): The codex is now in the Ambrosiana, but the Apologeticum is wanting in it (ibid. p. 167). Even Papirius Masson employed a complete codex, for he says, after the extracts which he gives before his edition of Dungal, Paris 1608: liber, de quo ista excerpisimus, tantae magnitudinis est, quantum liber Psalmorum et L. Psalmi plus. These extracts only were known before Dungal, and scattered in the answer of Jonas, also in Goldasti imper. decr. p. 764:—postquam coactus suscepi sarcinam pastoralis officii, missus a pio Principe—Ludovico, veni in Italiam, civitatem Taurini, inveni omnes basilicas, contra ordinem veritatis, sordibus anathematum et imaginibus plenas. Et quia, quod homines colebant, ego destruere solus coepi, idcirco aperuerunt omnes ora sua ad blasphemandum me, et nisi adjuvisset me Dominus, vivum deglutissent me.—Dicunt isti, contra quos Dei Ecclesiam defendendam suscepimus, “non putamus imagini, quam adoramus, aliquid inesse divinum. Sed tantummodo pro honore ejus, cujus effigies est, tali eam veneratione adoramus.” Cui respondeo, quia, si Sanctorum imagines hi qui daemonum cultum reliquerunt, venerantur, non idola reliquerunt, sed nomina mutaverunt.—Si omne lignum schemate crucis factum volunt adorare, pro eo quod Christus in cruce pependit;—adorentur ergo puellae virgines, quia virgo peperit Christum, adorentur et praesepia, quia mox natus in praesepio est reclinatus, adorentur et veteres panni, quia continuo cum natus est pannis veteribus est involutus etc.—Redite praevaricatores ad cor, qui recessistis a veritate et diligitis vanitatem, et estis vani facti, qui rursus crucifigitis Filium Dei, et ostentui habetis, et per hoc catervatim animas miserorum socias factas daemonum habetis; alienando eas per nefanda sacrilegia simulacrorum a creatore suo, habetis eas dejectas et projectas in damnationem perpetuam.

Quod vero ais, quod ego prohibeam, homines poenitentiae causa pergere Romam, falsum tu loqueris. Ego enim iter illud nec adprobo nec improbo, quia scio, quod nec omnibus obest, nec omnibus prodest. Scimus enim, quod non intellecta evangelica verba Domini Salvatoris, ubi ait b. Apostolo Petro: “Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum,” propter ista jam dicta Domini verba imperitum hominum genus pro acquirenda vita aeterna, postposita omni spiritali intelligentia, volunt pergere Romam. Si proprietatem verborum Domini subtiliter consideramus, non est ei dictum: “Quodcunque solveris in caelo, erit solutum et in terra, et quodcunque ligaveris in caelo, erit ligatum super terram.” Ac per hoc sciendum est, quod tam diu antistitibus Ecclesiae istud ministerium concessum est, usque dum ipsi peregrinantur in hoc mortali corpore: cum vero debitum mortis reddiderint, alii succedunt loco ipsorum, qui eandem obtinent judiciariam potestatem. Audite et hoc insipientes in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite, qui intercessionem Apostoli Romam pergendo quaeritis, quid contra vos dicat idem saepe dictus b. Augustinus, etc. Promittente Deo debet fidelis quisque credere quanto magis

the abbot *Theodemir*,¹² and (827) of one *Dungal*.¹³ Still, he was

jurante quidem dicere: "Si fuerint in medio ejus Noe, Daniel et Job," *i. e.*, si tantae sanctitatis, tantae justitiae, tantique meriti sint, quanti illi fuerunt, "non liberabunt filium neque filiam" (Ezech. xiv. 20). Haec idcirco dicit, ut nemo de merito vel intercessione Sanctorum confidat, quia nisi eandem fidem, justitiam, veritatemque teneat, quam illi tenuerunt, per quam illi placuerunt Deo, salvus esse non poterit. Quinta tua in me objectio est, et displicere tibi dicis, eo quod Dominus Apostolicus indignatus sit mihi. Hoc dixisti de Paschali Ecclesiae Romanae Episcopo, qui praesente jam corrui vita. Apostolicus autem dicitur, quasi Apostoli custos. Certe non ille dicendus est Apostolicus, qui in cathedra sedet Apostoli, sed qui apostolicum implet officium. De illis enim, qui eum locum tenent, et non implent officium, Dominus dixit: "Super cathedram Moysi sederunt Scribae et Pharisei, etc." (Matth. xxiii. 1. 2.) Comp. Rudelbach's and Schmidt's treatises cited above §. 10. note 19. Walch's *Ketzerhist.* xi. 140. Neander's *KG.* iv. 225.

¹² Abbot of psalmody in the diocese of Nismes. To him Claudius dedicated many of his commentaries, and Theodemir had mentioned to him what approbation they met with from the Frank bishops. (See epist. prefixed to Claudii comm. in libros Regum, in Bedae et Claudii Taur. opuscula, Bononiae 1755 fol. p. 7). But subsequently he took offence at the commentary on the epistles to the Corinthians, Claudii epist. ad Theutmirum (l. c. p. 164): pervenit ad manus meas epistola ex Aquis, regio directa palatio, qualiter tu librum tractatus mei, quem tibi ante biennium praestiti, in epistolas ad Corinthios, Episcoporum judicio atque Optimatum damnandum ad eundem jam dictum palatium praesentari feceris. Quem tractatum ibidem non damnandum, sed scribendum amici mei non solum humiliter, sed etiam amabiliter susceperunt. Ignoscat tibi Dominus, testis vitae meae, et largitor operis mei, qui non timuisti sermonibus detrahare veritatis, et sedens adversum me loqueris mendacium, etc. On this followed an epistle of Theodemir in which he designates several opinions of Claudius as errors: and against him Claudius set forth his apologeticum.

¹³ *Dungali liber responsonum adv. Claudii Taur. Ep. sententias ed. Pauperius Masson. Paris. 1608, in Bibl. PP. Lugdun, xiv. 197. (comp. Bähr S. 372).* In the prologue an account of the differences of opinion caused by Claudius, de sancta pictura, de cruce: Pari ratione de memoriis Sanctorum causa orationis adeundis, et reliquiis eorum venerandis obnituntur: aliis adfirmantibus, bonam et religiosam esse consuetudinem, basilicas Martyrum frequentare, ubi eorum sacri cineres et sancta corpora—cum honore eorum meritis congruo condita habentur, ubique ipsis intervenientibus corporales ac spirituales quotidie languores, divina operante manu et gloria coruscante, copiosissime et praesentissime sanantur: alii vero resistunt, dicentes, Sanctos post obitum nullum adjuvare, nullique posse intercedendo succurrere, nihil eorum duntaxat scientes, quae in terris geruntur, illorumque reliquias nullum alicujus reverentiae gratiam comitari, sicut nec ossa villissima quorumlibet, animalium reliquamve terram communem.

not molested, though, perhaps, even in France, many believed that he went too far, and though, after his death, even there *Jonas*, bishop of Orleans, (840) wrote against him.¹⁴ *Agobard*, archbishop of Lyons (from 816-840), the liberal opponent of all superstition, was little behind *Claudius* in his views of image and

¹⁴ *Jonae de cultu imaginum libb. iii. in bibl. PP. Lugdun. xiv. 167.* (Comp. Bähr S. 394). In the praefatio: Deo dilectissimus Princeps [Ludovicus] inter caetera bonitatis suae studia erga divinum cultum amplificandum multiplici modo ferventia, quendam Presbyterum, natione Hispanum, nomine Claudium, qui aliquid temporis in Palatio suo in Presbyteratus militaverat honore, cui in explanandis ss. Evangeliorum lectionibus quantulacunque notitia inesse videbatur, ut Italicae plebis (quae magna ex parte a ss. Evangelistarum sensibus procul aberat) sacrae doctrinae consultum ferret, Taurinensi praesulem subrogari fecit Ecclesiae. Lib. i. above: Qui dum super gregem sibi creditum pro viribus superintenderet,—vidit eum inter caetera, quae emendatione digna gerebat, superstitiosae, imo perniciosae imaginum adorationi, qua plurimum nonnulli illarum partium laborant, ex inolita consuetudine deditum esse. Unde immoderato et indiscreto zelo succensus non solum picturas sanctarum rerum gestarum, quae non ad adorandum sed solummodo (teste b. Gregorio) ad instruendas nescientium mentes, in Ecclesiis suis antiquitus fieri permissae, verum etiam cruces materiales, quibus ob honorem et recordationem redemptionis suae sancta consuevit uti Ecclesia, a cunctis Parochiae suae basilicis dicitur delevisse, evertisse et penitus abdicasse. Sed quia errorem gregis sui ratione corrigere neglexit, et eorum animis scandalum generavit, et in sui detestationem eos quodammodo prorumpere coëgit.—Dicitur etiam, Claudium eundem adversus reliquias Sanctorum—eorumque sepulcra—quaedam nefanda dogmatizasse, et usque nunc dogmatizare. Quae licet series literarum suarum manifeste non indicit, ex his tamen, quae innuit, et ex veridica quorundam fidelium relatione, ita se rem habere liquido claret. Theodemirus—eidem Claudio, ut ab his se—compesceret, literis caritate refertis mandari curavit. Ille e contra fraternae admonitionis impatiens, turbidaque indignatione permotus, non solum in illum juste se redarguentem, verum etiam in omnes s. catholicae et apostolicae Ecclesiae sincerissimos cultores Galliam Germaniamque incolentes,—et ab imaginum superstitiosa adoratione immunes, diversarum reprehensionum ac vituperationum jacula intorsit, eosque et idololatriae abominatione, et falsae religionis superstitione et innumeris aliis sceleribus irretitos, sicut textus suarum literarum demonstrat, appellare non erubuit. Praefatio: The book of *Claudius* against *Theodemir* had been brought to the emperor *Lewis*, qui ab eo sui que palati prudentissimis viris examinatus justo iudicio est repudiatus. On this *Jonas* received extracts from it from the emperor for the purpose of refuting them, but at the news of *Claudius's* death abandoned the task. Sed quia, ut relatione veridica didici, non modo error, de quo agitur, in discipulorum suorum mentibus reviviscit, quin, potius haeresis Ariana pullulare deprehenditur, de qua fertur, quaedam monumenta librorum conguessisse, et—in armario

saint worship, without giving much offence in his circle.¹⁵ Even in Rome itself, this tendency appears to have found adherents.¹⁶

episcopii sui clandestina calliditate reliquisse; non sum ausus, quin—opus, quod praetermiseram, enucleatim discutiendum repeterem, etc.

¹⁵ Agobardi lib. contra eorum superstitionem, qui picturis et imaginibus SS. adorationis obsequium deferendum putant (Comp. § 10. not. 13.) It is said c. 17: Non solum vero divinum deferre honorem, quibus non licet, sed et ambitiose honorare Sanctorum memorias ad captandam gloriam popularem, reprehensibile est. Arguit super his Dominus Phariseos in Evangelio, teste b. Hieronymo, his verbis: "Vae vobis, Scribae et Pharisei hypocritae, qui aedificatis sepulcra Prophetarum," etc. (Matth. xxiii. 29. 30.) c. 23: Si serpentem aeneum quem Deus fieri praecepit, quoniam errans populus tanquam idolum colere coepit, Ezechias religiosius rex cum magna pietatis laude contrivit; multo religiosius Sanctorum imagines (ipsis quoque Sanctis faventibus, qui ob sui honorem cum divinae religionis contemptu eas adorari more idolorum indignantissime ferunt) omni genere conterendae, et usque ad pulverem sunt eradendae: praesertim cum non illas fieri Deus jusserit, sed humanus sensus excogitaverit. c. 30: Adoretur, colatur, veneretur a fidelibus Deus; illi soli sacrificetur, vel mysterio corporis et sanguinis quo sumus redempti, vel in sacrificio cordis contriti et humiliati. Angeli vel homines sancti amentur, honorentur caritate, non servitute. Non eis corpus Christi offeratur, cum sint hoc et ipsi. Non ponamus spem nostram in homine sed in Deo, ne forte redundet in nos illud propheticum: "Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine," etc. (Jer. xvii. 5.) c. 31: Agit hoc nimirum versutus et callidus humani generis inimicus, ut sub praetextu honoris Sanctorum rursus idola introducat, rursus per diversas effigies adoretur; ut avertat nos ab spiritalibus, ad carnalia vero demergat; ac per omnia sinus digni ab Apostolo audire: "O insensati, quis vos fascinavit?" etc. c. 35: flectamus genu in nomine solius Jesu, quod est super omne nomen; ne si alteri hunc honorem tribuimus, alieni judicemur a Deo, et dimittamur secundum desideria cordis nostri ire in adinventionibus nostris. The verbal agreement of Claudius and Agobard in several sentences deserves particular attention. Claudius has, for example: Certe si adorandi fuissent, vivi potius quam mortui adorandi esse debuerunt, i. e. ubi similitudinem Dei habent, non ubi pecorum vel, quod verius est, lapidum seu lignorum, vita, sensu et ratione carentium. Agobard c. 28. exactly the same, only he says: vivi magis quam picti.—Controversy concerning the sanctity of St Agobard Act. SS. Junii ii. 748. Hist. lit. de la France iv. 571.

¹⁶ A Roman cardinal priest, Anastasius, was deposed under Leo IV. (Anastasius vita Leonis), because he had left his parish and remained five years abroad, and did not appear though he had been cited even by two councils. After the death of this pope, he entered Rome with the imperial messengers who had been sent to the new election, destroyed the images in Peter's church (imagines confregit, ignique concremavit, —Dominique Jesu Christi, ejusque semper virginis genitricis iconam bipenni, quod non debuerat, ad ima dejecit), met with adherents, and by the aid of the legates had almost become pope (l. c. vita Benedicti iii.)

§ 12.

ON THE ADDITION FILIOQUE IN THE CREED.

G. J. Vossii de tribus Symbolis (ed. ii. Amstel. 1662. 4.) diss. iii. § 15 ss. Mich. L. Quien diss. de processione Sp. S. is the first of his dissertatt Damascen. prefixed to the opp. Joh. Damasc. i. 1. J. G. Walchii hist. controversiae Graecorum Latinorumque de processione Spir. S. Jenae 1751. 8. W. C. L. Ziegler's *Geschichtsentwicklung des Dogma vom h. Geiste*, in his *theologischen Abhandl.* i. 204.

An older doctrine, peculiar to the Latin fathers, viz., that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and *the Son*,¹ had been inserted before this time in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, in Spain ;² but now, for the first time, it excited the attention of the Greeks.³ What was decided respecting it, at the Synod of *Gentilly*,⁴ is not known. As to the insertion in the symbolum which had by degrees obtained in the Frank Church, opinions were⁵

¹ Supported especially by the example of Augustine (de Trinit. iv. 20 : Nec possumus dicere, quod Sp. S. et a Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur. v. 14. xv. 26 : De utroque procedere sic docetur etc.) and Leo the great. (epist. xv. ad Turibium c. I.—tamquam—nec alius sit, qui genuit, alius, qui genitus est, alius, qui de utroque processit.) Comp. Wundemann's *Gesch. der Glaubenslehren*, i. 383. Münscher's *Dogmengesch.* iii. 500.

² First appeared at the Concil. Tolet. iii. ann. 589 (ap. Mansi ix. 981) :—Credimus et in Spiritum S. dominum et vivificatorem ex Patre et Filio procedentem etc. In like manner the Conc. Tolet. viii. ann. 653, Bracar. iii. 675, Tolet. xii. 681, xiii. 683, xv. 688, xvii. 694. The Conc. Tolet. iii. c. 2. had also decreed ut per omnes Ecclesias Hispaniae—secundum formam orientalium Ecclesiarum, Concilii Constantinopolitani—symbolum fidei recitetur, ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio voce clara a populo decantetur etc.

³ It had been so at an earlier period (about 650) Maximi epist. ad Marinum. See Ziegler S. 208.

⁴ Comp. § 11. not. 1. More plainly Ado in *chron.* ad ann. 767 : quaestio ventilata est inter Graecos et Romanos de Trinitate, et utrum Spir. S. sicut procedit a Patre ita procedat a Filio.

⁵ Walafrid Strabo de rebus eccles. c. 22 : apud Gallos et Germanos post dejectionem Felicis haeretici sub gloriosissimo Carolo Francorum Rectore damnati, idem Symbolum latius et crebrius in Missarum coepit officiis iterari. Paulinus Patr. Aquilejensis in Concil. Forojuliensi ann. 791 (ap. Mansi xiii. 829) expresses himself violently indeed against additions to the creed, but what he thereby understands see in p. 836 :

divided. The doctrine, however, was generally defended, for instance, by *Alcuin* and *Theodulph*.⁶ It had strong support, in particular, in the so-called *Athanasian creed*, which had also been probably brought from Spain into France.⁷ When Charlemagne,

addere vel minuere est subdole contra sacrosanctum eorum sensum, aliter quam illi, callida tergiversatione diversa sentire. Explanatory additions therefore he does not include. Si recensetur Nicaeni symboli series veneranda, nihil aliud de Spiritu S. in ea nisi hoc modo reperiri poterit promulgatum: et in Sanctum, inquit, Spiritum.—Suppleverunt tamen [cl. Patres] quasi exponendo eorum sensum, et in Spiritum S. confitentur se credere, Dominum et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem.—Sed et postmodum propter eos videlicet haereticos, qui susurrant Spiritum S. solius esse Patris et a solo procedere Patre, additum est: Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Et tamen non sunt hi ss. Patres culpandi, quasi addidissent aliquid vel minuissent de fide cccxviii. Patrum, quia non contra eorum sensum diversa senserunt, sed immaculatum eorum intellectum sanis moribus supplere studuerunt etc. Ziegler p. 211. is wrong in supposing that here there is any rejection of the addition; the reading in the symbol inserted among the Synodical Acts p. 842: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, is not interpolated. On the other hand Alcuinus epist. 75. (ed. Froben.) ad fratres Lugdun.: Hispanici erroris sectas tota vobis cavete intentione.—Et Symbolo catholice fidei nova nolite inserere, et in ecclesiasticis officiis inauditas prisca temporibus traditiones nolite diligere.

⁶ Alcuini lib. de processione Spir. S. ad Car. M. first printed in opp. Alcuin. ed. Froben i. 743. Theodulphi de Spir. S. liber (in Theodulphi opp. ed. J. Sirmond. Par. 1646. 8. and in Sirmondii opp. ii. 695). Cf. libr. Carolin. lib. iii. c. 3: ex Patre et Filio—omnis universaliter confitetur et credit Ecclesia eum procedere.

⁷ G. J. Vossius de tribus symbolis. Amstelod. 1662. 4. diss. ii. Guil. E. Tentzelii judicia eruditorum de symb. Athanas. Gothae 1687. 12. Dan. Waterland critical history of the Athanasian creed. Cambridge 1724. ed. 2. 1728. 8. Quesnelli diss. de variis fidei libellis in antiquo Rom. Ecclesia Codice contentis (diss. xiv. in Leon. M. and in Gallandii de vetust. canonum collectionibus dissertatt. syll. ed. Mogunt. i. 829) and Ballerionum obs. ad. Quesnelli diss. (ib. p. 842). D. M. Speroni de symb. vulgo s. Athanasii dicto diss. ii. Patav. 1750. 51. D. E. Köllner's Symbolik d. luth. Kirche S. 53. All the testimonies respecting the existence of this creed before the end of the 8th century are insecure. A sermo which has fallen among the Augustinian (opp. v. ap. Sermo 244), refers to it; but that it belongs to Caesarius Arelat, about 520, is a mere conjecture. The expositio fidei catholicae Fortunati, published by Muratori anecdota ii. 212, cannot be from Venantius Fortunatus about 560, since it presupposes the Symb. Quicumque as a confession of faith already adopted in general, and endeavours to justify polemically Filioque. Probably Fortunati expositio symb. apostol. was the reason why this expositio was also erroneously attributed to him; Respecting a Canon Augustodunensis, which mentions the fides s. Athanasii, it is un-

at a synod in Aix-la-Chapelle (809), brought forward the matter, Pope *Leo III.* decided in favour of the doctrine, but against its insertion in the symbol.⁸

§ 13.

ADOPTIAN CONTROVERSY.

Chr. G. F. Walchii hist. Adoptianorum. Gotting. 1755. 8. Frobenii diss. hist. de haeresi Elipandi et Felicis in his. opp. Alcuini i. ii. 923. Walch's Ketzehist. ix. 667. Neander iii. 314.

Since Christ could only be the adopted Son of God according to the Arian creed, the Catholic Church had often asserted pole-

certain to what time it belongs; many even regard it as spurious. The first certain witnesses are Theodulphus de Spir. S., a contemporary anonymous author, whom Sirmond cites in the notes to Theodulf and Agobardus adv. Felicem. c. 3. Probably, too, so early as the Conc. Francof. ann. 794, c. 31 (Baluzii capit. i. p. 268: ut fides catholica sanctae Trinitatis et oratio dominica atque Symbolum fide omnibus praedicetur et tradatur) the fides cath. s. Trin. is this symbol, which characterises itself at the beginning and end as fides catholica. It is most likely that we should seek for the origin of it in Spain. The councils of Toledo all begin with a confession of faith, several with the unaltered Nicene creed; others enlarge it, especially in the articles respecting the Trinity and incarnation of Christ, first in the dialectic manner of the Symb. Quicumque, and coincide in single sentences with it, without, however, being dependent on it. So Conc. Tolet. iv. ann. 633, c. 1., vi. ann. 638, c. 1., xi. ann. 675, praef. (a similar dialectic development respecting the incarnation is in the Conc. Tolet. xiv. ann. 684, c. 8). Hence that symbol appears to have been formed after these patterns, in the 7th and 8th centuries, in Spain, and from thence to have been transferred to France towards the end of the 8th. Even the old appellation, fides Athanasii, which was afterwards misunderstood, as if Athanasius were the author, points to Spain. For the catholic faith could only at first have been designated by the Arians as fides Athanasii, in opposition to fides Arii, as their creed was named by opponents; and in Spain, the party of Arius continued the longest opposed to that of Athanasius.

⁸ On the disputes of the monks at Jerusalem Baluzii miscellan. vii. 14. Collatio cum Papa Romae a legatis habita et epist. Caroli Imp. ad Leonem P. iii. utraque a Smaragdo Abb. edita (ap. Mansi xiv. 17 ss). Anastasii vita xcvi. Leonis iii. (ap. Muratori p. 208): Hic vero pro amore et cantela orthodoxae fidei fecit in basilica s. Petri scuta argentea duo, scripta utraque Symbolo, unum quidem literis Graecis, et aliud Latinis etc. The same is also related by Photius epist. ad Patriarcham Aquilej. in Combefisii auctario noviss. i. 529, and Petrus Lomb. sen-

mically against the Arians in Spain his natural sonship.¹ To this *Elipand*, archbishop of Toledo, and *Felix*, bishop of Urgel, appealing to older authorities,² now attached the assertion, that Christ, as God, was the natural, and, as man, the adopted, son of God.³

tent. lib. i. diss. xi. (in quo quidem symbolo in processione Spiritus solus commemoratur Pater his verbis: et in Spir. S. dominum et vivificantem ex Patre procedentem).

¹ Conc. Tolet. ann. 675, in the confessio fidei, which is found in the preface: *Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione.*

² Comp. especially Walchii hist. Adopt. cap. 1. Fabius Marius Victorinus [about 360] adv. Arium. lib. i.: non sic Filius, quemadmodum nos. Nos enim adoptione filii, ille natura. Etiam quadam adoptione filius et Christus, sed secundum carnem. Isidorus Hispalensis origin. s. etymologg. lib. vii. c. 2: Unigenitus autem vocatur secundum Divinitatis excellentiam, quia sine fratribus: Primogenitus secundum susceptionem hominis, in qua per adoptionem gratiae fratres habere dignatus est, de quibus esset primogenitus. Authorities of the Adoptians enumerated in the epist. Episcoporum Hispan. ad Episc. Galliae, and in the epist. Elipandi ad Alcuinum (see note 3 and 11), Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore of Spain, mostly inapplicable. At the close: Item praedecessores nostri Eugenius, Ildephonsus, Julianus, Toletenae antistites, in suis dogmatibus ita dixerunt in Missa de Coena Domini: "Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem, dum suo non indulsit corpori, nostro demum—pepercit."—Item in Missa de Ascensione Domini: "Hodie Salvator noster post adoptionem carnis sedem repetit Deitatis." Item in Missa defunctorum: "Quos fecisti adoptionis participes, jubeas hereditatis tuae esse consortes." These passages are actually found in the liturgia Mozarabica ed. Alex. Lesle. Romae 1755. 4.—The passage of Hilarius de Trinit. ii. c. 29, has become critically remarkable: Parit virgo: partus a Deo est. Infans vagit: laudantes angeli audiuntur. Panni sordent: deus adoratur. Ita potestatis dignitas non amittitur, dum carnis humilitas adoptatur. Alcuinus c. Felicem lib. vi. c. 6, complains of corruption, and would read adoratur Agobardus adv. Felic. c. 40, explains it correctly by adsumitur (juxta hunc modum et caeteros doctores dixisse et sensisse, ubicumque nomen et verbum adoptionis in fidei dogmatibus inseruerunt, credimus). On the controversy between P. Coustant, who, in his edition of Hilary, defended adoptatur and the Jesuit Barth. Germonius, who with great vehemence would have adoratur, see Walch hist. Adopt. p. 26 ss. (Germonius went so far as to accomplish the falsification of the oldest MS. of Hilary in the Vatican in favour of his reading, by means of the royal confessor, which was discovered immediately after, and judicially authenticated. See Le Bret's pragmatische Gesch. d. Bulle in Coena Domini Bd. 1. 2te Aufl. 1772. S. 52.

³ Epist. Episc. Hisp. ad Episc. Galliae etc. c. 2 (in Alcuini opp. ed. Froben. ii. 568): Nos—confitemur et credimus, Deum Dei filium ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum—non adoptione sed genere, neque gratia sed natura:—pro salute vero humani generis, in fine tem-

Having been long contested in Spain,⁴ Adoptianism, by penetrating into France, caused Charlemagne to interfere in the matter.

poris ex illa intima et ineffabili Patris substantia egrediens, et a Patre non recedens, hujus mundi infima petens, ad publicum humani generis apparens, invisibilis visibile corpus adsumens de virgine, ineffabiliter per integra virginalia Matris enixus: secundum traditionem Patrum confitemur et credimus, eum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, non genere esse filium Dei sed adoptione; neque natura sed gratia, idipsum eodem Domino attestante, qui ait: Pater major me est (Jo. xiv. 28, farther, Luc. i. 80, Jo. i. 14).—cap. 9. Credimus igitur et confitemur Deum Dei Filium, lumen de lumine, Deum verum ex Deo vero, ex Patre Unigenitum sine adoptione; Primogenitum vero in fine temporis, verum hominem assumendo de Virgine in carnis adoptione: Unigenitum in natura: Primogenitum in adoptione et gratia. Proofs from Rom. viii. 29 (primogenitus in multis fratribus). Ps. xxii. 23. Unde fratres, nisi de sola carnis adoptione, per quod fratres habere dignatus est? Then especially 1 Joh. iii. 2 (similes ei erimus): Similes utique in carnis adoptione, non similes ei in Divinitate. For the Filius unigenitus were quoted Ps. cx. 4 (Ex utero ante Luciferum genui te), xlv. 2, Jes. xlv. 23, Prov. viii. 25; for the Filius primogenitus et adoptivus Deut. xviii. 15 (Prophetam suscitabit Dominus Deus de fratribus vestris). Matth. xvii. 5; Ps. lxxxix. 27 ss.; Ps. ii. 8; Jes. xlv. 2, 3; Mich. vi. 7, &c. Cap. 10: (credimus) in uno eodemque Dei et hominis Filio in una persona; duabus quoque naturis plenis atque perfectis, Dei et hominis, domini et servi, visibilis atque invisibilis, tribus quoque substantiis, verbi scilicet, animae et carnis.—Felix (ap. Alcuin. contra Felicem lib. iv. c. 2): Secundo autem modo nuncupative Deus dicitur, sicut superius dictum est de sanctis praedicatoribus, de quibus Salvator Judaeis ait: Si enim illos dixit deos, ad quos Dei sermo factus (Jo. x. 35): qui tamen non natura ut Deus, sed per Dei gratiam ab eo, qui verus est Deus, deificati dii sunt sub illo vocati: in hoc quippe ordine Dei Filius dominus et redemptor noster juxta humanitatem, sicut in natura ita et in nomine, quamvis excellentius cunctis electus, verissime tamen cum illis communicat, sicut et in caeteris omnibus *i. e.*, in praedestinatione, in electione, in gratia, in susceptione, in adsumptione nominis servi atque applicatione, seu caetera, his similia, ut idem qui essentialiter cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in unitate Deitatis verus est Deus, ipse in forma humanitatis cum electis suis per adoptionis gratiam deificatus fieret, et nuncupative Deus.

⁴ First contradicted by Beatus and Eutherus. Elipandi ep. ad Fidelem Abbatem, A.D. 785 (preserved in the following answer, best edited in Alcuini opp. ed. Froben. ii. 587). On the other side, Beati et Etherii adv. Elipandum lib. ii. (in Canisii lect. antt. ed. Basnage ii. i. 269. and ap. Gallandius xiii. 290, but might still be corrected from Codd. Tolanis, cf. Gregor. Majans in Alcuini opp. ed. Froben. ii. 592 ss.)—Hadriani P. i. epist. ad Episcopos per universam Spaniam commorantes in the Cod. Carol. no. 97. ap. Mansi xii. 814. Doubts of the genuineness Walch's Ketzehist. Bd. ix. 747.

Felix was obliged to recant at *Ratisbon* (792), and then at Rome.⁵ *Elipand* having complained to Charles of this treatment,⁶ the latter called *the Synod of Frankfurt* (794), at which Adoptionism was rejected anew.⁷ After many fruitless attempts of various writers, of whom *Alcuin* was the most important,⁸ to con-

⁵ In the Acts of the Synod of Narbonne A.D. 788 (ed. Baluz. ad de Marca concord. Sac: et Imp. lib. vi. c. 25. ap. Mansi xiii. 821.) the introduction and the signatures, which have reference to this subject, are perhaps spurious. Walch ix. 687. 749. Concerning the transactions at the Synod of Ratisbon and in Rome see the accounts: Alcuinus adv. Elipandum lib. c. 16. Acta Conc. Rom. ann. 799 (ap. Mansi xiii. 1031) and all the Frank annals.

⁶ Epist. Episcop. Hispaniae ad Carol. M. (prim. ed. H. Florez in Espanna sagrada v. 558. Walch hist. Adopt. p. 154. With emendations in opp. Alcuini ed. Froben. ii. 567). Epist. Episcop. Hispaniae ad Episc. Galliae, Aquitan. et Austriae (l. c. p. 568 ss).

⁷ Acta Conc. Francofordensis (ap. Mansi xiii. 863). To this belong Epist. Hadriani P. i. ad Episc. Hispaniae (p. 865), libellus Episcoposum Italiae contra Elipandum or Paullini Aquilej. libellus sacrosyllabus (p. 873. and in the works of Paullinus), Synodica Concilii ab Episc. Galliae et Germaniae ad Praesules Hispaniae missa (p. 883), then Can. Francof. i. (p. 909), and lastly Caroli M. epist. ad Elipandum et caeteros Episc. Hispaniae (p. 899).

⁸ First, Alcuini libellus adv. haeresin Felicis ad Abbates et Monachos Gothiae missus (prim. ed. Froben. in opp. Alcuini i. ii. 759 ss.) and epist. ad Felicem (l. c. p. 783 ss).—Against the latter, Felicis libellus contra Alcuinum, of which remain only fragments in the works written against it. Of this work Alcuini epist. 68. ad domnum Regem: Hujus vero libri, vel magis erroris responsio multa diligentia et pluribus adiutoribus est consideranda. Ego solus non sufficio ad responsionem. Praeveideat vero tua sancta Pietas huic operi tam arduo et necessario adiutores idoneos etc. Ejusd. epist. 69. ad eund.: De libello vero Infelicis, non magistri sed subversoris, placet mihi valde, quod vestra sanctissima Voluntas et Devotio habet curam respondendi ad defensionem fidei catholicae. Sed obsecro, si vestrae placeat Pietati, ut exemplarium illius libelli domno dirigatur Apostolico, aliud quoque Paullino Patriarchae, similiter Richbono, et Teudulfo Episcopis, doctoribus et magistris, ut singuli pro se respondeant. Flaccus vero tuus tecum laborat in reddenda ratione catholicae fidei. Tantum detur ei spatium, ut quiete et diligenter liceat illi cum pueris suis considerare Patrum senus; quid unusquisque diceret de sententiis, quas posuit praefatus subversor in suo libello. Et tempore praefinito a vobis ferantur vestrae auctoritati singulorum responsa. This was followed by the Conc. Roman ann. 799., at which Leo III. pronounces an anathema against Felix, ap. Mansi xiii. 1029. Works written against it by Paullinus Aquilej. libb. iii. adv. Felicem Orgelitanum (best in Paulini opp. ed. J. F. Madrissi, Venet. 1737.

vince the Adoptians of their error,⁹ Felix was at last persuaded by Alcuin to yield, at a synod at *Aix-la-Chapelle* (799);¹⁰ while Elipand violently resisted all the exhortations of Alcuin.¹¹ Felix, indeed, left proofs after his death at Lyons († 818) that he had

p. 95 ss) and Alcuini libb. vii. adv. Felicem (ed. Froben. i. ii. 783) first appeared after the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle.

⁹ The greatest reproach against the Adoptians was constantly that of Nestorianism. For example, Alcuinus contra Felicem lib. i. 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. Similiter si in divinitate Deus verus est, et in humanitate Deus nuncupativus, alter et alter est, et nullatenus sic sentientes potestis vobis evitare impietatem Nestorianae doctrinae : quia quem ille in duas personas dividit propter duas naturas. hunc vos dividitis in duos filios, et in duos Deos per adoptionis nomen et nuncupationis. Lib. iv. c. 5 : Nam si duas personas in uno Christo propter apertam blasphemiam timeas fateri, tamen omnia, quae duabus personis inesse necesse est, in tua confessione confirmare non metuis. On the other hand, lib. ii. c. 12 : Adsumsit namque sibi Dei Filius carnem ex Virgine, et non amisit proprietatem, quam habuit in Filii nomine : sed quamquam duas habuisset post nativitatem ex Virgine naturas, tamen unam proprietatem in Filii persona firmiter tenuit. Accessit humanitas in unitatem personae Filii Dei, et mansit eadem proprietas in duabus naturis in Filii nomine, quae ante fuit in una substantia. In adsumptione namque carnis a Deo persona perit hominis, non natura. In nobis est persona adoptionis, non in Filio Dei : quia singulariter ille unus homo ex Deo conceptus et in Deum adsumtus habet proprietatem Filius Dei esse, quod omnes Sancti habent per adoptionem gratiae Dei.—Nec in illa adsumptione 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.

¹⁰ See on this, confessio fidei Felicis, Orgelitanæ sedis Episcopi, quam ipse post spretum errorem suum in conspectu Concilii edidit, et eis, qui in ipso errore ei dudum consentientes fuerant, direxit (ap. Mansi xiii. 1035 ss. and in Alcuini opp. ed. Froben. i. ii. 917 ss.) and Alcuinus adv. Elipandum lib. i. c. 16.

¹¹ First epist. Alcuini ad Elipandum (opp. ed. Froben. i. ii. 863) and epist. Elipandi ad Alcuinum (ib. p. 868), both A.D. 799. The latter begins : Reverendissimo fratri Albino Diacono, non Christi ministro, sed Antiphrasii Beati foetidissimi discipulo, tempore gloriosi Principis in finibus Austriae exorto, novo Arrio, sanctorum venerabilium Patrum Ambrosii, Augustini, Isidori, Hieronymi doctrinis contrario, si se converterit ab errore viae suae, a Domino aeternam salutem : et si noluerit, aeternam damnationem. After this Alcuini, adv. Elipandum libb. iv. (ib. p. 876 ss.)

not entirely given up his opinions ;¹² but with the death of its leaders, Adoptianism sank into oblivion.¹³

§ 14.

CONTROVERSIES OF PASCHASUS RADBERT.

The ecclesiastical mode of speaking, that bread and wine in the Lord's Supper became by consecration the body and blood of Christ, may have been frequently understood of a transformation of substance by the uneducated ; but among the theologians of the West, this misconception could not so readily find acceptance,¹ in consequence of the clear explanations given by the celebrated Augustine.² When, therefore, *Paschasius Radbert*, a monk and abbot of Corbey, from 844-851 (+ 865),³ expressly taught such a transformation,⁴ he met with considerable opposi-

¹² A posthumous work of his given in extracts, and refuted in Agobardi liber adv. dogna Felicis Episc. Urgellensis ad Ludovicum Pium Imp.

¹³ In the middle ages, Folmar was accused of Adoptian or Nestorian opinions (about 1160) (Walch hist. Adopt. p. 247. Comp. Cramer's Forts. v. Bossuet's Weltgesch. vii. 43). Duns Scotus (1300) and Durandus a S. Porciano (1320) allow the expression Filius adoptivus in a certain sense to Christ (Walch l. c. p. 253).—In modern times, the Adoptians have been defended among the Catholics, particularly by the Jesuit Gabr. Vasquez commentar. in Thomam (Ingolst. 1606. fol.) in P. iii. diss. 89. c. 7. ; among the Protestants, by G. Calixtus (a Helmstadt programme of 1643, reprinted in his de persona Christi dissertationum fasciculus ed. F. U. Calixtus. Helmst. 1663. p. 96.) and others (Walch l. c. p. 256 ss).

¹ The views of the time immediately preceding Radbert (Bede, Alcuin, Charlemagne) see in Cramer's continuation of Bossuet v. i. 222. Münscher's Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. von v. Cölln ii. i. 223.

² See vol. i. div. 2. § 101. note 15.

³ Concerning him see hist. lit. de la France v. 287. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. lit. im karoling. Zeitalter S. 462.—Opera (among which the commentar. in Evang. Matthaei lib. xii. is still worthy of notice) ed. J. Sirmond. Paris. 1618. fol. and afterwards in bibl. PP. Lugd. xiv. 352 ss.

⁴ Pasch. Radb. lib. de corpore et sanguine Domini, 831, dedicated to Marinus, abbot of New Corvey : in a second edition, 844, presented to Charles the Bald. The earliest printed editions (prim. ed. Hiob. Gastius Hagenoae 1528. 4.) are mutilated. The first genuine edition ed. Nicol. Mameranus. Colon. 1550. 8. Afterwards many editions ; the

tion. *Rabanus Maurus* rejected the new doctrine as erroneous.⁵ *Ratramnus*, in the opinion for which he was asked by the

best in Edm. Martene et Ursini Durand veterum script. et monument. amplissima collectio ix. 367. Cf. hist. lit. de la Fr. v. 294.—Cap. 1: Patet igitur quod nihil extra vel contra Dei velle potest, sed cedunt illi omnia omnino. Et ideo nullus moveatur de hoc corpore Christi et sanguine, quod in mysterio vera sit caro et verus sit sanguis, dum sic voluit ille qui creavit. Omnia enim quaecunque voluit fecit in caelo et in terra (Ps. cxxxv. 6.): et quia voluit, licet in figura panis et vini maneat, haec sic esse omnino, nihilque aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt: unde ipsa Veritas ad discipulos: “Haec, inquit caro mea est pro mundi vita:” et ut mirabilius loquar, non alia plane, quam quae nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce et resurrexit de sepulcro. Cap. 4.: sed quia Christum vorari fas dentibus non est, voluit in mysterio hunc panem et vinum vere carnem suam et sanguinem consecratione Spiritus Sancti potentialiter creari, creando vero quotidie pro mundi vita mystice immolari, ut sicut de Virgine per Spiritum vera caro sine coitu creatur, ita per eundem ex substantia panis ac vini mystice idem Christi corpus et sanguis consecretur: de qua videlicet carne et sanguine: “Amen, amen,” inquit, “dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis etc. (Jo. vi. 53).”—Si carnem illam vere credis de Maria virgine in utero sine semine potestate Sp. S. creatam, ut Verbum caro fieret; vere crede, et hoc, quod conficitur in verbo Christi per Sp. S., corpus ipsius esse ex Virgine.—potentia divinitatis contra naturam ultra nostrae rationis capacitatem efficaciter operatur. Cap. 8.: Substantia panis et vini in Christi carnem et sanguinem efficaciter interius commutatur. Cap. 14.: Examples, quod haec mystica corporis et sanguinis sacramenta—visibili specie in agni formam aut in carnis et sanguinis colorem monstrata sint, or tamquam puerulus jacens super altare etc. Cap. 20.:—non modo caro aut sanguis Christi in nostram convertuntur carnem aut sanguinem, verum nos a carnalibus elevant et spiritalis efficiunt. Hoc sane nutriunt in nobis, quod ex Deo natum est, et non quod ex carne et sanguine.—Frivolum est ergo—in hoc mysterio cogitare de stercore, ne commisceatur in digestionem alterius cibi. Denique ubi spiritalis esca et potus sumitur, et Spiritus S. per eum in homine operatur, ut si quid in nobis carnale adhuc est, transferatur in spiritum, et fiat homo spiritalis, quid commixtionis habere poterit? Sirmund confesses at least in his vita Paschacii: genuinum Ecclesiae catholicae sensum ita primus explicuit, ut viam caeteris aperuerit, qui de eodem argumento multa postea scripserunt. Cf. histoire de l’eucharistie par Matth. Larroque. Anst. 1669. 4. p. 357. H. Reuter de erroribus, qui aetate media doctrinam Christ. de s. Eucharistia turpaverunt. Berol. 1840. 8. p. 26. It is surprising that Dr A. Ebrard (das Dogma vom heil Abendmal u. s. Geschichte, Bd. 1. Frankf. a. M. 1845. S. 406) finds in Paschasius not a substantial transformation, but only the doctrine that bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ, according to potentia (potentially).

⁵ Rab. M. epist. ad Heribaldum Antissidorensem Episc. (written

emperor,⁶ and which has subsequently been often attributed er-

853) cap. 33. (Reginonis Abb. libb. ii. de ecclesiast. disciplinis ed. Baluzius p. 516. the passage corrected by MSS. in Mabillonii iter Germ. in his vett. analectis ed. ii. p. 17): "Quod autem interrogasti, utrum Eucharistia, postquam consumitur, et in secessum emittitur more aliorum ciborum, iterum fedeat in naturam pristinam, quam habuerat, antequam in altari consecraretur: superflua est hujusmodi quaestio, cum ipse Salvator dixerit in Evangelio: "Omne quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur," (Matth. xv. 17.) Sacramentum ergo corporis et sanguinis Domini ex rebus visibilibus et corporalibus conficitur, sed invisibilem tam corporis quam animae efficit sanctificationem et salutem. Quae est enim ratio, ut hoc, quod stomacho digeritur, et in secessum emittitur, iterum in statum pristinum redeat, cum nullus hoc unquam fieri asseruerit. Nam quidam nuper de ipso Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes dixerunt, hoc ipsum esse corpus et sanguinem Domini, quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulcro. Cui errori quantum potuimus, ad Eigilum Abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quid vere credendum sit aperuimus. This epistle to Eigilus, abbot of Prüm, is lost. Mabillon supposes it to be the dicta cujusdam sapientis de corpore et sanguine Domini adv. Radbertum, edited by him from a Cod. Gemblac. (Act. SS. Ord. Bened. saec. iv. ii. 591.) Comp. the praef. ad h. tom. no. 57-60. See on the other hand v. Cölln on Münscher's Lehrbuch d. Dogmengesch. ii. i. 229.—Cf. Rab. Maur. de institutione clericorum lib. i. c. 31. (ap. Hittorp p. 324): Maluit enim Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in pastum eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostenderetur effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinsecus nutrit corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat.—aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti. Sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur: sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti aeterna vita adipiscitur. Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur, vinum autem, quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur: haec autem dum sunt visibilia, sanctificata tamen per Spiritum S., in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt. Lib. iii. c. 13. Among the examples of oratio figurata: "Nisi manducaveritis," inquit, "carnem filii hominis," etc. (Jo. vi. 53.) Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figurata ergo est, praecipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum: et suaviter atque utiliter recolendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit (taken word for word from Augustin. de doctr. christ. iii. c. 16.)

⁶ Ratr. de corpore et sang. Domini liber ad Carol. R. (prim. ed. cum praef. Leonis Judae. Colon. 1532. 8. frequently published in the original and in translations, especially by the Reformed; best by Jac. Boileau. Paris 1712. in 12.) Quod in Ecclesia ore fidelium sumitur corpus et sanguis Christi, quaerit vestrae Magnitudinis Excellentia, in mysterio fiat an in veritate? i. e. utrum aliquid secreti contineat, quod oculis fidei solummodo pateat,—et utrum ipsum corpus sit, quod de

Maria natum est et passum. According to these two questions the book is divided into two parts. On the first:—*ille panis, qui per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat. Exterius quidem panis, quod ante fuerat, forma praetenditur, color ostenditur, sapor accipitur: ast interius longe aliud, multoque pretiosius multoque excellentius intimatur, quia caeleste, quia divinum, i. e. corpus Christi ostenditur, quod non sensibus carnis, sed animi fidelis contuitu vel aspicitur vel accipitur, vel comeditur.* § 2:—*Haec ita esse dum nemo potest abnegare, claret, quia panis ille vinumque figurate Christi corpus et sanguis existit.—Nam si secundum quosdam figurate nihil hic accipiatur, sed totum in veritate conspiciatur; nihil hic fides operatur, quoniam nihil spirituale geratur: sed quicquid illud est, totum secundum corpus accipitur.—At quia confitentur et corpus et sanguinem Christi esse, nec hoc esse potuisse, nisi facta in melius commutatione; neque ista commutatio corporaliter, sed spiritualiter facta sit: necesse est, ut jam figurate facta esse dicatur, quoniam sub velamento corporei panis corporeique vini spirituale corpus Christi spiritualisque sanguis existit. Non quod duarum sint existentiae rerum inter se diversarum, corporis videlicet et spiritus: verum una eademque res secundum aliud species panis et vini consistit, secundum aliud autem corpus et sanguis Christi. Secundum namque, quod utrumque corporaliter contingitur, species sunt creaturae corporea, secundum potentiam vero, quod spiritualiter factae sunt, mysteria sunt corporis et sanguinis Christi. Consideremus fontem sacri baptismatis, qui fons vitae non immerito nuncupatur.—si consideretur solummodo, quod corporeus aspicit sensus, elementum fluidum conspicitur.—Sed accessit S. Spiritus per sacerdotis consecrationem virtus.—Igitur in proprietate humor corruptibilis, in mysterio vero virtus sanabilis. Sic itaque Christi corpus et sanguis superficie tenus considerata creatura est mutabilitati corruptelaeque subjecta, si mysterii vero perpendis virtutem, vita est, participantibus se tribuens immortalitatem. Non ergo sunt idem, quod cernuntur, et quod creduntur. Secundum enim quod cernuntur, corpus pascunt corruptibile, ipsa corruptibilia: secundum vero quod creduntur, animas pascunt in aeternam victuras, ipsa immortalia. To the second question:—Ait enim (Ambrosius): “in illo sacramento Christus est;” non enim ait: “ille panis et illud vinum Christus est.”—Est quidem corpus Christi, sed non corporale sed spirituale; est sanguis Christi, sed non corporalis sed spiritualis.—Corpus Christi, quod mortuum est et resurrexit et immortale factum, jam non moritur,—aeternum est nec jam passibile. Hoc autem, quod in Ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non aeternum, corruptibile est non incorruptum.—quodsi non sunt idem, quomodo verum corpus Christi dicitur et verus sanguis?—De vero corpore Christi dicitur, quod sit verus Deus et verus homo, qui in fine saeculi ex Maria virgine genitus. Haec autem dum de corpore Christi, quod in Ecclesia per mysterium geritur, dici non possunt, secundum quendam modum corpus Christi esse cognoscitur. Et modus iste in figura est et imagine, ut veritas res ipsa sentiatur. In orationibus, quae post mysterium sanguinis corporisque Christi dicuntur, et a populo respondetur amen, sic sacerdotis voce dicitur: “Pignus aeternae vitae*

roniously to *John Scotus*,⁷ declared against it; and the most

cipientes humiliter imploramus, ut quod imagine contingimus, sacramenti manifesta participatione sumamus." Et pignus nempe et imago alterius rei sunt, i. e. non ad se, sed ad aliud adspiciunt. Pignus nempe illius rei est, pro qua donatur, imago illius, cujus similitudinem ostendit. Significant nempe ista rem, cujus sunt, non manifeste ostendunt. Quod cum ita est, apparet, quod hoc corpus et sanguis pignus et imago rei sunt futurae, ut quod nunc per similitudinem ostenditur, in futuro per manifestationem reveletur.—Item alibi: "Perficiant in nobis, Domine, quaesumus, tua sacramenta, quod continent, ut quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus." Dicit quod specie gerantur ista, non veritate, i. e. per similitudinem, non per ipsius rei manifestationem. Differunt autem a se species et veritas. Quapropter corpus et sanguis, quod in Ecclesia geritur, differt ab illo corpore et sanguine, 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 caelos ascendit, quod ad dexteram Patris sedet. Docemur a Salvatore nec non a S. Paulo Apostolo, quod iste panis et iste sanguis, qui super altare ponitur, in figuram sive memoriam dominicae mortis ponatur, ut quod gestum est in praeterito, praesenti revocet memoriae, ut illius passionis memores effecti, per eam efficiamur divini muneris consortes, per quam sumus a morte liberati. Cognoscentes, quod ubi pervenerimus ad visionem Christi, talibus non opus habebimus instrumentis, quibus admoveamur etc.—The older Catholic theologians universally considered this work as heretical, and believed that it had been in part interpolated by Protestants. Hence it stands in the index libr. prohibit. of 1559. De Sainte Boeue first endeavoured to shew that it was Catholic, in which opinion he was followed particularly by Jo. Mabillon act. SS. Ord. Bened. saec. iv. P. ii. praef. p. 44. and ann. Bened. lib. xxxv. § 40. and J. Boileau in his edition.

⁷ All the writers of the next succeeding centuries speak either of a work of Ratramnus, or of John Scotus, on the Lord's Supper; those who mention the one say nothing of the other. All the citations suit the only extant one, which in Codd. is attributed to Ratramnus. Afterwards, indeed, both works were spoken of together as distinct, and that of Scotus declared to be lost. P. de Marca (epist. ad d'Acherium, in the spicileg. iii. 852, ed. 2) of the latter, first asserted correctly, that the alleged two works were only one and the same, but he attributed it to the heterodox Scotus, in order to weaken its importance. But this author has quite another doctrine respecting the Supper de divinis naturae ii. 11, v. 38, comp. Ebrard's Dogma vom heil. Abendmal, S. 420. The identity of both writings, and, at the same time, that Ratramnus was the author, is shown by F. W. Laufs uber die fur verloren gehaltene Schrift des Johannes Scotus von der Eucharistie, in the Theol. Studien u. Kritiken. Bd. 1. (1828.) Heft 4. S. 755 ss. Gfrörer's (KG. iii. ii. 921) objections may not be set aside by the consideration, that

distinguished theologians of this period firmly adhered to the Augustinian view,⁸ so that Paschasius saw that he was called upon to defend his sentiments, for many reasons.⁹ Still the mys-

the work of Ratramnus, as having been directed against his abbot, was doubtless circulated anonymously at first, and that therefore even contemporaries as Hincmar (de prædest. c. 31.) and Adrevaldus (de corpore et sanguine Christi contra ineptias Jo. Scoti ap. d'Achery i. 150. a fragment, but which may have been intended to oppose the eucharistic opinions of the book de divis. naturae) might have erroneously regarded John Scotus as the author, because in such cases he was often interrogated by Charlemagne.

⁸ For example Walafrid. Strabo de rebus eccles. c. 16: (Christus) corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta in panis et vini substantia eisdem discipulis tradidit, et ea in commemorationem sanctissimæ suæ passionis celebrare perdocuit (c. 17): illius unitatis perfectæ, quam cum capite nostro jam spe, postea re, tenebimus, pignora. Christiani Druthmar expos. in Matth. xxvi. 26 ss. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xv. 165): Dedit discipulis sacramentum corporis sui—ut memores illius facti semper hoc in figura facerent, quod pro eis acturus erat, et hujus caritatis non obliviscerentur. "Hoc est corpus meum," i. e. in sacramento (Sixt. Senensis bibl. sanct. lib. vi. p. 158. would read after a Cod. Lugd. hoc est vere in sacramento subsistens).—Vinum et laetificat et sanguinem auget.) Et idcirco non inconvenienter sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur.—Sicut denique si aliquis peregre proficiscens dilectoribus suis quoddam vinculum dilectionis relinquit, eo tenore, ut omni die hæc agant, ut illius non obliviscantur: ita Deus præcepit agi a nobis, transferens spiritualiter (Sixt. Sen. l. c. would have the word spiritualiter left out) corpus in panem, vinum in sanguinem, ut per hæc duo memoremus, quæ fecit pro nobis etc. (That the edition by J. Wimpfeling, Strasb. 1514, really exists, and has the common text, see Cave ii. 25. hist. lit. de la Fr. v. 89. J. G. Schelhorn amoenitates hist. eccl. et literariæ i. 823). Florus Magister de expositione Missæ (for the first time complete in Martene et Durand amplissima collect. T. ix. p. 577 ss.) c. 4: Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudine promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoria celebratur. Idem adv. Amalarium (ibid. p. 641 ss.) c. 9: prorsus panis ille sacrosanctæ oblationis corpus est Christi, non materie vel specie visibili, sed virtute et potentia spirituali.—Simplex e frugibus panis conficitur, simplex e botris vinum liquatur, accedit ad hæc offerentis Ecclesiæ fides, accedit mysticæ præcis consecratio, accedit divinæ virtutis infusio: sicque miro et ineffabili modo, quod est naturaliter ex germine terreno panis et vinum, efficitur spiritualiter corpus Christi, i. e. vitæ et salutis nostræ mysterium, in quo aliud oculis corporis, aliud fidei videmus obtentu [leg. obtuitu], nec id tantum, quod ore percipimus, sed quod mente credimus, libamus.—Mentis ergo est cibus iste, non ventris, non corrumpitur, sed permanet in vitam æternam.—Corpus igitur Christi—non est in specie visibili, sed in virtute spirituali etc.

⁹ *Exposit. in Matth. lib. xii. ad Matth. xxvi. 26.* (Bibl. PP. Lugd.

tical, and apparently pious, doctrine, which was easier of apprehension, and seemed to correspond better to the sacred words, obtained its advocates too;¹⁰ and it was easy to see, that it only needed times of darkness, such as soon followed, to become general.

In the same spirit Radbert also taught *a miraculous delivery of Mary*,¹¹ but here again he was opposed by Ratramnus.¹²

xiv. 668): Audiant qui volunt extenuare hoc verbum corporis, quod non sit vera caro Christi, quae nunc in sacramento celebratur in Ecclesia Christi, neque verus sanguis ejus, nescio quid volentes plaudere aut fingere, quasi quaedam virtus sit carnis et sanguinis in eo tantummodo sacramento.—Miror, quid velint nunc quidam dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis: sed in sacramento virtutem quandam carnis et non carnem, virtutem fore sanguinis et non sanguinem, figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus.—Haec idcirco prolixius dixerim et expressius, quia audivi quosdam me reprehendere, quasi ego in eo libro, quem de sacramentis Christi edideram, aliquid his dictis (namely, Hoc est corpus m. etc.) plus tribuere voluerim aut aliud, quam ipsa veritas repromittit etc. Ejusd. epist. de corpore et sanguine Domini ad Frudegardum (l. c. p. 754): Quaeris de re, ex qua multi dubitant. Quam si forte ad plenum intelligunt, utique credere debuissent verba Salvatoris, quia non mentitur verax Deus, cum ait: nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis,—non habebitis vitam.—Cum ait: hoc est corpus meum vel caro mea, seu hic est sanguis meus, non aliam puto insinuasse, quam propriam et quae nata est de Maria virgine, et pependit in cruce, neque sanguinem alium, quam qui profusus est in cruce, et tunc erat in proprio corpore.—Alias autem qualitercunque intelligitur, si alius esset sanguis, et alia esset caro in hoc mysterio, non in eo esset remissio peccatorum. Then he enters particularly on a consideration of several passages in Augustine, which Frudegard had adduced against him.

¹⁰ Especially Haimonis tract. de corp. et sang. Dom. or rather a fragment of a commentary on the first epistle to the Corinthians (in d'Achery spicileg. i. 42.) and Hincmari ep. ad Carol. Calv. de cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis c. 12.

¹¹ Pasch. Radb. opusc. de partu Virginis addressed to a venerabilis matrona Christi una cum sacris virginibus Vesonae monastice degentibus (in d'Achery spicil. i. 44): Dicunt enim (namely his opposers), non aliter b. virginem Mariam parere potuisse, neque aliter debuisse, quam communi lege naturae, et sicut mos est omnium feminarum, ut vera nativitas Christi dici possit.—Non dico, quod dicant, virginitatem amisisse, quae nesciens virum virgo concepit, virgo peperit et virgo permansit: sed quia idipsum, quod confitentur, negant, dum dicunt, eam communi lege naturae puerperam filium edidisse. Quod si ita est, ut astruunt et affirmant, quod absit, Maria virgo non est, Christus sub maledicto natus est, irae filius de carne peccati etc.—Nam et ipsa lex naturae, sub qua nunc mulieres concipiunt et pariunt, ut ita dicam, vere

§ 15.

CONTROVERSY OF GOTTSCHALK.

Jac. Usserii Gotteschalci et praedestinatianae controversiae ab eo motae hist. Dublini 1631. 4. Hanov. 1662. 8. Gilb. Mauguini vett. auctorum, qui saec. ix. de praedestinatione et gratia scripserunt, opera et fragm. Paris. 1650. Tomi ii. 4. (im Tom. ii.: Gotteschalcanae controversiae historica et chronica dissertatio). Lud. Cellotii hist. Gotteschalci praedestiniani. Paris. 1655. fol. Natalis Alex. diss. de causa Gotteschalci (in hist. eccl. saec. ix. et x. diss. Vta.) Jo. Jac. Hottingeri diatribe hist. theol. qua praedestinatianam et Godeschalci pseudohaereses commenta esse demonstratur. Tiguri 1710. 4. Ejusd. fata doctrinae de praedestinatione et gratia Dei (Tig. 1727. 4.) p. 397 ss. W. F. Gess Merkwürdigk. aus dem Leben Hinkmars. (Gotting. 1806. 8.) S. 15 ff.

Strict Augustinism had never been generally adopted even

non est lex naturae quodammodo, sed maledictionis et culpae.—Ideo sicut (Christus) clausis visceribus jure creditur conceptus, ita omnino et clauso utero natus.—sicut mirabiliter conceptus ita mirabiliter Deus et homo natus.—Non est credendum, quod ejus (Mariae) puerperium doloribus et gemitibus more seminarum subjacuerit. Christus de Virgine speciali et ineffabili quodam modo procreatus, absque vexatione matris ingressus est mundum—sine dolore et sine gemitu et sine ulla corruptione carnis. Cf. (Ch. W. F. Walchii) hist. controversiae saec. ix. de partu Virginis (a programm) Goett. 1758. 4.

¹² Ratr. lib. de eo, quod Christus ex Virgine natus est (in d'Achery i. 52.) c. 1: Fama est, et quorundam non contemnenda cognovimus relatione, quod per Germaniae partes serpens antiquus perfidiae novae venena diffundat, et catholicam super nativitate Salvatoris fidem, nescio qua fraudis subtilitate subvertere molitur; dogmatizans Christi infantiam, per virginalis januae vulvae, humanae nativitatis verum non habuisse ortum, sed monstruose de secreto ventris incerto tramite luminis in auras exisse, quod non est nasci, sed erumpi. Jam ergo nec vere natus Christus, nec vere genuit Maria. He concludes, c. 10: Ergo omnifariam adversario devicto, teneamus vera fide, confiteamur ore veridico, Verbum carnem factum, per ministerium vulvae naturaliter natum, et secundum rationis consequentiam, et secundum divinarum testimonia Scripturarum et secundum doctorum non contemnendam auctoritatem. Satis abundeque, ut aestimo, monstratum est, Dominum Salvatorem de Virgine sicut hominem natum, non ut integritatem violaret illa nativitas, quia Maria virgo fuit ante partum, virgo in partu, virgo mansit et post partum; sed ut qui de virgine corpus assumpsit, et intra gremium virginalis concrevit, per aulam quoque virgineam naturaliter nasceretur.

in the West ;¹ and, therefore, *Gottschalk*,² a monk of Orbais, a faithful follower of Augustine and Fulgentius, while on a pilgrimage to Rome, by teaching the doctrine of a twofold predestination, excited the attention of *Rabanus Maurus*, who thought he perceived in it a predestination to sin.³ Gottschalk was therefore condemned by a *synod at Mainz* (848),⁴ and delivered

¹ See vol. i. div. i. § 113. not. 16 ff.

² Concerning an earlier controversy of Gottschalks, then a monk at Fulda, with his abbot Raban, and respecting the decision of the synod of Mainz, 829, see the extracts of the *Centur. Magdeburg.* from the *epistola Rabani*, since lost, and *ep. Hattonis ad Otgarium*, *centur. ix. cap. 9. p. 404*, and *cap. 10. p. 543 and 546*. This was no doubt the occasion of Raban's work *contra eos qui repugnant institutis b. P. Benedicti* (prim. ed. J. Mabillon in *append. annal. Bened. T. ii. no. li.*) See Mabillon *annal. Bened. lib. xxx. c. 30*. Kunstmann's *Hrabanus Maurus S. 69*.

³ See Rabani *epist. ad Notingum Episc. Veronensem* and *ad Eberardum comitem A.D. 847*, both published first by J. Sirmond: *Rabani de predestinatione Dei contra Gottschalcum epistolae iii.* Paris. 1647. 8, (in *Sirm. opp. ii. 1289*) ap. Mauguin *i. i. 3*. Kunstmann *S. 119*.

⁴ Fragments of the writing handed over by Gottschalk, at this synod, to Rabanus, are preserved in Hincmar *de predestin. c. 5*: *Ego Gothescalcus credo et confiteor,—quod gemina est predestinatio, sive electorum ad requiem, sive reproborum ad mortem* (word for word from *Isidori Hispal. sent. lib. ii. c. 6*): *quia sicut Deus incommutabilis ante mundi constitutionem omnes electos suos incommutabiliter per gratiam suam predestinavit ad vitam aeternam, similiter omnino omnes reprobos, qui in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse incommutabilis Deus per justum judicium suum incommutabiliter predestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam.—c. 21*: *De quo videlicet libero arbitrio quid Ecclesiae Christi tenendum sit,—cum a caeteris catholicis Patribus evidenter sit Deo gratias disputatum, tum praecipue contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos a b. Augustino plenius et uberius diversis in opusculis, et maxime in Hypomnesticon esse cognoscitur inculcatum. Unde te [Rabane] potius ejusdem catholicissimi doctoris fructuosissimis assertionibus incomparabiliter inde quoque malueram niti, quam erroneis opinionibus Massiliensis Genadii, qui—praesumpsit—fidei catholicae,—infelicis Cassiani perniciosum nimis dogma sequens, reniti.—c. 27*: *Illos omnes impios et peccatores, quos proprio fuso sanguine filius Dei redimere venit, hos omnipotentis Dei bonitas ad vitam predestinatos ir retractibiliter salvari tantummodo velit: et rursus illos omnes impios et peccatores, pro quibus idem filius Dei nec corpus assunsit, nec orationem, ne dico sanguinem fudit neque pro eis ullo modo crucifixus fuit, quippe quos pessimos futuros esse praescivit, quosque justissime in aeterna praecipitandos tormenta praefinivit, ipsos omnino perpetim salvari penitus nolit.* Of the synod of Mainz we have only *Rabani epist. synodalis ad Hincmarum* (in *Sirmond's opp. ii. 1293. ap. Mausii xiv. 914.*) according to which

over to his metropolitan, *Hincmar*, archbishop of Rheims, for punishment; by whom, after much ill-treatment, he was sentenced to imprisonment, at *the synod of Chiersy* (849).⁵ Gottschalk maintained that he had merely abided by the doctrine of Augustine;⁶ and, indeed, there were not a few who thought that Hincmar had encroached on it. Hence *Prudentius*, bishop of Troyes,⁷ *Ratramnus*,⁸ and *Servatus Lupus*,⁹ came forward in

Gottschalk taught, quod praedestinatio Dei, sicut in bono, sic ita et in malo: et tales sint in hoc mundo quidam, qui propter praedestinationem Dei, quae eos cogat in mortem ire, non possent ab errore et peccato se corrigere; quasi Deus eos fecisset ab initio incorrigibiles, et poenae obnoxios in interitum ire. On the other hand, Hincmar de praedestin. c. 15. concedes: Dicunt [moderni Praedestinatiani]: praedestinavit Deus reprobos ad interitum, non ad peccatum. Cf. Remigius in libro de tribus epistolis not. 13. below.

⁵ Conc. apud Carisiacum ap. Mansi xiv. 919. According to Flodoardus (about 940) hist. Ecclesiae Rhemensis lib. iii. c. 28. Hincmar afterwards called on Gottschalk to confess, Deum et bona praescire et mala; sed mala tantum praescire, bona vero et praescire et praedestinare. Unde praescientia esse potest sine praedestinatione: praedestinatio autem esse non potest sine praescientia: et quia bonos praescivit et praedestinavit ad regnum, malos autem praescivit tantum, non praedestinavit, nec ut perirent sua praescientia compulit. Gottschalk refused to subscribe this.

⁶ His two confessions written in prison (prim. ed. J. Usseus l. c. in append. p. 211 ss. ap. Mauguin i. i. 7). In the longer one he says of his opponents: Te precor, Domine Deus, gratis Ecclesiam tuam custodias, ne sua diutius eam falsitate pervertant, haereseosque suae pestifera de reliquo pravitate subvertant, licet se suosque secum lugubriter evertant. Ego vero gratis edoctus ab ipsa veritate—hic evidenter expressam de praedestinatione tua fidem catholicam fortiter teneo, veraciter patenterque defendo: et quemcunque contraria dogmatizare cognosco, tamquam pestem fugio, et tamquam haereticum abjicio.—Porro conflictum cujuslibet eorum, si semel his lectis et intellectis cedere noluerit, et instar Pharaonis induratus haeretico videlicet more, tam manifestae veritati acquiescere contemserit, secundum consilium vel potius praeceptum Apostoli, jam mihi vitandum censeo—Attamen propter minus peritos, et ob id ab eis illectos, et nisi corrigantur, perditos, optarem publicum, si tibi Domine placeret, fieri conventum: quatenus adstructa palam veritate, et destructa funditus falsitate, gratias ageremus communiter tibi. Namely, quatuor doliis uno post unum positus atque ferventi sigillatim repletis aqua, oleo, pingui, et pice, et ad ultimum accenso copiosissimo igne, liceret mihi—ad adprobendam hanc fidem meam, immo fidem catholicam, in singula introire, et ita per singula transire etc.

⁷ Prudentii Trecassini epistola ad Hincmarum Rhem. et Pardulum Laudunensem (about 849) prim. ed. Lud. Cellot in hist. Gottesch. p. 425 ss. Comp. Raban's judgment thereupon ep. ad. Hincmarum in Sirmondi opp. ii. 1295. Mauguin i. i. 5.

defence of the Augustinian orthodoxy; Rabanus could no longer come to the proposed refutation of these writings;¹⁰ while *John Scotus*, who attempted to answer them,¹¹ could only do injury to

⁸ Ratramni de praedestinatione libb. ii. (about 850) prim. ed. G. Mauguin i. i. 27.

⁹ Serv. Lupi lib. de tribus quaestionibus (namely de libero arbitrio, de praedestinatione bonorum et malorum and de sanguinis Christi superflua taxatione), besides a collectaneum de tribus quaest. after 850. The first faulty edition by Donatus Candidus 1648. 16. A corrected text by J. Sirmond. Paris. 1650. 8. (Opp. ii. 1227) and G. Mauguin i. ii. 9. cf. hist. lit. de la France. v. 262., where Cave's statements are corrected.

¹⁰ See his two letters to Hincmar, published by Kunstmann, in the Tübingen theol. Quartalschrift 1836 S. 445., and also appended to his Rabanus Maurus p. 215.

¹¹ Jo. Scotus de praedestinatione Dei contra Gotteschalcum (851) prim. ed. G. Mauguin i. i. 103. Comp. Frömmüller's above. § 10. note 21. cited treatise: ex. gr. the following assertions cap. 6. § 1: Firmissime igitur tenendum, nullum peccatum—nullamque ejus poenam aliunde nasci, nisi propria hominis voluntate, libero male utentis arbitrio. Cap. 7. § 1: Non ergo liberum arbitrium malum est, cum eo quisque male utatur, sed est numerandum inter bona, quae homini divina largitate donata sunt: praesertim cum potius ad bene utendum eo datum sit: in hoc enim maxime arguitur humana voluntas, quod eo dono, quod ei datum est ad recte utendum, maluit perverse uti. Cap. 8. § 7: Si omne quod movet plus est quam quod movetur, necessario majora a minoribus moveri non sinunt, simili ratione paria non possunt paria movere.—Restat plane, humanam voluntatem aut a se ipsa moveri, aut ab ea, quae eam condidit.—§ 9: Hoc ergo nisi fallor prolixae ratiocinationis ambitu confectum est, causas omnium recte factorum—in libero humanae voluntatis arbitrio, praeparante ipsum ipsique cooperante gratuito divinae gratiae multiplicique dono constitutas esse: malefactorum vero—in perverso motu liberi arbitrii suadente diabolo principalem radicem esse fixam. Quanta igitur dementia est eorum, qui talium causas inevitabiles, coactivasque necessitates in praedestinatione divina falsissime fingunt, impudentissime adstrunt. Cap. 9. § 5. The expressions praescire and praedestinare cannot be used of God proprie: in eo enim sicut nulla locorum spatia sunt, ita nulla temporum intervalla. Cap. 10. § 3: Omne igitur malum aut peccatum est aut poena peccati: quae duo si nulla ratio vera sinit Deum praescire, quanto magis praedestinare quis audeat dicere, nisi e contrario? (κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, namely, according to § 1., in the sense, quod Deus in creatura, quam ipse condidit, fieri sinit motu proprio liberoque rationalis naturae perverse utentis naturalibus bonis). Quid enim, numquid possumus recte sentire de Deo,—eorum quae nec ipse est, nec ab eo sunt, quia nihil sunt praescientiam seu praedestinationem habere? Si enim nihil aliud est scientia, nisi rerum, quae sunt, intelligentia, qua ratione in his, quae non sunt scientia vel praescientia dicenda est?—Deinde si nihil aliud est malum nisi boni corruptio,—omnis autem corruptio

Hincmar by his own heterodoxy.¹² At length *Remigius*, archbishop of Lyons from 852, appeared in the name of his church, expressly as defender of the unfortunate Gottschalk.¹³ Hincmar

nihil appetit, nisi ut bonum non sit: quis dubitare potest, esse malum, quod appetit bonum delere ne sit?—§ 4: Quis non videat,—totum quod dicitur peccatum, ejusque consequentias in morte atque miseria constitutas, non aliud esse, quam integrae vitae beataeque corruptiones: ita ut singula singulis opponantur, integritati quidem peccatum, vitae mors beatitudini miseria. Illa sunt, ista penitus non sunt.—§ 5: Omnino igitur non sunt, ac per hoc nec praesciri, nec praedestinari ab eo, qui summus est, possunt. Cap. 11. and 12. that praescientia and praedestinatio are one in God, that there is only a praedestinatio ad vitam, not ad mortem.—Cap. 16. § 1: In magno aeterni ignis ardore nihil aliud sit poenalis miseria, quam beatae felicitatis absentia, in qua tamen nullus erit qui non habeat insitam sibi naturaliter absentis beatitudinis notionem, ejusque desiderium, ut eo maxime torqueatur, quo ardentem appetat, quod justum Dei judicium comprehendere non sinat.—Cap. 17. § 8: Sive itaque ignis ille corporeus (ut ait Augustinus), sive incorporeus (ut Gregorio placet);—idem ignis bonus profecto, quoniam a bono factus. Non ergo ille ignis est poena, neque ad eam praeparatus, vel praedestinatus, sed qui fuerat praedestinatus, ut esset in universitate omnium bonorum, sedes factus est impiorum. In quo proculdubio non minus habitabunt beati, quam miseri: sed sicut una eademque lux sanis oculis convenit, impedit dolentibus etc. Quid enim bonorum illi non noceret, quando ei auctor omnium placere non poterat?—§ 9: Proinde si nulla beatitudo est, nisi vita aeterna: vita autem aeterna est veritatis cognitio: nulla igitur beatitudo est nisi veritatis cognitio. Ita si nulla miseria est, nisi mors aeterna: aeterna autem mors est veritatis ignorantia: nulla igitur miseria est nisi veritatis ignorantia.—Cap. 18. § 1. Errorem itaque saevissimum eorum, qui venerabilium Patrum, maximeque s. Augustini sententias confuse, ac per hoc mortifere ad suum pravissimum sensum redigunt, ex utilium disciplinarum—ignorantia crediderim sumpsisse primordia insuper etiam ex Graecarum literarum inscita. In quibus praedestinationis interpretatio nullam ambiguitatis caliginem gignit. for *προοράω* means both praevidere and praedestinare etc.

¹² Scotus was answered by (852) Prudentius: tractatus de praedestinatione contra Jo. Scot. (prim. ed. Manguin i. 1, 191, afterwards in the bibl. PP. Lugdun. xv. 467), and Florus Magister: lib. de praedestinatione contra Jo. Scoti erroneas definitiones (also called Ecclesiae Lugd. lib. etc., because written in the name of it; best edited ap. Manguin i. 1, 575, and in the bibl. PP. Lugd. xv. 611); comp. Staudenmaier's Joh. Scotus Erig. S. 183.

¹³ Hincmar and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, had written on this occasion to Amolo, archbishop of Lyons, two letters (preserved in part in the following work of Remigius), and accompanied them with Rabani epist. ad Nottingham (cf. not. 3). On this Remigius, who had already begun to officiate, wrote in the name of his church: liber de tribus epis-

procured the confirmation of his doctrinal creed at the synod of *Chiersy* (853), in presence of the emperor Charles the Bald ;¹⁴ but

tolis (ap. Manguin i. ii. 61, Bibl. PP. Lugd. xv. 666). Here it is said directly, cap. 24 : videtur nobis sine dubio, quod illa, quae [Gotteschalcus] de divina praedestinatione dixit, juxta regulam catholicae fidei vera sint, et a veridicis Patribus manifestissime confirmata, nec ab ullo penitus nostrum, qui catholicus haberi vult, respuenda sive damnanda. Et ideo in hac re dolemus non hunc miserabilem, sed ecclesiasticam veritatem esse damnatam. Rabanus is reproached with the false interpretation he had put on Gottschalk's system (com. not. 4). Cap. 41 : Tertia epistola—assumit, quantum nobis videtur, non necessarium, nec ullatenus ad rem, de qua quaeritur, pertinentem disputationem. Quaeritur namque—non illud, utrum inpios Deus et iniquos praedestinaverit ad ipsam impietatem et iniquitatem, i. e. ut impii et iniqui essent, et aliud esse non possent : quod nullus omnino moderno tempore dicere vel dixisse invenitur, quod est utique immanis et detestabilis blasphemia : sed illud potius quaeritur, utrum eos, quos veraciter omnino praescivit, proprio vitio inpios et iniquos futuros, et in suis impietatibus atque iniquitatibus usque ad mortem perseveraturos, justo judicio praedestinaverit aeterno supplicio puniendos.

¹⁴ The capitula iv. Carisiacensia from Hincmar de praedest. c. 2, ap. Mansi xiv. 920, (by Sirmond. in concill. Gall. T. iii. and the succeeding editors of councils falsely assigned to the Conc. Carisiac. l. 819 ; comp. on the other side, ann. Bertiniani ad ann. 853, ap. Mansi xiv. 995), cap. i. ; Deus omnipotens hominem sine peccato rectum cum libero arbitrio condidit, et in paradiso posuit, quem in sanctitate justitiae permanere voluit. Homo libero arbitrio male utens peccavit et cecidit, et factus est massa perditionis totius humani generis. Deus autem bonus et justus elegit ex eadem massa perditionis, secundum praescientiam suam, quos per gratiam praedestinavit ad vitam, et vitam illis praedestinavit aeternam : caeteros autem, quos justitiae judicio in massa perditionis reliquit, perituros praescivit, sed non ut perirent praedestinavit : poenam autem illis, quia justus est, praedestinavit aeternam. Ac per hoc unum Dei praedestinationem tantummodo dicimus, quae aut ad donum pertinet gratiae, aut ad retributionem justitiae. Cap. ii. : 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 sanatum. Cap. iii. : Deus omnipotens omnes homines sine exceptione vult salvos fieri, licet non omnes salventur. Quod autem quidam salvantur, salvantis est donum : quod autem quidam pereunt, pereuntium est meritum. Cap. iv. : Christus Jesus Dominus noster, sicut nullus homo est, fuit vel erit, cujus natura in illo assumpta non fuerit, ita nullus est, fuit, vel erit homo, pro quo passus non fuerit ; licet non omnes passionis ejus mysterio redimantur. Quod vero omnes passionis ejus mysterio non redimuntur, non respicit ad magnitudinem et pretii copiositatem, sed ad infidelium, et ad non cre-

Remigius at once protested against it,¹⁵ and the *synod of Valence* (855) sanctioned, in opposition to it, a twofold predestination as an ecclesiastical dogma.¹⁶ But the two archbishops soon after came to an understanding (859)¹⁷ and Gottschalk's situa-

dentium ea fide, quae per dilectionem operatur, respicit partem: quia poculum humanae salutis, quod confectum est infirmitate nostra, et virtute divina, habet quidem in se, ut omnibus prosit: sed si non bibitur, non medetur.

¹⁵ In the libellus de tenenda immobiliter s. Scripturae veritate, et ss. orthodoxorum Patrum auctoritate fideliter sectanda, in which Remigius, in the name of the Church of Lyons, condemns those four chapters (ap. Mauguin i. ii. 178, Bibl. PP. Lugd. xv. 701).

¹⁶ Conc. Valentinum (ap. Mansi xv. 1 ss.) can. iii.: fidenter fatemur praedestinationem electorum ad vitam, et praedestinationem impiorum ad mortem: in electione tamen salvandorum misericordiam Dei praecedere meritum bonum: in damnatione autem periturorum meritum malum praecedere justum Dei iudicium. Praedestinatione autem Deum ea tantum statuuisse, quae ipse vel gratuita misericordia, vel justo iudicio facturus erat, secundum Scripturam dicentem: "qui fecit quae futura sunt" (Jes. xlv. 11, according to the LXX.): in malis vero (Deum) ipsorum malitiam praescisse, quia ex ipsis est; non praedestinasse, quia ex illo non est. Poenam sane malum meritum eorum sequentem, uti Deum, qui omnia prospicit, praescivisse, et praedestinasse, quia justus est etc. Can. iv.: Item de redemptione sanguinis Christi propter nimium errorem, qui de hac causa exortus est, ita ut quidam, sicut eorum scripta indicant, etiam pro illis impiis, qui a mundi exordio usque ad passionem Domini in sua impietate mortui aeterna damnatione puniti sunt, effusum eum definiant—: illud nobis simpliciter et fideliter tenendum ac docendum placet—, quod pro illis hoc datum pretium teneamus, de quibus ipse Dominus noster dicit: "Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat," etc. (Joh. iii. 14-16) et Apostolus, "Christus," inquit, "semel oblatum est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata" (Hebr. ix. 28). Porro capitula iv. quae a concilio fratrum nostrorum minus prospecte suscepta sunt, propter inutilitatem vel etiam noxietatem et errorem contrarium veritati: sed et alia xix. syllogismis ineptissime conclusa, (namely, the writing of John Scotus), et, licet jactetur, nulla saeculari literatura nitentia, in quibus commentum diaboli potius, quam argumentum aliquod fidei deprehenditur, a pio auditu fidelium penitus explodimus, et ut talia et similia caveantur per omnia auctoritate Spiritus S. interdicimus. Can. v.: Item firmissime tenendum credimus, quod omnis multitudo fidelium ex aqua et Spiritu S. regenerata—et in morte Christi baptizata, in ejus sanguine sit a peccatis suis abluta.—Ex ipsa tamen multitudine fidelium et redemptorum, alios salvari aeterna salute, quia per gratiam Dei in redemptione sua fideliter permanent;—alios, quia noluerunt permanere in salute fidei,—ad plenitudinem salutis et ad perceptionem aeternae beatitudinis nullo modo pervenire.

¹⁷ At the Conc. Tullense apud Saponarias (Mansi xv. 527), at

tion was no better than before, especially as he had provoked Hincmar anew by blaming him for altering one of the church hymns.¹⁸ Gottschalk's defenders were silent, after Hincmar had published several works in justification of his conduct and creed.¹⁹ An appeal of the unfortunate man to Pope Nicolaus I. was without success.²⁰ He at last died during his imprisonment, and under the ban of the church, A. D. 868.²¹

which, according to the *titulis canonum* iii., still extant, the subjects discussed were: *de stabili unione principum Caroli et Lotharii atque Caroli Regum, et x.*; *de capitulis quibusdam in synodo relectis, de quibus inter quosdam Episcopos erat controversia.* In the can. *Valentinus iv.*, the passage levelled at the *capitula Carisiac.*, had been expressed by Remigius and his bishops at the Conc. *Lingonense* held a few days before, and in this form it was presented to Hincmar and his bishops at *Savomieres*. Cf. *Mansi xv.* 525 and 538. *Hincm. poster. diss. de praedest. in praefat.*

¹⁸ *Te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus*, Hincmar wished, as an Arian, to have altered into *Te summa Deitas*. Even Rabanus declared himself in the letters referred to in note 10 against that expression. Gottschalk's little treatise in defence of the expression, is contained in Hincmar's refutation, *de una et non trina Deitate* about 857 (in *Hincm. opp. ed. Sirmond. i.* 413), in which also Ratramnus's defence of the *triuia Deitas* (since lost) is combated.

¹⁹ Since 856. First *de praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio libb. iii.* against Gottschalk and all his defenders, (*Flodoard. hist. Eccl. Rhem. c.* 15) is no longer extant. Then posterior *de praedest. Dei et libero arbitrio diss. contra Gotesc. et caeteros Praedestinatianos* (begun 859, finished before 863), in *opp. ed. Sirmond. i.* 1.

²⁰ *Comp. Hincmari ep. ad Nicolaum i. A. D. 864*, preserved by *Flodoard. iii.* 12-14 (in *ed. Sirm. ii.* 244), and *Hincm. epist. ad Egilonem Archiep. Senonsem A. D. 866* (in *ed. Sirm. ii.* 290, *ap. Mauguin ii. i.* 237).

²¹ Obstinacy and vanity, strengthened by external oppression, may always have produced in Gottschalk such dreams as Hincmar *de non trina Deit. p.* 550 describes: *Scriptis quoque ad Deum loquens, et dicens ei, quod ipse illi praeceperit, ut pro me non oraret, et quia primum filius in eum intraverit, postea Pater, deinde Spiritus S., qui in illum intrans ei circa os barbam adussit.*—*Ante hos annos revelatum sibi quibusdam familiaribus suis scripsit, quod ego statim post tres semisannos suae revelationis, sicut Antichristus usurpans sibi potestatis potentiam, mori, et ipse Remorum Episcopus fieri, et post septennium veneno interfici, et sic gloriae martyrum adequari deberet etc.*—Gottschalk is defended by the reformed (*Üsser, Hottinger, &c.*), the Jansenists (*Corn. Jansenii Augustinus T. i. lib. 8, c. 23, Mauguin etc.*), and also by the Roman Catholic *Morisius*, who was inclined to Augustinian sentiments; on the other hand, he is most violently opposed as a predestinarian by

The subordinate critical dispute respecting the genuineness of the *Hypognosticon* lib. vi.,²² ascribed to Augustine, developed in this controversy, is worthy of notice, so far as it affords a favourable proof of the learned education of the period.

§ 16.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE CARLOVINGIANS.

Charlemagne endeavoured to spread Christianity in like degree with the extension of his dominions. But by this means he made it an object of suspicion and hatred to the neighbouring free states. Thus his wars against *the Saxons*¹ from 772, had for their object both their subjection and conversion. A peace of eight years' duration ensued, on *Wittekinds* and *Alboin's* baptism (785). From that time, the Frieslanders continued loyal to the Frank sovereignty, and faithful in their adherence to Christianity;² but a new rebellion of the Saxons (793) could not be the Jesuits (Sirmond, Petavius, Cellot, and others). Comp. vol. i. Div. 2, § 113, not. 11.

²² After Gotschalk had candidly appealed to them against Rabanus (Hincmar de praed. c. 21, see above, not. 4). John Scotus de praedest. c. 14, § 4, adduced passages from them to prove quod Deus neminem praedestinavit ad poenam. On the other hand, it was asserted by Florus de praedest. contra Jo. Scot. c. 18, (ap. Mauguin i. i. 726), and still more with historical and critical reasons by Prudentius de praedest. contra Jo. Scot. c. 14, (ap. Mauguin i. i. 398), that they were not written by Augustine. It is true that Hincmar in ep. ad Amolonem (ap. Remigius de tribus epistt. c. 34) appealed again to these books, and Pardulus ep. ad Amolonem (l. c. cap. 39) went so far as to endeavour to defend their authenticity; but Remegius (de tribus epistt. c. 35, ap. Mauguin i. ii. 124, and lib. de tenenda s. Scripturae veritate c. 9, l. c. p. 204), proved their spuriousness by so decisive arguments, that Hincmar's defence (posterior de praedest. Dei diss. ed. Sirmond. p. 10 ss.) on the other side, remains quite insignificant. Cf. J. W. Feuerlini disqu. hist. crit. de libris hypognosticon, an ab Hincmaro, in Augustana confessione et alibi recte tribuantur divo Augustino, Altorf. 1735. 4.

¹ Nic. Schaten historia Westphaliae, Neuhusii 1690. fol. p. 417 ss. H. A. Meinders tract. de statu relig. et reipubl. sub Car. M. et Lud. P. in veteri Saxonia. Lemgo 1711. 4. Just. Möser's Osnabrück. Geschichte Th. I. A. F. H. Schaumann's Gesch. d. niedersächsischen Volks bis 1180. Götting. 1839. S. 338.

² St Ludgerus had already preached here, a man descended from a leading Friese family. Now he completed the conversion of the Frieslanders. See vita s. Liudgeri, written by his second successor in the

quieted till 803. The Saxons were invited to embrace Christianity, not in the way of conviction, but of the rudest compulsion;³ and it was therefore natural that heathenism found secret adherents among them for a long time. The principal mission-

see of Münster, Altfried († 849), in the Act. SS. ad 26. Mart. and in Pertz mon. ii. 403.

³ Cf. capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae ap. Baluz. i. 249. Pertz iii. 48. (according to Baluz ii. 1039. A. D. 788. According to Pertz A. D. 785.) with a commentary ap. Meinders l. c. p. 23 ss. ex. gr. cap. iv.: Si quis sanctum quadragesimale jejunium pro despectu christianitatis contemserit, et carnem comederit, morte moriatur. cap. vii.: Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit, et ossa ejus ad cinerem redegerit, capite punietur. cap. viii.: Si quis deinceps in gente Saxonum inter eos latens non baptizatus se abscondere voluerit, et ad baptismum venire contemserit, paganusque permanere voluerit, morte moriatur. Then follow laws against heathen images. c. xvi. and xvii. concerning tithes see § 9. note 1. The remarks of Alcuin on this subject in his letters are very appropriate. Ex. gr. epist. xxviii. (ed. Froben.) ad domnum Regem (A. D. 796): Sed nunc praevideat sapientissima et Deo placabilis Devotio vestra pios populo novo praedicatores, moribus honestos, scientia sacrae fidei edoctos et evangelicis praeceptis imbutos: ss. quoque Apostolorum in praedicatione verbi Dei exemplis intentos, qui lac, i. e. suavia praecepta, suis auditoribus in initio fidei ministrare solebant, dicente Apostolo Paulo: "Et ego, fratres, non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritalibus," etc. [1 Cor. iii. 1. 2.] Hoc enim totius mundi praedicator, Christo in se loquente, significavit, ut nova populorum ad fidem conversio mollioribus praeceptis, quasi infantilis aetas lacte, esset nutrienda: ne per austeriora praecepta fragilis mens evomat, quod bibit.—His ita consideratis, vestra sanctissima Pietas sapienti consilio praevideat, si melius sit, rudibus populis in principio fidei jugum imponere decimarum, ut plena fiat per singulas domus exactio illarum: an Apostoli quoque ab ipso Deo Christo edocti et ad praedicandum mundo missi exactiones decimarum exegissent, vel alicubi demandassent dari, considerandum est. Scimus quia decimatio substantiae nostrae valde bona est. Sed melius est illam amittere, quam fidem perdere. Nos vero in fide catholica nati, nutriti et edocti vix consentimus, substantiam nostram pleniter decimare. Quanto magis tenera fides, et infantilis animus, et avara mens illarum largitati non consentit? Roborata vero fide et confirmata consuetudine christianitatis, tunc quasi viris perfectis fortiora danda sunt praecepta, quae solidata mens religione christiana non abhorreat. Illud quoque maxima considerandum est diligentia, ut ordinate fiat praedicationis officium et baptismi sacramentum: ne nihil prosit sacri ablutio baptismi in corpore, si in anima ratione utenti catholicae fidei agnitio non praecesserit in corde. Ipse Dominus in Evangelio discipulis suis praeci- piens ait: "Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos," etc. (Matth. xxviii. 19. 20.) Hujus vero praecepti ordinem b. Hieronymus in commentario suo—ita exposuit: Primum doceant omnes gentes, deinde

stations which had been established here and there in Saxony, and placed at first under the superintendence of Frank bishops, ⁴

doctas intinguant aqua. Non enim potest fieri, ut corpus baptismi capiat sacramentum, nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem. Epist. xxxi. ad Arnonem (bishop of Salzburg, to whom the conversion of the Avari was entrusted): Idcirco misera Saxonum gens toties baptismi perdidit sacramentum, quia nunquam fidei fundamentum habuit in corde. Sed et hoc sciendum est, quod fides, secundum quod s. Augustinus ait, ex voluntate fit, non ex necessitate. Quomodo potest homo cogi, ut credat, quod non credit? Impelli potest homo ad baptismum, sed non ad fidem etc. Epist. xxxvii. ad Megenfridum: Si tanta instantia suave Christi jugum et onus ejus leve durissimo Saxonum populo praedicaretur, quanta decimarum redditio, vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpulis edicti necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrerent. Sint tandem aliquando doctores fidei apostolicis eruditi, sint praedicatores, non praedatores etc. Epist. lxxii. ad Arnonem: Tu vero—perge in opus Dei,—et esto praedicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor.—Decimae, ut dicitur, Saxonum subverterunt fidem. Quid injungendum est jugum cervicibus idiotarum, quod neque nos, neque fratres nostri sufferre potuerunt?

⁴ Translatio s. Liborii, written about 890, c. 2 (Pertz mon. vi. 150): (Carolus) Ecclesias per omnem regionem illam—sub quanta potuit celeritate construi fecit, atque parochias diligenti ratione suis quasque terminis servandas designans, quia civitates, in quibus more antiquo sedes episcopales constituerentur, illi penitus provinciae deerant, loca tamen ad hoc, quae et naturali quadam excellentia et populi frequentia prae caeteris opportuna videbantur, elegit. Tum vero vix reperiebantur, qui barbarae et semipaganae nationi praesules ordinarentur; cujus interdum ad perfidiam relabentis cohabitatio nulli clericorum tuta videbantur. Quocirca unamquamque praedictarum pontificalium sedium cum sua dioecesi singulis aliarum regni sui Ecclesiarum praesulibus commendavit, qui et ipsi, quotiens sibi vacaret, ad instruedam confirmandamque in sacra religione plebem eo pergerent, et ex clero suo personas probabiles cujuscunque ordinis, cum diverso rerum ecclesiasticarum apparatu, ibidem, mansuros jugiter destinarent; et hoc tamdiu, donec annuente Domino salutaris illic fidei doctrina convalesceret, et ita divini usus ministerii proveheretur, ut proprii quoque in singulis parochiis digna et fiducialiter possent manere pontifices. Vita s. Sturini (written by his pupil Eigil about 800) c. 22. (ap. Pertz. ii. 376): Congregato grandi exercitu, invocato Christi nomine, (Carolus) Saxoniam profectus est, adsumtis universis sacerdotibus, Abbatibus, Presbyteris et omnibus orthodoxis atque fidei cultoribus, ut gentem, quae ab initio mundi daemonum vinculis fuerat obligata, doctrinis sacris mite et suave Christi jugum credendo subire fecissent. Quo cum rex pervenisset, partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partem etiam muneribus, maxima ex parte gentem illam ad fidem Christi convertit; et post non longum tempus totam provinciam illam in parochias episcopales divisit, et servis Domini ad docendum et baptizandum potestatem dedit. Tunc

obtained by degrees bishops of their own, whose dioceses, however, were not very securely fixed till after the peace of *Salz* (804). These Saxon bishoprics, the years of whose foundations have been very differently stated, on account of their gradual origination,⁵ were, for Westphalia, *Osnabrück* (year of foundation variously marked 783, 788, 793, 803);⁶ *Nimigardford*, afterwards *Münster* (791, 801),⁷ for Hungary (?) *Minden* (stated

pars maxima beato Sturm populi et terrae illius ad procurandum committitur.—Quo cum multum temporis praedicando et baptizando cum suis Presbyteris peregisset, et per regiones quasque singulas Ecclesias construxisset: then the Saxons rebelled, and Sturm was obliged to flee. After they were vanquished, Ehresburg was assigned to him and his friends as a place of abode by Charlemagne, but there Sturm died as early as 779.

⁵ Original documents alleged to have been executed by Charlemagne, 1. A deed of foundation of the Bremen Church, A. D. 788 (in Adami Brem. hist. eccl. I. c. 10. Chronik der freien Hansestadt Bremen von Carsten Miesegaes i. 169. J. M. Lappenberg's hamburgisches Urkundenbuch Bd. 1. (Hamburg 1842, 4.) S. 4. 2. A similar foundation-deed of the Church of Verden A. D. 786 (first published by J. J. Maderus after his Adamus Brem. 1670, then ex Verdensis Ecclesiae tabulario by N. Schaten hist. Westph. 505. ap. Lappenberg i. 1). 3. Two titles bestowed on the Osnabrück Church A. D. 804 (from the alleged original in Ferd. de Fürstenberg monumenta Paterbornensia ed ii. Amstelod. 1672, 4. p. 325 ss. also in Schaten p. 607 and p. 612, and in Möser's Osnabrück Gesch. Th. 1. Urkunden S. 3 ff.). 4. Praeceptum pro Trutmanno Comite, by which the right of advocacy for all Saxon bishoprics is made over to it A. D. 789 (Baluzii cap. i. 249). When the older Protestants after Gryphiander's (de Weichbildis Saxonice c. 33.) example even deny that Charlemagne founded the Saxon bishoprics generally; Catholics, on the other hand, such as Fürstenberg, and with especial violence Nie Schaten, undertook to defend the untenable authenticity of those patents. The more impartial of both parties, Papebroch, Car. le Cointe, Mabillon, J. G. Eccard, as also Meinders and Ludewig perceived on the contrary, that they could not be genuine, at least in their present form. See Meinder's tract. de statu religionis et reipubl. sub. Car. M. et Lud. Pio in veteri Saxonica p. 217 ss.

⁶ Möser l. c. Th. 1. 275.

⁷ In the Southerngau (the present province of Münster) a monk Bernard first preached. After his death Charlemagne sent thither the apostle of the Frieslanders Ludger, about 791, who first became bishop 802. (Even in 801 he is still called Presbyter or Abbas. Niesert's Münsterische Urkundensammlung ii. 1). See vita s. Liudgeri (comp. note 2) ap. Pertz ii. 411. comp. (F. M. v. Raet's) Münsterische Geschichte Th. 1. (Göttingen 1788) S. 127, 142. T. König's geschichtl. Nachrichten über das Gymnasium zu Münster (Münster 1821) S. 20 ff. H. A. Erhard's Geschichte Münsters. (Münster 1837) S. 28.

to be 780), and *Paderborn* (usually 795);⁸ for Eastphalia *Verden* (786),⁹ *Bremen* (788),¹⁰ and *Hildesheim* (said to have been established 796 in Elze, and removed under Lewis the Debonaire);¹¹ for North Thuringia *Halberstadt* (said to have been established at Seligenstadt, 781, and soon after removed).¹²

⁸ It was probably this diocese in particular which was assigned to the monastery of Fulda to be converted (see *vita Sturmi* above note 4): In Paderborn, as early as 777, Charles built a church (ann. Petav. and Sangallenses ap. Pertz i. 16. 63). Subsequently (after Pope Leo III. had been with Charles in Paderborn, consequently about 800) this church was assigned to the superintendence of the bishop of Würzburg, and received, about 810, its first bishop Hathumar. See *translatio s. Liborii c. 5*: Hic ex praecepto Principis (Caroli) primus est Patherbrunnensis Ecclesiae ordinatus Episcopus. Post cujus ordinationem paucis annis transactis idem gloriosissimus Princeps ab hac luce migravit. Among other things we find G. T. Bessen's *Gesch. des Bisthums Paderborn* (2 Bde. Paderb. 1820) i. 78.

⁹ The first seat of it was Kuhfeld, not far from Salzwedel. See *Chronography of the Bishops at Verden*. in A. Chr. Wedekind's *Noten zu einigen Geschichtschreibern des deutschen Mittelalters Heft. i.* (Hamb. 1821) S. 92. On the extent of the bishopric see Asmussen in the *Archiv f. Staats- und Kirchengesch. der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg*. Bd. 1. Heft 1. (Kiel 1833) S. 214. P. v. Kobbé's *Gesch. und Landesbeschreibung der Herzogthümer Bremen und Verden* (Göttingen 1824) Th. 2. S. 260. *Pfannkuche ältere Gesch. d. vormal. Bisth. Verden*. Verden 1830.

¹⁰ Willehad, an English Benedictine, first preached among the Frieslanders, afterwards, from 780, among the Saxons in the pagus Wigmodia (the present duchy of Bremen). So early as the succeeding year, Christianity had been generally diffused there externally; but at the rebellion of Wittekind, 782, there succeeded an apostacy as general, and the priests who could not flee were murdered. After Wittekind's baptism, Willehad, in 785, was again sent to Wigmodia, restored the churches and Christianity, and was consecrated first bishop of Bremen 788. See *vita s. Willehadi*, written by his later successor Anschar, best given in Pertz *monum. ii.* 378. *Leben des St. Willehad's u. St. Ansgar's übers. mit Anm. v. Carsten Miesegaes*, Bremen 1826. 8. v. Kobbé *ii.* 58. *Delius in Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclop. xii.* 436.

¹¹ J. B. Lauenstein's *diplomat. Historie des Bisthums Hildesheim* (2 Th. Hildesh. 1740. 4.) Th. 1. S. 199.

¹² *Ann. Quedlinburg. ad ann. 781* (Pertz v. 38): Eodem anno Carolus de Roma reversus in Franciam, terram Saxonum inter Episcopos divisit, et terminos Episcopis constituit: et s. Stephano protomartyri in loco, qui dicitur Seliganstedi monasterium construxit, quod postea in locum translatum est, qui dicitur Halverstede, ubi nunc est sedes episcopalis. Idque ad corrigendum et propagandum Catalaunensi Episcopo Hildegrimo, qui frater erat b. Liudgeri confessoris, commendavit. This

Lewis the Debonaire founded the monasteries of *Corbeia nova* (822, a colony from *Corbeia vetus*)¹³ and *Herford*.

Against the *Slavonians* and *Avari* Charles' wars were as unsuccessful as his attempts to effect their conversion.

The appearance of the banished Jütland prince, *Harald Klak*, at Lewis' court, drew the attention of this emperor to the conversion of the north. Harald was baptized in the year 826 at Ingelheim, and then returned to his native country, attended by *Anschar*.¹⁴ This apostle of the north diffused Christianity chiefly in *North Albingia*; in *Jutland* and *Sweden*, which he visited 829 and 855, he laid a foundation which was still insecure. For the management of these new churches, the recently founded archbishoprick of *Hamburg* was bestowed on *Anschar* 831, which was united with the bishoprick of *Bremen* in 849.¹⁵ *Anschar* died A. D. 865.

Hildegryn was, up to 782, assistant to his brother *Ludgerus*, among the *Frieslanders* (*vita Liudgeri* i. 18. ap. *Pertz* ii. 410), consequently he cannot have been at that time bishop of *Chalons*. The immunities and boundaries of the bishopric of *Halberstadt* were confirmed in a diploma of 814 (ap. *Leukfeld* antt. *Groning*. p. 10). *Hildegryn* continued bishop of *Chalons* till his death, 827, and *Halberstadt* was his benefice in commendam. Hence he is designated by *Thietmar* iv. 45. (*Pertz* v. 787) in the account of his death as *Cathelaunensis Episcopus sanctaeque Halverstadensis Ecclesiae rector primus*.—*Seligenstadt* is not *Osterwyk*. See *Delius* in *Ledeber's Archiv. f. d. Geschichtskunde d. preutz. Staats* Bd. 9. no. 1 and 5. *Niemann's Gesch. Halberstadts* Bd. 1. (*Halberstadt* 1829) S. 19.

¹³ See the contemporaries, a monk of *Corvey*, the author of the hist. translationis s. *Viti* c. 5 ss. (ap. *Pertz* ii. 577), and *Paschasius Radbert* in his *vita Adalhardi* c. 65 (ap. *Pertz* ii. 531). *Wigand's Gesch. v. Corvey* Bd. 1. (*Höxter* 1819). S. 36 ff.

¹⁴ *Vita s. Anskarii* by his pupil *Rimbertus* (*Act. ss. Febr.* i. 559. ed. *Dahlmann* in *Pertz monumenta Germ. historica* ii. 683. translated by *Miesegeaes*. See above note 10). *Moeller hist. Cimbricæ literaria* iii. 8. *Langebeck chronol. aevi Anshar. in script. rer. Dan.* i. 496. *Münter's Kirchengesch. v. Dänem. u. Norweg.* i. 266. *St Anshar von G. Ch. Kruse. Altona* 1823. *F. C. Kraft narratio de Ansgario Aquilonarium gentium Apostolo, Hamb.* 1840. 4. (also in his *Kleinen Schulschriften, neue Folge, Stuttgart* 1843. S. 98). *Dr. G. H. Klippel's Lebensbeschreibung des. Erzb. Ansgar, Bremen* 1845.—It is to be regretted that *Anschar's* diarium is lost, as also all his letters except one. See *Münter's Kirchengesch.* i. 319. *Kruse* S. 227.

¹⁵ *L. Giesebrecht's wendische Geschichte* v. 780. bis 1182. Bd. 1. (*Berlin* 1843) S. 161. *J. Asnussen über den Umfang der Hamburger*

FOURTH CHAPTER.

SPANISH CHURCH.

Eulogii Cordubensis [† 859] opera (Memoriale Sanctorum lib. iii. Apologeticus pro martyribus. Exhortatio ad martyrium. Epistolae) ed. cum scholiis Ambros. Morales. Compluti 1574. also in the bibl. PP. and in A. Schotti Hispan. illustr. iv. 217. best in ss. PP. Toletanorum opera (2 Tomi. Matrili 1782. 85 fol.) ii. 391.—Petri Alvari Cordubensis († 862) opera (Confessio. Epistolae. Indiculus luminosus. Versus) in the España sagrada por Henr. Florez (Madrid 1747—1801. 42. T. 4.) xi. 62. Neander iv. 89. Gfrörer iii. ii. 810. iii. iii. 1590.

§ 17.

The Spanish Christians (Mozarabes)¹ had enjoyed legal religious freedom under their Saracen rulers,² but they had to suffer in various ways from the fanatical hatred of the Moslem, which had been excited chiefly by the wars of the free Spaniards. While many Christians devoted themselves to Arabic literature, endeavoured to attain prosperity in the service of the sovereigns, and avoided every thing which was offensive to the Arabians, though at the same time they were also lukewarm in their Christianity;³ others felt, in consequence of the success with which

Diöcese und Archidiöcese, in Michelsen's u. Asmussen's Archiv f. Gesch. d. Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg. Bd. 1. Heft. 1. (Kiel 1833) S. 109.

¹ Not, as Rodericus, archbishop of Toledo († 1245) in histor. Hispan. iii. c. 22. supposes, Mixtiarabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant, but Arabi Mustaraba (i. e. Ar. insitiui) in opposition to the Arabi Araba, cf. Ed. Pocockii spec. histor. Arabum, Oxon. 1650. p. 39. Herbelot s. v. Arab and Mostarab.

² Comp. Ant. Morales de statu christ. relig. etc. in Schotti Hispan. illustr. iv. 220.

³ Alvari Indiculus luminosus (written 854) c. 9. (ap. Florez xi. 232): Nunc ad teporem nostrorum reflectamus narrationis articulum. Numquid ipsi nostri, qui palatino officio illorum jussis inserviunt, eorum non sunt implicati palam erroribus, eorumque inquinati fulgentes se dicunt esse foetoribus? cum enim palam coram ethnicis orationem non faciunt,

their brethren in the faith fought for the cross and their freedom, that they were called upon to make a decided stand as Christians against their oppressors.⁴ This disposition increased so much under the Ommajad *Abd-er-Rhaman* II. (822—852) that many were filled with a fanatical zeal for the glories of martyrdom (850), in consequence of the execution of a monk.⁵ This conduct again provoked the Saracens to redoubled hatred and new attacks.⁶ In vain did the moderate, and even a *national synod*

signo crucis oscitantes frontem non muniunt, Deum Christum non aperte coram eos, sed fugatis sermonibus proferunt, Verbum Dei et Spiritum, ut illi asserunt (as also the Koran), profitentes, suasque confessiones corde, quasi Deo omnia inspiciente, servant. Quid his omnibus nisi varietatem pardi zelo Dei zelantibus, sibi inesse ostendunt, dum non integre, sed medie Christianismum defendunt? Cap. 35: Quis rogo hodie solers in nostris fidelibus laicis invenitur, qui Scripturis sanctis intentus volumina quorumcumque Doctorum latine conscripta respiciat? —Nonne omnes juvenes Christiani vultu decori, lingua disertis, habitu gestuque conspicui, gentilicia eruditione praeclari, Arabico eloquio sublimati, volumina Chaldaeorum avidissime tractant, intentissime legunt, ardentissime disserunt,—Ecclesiae flumina de paradiso manantia quasi vilissima contemnent? Heu proh dolor linguam suam nesciunt Christiani, et linguam propriam non advertunt Latini, ita ut omni Christi collegio vix inveniatur unus in milleno hominum numero, qui salatorias fratri possit rationabiliter dirigere literas. Et reperitur absque numero multiplex turba, quae erudite chaldaicas verborum explicet pompas.

⁴ Thus, even about the year 780, one Migetius asserted, quod cibus infidelium polluat mentes fidelium, and was accordingly reproved for it by Elipand, archbishop of Toledo (Elipandi epist. ad. Migetium c. 11. ap. Florez iii. 552).

⁵ The first martyr Perfectus (Eulogii memor. ii. c. 1.) was certainly provoked by the Mahometans. Res vero tanti facinoris in sacerdote commissi multos otio securae professionis per deserta montium et nemora solitudinum in Dei contemplatione fruentes ad sponte et publice detestandum et maledicendum sceleratum vatem (Mohammed) exsilire coëgit: majorisque ardoris fomitem moriendi pro justitia cunctis ministravit. Ex. gr. (Eulog. epist. ad Wiliesindum c. 11.): Quidam Presbyterorum, Diaconorum, Monachorum, Virginum et Laicorum repentino zelo divinitatis armati in forum descendentes, hostem fidei repulerunt, detestantes atque maledicentes, nefandum et scelerosum ipsorum vatem Mahomat, et hoc modo contra eum animosum spiritum erigentes, testimonium protulerunt. “Virum hunc, quem vos summa veneratione excolitis,—magum adulterum et mendacem esse cognovimus ejusque credulos aeternae perditionis laqueis mancipandos confitemur” etc. It was natural that omnes gladio vindice intererint.

⁶ Eulogius memor, Sanctorum lib. i. (written 851) c. 21. complains of diruptiones basilicarum, opprobria sacerdotum, et quod lunariter sol-

assembled at Corduba (852),⁷ declare against this longing for martyrdom;⁸ the fanaticism which had for its spokesmen *Eulogius* and *Alvarus* still brought many to death.⁹ Under the succeed-

vimus cum gravi moerore tributum.—nemo nostrum (i. e. sacerdotum) inter eos securus ingreditur, nemo quietus permeat, nemo septum eorum nisi dehonestatus pertransit etc. Adeo ut multi ex eis tactu indumentorum suorum nos indignos dijudicent, propiusque sibimet accedere execerentur. Alvari indiculus luminosus c. 6.: Quotidie opprobriis et mille contumeliarum fascibus obruti, persecutionem nos dicimus non habere. Nam, ut alia taceam, certe dum defunctorum corpora a sacerdotibus vident—humo dando portare; nonne—dicunt: Deus non miserearis illis: et lapidibus sacerdotes Domini impetentes, ignominiosis verbis populum Domini denotantes, spurcitarum fimo christicolos transeuntes paedore infando adspargunt? Sic itidem et cum sacerdotes Dei casu quo quem obviant perviantes, lapides testasque—ante vestigia eorum revolventes, ac impropetioso et infami nomine derogantes, vulgari proverbio et cantico inhonesto sugillant, et fidei signum, opprobrio so elogio decolorant. Sed cum Basilicæ signum, h. e. tinnientis aeris sonitum—audiunt,—Christi Domini gregem non uniformi subsannio, sed milleno contumeliarum infamio maledice impetunt et derident.

⁷ Respecting it see J. S. de Aguirre collect. concill. omn. Hispaniæ (T. iv. Rom. 1693 and 1694 fol.) iii. 149. Ferreras histoire générale d'Espagne ii. 604. Eulogii memoriale SS. ii. c. 14: Of the Metropolitanorum judicio, qui ob eandem causam tunc. e. diversis provinciis a rege fuerant adunati. Their determination: inhibitum esse martyrium, nec licere quiquam deinceps ad palastram professionis discurrere, præmisso pontificali decreto ipsæ literæ nuntiarunt.

⁸ The views of this synod on the subject are given by its bitterest opponent, *Eulogius*, memor. lib. i. c. 18: jubent eos non recipi in catalogo Sanctorum, inusitatum scilicet atque profanum asserentes hujusmodi martyrium. Quippe quos nulla violentia præsidialis fidem suam negare compulit, nec a cultu sanctæ piæque religionis amovit, sed propria se voluntate discrimini offerentes, ob superbiam suam (ita dicunt), quæ initium est omnis peccati, interemti suarum parricidæ effecti sunt animarum. Præceptis etiam Evangelicis eos arguendos esse credunt (Matth. v. 44, Luc. iii. 14, 1 Pet. ii. 23, 1 Cor. vi. 10), p. 247: non debere esse martyres, aut haberi, qui non violenter tracti sunt ad martyrium, sed sponte sua venientes his convitium intulerant, qui eos in nullo molestia affecerint.—Id. in apologetico pro martyrib. (c. 3). They said: Isti tirones et nostrorum temporum confessores ab ictu mucronis celerem antummodo excipientes interitum, nullam furentium acerbissimam perpersi tortorum, non sub diutinum desudarunt stimulum. Præsertim cum ab hominibus Deum colentibus et caelestia jura fatentibus compendiosa morte peremti sint. Unde sat eis est, si præteritorum curationem adepti sunt criminum etc.

⁹ *Eulogius* memor. i. c. 6: Et licet formidolosis facultas collata sit declinandi rabiem persecutionis, non tamen passim hoc observandum

ing prince *Mohammed* (852—886), as long as the fanaticism of the Christians continued,¹⁰ their oppressions also continued ; and

est a perfectis, qui jam praescia Redemptoris potentia denotati et conscripti, quasi ab immensis legionibus ad exercitium proeliorum Dei electi sunt.—secundum Apostolum dissolvi cupiunt et esse cum Christo, viam compendii requirentes, qua de corpore mortis hujus eruti propere ad caelestem patriam pervenirent, et pia violentia regnum Dei arriperent. Sic quoque armati lorica justitiae in forum prosiliunt, praedicantes Evangelium Dei principibus et nationibus mundi.—ideo perfecto odio contra adversarios Ecclesiae insurgentes, arguunt impios de falsidica vatis iniqui doctrina, praestigiis, sacrilegiis ;—detestantur quoque, et maledictionibus auctorem tantae perversitatis impugnant, eundemque coetum talibus inservientem culturis perenni anathemate damnant. c. 20 : Idcirco huic perditio atque spurcissimo vati resistere, virtus mactae coronae est : summumque trophaeum tanti derisoris cultum evertere : adeo ut si illum aetas nostra superstitem haberet, nequaquam ab ejus esset interitu christicolis resiliendum.—Foretque (ut reor) tunc melius poenitudinem unius occisi homunculi gerere, quam tot nationum luere perniciem.—Quoniam quemadmodum sine culpa non est maledicere justos, pios persequi, adversitatem parare electis : ita magni meriti esse credo, subvertere impios, Ecclesiae hostibus contraire, bellum parare incredulis, et framea verbi Dei concidere adversarios fidei etc.—c. 24 : Et idcirco, ut quidam sapientium meminit, inter primas dignitates regnorum caelestium sunt ponendi, qui ad passionem venerunt non quaesiti : et excellentis voti est inter tormenta prosilire, ubi non est criminis latuisse. Against the milder view of Mohammedanism apolog. pro mart. c. 12 : Deum ergo et legem isti vanitatis cultores ullo modo habere credendi sunt, qui evangelicae institutionis per totum orbem vitalia diffusa praecepta non solum non credunt, verum etiam omni zelo perversitatis magnum discrimen ea fatentibus ingerunt, exosum et iniquum putantes, Christum verum Deum et verum hominem credere ? etc. Alvari indiculus luminosus c. 2 : Fugiant debiles et infirmi, certent fortes et animi honestate praecincti. Et certe non eos veritatem supprimere, sed tergum persequentibus ob seminarium Evangelii jussit praebere : fugiant de una civitate in aliam (Matth. x. 23), praedicando quae vera sunt et honesta, non (quod absit) tegendo quae sancta sunt et modesta. c. 10 : Nec tantum illa apostolica tempora praedicationi fidei sunt contradenda, imo quousque omnis gens et lingua Christi Evangelio credant, praedicatio Ecclesiae est per omne saeculum seminanda. Puto, quod in hac Ismaelitica gente nullus hactenus extitit praedicator, per quod debitores fidei tenerentur.—Et evangelizantibus genti justitiam, in qua nullius praedicatio hactenus praebuit viam, insaniae vociferamus esse vecordiam, non complementum evangelizantium praescientiam praesatam !

¹⁰ In the year 864, Samson, presbyter in Corduba, wrote with this view. See apologeticus contra Hostegisum Episc. Malacitanum (ap. Florez iii. 325).

consequently many of the indifferent went over to Islamism.¹¹ Gradually, however, a calmer state of things returned.¹²

FIFTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Particular Sources: 1. Liturgical: *Ordo Romanus de divinis officiis per totius anni circulum* (belonging to the 8th century). *Amalarii Chorepiscopi Metensis de divinis officiis libb. iv. ad Ludov. Imp.* (written 819. 2d ed. after 827) and *de ordine antiphonarii lib. after 827*, comp. Bähr's *Gesch. d. röm. Lit. im. karol. Zeitalter S. 381*. *Rabani Mauri de clericorum institutione et ceremoniis eccl. libb. iii.* (written 819) and *de sacris ordinibus, sacramentis divinis et vestimentis sacerdotalibus*, see above § 10. note 14. *Walafridi Strabonis de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum*, see above § 10. note 16. All collected in: *De divinis cathol.*

¹¹ *Memor. SS. ii. c. 15*: Qui [Mahomad] ingenito quodam odio saepius quaestionem adversus fideles proponens, non illo inferior esse meritis apparuit, cujus nomine insignitus ostenditur. Nam ipso die, quo sceptrum regni adeptus est, Christianos abdicari Palatio jussit, dignitate privavit, honore destituit. *III. c. 2*: Multi autem sua se sponte a Christo divertentes adhaerebant iniquis, sectaque diaboli summo colebant affectu. *C. 3*: [Mahomad] jubet ecclesias nuper structas dirure, et quicquid novo cultu in antiquis basilicis splendebat, fueratque temporibus Arabum rudi formatione adjectum elidere. Eulogius was put to death in 859. See life by his friend Alvarus in *Schotti Hisp. illustr. iv. 223*. *Patres Tolet. ii. 394*.

¹² To Johannes Abb. Gorziensis, who in 959 came to Spain, as legate of the Emperor Otto I., it was said by a bishop of the country (see *vita Johannis § 122*, in the act. *SS. Feb. iii. 713*. *Pertz monum vi. 372*): *Resistere potestati verbo prohibemur Apostoli: tantum hoc unum relictum est solatii, quod in tantae calamitatis malo legibus nos propriis uti non prohibent; qui quos diligentes christianitatis viderint observatores, colunt et amplectuntur, simul ipsorum convictu delectantur, cum Judaeos penitus exhorreant. Pro tempore igitur hoc videmur tenere consilii, ut, quia religionis nulla infertur jactura, caetera eis obsequamur, jussisque eorum in quantum fidem non impediunt, obtemperemus.* The Christians, in the meantime, must have been very accommodating to the Moslems at that time, if what John reproaches them with be true: *ad ritum eorum vos audio circumcisos.*

Eccl. officiis varii vetustorum Patrum ac scriptt. libri. editi per Melch. Hittorpium. Colon. 1568. Paris. 1610 fol.

2. Martyrologies: especially the kalendarium Rom. belonging to the 8th century (in *Jo. Frontonis epistt. et dissert. eccl. ed. J. A. Fabricius. Hamb. 1720. 8.*) The martyrologium Aquilejense (not Romanum, see *H. Valesii diss. at the end of his Eusebius*), which Ado prefixes to his as of great antiquity, and which is at least as old as the beginning of the 9th century. *Wandelberti mon. Prumiensis martyrologium rhythmicum about 850 (erroneously inserted in Bede's works as ephemerides Bedae) best edited in d'Achery spicileg. ii. 39, comp. Bähr S. 114. Adonis Archiep. Vienn. († 875) written about 858 martyrologium (ed. Herib. Rosweydeus appended to Baronii martyrol. Rom. Antverp. 1613 fol.) Comp. Bähr S. 501. In part also the later martyrologies of Usuardus (about 876) and Notker (892—895).*

§ 18.

Though Charlemagne withstood particular tendencies of ecclesiastical superstition,¹ others had taken too deep root to be perceived by him, especially an exaggerated veneration of saints and their relics.² The latter, the legends concerning which became

¹ *Cap. i. ann. 789, c. 76: De pseudographiis et dubiis narrationibus. c. 77. De magonibus et nudis cum ferro. Capit. iii. ann. 789, c. 4: ut nullus in Psalterio vel in Evangelio vel in aliis rebus sortire praesumat, nec divinationes aliquas observare. c. 18: Ut cloacas non baptizent, nec chartas per perticas appendant propter grandinem. Capit. Francof, ann. 794, c. 40: ut nulli novi Sancti colantur, aut invocentur, nec memoriae eorum per vias erigantur; sed ii soli in Ecclesia venerandi sunt, qui ex auctoritate passionum aut vitae merito electi sunt. Comp. his principles concerning images of the saints, § 11, not. 3.*

² *Comp. the controversial writings Christ. Nifanii ostensio hist. theol. quod Car. M. in quamplurimis fidei articulis formaliter non fuerit Papa. Francof. 1670. 8. On the other side, Nic. Schaten Carolus M. Rom. Imp. romano-cathol. libb. iv. explicatus et vindicatus. Neuhus. 1674. 4. In reply to this, Nifanii Car. M. confessor veritatis evangel. Francof. 1679. 8. Other works see in Walchii bibl. theol. ii. 369. Karlomanni capit. i. ann. 742, c. 2. The army must be accompanied by priests, qui propter divinum ministerium, Missarum scilicet solemnia adimplenda, et Sanctorum patrocinia portanda, ad hoc electi sunt, i. e. unum vel duos Episcopos cum capellanis Presbyteris Princeps secum habeat etc. In like manner Caroli M. capit. viii. ann. 803 (see above, § 8, not. 3. Capellani a Capa, see Du Fresne glossar, ad scriptt. med. et inf. Latin. s. v.) cf. Monachus Sangall. de gestis C. M. I. c. 4. Even an Alcuin (homil. de natali s. Willibrordi ed. Froben. ii. 195) says: Te continuis, o pater, prosequimur laudibus, tu nobis assiduis auxiliare pre-*

more and more marvellous,³ were brought chiefly from the East⁴ and from Rome.⁵ As they worked miracles of all kinds,⁶ so were magic powers also ascribed to the mass ;⁷ *private masses*⁸ began,

cibus. Credimus te in praesentia Domini Dei tui omnia posse impetrare, quae poscis ; dum tanta potuisti in praesentia nostra per ejus gratiam efficere miracula etc.

³ Thus Angilbertus Abb. Centulensis, about 801, in a long series of relics of his cloister, speaks (in Mabillon act. SS. ord. s. Bened. saec. iv. i. 114), among other things : De ligno Domini, de veste ejus, de sandaliis ejus, de praesepe ejus, de spongia ejus, de Jordane ubi baptizatus est, de petra ubi sedit, quando quinque millia hominum pavit, de pane unde distribuit discipulis suis, de templo Domini, de candela quae in nativitate ejus accensa est,—de monte Horeb, de lignis trium tabernaculorum. De lacte s. Mariae, de capillis ejus, de veste ejus, de pallio ejus. De barba s. Petri, de sandaliis ejus, de casula ejus, et de mensa ejus. De mensa s. Pauli, de orario ejus, de cippo in quo missus fuit etc.

⁴ Ex. gr. annales Laurissenses ad ann. 799 : Monachus quidam de Hierosolymis veniens, benedictionem et reliquias de sepulchro Domini, quas Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus domino Regi miserat, detulit.

⁵ Gregor. IV. epist. ad Otgar. (in Mabillonii analect. vett. ed. ii. p. 570), confesses that in Rome there remained no bodies of the saints unappropriated.

⁶ Miraculous relics in the monasteries became often a source of annoyance to serious monks. When among the Voges the body of a monk who had died there, called Spinulus, attracted, by the miracles it wrought, too many people, in the monast. Medianum (Moyen Mou-tier), the abbot Hildulf († 707) spoke seriously to the saint on this account (vita Hildulfi in the historia Mediani in monte Vosago monasterii, Argentor. 1724. 4. p. 62) : Si hac populorum confluentia pressi fuerimus, non parum a proposito declinabimus : licet enim Domino cooperante subsidia nostro conferantur loco, tamen animarum timemus pericula. Unde concurrentium comprime turbas etc. Tunc ergo videres spiritum carne solutum et vita potitum obedire mortali :—nam signis cessantibus frequentia quoque desivit. Cf. Mabillon acta SS. ord. Ben saec. iii. P. i. Praef. p. 87 s. The expression of Autpertus Abbas monast. s. Vincentii ad Vulturum in Benevento, in the biography of his three predecessors, is also worthy of notice († 778), ap. Mabillon l. c. p. 430 : Et quidem narrantur de eis quaedam digna miraculis, sed nostrum ad hoc tantum fuit studium incitatum, ut quibus modis saeculum ac diabolus vicerint apicibus prosequamur.—Et quia multi videntur miraculorum esse participes, sed nullatenus nomina habent scripta in caelis : nequaquam hoc in tempore virtutes in Ecclesia, sed perfectam vitam requirimus.

⁷ Lulli epist. ad Presbyteros in Thuringia (in Bonifacii epist. ed. Serar. ep. 62. Würdtw. ep. 107) : Admonemus Vos, ut rogetis omnes, —ut in communi misericordiam Domini deprecentur, quatenus ab imminente pluviarum flagello liberemur, i. e. ut unam hebdomadam absti-

and in consequence of this measure altars were multiplied in the churches.⁹ To the festivals¹⁰ were added that of the *Birth of the*

neant se ab omni carne, et ab omni potu, in quo mel sit: secunda feria, iv. feria et vi. feria jejumetis usque ad vesperum: et unusquisque servorum Dei et sanctimonialium L. psalmos cantet omni die in illa septimana, et illas Missas, quae pro tempestatibus fieri soleant, celebrare Vos, Presbyteri, recordamini. Missimus Vobis nomina domini Romani Episcopi, pro quo unusquisque Vestrum xxx. Missas cantet et illos psalmos, et jejunium juxta constitutionem nostram. Similiter pro duobus laicis nomine Megenfrith et Hraban x. Missas unusquisque Vestrum cantet.

⁸ Walafridus Strabo de reb. eccles. c. 22: per totam Missam pro eis quam maxime et quasi nominatim oratur, qui ibi offerunt atque communicant. Possumus autem et debemus—dicere, caeteros in fide et in devotione offerentium et communicantium persistentes ejusdem oblationis et communionis dici et esse participes. Quamvis autem, cum soli sacerdotes Missas celebrant, intelligi possit, illos ejusdem actionis esse co-operatores, pro quibus tunc ipsa celebrantur officia, et quorum personam in quibusdam responsionibus sacerdos exequitur: tamen fatendum est, illam esse legitimam Missam, cui intersunt sacerdotes, respondens, offerens atque communicans, sicut ipsa compositio precum evidenti ratione demonstrat. Even Pseudoisidore directs (Anacleti P. epist. i. c. 2, in Gratiani decreto P. iii. dist. ii. c. 10): Peracta consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et Apostoli statuerunt, et s. Romana tenet Ecclesia. Cf. J. F. Buddeus de origine Missae pontificiae in his miscellaneis sacr. i. 1. Karl d. G. und seine Bischöfe, die Synode von Mainz i. J. 813 (in the Tübinger kath. theol. Quartalschrift, 1824, iii. 416). Some priests went so far as to begin to read mass without any one being present, but this was forbidden, Conc. Mogunt. ann. 813, c. 43. (Mansi xiv. 74.) Conc. Paris. ann. 829, c. 48 (l. c. p. 567): Irrepsit in plerisque locis, partim incuria, partim avaritia, reprehensibilis usus,—eo quod nonnulli Presbyterorum sine ministris Missarum solemnia frequentent.—Unde—interrogandus nobis videtur hujusmodi corporis et sanguinis Domini solitarius consecrator, quibus dicit: Dominus vobiscum, et a quo illi respondetur: Et cum spiritu tuo: vel pro quibus supplicando Domino inter caetera: Memento, Domine, et omnium circumstantium, cum nullus circumstet, dicit.

⁹ Capitulare in Theodonis villa ann. 805 promulgatum i. c. 6. (Baluz. i. 422. Pertz iii. 132): De altaribus, ut non superflua sint in Ecclesiis.

¹⁰ Capitularium lib. i. c. 158: Hae sunt festivitates in anno, quae per omnia venerari debeant. Natalis Domini, s. Stephani, s. Johannis Evangelistae, Innocentium, Octabas Domini, Epiphania, Octabas Epiphaniae, Purificatio s. Mariae, Pascha dies octo, Letania major, Ascensio Domini, Pentecosten, s. Johannis Bapt., s. Petri et Pauli, s. Martini, s. Andreae. De adsumptione s. Mariae interrogandum relinquimus. Conc. Mogunt. ann. 813, can. 36 (Mansi xiv. 73): Festos dies in anno celebrare sancimus. Hoc est diem dominicum Paschae cum omni

Virgin on the 8th September;¹¹ *the Festival of Mary's ascension* on the 15th August;¹² and the feast of *All Saints* on the

honore et sobrietate venerari, simili modo totam hebdomadem illam observari decrevimus. Diem Ascensionis Domini pleniter celebrare. Item Pentecosten similiter ut in Pascha. In natali App. Petri et Pauli diem unum, nativitatem s. Joannis Baptistae, assumptionem s. Mariae, dedicationem s. Michaelis, natalem s. Remigii, s. Martini s. Andrae. In natali Domini dies quatuor, octavas Domini, epiphaniam Domini, purificationem s. Mariae. Et illas festivitates martyrum vel confessorum observare decrevimus, quorum in unaquaque parochia sancta corpora requiescunt. Similiter etiam dedicationem templi.

¹¹ Celebrated in the Greek Church as early as the seventh century (see Andreae Cretenſis homil. ii. in Gallandii bibl. PP. xiii. 93), at Rome in the eighth century (kalendar. Frontonis ed. Fabric. p. 226), and under Charles the Bald, adopted also in the Gallican Church. See Augusti's Denkwürdigk. iii. 102.

¹² Very early there were conjectures respecting the end of Mary. At first it was supposed from Luke ii. 35, that she suffered martyrdom. In opposition to this Origenes hom. xvii. in Lucam: Nulla docet historia, b. Virginem gladii occisione migrasse: praesertim cum non anima sed corpus ferro soleat interfici. In like manner Ambros. comm. in Luc. 2. Isidorus Hisp. de vita et obitu SS. Bedae comm. in Luc. 2. The fable introduced by Epiphanius haer. lxxviii. § 11: ζητήσωσι τὰ ἴχνη τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ εὕρωσιν ἂν οὔτε θάνατον Μαρίας, οὔτε εἰ τέθηκεν, οὔτε εἰ μὴ τέθηκεν· οὔτε εἰ τέθαπται, οὔτε εἰ μὴ τέθαπται.—ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἐσιώπησεν ἡ γραφή, διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ θαύματος· ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἐκπληξιν ἀγάγη τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.—τάχα γάρ που καὶ ἴχνη εὕρομεν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκείνης καὶ μακαρίας, ὡς οὔτε εὐρεῖν ἐστι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς. πῆ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Συμεὼν φάσκει περὶ αὐτῆς· “καὶ σοῦ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία” (Luc. ii. 35)—πῆ δὲ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου φασκούσης, ὅτι καὶ ἔσπενδεν ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν γεννήσασαν τὸν ἄρρενα, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτῇ πτέρυγες ἀετοῦ, καὶ ἐλήφθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὅπως ἂν μὴ λάβῃ αὐτὴν ὁ δράκων (Apoc. xii. 13, 14). Τάχα δὲ δύναται ἐπ' αὐτῇ πληροῦσθαι οὐ πάντως δὲ ὀρίζομαι τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὅτι ἀθάνατος ἔμεινεν· ἀλλ' οὔτε διαβεβαιούμαι εἰ τέθηκεν. ὑπερέβαλε γὰρ ἡ γραφή τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ εἴασε κ. τ. λ. (Similarly Hilarius can. 20, and Ambrosius de Cain et Abel i. c. 2. respecting the death of Moses). The use of ambiguous expressions (ex. gr. Euseb. de vit. Const. iv. c. 64. Βασιλεὺς—πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἀνελαμβάνετο. Gregor. Tur. de gloria confess. c. 99: anniversarius assumptionis s. Aviti dies) contributed probably to the existence of such a fable. It is first found in apocryphal books, in Joannis Ap. εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης (according to Thilo, belonging to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century), Melitonis Ep. Sard. de transitu Virginis Mariae (cf. Thilo acta s. Thomae Apost. Lips. 1823, in the notitia uberior novae Cod. Apocr. editionis p. xvi. ss.) The Roman bishop Gelasius (about 495) declares however in his decretum de libris sacris et apocryphis: librum, qui appellatur transitus s. Mariae, apocryphum, but Gregorius Turon. de glor. Mart. i. c. 4, unhesitatingly adopts the fabulous

tradition: Impleto a b. Mariae, hujus vitae cursu cum jam vocaretur a saeculo, congregati sunt omnes Apostoli de singulis regionibus ad domum ejus. Cumque audissent, quia esset adsumenda de mundo, vigilabant cum ea simul: et ecce Dominus Jesus advenit cum angelis suis, et accipiens animam ejus tradidit Michaeli angelo et recessit. Diluculo autem levaverunt Apostoli cum lectulo corpus ejus, posueruntque illud in monumento, et custodiebant ipsum, adventum Domini praestolantes. Et ecce iterum adstitit eis Dominus, susceptumque corpus sanctum in nube deferri jussit in Paradisum: ubi nunc resumta anima cum electis ejus exultans aeternitatis bonis nullo occasuris sine perfruitur. In the Greek Church it is true that even Andreas Cretensis (about 650) hom. in dormitionem Mariae (ap. Galland xiii. 147) hints at the fable; but it is found complete for the first time in Jo. Damasceni *λόγοι γ' εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς—Θεοτόκου* and in Nicephori Callisti hist. eccl. ii. c. 21 ss. et xv. c. 14. According to Niceph. Call. xvii. c. 28. the emperor Maurice commanded the celebration of the *κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου* on the 15th August. So also in the Kalendar. Rom. of the eighth century, ed Fronto-Fabricsius. p. 221: Die xv. mens. Aug. sollemnia de pausatione s. Mariae. The Frank Church, on the other hand, celebrated it on the 18th January (Mabillon liturg. Gallican. p. 118 ss. 211 ss.) In the eighth century they did not go beyond the pausatio or dormitio, Beda de locis sanctis, an extract from the account of the travels of a Frank bishop, Arculf, who had been in Palestine shortly before 700, c. 7: In the valley of Josaphat was a church of Mary, and in it an altar, ad eius dexteram monumentum vacuum, in quo s. Maria aliquamdiu pausasse dicitur, sed a quo vel quando sit ablata, nescitur. Introduction of the festum assumptionis into the Frank Church, see note 10. Anastasius in vita C. Paschalis:—fecit—vestem de chrysoclavo, habentem historiam, qualiter b. Dei Genetrix Maria corpore est assumpta. vita cv. Leonis iv.: octavam Assumptionis b. Dei Genetricis diem, quae minime Romae antea colebatur, celebrari praecepit. Hincmar carmen ad b. Virg. Mariam in A. Maji classicorum auctorum v. 455:—

Quae caro sancta Dei non est corrupta sepulchro,
Nec tua, qua corpus sumpserat ipse Deus.
Cum quo stella maris resides in culmine caeli,
Concelebrata piis laudibus angelicis.

Wandelberti martyrolog. ad. 18. kal. Sept. :—

Octava et decima mundi lux flosque Maria
Angelico comitata choro petit aethera Virgo.

Superstitious writings contributed to recommend the festival. Thus the sermo b. Hieronymi de ipsius Dominae assumptione, which a monk of Corbey affirmed to be spurious, but Hincmar defended (Flodoardi hist. eccl. Remensis lib. iii. c. 5. Mabil. ann. Bened. T. iii. lib. 35. no. 100). There were also a lib. and a sermo. de assumpt. b. Mariae falsely attributed to Augustine (in the old edition serm. de Sanctis 34 and 35, in the Benedictine edition, T. v. ap. sermo. 208, and T. vi. app. p. 249). However, Hunfried, bishop of Terouanne, A. D. 862, still needed a miracle for introducing this festival into his diocese. See annal. Bertin. ad ann. 862. Notker balbulus in Martyrologio (Canisii lectt. ant ed. Bas-

1st November.¹³ The circumstance that the French, after *Dio-*

nage ii. iii. 167) defends the account of Gregor. Tur., but adds: De quibus quia doctissimi tractatores videntur inter se dissidere, non est meum in tam brevi opusculo definire: hoc tamen certissime cum universali Ecclesia et credimus et confitemur, quia si reverendissimum illud corpus, ex quo Deus est incarnatus, adhuc alicubi in terra celatur, revelatio utique ipsius ad destructionem Antichristi reservatur. But still we find about 1004 Atto Vercellensis in assumptionem b. Mariae (in A. Maji vett. scriptt. nova collectio vi. ii. 39): Corporis vero ejus jam factam resurrectionem affirmare minime audemus, quia nec a ss. Patribus hoc declaratum esse cognoscimus. Denique in valle Josaphat ejus sepulturae manet locus, ubi tamen ejus non reperitur corpus. Sed qui de ea ineffabiliter carnem eduxit, ipse quid de ejus sit corpore novit. Tamen sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, super choros angelorum in caelis exaltatam confitemur.

¹³ In the Greek Church the Sunday after Whitsuntide is called ἡ κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων (Heineccius Abbild. der griech. Kirche iii. 183) as early as the time of Chrysostom (cf. his ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας ed. Montf. ii. 711. Leo Allad. de hebdom. et domin. Graec. c. 31.) In the Latin Church erroneously derived from Boniface IV. cf. Paulus Diac. hist. Longob. lib. iv. c. 37: (Focas) Papa Bonifacio petente jussit in veteri fano, quod Pantheon vocabant, ablatis idololatriae sordibus Ecclesiam beatae semper Virginis Mariae et omnium Martyrum fieri, ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum sed daemonum cultus erat ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria Sanctorum. In like manner Anastas. vit. lxxviii. Bonif. iv. This church was called s. Mariae ad Martyres (Anastas. vit. lxxvii. Vitaliani and vit. lxxxii. Benedicti ii.), the festival of its dedication on the 13th May. Comp. the Martyrol. Aquilejense ap. Ado belonging to the beginning of the ninth century: iii. id. Maj. s. Mariae ad Martyres dedicationis dies agitur a Bonifacio Papa statutus. So also the kalend. Rom. of the eighth century, ed. Fronto-Fabricius, p. 198. Besides this festival the Martyrol. Aquil. of Ado mentions ad Kal. Nov. Festivitas Sanctorum, quae celebris et generalis agitur Romae, which is wanting in Fronto's calendar. (See Frontonis nota in ed. Fabric. p. 233). Consequently, 1. The festival oo. ss. is different from the dedic. Mariae ad Martt. 2. It was celebrated in Rome as early as the eighth century, and in addition to the dedic. Mariae ad Martt. Probably the celebration of it is connected with the oratorium in honorem omnium Sanctorum (see Anastasius in vita Greg. iii.) erected by Gregory III. Ado is the first to confound the two festivals. Adonis martyrol. ad. iii. idus Maj.: Natalis s. Mariae ad Martyres. Phoca Imperatore b. Bonifacius Papa in veteri fano quod Pantheon vocabatur,—ecclesiam beatae semper virginis Mariae et omnium Martyrum dedicavit. Cujus dedicationis sacratissima dies agitur Romae iii. idus Maji. Id. ad. kal. Nov. Festivitas SS. omnium. Petente namque P. Bonifacio jussit Phocas Imp. in veteri fano, quod Pantheon vocabatur,—ecclesiam b. semperque virg. Mariae et omnium Martyrum fieri, ut ubi quondam omnium non Deorum sed daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret me-

nysius the Arcopagite had become known to them in the writings attributed to him,¹⁴ confounded him with their own Dionysius,¹⁵

memoria Sanctorum: quae ab illo tempore kal. Nov. in urbe Roma celebris et generalis agitur. Sed et in Galliis, monente s. recordationis Gregorio Pontifici, piissimus Ludovicus Imp. omnibus regni et imperii sui Episcopis consentientibus, statuit, ut sollemniter festivitas oo. SS. in praedicta die annuatim perpetuo ageretur. As the dedicatio s. Mar. ad Martt. was not observed in other countries, Usuardus in martyrol. explained the matter thus: Kal. Novemb. Festivitas b. Dei genetricis et omnium Martyrum, quam Bonifacius Papa celebrem et generalem instituit agi omnibus annis in urbe Roma. Sed et Gregorius Pontifex postmodum decrevit, eandem in honore omnium Sanctorum sollemniter observari ab omni Ecclesia. Ptolomaeus Luc. hist. eccl. ix. c. 6. (Murat scriptt. rer. Ital. xi. 921) and Durandus (rationale divin. offic. lib. vii. c. 34); that Boniface had fixed the festum b. Mariae ad Martyres for the iv. [iii.] idus Maji, but that Gregory IV. transferred it to the Kal. Nov. and converted the festival into a fest. omnium SS. This opinion, though frequently repeated, is manifestly erroneous.

¹⁴ As soon as the Franks heard of the writings of Dionysius they were eager after them, because they immediately called to their thoughts the patron saint of the country. Pauli P. ep. ad Pipinum (cod. Car. no. 65. ap. Mansi xii. 612) in Embolo: Direximus etiam Praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus, i. e.—Dionysii Ariopagiti libros etc. (Neander Denkwürdigkeiten iii. ii. 54. even supposes a trace of the Pseudodionys. in Columbanus.) Pope Hadrian I. presented these writings to Fulradus, abbot of St Denys (Mabillon ann. Bened. lib. xxxi. c. 42.) King Michael sent them, 827, to Lewis the Debonaire. See rescriptum Hilduini ad Ludov. [in the Areopagiticis] § 4. Caeterum de notitia librorum ejus, quos patrio sermone conscripsit,—lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, cujus dispensatione interpretatos scrinia nostra petentibus reserant, satisfacit. Authenticos autem eosdem libros Graeca lingua conscriptos, quando Oeconomus Ecclesiae Constantinop. et caeteri missi Michaelis, legatione publica ad vestram gloriam Compendio functi sunt, in ipsa vigilia solennitatis s. Dionysii pro munere magno suscepimus. Hence Michael did not send them in a Latin translation, as Mabillon ann. Bened. lib. xxix. c. 59. and the hist. liter. de la France T. v. p. 425. represent. John Scotus translated them anew at the instance of Charles the Bald, about 859 (comp. his two dedications addressed to Charles, and Anastasii bibl. ep. ad Carol. in Jac. Usserii vett. epistolarum Hibernic. sylloge, Dublini 1632. p. 58. and Nicolai P. i. ep. ad Car. Calv. in Bulaei hist. univ. Paris. i. 184), and wrote expositions of them (see Ang. Maji classicorum auctorum v. p. xlvi.), comp. Bähr röm. Lit. im karol. Zeitalter S. 486.

¹⁵ First in the (written under Charlemagne) gestis Dagoberti c. 3. (ap. Bouquet ii. 580), that Dionysius Episc. Parisiensis temporibus Domitiani was martyred: and Synod. Paris. A. D. 824 (ap. Mansi xiv. 466), that he a. s. Clemente in Gallias eum duodenario numero primus

praedicator directus et—martyrio coronatus est. Hincmar relates (823) that he had read something of the same kind in the *actis s. Sancini* (Hincmari epist. ad Carol. in the *Areopagiticis* and in *Mabillonii vett. analect. ed. ii. p. 212.*) The two *Dionysii* were completely confounded in the *Actis Dionysii*, which were first printed in the *act. SS. mens. Octob. iv. 792*, and are older than *Hilduin* (see *act. SS. l. c. p. 790. no. 17 ss. p. 701. no. 23 ss.*) The fable indeed was completed and made more general by *Hilduin's vita et passio Dionysii etc.* This *Hilduin* was abbot of *St Denys*, and the work was written by order of *Lewis the Debonaire 834.* (*Areopagitica ed. Matth. Galenus, Colon. 1563. 8.* and contained in *Surii vitis SS. ad ix. Oct. : Epist. Ludov. P. ad Hilduinum—Rescriptum Hild. ad Lud. Imp.—Ep. Hild. ad cunctos s. cath. matris Ecclesiae filios et fideles—Passio Dionysii—Revelatio facta s. P. Stephano—Ep. Hincmari Rhem. ad Carol. Imp. de Dion. Ar.—Ep. Anastasii bibl. ad Carol. Imp. contra falsas quorundam opiniones, asserentium b. Dionys. Parisiorum Episc. non esse Areopagitam.*) That *Hilduin* was not a lying impostor originating the fable, as is maintained by *J. Launoi* *judicium de Areopagiticis, Paris. 1641. 8.* and is frequently asserted, may be seen from *act. SS. mens. Oct. iv. 696.* The fable was doubted for a long time on account of *Gregor. Tur. hist. Fr. i. 28.* (See *vol. i. Div. i. § 57. not. 2.*), and because the martyrologies, as also *Usuardus, Ado, Notker* (other instances in *Launoi* *discussio respensionis de duobus Dionys. Paris. 1642. 8. cap. 19.*), distinguished two *Dionysii*, the *Areopagita* on the 3d October, and the *Parisiensis* on the 9th October. *John Scotus epist. ad Car. Imp.* (see note 14) says: *Fertur praefatus Dionysius (Areopagita) fuisse discipulus atque adjutor Pauli Apostoli,—cujus Lucas commemorat in Act. Apost. et Dionysius Corinth. etc. Hunc eundem quoque non praefati viri, sed alii moderni temporis asserunt—temporibus P. Clementis—Romam venisse, et ab eo—in partes Galliarum directum fuisse etc.* For the purpose of overthrowing these doubts the Roman abbot *Anastasius*, about 875, translated a Greek *vita Dionysii*, in which the same fable appears. Cf. *Anastasio ep. ad Carol. Imp. in Areopagiticis: Passionem s. hieromartyris Dionysii quondam Areopagitae—latino eloquio tradidi,—etsi non ex toto verbum e verbo, sensum tamen penitus hauriens. Cesset ergo jam quorundam opinio, perhibentium, non esse Areopagitam Dionysium eum, qui prope Parisium corpore ac virtutibus redolet, cum hoc et Graecorum quoque stylus—testetur et praedicet. Hujus autem textum b. Methodius, qui a sede apostolica Constantinopolin Presbyter missus, ejusdem urbis tenuit pontificium,—edidit, pauca de multis praecedentibus scriptis excerpens.* This *Methodius* (from 842 patriarch of Constantinople) had formerly been deputy of the patriarch *Nicephorus* in Rome, and was always in close connection with Rome. It is therefore beyond a doubt that he drew the materials for his *vita Dionysii* from Western sources, perhaps, as *Sirmond* and *Launoi* think, from *Hilduini Areopagiticis*. Since this time the fable obtained general belief, till in the 17th century *Sirmond*, and especially *Launoi*, detected the groundlessness of it. See the numerous controversial writings on the subject in *Fabricii salutaris lux Evang. p. 386.* and *Walchii bibl. theolog. iii. 195.*

helped to obtain acceptance for the Dionysian mysticism. About the same time the free Spaniards discovered their apostle *James the elder* in the person afterwards called Compostella,¹⁶ and found in him a powerful ally against the Saracens.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Particular Sources: Besides the capitularies of the French kings, and the decrees of synods and individual bishops: Halitgarii ep. Cameracensis († 831) opus de vitiis et virtutibus, remediis peccatorum, et ordine vel judiciis poenitentiae, libb. vi. (in Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage, T. ii. P. ii. p. 87.)

§ 19.

By the laws concerning penance, which had long ago become milder, it was now established, that only *public* sins should be visited with public penance, and that too by bishops in synodi-

¹⁶ Even Isidore Hispal. de ortu ac obitu Patrum c. 71. (opp. ed. Arevalo v. 183.) says, that this apostle preached the gospel to the Spaniards. Respecting the finding of his body the oldest source is the historia Compostellana of Munno, bishop of Montognedo, written in the beginning of the 12th century, published in Florez España sagrada xx. 8. an extract in the act. SS. mens. Jul. vi. 16. The discovery belongs therefore to the time of Adefonsi Casti (Alfonso el Casto v. 791-842) and Charlemagne. It is put sometimes in the year 798, sometimes 808, sometimes 816 (so Baronius ad h. a. no. 48-52), sometimes still later. Ado, however (about 858), has in his martyrolog. ad viii. kal. Aug. merely: Natalis b. Jacobi Zebedaei Apostoli. On the other hand Usuardus (about 876) adds: Hujus b. Apostoli sacratissima ossa ab Hierosolymis ad Hispanias translata, et in ultimis earum finibus condita, celeberrima illarum gentium veneratione excoluntur. The battle of Clavijo said to have been won by his miraculous assistance, 849 [first narrated by Rodericus rer. Hisp. lib. iv. c. 13], is doubted even by Spanish historians. See act. SS. Jul. vi. 37.

cal judicatures;¹ while *private* offences were confessed to the priests, who immediately granted absolution under the condition of a time of penance to be expected afterwards,² without, however, holding confession to be an indispensable condition of the forgiveness of sins.³ The substitution of other so-called pene-

¹ See above § 8. not. 26.

² S. Bonifacii statuta (A. D. 745, first in d'Achery spicil. i. 507, ap. Mansi xii. 386.) c. 31. and thence extracted in capitularium lib. vi. c. 206. where the corrupted text must be corrected after that source: Quia varia necessitate praepedimur, Canonum statuta de reconciliandis poenitentibus pleniter observare, propterea omnino non dimittatur. Curret unusquisque Presbyter [an addition in the capit. : jussione Episcopi de occultis tantum, quia de manifestis Episcopos semper convenit judicare], statim post acceptam confessionem poenitentium, singulos data oratione reconciliari. Capitula Rodulfi Archiep. Bituricensis (in Baluzii miscell. vi. 139. Mansi xiv. 962) c. 44: Quorum peccata in publico sunt, in publico debet esse poenitentia per tempora, quae Episcopi arbitrio poenitentibus secundum differentiam peccatorum decernuntur. Quorum autem peccata occulta sunt, et spontanea confessione soli tantummodo Presbytero ab eis fuerint revelata, horum occulta debet esse poenitentia secundum Presbyteri judicium, cui confessi sunt, ne infirmi in Ecclesia scandalizentur videntes eorum poenas, quorum penitus ignorant causas. The procedure at confession is described by Alcuinus de divinis officiis (de div. off. libri, ed. M. Hittorp. Colon. 1568. fol. p. 51.) How much rarer public penance had become is shewn by the decrees of the three councils A. D. 813, Arelat. c. 26, Rhem. c. 31, Cabillon. c. 25, Jonas Episc. Aurelian. († 843) de institutione laicorum lib. i. c. 10. (d'Achery spicileg. i. 258), Rhaban. de instit. cleric. c. 30. cf. J. Morinus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae, Paris. 1651. fol. R. v. Raumer's Einwirkung des Christenth. auf die althochdeutsche Sprache, Stuttgart 1845. S. 254.

³ Theodulfi Episc. Aurelian. capitulare ann. 797 ad parochiae suae sacerdotes c. 30. (Mansi xiii. p. 1001): Omni etenim die Deo in oratione nostra, aut semel, aut bis, aut quanto amplius possumus, confiteri debemus peccata nostra. Quia confessio, quam sacerdotibus facimus, hoc nobis adminiculum affert, quia accepto ab eis salutari consilio, saluberrimis poenitentiae observationibus, sive mutuis orationibus peccatorum maculas diluimus. Confessio vero, quam soli Deo facimus, in hoc juvat, quia quanto nos memores sumus peccatorum nostrorum, tanto horum Deus obliviscitur: et e contrario, quanto nos horum obliviscimur, tanto Dominus reminiscitur. Conc. Cabilon. ann. 813. can. 33: Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere dicunt peccata, quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent: quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit Ecclesiam. Ita dumtaxat et Deo, qui remissor est peccatorum, confiteamur peccata nostra, et cum David dicamus: "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci," etc. (Ps. xxxii. 5.) Et secundum institutionem Apostoli confiteamur alterutrum peccata nostra, et

tential works for the penitential time, the conditions for doing which acts had already found their way into the *libri poenitentiales*,⁴ was still considered an abuse.⁵ As excommunication be-

oremus pro invicem, ut salvemur (Jac. v. 16.) Confessio itaque, quae Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea vero, quae sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor, plerumque hanc praebet suae potentiae invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione.

⁴ Particularly in England, first in Theodori Cantuar. lib. poenit. (see vol. i. div. 2. § 133. not. 11. Then similar insertions are found in the lib. poen, Romanus, as well as in the shorter edition, which Halitgar. Camerac. appended to his books de poenitentia (ap. Canissius-Basnage ii. ii. 134), as well as in the more copious edition (ibid. p. 122. and 129).

⁵ Conc. Cloveshov. ann. 747 (under Cuthbert, the second successor of Theodore in the see of Canterbury) can. 26. (ap. Mansi xii. 403): Postremo igitur (sicuti nova adinventio, juxta placitum scilicet propriae voluntatis suae, nunc plurimis periculosa consuetudo est) non sit elemosyna porrecta ad minuendam vel ad mutandam satisfactionem per jejunium et reliqua expiationis opera, a sacerdote Dei pro suis criminibus jure canonico indictam, sed magis ad augmentandam emendationem suam, ut eo citius placetur divinae indignationis ira. Bonum est omnino psalmodiae insistere, bonum est genua saepius veraci flectere intentione, bonum est elemosynas quotidie dare: sed pro his non est abstinentia remittenda, non est jejunium impositum semel juxta Ecclesiae regulam, sine qua non remittuntur ulla peccata, relaxandum. Can. 27: Non eis eo licentius—peccare,—vel jejunium pro peccatis indictum relaxare, vel elemosynas minus largire, ullo modo licet, quo pro ipsis alios psalmos cantare putant, vel jejunare. Nuper quidam dives secundum hoc saeculum, petens reconciliationem pro magno quodam facinore suo citius sibi dari, affirmans in suis literis idem nefas juxta multorum promissa in tantum esse expiatum, ut si deinceps vivere possit, trecentorum annorum pro eo plene jejunium, satisfactionum modis per aliorum scilicet psalmodiam, et jejunium, et elemosynas, persolutum esset, excepto illius jejunio, et quamvis ipse utcumque vel parum jejunaret. Ergo si ita placari per alios potest divina justitia, cur divites—difficilius voce veritatis regnum intrare caelorum—dicuntur? etc. Conc. Cabilonense ann. 813 can. 36. against those, qui ex industria peccantes propter elemosynarum largitionem quandam sibi promittunt impunitatem. Can. 38: Modus autem poenitentiae peccata sua confitentibus aut per antiquorum canonum institutionem, aut per s. Scripturarum auctoritatem, aut per ecclesiasticam consuetudinem—imponi debet, repudiatis ac penitus eliminatis libellis quos poenitentiales vocant, quorum sunt certi errores, incerti auctores. Qui dum pro peccatis gravibus leves quosdam et inusitatos imponunt poenitentiae modos, consuunt pulvillos secundum propheticum sermonem, sub omni cubito manus, et faciunt cervicalia sub capite universae aetatis ad capiendas animas, Ezech. 13. 18. (repeated in Conc. Mogunt, ann. 847.

came less frequent, in consequence of this arrangement in the system of penance,⁶ it had become more fearful by the civil forfeitures which were connected with it,⁷ and by the distinction which began to be made in the ninth century between *excommunication* and *anathema*.⁸ Besides, in all mat-

c. 31. and in the Capitulis Rodulfi Archiepisc. Bituricensis c. 33. ap. Mansi xiv. 958; similarly Conc. Paris. ann. 829. lib. i. c. 32). Can. 45: Nam et a quibusdam, qui Romam Turonumve, et alia quaedam loca sub prae-textu orationis inconsulte peragrant, plurimum erratur. Sunt Presbyteri et Diacones et caeteri in clero constituti, qui negligenter viventes, in eo purgari se a peccatis putant, et ministerio suo fungi debere, si praefata loca attingant. Sunt nihilominus laici, qui putant se impune peccare aut peccasse, quia haec loca oraturi frequentant, — non attendentes quod ait b. Hieronymus: Non Hierosolimam vidisse sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est. Qui vero peccata sua sacerdotibus, in quorum sunt parochiis, confessi sunt, et ab his agenda poenitentiae consilium acceperunt, si orationibus insistendo, eleemosynas largiendo, vitam emendando, mores componendo, Apostolorum limina, vel quorumlibet Sanctorum invisere desiderant, horum est devotio modis omnibus collaudanda.

⁶ Caroli M. capit. iii. anni 803, and thence extracted in capitul. lib. i. c. 136. lib. vi. c. 217: Ut excommunicationes passim (for which capit lib. vi. subito) et sine causa non fiant.

⁷ Cf. § 8. not. 25.

⁸ The germs of such a distinction in Augustin. hom. 50. de poenitentia: prohibitio (a communione) mortalis and medicinalis. Syn. Rom. v. sub Symmacho A.D. 504 (Mansi viii. 298): si vero monachus aut laicus fuerit, communione privetur, et si non emendaverit vitium, anathemate feriatur. Cf. du Pin de ant. eccl. discipl. p. 261 ss. Synodus Regiaticina A.D. 850 can. 12: Hoc autem omnibus Christianis intimandum est, quia hi, qui sacri altaris communione privati, et pro suis sceleribus reverendis adytis exclusi publicae poenitentiae subjugati sunt, nullo militiae saecularis ut concilio, nullamque reipublicae debent administrare dignitatem. Qui vero administratione Episcopi seu sacerdotum perpetrato palam scelere poenitentiae remedium suscipere noluerint, magis abjiciendi sunt, anathematizandi scilicet, tamquam putrida ac desperata membra ab universalis Ecclesiae corpore dissecandi, cujusmodi jam inter Christianos nulla legum, nulla morum, nulla collegii participatio est, quibus neque in ipso exitu communicatur, et quorum neque post mortem saltem inter defunctos fideles commemoratio fit. Sed si ad hoc irrevocabile iudicium obdurati cordus contemptus trahit, non sine magna tamen examinatione veniendum est, et omnia sacerdoti prius experienda, nec absque metropolitani cogitatione, et provincialium Episcoporum communi iudicio quemlibet anathematizandum esse permittimus. Comp. Arsenii Episc. (legate of Nicol. I.) ep. gener. ad omnes Episc. (ap. Mansi xv. 326). Planck's Gesch. d. kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung. iii. 507.

ters of this kind the highest appeal was to the diocesan bishop.⁹

⁹ Ahytonis Episc. Basiliensis capitulare (about 820) c. 18. (Mansi xiv. 396) : Nullus ordinatus sive ordinandus migret de sua parochia ad aliam nec ad limina Apostolorum causa orationis, Ecclesiae suae cura derelicta, nec ad palatium causa interpellandi, nec a communione suspensus ab alio communionem recipiendi, sine permissione et praesentia Episcopi sui : quod si fecerit, nihil valet hujusmodi communicatio, aut ordinatio, aut demigratio. Et hoc omnibus fidelibus denuntiandum, ut qui causa orationis ad limina Apostolorum pergere cupiunt, domi confiteantur peccata sua et sic proficiscantur : quia a proprio Episcopo aut sacerdote ligandi aut exsolvendi sunt, non ab extraneo.

SECOND DIVISION.

FROM NICOLAUS I. TO GREGORY VII.

A. D. 858—1073.

MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES.

1. Byzantines: Georg. Cedrenus and Joh. Zonaras (see preface of Division I.)
2. Latins: *Annales Fuldenses* and *Bertiniani* (see pref. to Div. I. Part II.) Regino, abbot of Prüm († 915), *Chronicon* from the birth of Christ till 907, important from 870, with continuation till 967, best edited in *Pertzii monum. i. 537*. Flodoardus, canon and keeper of the archives in Rheims, afterwards abbot of a neighbouring monastery († 966), *hist. Ecclesiae Remensis libb. iv. till 948 ed. J. Sirmond. Paris 611. 8. G. Colvenerius. Duaci 1617. 8. Bibl. pp. Lugd. xvii. 500. Annales from 919—966. ap. Pertz v. 363. Comp. Bähr's Rom. Liter. in karol. Zeitalter. S. 274. 188.*—Luitprandus, bishop of Cremona († 972) wrote the history of his time from 893 to 964: *Antapodosis libb. vi. and de rebus gestis Ottonis M. best ap. Pertz. v. 264*. The credibility of this source which is often underestimated by those who follow Muratori, is vindicated by Martini in the *Denkschr. d. K. Akad. zu München für 1809 and 10. Hist. Class. S. 3 ff. R. A. Koepke de vita et scriptis Liudprandi. Berol. 1842. 8.*—Richerus, monk in the monastery of St. Remigius in Rheims, a friend of Gerbert's wrote about 995 *historiarum libb. iv. from 888 till 995, especially important from 969 and onward, ap. Pertz. v. 561. Richer historie de son temps par Guadet T. i. Paris 1845. 8. (Latin and French with introduction and commentary)*—Thietmarus, bishop of Merseburg († 1018) *chronicon, embracing the period of the Saxon emperors, first ed. complete in Leibnitii scriptt. Brunsvecens, T. i., then ed. J. A. Wagner, Norimb. 1807. 4. in German by M. Ursinus, Dresd. 17 0. 8. and J. M. Lappenberg in Pertz monum. v. 723.*—Comp. M. Th. Contzen, *die Geschichtschreiber d. sächs. Kaiserzeit nach ihrem Leben u. ihren Schriften Regensburgh 1837. 8.*—Hermannus Contractus, monk in Reichenau († 1054), *chronicon from the birth of Christ till 1054, important for chronology, especially from 1045, an important source of history (ap. Pertz vii. 67), continued by Bertholdus, Hermann's disciple, and likewise monk of Reichenau, till 1080 (ap. Pertz vii. 264): both abbreviated and continued till 1100 by Bernoldus, Bernaldus, or Bernardus, monk in St Blascia (ap. Pertz. vii. 385). Hermann and his continuator were first edited complete by P. Aem. Ussermann in the monumenta res Alemannicas illustrantia. 2. Tomi. Typis San-Blasianis 1790 and 1792. 4to. Comp. Docen in the Archive. für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde iii. 1. Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fränkischen Kaisern, ii. 99.*—Marianus Scotus, monk, last in Mentz († 1082), *chron. from the creation of the world to the year*

1082, continued by Dodechinu till 1200 in Pistorii rerum Germ. scriptor. T. i. (Mar. Scoti lib. iii. from 1.—1082 ed. G. Waitz ap. Pertz vii. 841). —Lambertus, monk in Hersfeld, usually but incorrectly styled Schafnaburgensis, annales, fullest from 1040—1077. ap. Pistorius T. i., then ed. J. C. Krause. Hal. 1797. 8. in German by F. B. Buchholz, Frankf. a. M. 1819. 8. ed. Hesse ap. Pertz vii. 134. Comp. Stenzel ii. 101. Locherer, in the Giessener Jahrbuchern f. Theol. und christliche Philosophie 1834. ii. 3.—Sigebertus, monk in Gemblours († 1113), chronicon, continuation of Jerome from 381—1112. ap. Pistorius T. i. ed. L. C. Bethmann ap. Pertz viii. 268. cf. S. Hirsch, comm. de. Sigeb. Gembl. vita et scriptis. Berol. 1841. 8.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

FIRST CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY.

§ 20.

PSEUDOISIDORIAN DECRETALS AND CONSTANTINE'S DEEDS OF GIFT.

Dav. Blondelli Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes. Genev. 1628. 4. C. Blasci comm. de collect. cann. Isid. Merc. in Gallandii sylloge. ed. Magont. ii. 1. (Spittler's) Gesch. des canon. Rechts bis auf die Zeiten des falschen Isidorus. Halle 1778. S. 220 ff. (in Spittler's Werken, herausgeg. v. Wächter Bd. i.) Planck's Gesch. d. christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. ii. 800 ff. F. Walter's Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, vierte Aufl. (Bonn. 1829). S. 135 ff. Möhler's Fragmente aus und über Pseudo-Isidor, in his Schriften u. Aufsätzen, herausgegeben v. Döllinger (Regensburg 1839. 2 Bde.) i. 283. F. H. Knust de fontibus et consilio pseudoisidorianae collectionis. Götting. 1832. 4.

About the middle of the ninth century appeared gradually an Isidorian collection,¹ enlarged with many false decretals,

¹ The preface begins: Isidorus Mercator servus Christi lectori conseruo suo et parenti in Domino fidei salutem. The Merlin editor omits Merca-

whose object generally tended to counteract the oppression and the disorder of the clergy² as well as ecclesiastical irregularities generally, which were the consequences of political divisions and disturbances under the successors of Charlemagne.³

tor, some Codd. have, partly as a gloss, Peccator (as, for example, Rabanus calls himself before some of his letters Rabanus peccator. See Kunstmann's Rab. Maurus S. 215, 219). See Ballerini de ant. collection. canonum (prefixed to T. iii. opp. Leonis, and in Gallandii syll.) P. iii. c. 6, no. 18. Blascus l. c. cap. 6, p. 35. The Pseudo-isidorian collection has undergone many additions, omissions, and alterations, and appears therefore perfectly pure in few codices. So also not even in the only complete edition where it is found undivided: J. Merlini tom. prin. iv. concilior. generall. xvii. conc. provinc. decrett. lxxix. Pontificum ab Apostolis usque ad Zachariam I. Isidoro autore, Paris. 1523. fol. (reprinted Colon. 1530. fol. Paris. 1535. 8). Inquiries respecting its original form see in Ballerini l. c. P. iii. c. 5-8. Spittler l. c. S. 221 ff. Comp. the description of five Pseudo-isidorian MSS., especially a Cod. Vatican, written about 868 in France, in the notices et extraits vi. 265. A critical edition, such as Coustant designed in the second part of his epistt. Pontiff., is still wanting. It consisted of three parts: I. 61 epistolae decretales of the popes of the first three centuries, from Clement to Melchiades (two from Clement to James were before forged, but newly interpolated, 59 Pseudoisidoriana). II. Canons of councils, chiefly from the genuine Isidorian collection. III. Epist. decrett. from Sylvester till Gregory the great, of which 35 Pseudoisid., the others mostly from the Isidorian collection. Many regulations were fabricated after the accounts of the liber pontificalis. These, which were intended only to give credibility to the imposture, must therefore be left out of the question in determining the object of the imposture. Blascus l. c. cap. 15. How rich this period generally was in such forgeries may be seen in Spittler l. c. S. 243 and 252.

² The contents and sources in general are pointed out ap. Knust p. 22; the sources of individual documents are indicated *ibid.* p. 33.

³ Comp. § 7, not. 24. Agobardus de privilegio et jure sacerdotii c. 1: *pressurae, odia et despectio Ecclesiarum atque Clericorum nunc infervescere coeperunt saeculis inaudito et inusitato modo. Idem de dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum c. 15: Nunc in quibusdam locis nullus ordo hominum, sive sint liberi, sive servi, de habitatione sua tam infidus est, ut sacerdotes: utpote qui nullo modo securi esse possint, nec scire, quot diebus Ecclesiam vel habitaculum suum eis habere sit licitum. Nunc non solum possessiones ecclesiasticae, sed ipsae etiam Ecclesiae cum possessionibus venundantur.* Thus the synod at Thionville 844 complained to the other assembled kings (Pertz iii. 380, Baluz. cap. ii. 7) c. 1: *constat hanc sanctam Ecclesiam,—praedecessorum vestrorum multo labore redintegratam ac adunatam atque gubernatam, vestra discordia esse discissam et perturbatam atque afflictam. c. 2: monemus ut sedes, quae vestra discordia—sine Episcopis viduatae manent, submota funditus peste simoniacae haereseos—aut Episcopos—a vobis re-*

These decretals consisted of admonitions, instructions, and regulations, compiled for the most part from existing ecclesiastical literature. But they are of historical importance, only in consequence of the new principles of ecclesiastical law by which, developing a tendency that had arisen already in the Church amid the weakness and disunion of worldly power (see § 7, note 25 ff.) they were meant to make the Church independent of the state, and to give it a self-dependent centre of protection in the Romish see. Exaltation of the episcopal dignity;⁴ numerous definitions for the purpose of securing the clergy, and in particular, the bishops against attacks;⁵ limitation of the metropolitans,⁶ who were

gulariter designatos—accipiant, aut quae suis Episcopis quacunque occasione privatae sunt, canonice eos—recipiant. c. 5: On the restoration of the monasteries bestowed on laymen. In like manner the Concil. in Verno palatio 844. (Pertz iii. 383. Baluz. ii. 13). The Synod of Mainz 847 to Lewis the German (Mansi xiv. 901): Proh dolor, his temporibus nec loca sancta venerantur, neque ministri Dei condigne honorantur: sed versa vice illi, qui honorari debuerunt, flagellantur, spoliantur, atque diversis calumniis franguntur. Comp. Möhler i. 321. Such a condition is also presupposed and indicated in the Pseudoisidorianis. See Möhler i. 294. Ex. gr. Pii i. ep. ii.: Ad sedem apostolicam perlatum est, quod—praedia divinis usibus tradita quidam humanis applicant usibus, et Domino Deo, cui tradita sunt, ea subtrahunt, ut suis usibus inserviant. Zephyrini ep. ii.: Nuntiatum est sedi apostolicae per apocrisarios vestros, quosdam fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum videlicet, ab ecclesiis et sedibus propriis pelli, suaque eis auferri suppellectilia, et sic nudos et exspoliatos ad judicia vocari.

⁴ Ex. gr. Urbani P. (A.D. 222) ep. unic.: Ideo ista praetulimus, carissimi, ut intelligatis potestatem Episcoporum vestrorum, in eisque Dominum veneremini, et eos ut animas vestras diligatis, et quibus illi non communicant, non communicetis, et quos ejecerint non recipiatis. Valde enim timenda est sententia Episcopi, licet injuste liget aliquem, quod tamen summopere providere debet. Pontiani P. (A.D. 230) ep. 1: De illis enim dictum est, “qui vos contristabit, me contristabit, et qui vobis facit injuriam, recipiet id, quod inique gessit;” et alibi: “Qui vos audit, me audit, et qui vos spernit, me spernit. Qui autem me spernit, spernit eum, qui me misit.” Hi enim non sunt infestandi, sed honorandi. In eis quoque Dominus honoratur, cujus legatione funguntur. Hi ergo si forte ceciderint, a fidelibus sunt sublevandi et portandi. Accusandi autem non sunt ab infamibus, aut sceleratis, vel inimicis, aut alterius sectae hominibus vel religionis. Si peccaverint, a reliquis arguantur sacerdotibus, sed et a summis pontificibus constringantur, et non a saecularibus aut malae vitae hominibus arguantur vel arceantur.

⁵ Here belong the many declamations against robbing clergymen, and the new principles respecting accusations brought against them,

often very much independent of the civil power; elevation of the

the last derived in part from the Roman law, cf. Blascus cap. 8, p. 54 ss. Walter S. 151 ss. Ex. gr. Pii P. ep. i. [ann. 147]: Oves pastorem suum non reprehendant, plebs vero Episcopum non accuset, nec vulgus eum arguat, quum non est discipulus super magistrum, neque servus supra dominum. Episcopi autem a Deo sunt iudicandi, qui eos sibi oculos elegit, nam a subditis aut pravae vitae hominibus non sunt arguendi vel accusandi aut lacerandi, ipso domino exemplum dante qui per se ipsum, et non per alium vendentes sacerdotes, et ementes eiecit de templo etc. Eleutherii P. ep. De accusationibus Clericorum,—quia omnes eorum accusationes difficile est ad sedem apostolicam deferre, definitiva Episcoporum tantum iudicia huc deferantur, ut hujus s. sedis auctoritate finiantur. Nec in eorum Ecclesiis alii aut praeponantur aut ordinentur, antequam hic eorum iuste terminentur negotia. Quoniam quamvis liceat apud Provinciales et Metropolitanos atque Primate eorum ventilare accusationes vel criminationes, non tamen licet diffinire secus quam praedictum est. Reliquorum vero Clericorum causas apud Provinciales et Metropolitanos ac Primate et ventilare et iuste finire licet. Eusebii P. ep. ii.: In scripturis vestris reperimus, quosdam Episcopos vestris in partibus a propriis ovibus accusatos, aliquos videlicet ex suspitione, et aliquos ex certa ratione: et idcirco quosdam esse rebus suis exspoliatos, quosdam vero a propria sede pulsos. Quos sciat nec ad synodum—posse vocari, nec in aliquo iudicari, antequam cuncta, quae eis sublata sunt, legibus, potestati eorum redintegrentur. Prius ergo oportet omnia illis legibus redintegrari, et ecclesias, quae eis sublatae sunt, cum omni privilegio sibi restitui, et postmodum non sub angusti temporis spatio, sed tantum temporis spatium eis indulgeatur, quantum exspoliati vel expulsi esse videntur, antequam ad synodum convocentur, et ab omnibus quibusque suae provinciae Episcopis audiantur. Nam nec convocari ad causam, nec dijudicari potest exspoliatus vel expulsus, quia non est privilegium, quo exspoliari possit jam nudatus. Zephyrini P. ep. i. (A.D. 208): Patriarchae vero vel Primate accusatum discutientes Episcopum, non ante sententiam proferant definitivam, quam apostolica fulti auctoritate, aut reum seipsum confiteatur, aut per innocentes et regulariter examinatos convincatur testes. Qui minori non sint numero, quam illi discipuli fuerunt, quos Dominus ad adjumentum Apostolorum eligere praecepit, i. e. septuaginta duo. (Even earlier it appears that this number of bishops was called to the condemnation of a bishop, either with reference to the 70 disciples, or to the great Jewish Sanhedrim. So Macedonius was deposed by 72 bishops, chron. Pasch. ad ann. 360; so Chronopius by 70, cod. Theod. xi. 36, 20, cf. Gothofred. ad h. l. So also the constitutio Sylvestri (cap. iii. ap. Mansi ii. 623), which had been previously inserted, demands: non damnabitur praesul nisi in septuaginta duobus; but even Alcuinus ep. 92, ad Arnorem A.D. 800, interprets this sentence, non minus LXXII. testibus Pontificem accusandum esse. In like manner, too, Leo IV., about 850, see above, § 7, note 28. Since this regulation was carried out into practice in none of the two forms before Pseudoisidore in the west, we cannot suppose a change of the custom; but the later acceptance of it

primates to be the first instruments of the popes;⁷ and in particular, an enlargement of the privileges of the Roman see;⁸ these

is merely a consequence of the ambiguity of the expression in the constit. Sylvestri.) Accusatores autem eorum omni careant suspicione, quia columnas suas Dominus firmiter stare voluit, non a quibuslibet agitari. Duodecim enim iudices quilibet Episcopus accusatus, si necesse fuerit, eligat (so the Conc. Carthag. i. A.D. 348, can. 11, determines that a deacon shall be judged by three, a presbyter by six bishops: si Episcopus, a XII. consacerdotibus audiatur, i. e. a successor of the apostles by the apostolic number. Also Leo IV. requires 12 bishops as judges, or 72 witnesses. See above, § 7, not. 28), a quibus ejus causa juste iudicetur: nec prius audiatur, aut excommunicetur, vel iudicetur, quam ipsi per se eligantur, et regulariter vocato ad suorum primo conventum Episcoporum, per eos ejus causa juste audiatur et rationabiliter discernatur. Finis vero ejus causae ad sedem apostolicam deferatur, ut ibidem terminetur. Nec antea finiatur, sicut ab Apostolis vel successoribus eorum olim statutum est, quam ejus auctoritate fulciatur.

⁶ Against these and provincial synods the objection in Sixti ii. ep. ii. is valid: fratres, quos timore terreno injuste damnastis, scitote a nobis juste esse restitutos.

⁷ Aniceti P. ep. (in part ap. Gratian. ii. ix, iii. 6): Nulli Archiepiscopi Primates vocentur, nisi illi, qui primas tenent civitates, quarum Episcopus, Apostoli et successores Apostolorum regulariter Patriarchas et Primates esse constituerunt, nisi aliqua gens deinceps ad fidem convertatur, cui necesse sit propter multitudinem eorum Primatem constitui. Reliqui vero, qui alias metropolitanas sedes adepti sunt, non Primates sed Metropolitanos nominentur. Si autem aliquis Metropolitanorum inflatus fuerit, et sine omnium comprovincialium praesentia vel consilio Episcoporum, aut eorum aut alias causas, nisi eas tantum, quae ad propriam suam parochiam pertinent, agere aut eos gravare voluerit: ab omnibus districte corrigatur, ne talia deinceps praesumere audeat. Si vero incorrigibilis, eisque inobediens apparuerit, ad hanc apostolicam sedem, cui omnia Episcoporum judicia terminare praecepta sunt, ejus contumacia referatur, ut vindicta de eo fiat, et caeteri timorem habeant. Si autem propter nimiam longinquitatem, aut temporis incommoditatem, vel itineris asperitatem grave ad hanc sedem ejus causam deferre fuerit, tunc ad ejus Primatem causa deferatur, et penes ipsum hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate iudicetur. Comp. Stephani P. ep. ii., where it is added besides: si prohiberi non potuerunt accusationes Episcoporum, ad memoratos Primates debent ab accusatoribus deferri. Comp. Blascus cap. 12, p. 99 ss., and cap. 13, p. 111 ss., the just remark that the object of this provision was to exalt the archbishop of Mainz. In fact a distinction began to be made already between primates and metropolitans (de Marca de primatu Lugdunensi c. 23 ss. in his dissertatt. appended to de concord. Sac. et Imp. ed. Boehmer p. 23); but this did not prevent the rights taken from the metropolitans eventually falling into the net of Rome.

⁸ For Sixti i. ep. ii.: Ab hac enim sancta sede a sanctis Apostolis

form the chief ecclesiastical and legal contents of the *Pseudoi-*

tueri, defendi et liberari Episcopi jussi sunt. On the Pseudoisidorian papal system see Planck ii. 815. Knust p. 30. Designation of the pope as universalis Ecclesiae Episcopus in Sixti i. ep. ii., Victoris ep. i., Stephani ep. ii., Pontiani ep. ii. Vigili ep. ad Profuturum (where cap. 6 and 7 are pseudoisidorian) c. 7. (partly ap. Grat. ii. ii. vi. 12) : Nulli vel tenuiter sentienti vel pleniter sapienti dubium est, quod Ecclesia Romana fundamentum et forma sit Ecclesiarum (τύποι τοῦ ποιμνίου 1. Petr. 5. 3. Vulg. forma gregis), a qua omnes Ecclesias principium sumsisse nemo recte credentium ignorat, cum licet omnium Apostolorum par esset electio, beato tamen Petro concessum est, ut caeteris praemineret, unde et Cephas vocatur, quia caput est et primus omnium Apostolorum. Et quod in capite praecessit, in membris sequi necesse est. Quamobrem s. Romana Ecclesia ejus merito Domini voce consecrata, et ss. Patrum auctoritate roborata primatum tenet omnium Ecclesiarum, ad quam tam summa Episcoporum negotia et judicia atque querelae, quam et majores Ecclesiarum quaestiones, quasi ad caput, semper referenda sunt. Nam et qui se scit aliis esse praepositum, non moleste ferat aliquem esse sibi praelatum : ipsa namque Ecclesia, quae prima est, ita reliquis Ecclesiis vices suas credidit largiendas, ut in partem sint vocatae sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis (this remarkable expression borrowed from Leonis M. ep. xii. ad Anastas. Thessal. : Vices enim nostras ita tuae credimus Caritati, ut in partem sis vocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis, namely, as papal vicar in Illyria, cf. de Marca conc. Sac. et Imp. lib. v. c. 26. § 5 ss. Gibert corp. jur. can. Tom. i. Proleg. p. 261. Sect. 3).—Anacleti i. ep. iii. : Haec vero apostolica sedes cardo et caput omnium Ecclesiarum a Domino, et non ab alio est constituta. Et sicut cardine ostium regitur sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes Ecclesiae Domino disponente reguntur. Besides, the expression borrowed from Cyprian is singularly remarkable (see vol. i. div. i. § 68. note 10). Anacleti i. ep. ii. (Gratian. i. xxi. 2) : In novo testamento post Christum Dominum a Petro sacerdotalis coepit ordo : quia ipsi primo pontificatus in Ecclesia Christi datus est (Math. xvi. 18). Hic ergo ligandi atque solvendi potestatem primus accepit a Domino. Caeteri vero Apostoli cum eodem pari consortio honorem et potestatem acceperunt, ipsumque principem eorum esse voluerunt. New papal rights : 1. regarding the power of making laws : Damasi ep. v. (Grat. ii. xxv. i. 12.) : Omnia decretalia et cunctorum decessorum nostrorum constituta, quae de ecclesiasticis ordinibus et canonum promulgata sunt disciplinis ; ita a vobis et ab omnibus Episcopis ac cunctis generaliter sacerdotibus custodiri debere mandamus, ut, si quis in illa commiserit, veniam sibi deinceps noverit denegari. This passage is from Leonis i. ep. iv. c. 5, but is there addressed to the bishops of the Roman patriarchal jurisdiction, here to the Numidian bishops, and, accordingly, contains here an obligation devolving on all bishops, which the forger has made still more remarkable by this circumstance, that he changed Leo's more modest formula, a vestra dilectione, for the other a vobis—sacerdotibus.) 2. Regarding ecclesiastical judicature : Julii ep. i. (Grat. ii. iii. vi. 9) : Dudum a ss. Apostolis, suc-

sidoriana. They must have been written between 829⁹ and 845¹⁰

cessoribusque eorum in antiquis decretum fuerat statutis, quae hactenus s. et universalis apostolica tenet Ecclesia, non oportere praeter sententiam Romani Pontificis concilia celebrari, nec Episcopum damnari, quoniam s. Romanam Ecclesiam primatem omnium Ecclesiarum esse voluerunt, et sicut b. Petrus Ap. primus fuit omnium Apostolorum, ita et haec Ecclesia suo nomine consecrata (Domino instituyente) prima et caput sit caeterarum, et ad eam, quasi ad matrem atque apicem, omnes majores Ecclesiae causae et judicia Episcoporum recurrant et juxta ejus sententiam terminum sumant: nec extra Romanum quicquam ex his debere decerni Pontificem. Zephyrini ep. I. (Grat. ii. ii. vi. 8.): Ad Romanam Ecclesiam ab omnibus, maxime tamen ab oppressis, appellandum est et concurrendum quasi ad matrem, ut ejus uberibus nutrian- tur, auctoritate defendantur, et a suis oppressionibus releventur; quia nec potest nec debet mater oblivisci filium suum. Cf. Damasi ep. iv.: Discutere namque Episcoporum et summorum ecclesiasticorum negotiorum causas Metropolitanos una cum omnibus suis comprovincialibus, ita ut nemo ex eis desit et omnes in singulorum concordent negotiis, licet; sed definire eorum atque ecclesiasticarum summas querelas causarum, vel damnare Episcopos absque hujus s. sedis auctoritate minime licet, quam omnes appellare, si necesse fuerit, et ejus fulciri auxilio oportet. Nam, ut nostis, synodum sine ejus auctoritate fieri, non est catholicum etc. Julii ep. ii. (Gratian. i. xvii. 2): Nec ullum [concilium] ratum est aut erit unquam quod non fultum fuerit ejus [Romanae Ecclesiae] auctoritate. How the way had been gradually prepared for the doctrine: praeter sententiam Rom. Pont. non oportere Episcopum damnari, since the time of Gregory IV., may be seen above, § 7. not. 28. de Marca lib. vii. c. 21. The position: non oportere praeter sententiam Romani Pontificis concilia celebrari, is borrowed from the historia tripartita, &c. (see vol. i. div. 2. § 94. note 28), there, perhaps, meant only of general councils, but was also never in force in respect to provincial and diocesan synods. 3. Relating to the ecclesiastical administration Calixti ep. ii. (Grat. ii. vii. i. 39): Si utilitatis causa fuerit mutandus [Episcopus], non per se hoc agat, sed fratribus invitantibus, et auctoritate hujus sanctae sedis faciat, non ambitus causa, sed utilitatis et necessitatis. However, the Pseudoisidore does not continue here to observe uniformity of sentiment. See Anteri ep.: Sicut Episcopi habent potestatem ordinare regulariter Episcopos et reliquos sacerdotes, sic quoties utilitas aut necessitas coegerit, supradicto modo et mutare et inthronizare potestatem habent. Gratian, who adopts this passage causa vii. qu. i. c. 34, has for the first time appended to it the words: non tamen sine sacrosanctae Romanae sedis auctoritate et licentia.

⁹ For passages of the synod of Paris of 829 are inserted in the letters of Urban I. and John III. Blascus, however, l. c. p. 39 ss. is of another opinion.

¹⁰ Because in this year Benedictus Lev. began to compile his collection of capitularies (comp. the pref. to § 7), in which Pseudoisidoriana first appear in great numbers, but without being quoted by name as if they were taken from capitularies. Comp. Bened. praef. (ap. Baluz. i.

in Eastern France;¹¹ and were first published, in a pretended Isidorian collection which Archbishop *Riculf* (786–814) is said to have brought from Spain, at Mainz, in the time of Archbishop *Autcarius* (826–847).¹² They were soon circulated in various collec-

803): Haec vero capitula, quae in subsequentibus tribus libellis coadunare studuimus, in diversis locis et in diversis schedulis, sicut in diversis synodis ac placitis generalibus edita erant, sparsim invenimus, et maxime in s. Magontiacensis metropolis ecclesiae scrinio a Riculfo ejusdem s. sedis Metropolitano (from 786–814) recondita, et demum ab Autcario secundo ejus successore atque consanguineo inventa reperimus.

¹¹ So Blondellus, Ballerini, Spittler, Planck. On the other hand, their origin is put in the time of Charlemagne by Natalis Alexander, Baluzius, Petrus de Marca, Mabillon, and Blascus l. c. cap. 6.—Febronius de statu Eccles. T. i. p. 643. supposes that they were composed in Rome soon after 744; Theiner de Pseudo-Isidoriana canonum collectione diss. Vratislav. 1827. 8. p. 71. 79., that they were written between 774 and 785 in Rome at the instigation of the popes; Eichhorn Grundsätze des Kirchenrechts i. 158, that they appeared in Rome in the 8th century, and were subsequently foisted into the Isidorian collection, in the Frank empire.

¹² Hence Hincmar. adv. Hincm. Laud. c. 24. designates it as liber collectarum epistolarum ab Isidoro, quem de Hispania allatum Riculfus, Moguntinus Episcopus,—obtinuit, et istas regiones ex illo repleti fecit. Hincmar, however, was wrong in this, that Riculf had already circulated it, for, according to Benedictus Levita (note 10), it was in s. Magontiacensis ecclesiae scrinio a Riculfo recondita, et demum ab Autcario inventa. Probably Riculf had received the genuine Spanish collection from Spain; for it is this which his suffragan bishop Rachio, bishop of Strasburgh, caused to be copied in the year 787. This genuine collection was afterwards transformed into the pseudoisidorian, which was then put forward, pretending to be the other. Benedictus Levita has frequently been looked upon as the forger, who certainly was the first that made use of the false decretals in his collection of capitularies, and gave them more extended circulation. But, in any case, Autcarius must have been privy to it. It is probable, indeed, that he was the proper author, and that he employed Benedict solely as an instrument. As an instrument for the propagation of them, he was the more useful, the less he suspected the forgery. Petr. de Marca (de conc. Sac et Imp. lib. iii. c. 5.) and Blascus (l. c. cap. 6) regard Riculf as the forger, but incorrectly.

¹³ Rabanus Maurus, however, does not mix any Pseudoisidoriana in his liber poenitentiarum between 841 and 847. See Ballerini de ant. coll. can. P. iv. cap. 8. § 4. Collections in which they are found are besides Bened. capitul. libb. iii. the additio quarta capitularium (see Spittler Gesch. des canon. Rechts S. 247.) Hadriani P. i. capitula Angilramno tradita or capitula Angilramni, ap. Mansi xii. 903 ss., supposed to belong to A. D. 785, were first brought to light about 870 by

tions,¹³ appealed to without suspicion in public transactions,¹⁴ and used by the popes, from Nicolaus I., immediately after he had

Hincmar of Laon. See Hincm. Rhem. opusc. adv. Hincm. Laud. c. 24, see below note 16. evidently spurious, Ballerini P. iii. cap. vi. § 2. not. 8. Blascus p. 151, but not perhaps by Hincmar of Laon as Spittler *Gesch. des canon. Rechts* S. 235. 271. assumes. See Gfrörer iii. ii. 1079. According to Wasserscheben (*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. vorgratian. Kirchenrechtsquellen*, Leipz. 1839, S. 14.) they proceeded really from Angilramnus and Hadrian, and the Pseudoisidorian was a later interpretation: on the other hand Rettberg *KG. Deutschlands* i. 647, holds that the chapters were composed by the author of the false decretals, but earlier than the latter. Comp. generally Rettberg i. 501 and 646. *Capitula Remedii* (in *Goldast. scriptt. rer. Alem.* ii. ii. 119. *Die Kanonensammlung des Remedius v. Chur zuerst vollständig herausgegeben u. krit. erläutert v. Dr F. Kunstmann, Tübingen 1836. 8.*), alleged to belong to the time of Charlemagne. On the other side see Ballerini P. iii. c. 4. § 13. Spittler *Gesch. des canon. Rechts* S. 236: according to Knust in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, i. 161, the series of canons drawn from Pseudoisidore belonged to a Bavarian synod, probably at Ratisbon A. D. 895; according to Kunstmann l. c. p. 58. they were composed about 870 in Bretagne, by a clergyman addicted to the metropolitan of Tours. *Capitula Isaaci Ep. Lingonensis* (in Baluzii *capitul.* i. 1233, about the year 859. See Ballerini P. iv. c. 9. § 8. Spittler S. 281.) A MS. collection in the royal library at Paris, No. 3859, belonging to the end of the 9th century. See Dr Aug. Theiner über Ivo's vermeintl. *Decret*, Mainz 1832, S. 9. *Collectio Anselmo dedicata* between 883 and 897 (cf. Coustant *diss. de ant. canonum collect.* no. 169 s. Ballerini P. iv. c. 10), from which Burchard has borrowed the greatest part of his work, Theiner p. 13.—Subsequently Regino Pruniensis in his *de disciplinis eccles. libb.* ii. (about 906) made indeed little use of the Pseudoisidoriana (Ballerini P. iv. c. 11): but Burcardus Ep. Wormatiensis took so much the more pains to introduce them into the general usage of the church, by his *decretorum volumen* (about 1020).

¹⁴ First A. D. 857 in the *epistola synodalis* (written by Hincmar at the Syn. Carisiaca) sub nomine Caroli R. ad Episc. et Com. Galliae scripta ap. Baluz. ii. 92. Pertz iii. 453. Mansi xv. 127): *Audiant raptores et praedones rerum ecclesiasticarum, quod s. Anacletus P. ab ipso Petro Apostolo Presbyter ordinatus cum totius mundi sacerdotibus iudicavit etc.* Item s. Urbanus Papa et martyr etc. Item s. Lucius Papa etc. About 860, when Hermann, bishop of Nevers, was to be deposed on account of fatuity, Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, sent by Servatus Lupus to Nicolaus I. to ask (ap. Mansi xv. 397. *Serv. Lup. epist.* 130. ed. Baluz. p. 194. comp. Baluz's remarks p. 466 ss.): *Dicitur autem Melchiades P. decrevisse, ne quis unquam Pontifex sine consensu Papae Romani deponeretur. Unde supplicamus, ut statuta illius, sicut penes vos habentur, nobis dirigere dignemini etc.* Nicolaus in his reply (ap. Mansi l. c.) praises highly his determination to send to

become acquainted with them (864),¹⁵ without any opposition be-

Rome: antequam ad consulta vestra mentis oculum inclinemus, parumper in laudibus vestris stylum operae pretium duximus immorandum, and goes on to speak of Hermann's case, but gives not one syllable of reply to his question. Respecting the proceedings see Blascus l. c. p. 17.

¹⁵ Leo IV. says, as late as the year 850, in ep. ii. ad Episc. Britann. c. 6. (ap. Mansi xiv. 884, ap. Gratian. P. i. dist. xx. c. 1): De libellis et commentariis aliorum non convenit aliquem judicare, et ss. Conciliorum canones relinquere, vel decretalium regulas, i. e. quae habentur apud nos simul cum illis in canone, et quibus in omnibus ecclesiasticis utimur judiciis, i. e. Apostolorum, Nicaenorum etc.: et cum illis regulae praesulum Romanorum Sylvestri (the constit. Sylv. were forged still earlier than the Pseudoisidorian, see vol. i. Div. 2. § 117. not. 15. Blascus l. c. p. 11. 25), Siricii, Innocentii, Zosimi, Caelestini, Leonis, Gelasii, Hilarii, Symmachi, Simplicii. Isti omnino sunt, per quos judicant Episcopi, et per quos Episcopi simul et clerici judicantur. Even Nicolaus I. neither knew of those decretals in 860 (see note 14), nor does he know in 863, in. ep. v. ad Hincmarum (ap. Mansi xv. 374) of older constitutiones Rom. sedis Pontiff. than those of Siricius, Innocentii, etc. In like manner he refers in Rothad's case (863) only to the Sardican canons; in his sermo made on the day before Christmas, 864. he first appeals to the Pseudoisidoriana. See below § 21. not. 15. 16. Hence it is probable, as Gfrörer iii. ii. 1022 assumes, Rothad, who came to Rome in June 864, had brought thither the false decretals. In the year 865 Nicolaus demonstrates their validity in the following manner. Ep. ad univ. Episc. Gall. (Mansi xv. 694): etsi (Rothadus Episc.] sedem apostolicam nullatenus appellasset, contra tot tamen et tanta vos decretalia efferri statuta, et Episcopum inconsultis nobis deponere nullo modo debuistis. Absit enim, ut—decretalia constituta—debito cultu et cum summa discretionem non amplectamur opuscula, quae dumtaxat et antiquitus s. Romana Ecclesia conservans, nobis quoque custodienda mandavit, et penes se in suis archivis et vetustis rite monumentis recondita veneratur. Absit ut scripta eorum quoquomodo parvipendenda dicamus, quorum videmus Deo auctore s. Ecclesiam aut roseo cruore floridam, aut rorifluis sudoribus et salubribus eloquiis adornatam.—Quamquam quidam vestrum scripserunt, haud illa decretalia priscorum pontificum in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta, cum ipsi, ubi suae intentioni haec suffragari conspiciunt, illis indifferenter utantur, et solum nunc, ad imminutionem potestatis sedis apostolicae, et ad suorum augmentum privilegiorum, minus accepta esse perhibeant. Nam nonnulla eorum scripta penes nos habentur, quae non solum quorumcumque Romanorum Pontificum, verum etiam priorum decreta in suis causis praeferre noseuntur.—decretales epistolae Rom. Pontificum sunt recipiendae, etiamsi non sunt canonum codici compaginatae. Hadrianus ii. ep. xxxii. ad Episc. Synodi Duziacensis (ap. Mansi xv. 852) expressly cites A. D. 871, epistolam Auteri P. etc. In other points not affecting the papal dignity, the popes did not at once adopt the Pseu-

ing made to their authenticity,¹⁶ and continued in undiminished doisidorian principles. Thus not only Nicolaus I., but even Gregory VII. (epist. lib. vii. ep. 34.), decided that priests convicted of crimes should be expelled from the clergy, though Pseudo-Callistus ep. 2. had written: *Errant itaque, qui putant, sacerdotes post lapsum, si condignam egerint poenitentiam, Domino non posse ministrare.* Comp. Blascus l. c. p. 18 ss.

¹⁶ Even Hincmar did not doubt the authenticity but the validity of those decretals (cf. Blascus l. c. p. 16): he appealed to them, 857, against robbers of churches (note 14), and, 868, against Charles the Bald, when the latter had summoned the younger Hincmar before a civil tribunal, and had imposed taxes on his revenues (Hincm. ep. 29. ad Car. Calv. Opp. ed. Sirmond. ii. 223. cites Lucii ep. and Stephani ep. ii.): On this account the objection of Nicolaus I. held good against him in particular (note 15), that he sometimes made use of those letters, sometimes disowned them, according as they favoured or not his own interest. The authority of these decretals is combated by Hincmar in regard to the rights of metropolitans, especially in his opusc. adv. Hincmar. Laudun. A. D. 870. The Pseudoisidorian positions of the capitula Angilramni, to which the younger Hincmar had appealed, are with him c. 10. (Opp. ii. 413) *circumposita nobis omnibus Metropolitanis a te muscipula.* Cap. 24. p. 475: *De sententiis vero, quae dicuntur ex Graecis et Latinis canonibus, et synodis Romanis atque decretis praesulum ac ducum Romanorum collectae ab Adriano Papa, et Engelramno Metensium Episcopo datae, quando pro sui negotii causa agebatur, ex quibus quaedam tuis commentis interposuisti, quam dissonae inter se habeantur,—et quam diversae a sacris canonibus, et quam discrepantes in quibusdam ab ecclesiasticis judiciis habeantur,—evidenter manifestatur.* Proofs, that they were even opposed to Hincmar of Laon. *Si vero ideo talia, quae tibi visa sunt de praefatis sententiis ac saepe memoratis epistolis, detruncando et praeposterando atque disordinando, collegisti, quia forte putasti, neminem alium easdem sententias, vel ipsas epistolas praeter te habere, et idcirco talia libere te existimasti posse colligere, res mira est, cum de ipsis sententiis plena sit ista terra, sicut et de libro collectarum epistolarum ab Isidoro, quem de Hispania allatum Riculfus Moguntinus Episcopus, in hujusmodi sicut et in capitulis regiis studiosus, obtinuit, et istas regiones ex illo replevi fecit.* Cap. 25. p. 482: *Animadvertenda est discretio ex verbis b. Gelasii (in the decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis) inter synodalia Concilia et apostolicorum virorum epistolas, quas ante Concilia celebrata diversis temporibus pro diversorum Patrum consolatione dederunt, quasque venerabiliter suscipiendas dicit: si qua sunt autem Concilia a sanctis Patribus instituta post quatuor Conciliorum auctoritatem, custodienda et observanda decrevit.* Quantum enim distet inter illa scilicet Concilia—et illas epistolas,—nemo in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus ignorat. Si enim quaedam ex his, quae in quibusdam illis epistolis continentur, tenere et custodire velle inceperimus, contra alia plurima illarum epistolarum facere incipiemus. Et rursus si alia, contra quae feceramus, tenere et custodire inceperimus,—a Concilii

reputation¹⁷ till the Reformation led to the detection of the cheat.¹⁸ On these false decretals were founded the pretensions of the popes¹⁹ to universal sway in *the Church*;²⁰ while the pretend-

sacris, quae perpetuo nobis recipienda, tenenda, ac custodienda, atque sequenda sunt, deviabimus: sed et a consuetudine, quam catholica Ecclesia habuit, ex quo in sacrum Nicaenum Concilium patres nostri convenerunt,—perniciosissime discedemus, et nihil certi tenentes in sectam Genethliacianorum i. e. Mathematicorum offendemus, qui diffinierunt omnia in incertum. Nam et b. Gelasius easdem epistolas non solum sacris canonibus in quibusdam adversas, sed etiam sibi ipsis diversas ostendit cum dicit, illas diversis temporibus pro diversorum consolatione datas. Et hinc forte adversum me dices: ergo calumniaris apostolicam sedem in sanctis ejus Pontificibus, eo quod male senserint, et non tenenda decreverint. Unde tibi respondeo, quod de lege non judaice servanda, contradicentibus sibi et dicentibus: lex ergo adversus promissa Dei? (Gal. iii. 21) respondit Apostolus: Absit: lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum, et justum et bonum (Rom. vii. 12), sed personis et temporibus suis congrua: quae propter transgressiones posita est, donec veniret semen (Gal. iii. 19.) Et illas epistolas sanctorum et apostolicorum virorum, diversis temporibus pro diversorum consolatione—a sede apostolica datas,—venerabiliter suscipiendas dico. Quae suis temporibus congruentes fuerunt, donec per sacra Concilia patres nostri in unum convenientes—suggerente sibimet sancto Spiritu—mansuras usque in finem saeculi leges condiderunt. That Hincmar suspected the spuriousness of these decretals, but said nothing on the subject from motives of prudence, as Gfrörer iii. ii. 1081 assumes, is in my opinion improbable; for a combating of the authenticity could not be looked on as contempt of the holy see, but probably, if the authenticity were conceded, a denial of their validity might be so regarded.

¹⁷ Concerning those who are supposed to have doubted the authenticity of the forged decretals, in the middle ages, Petrus Comestor [1170], Marsilius Patavinus [1324] (not Wicliffe, he asserted: decretales epistolae sunt apocryphae et seducunt a Christi fide, also apocryphae = erroneae), Gobelinus Persona [1418], Heinr. v. Kalteisen [1432, comp. however Spittler's doubts l. c. p. 259], Nicolaus Cusanus [1448], Erasmus, see Blascus l. c. cap. 5. p. 30 ss.

¹⁸ Calvin institutt. iv. c. 7. § 11. 20. the spuriousness; the Magdeburg centuries (centur. ii. c. 7. and cent. iii. c. 7.) first gave a copious proof of it, which opinion was also adopted about the same time by Anton. Contius and Antonius Augustinus, archbp. of Tarragona (see Blascus l. c. p. 33), while the Jesuit Franc. Turrianus wrote libb. v. adv. Magdeburgenses Centuriatores pro canonibus Apostolorum et epistolis decretalibus Pontificum apostolicorum, Florent. 1572. Colon. 1573. 4. Bellarmine (de Pont. Rom. lib. ii. c. 14.) and Baronius (ad ann. 865. § 8.) abandoned these decretals. The question was decided by Dav. Blondelli Pseudoisidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, Genev. 1628. 4.

¹⁹ The Ultramontanists, though they admit the deception, deny the revolution of ecclesiastical principles caused by it. So Ballerini l. c.

ed *donatio Constantini M.*,²¹ a fiction of an earlier time, but soon adopted into them, was the first step from which the papacy endeavoured to elevate itself even above *the state*.

P. iii. c. 6. § 3. and P. Ballerini de potest. eccl. summ. Pontif. et Concill. generall. una cum vindiciis contra J. Febronium. Veron. 1768. Aug. Vindel. 1770 in the vindiciis cap. 5. On the other side see Jo. Gerbasii diss. de causis majoribus. Paris. 1679. 4. Fleury hist. eccl. T. xvi. diss. préliminaire. Justification des discours et de l'hist. ecclés. de M. l'Abbé de Fleury. 1736. P. ii. Tübinger kath.-theol. Quarta'schrift, 1823. 2tes Quart. S. 277 ff.

²⁰ Comp. vol. i. Div. 1. § 56. note 40. Above § 5. note 18. It is found so early as in the collectio cann. Colbertina, which is older than Pseudoisidore (see Constant diss. de ant. canonum collectionibus no. 103). There are also obvious references to it by Hincmar ep. iii. c. 13: Constantinus M.—propter amorem et honorem ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli—locum et sedem suam, urbem scilicet Romanam, Papae Sylvestro edicto privilegii tradidit, et sedem suam in civitate sua, quae antea Byzantium vocabatur,—aedificavit. Aeneae Paris. liber adv. Graecos (A. D. 868) c. 209. (in d'Achery spicileg. i. 147): singulare privilegium et mirabile testamentum toto tunc orbe vulgatum apostolicae sedi conscribi jussit,—cujus exemplaribus Ecclesiarum in Gallia consistentium armaria ex integro potiuntur. Blascus cap. 2. p. 13. rightly shows indeed that this act cannot have originated with Pseudoisidore as many suppose, but he erroneously assumes, that because it appears first in Leonis ix. ep. ad Michael. Const. Patriarch. (a. 1054) c. 13 et 14. (ap. Mansi xix. 643.) it was forged long after Pseudoisidore. Worthy of notice is Ottonis iii. diploma ann. 999 (see below § 22. not. 28): Haec sunt etiam commenta ab illis ipsis inventa, quibus Joannes Diaconus, cognomento digitorum mutius (mozzo, mutilus), praeceptum aureis literis scripsit, sub titulo magni Constantini longa mendacii tempora finxit. This John is discovered (Marqu. Freherus) Constantini donatio integre edita. 1610. 4. in the author of the life of s. Gregorii M. about 875; Jo. Morinus hist. de la délivrance de l'égl. chret. par l'Emp. Constantin. Paris 1630. fol. identifies him with Johannes Diaconus about 963. On the other side is de Marca lib. iii. c. 12, according to whom the original document was composed A. D. 767 at the command of Pope Paul I. Against the opinion of Baronius ann. 324. no. 117 ss. that the document was forged by Greeks, see Morinus l. c. Comp. E. Münch über die Schenkung Constantin's, in his vermischte Schriften, Ludwigsburg 1828. ii. 183.) The original document was meant in part to establish an older right than the Donatio of Pipin and Charles, and to favour the efforts of the popes to obtain independence (see § 6); partly also to justify the views of the papal coronation of emperors which then appeared (see § 6. note 15.)

²¹ There is one old Latin text of it, but four Greek texts. See F. A. Biener de collectionibus cann. Ecclesiae Graecae. Berol. 1827. 8. p. 72 ss. The first alone is of historical importance, being found in the Pseudoisidorian decretals under the title of edictum domini Constantini

§ 21.

PAPACY UNDER NICOLAUS I. (858–867), HADRIAN II. (TILL 872), AND JOHN VIII. (TILL 882).

Planck's *Gesch. der kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf.* iii. 1. Neander iv. 112. Gfrörer iii. ii. 983.

The rulers of the divided Frank empire,¹ unable to withstand

Imp., and extracts from it in the decret. Gratiani dist. xcvi. c. 13. Among other things we read: *Et sicut nostram terrenam imperialem potentiam, sic ejus (Petri) sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam decrevimus veneranter honorari, et amplius quam nostrum imperium terrenumque thronum, sedem sacratissimam b. Petri gloriose exaltari: tribuentes ei potestatem et gloriæ dignitatem, atque vigorem et honorificentiam imperialem.* Therefore he gives him palatium Lateranense and all imperial insignia. *Unde ut pontificalis apex non vilescat, sed magis quam imperii dignitas, gloria et potentia decoretur, ecce tam palatium nostrum, ut prædictum est, quam Romanam urbem, et omnes Italiae, seu occidentalium regionum provincias, loca et civitates (i. e. the western empire, as it was still limited to some provinces of Italy, in the eighth century, and was transferred to the Franks: the forger knows only of this, and puts it back in the times of Constantine) præfato beatissimo Pontifici nostro Sylvestro, universali Papae, contradimus atque relinquimus: et ab eo et a successoribus ejus per hanc divalem nostram, et pragmaticum constitutum decernimus disponenda, atque juri s. Romanae Ecclesiae concedimus permansura.* Unde congruum perspeximus nostrum imperium, et regni potestatem in orientalibus transferri regionibus, et in Byzantinae provinciae optimo loco, nomini nostro civitatem aedificari, et nostrum illic constitui imperium: quoniam ubi principatus sacerdotum, et christianae religionis caput ab Imperatore caelesti constitutum est, justum non est, ut illic Imperator terrenus habeat potestatem. That there never was any such donatio was acknowledged by Otto III. in the year 999 (note 20) and in 1152 by the Romans (see below, Div. 2. § 51. note 18.) In the fifteenth century this was shown to be the case by Nicolaus Cusanus de concordantia catholica (about 1432), and in particular by Laurentius Valla († 1457) de falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio (in S. Schardii syntagma tractatum de imperiali jurisdictione. Argentor. 1609. fol. p. 401.) (see Münch verm. hist. Schriften ii. 214.) Since then the document is universally given up as spurious, but the donation itself is still defended by Baronius, and the Jesuits Jac. Gretser, Nic. Schaten, and others, ex. gr. Blanchini ad Anastas. de vitis Pontiff. ii. ii. 295. and Mamachii antiquitt. christ. ii. 232.

¹ After the death of the emperor Lothar I. († 855), his sons received, the emperor Lewis II., Italy († 875), Lothar II., Lorraine († 869),

the attacks of foreign enemies and the encroachments of their own nobles, were obliged, in consequence, to seek protection from the Church; and had been long since induced to invest their bishops with important rights.² How much the position of the pope, as the highest bishop, was heightened by this means, *Nicolaus I.*³ was the first fully to perceive. The success of his new pretensions and encroachments was made more certain by his appearing not only as the champion of the oppressed, and thus securing a powerful ally in public opinion, but in being also assisted by the disunion of the civil princes, who, mutually suspicious and ambitious, were ready to aid in humbling one another. The first opportunity for interference was presented to him by King *Lothar II.*, who, out of love to his mistress, Waldrade, had long treated his spouse, Teutberg, most shamefully, till he at length divorced her at a synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle (862).⁴ Charles the Bald and his bishops having sided with the persecuted one,⁵ *Nicolaus*, to whom she had long ago applied for aid,⁶ ventured to and Charles († 863), Provence, which last, however, was divided, after his death, by the two older brothers. Lewis the German reigned over the East Franks († 876), and Charles the Bald over the West Franks († 877).

² For instance, bishops judges of kings, comp. § 6. note 13. 14.

³ He was the first pope who, without doubt, allowed himself to be crowned agreeably to the *donatio Constantini* (remarkably short is *Anastasius vita cvii. Nicolai i. : coronatur denique*), and to whom an emperor, Lewis II., performed the office of equerry (*Anastasius l. c. frenum Caesar equi Pontificis suis manibus apprehendens pedestri more, quantum sagittae jactus extenditur, traxit*). A description of *Nicolaus I.* ap *Regino ad ann. 868 : post b. Gregorium usque in praesens nullus Praesul in Romana urbe pontificali honore sublimatus illi videtur aequiparandus : regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque, ac si dominus orbis terrarum, auctoritate praefuit : Episcopis et Sacerdotibus religiosis ac mandata Domini observantibus humilis, blandus, pius, mansuetus apparuit ; irreligiosis et a recto tramite exorbitantibus terribilis atque austeritate plenus extitit, ut merito credatur alter Helias, Deo suscitante, nostris in temporibus resurrexisse, etsi non corpore, tamen spiritu et virtute.*

⁴ After church penance had been imposed on Teutberg, at a synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle (*Mansi xv. 547*), the synod of 862 gave Lothar permission to marry again (*l. c. p. 611*).

⁵ *Hincmar*, archbishop, wrote against the proceedings of the conc. *Aquisgr. A.D. 860* his work *de divortio Hlotharii Regis et Teutbergae Reginae*, in *opp. ed. Sirmond i. 557*.

⁶ *Nic. epist. ad Carol. Calv. 867 (Mansi xv. 319) : cum nos ex ultra-*

send legates to Lotharingia to examine the matter anew. But when these legates, having been bribed, confirmed the former decision at the synod of Metz (863),⁷ Nicolaus went so far as to declare this synod null; and to depose the heads of the Lorraine clergy, Archbishops Gunthar of Cöln, and Thietgaud of Treves.⁸ The danger with which he was threatened from the emperor Lewis for this presumption soon passed;⁹ but Lothar submitted through fear of his uncles, who were desirous to seize on his territories.¹⁰ When afterwards he endeavoured to con-

que parte, i. e. tam a Teutberga quam a Lothario fuerimus provocati iudices,—ad nullos alios convenit super hoc negotio iudices convolare: cum secundum sacros canones a iudicibus, quos communis consensus elegerit non liceat provocare.

⁷ Ann. Bertiniani (i. e. Hincmari) ad ann. 863.

⁸ Concil. Romanum ann. 863 ap. Mansi xv. 649.

⁹ Regino ad ann. 865: Qui tam turpiter dehonestati [the two archbishops] Hludovicum Imp.—adeunt, qui ea tempestate Beneventanis morabatur in partibus, scriptis ac dictis vociferantes, se injuste esse depositos: ipsi Imperatori et omni s. Ecclesiae injuriam esse factam, cum numquam auditum sit, vel uspiam lectum quod ullus Metropolitanus sine conscientia Principis vel praesentia aliorum Metropolitanorum fuerit degradatus. Concerning Lothar's expedition against Rome, see especially annal. Bertin. ad ann. 864, where, too, may be found the protest of the two archbishops laid on Peter's grave, in which they prove the invalidity of their deposal, c. 3. in this manner: sine Synodo et canonico examine, nullo accusante, nullo testificante, nullaque disputationis districtione dirimente, vel auctoritatem probatione convincente, absque nostri oris confessione, absentibus aliis Metropolitanis et dioecesanis Coëpiscopis et confratribus nostris extra omnium omnino consensum, tuo solius arbitrio et tyrannico furore damnare nosmet voluisti. c. 4.: Sed tuam maledictam sententiam—nequaquam recipimus: immo cum omni coetu fraterno—contemnimus atque abjicimus. Te ipsum quoque—in nostram communionem nostrumque consortium recipere nolumus, contenti totius Ecclesiae communionem et fraternam societate, quam tu arroganter te superexaltans despicias, teque ab ea elations tumore indignum faciens sequestras. The conclusion in the annal. Fuld. ad ann. 863: scies nos non tuos esse, ut te jactas et extollis, Clericos, quos ut fratres et Coëpiscopos recognoscere, si elatio permetteret, debueras. Et haec tibi nostri ordinis non inseci, nimium tua improbitate compulsi respondemus, non quasi ad illitam nobis contumeliam provocati, sed contra tuam iniquitatem ecclesiastico zelo accensi, nec nostrae vilitatis personam attendentes, sed omnem nostri ordinis universitatem, cui vim inferre conaris, prae oculis habentes.

¹⁰ Capitula quae Hlud. et Car. Reges in Tusiaco villa populo annuntiaverunt xi. kal. Mart. 865. cap. 6. (Baluz. capit. ii. 203). Ann. Bertinn. (Hincmar) ad ann. 865. Nicolaus was the first pope who en-

tinue his illicit intercourse with Waldrade, and at the same time to conciliate the pope by crouching affectations of humility,¹¹ the severity of the latter was the less blamed on account of the king's cowardly voluptuousness.¹² At the same time, Nicolaus also

joyed the triumph of protecting a king. Ann. Bert. l. c. Nicolaus P. Arsenium—cum epistolis ad Hludovicum et Carolum fratres, sed et ad Episcopos ac Primores regnorum illorum, ea quae Lotharius per fratrem petierat continentibus (namely, ann. Fuld. : ob pacem et concordiam inter Hlud. et Car., necnon Hlotharium nepotem eorum, renovandam atque constituendam), non cum apostolica mansuetudine, et solita honorabilitate, sicut Episcopi Romani Reges consueverant in suis epistolis honorare, sed cum malitiosa interminatione transmittit. The letters are not extant, as Pagi ad. ann. 865 no. 8. believes.

¹¹ Comp. his letter to Nicolaus ap. Baronius ad ann. 866. no. 36.

¹² Nic epist. ad univ. Episcopos A. D. 863 (Mansi xv. 649) begins : Scelus, quod Lotharius Rex, si tamen rex veraciter dici possit, qui nullo salubri regimine corporis appetitus refraenavit, sed lubrica enervatione magis ipsius illicitis motibus cedit, in duabus feminis, Teutberga scilicet et Waldrada, commisit, omnibus manifestum est. He wrote to Adventius, bishop of Metz, with reference to the synod at that place (Mansi xv. 373) : Verumtamen videte, utrum reges isti et principes, quibus vos subjectos esse dictis, veraciter reges et principes sint. Videte, si primum se bene regunt, deinde subditum populum : nam qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit ? Videte si jure principantur ; alioqui potius tyranni credendi sunt, quam reges habendi ; quibus magis resistere, et ex adverso ascendere, quam subdi debemus. Alioquin si talibus subditi, et non praelati fuerimus nos, necesse est eorum vitiis faveamus. Nic. ep. li. ad Lothar. R. (ap. Mansi xv. 324) : Igitur consilium nostrum accipe, —praecipue Waldradae pellicis tuae et dudum a te repudiatae communionem declinans. Excommunicata est enim. Quamobrem cavendum est, ne cum ea pari mucrone percellaris sententiae, ac pro unius mulieris passione, et brevissimi temporis desiderio, vinctus et obligatus ad sulfureos foetores et ad perenne traharis exitum. Praecave—ne hoc Ecclesiae sanctae dicamus, et, quod non optamus, de caetero fias cunctis sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Such conduct, however, was entirely consistent with the prevailing principles, comp. note 2. So also Hincmar de divort. Hlot. et Teutb., to the question which had been propounded to him : Dicunt quoque etiam aliqui sapientes quia iste princeps Rex est, et nullorum legibus vel judiciis subjacet, nisi solius Dei, qui eum—Regem constituit :—et sicut a suis Episcopis, quicquid egerit, non debet excommunicari, ita ab aliis Episcopis non potest judicari quoniam solius Dei principatui debet subjici etc. To this he replies : Haec vox non est catholici Christiani, sed nimium blasphemii, et spiritu diabolico pleni.—Quod dicitur, “ quia Rex nullorum legibus, vel judiciis subjacet, nisi solius Dei,” verum dicitur, si Rex est, sicuti nominatur. Rex enim a regendo dicitur, et si se ipsum secundum voluntatem Dei regit, et bonos in viam rectam dirigit, malos autem de via prava ad rectam corrigit, tunc Rex est, et nullorum legibus vel judiciis nisi solius Dei subjacet—

humbled the proud archbishop of Rheims, *Hincmar*, who had first suspended from his office, (861) *Rothad*, bishop of Soissons, perhaps, without sufficient reason;¹³ and afterwards, without regarding his appeal to the pope, had deposed him at a synod held at Soissons (863).¹⁴ While the pope annulled these decisions and called Rothad to Rome (864), he appealed at first for his justification in such a course to the canons¹⁵ of Sardica, and afterwards for the first time to the Pseudoisidorian decretals,¹⁶ and met with the less enduring opposition in proportion as they appeared to promote the interests of the suffragan bishops.¹⁷ The Pseudoi-

“quia lex non est posita justo sed injustis, etc. (1 Tim. i. 9).” Alioquin adulter, homicida, injustus, raptor, et aliorum vitiorum obnoxius quilibet, vel secreta vel publice, judicabitur a sacerdotibus, qui sunt throni Dei etc.

¹³ See Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 861. Comp. generally W. F. Gess Merkwürdigkeiten aus d. Leben u. d. Schriften Hincmar's. Götting. 1806. S. 233. E. Rossteuscher de Rothado Ep. Suessionensi Part. ii. Marburgi 1845. 8.

¹⁴ Both sides of this controversy are narrated in Hincmari epist. ad Nicol. i. A.D. 864 in ejusd. opp. ed. Sirmond ii. 244. and Rothadi libellus proclamationis in the acts of the Roman synod of 865 (Mansi xv. 681).—As Hincmar had declared against the Lorraine bishops in the affair of Lothar, they now took the part of Rothad. Cf. epist. synod. Episcoporum regni Loth. ad Episc. regni Ludovici (Mansi xv. 645).

¹⁵ There was certainly a violation of these, since Hincmar had forthwith consecrated a successor to Rothad, without regarding his appeal. See Nicolai epist. 28 ad Hincmarum (Mansi xv. 294), and still more fully in his epist. ad Episcopos Synodi Silvanectensis (Mansi xv. 302), where the constituta Sardicensis concilii, namely, c. iv. and viii. are expressly given.

¹⁶ Sermo Nic. preached on the day before Christmas, 864 (Mansi xv. 686):—facto concilio generali, quod sine apostolicae sedis praecepto nulli fas est vocandi vocaverunt hunc [Rothadum] Episcopi etc.—Quamvis et ipse sedem apostolicam si nullatenus appellasset; contra tot tamen et tanta decretalia se efferre statuta, et Episcopum inconsulte deponere, sic ut vos bene nostis, non debuerunt. Comp. the epist. ad univ. Episc. Gall, § 20. not. 15. Hincmar's judgment on it in the annal. Bertin. ad ann. 865 (Pertz monum. i. 468): Rothadum canonice a quinque provinciarum Episcopis dejectum, et a Nicolao Papa non regulariter sed potentialiter restitutum etc.

¹⁷ To this Nicholas himself adverts as early as 863 in epist. xxxii. ad Episc. Synod. Silvanectensis (Mansi xv. 305): privilegia sedis apostolicae tegmina sunt, ut ita dicamus, totius Ecclesiae catholicae; privilegia, inquam, hujus Ecclesiae munimina sunt circa omnes impetus pravitatum. Nam quod Rothado hodie contigit, unde scitis, quod cras cuilibet non eveniat vestrum?—Quod si contigerit,—ad cujus, rogo,

sidorian principle, that obedience was due to all the papal decrees as such, must have been particularly advanced by the fact,¹⁸ that Nicolaus began to have such obedience in the metropolitans praised at their investiture with the pallium.¹⁹

But that these new papal pretensions owed much of their success to the peculiar relations of the times, and that they had obtained very little general approbation,² is clear from the fact, that immediately after Nicolaus's death, his arrangements were very much endangered,²⁰ and that his successor, *Hadrian II.*, who

confugietis auxilium? Hence the Synod of Troyes, 867, wrote on another occasion ep. conc. Tricassini ad Nic. P. i. (Mansi xv. 795): exoramus magnificam beatitudinem, ut—more b. praedecessorum vestrorum, quae de statu sacri pontificalis ordinis ab eis statuta—sunt, ut immota de caetero maneant, mucrone apostolico quorumcunque Metropolitanorum temeraria praesumptione suppressa, quin etiam reliquorum Episcoporum—audaci conniventia penitus summota, privilegia et decreta servari innovata constitutione decernatis: ita ut nec vestris nec futuris temporibus, praeter consultum Rom. Pontificis de gradu suo quilibet Episcoporum dejiciatur, sicut eorundem ss. antecessorum multiplicibus decretis et numerosis privilegiis stabilitum modis mirificis extat.

¹⁸ Nicol. I. ep. ad univ. Episc. Gall. A. D. 865 (above § 20. not. 15.): decretales epistolae Rom. Pontificum sunt recipiendae, etiamsi non sunt canonum codici compaginatae.

¹⁹ The first case is that of Anshar. He had before received the Pallium as archbishop of Hamburg, 835, from Gregory IV., without any such condition annexed (St Anshar by Kruse, p. 277); but when Nicolaus I. confirmed the junction of the two dioceses of Hamburg and Bremen, and sent a new pallium to Anshar (864), he announced to him, at the same time, in the deed issued respecting it (Staphorst's Hamburg. Kirchengesch. i. 41. Hartzheim Conc. Germ. ii. 172): Porro te (Ansharium) pallio uti non nisi more sedis concedimus apostolicae, scil. ut successores tui per semetipsos, vel per legatos suos et scriptum fidem nobiscum tenere, ac sanctas sex synodos recipere, atque decreta omnium Romanae sedis Praesulum et epistolas, quae sibi delatae fuerint, venerabiliter observare atque perficere omnibus diebus suis, scripto se et juramento profiteantur. -

²⁰ Anastasius, librarian of the Roman Church, writes, in the letter in which he mentions the death of Nicolaus to Ado, archbishop of Vienne (Mansi xv. 453): Verum nunc congregatio omnis, quos ille vel pro diverso adulterii genere, vel pro aliis criminibus redarguit, ad hoc exarsurunt, ut universa ejus opera destruere, et cuncta scripta delere meditari non metuant. And in the Embolo: Adjuro autem, ut omnibus Metropolitanis Galliarum intimetis, ne, si hic factum fuerit concilium, sic quasi recuperationem sui status assequantur, ut in derogationem defuncti praesulis prosiliant.

proceeded completely in the same spirit, met with much less success. After the death of Lothar II. (869), *Charles the Bald* having conquered Lorraine and divided it with Lewis of Germany (870), the pope sought to defend the rights of the lawful heir, the emperor Lewis II. with spiritual weapons;²¹ but was insultingly repulsed, especially by Hincmar.²² When afterwards he

²¹ Hadr. ep. 19. ad Proceres regni Lotharii (Mansi xv. 838): Quem ex vobis—apostolicae sedis monitis in contemptum b. Petri Apostoli, caelestis regni clavigeri, spretis, ad aliam se partem conferre cognoverimus, velut infidelem et ecclesiasticae paci ac saluti contrarium, a nostri apostolatus communione non solum alienum habebimus, sed etiam anathematis vinculo jure meritoque alligare omnino curabimus: et nos secundum apostolicae privilegium dignitatis et potestatis ipsum—domnum Hludovicum—regni hujus provinciae—Regem, dominum et Imperatorem, sicuti jam olim a Deo praeordinatum esse constat, et ab antecessoribus nostris Pontificibus statutum multis videtur indiciis habemus et quosque superfuert ipse eum habere studebimus. Quod sane regnum si tyrannus aliquis contra divinam et apostolicam voluntatem invadere praesumerit, apostolicae sine mora sustinebit ultionis censuram. So too, the letters to Proceres and ad Episcopos regni Caroli Calvi, ad Hincmarum, ad Car. Calv., ad Ludov. Reg. epist. 20-28. Comp. generally Gess Merkwürdigk. Hincmar's S. 331.

²² Hincm. ep. ad Hadr., A.D. 870 (opp. ed Sirm. ii. 689 Bouquet vii. 537.) He puts the answers to the assumptions of the pope into the mouth of others: Dicunt saecularem scripturam dicere, quia omne regnum saeculi hujus bellis quaeritur, victoriis propagatur, et non Apostolici vel Episcoporum excommunicationibus obtinetur, et Scripturam divinam proponunt dicere, quia Domini est regnum, per quem Reges regnant, et cui voluerit dat illud. Et cum potestatem a Christo s. Petro primo Apostolorum, et in eo suis successoribus datam, sed et Apostolis, et in eis, Episcopus pontificium ligandi et solvendi collatum illis insinuare volumus, respondent: "Et vos ergo solis orationibus vestris regnum contra Nortmannos et alios impetentes defendite, et nostram defensionem nolite quaerere: et si vultis ad defensionem habere nostrum auxilium, sicut volumus de vestris orationibus habere adjutorium, nolite quaerere nostrum dispendium, et petite domnum Apostolicum, ut, quia Rex et Episcopus simul esse non potest, et sui antecessores ecclesiasticum ordinem, quod suum est, et non rempublicam, quod Regum est, disposerunt, non praecipiat nobis habere Regem, qui nos in sic longinquis partibus adjuvare non possit contra subitaneos et frequentes paganorum impetus, et nos Francos non jubeat servire, cui nolumus servire: quia istud jugum sui antecessores nostris antecessoribus non imposuerunt, et nos illud portare non possumus, qui scriptum esse in sacris libris audimus, ut pro libertate et hereditate nostra usque ad mortem certare debeamus. Et si aliquis Episcopus aliquem Christianum contra legem excommunicat, sibi potestatem ligandi tollit; et nulli vitam aeternam potest tollere, si sua peccata illi eam non tollunt. Et non

sought to interfere with the measures of Charles the Bald against his rebellious son Carlmann,²³ his presumptuous letter remained disregarded. And finally, *Hincmar*, bishop of Laon, having been deposed by the synod of *Duziacum* (871)²⁴ for disobedience to his king and to his metropolitan and uncle Hincmar of Rheims,²⁵

convenit ulli Episcopo dicere, ut Christianum, qui non est incorrigibilis non propter propria crimina, sed pro terreno regno ulicui tollendo vel acquirendo, nomine Christianitatis debeat privare, et eum cum Diabolo collocare—Propterea si dominus Apostolicus vult pacem quaerere, sic pacem quaerat, ut rixam non moveat: quia non nos concedemus, ut aliter ad regnum Dei pervenire non possimus, si illum, quem ipse commendat, terrenum Regem non habuerimus.”

²³ Respecting the history, see Hincmar in the annal. Bertin. ad ann. 870. 873, and ep. ad Episc. prov. Lugdun. A.D. 871 (opp. ii. 353, complete in de la Lande suppl. concill. ant. Gall. Par. 1660. fol. p. 204).—Hadr. ep. xxix. ad Carol. Calv. A. D. 871, (Mansi xv. 850): Inter caetera excessuum tuorum, quibus aliena usurpando invasisse crederis, illud, quoque nihilominus objicitur, quod etiam bestiarum feritatem excedens, contra propria viscera, *i.e.*, contra Carolomannum genitum tuum saevire minime verearis, etc. In the same tone, ep. xxx. ad Proceres and ep. xxxi. ad Episc. regni Car.

²⁴ Comp. annal. Bertin. ad ann. 868 et 869. The earlier writers concerning this affair, see in Hincmar's opp. ii. 316—352, in particular, Hincm. Rhem. opusculum lv. capitulorum adv. Hincm. Laudun. A. D. 870. Opp. ii. 377. Gess Merkwürdigk. S. 271.

²⁵ Acta conc. Duziacensis prim. ed. Lud. Cellot. Par. 1658. 4. ap. Mansi. xvi. 569 ss. In the ep. synod. ad Hadr. P. (p. 680), it is said: Et si forte, quod non putamus, visum vobis necessario fuerit, ut secundum Sardicenses canones renovetis iudicium, et detis iudices, scribendo Episcopis, qui in finitimis et vicinis provinciis sunt, ut et ipsi diligenter omnino requirant, et juxta fidem veritatis definiant: vel, si decreveritis mittere a latere vestro habentes auctoritatem vestram, qui cum Episcopis iudicent, eo in gradu adhuc non restituto, sicut sacri Sardicenses canones praecipiant; non abnuimus. Veruntamen quanta possumus devotionis humilitate deprecamur, ut etiam in hac causa nobis canonicam definitionem servetis. Videlicet ut si, quod non credimus, ea quae regulariter definivimus,—vobis praesentialiter non placuerit vestra sententia roborare, non antea communioni sacerdotali, a qua separatus est, restituatur, antequam secundum regulas et leges in provincia, in qua causae gestae et judicatae sunt, requirantur. Quia usque ad nostra tempora nulla Patrum definitione hoc Ecclesiis Gallicanis et Belgicis est derogatum; praesertim quia decreta Nicaena, sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive Episcopos ipsos, ut Africanum scribit concilium, suis Metropolitanis aptissime commiserunt. Comparison with the ep. conc. Tric. above not. 17. shows, how circumstances threw the chief influence at councils sometimes into the hands of the metropolitan, sometimes into the hands of the suffragans.

the pope, to whom he had appealed, undertook to interfere in his favour, as Nicolaus I.²⁶ had done in the case of Rothad; but in this new contest in favour of the Pseudoisidorian principles he was so unexpectedly repulsed,²⁷ that he found it expedient to make every effort in his power to pacify the enraged king.²⁸

²⁶ Hadr. ep. xxxii. ad Episc. Syn. Duziacensis (Mansi xv. 852) and ep. xxxiii. ad Carol. Calv. (p. 855). In the latter he says: jubemus ipsum Hincm. Laud. Episc., vestra fretum potentia, ad limina ss. Apostolorum, nostramque venire praesentiam. Quo sane veniente, veniat pariter accusator idoneus, qui nulla possit auctoritate legitima respui. Nos in depositione Hincmari, quamdiu vivimus, nullatenus consentiemus, nisi, ad nostram ipso veniente praesentiam, causa ejus depositionis nostro fuerit examine diligenter inquisita atque finita. Quibus nimirum admonitis, aliter in praesenti de praedicto Hincmaro, nisi eum Romam veniendi, vobis mandare distulimus.

²⁷ Car. c. ep. ad. Hadr. ii., composed by Hincmar (in Hincm. opp. ii. 701 and ap. Bouquet vii. 542): Cogitis nos, indecentibus potestati regiae literis vestris inhonoratum, inconvenientibus episcopali modestiae vestrae mandatus gravatum, contumeliis et opprobriis dehonorestatum, aliter quam vellemus mente pacifica vobis rescribere: ut tandem animadvertatis, quamquam perturbationibus humanis obnoxium, in imagine tamen Dei ambulantem esse nos hominem, habere sensum paterna et avita successione Dei gratia, regio nomine ac culmine sublimatum, et quod his majus est, Christianum, Catholicum, fidei orthodoxae cultorem. Valde mirati sumus, ubi hoc dictator epistolae—scriptum invenerit, esse apostolica auctoritate praecipendum, ut Rex, corrector iniquorum, et districtor reorum, ac secundum leges ecclesiasticas atque mundanas ultor criminum, reum legaliter ac regulariter pro excessibus suis damnatum, sua fretum potentia, Romam dirigat: maxime autem illum, qui et ante depositionem contra custodiam publicam et contra quietem moliri in tribus synodis extitit deprehensus,—et post depositionem suam—a sua pervicacia non quievit. Reges Francorum ex regio genere nati, non Episcoporum vicedomini, sed terrae domini hactenus fuimus computati: et ut Leo ac Romana Synodus scripsit: “Reges et Imperatores, quos terris divina potentia praecepit praeesse, jus distinguendorum negotiorum Episcopis sanctis juxta divalia constituta permiserunt;” non autem Episcoporum villici extiterunt. Et si revolveritis regesta decessorum ac praedecessorum vestrorum, talia mandata, sicut habentur in literis ex nomine vestro nobis directis,—decessores nostros a decessoribus vestris accepisse nullatenus invenietis,—iterato scribimus—deprecantes vos,—ut tales inhonorationis nostrae epistolas, taliaque mandata, sicut hactenus ex nomine vestro suscepimus, nobis et regni nostri Episcopis ac Primoribus de caetero non mandetis, et non compellatis nos mandata et epistolas vestras inhonorandas contemnere, et missos vestros dehonore, qui vobis in his, quae ad vestrum ministerium pertinent (si tamen ministerium vestrum) cupimus obtemperare.

²⁸ Hadr. ep. xxxiv. ad Car. C. (Mansi xv. 857):—Et quidem quia

On the other hand, *John VIII.* enjoyed the triumph of having plainly dared to affirm the pope's right to bestow the imperial crown, after he had crowned as emperor Charles the Bald, subsequently to the death of Lewis II. († 875), notwithstanding the opposition of Lewis of Germany.²⁹ The new emperor, too, proved

quasi tumores et laesiones vestras palpitare sensimus, has oleo consolationis per melos dulcissimae caritatis, et sanctae dilectionis unguentum fovere, lenire, et ad integritatis sanitatem perducere medicamento, quo valemus, optamus. Praedicatur enim de te, et longe lateque diffunditur, quod sis sapiens et Deum timens,—quod sis justus,—quod sis amator, exaltator et illustrator specialis in orbe terrarum et permaximus Ecclesiarum Dei, etc.—vobis confitemur devovendo, et notescimus affirmando, salva fidelitate Imperatoris nostri, quia, si superstes ei fuerit vestra nobilitas, vita nobis comite, si dederit nobis quislibet multorum modiorum auri cumulum, nunquam acquiescemus, exposcemus, aut sponte suscipiemus alium in regnum et imperium Romanum, nisi te ipsum. He even yielded the disputed point. Hincmar of Laon, it is true, was still ordered to come to Rome to see whether he persisted in his innocence: tunc electis iudicibus, non tamen eo prius in gradu restituto, aut ex latere nostro directis legatis, cum auctoritate nostra refricentur quae gesta sunt, et negotia in qua orta sunt provincia canonice terminentur. Entirely according to the first proposition. But even this did not take place. Johannes viii. ep. 314. ad Hincm. Rhem. (Mansi xvii. 226) A. D. 876 confirmed the decision: agnovimus justum fuisse omnino iudicium. Neque enim tantus princeps, nisi veritate fultum quidquam poterat affirmare. Unde nefas esse duximus ejus relationi non praebere incunctanter auditum. Hincmar of Laon was kept in prison and even blinded. See reclamatio Hincm. in actis conc. Tricassini, A. D. 878 (Mansi xvii. 352), and at this council, Pope John VIII., merely out of pity for him, permitted ut Hincm. caecus, si vellet, missam cantaret, et partem de rebus episcopii Laudunensis haberet, see annal. Bertin. ad ann. 878.

²⁹ Joh. viii. epist. 315. ad Episcop. regni Ludov., A. D. 876, (Mansi xvii. 227): imperium, quod Carolo constat non humano collatum beneficio, licet per nostrae mediocritatis ministerium, sed divino. [Deus] per apostolicae sedis privilegium, cunctorum favoribus approbatum sceptris imperialibus sublimavit. Reproaches that they had not prevented Lewis from invading Charles' realms: ubi est, quaesumus, quod vicem Christi in Ecclesia fungimur, si pro Christo contra insolentiam principum non luctamur; praesertim cum secundum Apostolum non sit nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes et potestates (Eph. vi. 12!!) Ejusd. epist. 316. ad Comites in regno Ludov. (ib. p. 230). Synodus apud Ticinum ad Carol. Imp. A. D. 876 (ib. p. 310): Jam quia divina pietas vos, bb. Principum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli interventione, per vicarium ipsorum, domnum videlicet Joannem summum Pontificem et universalem Papam, spiritalemque patrem vestrum—ad imperiale culmen s. Spiritus iudicio provexit: nos unanimiter vos protectorem, dominum ac defensorem omnium nostrum eligimus.

his gratitude by many regulations in favour of the Roman see and church.³⁰ He even appointed *Ansegisus*, archbishop of Sens,

³ At the *Conventus Ticinensis* in the year 876 (*Pertz* iii. 530) Charles ordains c. 1: ut s. Rom. Ecclesia, sicut est caput omnium Ecclesiarum, ita ab omnibus honoretur et veneretur; neque quisquam contra jus et potestatem ipsius aliquid injuste agere praesumat: sed liceat ei debitum tenere vigorem, et pro universali Ecclesia pastorem exhibere curam. c. 2 ut honor domino et spiritali patri nostro Johanni, summo Pontifici et universali Papae ab omnibus conservetur; et quae secundum sacrum ministerium suum auctoritate apostolica decreverit, cum summa veneratione ab omnibus suscipiantur, et debita illi obedientia in omnibus conservetur. Then c. 4 ecclesiasticus honor, et sacerdotalis atque clericalis reverentia, and finally c. 5. imperialis honor are inculcated. At the *Conventus Carisiacensis*, A. D. 877, (*Pertz* iii. 541) the emperor took under his protection the honours and rights of the Church of his country. Thus even the pope relying on the emperor, could advance with new ecclesiastical arrangements. He commanded in *Synodo Ravenn.* ann. 877. c. 1. (*Mansi* xvii. 337): Quisquis Metropolitanus intra tres menses consecrationis suae ad fidem suam exponendam palliumque suscipiendum ab apostolica sede—non miscerit, commissa sibi careat dignitate. cap. 4: Nulli Ducum liceat quemlibet Episcopum in praesentiam Romani praesulis introducere (this might have taken place with reference to the laws of Gratian. See vol. i. Div. 2, § 94, note 12, and *Valentinian* iii. *ibid.* note 66), vel census ab eo, sumtus publicos, et dona quaelibet exigere: sed nec coram laicis Episcopum objurgare concedimus. Clericos et sanctimoniales, pupillos et viduas sub tutela Episcoporum esse decernimus, et eos ad saecularia trahi modis omnibus interdiciamus. Quemlibet autem Ducum vel alium contra haec agentem excommuniandum esse decernimus, perseverantem vero anathematis vinculo innodandum. Hence the superabundant praise which the pope in *Synodo Romana* ann. 877 (*Baluz.* capit. ii. 251) pronounces on this emperor: Carolus—Imperator,—tanquam splendidissimum astrum ab arce colorum illuxit, non solum monumenta progenitorum—aequiperavit, verum etiam omne prorsus avitum studium vicit, et universum paternum certamen in causa religionis atque justitiae superavit. Quapropter et nos—non immerito intelleximus, istum esse proculdubio, qui a Deo constitutus esset salvator mundi. Et quia pridem apostolicae memoriae decessori nostro Papae Nicolao id ipsum jam inspiratione caelesti, revelatum esse comperimus, eligimus hunc merito et approbavimus una cum annisu et voto omnium fratrum et Coepiscoporum nostrorum,—amplique Senatus totiusque Romani populi gentisque togatae, et secundum priscam consuetudinem solemniter ad Imperii Romani sceptrum proveximus, et augustali nomine decoravimus. That Charles gained over the pope and the Romans by rich presents, see proved in *annal. Fuldenses* ann. 875 (*Pertz* i. 389): omnem Senatum populi Romani pecunia more Jugurthino corrumpit sibi sociavit; ita ut etiam Johannes Papa—eum Imperatorem et Augustum appellare praecepisset. *Hincmari annales* ad ann. 876 (*Pertz* i. 498): b. Petro

Pseudoisidorian primate of the Gallican and German church,³¹ against the opposition of his bishops; but was not able to give steadfastness to this new institute, since he died soon after († 877). Still, however, even Charles the Bald did not think of conceding to the pope a Pseudoisidorian subjection of the Frank church.³²

multa et pretiosa munera offerens in Imperatorem unctus et coronatus est. But yet the appendix to Eutropius, who belongs to the first half of the tenth century, is very exaggerated (see Wilman's Jahrb. d. deutschen Reichs unter Otto iii. S. 235) ap. Pertz v. 722: Qui veniens Roman, renovavit pactum cum Romanis, perdonans illis jura et consuetudines illius. Patrias autem Samniae et Calabriae simul cum omnibus civitatibus Beneventi eis contulit, insuper ad decorem regni totum ducatum Spoletinum cum duabus civitatibus Tusciae,—i.e., Aricium et Clusium, quatenus ut is, qui praeerat regia vice ante, Romanis videretur post esse subjectus. Removit etiam ab eis regias legationes, assiduitatem vel praesentiam apostolicae electionis. Quid plura? cuncta illis contulit, quae voluerunt, quaemadmodum dantur illa, quae nec recte adquiruntur nec possessura sperantur. Ab illo autem die honorificas consuetudines regiae dignitatis nemo Imperatorum, nemo Regum acquisivit. Comp. Gfrörer iii. ii. 1096. In the wild times of the tenth century, the Romans may have reconveyed to Charles the Bald, the rights which they appropriated to themselves.

³¹ At the conc. Pontigonense [876] capitul. Caroli Calvi tit. xviii. c. 7. Hincmari tract. ad Episcopos de jure Metropolitanorum, cum de primatu Ansegisi ageretur (opp. ed. Sirm. ii. 719), especially Hincmari annales (ann. Bertin.) ad ann. 876: The new primate was empowered, ut, quoties utilitas ecclesiastica dictaverit, sive in evocanda synodo, sive in aliis negotiis exercendis per Gallias et per Germanias apostolica vice fruatur, et decreta sedis apostolicae per ipsum Episcopis manifesta efficiantur: et rursus quae gesta fuerint, ejus relatione, si necesse fuerit, apostolicae sedi pandantur, et majora negotia ac difficiliora quaeque suggestionem ipsius a sede apostolica disponenda et enucleanda quaerantur (word for word from the epist. Joh. P. ad. Episc. Galliae et Germ. in Sirmondii concil. Gall. iii. 422, ap. Bouquet vii. 459.) The French bishops merely declared, ut servato singulis Metropolitanis jure privilegii secundum sacros canones—domni Joannis Papae apostolici jussionibus obedirent. Et cum Imp. ut legati apostolici satagerent, ut absolute Archiepiscopi responderent, se obedituros de primatu Ansegisi, sicut Apostolicus scripsit, aliud, nisi quod praedictum est, responsum ab eis extorquere non potuerunt. In the seventh session the matter was taken up again; but the bishops declared:—quod veluti sui antecessores illius [Johannis] antecessoribus regulariter obedierunt, ita ejus decretis velent obedire. Cf. Marca de conc. Sac. et Imp. lib. iv. c. 5, § 5, lib. vi. c. 29, § 5. Ejusd. diss. de Primatibus § 56.

³² Caroli Calvi de Presbyteris ex criminibus diffamatis ad Joannem P. ann. 876 (Hincmari opp. ii. 768. and in Goldasti collectio constitutt.

§. 22.

PAPACY IN THE STORMY TIMES TILL THE SYNOD OF SUTRI,
(1046.)

V. E. Löscher's *Historie des röm. Hurenregiments*, Leipzig 1707. 4. (2d edition with the title *die Historie der mittlern Zeiten als ein Licht aus der Finsterniss*. 1725. 4.) Gfrörer's *K.G.* iii. iii. 1133. On the chronology of the popes from 885—972, see R. A. Koepke *de vita et scriptis Liudprandi*, Berol. 842. 8. p. 155.

From the time that the Italian nobles, whose power gradually

imperialium ii. 34) : cap. 2 : Cum non longe ante hos annos nepos noster Hludovicus Italiae Imperator instinctu quorundam contra nos se commovit, missae sunt nobis epistolae, quasi ex apostolicae hujus sedis auctoritate ac nomine, quas tenoris inconvenientia hanc sanctam et discretissimam sedem non misisse ostendit. Cap. 3 : Et quoniam pravis saepius prava quam recta innotesci solent, nacta hinc occasione transalpinarum regionum Presbyteri, a suis Episcopis de certis criminibus regulariter ab ordine sacerdotali dejecti, et poenitentiae subacti, sine licentia et conscientia Primatum et Episcoporum suorum huc venire, et hinc epistolas, quae regulis non conveniunt, referre coeperunt. Quas non jussione apostolica, sed—quorumque ministrorum quasi pia miseratione factas, et nos, et illius regionis putant Episcopi. Therefore he wishes to lay before the pope the fundamental principles of the transalpine churches on this point. There are those of the Nicene, Sardican, and African synods, whose canons are adduced in full. Namely, cap. 7. Episcopum judicari debere a suis judicibus Episcopis. Then cap. 8. can. Sardic. 7. respecting the appeal to Rome at that time allowable. On the other hand, cap. 13. Sacrae leges ac regulae Presbyteros et caeteros inferioris gradus clericos non alibi, quam ad suos Episcopos praecipiant accusari : then according to can. Sardic. 17, the appeal to finitimos Episcopos is still open to them. Cap. 18. A judicibus autem, sive quos juxta Africanos canones Primates dederint, sive quos ipsi vicinos ex consensu delegerint causa finienda, regulariter provocari non potest. These are the principles of the transalpine church, without which all discipline would come to nothing. For else (c. 19) faciet licenter quisque Presbyterorum quodlibet. Unde si fuerit redargutus, veniat Romam. Cap. 22 : Legimus etiam quamvis rarissime praeceptum a sede apostolica, quosdam de longinquioribus parochiis specialis dioeceseos Romani Pontificis—propter contumaces contentiones aliquos invitatos fuisse : sed de transalpinis regionibus—tale quid pro Presbyterorum et Diaconorum appellatione a sede apostolica praeceptum fuisse non legimus etc.

increased under the last Carolingians after the deposal of Charles the Stout (887), had become entirely independent, the popes¹ were also involved in the wild strife of parties which now began in Italy.² They were obliged, as creatures of the reigning party, to give their spiritual sanction to its objects, but were by this means involved in all its fortunes, and were therefore frequently compelled to end their career by a violent death or in prison.

When the dukes Guido of Spoleto, and Berengarius of Friaul, strove for the Italian crown, *Stephen V.*³ favoured the former, and crowned him emperor (891). It is true that *Formosus* summoned the German king, Arnulf (894)⁴ against Guido's son, the emperor Lambert: but after Arnulf's departure, Lambert was again recognised, and *Formosus*, even in the grave, was blamed

¹ Martin II. (properly Marinus) from 882-884, Hadrian III. † 885, Stephanus V. (VI.) † 891, Formosus † 896, Bonifacius VI. only 15 days, Stephanus VI. (VII.) strangled 897, Romanus only 4 months, Théodore II. only 20 days, John IX. † 900, Benedict IV. † 903, Leo V. after one month banished by his successor, Christophorus likewise banished after 7 months, Sergius III. from 904-911.

² At first there was a struggle between a Frank and a national party, in which the latter, even at the time of Charles the Stout, endeavoured to make the choice of a pope independent of the emperors. Thus it chose, 885, Stephen V. See annal. Fuldenses ad h. a. (Pertz i. 402): Unde Imperator iratus, quod eo inconsulto illum ordinare praesumerunt, misit Liutwartum et quosdam Romanae sedis Episcopos, qui eum deponerent: quod perficere minime potuerunt. When Martinus Polonus [1277] ad ann. 884 says of Hadrian III.: Hic constituit ut Imperator non intromitteret se de electione, what some later writers have followed him in (see on the opposite side Muratori annali d'Italia v. 148), and when Sigonius de regno Ital. lib. v. even ascribes to him the constitution; ut moriente rege Crasso sine filiis, regnum Italicis principibus una cum titulo Imperii traderetur; they rightly designate the strivings of the national party, which however have hardly found a formal expression in papal decrees.

³ In what manner the popes, even at this time, when they were at Rome the playthings of parties, established their claims externally, is shown by the regulation Stephani V. ap. Gratian. P. i. dist. xix. c. 4: Enimvero, quia in speculum et exemplum s. Romana Ecclesia, cui nos Christus praeesse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.

⁴ Oath which the Romans took to Arnulf at the imperial coronation, in the annal. Bertin. and Fuldens. ad ann. 896: Juro per haec omnia Dei mysteria, quod salvo honore et lege mea atque fidelitate domini Formosi P. fidelis sum et ero omnibus diebus vitae meae Arnolfo Imperatori etc.

by *Stephen VI.*⁵ After Lambert's death († 898)⁶ Berengar renewed his attempts, and having defeated Lewis, king of Provence whom the Spoletan party had put up against him, and who had even been crowned emperor (901) by *Benedict IV.*, was at length successful in becoming king of Italy, and was crowned emperor by *John X.* (915).

In the meantime, a party led by Adelbert Margrave of Tuscany and by the notorious Theodora with her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, were endeavouring to obtain dominion over Rome. The decided ascendancy of this party began with the elevation of the vile *Sergius III.* to the papal see (904). The succeeding popes were nominated by it.⁷ *John X.*, elevated by his relation to Theodora (914)⁸ was murdered, when he be-

⁵ Concerning the conc. Rom. held against Formosus 897, see especially the contemporaries Auxilius de ordinationibus Formosi P. libb. ii. (in bibl. PP. Lugd. xvii. 1. and ap. J. Morinus de sacris Ecclesiae ordinationibus p. 282) and super causa et negotio Form. P. (in Mabillonii analectis p. 28.) Farther, an unknown individual's *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso Papa* (in Anastas. de vitis Rom. Pont. ed. Blanchini iv. lxx.) and Syn. Rom. A. D. 898 (not 904. ap. Mansi xviii. 221), where John IX. cashiered the acts of that Synod.

⁶ To this Italian emperor a co-operation in the choice of a pope had been formally conceded by John IX., in order to check the usurpations of the Roman nobles. Syn. Rom. ann. 898. c. 10. (Mansi xviii. 225. Pertz iv. ii. 158): Quia s. Romana Ecclesia, cui Deo auctore praesidemus, plurimas patitur violentias Pontifice obeunte, quae ob hoc inferuntur, quis absque Imperatoris notitia, et suorum legatorum praesentia Pontificis fit consecratio, nec canonico ritu et consuetudine ab Imperatore directi intersunt nuntii, qui violentiam et scandala in ejus consecratione non permittant fieri: volumus, id ut deinceps abdicetur, et constituendus Pontifex convenientibus Episcopis et universo clero eligatur, expetente senatu et populo, qui ordinandus est, et sic in conspectu omnium celeberrime electus ab omnibus, praesentibus legatis imperialibus, consecratur. Nullusque sine periculo juramentum vel promissiones nova adinventione ab eo audeat extorquere, nisi quae antiqua exigit consuetudo, ne Ecclesia scandalizetur, vel Imperatoris honorificentia minuatur.

⁷ Anastasius III. † 913, Landus † 914, John X. murdered in prison 928, Leo VI. † 929, Stephen VII. (VIII.) † 931, John XI. † 936, Leo VII. † 939, Stephen VIII. (IX.) † 942, Martin III. (Marinus II.) † 946, Agapetus II. † 956, John XII. deposed 963.

⁸ Luitprandi antapodosis ii. 48 (Pertz v. 297): Theodora scortum impudens, hujus Alberici, qui nuper hominem exiit, avia (quod dictu etiam foedissimum est), Romanae civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat. Quae duas habuit natas, Marotiam atque Theodoram, sibi

trayed symptoms of a disposition to act independently (928).⁹ Soon after, *Marozia's* son, *John XI.*¹⁰ (931), was made pope; and her second son, *Alberich*, possessed himself of the chief power of Rome¹¹ as patricius and senator (932–954). The latter's son *Octavianus*, not content with succeeding to his father's power, assumed the papal dignity also as *John XII.* (956) which he disgraced by the most shameful excesses.¹² In an evil hour for him-

non solum coaequales, verum etiam Veneris exercitio promptiores. Harum Marotia ex Papa Sergio—Joannem, qui post Joannis Ravennatis obitum Rom. Ecclesiae obtinuit dignitatem, nefario genuit adulterio: ex Alberico autem Marchione Albericum, qui nostro post tempore ejusdem Romanae urbis principatum sibi usurpavit. (Petrus Ravennatis sedis Archiepiscopus) dum subjectionis officio debitae Joannem Papam, qui suae minister Ecclesiae tunc temporis habebatur, Romam saepius et iterum domino dirigeret Apostolico: Theodora—meretrix satis impudentissima, Veneris calore succensa, in hujus speciei decorem vehementer exarsit; secumque hunc scortari non solum voluit, verum etiam atque etiam post compulit. Haec dum impudentur aguntur, Bononiensis Episcopus moritur, et Joannes iste loco ejus eligitur. Paulo post ante hujus diem consecrationis nominatus Ravennas Archipraesul mortem obiit, locumque ejus Johannes hic, Theodorae instinctu—sibi usurpavit. Romam quippe adveniens mox Ravennatis Ecclesiae ordinatur Episcopus. Modica vero temporis intercapedine, Deo vocante, qui eum injuste ordinaverat Papa defunctus est. Theodorae autem Glycerii mens perversa, ne amasii CC. milliarium interpositione, quibus Ravenna sequestratur a Roma, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravennatis hunc sedis archiepiscopium coegit deserere, Romanumque (proh nefas!) summum pontificium usurpare. On Luitprand's credibility in this passage, see Martini's (cited before section 2) Abhandl. S. 54 ff. John's campaign against the Saracen fort at Fl. Garigliano (916). Luitpr. ii. 14. Martini S. 24. Schlosser's Weltgesch. ii. i. 595.

⁹ Luitpr. iii. 43. (Pertz v. 312). Martini S. 27.

¹⁰ According to Luitprand (note 8), son of Pope Sergius and Marozia. Leo of Ostia (about 1100) according to whom Albericus Rom. Consul. was the father, cannot disprove this account, since he (as well as Schlosser ii. ii. 201) confounds John xi. with John xii. See Martini p. 53.

¹¹ Luitpr. iii. 44. Martini S. 27. Schlosser ii. ii. 164.

¹² Concerning him, Luitpr. de rebus gestis Ottonis (Pertz v. 340.) Martini, p. 68, shows that there is no ground for questioning the authenticity of the last chapters of Luitprand, as had been frequently done, after Baronius ad. ann. 963 no. 2 ss. His manners, c. 4: Joannes P. his omnibus (moribus et legibus) adversatur. Non clam est populo, quod fatemur. Testis est Rainerii, sui ipsius militis, vidua, quam caeco captus igne, multis praefectam urbibus, sacrosanctis b. Petri donavit aureis crucibus atque calicibus. Testis est Stephana, ejus amita, quae in effusione, quod ex eo conceperat, recens hominem exivit. Quod se cuncta taceant, Lateranense palatium, Sanctorum quondam hospitium, nunc

self, he summoned the German King Otto I. to protect him against the oppressions of Berengar II., king of Italy, (960) and crowned him emperor (962);¹³ for when he acted treacherously towards him, Otto caused him to be deposed¹⁴ (963), appointing

prostibulum meretricum, non silebit, amitam conjugem, Stephaniae alterius concubinae sororem. Testis omnium gentium, praeter Romanarum, absentia mulierum, quae ss. Apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines vi oppressisse. Testes sunt ss. Apostolorum Ecclesiae, quae non stillatim pluviam, sed totum tectum intrinsecus, supra ipsa etiam sacrosancta altaria imbrem admittunt.

¹³ Schlosser ii. ii. 202. W. Dönniges Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Otto i. Berlin 1839. 8. S. 81. Luitpr. de rebus gest. Ottonis c. 3: Jusjurandum vero (Otto) ab eodem P. Joanne supra pretiosissimum corpus Petri, atque omnibus civitatis proceribus, se nunquam Berengario atque Adelberto auxiliaturum, accepit. On the contrary, Gratian P. i. dist. lxiii. c. 33. has a juramentum Ottonis, before he was emperor (three texts in Pertz monum. iv. 28): quod si—Romam venero, s. Rom. Ecclesiam, et te rectorem ipsius exaltabo secundum posse meum, et nunquam vitam, aut membra, et ipsum honorem, quem habes, mea voluntate—aut meo consensu—perdes: et in Romana urbe nullum placitum, aut ordinationem faciam de omnibus, quae ad te aut ad Romanos pertinent, sine tuo consilio, et quicquid de terra s. Petri ad nostram potestatem pervenerit, tibi reddam, etc. Dönniges, p. 203, believes that this oath, whose tenor is certainly striking, in an oath of allegiance, was forged at the time of the investiture controversy. On the other hand, Gfrörer iii. iii. 1242 declares it to be authentic. The investiture act of Otto, given by Baronius ad ann. 962, no. 3 professedly from the original (ap. Pertz iv. ii. 164), has been pronounced spurious, especially by Goldast, Conring (de Germanorum Imp. Romano 1643. Opp. i. 76), and Muratori; but defended on the other side by Gretser, Cenniand Marini (Rom. 1822). Probably the genuine original document was subsequently falsified, Pertz iv. ii. 159. The expression of the investiture is significant for the relations of this period, ut ea in illius [Pontificis] ditioe ad uttendum et fruendum atque disponendum firmiter valeant obtineri, salva in omnibus potestate nostra, et filii nostri, posterorunque nostrorum, secundum quod in pacto et constitutione ac promissionis firmitate Eugenii Pontificis (see above § 6 not, 4), successorumque illius continetur. The fictitious investiture of Lewis the de-bonaire (see § 6 note 1), which appears to have been adopted into this of Otto has certainly flowed first from it. Comp. Le Bret Geschichte Italien i. 476.

¹⁴ See the Acts of the conc. Rom. ap. Luitprand de rebus gestis Ottonis c. 10 ss. (Pertz v. 342). Comp. Dönniges, Jahrbücher d. deutschen Reichs unter Otto i. S. 93. The older writers always acknowledged the legitimacy of this council (even as late as Platina in the fifteenth, and Onuphrius Panvinius in the sixteenth century); on the con-

as pope¹⁵ Leo VIII., whom he maintained in spite of all the opposition of John XII. and Benedict V.

trary most of the later catholic historians, after Baronius ad ann. 963, declare it to be a Pseudosynodus and Conciliabulum, and Leo VIII., who was there elected, a Pseudo-papa. Comp. particularly Nat. Alex. hist. eccl. ad saec. ix. et x. diss. xvi.

¹⁵ Luitprand. c. 8: Cives vero sanctum Imperatorem cum suis omnibus in Urbem suscipiunt, fidelitatemque repromittunt: hoc addentes et firmiter jurantes, nunquam se Papam electuros aut ordinaturos praeter consensum atque electionem domni Imperatoris Ottonis. Constitutio Leonis P. (by Theodoricus de Niem about 1400 communicated, with scholia, in the privilegia et jura Imperii circa investituras Episcopatum et Abbatiarum in S. Schardii syntagma tractatum de imperiali jurisdictione, p. 249, in extracts, ap. Gratian. P. i. dist. lxxiii. c. 23, in an older form after Codd. of the eleventh century ap. Pertz iv. ii. 167):—Idcirco ad exemplum b. Adriani, sedis apostolicae Episcopi, cujus vitam et actionem satis discretam audivimus, et rationabilem admodum in suis spiritalibus sanctionibus recognovimus: qui ejusmodi s. Synodum constituit, et domno Carolo—Patriciatus dignitatem ac ordinationem apostolicae sedis et Episcopatum concessit; nos quoque Leo, servus servorum Dei, Episcopus, simul cum cuncto Clero et universo populo Romano, omnibus ordinibus hujus almae Urbis,—constituimus, confirmamus, corroboramus, et per nostram Apostolicam auctoritatem concedimus atque largimur domno Ottoni Primo, Teutonico Regi, dilectissimo spirituali in Christo Filio nostro, ejusque successoribus hujus regni Italiae in perpetuum, tam sibi facultatem successorem eligendi, quam summae sedis apostolicae Pontificem ordinandi: ac per hoc Archiepiscopus seu Episcopus, ut ipsi tamen ab eo investituram suscipiant, et consecrationem recipiant undecunque pertinuerit, exceptis his, quos Imperator Pontifici et Archiepiscopis concessit. Ita demum asserimus, ut nemo deinceps, cujusunque gradus vel conditionis, aut dignitatis sive religiositatis, eligendi Regem vel Patricium sive Pontificem summae sedis apostolicae, aut quemcunque Episcopum, vel ordinandi habeat facultatem, sed soli regi Romani Imperii hanc reverentiae tribuimus facultatem, absque omni pecunia haec omnia superius disponenda; et ut ipse sit Rex, et Patricius. Quodsi a Clero et populo quis eligatur Episcopus, nisi a supradicto Rege laudetur et investiat, non consecretur. Unde si quis contra hanc apostolicam auctoritatem et traditionem aliquid molitur,—sciat se in iram b. Petri, Apostolorum Principis, et filii nostri domni Ottonis, ejus successorum, et nostram casurum, et sub anathematis vinculo emersurum, ac per hoc excommunicationi universalis Ecclesiae omnisque populi christiani eum subjacere decrevimus. Insuper nisi a malo resipuerit, irrevocabili exilio puniatur, vel ultimis suppliciiis feriat.—Baronius, ad ann. 964 no. 22. and 23, denies the genuineness of this document, though he refers to it again ann. 996, no. 35 and 42. The genuineness is specially defended by Goldast, rationale constitutt. imp. p. 29 ss. Comp. also Chr. W. F. Walchii diss. de Ottone M. p. 46 ss. Le Bret Geschichte von Italien i. 486. The contents of the

As long as Otto I. lived, he preserved tolerable order in Rome;¹⁶ but immediately after his death (973), the Tuscan party elevated itself anew under *Crescentius* son of the younger *Theodora*.¹⁷ *Otto II.* († 983) maintained in some measure the imperial dignity; but during the minority of *Otto III.* *Crescentius* exercised full sway over Rome.¹⁸ The power of the pope seems to have sunk not only in this city but also in other countries;¹⁹ for at the instance of Hugo Capet a *Synod at Rheims*²⁰ did not hesitate to depose Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims, and to

document correspond with the relations which were actually established at that time, but the form of it is perhaps spurious. Pertz l. c. Dönniges S. 102. However, Gfrörer, iii. iii. 1254, defends the latter also. Another document, in which Leo is said to have restored to the emperor all former imperial gifts (Pertz iv. ii. 168), is doubtless wholly fictitious.

¹⁶ Popes: Leo VIII. † 965. Contin. Regin. ad ann. 965: Tunc legati Romanorum—Imperatorem pro instituendo, quem vellet, Romano Pontifice, in Saxoniam adeuntes, honorifice suscipiuntur et remittuntur. Et Otgerus, Spirensis Episc. et Linzo, Cremonensis Episc. cum eisdem Normani ab Imp. diriguntur. Tunc ab omni plebe Romana Joannes, Narniensis Ecclesie Episc., eligitur. John XIII. † 972. Benedict VI.

¹⁷ Benedict VI., murdered by the Tuscan party 974; Boniface VII. expelled by the people, 974; Benedict VII. † 983; John XIV., chosen by imperial influence. On the chronology see W. Giesebrecht in den Jahrbüchern des deutschen Reichs unter Otto ii. S. 141.

¹⁸ Immediately after Otto II.'s death, Boniface VII. returned, and John XIV. died in prison, 984, Boniface VII. (cf. Arnulf. Aurel. in the discourse about to be quoted, note 19, below; horrendum monstrum Bonifacius, cunctos mortales nequitia superans, etiam prioris pontificis sanguine cruentus—fugatus—redit—virum Apostolicum—squalore carceris affectum perimit) † 985. John XV. † 996, Gregory V. owed his election to his relative, Otto III. (See Schlosser ii. ii. 291.) On the chronology see Wilman's Jahrb. des deutschen Reichs unter Otto III. S. 207.

¹⁹ The chief authority for the following is the newly-discovered Richerus iv. 25. ap. Pertz v. 636. Gerbert od. Papst Sylvester II. u. s. Jahrhundert, v. Dr C. F. Hock, Wien 1837. S. 80. Wilman's Jahrb. des deutschen Reichs unter Otto III., Berlin, 1840. S. 51. On Gerbert's letters belonging to this period see Wilman's, p. 167. On Richer see p. 175. Gfrörer iii. iii. 1441.

²⁰ The acts of this memorable synod have been preserved by Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II). He says in the prologus: Accingar igitur, et summarum quidem genera causarum, in Remensi concilio exposita, breviter attingam, ut et gestorum veritas innotescat, et quae a summis viris retractata sunt agnoscantur.—triplici genere interpretationis utendum

appoint the celebrated *Gerbert* his successor, in a manner that showed their utter contempt for the papal authority.²¹ *John XV.*

fore censeo, scilicet ut quaedam ad verbum ex alia in aliam transferantur linguarum: in quibusdam autem sententiarum gravitas et eloquii dignitas dicendi genere conformentur: porro in aliis una dictio occasionem faciat, et abdita investigari, et in lucem ipsos affectus manifeste proferri. It seems, then, from this that Gerbert had before him the protocol composed in the vulgar tongue. These acts were first published by the Magdeburg Centuriators, Cent. x. cap. 9. p. 457 ss., best with new appendices, ap. Pertz. v. 658. Baronius declared them to be spurious. Hence they are wanting in the older collections. Mansi xix. 107. was the first to adopt them and declare: censent vulgo omnes, Gerbertum reipsa et sincere recitasse acta Concilii vere habiti etc.

²¹ Arnulf was accused of having betrayed Rheims, A.D. 989, to Charles, duke of Lorrain, who pretended to the crown. Hugo Capet at first applied to the pope (letters in the act. Syn. Rhem. cap. 25 and 26): but having got Arnulf into his power, he summoned that council. At it an attempt was made by certain monks at first to prove from the Pseudo-isidoriana that Arnulf ought, first of all, to be restored to his bishopric, and that the negotia Episcoporum belonged to the see of Rome (cap. 19-23). This was specially opposed by Arnulphus Ep. Aurelianensis (qui ordinis custos ac omnium gerendorum interpretus declaratus est, eo quod inter omnes Galliarum Episcopos sapientia et eloquentia clarior haberetur. cap. 1). He said, cap. 28., among other things: Nos—Rom. Ecclesiam—semper honorandam decernimus—salva tamen auctoritate Nicaeni concilii. Si nova constitutio Rom. Pontificis promulgatis legibus canonum praejudicare potest, quid prosunt leges conditae, cum ad unius arbitrium omnia dirigantur? O lugenda Roma, quae nostris majoribus clara patrum lumina protulisti, nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro saeculo famosas offudisti! Olim accepimus claros Leones, magnos Gregorios. Eorum itaque dispositioni, qui vitae merito et scientia cunctos mortales anteirent, recte universalis Ecclesia credita est: quamvis et in hac ipsa felicitate hoc privilegium tibi ab Africanis Episcopis contradictum sit (see vol. i. div. 2. § 94. not. 61.), has credo quas patimur miseras magis, quam typhum dominationis formidantibus. Nam quid sub haec tempora non vidimus? Vidimus Johannem cognomento Octavianum, in volutabro libidinum versatum etc. etc. Num talibus monstris hominum ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum rerum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum, scientia et vitae merito conspicuos subijci decretum est? Quid hunc, rev. Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si caritate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est, in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tamquam sit Deus. Si autem nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tamquam statua, tamquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est. Quo ergo consultum ibimus? Certe in Belgica et Germania—summos sacerdotes Dei, religione admodum praestantes, inveniri, in hoc sacro conventu

declared indeed the decrees of this synod void ; but, as it seems, without effect.²² On the other hand, the new king, Robert, found

testes quidam sunt. Proinde, si regum dissidentium animositas non prohiberet, inde magis Episcoporum iudicium petendum fore videretur, quam ab ea urbe, quae nunc emtoribus venalis exposita, ad nummorum quantitatem iudicia trutinat. He then shows, in answer to the epist. Pseudo-Damasi cited by the monks, that, according to Gregory the Great, certainly bishops and metropolitans could be judged by provincial councils. Further, in opposition to the rule of Pseudo-Damasus, Synodum sine ejus Rom. sedis auctoritate fieri, non est catholicum : among other things : Nicaenus canon bis in anno concilia debere fieri dicit, nihilque inde ad Rom. Episcopi auctoritatem spectare praescribit. But no suspicion that that decree might have been supposititious ! At length, Arnulf of Rheims acknowledged his offence, and voluntarily resigned his place. Comp. Gerbert's *Rechtfertigungsschreiben für d. Concil ad Wilderodum Episc. Argentinae* ap. Mansi xix. 153.

²² The French bishops united at the synod of Chela, 992, for this end (Richerius iv. 89. ap. Pertz. v. 651), ut ab ea die idem sentirent, idem vellent, idem cooperarentur, secundum id quod scriptum est : erat eis cor unum et anima una (Act. 4. 32). Placuit quoque sanciri, si quid a Papa Romano contra Patrum decreta suggereretur, cassum et irritum fieri, juxta quod Apostolus ait : haereticum hominem et ab Ecclesia dissentientem penitus devota (Tit. iii. 10). Nec minus abdicationem Arnulfi et promotionem Gerberti, prout ab eis ordinatae et peractae essent, perpetuo placuit sanciri, juxta quod in canonibus scriptum habetur : Synodo provinciali statutum a nullo temere labefactandum. Comp. Gerbert's three letters ap. Mansi xix. 173 ss. ad Constantinum Miciacensem Abb. :—Majus est, quod quaeritur, et quod appetitur, quam ego humilis et parvus ; verumque proverbium est : tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. Hoc enim concessio, dignitas vel potius gravitas confunditur sacerdotalis, status regni periclitatur etc. Ad Siquinum Archiep. Senon. : Quomodo ergo nostri aemuli dicunt, quod in Arnulfi dejectione Romani Episcopi iudicium expectandum fuit ? Poteruntne docere Romani Episcopi iudicium Dei majus esse ? Constanter dico, quod si ipse Romanus Episcopus in fratrem peccaverit, saepiusque admonitus Ecclesiam non audierit, hic inquam, Rom. Episc. praecepto Dei est habendus sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Quod si propterea sua communione nos indignos ducit, quia contra Evangelium sentienti nullus nostrum consentit ; non ideo a communione Christi nos separare poterit. Non est ergo danda occasio nostris aemulis, ut sacerdotium, quod ubique unum est, sicut Ecclesia catholica una est, ita uni subjici videatur, ut et pecunia, gratia, metu vel ignorantia corrupto nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem sibi hae virtutes commendarint. Sit lex communis Ecclesiae catholicae Evangelium, Apostoli, Prophetae, Canones spiritu Dei constituti, et totius mundi reverentia consecrati, Decreta sedis apostolicae ab his non discordantia. Ad Adelaidem Imperatricem : neque enim Ecclesiam, quam Episcoporum iudicio regendam accepi, sine Episcoporum iudicio relinquere volo.

a reconciliation with the pope desirable, amid the hostile designs of the emperor Otto III. against him. *Gregory V.*²³ had the triumph of seeing Arnulf restored to freedom, and Gerbert compelled to yield (997),²⁴ so that he even met with obedience when he desired to annul Robert's marriage with Bertha, on account of their too near consanguinity.²⁵

When Crescentius violated the lauded obedience *Otto III.* put an end to his dominion (998),²⁶ and elevated after Gregory's death his own teacher Gerbert to the papal see, as *Sylvester II.*;²⁷ but at the same time took up his residence in Rome for

²³ Respecting him see die deutschen Päpste v. C. Höfler (2 Th. Regensburg 1839. 8.) i. 94. Martinus Polonus in chron. ad Ottonem III. makes the remark: Licet tres Ottones per successionem generis regnaverunt, post tamen institutum fuit, ut per officiales imperii Imperator eligeretur, qui sunt septem etc. In the work de regimine Principum (attributed to St Thomas) lib. iii. cap. 19. this becomes: Otto imperium tenuit ad tertiam generationem, quorum quilibet vocatus est Otto. Et tunc, ut historici tradunt, per Gregorium V. genere similiter Teutonicum, provisa est electio, ut videlicet per VII. principes Alemanniae fiat etc. This passage has been copied by succeeding writers, even defended by Baronius ad ann. 996 n. 38 ss. and Bellarmine de transl. Rom. imp. lib. iii. but is now universally abandoned, cf. Natalis Alexander hist. eccl. ad saec. ix. et x. diss. xvii.

²⁴ Richerus in fine ap. Pertz v. 657.

²⁵ Conc. Rom. ann. 998 can. 1. (Mansi xix. 225) ut rex Robertus consanguineam suam Bertam, quam contra leges in uxorem duxit, derelinquat et VII. annorum poenitentiam agat.—Quod si non fecerit, anathema sit, idemque de eadem Berta fieri praeceptum est. The contemporary Helgaldus Floriacensis Mon. relates in vita Roberti R. c. 17. (ap Bouquet x. 107) merely this: Abbonis Floriacensium Abbatis increpatio tam diu perstitit, donec Rex mitissimus reatum suum agnosceret, et quam male sibi copulaverat mulierem prorsus derelinqueret, et peccati maculam grata Deo satisfactione dilueret. The credulous Petrus Damiani († 1072) first tells us, epist. lib. ii. ep. 15. (ap. Bouquet x. 492): Robertus—propinquam sibi copulavit uxorem, ex qua suscepit filium, anserinum per omnia collum et caput habentem. Quos etiam, virum scilicet et uxorem, omnes fere Galliarum Episcopi communi simul excommunicavere sententia. Cujus sacerdotalis edicti tantus omnem undique populum terror invasit, ut ab ejus universi societate recederent, nec praeter duos sibi servulos ad necessarii victus obsequium remanerent. Qui tamen et ipsi omnia vasa, in quibus rex edebat vel bibebat, percepto cibo, abominabilia judicantes, pabulum ignibus exhibebant. His tandem Rex coactus angustiis, ad sanum consilium rediens, divortit incestum, iniitque legale connubium.

²⁶ Thietmari chron. iv. 21. ap. Pertz v. 776. Schlosser ii. ii. 294.

²⁷ Gregory V. † 999, Sylvester II. † 1003, (Gerbert oder Papst

the purpose of restoring the old Roman dominion in Byzantine forms.²⁸ Yet much as he purposed to favour *the Romans*, he

Sylvester II. u. s. Jahrhundert. v. Dr. C. F. Hock. Wien 1837. S. 129), John XVII. † 1003, John XVIII. † 1009, Sergius IV. † 1012, Benedict VIII. † 1024, John XIX. † 1033, Benedict IX.

²⁸ Thietmari chron. iv. 29: Imperator antiquam Romanorum consuetudinem jam ex parte magna deletam suis cupiens renovare temporibus, multa faciebat, quae diversi diverse sentiebant. Wilmans Jahrb. d. deutschen Reichs unter Otto iii. S. 133. Gfrörer iii. iii. 1510. Remarkable fragments respecting form of government and ceremonies which were introduced into Rome at this time have been discovered by Pertz in the Vatican, and published by Blume in the Rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz v. 123. Ottonis iii. diploma A. D. 999 (ap. Baronium ad ann. 1191 no. 57. Pertz iv. ii. 162): Romam caput mundi profitemur, Rom. Ecclesiam matrem omnium Ecclesiarum esse testamur, sed incuria et inscientia Pontificum longe suae claritatis titulos obfusasse. Nam non solum quae extra urbem esse videbantur vendiderunt,—sed—si quid in hac nostra urbe regia habuerunt, ut majori licentia evagarentur, omnibus cum vindicantia pecunia in commune dederunt, et s. Petrum et s. Paulum, ipsa quoque altaria spoliaverunt, et pro reparatione semper confusionem duxerunt. Confusis vero papaticis legibus, et jam abjecta Ecclesia Rom. in tantum quidam Pontificum irruerunt, ut maximam partem Imperii nostri apostolatui suo conjungerent.—Haec sunt enim commenta ab illis ipsis inventa, quibus Joannes Diaconus, cognomento Digitorum mutius [mozzo, mutilus, perhaps that John Diaconus whom John XII. first employed as a tool, Cont. Regin. ann. 960, and whose right hand he afterwards caused to be cut off, id. ad ann. 964, Luitpr. hist. Ottonis c. 19. ap. Pertz v. 346] praeceptum aureis literis scripsit, sub titulo magni Constantini longa mendacii tempora finxit (see above § 20. note 21.) Haec sunt etiam commenta, quibus dicunt, quendam Carolum s. Petro nostra publica tribuisse (see above § 21. note 30.) Sed ad haec respondemus, ipsum Carolum nihil dare jure potuisse, utpote jam a Carolo meliore fugatum, jam imperio privatum, jam destitutum et annullatum.—Spretis ergo commentitiis praeceptis, et imaginariis scriptis ex nostra liberalitate s. Petro donamus quae nostra sunt: non sibi, quae sua sunt, veluti nostra conferimus. Sicut enim pro amore s. Petri dominum Sylvestrum magistrum nostrum Papam elegimus, et Deo volente ipsum serenissimum ordinavimus et creavimus: ita pro amore ipsius domini Sylvestri Papae, s. Petro de publico nostro dona censerimus—octo comitatus,—Pisaurum, Fanum, Senogalliam, Anconam, Fossabrunum, Callium, Esium et Ausimum. This diploma was copied and authenticated by command of the pope, from the archives at Assisi 1339 (the protocol ap. Baron. l. c.)—is declared spurious by Baronius, Gretser, Pagi, and others, and recently by Wilmans Jahrb. des deutschen Reichs unter Otto iii. S. 233, defended by Muratori in his controversial writings concerning Commachio, by Pertz l. c. and Gfrörer iii. iii. 1570.

only incurred their hatred, with his German associations.²⁹ After his death (1002), the German dominion was cast off, the Tuscan party were again triumphant, and even from *Benedict VIII.* (1012), the papal dignity was for a long time hereditary in the family of the counts of Tuscany. Henry II.³⁰ was merely able to exercise imperial rights in Rome temporarily at his coronation (1014).³¹ To Benedict succeeded (1024) his brother *John XIX.*

²⁹ Comp. the Roman fragments belonging to this time in the Rheinischen Museum für Jurisprudenz v. 131: Postquam peccatis nostris exigentibus Romanorum imperium barbarorum patuit gladiis feriendum, Romanas leges penitus ignorantes illiterati ac barbari iudices legis peritos in legem cogentes jurare, iudices creavere, quorum iudicio lis ventilata terminaretur. Hi accepta abusiva potestate, dum stipendia a republica non accipiunt, avaritiae face succensi jus omne confundunt. Comes enim illiteratus ac barbarus nescit vera a falsis discernere, et ideo fallitur. Alberici chron. ad ann. 1002. (ed. Leibnit. ii. 26.) Otto Imp. degens Romae, dum cum Romanis remissius agit, tractans, qualiter jura Regni et Ecclesiae ad antiquum statum reformaret; Romani per hoc ad contemptum ejus adducti, subito contra eum conspirant, et aliquot militum ejus peremptis eum in palatio obsident, unde—vix egressus Roma discedit cum Sylvestro (comp. Thietmar iv. 30.)—moriatur. Milites transalpini corpus Imperatoris defuncti cum insignibus Imperii ad Galliam [Germaniam] transferentes, crebris Italarum incursibus lacessiti armis sibi viam parant.

³⁰ Thietmar vii. 1. Glaber Radulphus (monk in Clüigny about 1045) historiarum sui temporis lib. i. c. 5: Anno igitur Dominicae incarnationis MXIV. licet insigne illud imperiale diversis speciebus prius figuratum fuisset, a venerabili tamen P. Benedicto—fieri jussum est admodum intellectuali specie idem insigne. Praecepit fabricari quasi aureum pomum, atque circumdari per quadrum pretiosissimis quibusque gemmis, ac desuper auream crucem inseri. Erat autem instar hujus mundanae molis,—ut dum siquidem illud respiceret Princeps terreni imperii, foret ei documentum, non aliter debere imperare vel militare in mundo, quam ut dignus haberetur vivificae crucis tueri vexillo; in ipso etiam diversarum gemmarum decoramine videlicet Imperii culmen plurimarum virtutum speciebus exornari oportere. Cumque postmodum praedictus Papa Imperatori videlicet Henrico—obviam—processisset—eique hujusmodi insigne scilicet Imperii—tradisset, etc.

³¹ Thietmar lib. vi. in fine:

Ista dies pulchro signetur clara lapillo,
Qua Regi nostro se subdit Roma benigno.

Hugo Farfensis Abbas de imminutione rerum monasterii sui (in Mabilonii ann. ord. s. Bened. T. iv. App. p. 701. 704.) related of Henry's verdicts pertaining to the monastery of Farfa.—The act of investiture by Henry II. (ap. Mansi xix. 331. Pertz iv. ii. 173), which agrees with that of Otto I. (see note 13), except some few additions, is declared

though yet a layman,³² and to him, even as early as 1033, a boy *Benedict IX.* one of the vilest men.³³ Having been expelled (1044) and *Sylvester III.* chosen in his place, he sold his right to the papal dignity to *Gregory VI.*³⁴ To this confusion the emperor *Henry*

spurious by Conring de Germ. Imp. Rom. c. x. § 15, Muratori annal. d'Italia vi. 46. See F. Hahn deutsche Staats- Reichs- und Kaiserhist. ii. 208, defended on the contrary by Cenni monum. dominationis pontif. ii. 165, Borgia breve istoria del dominio temporale della sede apostolica nelle due Sicilie (Roma 1788. 4) p. 269. According to Pertz it belongs to the year 1020, but is interpolated.

³² Glaber Radulph. iv. c. 1: Johannes iste cognomento Romanus, frater illius Benedicti, cui in Episcopatum successerat, largitione pecuniae repente ex laicali ordine neophytus constitutus est Praesul. Sed insolentia Romanorum adinvenit palliandae subdolositatis ridiculum, scilicet ut, quemcunque pro suo libitu inpraesentiarum ad Pontificatus officium delegerint, mutato nomine quod illi prius fuerat, aliquo magnorum Pontificum nomine illum appellari decernant: re vera quem si non meritum rei, saltem nomen extollat. The first pope who changed his name was John XII.

³³ From this time onward the following works of two decided adherents of Gregory VII. are important for history: lib. ad amicum s. de persecutione Ecclesiae libb. ix. of Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, afterwards of Piacenza († 1089), where from lib. v. we meet with a history of the popes from Benedict IX. to Gregory VII. (in Oefelii scriptores rerum Boicarum ii. 794. Comp. Stenzel's Geschichte Deutschlands unter den fränkischen Kaisern ii. 67), and the work of Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, who was afterwards Pope Victor III. († 1086), entitled de miraculis a s. Benedicto aliisque monachis Casinensibus gestis dialogorum lib. iii. init. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 853.) Besides annales Romani from 1044 in the spicileg. Rom. T. vi. (Romae 1841), p. 282, ap. Pertz vii. 468. Bonizo lib. v. p. 801. relates: Urbis Romae Capitanei et maxime Tusculani per patriciatus inania nomina Romanam vastabant Ecclesiam, ita ut quodam hereditario jure viderentur sibi possidere pontificatum. Enimvero mortuo Joanne Benedicti Papae fratre, qui uno eodemque die Praefectus fuit et Papa, cum successisset ei Theophylactus, qui Alberici fuit filius, Gregorius frater ejus nomen sibi vendicabat patriciatus. Desiderius l. c.: Dum per aliquot annos nonnulli solo nomine Pontificum cathedram obtinerent; Benedictus quidam nomine, non tamen opere, cujusdam Alberici Consulis filius, Magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus, non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia, summum sibi sacerdotium vindicavit (and even according to Glaber Radulph. iv. c. 5. when puer ferme decennis or duodecennis): cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam foeda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre.

³⁴ Desiderius l. c. Denique cum rapinas, caedes, aliaque nefanda in Romanum populum aliquanta per tempora sine ulla dilatione ageret (Benedictus), congregati in unum populi, quia ejus nequitiam amplius

III. put an end, when he appeared before Rome with an army. Having called *the Synod of Sutri* (1046) he deposed all the three

ferre nequibant, eum a pontificatus cathedra exturbantes, urbe pellunt, alterumque in locum ejus, Joannem videlicet Sabinensem Episcopum (Sylvestrum), non tamen vacua manu, canonica parvipendentes decreta, substituunt. Qui tribus, non amplius, mensibus Romanae usus est cathedrae successione; Benedicto undique suis cum propinquis infestante urbem, quia ex consulibus terrae ortus erat, et in eis maxima virtus; urbe cum dedecore pulsus suum ad Episcopatum reversus est. Benedictus igitur, quod amiserat, sacerdotium recepit, pristinos tamen mores minime mutavit.—Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitas suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret: tandem reperto consilio (quia voluptati deditus, ut Epicurus magis, quam ut Pontifex vivere volebat) cuidam Joanni Archipresbytero, qui tunc in urbe religiosior caeteris clericis videbatur, non parva ab eo accepta pecunia, summum sacerdotium relinquens, tradidit: ipse vero in propriis se castellis recipiens, urbe cessit. Interea Joannes, cui Gregorius nomen inditum est, cum II. annis et VIII. mensibus sacerdotium administrasset, Henricus Rex—Romanam adiit urbem. Extracts from the work of this contemporary in Leo Ostiensis chron. monasterii Casinensis lib. ii. c. 79 (in Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptt. iv. 395), and Hermannus Contractus ad ann. 1044 agrees with them. See Muratorii excursus hist. l. c. p. 396. On the other hand there is much that is erroneous in Otto Frisingensis vi. c. 32. Tribus ibi invasoribus (Benedicto, Sylvestro et Johanne)—sedem illam simul occupantibus, atque ad majoris miseriae cumulum divisim simul cum redditibus patriarchiis, uno ad s. Petrum, altero ad s. Mariam majorem, tertio, i. e. Benedicto, in palatio Lateranensi sedente, flagitiosam et turpem vitam, ut egomet in Urbe Romanis tradentibus audivi, duxere. Hunc miserimum statum Ecclesiae religiosus quidam Presbyter Gratianus nomine videns—praefatos viros adiit, eisque a se de s. Ecclesia cedere pecunia persuasit, Benedicto redditibus Angliae, quia majoris videbatur auctoritatis esse, relictis. Ob ea cives praefatum Presbyterum, tanquam Ecclesiae Dei liberatorem in summum Pontificem elegerunt, eumque mutato nomine Gregorium VI. vocaverunt. That Gregory VI. was at last the only acknowledged pope, and excited the best hopes by his personal character and acts is proved by Peter Damiani's letter to him (lib. i. epist. 1. for example reparetur nunc aureum Apostolorum saeculum, et praesidente vestra prudentia, ecclesiastica refloret disciplina etc.) and by Glaber Radulphus, who concludes his history with the words v. c. 5: Benedictus—ejectus est a sede, et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius,—cujus videlicet bona fama, quicquid prior foedaverat, in melius reformavit. Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fränkischen Kaisern i. 104. Engelhardt observationes de Syn. Sutriensi, and Erlangen Easter programme 1834. Th. Mittler de schismate in Eccl. Rom. sub pontificatu Benedicti ix. orto disp. Turici 1835. 8.

popes, and elevated to the Roman see Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, under the name of *Clement II.*⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Desiderius l. c. continet: Sed antequam (Henricus) Urbem ingrederetur, plurimorum Episcoporum, necnon Abbatum, Clericorum quoque ac religiosorum Monachorum in Sutrina urbe concilio congregato, Joannem, qui Gregorius dictus est, missis ad eum Episcopis, ut de ecclesiasticis negotiis, maximeque de Romana Ecclesia, quae tres simul tunc Pontifices habere videbatur, ipso praesidente, tractaretur, venire rogavit. Sed haec de industria agebantur: jam enim dudum regio animo insederat, ut tres illos, qui injuste apostolicam sedem invaserant, cum consilio et auctoritate totius Concilii, juste depelleret.—Praedictus itaque Pontifex, exoratus a Rege, caeterisque Pontificibus, Sutrium, ubi Synodus congregata erat, allectus spe, quod aliis duobus depositis, sibi soli pontificatus confirmaretur, gratauter perrexit. Sed postquam eo ventum est, et res agitari ac discuti a Synodo coepta est; agnoscens, se non posse juste honorem tanti sacerdotii administrare, ex pontificali sella exsiliens ac semetipsum pontificalia indumenta exuens, postulata venia, summi sacerdotii dignitatem deposuit. Post haec Rex, Urbem ingressus, congregato in ecclesia b. Petri Apostoli Romano clero et populo una cum Episcopis, qui in praedictam convenerant Synodum, communi consilio Clementem Bambergensem Episc. elegerunt, quia in Romana Ecclesia non erat tunc talis reperta persona, quae digne posset ad tanti honorem sufficere sacerdotii. This is related more fully by Bonizo l. c. p. 801 s. Hermannus contractus ad ann. 1046 goes so far as to say: Henricus—elegit Pontificem; Lambertus ad ann. 1047: tribus depositis—Suitgerum—vicarium Apostolorum constituit; Arnulfus Mediol. rerum sui temporis iii. 2: Henricus Papa—abjecto unum ex Teutonibus praesulem illius loco substituit: On the other hand, those Romans who wrote during the disputes about investiture, endeavoured to conceal the fact that popes had been previously appointed by the emperor, Walthramus Numburgensis de investitura Episc. A. D. 1109 (in M. Goldastii apologiae pro Henrico iv. p. 232), Sigebertus Gemblac. and Martinus Polonus ad ann. 1046 add: ab eo rex Henricus in Imperatorem benedicitur, jurantibus Romanis, se sine ejus consensu nunquam Papam electuros. That is to say, according to Benzoni panegyricus in Henricum iii. Imp. lib. vii. c. 2. (in Menckenii script. rer. Germ. i. 1062), it was resolved at a synod in Peter's Church at Rome, ut rex Henricus cum universis in monarchia imperii sibi succedentibus fieret Patricius, sicuti de Carolo (Magno) factum legimus.—Indutus igitur rex viridissima chlamyde, desponsatur patriciali annulo, coronatur ejusdem praelaturae aureo circulo. As Patricius he now elects the pope, and is crowned emperor by him. Even Peter Damiani in his disceptatio synodalis (A. D. 1062 in Petri Dam. opp. ed. Cajetani iii. 23) admits the assertion of the regius advocatus, quod—Henricus Imperator factus est Patricius Romanorum, a quibus accepit in electione super ordinando Pontifice principatum. (in like manner in the lib. gratissimus c. 36.) Bonizo l. c. p. 802, narrates the occurrence thus: postquam imperiali est Rex auctus dignitate, calamitatibus reipublicae compatiens,

§ 23.

PAPACY UNDER HILDEBRAND'S INFLUENCE.

Bonizonis liber ad amicum, in Oefelii scriptt. rer. Boicarum ii. 794. Desiderii Abb. Casinensis de miraculis s. Benedicti dialogi in the bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. (see § 22. not. 33). Leonis Ostiensis (monk and librarian in Monte Cassino, 1101, cardinal of the Roman Church) chronicon monasterii Casinensis libb. iii. in Muratorii scriptt. rer. Italicarum iv. Free from partiality for Hildebrand are the contemporary annales Romani ap. Pertz vii. 469.

Planck iv. i. 1. J. Voigt's Hildebrand als Papst Gregorius VII. 2te Aufl. Weimar, 1846. S. 5. Schlosser's Weltgesch. ii. ii. 642. Schmidt's Kirchengesch. vi. 1. Neander iv. 150. Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter d. fränk. Kaisern i. 116. C. Höfler's deutsche Päpste (2te Abth. Regensb. 1839) i. 251. Annales Altahenses, hergestellt von W. Giesebrecht, Berlin, 1841. S. 132.

Despicable as many popes had made themselves during the past period, the papacy itself was not so. These stormy times were rather propitious to it, by cutting off all opportunity of frequent discussion respecting the new principles contained in the Pseudo-isidorian decretals, which every year of undisputed authority naturally contributed to confirm. When the more worthy popes,¹ chosen under imperial influence, now began to oppose the

civitatem a patriciorum liberavit tyrannide, quod valde esset laudabile, nisi subsequens post macularet commissum. Nam rumoribus populi illectus—tyrannidem patriciatus arripuit, quasi aliqua esset in laicali ordine dignitas constituta, quae privilegii possideret plus imperatoria Majestate.—Quid namque est, quod mentem tanti viri ad tantum traxit delictum, nisi quod credidit per patriciatus ordinem se Romanum posse ordinare Pontificem. The patricius was originally deputy of the emperor, even in the choosing of a pope. In stormy times the Roman nobles had made an independent authority out of the patriciate, with the right of appointing the pope. Hence it now appeared advisable to transfer it to the emperor himself, lest it should be again abused by petty tyrants.

¹ Leo Ostiensis in chron. monast. Casin ii. c. 81 : Clemente vero post ix. menses ultra montes defuncto (Clemens ii. † 1047), praefatus Benedictus iterum in pontificatum reversus per viii. circiter menses illum retinuit, donec ab Imperatore transmissus ex Germania Damasus Brexenorum Episcopus illi in papatu successit. Henry asked advice of Wazo, bishop of Lüttich, at this new election. The

two evils of the Church, *simony* and *the immorality of the clergy*,² supported as they were by the general feeling of the necessity of reform, they found no difficulty in establishing their entire supremacy over the whole Church, even by new encroachments on the rights of the bishops. These struggles began under *Leo IX.*,³ and were, from the first, so directed by *Hildebrand*, the soul of this as well as of succeeding papal reigns, as to make the hierarchy independent of civil power.⁴ As long as Henry III.

bishop replied (*Anselmus Leod. gesta Pontiff. Leod. c. 106 in Jo. Chapevilli auctt. de gestis Pontiff. Tungrens. i.*): credimus, per ecclesiasticos ministros absque potentia seculari electiones et promotiones Apostolicorum fieri debere. But when his messenger arrived, the new pope had been already nominated. *Damasus II.* sat 23 days, † 1048. *Leo IX.* † 1054. *Victor II.* † 1057. *Stephen IX.* † 1058. *Nicolaus II.* † 1061. *Alexander II.* † 1073.

² *Desideriide miraculis s. Bened. dialog. lib. iii. init.*: Dum igitur negligentia sacerdotum, maximeque Romanorum Pontificum, Italia a recto religionis tramite paulatim devians labefactaretur, in tantum mala consuetudo adolevit, ut sacrae legis auctoritate posposita, divina humanaeque omnia miscerentur: adeo ut populus electionem, et sacerdotes consecrationem donumque Spiritus Sancti, quod gratis accipere et dare divina auctoritate statutum fuerit, data acceptaque per manus pecunia, ducti avaritia venderent, ita ut vix aliquanti invenirentur, qui non hujus simoniacae pestis contagione foedati—existerent. Itaque cum vulgus clericorum per viam effraenatae licentiae, nemine prohibente, graderetur: coeperunt ipsi Presbyteri ac Diacones (qui tradita sibi sacramenta dominica mundo corde castoque corpore tractare debebant) laicorum more uxores ducere, susceptosque filios heredes testamento relinquere: nonnulli etiam Episcoporum, verecundia omni contemta, cum uxoribus domo simul in una habitare: et haec pessima et execranda consuetudo intra Urbem maxime pullulabat, unde olim religionis norma ab ipso Apostolo Petro ejusque successoribus ubique diffusa processerat. In *Glaber Radulph v. 5*, Henry III. reproaches the bishops: Omnes quippe gradus ecclesiastici a maximo Pontifice usque ad ostiarium opprimuntur per suae damnationis pretium, ac juxta vocem dominicam in cunctis grassatur spiritale latrocinium. *Glaber* adds: non solum in Gallicanis Episcopis haec pessima pullulaverat nequitia, verum etiam multo amplius totam occupaverat Italiam: omnia quippe ministeria ecclesiastica ita eo tempore habebantur venalia, quasi in foro saecularia mercimonia.

³ *Desiderius l. c.*: Leo—qui, quaemadmodum scriptum est, coepit invocare nomen Domini; a quo omnia ecclesiastica studia renovata ac restaurata; novaque lux mundo visa est exoriri.—*Vita Leonis ix.*, by his former archdeacon in Toul, in 2 BB. in the act. SS. ad. d. 19, Apr. and in *Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptt. iii. i. 278*; and by Bruno, bishop of Segni about 1100, ap. *Murator. iii. ii. 346*.

⁴ *Wibert. in vit. Leonis ix. lib. ii. c. 2*: Leo IX. was chosen pope

lived, the popes were obliged to content themselves with combating those two evils of the day, with an unwonted earnestness, and in unusual forms. *Leo IX.* did so at several synods,⁵ where he

at a Diet at Worms (*Bruno Tullensis Episcopus, Teutonicus natione, et stirpe regali progenitus, see Leo Ostiensis ii. 81*), and consented at length to accept the dignity, ea conditione, si audiret, totius cleri ac Romani populi communem esse sine dubio consensum. He then travelled back to Toul, and thence to Rome, pedes longinquo itinere nudis plantis incedit,—adstanti clero et populo Romano imperialem de se electionem—brevis sermunculo promulgat, eorum, voluntatem, qualiscunque erga se sit, pandere expostulat. Dicit electionem cleri et populi canonicali auctoritate aliorum dispositionem praeire: affirmat se gratanti animo in patriam rediturum, nisi fiat electio ejus communi omnium laude. Bruno in vita *Lonis ix.* makes him even express that resolution at the election in Worms, but then he relates in addition the following, which he himself had heard, as is highly probable, from Hildebrand. Illis autem diebus erat ibi monachus quidam Romanus, *Ildebrandus* nomine, nobilis indolis adolescens, clari, ingenii, sanctaeque religionis. Iverat autem illuc, tum discendi gratia, tum etiam ut in aliquo religioso loco sub b. *Benedicti* regula militaret. Hunc igitur b. Episcopus vocavit ad se, cujus propositum, voluntatem et religionem mox ut cognovit rogavit eum, ut simul cum eo Romam rediret. Cui ille, “non facio,” inquit. Respondit Episcopus: “Quare non?” At ille: “Quia non secundum canonicam institutionem, sed per saecularem et regiam potestatem Romanam Ecclesiam arripere vadis.” Ille autem, ut erat natura simplex atque mitissimus, patienter ei satisfacit, reddita de omnibus, sicut ille voluerat, ratione. Et tunc Episcopus Romam veniens praedictum monachum secum adduxit, multum in hoc ipso b. *Petro* Apostolo serviens, quod illum hominem secum reducebat, cujus consilio et sapientia Romana Ecclesia aliquando regenda et gubernanda erat. *Otto Frisingensis vi. c. 33*, incorrectly makes the monastery of Clüigny the scene of this conversation. See *Mabillon annal. Bened. lib. lviii. no. 113*.

⁵ On the first council in Rome 1049, see *Wibert. ii. c. 4*: *Simoniacam haeresim damnavit—et in eodem concilio quosdam deposuit Episcopos, quos praedicta haeresis naevo suae nequitiae maculaverat: and Petrus Damiani opusc. vi. c. 35.* (*Opp. ed. C. Cajetani, iii. 68*): Cum omnes simoniacorum ordinationes synodalis vigoris auctoritate cassasset, protinus a Romanorum multitudine sacerdotum magna seditionis tumultus exortus est: ita ut non solum ab ipsis, sed a plerisque diceretur Episcopis, omnes paene basilicas sacerdotalibus officiis destitutas, et praecipue missarum solemnias, ad subversionem christianae religionis et desperationem omnium circumquaque fidelium, funditus omittenda. Quid plura? Post longa sane disceptationum hinc inde volumina tandem suggestum est, reverendae memoriae nuper ejusdem sedis Episcopum decrevisse *Clementem*: ut quicumque a simoniaco consecratus esset, in ipso ordinationis suae tempore non ignorans, simoniacum esse cui se obtulerit promovendum, *XL.* nunc dierum poenitentiam ageret, et sic in accepti ordinis officio ministraret. Quam nimirum sententiam

presided in person; and his successor, *Victor II.*,⁶ by legates.⁷

protinus venerabilis Leo ratam percensuit, etc. (That Leo afterwards wavered between this and reordination required by Humbert, see Berengarius Turon. de sacra coena ed. Vischer, Berol. 1834, p. 40). In 1049, he held councils for the same object at Rheims and Mainz, 1050 at Vercelli and Sipontum, 1051 at Rome, 1052 at Mantua. The most complete account of the Concil. Rhemense is extant (prim. ed. Baron. in append. tomi xi. ad ann. 1049 ap. Mansi xix. 727): When the pope came to France, some noblemen of the kingdom and some bishops and abbots applied to the king and, Regi suggerunt, regni sui decus annihilari, si in eo Romani Pontificis auctoritatem dominari permitteret; vel si eidem, ut decreverat, occurrens praesentiae suae favorem ad cogendum concilium exhiberet. Addunt etiam, quod nullus antecessorum ejus id reperiatu aliquando concessisse, ut ob similem causam in Franciae urbes ingressus pateret alicui Papae. But when the pope could not be induced to put off the council, the king summoned his bishops to attend the army to quell certain insurrections, and hence only 19 bishops presented themselves in Rheims. The object of the council was to treat (Mansi xix. 737) de multis illicitis, quae contra canonum instituta in Gallicis finibus exercebantur, i. e. de simoniaca haeresi etc. Post haec ad Episcopos sermone converso commonuit illos sub anathemate apostolicae auctoritatis, ut si quis eorum ad sacros ordines per simoniacam haeresim pervenisset, vel praemio quemlibet ad eandem dignitatem promovisset, publica confessione patefaceret. Finally, edictum est sub anathemate auctoritatis apostolicae, ut si quis assidentium quempiam universalis Ecclesiae primatem praeter Romanae sedis antistitem esse assereret, ibidem publica satisfactione patefaceret. Cumque ad haec universi reticerent, lectis sententiis super hac re olim promulgatis ab orthodoxis Patribus, declaratum est, quod solus Romanae sedis Pontifex universalis Ecclesiae Primas esset et Apostolicus. After having deposed several of the bishops for simony, habitus est sermo de Episcopis, qui invitati ad synodum venire noluerant.—poena damnati sunt excommunicationis, cum omnibus illis, qui ipsius Papae formidantes adventum, hac de re profecti erant in expeditionem Regis. Excommunicatus est etiam s. Jacobi Archiepiscopus Galliciensis, quia contra fas sibi vindicaret culmen apostolici nominis.

⁶ The annales Altahenses (restored by Giesebrecht p. 89), and Lambertus ad ann. 1054 say merely that the emperor appointed him pope. But Leo Ostiens. in chron. Casinensi ii. c. 89: Defuncto praeterea s. memoriae P. Leone Hildebrandus, tunc Romanae Ecclesiae Subdiaconus, ad Imperatorem a Romanis transmissus est, ut, quoniam in Romana Ecclesia persona ad tantum officium idonea reperiri non poterat, de partibus illis, quem ipse, tamen vice cleri populique Romani, in Pontificem Romanum elegisset, adduceret. Quod cum Imperator assensus fuisset, et Gebhardum Aistettensem Episcopum—Hildebrandus ex industria et consilio Romanorum expetivisset, tristis super hoc valde Imperator effectus est: nimis enim illum carum habebat. Et cum eundem sibi omnimodis necessarium Imperator assereret, et alium atque alium huic

But after Henry III.'s death († 1056) *Nicolaus II.*⁸ secured the election of popes by committing it to *the college of cardinals*,⁹

officio magis idoneum judicaret; Hildebrando tamen, ut alterum reciperet, persuaderi nullatenus potuit. Erat enim idem Episcopus, super id quod prudentia multa callebat, post Imperatorem potentior ac ditior cunctis in regno. Hunc ergo Hildebrandus, invito licet Imperatore, invito etiam eodem ipso Episcopo, — Romanum secum adduxit, eique Victoris nomen imponens, Romanum Papam cunctorum assensu constituit; cum jam ferme a transitu P. Leonis annus elaberetur. Qui, quoniam eidem praedecessori suo, ut supra diximus (cap. 84), impedimento maximo fuerat (unquestionably the chief ground of Hildebrand's choice) quotiens a circumpositis molestiam aliquam patiebatur, dicere solitus erat: "Merito haec patior," etc.

⁷ Hildebrand held the synod of Tours 1054 as the legate of Leo IX. (not as legate of Victor II. 1055, see Berengarius below, § 29, note 9), then the synod of Lyons 1055, as legate of Victor; other legates were those at Licieux 1055, at Toulouse 1056.

⁸ Concerning his election Leo Ostiens. in chron. Casin. ii. c. 100: Stephen IX. had communicated before his death, ut, si antequam Hildebrandus—ab Imperatrice, ad quam—mittebatur, rediret, se obire contingeret, nullus omnino eligere Papam praesumeret, sed usque ad illius reditum apostolica sedes intacta vacaret, ejus demum consilio ordinanda (this account is from Petr. Damiani lib. iii. ep. 4) c. 101: The opposite party led by the count of Tusculum, immediately elected Benedict X. Petrus Damiani—uno cum Cardinalibus coepit obsistere, reclamare ac anathematizare; sed omnes hi tandem—per diversa coacti sunt latibula fugere. III. c. 13: Cum—Hildebrandus reversus ab Imperatrice—invasam a pessimis hominibus Ecclesiam comperisset, Florentiae substitit, suisque literis super hoc Romanorum meliores conveniens, eorumque ad omnia consensum recipiens, mox annitente Gotfrido Duce, Girardum Florentinum Episcopum in Romanum Papam elegit, simulque cum ipso et Duce Romam mense jam Januario venit, ubi praefatus electus a Romano clero et populo apostolica sede inthronizatus et Nicolai nomen indeptus est. According to Lambert von Aschaffenburg ad ann. 1059, Nicolaus had been nominated by the empress, and the cunning Hildebrand availed himself of this pretext. Benedict X. was obliged to submit at once. Stenzel's *Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fränk. Kaisern* i. 195. Voigt's *Hildebrand* S. 39.

⁹ Clericus Cardinalis or incardinatus is Clericus primarius certo coetui addictus, Titularis, as opposed to the Commends, vicars and assistant clergy. The expression, Cardinalis Pontifex, is found to have been first employed by Pope Gelasius, in the sense of Episcopus ordinarius (dist. xxiv. c. 3). Afterwards, frequently in Gregory the Great, Cardinalis episcopus, c. sacerdos, c. presbyter, c. diaconus, also the expression incardinare aliquem. A bishop whose church was taken by enemies, and who is provisionally set over another vacant church as bishop, in illa Ecclesia incardinatur, and becomes Cardinalis illius Ecclesiae, see *liber diurnus* c. iii. Tit. xi. In like manner, *Gregorius M.* lib. ii. ep. 37. In

(1059), contrary to the predominance of civil influence hitherto existing, and gained at once, as vassal and protector of the papal see,¹⁰ *Robert Guiscard*, duke of the Normans, in southern Italy.¹¹

an old ritual, ap. Baronius ann. 1057, it is said of the Lateran Church : *haec vii. Cardinales Episcopos habebat, qui dicebantur collaterales et hebdomadarii, eo quod singulis hebdomadibus per vices explerent munus Pontificis.* In Pope John VIII. is found *Cardinis Ecclesiae Romanae Presbyter* (ep. 89), *Diaconus cardinis Ecclesiae Ravennatensis* (ep. 220). The Conc. Meldense ann. 845 c. 45. (Mansi xiv. 831) calls the offices of them *tituli cardinales*. So in all churches (but remarkable in Leonis ix. ep. i. ad Michael Patr. Const. c. 32. ap. Mansi xix. 653 : *Unde clerici summae sedis Cardinales dicuntur: cardini utique illi, quo caetera moventur, vicinius adhaerentes*), abolished in Ravenna as late as 1568 by Pius V. Comp. Onuphrius Panvinus de Cardinalium origine in the spicileg. Rom. ix. 469. Thomassini vet. et nov. Ecclesiae discipl. P. i. lib. ii. cap. 113-116. J. F. Buddeus de origine cardinalitiae dignitatis, Jenae, 1693. 12. Muratori antiquitt. Ital. medii aevi v. 156.

¹⁰ Decretum de electione Rom. Pontificis, passed at a Roman synod in April 1059 (Henricus Episc. Spirensis ad Hildebrandum P., Codex Udalrici no. 162. in Eccardi corpus hist. medii aevi ii. 172 : *hujus consilii, seu decreti tu ipse auctor, persuasor subscriptorque fuisti*), preserved in two different texts. The one in the chronicon Farfense (composed about 1100) in Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptt. ii. ii. 645 ; in Udalrici Babenberg. codex epistolaris (collected 1125) no. 9. in Eccardi corpus historic. medii aevi ii. 21 ; and in the Cod. Vatican. no. 1984, written about 1100, best in Pertz iv. ii. 176 runs thus :—*decernimus atque statuimus, ut obeunte hujus Romanae universalis Ecclesiae Pontifice, in primis Cardinales diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, salvo debito honore, et reverentia dilectissimi filii nostri Heinrici, qui in praesentiarum Rex habetur, et futurus Imperator Deo concedente speratur, sicut jam sibi, mediante ejus nuntio Longobardiae Cancellario W. (Wibert who was afterwards rival pope of Clement III., who was present, see Bonizo ap. Oefele ii. 806) concessimus, et successorum illius, qui ab hac apostolica sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint, ad consensum novae electionis accedant : ut nimirum, ne venalitatis morbus qualibet occasione subrepat, religiosi viri cum reverendissimo filio nostro Rege Heinrico praeduces sint in promovenda Pontificis electione ; reliqui autem sequaces. Eligant autem de ipsius Ecclesiae gremio, si reperitur idoneus ; vel si de ipsa non invenitur, ex alia assumatur. Quod si pravorum atque iniquorum hominum ita perversitas invaluerit, ut pura, sincera, atque gratuita electio fieri in Urbe non possit ; licet tantum pauci sint, jus tamen potestatis obtineant eligere apostolicae sedis Pontificem, ubi cum invictissimo Rege congruentius judicaverint.*—The second text in Hugonis Floriacensis (about 1120) tract. de regia potest. et sacerdotali dignitate in Baluzii miscell. lib. iv. p. 62 ss. and in Gratiani decret. dist. xxiii. cap. 1 : *decernimus atque statuimus, ut obeunte hujus Romanae universalis Ecclesiae Pontifice imprimis Cardinales Episcopi diligentissime simul de electione tractantes mox ipsi Clericos*

Cardinales adhibeant, sicque reliquus clerus et populus ad consensum novae electionis accedat: nimirum praecaventes, ne venalitatis morbus aliqua occasione subrepat. Et ideo religiosissimi viri praeduces sint in promovenda Pontificis electione, reliqui autem sequaces. Certus vero atque legitimus electionis ordo perpenditur, si perspectis diversorum Patrum regulis s. gestis etiam illa b. Leonis praedecessoris nostri sententia recolatur: "Nulla," inquit, "ratio sinit, ut inter Episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a comprovincialibus Episcopis cum Metropolitanis iudicio consecrati." Quia vero sedes apostolica cunctis in orbe terrarum praefertur Ecclesiis, atque ideo supra se Metropolitanum habere non potest: Cardinales Episcopi procul dubio Metropolitanis vice funguntur, qui videlicet electum Episcopum ad apostolici culminis apicem provehant. Eligatur autem de ipsius Ecclesiae gremio, si reperitur idoneus; vel si de ipsa non invenitur, ex alia assumatur: salvo debito honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Henrici, qui impraesentiarum Rex habetur, et futurus Imperator Deo concedente speratur; sicut jam sibi concessimus, et successoribus illius, qui ab apostolica sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint. Quodsi pravorum atque iniquorum hominum ita perversitas invaluerit, ut pura, sincera atque gratuita fieri in Urbe non possit electio: Cardinales Episcopi cum religiosis clericis, catholicisque laicis, licet paucis, jus potestatis obtineant eligere apostolicae sedis Pontificem, ubi congruere viderint. The following, with a few unimportant deviations, agrees in both texts: Plane postquam electio fuerit facta, si bellica tempestas, vel qualiscumque hominum conatus, malignitatis studio restiterit, ut si qui electus est in apostolica sede juxta consuetudinem inthronizari non valeat: electus tamen, sicut verus Papa, obtineat auctoritatem regendi Romanam Ecclesiam, et disponendi omnes facultates illius. Quod b. Gregorium ante suam consecrationem fecisse cognovimus. Quod si quis contra hoc nostrum decretum, synodali sententia promulgatum, per seditionem vel praesumptionem quolibet ingenio electus, aut etiam ordinatus s. inthronizatus fuerit; auctoritate divina et ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli perpetuo anathemate cum suis auctoribus, fautoribus et sequacibus a limine sanctae Dei Ecclesiae separatus, abiciatur sicut Antichristus, invasor etc. It is generally assumed that the former text is genuine, and that the second originated by interpolation, made with a view to the papal interest, during the disputes about investiture. But if we are to believe Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who contra Guibertum P. lib. ii. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 609), A. D. 1084, writes: Wicbertus aut sui, ut suae parti favorem adscriberent, quaedam in eodem decreto addendo quaedam mutando ita illud reddiderunt a se dissidens, ut aut pauca aut nulla exemplaria sibi concordantia valeant inveniri: the first text rather originated by an interpolation which the party of the antagonist pope, Clement III., had undertaken. For this also the following considerations may be alleged: 1. The cardinal bishops had certainly received in the decree the privileges assigned to them in the second text. Nicolaus II. himself assigns this determination in his synodical letter ap. Mansi xix. 907. ut si quis apostolicae sedi sine concordia et canonica electione, ac benedictione Cardinalium Episcoporum, ac deinde sequentium ordinum religiosorum clericorum inthronizatur, non Papa vel

Apostolicus habeatur. Petri Damiani lib. i. ep. 20, ad Cadolaum A. D. 1061: cum electio illa per Episcoporum Cardinalium fieri debeat principale iudicium, secundo loco jure praebeat Clerus assensum, tertio popularis favor attollat applausum: sicque suspendenda est causa, usque dum regiae celsitudinis consulatur auctoritas. This position was also taken by the cardinal bishops at the next elections, for example, at that of Gregory VII. (Baron. 1073. no. 20) and Urban II. (chron. Casin. iv. 2). On the contrary, they had not co-operated in the choice of Clement III., and therefore his party had cause for undertaking this alteration. 2. The imperial rights are as indefinitely expressed in the second text, as one might expect from Hildebrand. The more precise considerations respecting them in the first text correspond entirely to the choice of Wibert, which took place in presence of Henry IV. in Brixa, A. D. 1080. 3. During the disputes about investiture, the papal party would not by any means have been satisfied with an interpolation of the decree, such as the changing of the first text into the second would have been; on the contrary, the heads of this party, Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, Anselm, bishop of Lucca, Bonizo, declared it to be invalid. (See division 2 § 47. note pp). Comp. Ed. Cunitz de Nicolai II. decreto de electione Pontiff. Rom. diss. hist. crit. Argentor, 1837. 4.

¹¹ His right to Sicily he proved from a copy of the act of investiture of Otto I. (see above § 22. note 13) in which, in the passage *ne non patrimonium Siciliae, si deus illud nostris tradiderit manibus etc.* the last clause was left out. See Cenni monumenta dominationis pontificiae ii. 48. The two forms of the oath, ap. Baronius ad anu. 1059. no. 70 and 71, more complete in Borgia's *breve istoria del dominio temporale etc.* Append. nr. iii. p. 23: First oath: *Ego Robertus Dei gratia et s. Petri Dux Apuliae et Calabriae, et utroque subveniente futurus Siciliae ad confirmationem traditionis et ad recognitionem fidelitatis de omni terra, quam ego proprie sub dominio meo teneo, et quam adhuc ulli Ultramontanorum unquam concessi, ut teneat: promitto me annualiter pro unoquoque jugo boum pensionem, scilicet xii denarios papiensis monetae, persoluturum b. Petro etc.* Second oath: *Ego Robertus etc. ab hac hora et deinceps ero fidelis s. Romanae Ecclesiae, et tibi Domino meo Nicolao Papae. In consilio vel in facto, unde vitam aut membrum perdas, aut captus sis mala captione, non ero. Consilium, quod mihi credideris, et contradices, ne illud manifestem non manifestabo ad tuum damnum, me sciente. S. Romanae Ecclesiae ubique adjutor ero ad tendendum et ad acquirendum regalia s. Petri ejusque possessiones pro meo posse, contra omnes homines; et adjuvabo te, ut secure et honorifice teneas Papatum Romanum, terramque s. Petri, et principatum: nec invadere, nec acquirere quaeram, nec etiam depraedari praesumam absque tua tuorumque successorum—certa licentia.—Omnes quoque Ecclesias, quae in mea persistunt dominatione, cum earum possessionibus dimittam in tua potestate. Et defensor ero illarum ad fidelitatem s. Romanae Ecclesiae. Et si tu, vel tui successores ante me ex hac vita migraveritis, secundum quod monitus fuero a melioribus Cardinalibus, clericis Romanis et laicis, adjuvabo ut Papa eligatur et ordinetur ad honorem s. Petri.*

Alexander II. was even (1061) elected solely by the cardinals, without any regard to the young king. It is true that the Roman noblemen now sought for support at the imperial court, remembering their former influence over the choice of popes. *Honorius II.*¹² was chosen in Basel, and made a triumphal entry into Rome; but when Anno, archbishop of Cologne, had taken on himself the regency (1062), the general endeavour to weaken the royalty led the German potentates to take Alexander II.'s side. Honorius II. was forsaken.¹³ Alexander was able to appear even in Ger-

¹² Leo Ostiensis in chron. Casin. iii. c. 21: defuncto apud Florentiam Apostolico—cum maxima seditio inter Romanos coepisset de ordinando Pontifice exoriri: Hildebrandus Archidiaconus cum Cardinalibus nobilibusque Romanis consilio habito, ne dissensio convalesceret, Anselmum tandem Lucensem Episcopum post iii. circiter menses in Romanum Pontificem eligant, eumque Alexandrum vocari decernunt.—Quod cum ad aures Imperatricis ejusque filii pervenisset, indignatione nimia ducti, quod haec sine illorum consensu et auctoritate gesta fuissent, et ipsi nihilominus Cadolaum Parmensem Episcopum ultra montes—in Papam eligi faciunt, eumque Romam—cum valida manu militum et pecunia multa transmittunt. Bertholdus Constant. ad ann. 1061: Romae Nicolao Papa defuncto Romani coronam et alia munera Heurico Regi transmiserunt, eumque pro eligendo summo Pontifice interpellaverunt. Qui ad se convocatis omnibus Italiae Episcopis generalique conventu Basileae habito, eadem imposita corona Patricius Romanorum appellatus est. Deinde cum communi consilio omnium Parmensem Episcopum—elegit Pontificem. At this council at Basel also took place what Petrus Damiani discept. synodalis (opp. iii. p. 31) makes the defensor Rom. Ecclesiae relate: Rectores aulae regiae cum nonnullis—Episcopis conspirantes contra Romam Ecclesiam concilium collegistis, quo Papam (Nicolauum) quasi per synodalem sententiam condemnastis, et omnia quae ab eo fuerant statuta cassare incredibili prosus audacia praesumpsistis. In quo nimirum non dicam iudicio, sed praejudicio idipsum quoque privilegium, quod Regi praedictus Papa contulerat,—vacuastis. Those in favour of the kingly power asserted, according to Bonizo, p. 807: eorum Dominum, ut heredem regni, ita heredem fore patriciatum, so that no particular papal conference with the latter was needed. Comp. Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fränk. Kaisern i. 203. Annales Allahenses von W. Giesebrecht S. 156. J. Voigt's Hildebrand S. 54.

¹³ At the synod at Augsburg (Oct. 1062) for which Peter wrote the disceptatio synodalis inter Regis Advocatum et Romanae Ecclesiae defensorem (opp. iii. 25. ap. Baron. ann. 1062. no. 22 ss. Mansi xix. 1001), in which the relations of that time, and different views, are well explained. At the synod of Mantua (1064. see annales Altah. v. Giesebrecht S. 183) Alexander was generally acknowledged. Honorius remained confined to Parma, but never renounced his claims († 1072).

many, hierarchically ruling as none of his predecessors had done.¹⁴ After Alexander's death (1073), Hildebrand himself assumed the papal dignity,¹⁵ under the name of Gregory VII., to begin the great struggle of the papacy with the imperial power for the mastery.¹⁶

¹⁴ He refused Henry IV.'s request for a divorce, by his legate Petrus Damiani (Lamberti annales ad ann. 1069. ap. Pertz vii. 174), then he summoned the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne and the bishop of Bamberg to Rome to answer for simony (Lambertus ad ann. 1070.)

¹⁵ Lambertus ad ann. 1073 ap. Pertz vii. 194 :—Alexander Papa—decessit. Cui Romani protinus inconsulto Rege successorem elegerunt Hildebrandum.—Is quoniam zelo Dei ferventissimus erat, Episcopi Galliarum protinus grandi scrupulo permoveri coeperunt, ne vir vehementis ingenii et acris erga Deum fidei districtius eos pro negligentibus suis quandoque discuteret. Atque ideo communibus omnibus consiliis Regem adorti, orabant, ut electionem, quae ejus injussu facta fuerat, irritam fore decerneret ; asserentes, quod nisi impetum hominis praevenire maturaret, malum hoc non in alium gravius quam in ipsum Regem redundaturum esset. On this account, Henry sent Count Eberhard to Rome. Hildebrand declared to him, se Deo teste honoris hujus apicem nunquam per ambitionem affectasse, sed electum se a Romanis, et violenter sibi impositam fuisse ecclesiastici regiminis necessitatem : cogi tamen nullo modo potuisse, ut ordinari se permetteret, donec in electionem suam tam Regem quam principes Teutonici regni consensisse certa legatione cognosceret ; hac ratione distulisse adhuc ordinationem suam, et sine dubio dilaturum, donec sibi voluntatem Regis certus inde veniens nunciaret. Hoc ubi Regi est renunciatum, libenter suscepit satisfactionem, et laetissimo suffragio ut ordinaretur mandavit.

¹⁶ How completely everything had hitherto bowed beneath the overbearing spirit of Hildebrand is seen from Petrus Damiani's epigrams († 1072), de Papa et Hildebrando (ap. Baron. ann. 1061. no. 34 and 35) :—

Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro :
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ipse Deum.

and

Vivere vis Romae, clara depromito voce :
Plus domino Papae quam Domino pareo Papae.

Comp. ejusd. epist. ii. 8. ad Hildebrandum : tuis coeptis tuisque conatibus semper obtemperare contendi, et in omnibus tuis certaminibus atque victoriis ego me non commilitonem sive pedissequum, sed quasi fulmen injeci. Quod enim certamen unquam coepisti, ubi protinus ego non essem et litigator et judex ? Ubi scilicet non aliam auctoritatem canonum, nisi solum tuae voluntatis sequebar arbitrium, et mera tua voluntas mihi canonum erat auctoritas. Nec unquam judicavi, quod visum est mihi, sed quod placuit tibi. Peter's complaints against Hildebrand refer to the refusal of the latter to allow him to lay down his

SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL HIERARCHY.

§ 24.

RELATIONS OF THE PRELATES TO THE SECULAR POWER.

Planck's *Gesch. d. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung*, iii. 411. K. O. Hüllmann's *Gesch. d. Ursprungs d. Stände in Deutschland*. 2te Ausg. Berlin, 1830, S. 219. ff. C. Montag's *Gesch. d. deutschen staatsbürgerl. Freiheit*, ii. 79. Eichhorn's *deutsche Staats u. Rechtsgesch.* ii. 53.

The secular power of the prelates had been gradually increasing in the Frank empire, by the acquisition of royal prerogatives in times of disorder,¹ till at length the kings of Germany, especially since the time of *Otto I.*, found it to their advantage to balance

bishopric of Ostia, and retire to the desert. Thus, for instance, the passage, ep. i. 16. (ap. Baron. ann. 1061. no. 37): *Sed adhuc fortasse blandus ille tyrannus, qui mihi Neroniana semper pietate condoluit, qui me colaphisando demulsit, qui me certe aquilino (ut ita loquar) ungue palpavit, hanc querelus erumpet in vocem: Ecce latibulum petit, et sub colore poentientiae Romam subterfugere quaerit, accessum lucrari machinatur de inobedientia, et otium caeteris in bella ruentibus.—Sed ego sancto Satanae meo respondeo, quod filii Ruben et Gad Moysi ductori suo respondisse dicuntur: Nos, inquit, armati et accincti pergemus ad praelium ante filios Israel, donec introducamus in loca sua etc. (Num. xxxii. 17). Hoc itaque modo comitaturus quidem vos arma corripio, sed vobis duce Christo post bella victoribus, mox recedo.*

¹ Comp. § 9. note 5. Thus grants conferring privileges connected with markets, coinage, and tolls, and feudal judicature, were multiplied. Lewis the Infant, who was especially profuse in his gifts to the clergy (Gatterer comm. de Ludov. iv. Infante. Götting. 1759. p. 34), first conferred on the abbot of Corvey (900) the bishops of Treves (902. see Böhmer's *regesta Karolorum* S. 115) and of Tongern (908) and others, the privileges of counts (Gatterer l. c. p. 53.) Henry I., A. D. 928, bestows on the bishop of Toul the dukedom and dignity of the city Toul, the first instance of this sort. Böhmer's *Regesta v. Conrad I. bis Heinrich vii.* S. 3. Thomassinus P. iii. lib. i. c. 28 and 30. Montag i. ii. 41, 48; ii. 86. Hüllmann's *Gesch. d. Ursprungs d. Regalien in Deutschland*. Frankf. l. c. 1806.

the overgrown power of their nobles by transferring to the prelates whole counties as fiefs. By this means, for the present, the dependence of the prelates on the kings was secured.² They were for the most part appointed by the kings;³ had constantly to be

² Otto I. invested his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, with the dukedom of Lorrain, but merely in his own person. Besides this he bestowed on him the newly-founded bishoprics of Magdeburg, Brandenburg, &c., with the privileges of a count. In particular, the emperors Otto III. and Henry II. bestowed numerous counties on different churches. See Thomassini vet. et nov. eccl. discipl. P. iii. lib. i. c. 26-32. Montag ii. 90. 197. Hüllmann's Gesch. d. Stände S. 276. Comp. the old German chronicle in Leibnitii introd. in script. rer. Brunsvic. T. i. p. 13. from the times of Otto I.: Da begunten zuerst die Bischöffe weltliche Richte zu haben, das dauchte damals umbillig manchen Manne. How such endowments were sometimes obtained may be learned from the vita Meinweri Ep. Paderb. c. 79. (Leibnit. script. rer. Brunsv. T. i. p. 544.) Meinwerk beset the emperor Henry II. to give him the estate Ervete (curtis Ervete sita in pago Westfalon), and at length obtained it with the words: "Tu odium Dei omniumque Sanctorum ejus habeas, qui me bonis concessis cum detrimento regni spoliare non cessas." Episcopus autem privilegium cum manu in altum exaltans: "Beatus es," ait, "Henrice, et bene tibi erit, cui pro hac oblatione caelum patebit, cujus anima cum Sanctis sempiterna possidebit gaudia. Videte omnes populi, considerate fideles universi: talis oblatio peccatorum fit abolitio; hoc sacrificium Deo acceptabile animabus fit propitiabile. Hoc quique fideles pro posse suae facultatis imitari studeant; ut pro temporalibus aeterna, pro transitoriis mansura obtinere valeant." Other instances of spiritual impudence, such as his wringing from the emperor the gift of a goblet, of an altar-cloth, &c. may be seen in the same work. Still farther, c. 82: Episcopus autem quoddam Imperatoris tegmen egregium, praecipui decoris et mirifici operis pallium, saepenumero obtinere desiderans, effectu caruit; donec quadam die Imperatori pluribus intento illud fortuito rapuit. Imperator vero Episcopum de rapinae incusans vitio talionem debitam suo se tempore redditurum perhibuit: he afterwards led him astray by a private alteration in his missal, so that he prayed pro mulis et mulabus instead of famulis et famulabus. On the gifts of Conrad II. see Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fränk. Kaisern ii. 127, during Henry Fourth's minority *ibid.* p. 135 ff.

³ For even the privilege of free choice, which many churches had, were continually subject to the royal confirmation, and hence they were for the most part apparent rather than real. The king often pointed out to the electors the person to be chosen, as Henry II. did Tagino 1004 to be archbp. of Magdeburg (Thietmar v. 24, ap. Pertz v. 802), 1012 Walterd (Thietmar vi. 44): or he did not confirm a choice, but appointed another, as Henry did in the cases of Meingaud, archbp. of Treves, 1008 (Thietmar vi. 25) and Himmo abbot of Reichenau (Hermann. Contractus ad ann. 1006 ap. Pertz vii. 118.) At a disputed

installed in office by them ;⁴ take the oath of allegiance to them, like other vassals ;⁵ follow them to the wars in times of exi-

election in Halberstadt, Otto III. nominated a third as bishop, Arnulf, 995 (Thietmar iv. 17.) None doubted the right of the king. Pope John X. objects to Archbp. Hermann of Cologne that he had consecrated Hilduin, bishop of Tongern, contrary to the will of Charles the Simple, *cum prisca consuetudo vigeat, qualiter nullus alicui clerico episcopatum conferre debeat, nisi Rex, cui divinitus sceptrum collatum est* (Mansi xviii. 320 cf. Flodoardi hist. Eccl. Rhem. ad ann. 920.) Hüllmann S. 289. Montag. ii. 119. Planck iii. 406. Hence Sigismund, bishop of Halberstadt, when sick, advises his chaplain Bernhard (A. D. 923), whom he wished to succeed him (Thietmar i. 12) : *vade ad curtem regiam, sumens ex mea parte, quae tibi sint ad haec necessaria, et acquirere gratiam et auxilium ibi optime valentium, ut tibi liceat sine omni offensione mihi succedere.* Bernhard follows his advice, et praedicti Regis (Henrici I.) munere, quod postulat consequitur.

⁴ Even as early as Clovis in dipl. a. 508 (ap. Bouquet iv. 616) : *quicquid est fisci nostri—per annulum tradimus.* Of Clovis ii. 623, it is said in the vita s. Romani Ep. Rathomag. *baculum illi contulit pastoralem.* In like manner Lewis the German invested with the staff (vita Remberti c. 4. Act. SS. Febr. i. 562), and Arnulf (Adam. Brem. i. 39), and Otto I. (Thietmar ii. 16.) Henry II. gave Walterd the ring as a pledge that he would invest him with the staff (Thietmar vi. 44.) So also Conrad II. did to Bardo (vita Bardonis Archiep. Mogunt. c. 24. in the act. SS. Jun. ii. 381.) The custom of investire per baculum et anulum did not originate till a later time. Natal. Alex. hist. eccl. saec. xi. et xii. diss. iv. Mosheim institutt. hist. eccl. p. 408. not. r. Hüllmann S. 153. Montag i. ii. 186. ii. 127. Planck iii. 462.

⁵ These oaths seem to have become customary under Charlemagne. It is true that the *Episcopi apud Carisiacum congregati* in epist. ad Ludov. Reg. Germ. ann. 858 cap. 15 (Baluzii capit. ii. p. 119) complain of them : *Et nos Episcopi Domino consecrati non sumus huiusmodi homines, ut sicut homines saeculares in vassalatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare,—aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica atque canonica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere.* Manus enim chrismate sacro peruncta, quae de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corpus Christi et sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus saeculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum. Et lingua Episcopi, quae facta est per Dei gratiam clavis caeli, nefarium est, ut, sicut saecularis quilibet, super sacra juret in nomine Domini et Sanctorum invocatione.—Et si aliquando sacramenta ab Episcopis exacta aut facta fuerunt, contra Deum et ecclesiasticas regulas, quae Spiritu S. dictatae et Christi sunt sanguine confirmatae, irrita s. Scripturae paginis declarantur, et exigentes atque facientes medicamento exinde salutaris poenitentiae indigent. But Hinemar, probably the author of this letter, was himself obliged to take the oath a second time, 876, at the Synodus Pontigonensis (Baluz. ii. 250. Pertz iii. 533.) In proportion as the

gency;⁶ appear frequently at court;⁷ and were often deposed by them.⁸ Besides, they drew on themselves the envy of the nobility;⁹ and were often, particularly the abbots, defrauded by their

prerogatives of the prelates were afterwards multiplied, those difficulties in the way of taking the oath disappeared. Thomassini vet. et nov. eccl. discipl. P. ii. lib. ii. c. 48. Montag Bd. 1. Th. 1. S. 180.

⁶ They were even obliged to lead their troops in person. Ex. gr. Gerardus in vita Udalrici Ep. August. (in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. p. 415) cap. 3: concessum est s. Udalrico Episcopo, ut Adalbero in ejus vice itinera hostilia cum militia episcopali in voluntatem Imperatoris perageret, et in curte Imperatoris ejus vice assiduitate servitii moraretur. Hence the prelates regularly accompanied the armies in the 10th century. Hüllmann S. 272. Montag ii. 111, 200. Planck iii. 465. How great the public calls were appears from the fact of the abbey of Lorch, in the 11th century, having to furnish 1200 men (cod. Lauresham. i. 183). It was even usual for them to take part in the battle in person. Thus Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, fought against the Normans (annal. Fuld. ad ann. 872. Pertz i. 385); against the Sorabes (l. c. ad ann. 874); finally twice still against the Normans (l. c. ad ann. 883 and 885). Bishop Arno of Würzburg attacked the Slavonians (Regino ad ann. 892. Pertz i. 605), Henry, bishop of Augsburg, with many other bishops, and Werner, abbot of Fulda, 982, the Saracens (Lambertus ap. Pertz v. 65). Comp. Thietmar ii. 17, ap. Pertz v. 752. Michael, bishop of Ratisbon, accompanies the Bavarian princes against Hungary. The battle is lost. Episcopus autem abscaisa suimet auricula, et caeteris sauciatus membris cum interfectis quasi mortuus latuit. A Hungarian is about to kill him. Tunc iste confortatus in Domino post longum mutui agonis luctamen victor hostem prostravit, et inter multas itineris asperitates incolumis notos pervenit ad fines. Inde gaudium gregi suo exoritur, et omni Christum cognoscenti. Excipitur ab omnibus miles bonus in clero, et servatur optimus pastor in populo, et fuit ejusdem mutilatio non ad dedecus, sed ad honorem magis.

⁷ Hüllmann S. 274. Montag ii. 115, 202.

⁸ The conc. Tribur. ann. 892. c. 10, after the example of the conc. Carthag. i. (see above, § 20, note 5), decrees ut nullus Episcopus deponatur nisi a xii. Episcopis, Presbyter a sex, Diaconus a tribus, without specifying the pope as sole judge of bishops according to Pseudo-isidore. However even that decree was not by any means adhered to as a form. The bishops were deposed at once by feudal lords for felony. Thus, by Henry II. were deposed the bishop of Asti (Arnulph. Mediol. i. 16), by Conrad ii., the archbishop of Milan, and the bishops of Vercelli, Cremona, and Piacenza (Wippo in vita Conradi ii. ed. Pistorii p. 441). The deposition of Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims (§ 22, not. 21), could only have been contested by the pope against a weak prince, and with imperial support. Planck iii. 443, 467.

⁹ Hüllmann S. 237. Montag. ii. 17, 79.

bailiffs,¹⁰ and were forced to bestow many church possessions in feudal tenure, which soon after became heritable, in order to obtain men fit for military service.¹¹ Spiritual places were conferred, especially by petty princes in Italy and France, from unworthy motives, or even sold.¹² The kings of Germany seldomer allowed themselves to incur the guilt of simony, and several of

¹⁰ Abo, Abbas Floriacensis († 1004), canones § 2 (in Mabillonii vett. analecta p. 135): Defensores Ecclesiarum, qui dicuntur, hodie contra auctoritatem legum et canonum sibi defendunt quod fuerat juris Ecclesiarum: sicque violentiam Clericis et Monachis ingerendo, res Ecclesiarum seu Monasteriorum usufructuario diripiunt, colonos in paupertatem redigunt, possessiones Ecclesiarum non augent, sed minuunt: et quorum defensores esse debuerant, eos vastant. Patet rerum copia cunctis hostibus praedae, nec parant saltem vel verbis obviam ut resistant, qui se putant non jam Advocatos, sed dominos: dum post abscessum hostium consumunt quidquid fuerit residuum. Denique idcirco videmus ecclesias destructas, monasteria quaedam diruta, quaedam ad summam inopiam redacta,—quia multi se ultro offerentes sub advocacionis obtentu de possessionibus, de redditibus, de oblationibus maximam portionem intercipiunt, quam Ecclesiastici capere debuerant. Hüllmann S. 250. Montag. ii. 222. Planck iii. 611.

¹¹ Hincmari epist. ad Carol. Calv. pro Hincm. Laudunensi (opp. ed. Sirmond ii. 324): Porro Episcopus—cum de rebus Ecclesiae propter militiam beneficium donat, aut filiis patrum, qui eidem Ecclesiae profuerunt, et patribus utiliter succedere poterunt, quoniam, ut quidam scripsit, nisi vitulus nutriatur, bos aratro non jungitur, aut talibus dare debet, qui idonei sunt reddere Caesari quae sunt Caesaris, et quae sunt Dei Deo. A quibus, vel ab eo, qui diu et Ecclesiae utilitatibus ac necessitatibus profuit, et reipublicae ac militiae utilis fuit, et infirmitate vel aetate confectus jam per se ipsum ea exequi non valet, praecipue autem sibi servientem filium habenti, qui pro eo haec valeat, exequi, si Episcopus beneficium quacunque occasione abstulerit; non abhorret a ratione, si non accuset Episcopum ad publicos iudices, quod non licet, sed ad vos se reclamat de beneficio militiae. Egbert, archbishop of Treves, complains 981 (Honthemii hist. Trevir. i. 321): Ipsius Episcopi (Trevirensis) maxima pars militibus in beneficium distributa, ita ut nulli lacorum propria hereditate prodesse possem. Montag ii. 109.

¹² Comp. Attonis Ep. Vercellensis (about 950) lib. de pressuris ecclesiasticis (d'Achery spicileg. i. 414 ss.) p. 421: Irreligiosi principes haec omnia parvipendentes, suum tantummodo in his [electionibus Episcoporum] parant praevalere edictum. Solent etiam admodum indignari, si vel ab aliis aliquis, cujuscumque meriti sit, Episcopus eligatur, vel si a se electus, cujuscumque pravitatis sit, ab aliquo reprobetur. Illorum sane, quos ipsi eligunt, vitia, quamvis multa et magna sint, velut nulla tamen reputantur. Quorum quidem in examinatione non charitas et fides vel spes inquiruntur, sed divitiae, affinitas, et obsequium considerantur. p. 423: Quidam autem adeo mente et corpore obcae-

them opposed it,¹³ especially Henry III.;¹⁴ but during the minority of Henry IV., it was practised by his guardians in a scandalous manner.¹⁵

cantur, ut ipsos etiam parvulos ad pastoralement promovere curam non dubitent, quos nec mente nec corpore idoneos esse constet. Rident plurimi, alii quasi de infantis honore gaudentes, alii tamen clarum et manifestum praestigium deridentes. Ipse quoque parvulus de aliquibus interrogatus capitulis, quae si praeparare poterit memoriter reddet, vel in aliquo tremens leget pittacio, non episcopalem timens perdet gratiam, sed magistri incurere virgam. (Thus Count Heribert of Vermandois, 925, forced his son, Hugo, five years old, as archbishop on the church at Rheims, and got him confirmed by Pope John X. Flodoardi hist. Eccles. Rhem. iv. c. 20.) Hence Atto, p. 427, thus announces the fortunes of the bishops: irreligiose eliguntur, inaniter ordinantur, indifferenter accusantur, injuste opprimuntur, perfide dejiciuntur, crudeliter aliquando et necantur: and complains parte iii. p. 428 moreover of this, quod res ecclesiasticae post mortem vel expulsionem Episcopi in direptionem et rapinam saecularibus tradantur.

¹³ Before the battle with the Hungarians, 933, Henry I. vowed (Luitprandi antapod. ii. 27, ap. Pertz v. 294): Simoniaca haeresis Deo invisae,—quae a decessoribus nostris hactenus est temere custodita, modis omnibus a nostro sit regno expulsa. At the synod held in Ingelheim, 948, in presence of Otto I. (Flodoardi ann. ad h. a. ap. Pertz v. 307), tractata sunt quaedam necessaria de—Ecclesiis, quae Presbyteris in partibus Germaniae dabantur, immo vendebantur indebite, et auferebantur a laicis illicite; prohibitumque ac statutum, ne id omnino praesumeretur ab aliquo. On Conrad II. Wippo in vita Conr. II. ap. Pistorius p. 431: Civitatem Basileam invenit Rex vacuatam Episcopo. Ibi simoniaca haeresis subito apparuit, et cito evanuit. Nam dum Rex et Regina a quodam clerico, nobili viro, nomine Udalrico, qui ibi tunc Episcopus effectus est, immensam pecuniam pro Episcopatu susciperent, postea Rex in poenitentia motus, voto se obligavit, pro aliquo episcopatu vel abbatia nullam pecuniam amplius accipere.

¹⁴ After he had introduced Clement II. into Italy, who began to oppose simony, he also assembled the German bishops 1047, made very earnest representations to them about it, and issued the decree (Glaber Radulphus v. 5), ut nullus gradus clericorum, vel ministerium ecclesiasticum pretio aliquo conquiretetur; ac si quis dare aut accipere praesumeret, omni honore destitutus, anathemate multaretur. He added: sicut mihi Dominus coronam imperii sola miseratione sua gratis dedit, ita et ego quod ad religionem ipsius pertinet, gratis impendam. Volo, si placet, ut et vos similiter faciatis. Comp. Stenzel's Gesch. Deutschlands unter d. fränk. Kaisern i. 117, ii. 130.

¹⁵ Lamberti. ann. ad. ann. 1063 ap. Pertz vii. 166): Hi duo (Adelbertus Bremensis Archiepisc. et Wernher comes) pro Rege imperitabant ab his episcopatus et abbatia, ab his quicquid ecclesiasticarum, quicquid saecularium dignitatum est, emebatur: nec alia cuiquam, licet industrio atque egregio viro, spes adipiscendi honoris ullius erat, quam

In France the prelates lost most of their regalia under the Capet family; but still they continued to be as dependent as ever on the kings, whose protection they needed against the attacks of the nobles.¹⁶ Thus the principles which were now spreading, by which the kingly dignity appeared to be subject to the bishops, were allowed to remain intact.¹⁷

ut hos prius ingenti profusione pecuniarum suarum redemisset. Et ab Episcopis quidem et Ducibus metu magis, quam religione temperabant. In Abbates vero, quod hi injuriae obviam ire non poterant, tota libertate grassabantur, illud prae se ferentes, nihil minus Regem in hos juris ac potestatis habere, quam in villicos suos, vel in alios quoslibet regalis fisci dispensatores. Et primo quidem praedia monasteriorum fautoribus suis, prout libitum erat, distribuebant, et quod reliquum erat, crebra regalium servitiorum exactione usque ad faeces ultimas exhauriebant. Diendi convalescente audacia, in ipsa monasteria impetum faciebant, atque ea inter se tanquam provincias partiebantur, Rege ad omnia, quae jussus fuisset, puerili facilitate annuente, etc. Ann. 1071, p. 184: haec in Ecclesiam introducta est consuetudo, ut abbatiae publice venales prostituantur in palatio; nec quisquam tanti venales proponere queat, quin protinus emptorem inveniatur, monachis inter se non de observantia regulae zelo bono, sed de quaestibus et usuris zelo avaro contententibus. Comp. Stenzel i. 221. ii. 58.

¹⁶ Plank iii. 489. Hence the royal influence in the occupation of bishoprics continued here also. Ibid. S. 405, 408. Striking examples of simony may be seen in Gallia christiana (opera monach congreg. s. Mauri T. xii. Paris 1715—1770. fol.) T. i. Append. docum. p. 5, 23, 37. T. ii. p. 173, 179.

¹⁷ Comp. particularly Gerberti philos (afterwards Sylvester II.) sermo de informatione Episcoporum (this is according to Mabillon analect. p. 103, the true title of a work which is quoted so early as Gregory VII. lib. xi. epist. 2, under the appellation Ambrosii pastorale, and which appears in editions of Ambrose's works as lib. de dignitate sacerdotali.) Among other things we find cap. 2: Honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adaequari. Si Regum fulgore compares et principum diademati, longe erit inferius, quam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares: quippe cum videas Regum colla et principum submitti genibus sacerdotam, et exosculatis eorum dextris, orationibus eorum credant se communiri. Quid jam de plebeja dixerim multitudine, cui non solum praeferri a Domino meruit, sed ut eam quoque jure tueatur patrio, praeceptis imperatum est evangelicis? The passage ep. Gelasii P. ad Anastasium Imp., was chiefly relied on, which passage the Paris council had already produced. See. above § 7, not 25: Duo quippe sunt, Imperator Auguste (instead of this appears also the falsified reading: Duae quippe sunt Imperatrices augustae, see Baluz. capitul. ii. 1213), quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra Pontificum, et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis Regibus Do-

§ 25.

PAPAL SUPREMACY.

Planck l. c. Bd. 3. S. 805 ff.

The ideas promulgated in the Pseudo-isidorian decretals¹ gradually pervaded the whole Western Church; and the metropolitans, so much injured, must have become reconciled to them the more readily, as their own power began to be traced to their investment with the pallium,² while the latter was bestowed, since

mino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem. On this comments Conc. apud s. Macram a. 881 cap. 1. (Mansi xvii. 538): sicut in sacris legimus literis, duo sunt, quibus as above till regia potestas. Solus enim Dominus noster J. C. vere fieri potuit Rex. et sacerdos. Post incarnationem vero—ejus nec Rex Pontificis dignitatem, nec Pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumsit: sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque ab eo distinctis, ut et christiani Reges pro aeterna vita Pontificibus indigerent, et Pontifices pro temporalium rerum cursu Regum dispositionibus uterentur. Et tanto est dignitas Pontificum major quam Regum, quia Reges in culmen regium sacrantur, a Pontificibus, Pontifices autem a Regibus consecrari non possunt: et tanto gravius pondus as above till rationem.—Conc. Troslejan. a 909 cap. 1. (Mansi xviii. 267): Sicut enim regalis potestas sacerdotali religioni se devote submittit: sic et sacerdotalis religioni se devote submittit: sic et sacerdotalis autoritas cum omni pietatis officio se regali dignitati subdere debet, sicut sanctus ostendit P. Gelasius ad Anastasium scribens Imp. “Duo sunt—rationem.” Ergo quia et Rex pro aeterna vita indiget Pontificibus, et Pontifices pro temporalium rerum cursu regali indigent dispositione: a Rege obediendum est Pontificibus, recta, sancta et justa suadentibus et vicissim a Pontificibus obediendum est Regi, pietatis cultui religione, jure et solatio servienti. Source of the notion that the regal dignity was conferred by the unction. See § 6. not. 14.—Comp. Planck iii. 477.

¹ Comp. § 20 not. 8.

² This had its source from the ancient custom of confirming the metropolitans in their office sive per manus impositionem, sive per pallii dationem episcopalis dignitatis firmitatem accipiunt (conc. Constant. oecum. viii. A.D. 869 can. 17). This patriarchal relation was now transferred to all metropolitans of the West. First Nicolaus i. in respons. ad consulta Bulgarorum c. 73 (Mansi xv. 426): [Archiepiscopum] Episcopi, qui ab obeunte Archiepiscopo consecrati sunt, simul congregati, constituent: sane interim in throno non sedentem, et præter, corpus Christi non consecrantem, priusquam pallium a sede Romana percipiat, sicuti Galliarum omnes, et Germaniae, et aliarum regionum Archie-

the time of Nicolaus I., only under the condition of the receivers vowing obedience on oath to the Romish institutions.³ The decretals designated the pope as universal bishop of the Church—an idea as yet obscure and undeveloped—but on this account the more dangerous—constantly stimulating the papal ambition, misleading weak men and abused by the bad.⁴ That the popes alone

piscopi agere comprobantur. In like manner Johannes viii. in ep. 94 ad Rostagnum Archiepisc. Arelat. A.D. 878 (Mansi xvii. 81) and in Syn. Ravennensi a 877 can. 1 (see above § 21 not. 30. Can. i. and ii. of this synod were soon ascribed to old popes: by Petrus Damiani l. 7, ep. 4, Burchard and others to Damasus; by Ivo and Gratian P. i. dist. c. can. 1. to one Pelagius. It is remarkable that even Boehmer has not observed the $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$. See *Jod. le Plat diss. de spuriiis in Gratiano cann. P. iii. sec. ii. c. 12 §. 2.*) A notable proof that though this view did not immediately become general in the church, the bishops were notwithstanding already accustomed and prepared to receive with implicit belief, hitherto unknown privileges of the Roman see, $\xi\iota\varsigma$ given by Fulbert Episc. Carnotensis († 1028) ep. 47, ad Archiepisc. Turon. (Bibl. Max. PP. xviii. 17): *Si pallium requisistis a Romano Pontifice, et ipse vobis illud sine causa legitima denegavit, propter hoc non est opus dimittere ministerium vestrum: at si vestra tarditate nondum est requisitum, cautella est exspectare donec requiratur, ne vos ex improvisio presumptionis arguere possit. Continentur enim quaedam reverenda nobis in privilegiiis Romanae Ecclesiae, quae propter negligentiam nostram non facile inveniuntur in armariis nostris.* Cf. Pertsch de origine et auctoritate pallii archiepiscopalis, Helinst. 1754, 4. p. 145 ss. On the cost of the Pallium see Canuti Regis ep. ad Anglorum proceres, written from Rome A.D. 1027 (Mansi xix. 499): *Conquestus sum iterum coram domina Papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei Archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum, quae ab eis expetebantur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent: decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat.* It was the custom to fetch the pallium in person from Rome, Thomassini eccl. disc. P. i. lib. ii. cap. 57. no. 4. Pertsch p. 222 ss.

³ See above § 21. not. 19.

⁴ *Comp. conc. Triburiense under Hatto, archbp. of Mainz, a. 895, c. 30.* (Mansi xviii. 147, d'Achery spicileg. iii. 850): *In memoriam b. Petri Apostoli honoremus s. Romanam et apostolicam sedem, ut quae nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat magistra ecclesiasticae rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, ut licet vix ferendum ab illa s. sede imponatur jugum, tamen feramus, et pia devotione toleremus. Si vero, quod non decet, quilibet, sive Presbyter, sive Diaconus, aliquam perturbationem machinando, et nostro ministerio insidiano, redarguatur falsam ab Apostolico detulisse epistolam, vel aliud quid, quod inde non convenerit, salva fide et integra circa Apostolicum humilitate, penes Episcopum sit potestas, utrum eum in carcerem, aut in aliam detrudat custodiam, us-*

were judges of bishops, was an idea not at all recognised:⁵ their interference in the government of the dioceses of bishops was universally disapproved,⁶ sometimes expressly repelled.⁷ It was characteristic of the rude time to suppose, that the high priest in Rome could interfere in the name of the divine law, where the

quequo per epistolam, aut per idoneos suae partis legatos apostolicam interpellat sublimitatem, ut potissimum sua sancta legatione dignetur discernere, quid de talibus justo ordine lex Romana statuatur diffinire, ut et is corrigatur, et caeteris modus imponatur.

⁵ See above § 24 not. 8. The synod of Altheim, A.D. 916, decrees respecting complaints against bishops, c. 13 (Pertz iv. 566), ut accusatus vel iudicatus a comprovincialibus in aliqua causa Episcopis licenter appellet et adeat apostolicae sedis Pontificem.

⁶ Comp. Caroli Calvi Const. ann. 878 above § 21, not. 32. Farther the narrative of Glaber Radulph. ii. c. 4. (Bouquet x. 15): A certain count, Fulco, of most abandoned character, for whom Hugo, archbishop of Tours, would not consecrate a church in honour of the cherubim and seraphim (about 1007) copiosa argenti et auri assumpta pecunia Romam pergens Johanni P. causam suae profectionis exposuit: ac deinde reportans quod ab illo optaverat, plurima ei munerum dona obtulit. Qui protinus misit cum eodem Fulcone ad praedictam Basilicam sacrandam unum ex illis, quos—Cardinales vocant, nomine Petrum, cui etiam praecepit, veluti Romani Pontificis auctoritate assumpta, quicquid agendum Fulconi videbatur, intrepidus expleret. Quod utique audientes Galliarum quique Praesules—pariter detestantes, quoniam nimium indecens videbatur, ut is, qui apostolicam regebat sedem, apostolicum primitus ac canonicum transgrediebatur tenorem: cum insuper multiplici sit antiquitus auctoritate roboratum, ut non quispiam Episcoporum in alterius Dioecesi istud praesumat exercere, nisi Praesule, cujus fuerit, compellente seu permitte. Licet namque Pontifex Romanae Ecclesiae ob dignitatem apostolicae sedis ceteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem. Sicut enim unusquisque orthodoxae Ecclesiae Pontifex, ac sponsus propriae sedis uniformiter speciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare Episcopi dioecesi. The narrative is indeed rectified from documents by de Marca lib. 4, c. 8. §. 2: but Glaber's judgment always remains a notable testimony in favour of the views of that time.

⁷ Chronicon Urspergense ad ann. 1052: When Leo IX. was in Worms, and Leutpold, archbishop of Mainz, read mass, the diaconus sang the lesson in the German manner. The pope, quia Romano more non agebatur, commanded him to cease. The deacon did not allow himself to be interrupted, et lectionem usque ad finem perduxit. Qua finita Papa illum ad se vocavit, et quasi pro inobedientiae contumacia degradavit. Archiepiscopus vero misit ad illum, ut suum sibi redderet ministrum. Quod ubi Papa abnuit, Pontifex, ut erat antiquae disciplinae, licet aegre, patienter tamen interim tacendo sustinuit. But when

human was too weak or insufficient;⁸ that, moreover, he could impart the most efficacious blessing,⁹ and give the most effectual absolution for sins.¹⁰ The bishops, on the other hand, main-

he should have continued the mass, in sede sua resedit, vere contestans, nec se, nec alium quempiam completurum illud officium, nisi reciperet processionis suae ministrum. Quod ubi Apostolicus intellexit, Pontifici cessit, reindutumque ministrum continuo remisit. Quo recepto, debito se praesul injunxit officio. Qua in re et Pontificis auctoritas, et Apostolici consideranda est humilitas: dum et ille officii sui dignitatem defendere contendebat, et iste, licet majoris dignitatis, Metropolitano tandem in sua dioecesi cedendum perpendebat.

⁸ Pope Hadrian II. was required by the emperor Lewis II., to release him from a forced oath made to the Prince of Beneventa Adalgisus (annales Hincmari ad ann. 871 ap. Pertz. i. 493) and John VIII. loosed him (Regino add ann. 872 l. c. p. 584). The emperor Charles the Corpulent, invited to him Pope Hadrian III. (annual. Fuldens. ad ann. 885 ap. Pertz. i. 402): voluit enim, ut fama vulgabat, quosdam Episcopos irrationabiliter deponere, et Bernhardum, filium suum ex concubina, heredem regni post se constituere; et hoc, quia per se posse fieri dubitavit, per Pontificem Romanum quasi apostolica auctoritate perficere disposuit. Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, wrote to Pope John IX., A.D. 900 (Mansi xviii. 203) that in place of the deceased emperor Arnulf, his son, Lewis, seven years old, had been chosen, and explains in a tone of inculpation, cur hoc sine vestra jussione et permissione, factum sit. Then he adds: Quia tandem occasio et tempus advenit, quo nostra epistola vestris obtutibus praesentaretur; rogamus, nostram communem constitutionem vestrae Dominationis benedictione roborari. In the year 916 the synod held at Altheim (Pertz iv. 555): praesente domni Joannis Papae apocrisario Petro,—misso ad hoc, quatenus aliquo modo diabolica semina in nostris partibus orta extirpare et nefandissimas machinationes quorundam perversorum hominum sedare et eliminando purgare deberet. The decrees of the synod had for their object, partly the protection of the church, partly the confirmation of the kingly authority. Under more powerful emperors, as the Ottos, the circumstances were reversed, and then the old imperial rights over the popes were again prominently adduced.

⁹ Auxilius (about 894) de ordinationibus Formosi Papae (libb. ii. Bibl. PP. T. xvii. p. 1), lib. i. c. 29: Qui de longinquis terrarum spatiis per mille, ut ita dicam, discrimina, tremebundi ad apostolicam sedem profecti sunt, et sacram ordinationem, ut moris est, magis ab Apostolo Petro, quam ab ejus vicario susceperunt.

¹⁰ Nicolai i. ep. 20, ad Carol. Calv. ap. Mansi xv. 280: Ad hanc sanctam Romanam—Ecclesiam—de diversis mundi partibus quotidie multi sceleris mole oppressi confugiunt, remissionem scilicet, et venialem sibi gratiam tribui supplicii et ingenti cordis moerore poscentes (ep. 21: et ab ea non solum animae, sed et corporis salvationem—humili prece suscipere precantur). When Hatto, in the letter quoted note 8, announced to Pope IX. the death of the emperor Arnulph, he also added:

tained, they alone could exercise the ecclesiastical power of the keys in their dioceses.¹¹

quod, quamdiu in hoc mundo subsistimus, per incerta ferimur, nescientes ubi quorundum animae post hanc lucem mansionem recipiant; vestris quasi provoluti vestigiis subnixae poscimus, ut animam ipsius vestrae auctoritatis potestate a vinculis peccatorum absolvatis, quia “ quaecunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta in caelo.”

¹¹ Conc. Saiegunstadiense (held in the year 1022, under the presidency of archbp. Aribio of Mainz), cap. 18 (Mansi xix. 398): Quia multi tanta mentis suae falluntur stultitia, ut in aliquo capitali crimine inculpati poenitentiam a sacerdotibus suis accipere nolint, in hoc maxime confisi, ut Romam euntibus Apostolicus omnia sibi dimittat peccata: sancto visum est concilio, ut talis indulgentia illis non prosit, sed prius juxta modum delicti poenitentiam sibi datam a suis sacerdotibus adimpleant, et tunc Romam ire si velint, ab Episcopo proprio licentiam et literas ad Apostolicum ex iisdem rebus deferendas accipiant. Conc. Lemovicense a 1031, Sessio ii. (Mansi xix. 546). Complaints of some qui ignorantibus Episcopis suis a Romano Papa poenitentiam et absolutionem accipiunt:—dum quos isti juste ligant, ille injuste absolvit. So one Count Stephen excommunicated by his bishop, Romae a domno Papa absolutionem accepit, ignoraute Papa eum excommunicatum. The bishop complaining of this, received for answer from the pope, “ Quod nescienter egi, frater carissime, non mea, sed tua est culpa. Scis enim, quia quicumque de universa Dei Ecclesia—ad me causa remedii recurrit, impossibile est mihi ejus causam negligere, dicente Domino ad b. specialiter Petrum: ‘ Petre, pasce oves meas.’ Debueras certe mihi—ejus causam tuis innotescere apicibus, et ego omnimodo abjicerem. Profiteor quippe omnibus consacerdotibus—adjutorem me et consolatorem potius esse, quam contradictorem. Absit enim schisma a me et a Coepiscopis meis. Itaque illam poenitentiam et absolutionem, quam tuo excommunicato ignoranter dederam, irritam facio et cassam.” Another excommunicated person had gone to Rome, Papae Romano subripuit poenitentiae legem, carrying with him letters, quibus Episcopum rogabat Apostolicus, quatenus illi poenitentiam, quam imposuerat, affirmaret. To them the bishop answered: Versa vice, quod ego postulare debueram ab Apostolico, Apostolicus postulat a me. Non credere possum hoc mandatum ab eo exortum: hoc tibi nihil utile est: et donec aut a me, vel ab hujus sedis Archidiacono, me jubente, accipias poenitentiam, permane in excommunicatione. Thereupon the synod determines: Parochiano suo Episcopus si poenitentiam imponit, eumque Papae dirigit, ut judicet, utrum sit an non poenitentia digna pro tali reatu: potest eam confirmare auctoritas Papae, aut levigare, aut superadjuvare. Judicium enim totius Ecclesiae maxime in apostolica Romana sede constat. Item si Episcopus parochianum suum cum testibus vel literis Apostolico ad poenitentiam accipiendam direxerit, ut multoties pro gravissimis fieri solet reatibus, in quibus Episcopi ad dignam haesitant poenitentiam imponendam: hic talis licenter a Papa remedium sumere potest. Nam inconsulto Episcopo suo, ab Apostolico

The papal pretensions met with the greatest opposition from the archbishops of Upper Italy, especially of Milan.¹² The Church of Milan, indeed, had been compelled, A.D. 1059, to recognise in form the Roman supremacy;¹³ but still, aversion to the hierarchy of Rome continued for a long time, and every opposition made to that hierarchy found advocates there for a considerable period.¹⁴

poenitentiam et absolutionem nemini accipere licet. Comp. Planck iii. 684.

¹² Schmidt's Kirchengesch. Th. 5. S. 4 ff.

¹³ The party forming in Milan since 1056 against the married priests, at the head of which stood Arialdux and Landulphus, were anxious for their own ends to make the Milanese church as dependent as possible on Rome. Comp. the contemporary works Arnulphi Mediol. rerum sui temporis libb. v. (in Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptt. T. iv. p. 11) and Landulphi senioris Mediolanensis historiae libb. iv. (ibid. p. 47 ss.)—Cf. Arnulph. iii. c. 11: Roman proficiscitur Arialdus apologeticas ferens literas. Ubi cum Ambrosianum accusaret clerum, affirmans omnes Nicolaitas et Simoniacos, ac prorsus inobedientes Romanae Ecclesiae, se autem cum Landulpho devotum, et pro sola veritate certantem, Romanorum celeriter adeptus est gratiam. Qui cum principari appetant jure apostolico, videntur velle dominari omnium, et cuncta suae subdere ditioni, cum Doctor evangelicus suos doceat humilitatem Apostolos dicens: "Reges gentium dominantur eorum,—vos autem non sic; sed qui major est in vobis, fiat sicut minor etc." (Luc. xxii. 25. 26.) In particular, the general opinion became prominent when Petrus Damiani and Anselm, bishop of Lucca, appeared in 1059 as papal legates. Of the following transactions a complete account is furnished by Petrus Damiani opusc. v. to Hildebrand (opp. iii. p. 37. ap. Muratori l. c. p. 25 ss. Mansi xix. p. 887 ss.) As soon as they arrived, repente in populo murmur exoritur, non debere Ambrosianam Ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjacere, nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano Pontifici in illa sede competere. Nimis indignum, inquit, ut quae sub progenitoribus nostris semper exiit libera, ad nostrae confusionis opprobrium nunc alteri, quod absit, Ecclesiae sit subjecta. A tumultus ensued, but Archbishop Guido submitted, and the Romish legates triumphed. On this Arnulph iii. c. 13: O insensati Mediolanenses, quis vos fascinavit? Heri clamastis unius sellae primatum. Hodie confunditis totius Ecclesiae statum, vere culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes. Nonne satius vester hoc procuraret Episcopus? Forte dicetis: Veneranda est Roma in Apostolo. Est utique: sed nec spernendum Mediolanum in Ambrosio. Certe, certe non absque re scripta sunt haec in Romanis annalibus. Dicetur enim in posterum subjectum Romae Mediolanum. Ecce Metropolitanus vester prae solito Romanam vocatur ad Synodum etc.

¹⁴ So the schism of Cadolus. See above § 23. not. 12. see annales Altah. v. Giesebrecht S. 189; so too Henry IV. against Gregory VII.

§. 26.

RELATIONS OF THE BISHOPS TO THE CLERGY OF THEIR
DIOCESES.

As the bishops became more involved in secular business, they neglected the spiritual care of their dioceses, and thus lost in proportion the completely monarchical power they had once exercised in them. *The chapters*, after the example of the chapter of *Cologne* (864),¹ received the independent right of managing

¹ The confirmation of the *ordinatio Guntharii Archiep. Colon.* issued on this subject by King Lothaire A. D. 866 (from the 11th year of King Lothaire, not of the emperor, therefore not 853 as Mastiaux has), see in Mastiaux diss. exhibens historiam turni Ecclesiarum collegiat. Coloniens. Bonnae 1786. 4. App. p. 1. (Gunthar probably wished, after his Roman deposal, see § 21. note 8. to bind his clergy more firmly to himself by that arrangement, see Gfrörer iii. ii. 994. 998.) The same arrangement is confirmed by the concil. Colon. a. 873 under Archbp. Wilibert (Mansi xvii. 275): Guntharius—monasteriis—ac canonice in eis comorantibus sumtuum suorum necessaria habenda delegavit atque contradidit: quatenus deinceps videlicet—perpetualiter inde consistere quivissent absque alicujus sumtus indigentia. Praeterea—illis concessit atque donavit, ultra licitum fore cum secura potestate et libero arbitrio inter se ordinare et facere tam de sua electione, quam de omnibus suis rebus absque ejus consultu et imperio; similiter—decrevit, ut Praeposito in sibi subjectis nullus nec praelatione nec potestate superponeretur, sed idem potius in ambobus super omnes praestantissimus haberetur, ac in super eorundem subjectorum res communes—ipse solus cum consilio prudentum benevolentiumque fratrum gubernans—dispensaret.—Lege sancivit, ut nullus unquam Pontifex sine illorum conscientia sive consensu de ipsa substantia minimam unquam praebendam alicui per potentiam tribueret, aut item—quidquam eis per potentiam sive per aliquam vim destrueret;—hoc illis quasi in jus hereditarium firmiter concedens, quatenus quisque illorum, sive nobilis sive ignobilis esset, usque in sempiternum liberum haberet arbitrium, suam mansionem cum caeteris quibuscunque rebus donare, seu etiam tradere cuicumque suo confratri voluisset post obitum suum possidendam absque ullius Episcopi consultu sive contradictione. By degrees this ordinance was every where imitated, in many places very late. In Rätzeburg the division of goods between bishop and chapter first took place 1194, s. Westphalen monum. rerum Germ. praec. Cimbricarum iii. 2050, in Lyons about the year 1200. See Gallia christiana iv. 134. Planck iii. 641.

their own property, and then gradually discontinued their canonical life,² after the example of the chapter at *Treves* (973).³ *The chapters*,⁴ and also the *archdeacons*,⁵ acquired certain rights in the management and rule of the dioceses. The benefices of the parochial clergy were now fully fixed on an unalterable basis.⁶

² Ivo Episc. Carnotensis (about 1092) epist. 215: Quod vero communis vita in omnibus Ecclesiis paene defecit, tam civilibus quam dioecesanis, nec auctoritati, sed desuetudini et defectui adscribendum est, refrigerante charitate, quae omnia vult habere communia, et regnante cupiditate, quae non quaerit ea, quae Dei sunt et proximi, sed tantum quae sunt propria. At the end of this period there were new attempts to re-introduce the canonical life, conc. Rom. a. 1059 (ap. Mansi xix. 908), and conc. Rom. a. 1063, cap. 4. (ib. p. 1025), etc. (Cf. Thomassini vet. et nov. eccl. discipl. P. i. lib. iii. c. 11.—P. iii. lib. ii. c. 23. no. 2.)

³ Trithemii chron. Hirsaug. ad h. a. (ed. St. Galli 1690. T. i. p. 116): Hoc tempore Heinrico, Trevirorum Archiepiscopo, mortuo Theodericus de Moguntia successit, sub quo Canonici majoris Ecclesiae s. Petri—abjecta pristinae conversationis norma desierunt esse regulares, distributionibus inter se factis praebendarum: et qui prius more Apostolorum omnia habuere communia, coeperunt jam deinceps singuli possidere propria. Quorum exemplum postea secuti plures Canonici sicut s. Paulini apud Treviros, s. Castoris in Confluentia, ss. Martini et Victoris Moguntiae, in Wormatia quoque et Spira de communi ad propriam vitae rationem descenderunt. With the former account agree also the *Gesta Trevirorum* (ed. Wyttenbach et Müller voll. iii. Aug. Trev. 1836. 4.) i. 111: sub eodem Pontifice regulares Canonici in Ecclesia s. Petri esse desierunt. At first they only began to live separately, but still ate together; for in a document of Archbp. Poppo, A.D. 1017 (in Günther cod. dipl. Rheno-Mosell. i. 121), they are still designated as *fratres cottidie manducantes in refectorio*.

⁴ Planck iii. 749.

⁵ Thomassini P. i. lib. ii. c. 19 and 20. Planck iii. 708.

⁶ Thomassini P. iii. lib. ii. c. 8. 18. 19. 24. Planck. iii. 650. 776.

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS-MORAL CULTURE.

§ 27.

ITS STATE IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Cramer's fünfte Forts. von Bossuet or Th. 5. Bd. 2. S. 185 ff.

During the civil commotions which ensued on the partition of the great Frank empire, and the gradual disuse of the Latin tongue,¹ all science sank into decay, and a general barbarism prevailed, which characterises the tenth century in particular.² Unworthy persons took possession of the higher ecclesiastical situations, in order to vie with the nobles in rapacity and voluptuousness.³ The grossest ignorance of religious subjects, and, as the effect of it, the rudest immorality, prevailed among the clergy,⁴ as well as the people.⁵ This was worst of all in Italy,⁶

¹ Dietz, Gramm. d. roman. Sprachen i. 74. 82. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Liter. im. karoling. Zeitalter. S. 59.

² Baronius ad ann. 900 no. 1: novum inchoatur saeculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum. Gatterer de Gunzone Italo ad illustrandum rei literariae statum saec. x. Gottingae 1756. 4. On the other hand du Pin nouv. bibl. des aut. eccl. siècle 10. pr. p. 1, Leibniti in praef. ad cod. juris nat. et gentium diplom. and Semler hist. eccl. vel. capita ii. 526, would prefer the 10th century to the 12th and 13th. But comp. Mabillon act. SS. ord. Ben. saec. v. praef. p. 2. Hist. lit. de la Fr. vi. 1. Cramer l. c. Heeren's Gesch. d. class. Literatur im Mittelalter i. 190. Bähr S. 49.

³ Comp. § 24.

⁴ Ex. gr. Ratherii itinerarium (in d'Achery spicil. i. 381): Sciscitatus itaque de fide illorum (clericorum Veronensium) inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum. Hac occasione Synodicam scribere omnibus Presbyteris sum compulsus etc. In this Synodica (ibid. p. 376 ss.) it is said among other things: Ipsam fidem—trifarie parare memoriae festinetis h. e. secundum symbolum—Apostolorum,—et illam quae ad Missam canitur, et illam s. Athanasii,

quae ita incipit: "Quicumque vult salvus esse." Quicumque vult ergo sacerdos in nostra parochia esse, aut fieri, aut permanere, illa, fratres, memoriter nobis recitet, cum proximo a nobis huc vocatus fuerit. Moneo et jam vos de die dominico ut cogitetis aut si cogitare nescitis, interrogetis, quare ita vocetur.—ut unusquisque vestrum, si fieri potest, expositionem symboli et orationis dominicae juxta traditionem orthodoxorum penes se scriptam habeat, et eam pleniter intelligat, et inde, si novit, praedicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat; si non, saltem teneat vel credat. Orationes Missae et canonem bene intelligat, et si non, saltem memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat. Epistolam et Evangelium bene legere possit, et utinam saltem ad literam ejus sensum posset manifestare etc. Cf. Baluzii not. ad Reginonem p. 540. To what extent the morals of the clergy were corrupted may be seen from the catalogue of crimes committed by Hugo, bishop of Langres, in conc. Rhem. a 1049 (Mansi xix. 739.)

⁵ Conc. Troslejan. a. 909. Praef. (Mansi xviii. 265): iniquitates nostrae multiplicatae sunt super caput, et delicta nostra creverunt usque ad caelos. Fornicatio et adulterium, sacrilegium et homicidium inundarunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit. Sanguis quippe sanguinem tangit, cum peccator malis suis gravius aliquod malum adjungit—sed in pejus quotidie proficit.—posthabito humanarum vel divinarum legum timore, contemtis edictis episcopalibus, unusquisque quod vult agit: potentior viribus infirmiore opprimit, et sunt homines sicut pisces maris, qui ab invicem passim devorantur: ac calcata iniquitate abundat ac convalescit iniquitas. Hinc est quod videmus per totum mundum rapinas pauperum, depraedationes rerum ecclesiasticarum. Hinc sunt assiduae lacrymae, pupillorum luctus etc. Denique ne nobis parcere videamur, qui aliorum errata corrigere debemus, Episcopi dicimur, sed episcopale officium non implemus. Ministerium praedicationis relinquimus: eos, qui nobis commissi sunt, videmus Deum deserere, et in pravis actibus jacere, et tacemus etc. Cap. xv. (p. 305): heu, prohdolor! nostris nostrorumque comministrorum, et qui jam discesserunt, et qui adhuc supersunt, tam incuria quam inscientia perditiviis multi, et paene innumerabiles adhuc inveniuntur in plebe ecclesiastica,—qui ad usque sua tempora senectutis necdum, ut debuerant, percepere fidei notitiam simplicis, usque adeo ut nec ipsius symboli verba salutaris, nec saltem supplicationem dominicae noverint orationis. Glaber Radulph. iv. 5 relates how a great famine, 1033, had produced a general penance: tunc prinitus coepere—coadunari conciliorum conventus, ad quos etiam multa delata sunt corpora Sanctorum. Quod etiam tota multitudo universae plebis audiens, laetanter adiere maximi, mediocres ac minimi, parati cuncti obedire, quicquid praeceptum fuisset a pastoribus Ecclesiae. But with the extremity ceased also their penitence. Nam ipsi Primates utriusque ordinis in avaritiam versi, coeperunt exercere plurimas, ut olim fecerant, vel etiam eo amplius, rapinas cupiditatis: deinde mediocres ac minores exemplo majorum ad immania sunt flagitia devoluti. Quis enim ut quam antea tantos incestus, tanta adulteria audiverat etc.—impletum est Prophetiae vaticinium, quod ait: "Et erit sicut populus sic sacerdos" (Es. 24, 2), etc.

⁶ Comp. § 23, not. 2. So Ratherius de contemtu cann. P. ii.

where *Ratherius*, bishop of Verona († 974),⁷ was at last forced to yield to the general corruption which he had ineffectually combated.

The religious ignorance of the times is plainly illustrated in the anthropomorphism of the clergy of Vicenza,⁸ attacked by

(d'Achery spicil. i. 354): Quærat et aliquis, cur præ caeteris gentibus baptismo renatis, contemtores canonicae legis et vilipensores clericorum sint magis Italici. Quoniam quidem libidinosiores eos et pigmentorum Venerem nutrientium frequentior usus, et vini continua potatio, et negligentior disciplina facit doctorum: unde ad tantam consuetudo et majorum eos exempla jam olim impulerunt impudentiam, ut solunmodo barbarasio, et verticis cum aliquantula vestium dissimilitudine nudo, et quod in Ecclesia cum negligentia agunt non parva, unde tamen affectant magis placere mundo quam Deo, a ritu distare eos videas laico. Gerberti epist. 40, ad Stephanum Rom: Eccl. Diaconum (in du Chesne scriptt. Franc. ii. 798): Tota Italia Roma mihi visa est. Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit.

⁷ His writings (especially de contemptu canonum, partes ii.; apologia sui ipsius: de discordia inter ipsum et clericos; liber apologeticus; itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis; sermones; epistolae) collected in d'Achery spicileg. i. 345. To these add praeloquiorum libb. vi. in Martene et Durand ampl. coll. ix. 785. Opera emendata et inedita aucta, cur. Petr. et Hier. frat. Baleriniis. Verona 1765, fol. Comp. hist. liter. de la France vi. 339. Engelhardt's kirchengesch. Abhandl. Erlangen 1832. S. 295. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Liter. im karoling. Zeitalter S. 546. Rather par Gantrel, in the Nouvelles archives historiques, philos. et litter, par MM. Hane, Huet, Lenz et Mone. Gand 1837, 8.

⁸ Ratherii serm. i. de quadragesima (d'Achery i. 388): Nudius enim tertius quidam nostratium retulit nobis, Presbyteros Vicentinae dioecesis, nostros utique vicinos, putare corporeum Deum esse: hac siquidem occasione inductos, quod in Scripturis legatur: "Oculi Domini super justos et aures ejus in preces eorum, etc." (Ps. xxxiii. 16, then Hiob 10, 8. Genes. i. 26). Quod cum nos non modice permovisset, proh nefas! nobis commisso gregi eandem adeo comperimus perfidiam inhaesisse, ut facto de periculo in populo sermone, et spiritum esse Deum—approbato, quidam, heu dolor! nostrorum murmurando dicerent etiam sacerdotum: Quid modo faciemus? Usque nunc aliquid visum est nobis de Deo scire, modo videtur nobis, quod nihil omnino sit Deus, si caput non habet, etc. (Comp. vol. i. Div. ii. § 95, not. 36.) Idola tibi in corde coepisti stultissime fabricare, immensitasque Dei oblitus, magnum quendam quasi Regem in throno aureo videlicet sedentem depingere, militiam Angelorum quasi quosdam homines alatos, ut in parietibus soles videre, vestibus albis indutos ei assistere, etc. Secunda, inquit, feria Michaël Archangelus Deo Missam celebrat. O caeca dementia, etc. And he was even compelled to defend himself for thus finding fault with them. Contra reprehensores sermonis ejusdem (ibid. p. 391): Non dicit Ratherius, quod Deus Dei filius, Dominus noster J. Ch.—

Ratherius. The consciousness of their own corruption betrays itself in the expectation which was becoming universal in the tenth century, that the end of the world was at hand.⁹

The zealous efforts of *Alfred the Great* (871-901),¹⁰ for the non habeat caput, oculos, manus, et pedes, etc. Non dicit Ratherius, quod malum faciat, qui vadit ad Ecclesiam s. Michaëlis, aut audit Missam s. Michaëlis, sed dicit Ratherius, quod mentitur ille, qui dicit, quod conveniat alicui melius secunda feria ire ad Ecclesiam s. Michaelis vel Missam s. Michaëlis audire, quam in alio die, etc.

⁹ As early as Conc. Troslej, a. 909 (Mansi xviii. 266): dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili, ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum pastoris aeterni, etc. According to Trithemii chron. Hirsaug. ad ann. 960, Bernhard an eremite from Thuringia appeared at the diet of Würtzburg, and diem jamjam imminere dicebat extremum, et mundum in brevi consummandum, idque sibi a Deo revelatum constanter affirmabat. In cujus rei signum cruces Deum praemisisse apparere in vestibus hominum asserebat, nec illas desituras, donec mundi consummatio fiat. The gesta Episc. Leodiensium c. 21. written about 1050, (in Martene ampl. coll. iv. 860), relate how Otto I.'s army in Calabria was terrified by an eclipse of the sun: incredibili pavore perterriti, nihil, aliud quam diem judicii putant imminere. Alii vasis vinariis, alii cistis, alii sub carris turpiter sese recondunt: quisque pro lucro reputat, si quod pro hac inusitata nocte sibi reperire queat latibulum. Abbo Abbas Floriacensis in apologetico ad Hugonem R. (about 990, appended to Fr. Pithoei cod. cann. Eccl. Rom. p. 401, and ap. Gallandius XIV. 141): De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in ecclesia Parisiorum audiivi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet: cui praedicationi ex Evangeliiis ac Apocalypsi et libro Danielis qua potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus b. memoriae Richardus sagaci animo propulit. postquam literas a Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama paene totum mundum impleverat, quod quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceue contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis saeculi esset. In the year 1010 the fear was renewed: Willelmi Godelli (monk in Limoges about 1150) Chronica ap. Bouquet x. 262): Anno Dom. MX. in multis locis per orbem tali rumore audito (namely that Jerusalem, 1009, had been taken by the Turks) timor et moeror corda plurimorum occupavit, et suspicati sunt multi, finem saeculi adesse. Hence the frequent endowments in the tenth century, beginning with: Appropinquante mundi termina. In connection with this stands the passage, Glaber Radulph. iii. c. 4: infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo paene terrarum orbe, praecipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum Basilicas, licet pleraeque decenter locatae minime indignissent, etc. At this period were erected the splendid cathedrals of Strassburg, Mayence, Treves, Speier, Worms, Basel, Dijon, Toul, and many others.

¹⁰ Some Anglo-Saxon poems of his, and translations of Orosius, Boe-

revival of letters in England, had no lasting influence. The most important schools were maintained in Germany, especially in Fulda, St Gallen,¹¹ Hirschau, and Corvey. *Roswitha*, a nun of Gandersheim (about 980), was eminent as a Latin poetess.¹²

§ 28.

NEW SPIRITUAL IMPULSES.

While all learning was become extinct among Christians of the West, the Arabs, from the time of the Chalifs *Harun Al Raschid* (786-808), and *Al Mamun* (808-833), had engaged with great ardour in the study of the sciences, which they had borrowed from the Greeks. Not only were many celebrated schools established in the East (*Bagdad*, Bassora, Damascus, &c.), but in Spain, under the Ommaiads, these studies were particularly patronised, and a college instituted at *Cardova* (founded by *Hakem* 980), for their encouragement.¹ As yet, however, only

thus, Gregory the Great, Bede, are extant. Cf. Asserii Schireburnensis (a contemporary) *hist. de rebus gestis Alfredi Regis* (best edited by Franc. Wise, Oxon. 1722, 8). Ant. Wood *hist. et antiquitt. Univers. Oxoniensis*, Oxon. 1674, fol. lib. i. p. 13 s. F. L. Graf zu Stolberg *Leben Alfred des Grossen*. Münster 1815, 8. *Geschichte Alfred's d. G. übertragen aus Turner's Geschichte d. Angelsachsen von D. F. Lorentz*. Hamburg 1828. *Biographia britannica literaria*. Anglo-Saxon period, by Thomas Wright. London, 1842.

¹¹ Here are particularly distinguished successively four Ekkehards and two Notkers (*balbulus* and *labeo*). See Ratperti († 900) *casus monasterii s. Galli*, continued by Ekkehardus iv. († about 1036) later by another, ap. Pertz ii. 59. cf. *vita Udalrici, Ep. Augustani* († 973), by Gerhard c. 1. (Pertz. vi. 386): (*parentes*) *commendaverunt eum ad s. Galli monasterium, quia ibi nobilium Dei servorum multitudo et religiositas, discendi docendique studium tunc temporis habebatur. Ekkehardi iv. casus s. Galli c. 2.* (Pertz ii. 94). On the time of the scholastic Hiso: *Anhelabant ad illius doctrinam totius Burgundiae nec non et Galliae ingenia*. See Ildelfons v. *Arx Geschichten des Cantons St. Gallen Bd. 1.* (St Gallen 1810) S. 259 ff.

¹² *Hroswitha* or *Helena of Rossow*. Respecting her, see Schröckh's *Lebensbeschr. ber. Gelehrten i. 3. Carmina*; (*Primordia coenobii Gandersheimensis* and *Gesta Ottonis i.*, both ap. Pertz vi. 302. *Comœdiæ sacrae vi.*, etc.) ed. C. Celtes. Norimb. 1501. fol. H. L. Schurzfleisch. *Vitemb.* 1707, 4. *De Hroswitha poetria scripsit et comoediam Abraham inscriptam adjecit Dr G. Freytag.* Vratisl. 1839, 8.

¹ Gesenius in *Erich's u. Gruber's Encyclopædie Th. 5. S. 58 ff.*

mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, were prosecuted.² For this purpose individuals came hither even from the western church; though they were so few, and the field of those sciences so confined, that the influence of them on general culture could not have been considerable. Yet the study of mathematics may have given an impulse to individual minds, as it did to *Gerbert*,³ who owed to the Arabs such a knowledge of the science as excited universal astonishment at that time. He opened up a better prospect for the degenerate condition of schools, by giving a new impulse to the school at *Rheims*; from which other schools too soon received new teachers and a new spirit.⁴ Hence the school in Chartres, under bishop *Fulbert* († 1028),⁵ acquired high renown. The art of medicine, which had for a long time been chiefly cultivated in the convents of *Monte Cassino* and *Salerno*, was enriched indeed with several important translations of Arabic works, which *Constantine of Africa*, finally a monk at Monte Cassino, about 1050, made; but yet its character was too superstitious and empirical to promote the general culture of the age.⁶

Wachler's *Gesch. d. Literatur Th. 2*, (2te Umarb. 1823) S. 85 ff. H. Middeldorpf *comm. de institutis literariis in Hispania, quae Arabes auctores habuerunt*, Goettingae 1810, 4.

² Jourdain *recherches crit. sur. l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, Paris 1819 (translated with additions and corrections by Dr A. Stahr, Halle 1831), nouv. édit. revue et augm. 1843, p. 86, 226.

³ See above § 22, no. 19 and 27. *Hist. lit. de la France* vi. 559. Hüllmann's *Städtewesen des Mittelalters* iv. 317. His mathematical and astronomical writings have not been printed with the exception of the geometry in B. Pezii *thes. noviss. anecdot.* iii. ii. 7. *De corpore et sanguine Christi* (prim. ed. Cellot. in *hist. Gotteschalci*, p. 541, but without the author's name, therefore, till Pez discovered it, called Anonymus Cellotianus) and *de. rationali et ratione uti*, both in B. Pezii *thes.* i. ii. 133. *Epistolae* ed. Pap. Masson. Paris 1611, 4, more fully in du Chesne *scriptt. Franc.* ii. 787 (on their historical connection, see Wilmann's in den *Jahrbüchern d. deutschen Reichs* unter Otto iii. S. 141.) On his league with the devil, see Illgen's *Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol.* 1843. ii. 158. Gerbert als Freund u. Förderer klassischer Studien, Schweidnitzer Schulprogr. für Ostern 1843. Gerbert od. Papst Sylvester ii. u. s. *Jahrhundert v. Dr E. F. Hock*, Wien 1837, 8.

⁴ Hüllmann l. c. S. 322 ff.

⁵ *Opera* (epistolae, sermones caet.) ed. Car. de Villiers. Paris, 1608. 8, and in the *bibl. PP. Lugd.* xviii. 1.

Among the German tribes, those works in the languages of the countries, which among the Franks proceeded from *Notker La-beo*, abbot of St Gallen († 1022),⁷ and among the Anglo-Saxons from *Ælfrie* (probably archbishop of York, from 1023-1051),⁸ were important in tending to diffuse a spirit of general improvement. The intercourse with the Greek Church,⁹ which had been renewed from the time of the Ottos, operated powerfully on scientific, and especially on theological advancement, in addition to the restoration of ecclesiastical order in the second half of the 11th century; but, especially, the revival of a scientific study of the law, in the cities of Lombardy;¹⁰ the patronage of learning by the emperor Henry III.;¹¹ and the renewed disputes with the

⁶ K. Sprengel's *Gesch. d. Arzneikunde* Th. 2, (dritte Aufl. Halle 1823) S. 490. Jourdain l. c. p. 97. Wachler l. c. S. 54.

⁷ Translation of the Psalms (in Schilter thes. antiquit. teuton. more correctly in Hattemer, *St. Gallens altdeutsche Sprachschätze* B. 3), *Martianus Capella* (published by E. G. Graff, Berlin 1837, 8), *Boethius* (published by Graff, Berlin 1837, 8), the *Categories* and the work on Aristotle's sentences (published by Graff, Berlin 1837, 4). The following are lost; the translations of Gregory's *Moralia*, *Cato*, single pieces from Virgil, Terence and others. *Comp. v. Arx. Gesch. v. St. Gallen* i. 276, 269. *Raumer's Einwirkung des Christenth. auf die althd. Sprache* S. 38, 72.

⁸ Ussher regards this writer as *Ælfrie* who was archbishop of Canterbury 995, 1006. He wrote many works in the Anglo-Saxon tongue (Latin Grammar and Dictionary, translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, *Homilies*, in part his own, in part translated.) An *Ælfrie* society has lately commenced to do something in the way of the Anglo-Saxon language: *The homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, P. i. *Homilies of Ælfrie* by Benj. Thorpe vol. i. London 1844, 8.

⁹ Many Germans at this time were ignorant of Greek ex. gr. *Luitprand*, *Hermannus Contractus*. In St. Gallen it was assiduously cultivated, *v. Arx. Gesch. v. St. Gallen* i. 258, 266, 271 ff. *Schlosser's Weltgesch.* ii. ii. 256. Concerning the revival of the sciences in the East under the Macedonian emperors, see below § 43.

¹⁰ *Savigny's Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im Mittelalter* iii. 75. Even clergymen applied themselves to it in great numbers, *Petri Damiani ep.* 15, ad Alex. ii. opp. i. 12: *Ecclesiarum rectores tanto mundanae vertiginis quotidie rotantur impulsu, ut eos a saecularibus barbirationibus (the shorn beard) quidem dividat, sed actio non discernat, nec sacrarum meditantur eloquia Scripturarum, sed scita legum et forense litigium. Claustra vacant, Evangelium clauditur, per ora ecclesiastici ordinis forensia jura decurrunt.*

¹¹ *Stenzel's Gesch. Deutsch. unter d. fränk. Kaisern* i. 132 ff.

Greek Church in the middle of the 11th century. The necessity of reflection led men back to a more earnest intercourse with translations of Boethius, and explanations of the logical writings of Aristotle.¹² *Lanfranc* (1042, monk in Bec, 1062, abbot in Caen, 1070, archbishop of Canterbury, † 1089),¹³ prepared for such a task by previous legal studies, led the way in a new dialectic development of theology, the taste for which he spread far and wide by the monastic school which he founded in Bec. His rival was *Berengarius* (1031, a scholastic at Tours, 1040, archdeacon of Angers, † 1088),¹⁴ and the first trial of the new science was in the dialectic dispute between them concerning the Lord's Supper.

§ 29.

BERENGAR'S CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The most important authorities for the first part of the controversy are: *Lanfranci de Eucharistiae sacramento contra Berengarium lib. (cum Philastrio prim. ed. Jo. Sichardus. Basil. 1528. 8. subsequently often published, among others in bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 763), and Berengarii de sacra coena*

¹² The doubts which Heeren raised against the usual opinion, that Aristotle's writings were first known in the West by translations from the Arabic (*Gesch. d. class. Lit. im Mittelalter, hist. Werke iv. 225*), are partly confirmed, partly rectified, by Jourdain's inquiries referred to above (note 2) which furnish this result, that, till the thirteenth century, only the *Organon* of Aristotle was known in the West by the Latin translation of Boethius (vol. i. div. 2. § 114. not. 10.), or rather, only the introduction of Porphyry, and the first two treatises of the *Organon*, on the categories, and on the sentences, which alone were translated by Boethius. See *Cousin ouvrages inédits d'Abélard. Introduction p. li.* All these writings were known to, and used by, individuals even from the ninth century, as, for instance, Rabanus Maurus (*Cousin l. c. p. lxxvi.*), Gerbert, and an anonymous commentator on the *Organon* in the tenth century p. lxxx. : but now the acquaintance with them was more general. Notker Labeo translated both these treatises of Aristotle even into the Frankish-German. See note 7.

¹³ *Hist. lit. de la France viii. 260 ss. Opera (comm. in ep. Pauli; de corpore et sang. Domini epistolae etc.) ed. Luc. d'Archery. Paris. 1648. fol., prefixed to which is his life by his younger contemporary Milo Crispinus.*

¹⁴ *Hist. lit. de la Fr. viii. 197.*

adv. Lanfrancum lib. (MS. in Wolfenbüttel 228. S. in 8.)¹ primum edd. A. F. et F. Th. Vischer, Berol. 1834. 8. (here cited according to the pages of the MS. Comp. G. Ephr. Lessing's *Berengarius Turon. od. Ankündig. eines wichtigen Werks desselben*, Braunschweig 1770. 4. in *dess. sämtl. Schriften*, Berlin 1825 ff. Th. 12. S. 143 ff. (according to which last edition it is here cited). C. F. Stäudlin's *Osterprogr. v. 1814: Annuntiatur editio libri Bereng. Tur. adv. Lanfrancum, simul omnino de scriptis ejus agitur*. The same: *Berengarius Tur.* in Stäudlin's and Tzirschner's *Archiv für Kirchengesch.* ii. i. 1.

For the later part of the controversy: *acta concilii Rom. sub Gregorio P. vii. ab ipso Berengario conscripta*, prim. ed. Martene et Durand in *thesaur. nov. anecdotorum* iv. 99. ap. Mansi xix. 761 (on its authenticity see Stäudlin in *Archive* l. c. S. 81 ff.)

A survey of all the treatises is given by Bernaldi Constantiensis² *de Berengarii damnatione multiplici lib.* written A. D. 1088 (the more important part first published by P. F. Chiffletius in *scriptorum vett. de fide catholica opusc.* v. 1656. ap. Mansi xix. 757, complete by Matth. Rieberer in *Raccolta Ferrarese di opuscoli scientifici e letterati* T. 21. Venezia 1789. p. 37 ss.)

Neander's *Kirchengesch.* iv. 327. Dr A. Ebrard's *Dogma v. heil. Abendmale u. s. Geschichte*, Bd. 1. (Frankf. a. M. 1845) S. 439.

Although Paschasius's sentiments concerning the Lord's Supper had been adopted by many,³ and others taught at least the corporeal presence of Christ without entering into a more subtle development of the subject,⁴ yet many still maintained a merely

¹ The conjecture of the late Stäudlin founded on the remarkable corrections (in the *Archive* Bd. 2. S. 65), that it may have been Berengar's own MS., is somewhat bold. Perhaps there were two editions of that work, the MS. having been originally taken from the first, and then improved and corrected after the second. Another MS. of a treatise of Berengar's, probably the same treatise, was formerly in the library of the Jesuits at Louvain, see Possevini *apparatus sacer* i. 211, from which extracts have been given by Mabillon, *Oudinii comm. de scriptt. eccl.* ii. 632. It is very desirable that this MS. should be found out again and compared.

² In editions designated as anonymous. That Bernaldus was the author, see in *monumenta res Alemannicas illustrantia* (ed. Ussermann, *St Blasii 1792*) ii. 427.

³ So by Gezo (abbot in Tortona about 950) *lib. de corpore et sang. Christi* (in *Muratorii anecdota* iii. 237). It was confirmed especially by miraculous stories, such as are found even in Paschasius's own writings. Comp. the proofs in *Syn. Atrebatensi ann. 1025. c. 2.* (Mansi xix. 433).

⁴ So Ratherius *ep. vi. ad. Patricum* (in *d' Archery spicileg.* i. 376):

spiritual presence.⁵ Thus Berengarius⁶ also declared against Paschasius, and in favour of the alleged John Scotus.⁷ He wrote

istud Dei benedictione vinum verus, et non figurativus efficitur sanguis, et caro panis.—De caeteris, quaeso, ne solliciteris quandoquidem mysterium esse audis, et hoc fidei: nam si mysterium est, non valet comprehendere: si fidei, debet credi, non discuti. Gerbert de corp. et sang. Christi (in Pezii thes. i. ii. 133. see § 28. not. 3.) regards the schism between Paschasius and Ratramnus as not a great one, and is fired with zeal only against the Stercoranists, particularly against Heribaldus and Rabanus.

⁵ Sigebert. Gemblac. de scriptt. eccles. c. 137. (Fabricii bibl. eccles. p. 109) writes of Heriger, abbot of Laubes († 1007): *Congessit etiam contra Ratbertum multa catholicorum Patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini.* Aelfric (see § 28. not. 8.) expresses decidedly the Augustinian-ratramnian doctrine, that Christ's body is partaken of, not corporeally, but spiritually (*na lichamlice ac gastlice*). This opinion is maintained in an Easter Homily, which has been preserved in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and is often opposed to the Catholics, as a testimony for the faith of the Anglo-Saxon Church (prim. ed. Matth. Parker, London, 1567. 12. and also in Bedae hist. eccl. cum Alfredi Regis paraphrasi Saxon. ed. A. Whelock. Cantabrig. 1644. fol. p. 462. Comp. the Creed of the Anglo-Saxon Church by H. Soames. Oxf. 1835. 8). Whether the error of Leutherich, archbishop of Sens, censured by Robert, king of France (*Helgaldus in vita Roberti ap. Bouquet x. 100. Baronius ann. 1004 no. 3*), related to the use of the Eucharist as an ordeal, or to the formula of administration: *si dignus es, accipe*, is obscure. *Praesul bene correctus, a Rege pio et bono sapienter instructus, quievit, obmutuit, et siluit a dogmate perverso, quod erat contrarium omni bono, et jam crescebat in saeculo.* But in a *vita Johannis XVII.* (Mansi xix. 279) it is said: *Hujus tempore Leuthericus Senon. Archiep. haeresis Berengarianae primordia et semina sparsit.*

⁶ Even Fulbert (see § 28. not. 5), Berengar's teacher, says: *epist. 1.* (bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 5): *corporis et sanguinis sui pignus salutare nobis reliquit, non inanis mysterii symbolum.* *Ep. 2. p. 6: panis ab Episcopo consecratus—in unum et idem corpus Christi transfunditur. Sed quodammodo aliud esse dicitur, quod virginali utero sumta carne crucis injuriam sustinuit,—cujus memoriam in pane Presbyteris collato Episcopus agere videtur: aliud, quod per mysterium agitur.* He cannot, however, have expressed himself decidedly against the transformation-doctrine, since Adelman, in his letters, refers Berengar to their common teacher.

⁷ The first traces are afforded by the two works written to refute him: *Adelmanni de veritate corp. et sang. Dom. ad Bereng. epist.* (of which many though faulty editions, ex. gr. bibl. PP. xviii. 438. far more complete ex Ms. Guelpherb. ed. C. A. Schmidt. Brunsv. 1770. 8.) written before 1049 (*hist. lit. de la Fr. vii. 542*); and the notorious (see § 27. not. 4) *Hugonis Ep. Lingonensis lib. de corp. et sang. Dom.* (prim. ed. d' Archery in opp. Laufranci append. p. 68 ss. Bibl. PP.

a letter on the subject to Lanfranc,⁸ on the strength of which he was condemned without a hearing at *Rome*,⁹ 1050; and the

Lugdun. xviii. 417), likewise written before 1049 (hist. lit. de la Fr. vii. 438). The first was answered by Berengar, as appears, after some time, in his purgatoria epist. contra Adelman. (Fragm. in Martene et Durand thes. nov. anecdot. iv. 109 ss. and ap. Schmidt l. c. p. 34 ss.)

⁸ Bereng. epist. ad Lanfr. (prim ed. d' Archery in opp. Lanfr. p. 22. ap. Mausi xix. 768): Pervenit ad me, frater Lanfranc, quiddam auditum ab Ingelranno Carnotensi, in quo dissimulare non debui ammonere dilectionem tuam. Id autem est, displicere tibi, immo haeticas habuisse sententias Joannis Scoti de Sacramento altaris, in quibus dissentit a suscepto tuo Paschasio. Hac ergo in re si ita est, frater, indignum fecisti ingenio, quod tibi Deus non aspernabile contulit, praeproperam ferendo sententiam. Nondum enim adeo satigesti in Scriptura divina cum tuis diligentioribus. Et nunc ergo, frater quantumlibet rudis in illa Scriptura vellem tantum audire de eo, si opportunum mihi fieret, adhibitis quibus velles, vel iudicibus congruis, vel auditoribus. Quod quamdiu non fit, non aspernanter aspicias quod dico. Si haeticum habes Joannem, cujus sententias de Eucharistia probamus: habendus tibi est haeticus Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, ut de caeteris taceam.—Guitmundus de corp. et sang. Chr. (comp. below, not. 15.) relates at the commencement: Postquam a dom. Lanfranco in dialectica de re satis parva turpiter est confusus, cumque per ipsum d. Lanfrancum virum aequè doctissimum liberales artes Deus recalescere atque optime reviviscere fecisset: desertum se iste a discipulis dolens, ad eructanda impudenter divinarum Scripturarum Sacramenta—sese convertit.

⁹ Lanfranc. de Euchar. cap. 4: Tempore s. Leonis P. delata est haeresis tua ad apostolicam sedem. Qui cum synodo praesideret,—jussum est in omnium audientia recitari, quas mihi de corpore et sanguine Domini literas transmisisti. Portitor quippe earum legatus tuus, me in Normannia non reperto, tradidit eas quibusdam clericis. Quas cum legissent, et contra usitatissimam Ecclesiae fidem scriptas animadvertissent: zelo Dei accensi, quibusdam ad legendum eas porrexerunt. plurimis earum sententias verbis exposuerunt. Itaque factum est, ut non deterior de te quam de me fuerit orta suspicio, ad quem videlicet tales literas destinaveris.—promulgata est in te damnationis sententia. Posthaec praecepit Papa, ut ego surgerem, pravi rumoris a me maculam abstergerem, fidem meam exponerem, expositam plus sacris auctoritatibus quam argumentis probarem. Itaque surrexi, quod sensi dixi, quod dixi probavi, quod probavi omnibus placuit, nulli displicuit. On the other hand, Berengarius de sacra coena Ms. p. 11: Saepius me de falsitate tua scriptum tuum compellit ut loquar; qua enim fronte scribere potuisti, suspicionem contra te de meo ad te scripto potuisse oriri?—nec sani ergo capitis fuit, aliquid contra te suspicari de scripto illo, in quo ego reprehenderam, quod omnes, ut scribis te fecisse, approbabant.—Quod promulgatam dicis in me damnationis sententiam, sacrilegae

council of *Vercelli*, immediately after, repeated the same sentence.¹⁰

sancto illi tuo Leoni notam praecipitationis affigis : injustum enim esse praescribunt tam humana jura, quam divina, inauditum aliquem condemnari. Maxime cum me Leo ille accersisset : donec certum fieret, utrum praesentiam ejus adire suffugerem, suspendenda fuit sententia, ut revera cognosceret, quod falsissimum habet scriptum tuum, quatenus ego communi fidei adversa sentirem,—ut per me verbis audiretur aut scriptis, quae ego in Joh. Scoto approbarem, quae in Pascasio Corbejensi monacho condemnarem.—Milo Crispinus in vit. Lanfranci c. 3. says that he journeyed to Rome causa cujusdam clerici nomine Berengarii, qui de Sacramento altaris aliter dogmatizabat, quam Ecclesia tenet. The hist. lit. de la Fr. viii. 263. attempts to account for the journey in a different way. See, however, on the other side, Lessing xii. 230.

¹⁰ Lanfranc continues: Dehinc declarata est synodus Vercellensis. quae tunc proximo Septembri eodem praesidente Pontifice est celebrata Vercellis, ad quam vocatus non venisti. Ego vero praecepto ac praecibus praefati Pontificis usque ad ipsam synodum secum remansi. In qua in audientia omnium—Joannis Scoti liber de Eucharistia lectus est ac damnatus, sententia tua exposita ac damnata : fides s. Ecclesiae, quam ego teneo ac tenendam adstruo, audita, et concordia omnium assensu confirmata. Duo clerici, qui legatos tuos se esse dixerunt, volentes te defendere, in primo statim aditu defecerunt et capti sunt. On the other side, Berengarius p. 16 : Pervenerat ad me, praecepisse Leonem illum, ut ego Vercellensi illi conventui, in quo tamen nullam Papae debebam obedientiam, non deessem. Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quae nullus extra provinciam ad iudicium ire cogendus est, personae ecclesiasticae, dissuaserant amici : ego ob reverentiam pontificatus multo Romam ita labore susceperam, et ut irem securius, ad Regem Franciae, Ecclesiae, cujus eram clericus, Abbatem (On this relation which Lessing misunderstands, p. 261, see Thomassinus P. i. lib. iii. c. 64. § 4), accesseram, nihil a regia dignitate, nihil ab Abbatis paternitate sinistram expectabam, cum me carcerandum ac rebus omnibus exspoliandum cuidam dedit. Hoc Leo ille Vercellis audivit, non apostolica dignitate, non paterna miseratione, non humana motus est compassione,—haereticum me potius voce sacrilega—in conventu illo Vercellensi pronunciavit—p. 18 : Quod sententiam meam scribis Vercellis in consessu illo expositam, dico de rei veritate et testimonio conscientiae meae, nullum eo tempore sententiam meam exposuisse, quod nec mihi eo tempore tanta perspicuitate constabat, quod nondum tanta pro veritate eo tempore perpressus, nondum tam diligenti in Scripturis consideratione sategeram. Duos clericos meos Vercellis affuisse scripsisti.—clerici illi mei revera non fuerunt, me defendere minime susceperunt. Alter Concanonicus mihi erat in ecclesia b. Martini,—hunc clerus ille b. Martini, cum me—Rex—carcerandum dedisset cuidam adolescentulo,—consilio communi ad Leonem illum misit Vercellis, si forte, infortunio meo compatiens, christiano rigore aliquid pro me adoriretur. Huic, cum esset in conventu illo Vercellensi, et quidam interrogatus a Papa responderet ad interrogata, quod respondendum putavit, visum

illi est, sicut mihi ipse narravit, dare illum sententiam, quod essem haereticus: quo viso perturbatissimus, ad quem nesciebat, inelamavit, quantum potuit: "per Deum omnipotentem mentiris:" Alter compatriota tuus nomine Stephanus, ei, quem ab Ecclesia b. Martini missum dico non ignotus, cum vidisset libellum Joh. Scoti ex nutu et libito tuo conscindi, nobili permotus zelo non tacuit, similiter posse conscindi librum aliquem praeproperantur b. Augustini, non adhibita mora et lima, utrum conscindendus esset, sufficientis considerationis. Ita factum est, ut juberet Leo ille, utrumque teneri, non tamen, ut ipse postea exponebat, ut illis aliquid injuriae fieret aut molestiae, sed ne turba forte in illos illicitum adoriretur aliquid. Ita indignum eruditione tua scriptum continuit tantam falsitatem tuam: "duo clerici tui te volentes defendere primo aditu defecerunt," etc. When Berengarius on the way to Vercelli, went to Paris to ask permission for the journey, he took a circuitous route through Normandy, probably for the purpose of making friends there. But he found the universal voice against him, particularly in the conference at Brione (Durandi Abb. Troarn. de corp. et sang. Ch. pars ix). So also at Bec, as appears from the letters of Bereng. ad Ascelinum mon. Becensem and ap. Ascelini Bereng. (prin. ed. d'Achery in opp. Lanfr. not. ad vit. Lanfr. p. 24, ap. Mansi xix. 775). When Berengar writes to Ascil: Per vos igitur transiens disposueram omnino nihil agere cum quibuscunque de Eucharistia, priusquam satisfacerem in eo Episcopis, ad quos contendebam; this passage so often misunderstood refers (Stäudlin in Arch. S. 43) to the council of Vercelli. In the meantime Henry I. had summoned a council at Paris to try Berengarius there, but Deoduinus (not Durandus) bishop of Lüttich made objections, Comp. his epist. ad Regem (first ed. complete in the bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 531. Galandii bibl. PP. xiv. 244): Fama supremos Galliae fines praetergressa totam Germaniam pervasit, jamque omnium nostrum replevit aures, qualiter Bruno Andegavensis Episcopus, item Berengarius Turon. antiquas haereses modernis temporibus introducendo, adstruant, corpus Domini non tam corpus esse, quam umbram et figuram corporis Domini; legitima conjugia destruant, et quantum in ipsis est, baptismum parvulorum evertant. Quos ad revincendum ac publice confutandum—ajunt, vos Concilium advocasse.—Sed desperamus id fieri, posse, cum Bruno existat Episcopus, Episcopum autem non oportet damnationis subire sententiam praeter apostolicam auctoritatem. And at the conclusion: Quamobrem Brunonem et Berengarium jam anathematizatos arbitramur. Quod si ita est, vere illis audientia Concilii deneganda est, et cum vestris, cumque nostris Episcopis (si vobis ita videtur) cum amico vestro Imperatore, cum ipso Papa, quae vindicta in illos statuatur, deliberandum. By these arguments Henry seems to have been induced to give up the council, and adopt the other course described by Berengarius himself. For that Durand's (l. c.) account of a council actually held at Paris is wholly false, is proved incontrovertibly by Lessing p. 264 ff., though Staüdlin in the Archiv. p. 34 ff. opposes him. On the other hand, Durand's evidence in favour of Berengar's journey into Normandy is satisfactory authority, since he was himself an inhabitant of that country. Lessing's doubts on this head. (p. 276) are satisfactorily removed by the order of events given above.

By this means public opinion was turned against him, though he still had many friends.¹¹ He succeeded, however, in convincing Hildebrand, the papal legate at *Tours* (1054) of his orthodoxy;¹² and relying on his powerful aid, he ventured to appear at the synod of Rome (1059). Here Humbert's rough violence forced

The letter of Deoduinus, Lessing had no right to question (p. 275) as it is mentioned as early as by Guitmundus de verit. Euchar. lib. i. init.

¹¹ Cf. Berengarii epist. ad Richardum (prim. ed. d'Achery in spicil. iii. 400, ap. Mansi xix. 784), and the fragment in Mabillon. act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. P. ii. praef. n. 22, in which he prays intercedingly with the king, si forte—aliqua munificentia compensaret damnum, quod in clerico Ecclesiae suae injustissime, ac regia majestate indignissime tantum intulit. Further, the very friendly epist. Frollanti Ep. Silvanectensis ad Bereng. (prim. ed. d'Achery l. c. p. 399, ap. Oudin de scriptt. eccl. ii. 629), concluding: Illud volo Fraternitas tua noverit, quod multum firmiter acquisivi tibi gratiam domini mei Regis. Other friends of Berengar's were Bruno, bishop of Angers (cf. Deoduinus not. 10), and Paulinus. See below, note 20.

¹² Lanfranc. l. c.: Quae sententia (Leonis ix.) non effugit successorem quoque suum felicitis memoriae P. Victorem. Denique in concilio Turonensi, cui ipsius interfuere ac praefuere legati, data est tibi optio defendendi partem tuam. Quam cum defendendam suscipere non auderes, confessus coram omnibus communem Ecclesiae fidem, jurasti te ab illa hora ita crediturum, sicut in Romano concilio (see below, note 13), te jurasse est superius comprehensum. On the other hand, Berengarius p. 23: Compellit me, velim nolim, longum facere continua scripti tui monachatu tuo indignissima falsitas. Sed quia adhuc superest Hildebrandus, qui de veritate consultus tota dignitate est adhuc respondere idoneus; visum est, de concilio Turonensi, quod rei veritas habuit, neque tamen eo nisi paucissimis tempore innotuit, palam facere. Tempore non Victoris, sed Leonis ab Ecclesia Romana Hildebrandus, vices in negotiis ecclesiasticis suppleturus apostolicas, Turoni adfuit. Huic contra calumniam in me insanorum, in quo adhuc, omisso me, audire eum potest, qui voluerit, de Propheta, de Apostolo, de Evangelista, de authenticis etiam scripturis satisfeci Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, Gregorii. Hildebrandus veritatis perspicuitate cognita persuasit, ut ad Leonem P. intenderem, cujus auctoritas superbiorum invidiam atque ineptorum tumultum compesceret. The books were to be given to the bishops, quos undecunque Hildebrandus ipse multos fecerat comportari, in the meantime, however, they had expressed themselves satisfied with Berengarius's confession, given orally and in writing: "Panis atque vinum altaris post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis," haec me, sicut ore proferrem, juramento confirmavi corde tenere. Ita Hildebrandus—tumultu compescito, alia—est prosecutus negotia. During this time nunciatum illi est, P. Leonem rebus decessisse humanis, quo audito a proposito eundi Romam itinere supersedi.

him to subscribe a creed truly Capernaitic.¹³ Berengarius re-

¹³ Lanfranc. c. 5: Nicolaus P.—concessa tibi—respondendi licentia, cum non auderes pro tuae partis defensione aliquid respondere: pietate motus ad preces tuas praecepit tradi scripturam tibi, quam superius posui. Namely, c. 2: “Ego Berengarius—anathematizo omnem haeresim, praecipue eam, de qua hactenus infamatus sum etc. Consentio autem s. Rom. Ecclesiae,—scilicet panem et vinum, quae in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum Sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri J. Chr. esse, et sensualiter non solum Sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri, jurans per s. et homousion Trinitatem,” etc. Cum ergo venisses Romam, fretus iis, qui plus impensis a te beneficiis, quam ratione a te audita opem tibi promiserant, non ausus defensare, quod antea senseras, postulasti Nicolaum Pont, ejusque concilium, quatenus fidem, quam teneri oporteret, verbis tibi traderet, scriptura firmaret. Injuncta est hujus rei cura Humberto Episcopo. Itaque verba fidei superius comprehensa scripsit,—tu vero acquiescens accepisti, legisti, confessus es, te ita credere, jurejurando confirmasti, tandem manu propria subscripsisti. Cur ergo scriptum hoc magis adscribis Humberto Ep. quam tibi, quam Nicolao Pont., quam ejus concilio, quam denique omnibus Ecclesiis?—c. 1: Tu quoque inclinato corpore, sed non humiliato corde ignem accendisti, librosque perversi dogmatis in medio s. Concilii in eum coniecisti: jurans per id, quod rebus omnibus incomparabiliter majus est, fidem a Patribus, qui praesentes erant, traditam inviolabiliter te servaturum, veteremque doctrinam tuam de corp. et sang. Domini ab illa die aliis non praedicaturum. On the other side, Berengarius p. 43: Ego longe verius te, quid cum Nicolao egerim, novi. Ego Nicolaum P. quanta potui objurgatione adortus, cur me quasi feris objecisset, immansuetis animis, qui nec audire poterant spirituales de Christi corpore refectionem, et ad vocem spiritualitatis aures potius obturabant; minime ad hoc adducere potui, ut me ipse mansuetudine christiana paternaque diligentia audiret, aut, si id minus liceret, minusve liberet, idoneos ad negotium, qui scripturas ex mora et lima intenderent, eligeret. Solum mihi, ut in Hildebrandum ista conjicerem, Papa respondit. Ita nec mihi respondendi licentiam fecit, nec quia non auderem defendere partes meas—, sed quia comminatione mortis, et forensibus etiam litibus indignissima, mecum agebatur tumultuaria perturbatione, usquequaque obmutui, nec ullas, quod mentitur scriptum tuum, ad Papam ego preces feci. Tantum cum obmutuissem, ne mecum christianismo suo indignum agerent, corde convolvens humi procubui.—in eoque meam tecum infelicitatem confiteor maximam, quia instantis timore mortis atque insanorum perturbatione dejectus a protestatione veritatis et defensione mea obmutui, non quod a percepta unquam veritate desciverim; quamquam nobilem quendam, mihi in immensum superiorem de quodam forsitan non dissimili, cui interfuisset, concilio dixisse non nesciam: “compressus indoctorum grege conticui, veritus, ne merito haberer insanus, si sapiens inter insanos videri contenderem.”—p. 1.: manu, quod mendaciter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi, nam et de

nounced it with great bitterness as soon as he had regained his liberty,¹⁴ and became involved in an animated correspondence;¹⁵ in which, during the progress of the controversy,¹⁶ he had an

consensu pronunciarem meo, nullus exegit, tantum timore praesentis jam mortis scriptum illud, absque ulla conscientia mea jam factum, manibus accepi. p. 35: ab asserenda veritate instantis mortis timore conticui, prophetica, evangelica et apostolica scripta in ignes ad vulgi jussionem conjeci. p. 4: Solus Humbertus ille, inconvento et inaudito me, sine mora et lima diligentioris secundum scripturas considerationis, quod voluit, scripsit, nimiaque levitate Nicolaus ille, de cujus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere—, quod dixerat Humbertus, approbavit. p. 5: Expertus in Humberto ego sum non dei servum, sed Antichristi membrum. p. 7: Quod de humilitate vitae et doctrinae Humberti confirmas, utinam non ex calumnia erga me tua, sed ex veritate firmaveris: quantum ad experientiam hominis dico meam, in negotio isto de mensa dominica, quoquo modo vixerit non humiliter, sed superbissime docuit, quia ad praeferendum se mihi contra ipsam veritatem, corruptibile adhuc esse Christi corpus, dicere non exhorruit. Si humilitas in illo christiana fuisset, non me inauditum quasi haereticum condemnasset; potius—revera me audiens, si veritatis invenisset inimicum,—mecum sub congruis iudiciis, non cum gladiis et fustibus, sed christiana mansuetudine constitisset.

¹⁴ Bernaldus de Bereng. damnat. multipl.: Sed Beringerius more suo ad proprium vomitum redire non timuit, et ultra omnes haereticos Romanos Pontifices et s. Rom. Ecclesiam verbis et scriptis blasphemare praesunsit. Nempe s. Leonem P. non pontificem, sed pompificem et pulpificem appellavit, s. Rom. Ecclesiam vanitatis concilium et Ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam, sed sedem Sanae dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare. Unde venerabilis P. Alexander—literis eum satis amice praemonuit, ut a secta sua cessaret, nec amplius s. Ecclesiam scandalizaret. Ille autem ab incepto desistere noluit, hocque ipsum eidem Apostolico literis suis remandare non timuit.

¹⁵ Against Berengar's first writing, ad Lanfrancum et Richardum (It is said to be in MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, hist. lit. de la Fr. viii. 223. Nothing more than the Fragments in Laufranc's reply have been published, collected in Ständlin's Easter programme of 1814, p. 8 ss.) wrote Lanfrancus de Euch. sacr. (not as the hist. lit. de la Fr. viii. 312 s. 279, would have it for the sake of converting Berengar in 1079, but between 1063-1069, see Lessing S. 180 ff.) In reply to this Berengarius de sacra coena adv. Lanfr.—Durandi Abb. Troarnensis lib. de corp. et sang. Chr. contra Bereng. in ix. PP. (prim. ed. d'Achery in opp. Lanfr. app. p. 71 ss. ap. Gallandius xiv. 245) was written after 1059, and before Laufranc's production, and Guitmundi Archiep. Aversani de corp. et sang. Chr. veritate in Eucharistia libb. iii. (in bibl. PP. Lugd. xviii. 440) between 1073 and 1077.

¹⁶ Berengarii first work adv. Lanfr. (ap. Lanfr. c. 10): Sacrificium Ecclesiae duobus constat, duobus conficitur, visibili et invisibili, Sacra-

opportunity of developing his opinion more clearly, and also defending it with logical reasons;¹⁷ since the transformation-doc-

mento et re Sacramenti (i. e. Christi corpore).—Ibid. c. 9 : Per consecrationem altaris fiunt panis et vinum sacramentum religionis, non ut desinant esse, quae erant, sed ut sint, quae erant, et in aliud commutentur, quod dicit b. Ambrosius in libro de Sacramentis. De sacra coena Ms. p. 39 : sunt enim sicut secundum religionem sacramenta, ita secundum aliud alimenta, sustentamenta. p. 64 : fit panis, quod nunquam ante consecrationem fuerat, de pane, scilicet de eo, quod ante fuerat commune quiddam, beatificum corpus Christi, sed non ut ipse panis per corruptionem esse desinat panis, sed non ut corpus Christi esse nunc incipiat per generationem sui, but according to the illustrations of Ambrosius, as man becomes a nova creatura from a vetus creatura, and a filius fidelis from a filius perditionis. p. 65 : panis consecratus in altari amisit vilitatem, amisit inefficaciam, non amisit naturae proprietatem. p. 79 : omne quod sacratur necessario in melius provehitur, minime consumitur per corruptionem subjecti. Epistolae ad Adelman. fragm. i. : Not the res sacramentorum, but the sacramenta are signa, figurae, similitudines, pignora, as also Augustin. de civ. Dei lib. x. explains sacramentum by sacrum signum : cum constet nihilominus, verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini : verum in ea Christi corpus ab his dumtaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum, inatritumque spiritualiter manducari. Hoc Patres publice praeconantur, aliudque esse corpus et sanguinem, aliud corporis et sanguinis sacramenta non tacent ; et utrumque a piis, visibiliter sacramentum, rem sacramenti invisibiliter, accipi : ab impiis autem tantum sacramenta, commendant. Nihilominus tamen sacramentum secundum quendam modum res ipsas esse, quarum sacramenta sunt, universaque ratio et universa auctoritas exigit. Namely, de sacr. coen. Ms. p. 51 : non minus tropica locutione dicitur : panis, qui ponitur in altari, post consecrationem est corpus Christi, et vinum sanguis ; quam dicitur : Christus est leo, Christus est agnus, Christus est summus angularis lapis. On the other hand, Lanfranc's view de Euchar. c. 18 : Credimus terrenas substantias, quae in mensa dominica per sacerdotale ministerium divinitus sanctificantur, ineffabiliter, incomprehensibiliter, mirabiliter, operante superna potentia, converti in essentiam Domini corporis, reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus, et quibusdam aliis qualitibus, ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent, et ut credentes fidei praemia ampliora perciperent, ipso tamen dominico corpore existente in caelestibus ad dexteram Patris immortali, inviolato, integro, incontaminato, illaeso ; ut vere dici possit, et ipsum corpus, quod de Virgine sumtum est, nos sumere, et tamen non ipsum ; ipsum quidem, quantum ad essentiam, veraeque naturae proprietatem, atque naturam : non ipsum autem, si spectes panis vini que speciem, caeteraque superius comprehensa.

¹⁷ The distrust of dialectics still felt is shown by the demand of the Conc. Rom. on Lanfranc, ut plus sacris auctoritatibus, quam argumentis probaret (not. 9) Cf. Lanfranc. de Euch. c. 7 : Relictis sacris auctorita-

trine was also more definitely explained by his opponents.¹⁸ He

tibus ad dialecticam confugium facis. Et quidem de mysterio fidei auditurus ac responsurus, quae ad rem debeant pertinere, malle audire ac respondere sacras auctoritates, quam dialecticas rationes. Verum contra haec quoque nostri erit studii respondere, ne ipsius artis inopia me putes in hac tibi parte deesse. Fortasse jactantio quibusdam videbitur, et ostentationi magis quam necessitati deputabitur. Sed testis mihi Deus est, et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu divinarum Literarum nec proponere, nec ad proposita respondere cuperem dialecticas quaestiones vel earum solutiones. Et si quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulis valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum per aequipollentias propositionum tegeo artem, ne videar magis arte, quam veritate, sanctorumque Patrum auctoritate confidere. Quamvis b. Augustinus—hanc disciplinam amplissime laudet, et ad omnia, quae in sacris literis vestigantur, plurimum valere confirmet, etc. On the other hand, Berengarius Ms. p. 67: He does not neglect the sacras auctoritates where it is necessary: quanquam ratione agere in perceptione veritatis incomparabiliter superius esse, quia in evidenti res est, sine vecordiae caecitate nullus negaverit: In support of this he cites Augustine: "rationi purgatoris animae, quae ad perspicuam veritatem pervenit, auctoritas nullo modo humana proponitur." Maximi plane cordis est, per omnia ad dialecticam confugere, quia confugere ad eam, ad rationem est confugere: quo qui non confugit, cum secundum rationem sit factus ad imaginem Dei,^f suum honorem reliquit, nec potest renovari de die in diem ad imaginem Dei. Examples of their dialectics: In his first work, Berengar says (ap. Lanfr. c. 5-8), that in the proposition, panis et vinum altaris solummodo sunt verum Christi corpus et sanguis, lies also the proposition: panem et vinum superesse, just as the proposition Christus est angularis lapis, supposes of course that Christ is still Christ. For: non constare poterit affirmatio omnis, parte subruta. But an affirmation consists of the parts subject and predicate; if the subject be denied, so is the predicate. On this logical rule Lanfranc c. 7, remarks: that instead of the particularis negativa, the universalis must be inserted: nulla affirmatio constare poterit parte subruta, otherwise there would be in the syllogism, duae particulares praecedentes, from which it would be impossible to draw any regular conclusion. On the other hand Berengarius Ms. p. 74: si quid secundum negligentiam dixi, non me multum poenituerit: circa rem. ipsam nec transeunter agis. Another form of the same argument Ms. p. 50: Omne, quod est aliud, est in eo, quod aliquid est, nec potest res ulla aliquid esse, si desinat ipsum esse. As if should say: Socrates justus est, nullo modo Socrates justus erit, si Socrates esse non contigeret.

¹⁸ How loosely this was apprehended at first is proved by epist. Ascelini ad Bereng., where it is first said, panem et vinum vere carnem et sanguinem potentialiter creari, next: hoc, quod in altari consecratur, unitur corpori illi, quod ex Maria virgine redemptor assunsit. Berengarius ad Adelm. fragm. iii. thus sets forth the opposition of the two opinions: Mea vel potius Scripturarum causa ita erat, panem et vinum

had still friends, it is true;¹⁹ but from the nature of the case they were not so fanatical as the adherents of the marvellous

mensae dominicae non sensualiter, sed intellectualiter; non per absumptionem, sed per assumptionem; non in portiunculam carnis—sed in totum converti Christi corpus et sanguinem. That the portiuncula carnis is not a disfigurement (as Stäudlin in Arch. S. 70 ff. says), but that the dogma while in the course of development was frequently apprehended thus coarsely, is taught *inter alia* by the narration of the syn. Attrebatensis ann. 1025 (Mansi xix. 434), that the host had once presented itself as partem digiti auricularis sanguine cruentatam. Here an advancement is shown by the expositio canonis Missae secundum Petrum Damiani in A. Maji scriptt. vet nova collectio vi. ii. 211, (but which on account of its title cannot be looked on as a work of Peter, but was probably composed soon after his death), where so much stress was laid on his authority, in this controversy, see below note 22. Comp. this expositio § 4, p. 213: Sicut et vidua Sareptana quotidie comedebat, et non diminuebatur farina de hydria et oleum de lecytho, sic universa Ecclesia quotidie sumit, et nunquam consumit carnem et sanguinem Domini nostri J. Chr. Verum an partes in partes, an totum in totum transeat, novit ille qui facit: ego quod residuum est, igne comburo: nam credere jubemur, distinguere prohibemur. Sed quia instat quaerentis improbitas, salva fide concedemus, quod talis panis in tale corpus commutatur, nec pars in partem. Reor tamen salva fidei majestate, quod ubi panis est consecratus, totus est Christus in tota specie panis, totus sub singulis partibus, totus in magno, totus in parvo, totus in integro, totus in fracto sacramento (so I read instead of scio tamen), quod dicitur a quibusdam: quamdiu species integra est, sub totali specie totale corpus existit; ubi vero dividitur, in singulis divisionibus incipit esse totum: sicut in speculo, dum est integrum, una tantum apparet inspicientis imago; sed ipso fracto tot apparent imagines, quot sunt fracturae. Here too we meet with the first occurrence of the word transubstantiatio c. 7, p. 215.

¹⁹ Berengarius Ms. p. 27: Quod nomen Ecclesiae totiens ineptorum multitudini tribuis, facis contra sensa majorum:—quod dicis, omnes tenere hanc fidem,—contra conscientiam tuam dicis, quam latere non potest, usque eo res ista agitata est, quam plurimos aut paene infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuum de sacrificio Ecclesiae execrentur errorem, atque Pascasii Corbejensis monachi.

²⁰ Guitmundi de corp. et sang. Chr. lib. i.: Nam Berengariani omnes quidem in hoc conveniunt, quia panis et vinum essentialiter non mutantur, sed ut extorquere a quibusdam potui, multum in hoc differunt, quod alii nihil omnino de corpore et sanguine Domini sacramentis istis inesse, sed tantummodo umbras haec et figuras esse dicunt: alii vero rectis Ecclesiae rationibus cedentes,—dicunt ibi corpus et sanguinem Domini revera, sed latenter contineri, et ut sumi possint, quodammodo (ut ita dixerim) impanari. Et hanc ipsius Berengarii subtiliorem esse sententiam ajunt. Alii vero, non quidem jam Berengariani, sed acerrime Berengario repugnantes, argumentis tamen ejus, et quibusdam verbis

doctrine. As is always the case in barbarous times, fanaticism prevailed in the present instance also.²¹ Even the all-powerful Gregory VII., who manifestly favoured Berengar, was not able

Domini paulisper offensi—solebant olim putare, quod panis et vinum ex parte putentur, et ex parte remaneant. Aliis vero—videbatur panem et vinum ex toto quidem mutari, sed cum indigni accedunt ad communicandum, carnem Domini et sanguinem iterum in panem et vinum reverti. This individual independence is also expressed in the letters of his two friends. Epist. Paulini primicerii Metensis ad Bereng. (in Martene et Durand. thes. anecdot. i., 196): quod in scriptis tuis de Eucharistia accepi, secundum eos, quos posuisti auctores, bene sentis et catholice sentis. Sed quod de tanta persona sacrilegum dixisti (see above note 9), non puto approbandum.—Rogamus etiam, ut sobrie in Domino semper sapias, neque profunditatem Scripturarum, quibus non oportet, margaritas scilicet porcis projicias. Comp. the excellent epist. Eusebii Brunonis Ep. Andegavensis ad Bereng. (prim. ed. Claud. Menardus in Augustini adv. Julian. libb. ii. posteriores. Paris 1616, 8, p. 499 ss.): Fratri et sinceræ dilectionis cultu amplectendo consacerdoti Ber. salutem. Scripsistis, ad vos pervenisse,—Gaufridum—præconio publico ineptiæ atque insanie Lanfrancii suffragari, et quibusdam interpositis obtestati estis, ut vos et ipsum sub iudice audiri faciam in libro b. Ambrosii de Sacramentis. Super quod quid responsi—habeam patienter æquanimiterque advertite. Veritatis asserendæ, an famæ quaerendæ gratia, nescio, Deus [scit], sit hæc orta motaque quaestio, quæ, postquam Romani orbis maximam pæne partem peragravit, ad ultimum nos cum infami longinquorum ac vicinorum redargutione acerrime pulsavit. Contra quod—tale responsionis elegi temperamentum: quod a veritatis tramite nullo erroris diverticulo deviare, et universalis Ecclesiæ sublimioribus, et dignitate et eruditione, personis—scandalum jure incutere minime deberet.—Relictis turbulentis disputationum rivulis de ipso veritatis fonte—necessarium dicimus haurire. Quod est: Dominus Jesus pridie quam pateretur, etc.” Panem post consecrantis in hæc verba sacerdotis sacrationem verum corpus Christi, et vinum eodem modo verum sanguinem esse credimus et confitemur. Quod se quis hoc qualiter fieri possit inquiret, non ei secundum naturæ ordinem, sed secundum Dei omnipotentiam respondemus;—si vero aliquis, quid de hac re Patres Doctoresve nostri senserint,—a nobis requisierit, ad eorum libros—eum mittimus, ut quid ibi invenerit, diligenter legat,—et quod accommodatius evangelicæ veritati senserit, cum gratiarum actione et studio fraternæ concordiae sibi eligat. Porro nos non Patrum scripta contententes, sed nec illa, ea securitate, qua Evangelium legentes,—eorum sententiis—in tantæ rei disceptatione abstinemus, ne si Patrum sensa aut aliquo eventu depravata, aut a nobis non bene intellecta, aut non plene inquisita, inconvenienter protulerimus, etc.

²¹ Comp. the tumult at the council of Poitiers 1075, chron. s. Maxentii oder Malleacense (written about 1140) in Ph. Labbei nov. bibl. Mss. Codicum ii. 212: Anno aerae Christ. MLXXV. Pictavis fuit con-

to stem the tide. At the synod of Rome (1078) he attempted to restore Berengar's orthodoxy by means of a confession of faith couched in general terms;²² but he was compelled at a second

cilium, quod tenuit Giraudus legatus de corp. et sang. Domini, in quo Berengarius—ferme interentus est.

²² Berengar. acta conc. Rom. (Mansi xix. 761): Juramentum Bereng. factum Romae in ecclesia Lateran. de Eucharistia temp. Gregorii P. vii.: "Profiteor panem altaris post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi, quod natum est de Virgine, quod passum est in cruce, quod sedet ad dexteram Patris; et vinum altaris, postquam consecratum est, esse verum sanguinem, qui manavit de latere Christi. Et sicut ore pronuncio, ita me corde habere confirmo, sic me adjuvet Deus et haec sacra." Scriptum istud, cum Romae apud Papam moram facerem, in conventu Episcoporum, quem habuit in festivitate omnium Sanctorum, vociferatione multa omnibus pronunciari fecit, dicens sufficere debere his, quibus lac potus dandus esset, non cibus.—Inclamans populo, me non esse haereticum, ita me de Scripturis, non de corde meo habere; omnibus testificans, in audientia sua Petrum Damiani—non consensisse de sacrificio Ecclesiae dictis Lanfranni,—negligenda esse ea, quae diceret Lanfrannus, potius quam ea, quae diceret Petrus Damiani, Romanae Ecclesiae filius (but even the opposite party appealed to Peter Dam. who died 1072, see note 18). Ita Papa ille, cum quo moras paene per annum feceram, compositam putare visus est et compositam vecordiam turbae turbatae etc. In the mean time the opposite party was not yet quiet: Cum tamen urgerent Papam illum quam maxime pestilentes et Scripturarum perversores, ut exigeret a me moras adhuc Romae facere usque ad conventum, qui futurus erat apud eum in Quadragesima Episcoporum,—sperantes tunc frequentiore adfuturam turbam, et aliquid ulterius contra veritatem valiturum tumultum ineptorum etc. Et ita circa quaedam per Papae inconstantiam, quoad sperabat turba, rei exitus habuit. Yet Gregory assured Berengar only a few days before the second council p. 766: Ego plane te de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas bene sentire non dubito, tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad b. Mariam de his, quae me movent, recurrere, ante aliquot dies imposui religioso cuidam amico—jejuniis et orationibus operam dare, atque ita a b. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret—quorsum me de negotio, quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio, reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem. Religiosus vir—a b. Maria audivit,—nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod haberent authenticae Scripturae, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat. Hoc tibi manifestare volui, ut securiorem ad nos fiduciam et alacriorem spem habeas. Ita erraticis consensum meum, ne secundum opinionem eorum quod legeram interpretarer, negavi. This was objected to Gregory particularly by Henry IVth's. party: Benno de vita Hildebrandi lib. i. (in Goldasti apologiae pro Henrico IV. Hanoviae 1611. p. 3): jejunium indixit Cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanave Ecclesia an Beren-

synod held at Rome (1079) to demand of him a confession of faith acceptable to the stricter party.²³ By this means he succeeded at least in procuring quiet for him;²⁴ for, though Berengar immediately recalled his forced confession, he was allowed to re-

garius, since *dubius in fide, infideli sest.* Egilberti Archiep. Trevir. epist. adv. Gregor VII. (Udalrici Babenb. cod. epist. no. 160. in Eccardi corpus historicum medii aevi ii. 170): *En verus pontifex et verus sacerdos, qui dubitat, si illud, quod sumitur in dominica mensa, sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi.*

²³ Berengarii acta l. c. p. 762: Papa, qui in conventu illo in festivitate omnium Sanctorum, scriptum suprapositum multa vociferatione fidei sufficere debere, omnibus pronunciari fecerat, nihil scripto demi, nihil a calumniatoribus addi permiserat, usque eo dejectus est importunitate Paduani scurrae, non Episcopi, et Pisani non Episcopi, sed Antichristi;—ut permitteret calumniatoribus veritatis in posteriori quadragesimali concilio scriptum, a se firmatum in priori festivitate oo. SS., Episcoporum consessu, scripto mutari hujusmodi: “Corde credo et ore confiteor, panem et vinum, quae ponuntur in altari, per mysterium sacrae orationis et verba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter converti in veram et propriam et vivificatricem 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 perpendit, 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.” Ego charta correpta—perpendi, ad sanum intellectum utcumque posse reduci et “substantialiter” et caetera verba, quae in scripto erratici posuissent suo, respondi, quia ita placeret domino Papae, me “substantialiter” additurum. Namely substantialiter might also be understood salva sua substantia, therefore: panis sacratus in altari salva substantia est corpus Christi, i. e. non amittens quod erat, sed assumens quod non erat.—Quod in scripto suo erratici addiderunt “per mysterium orationis,” revera contra se scripserunt, quia nihil per mysterium agi poterit, nisi aliud expositum latens habuerit, et quod expositum in hoc negotio Sacramentum, et quod latet res Sacramenti accipitur. After he had done, however, ad interpretationem meam, non ad ipsorum me legere inclamaverunt, ut etiam hoc juramento firmarem, nec (leg. me) secundum eorum sensa scriptum, quod tenebam, deinceps interpretaturum. But he availed himself of the evasion: me ea, quae ante paucos dies mecum inde Papa egerat, sola tenere. See above note 22.

²⁴ See literae commendatitiae Gregorii VII. datae Berengario (in d’Achery spicileg. iii. 413)—Omnibus b. Petro fidelibus.—Notum vobis omnibus facimus, nos anathema fecisse—omnibus, qui injuriam aliquam facere praesumerint Berengario, Romanae Ecclesiae filio,—vel qui eum vocabit haeticum; quem post multas, quas apud nos, quantas voluimus, fecit moras, domum suam remittimus, et cum eo fidelem nostrum Fulconem nomine.

main quietly in retirement on the island *St Come* near Tours, till his death in the year 1088.²⁵

FOURTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF MONACHISM.

Jo. Mabillonii annales ordinis s. Benedicti libb. xxxv.-lxii. Ejusdem acta SS. ord. s. Bened. saec. v. et vi.

§ 30.

CORRUPTION OF THE CONVENTS.

The monasteries suffered most in these rude times. The abuse of bestowing them as fiefs on persons not monks, reached its height.¹ From all sides rapacious hands were stretched out

²⁵ The respect in which the memory of Berengarius was held in Tours (comp. especially his disciple's Hildeberti epitaphium in Bereng. ap. Wilhelm. Malmsh., ap. Baron. ad ann. 1088), also the yearly festival at his grave (Mabillon act. SS. Bened. saec. vi. P. ii. praef. no. 68) gave rise in later times to the assertion that he had at last turned from his error. Mabillon l. c. no. 63 ss. Hist. lit. de la Fr. viii. 213 ss. On the other side Mosheim institutt. hist. eccl. p. 431. not. x. Lessing S. 177 ff. The contemporary Bernaldus in chron. ad ann. 1083 expressly asserts the contrary.—Of Berengar's doctrine we always find only one-sided views, as, Sacramentum non esse revera corpus Christi et sanguinem, sed veri corp. et s. figuram (Trithem. chron. Hirs. i. 194 etc.) Hence also he is considered a heretic by Luther (Bekenntn. v. Abendmal Christi 1528) and all the older Lutherans, but praised by the Calvinists. But after the discovery of many original documents even Mabillon l. c. no. 34 ss. and Martene and Durand (thes. nov. anecd. iv. 99), are of opinion that he only denied transubstantiation, but conceded the praesentia realis; which might have been more accurately determined after his work was discovered. Lessing p. 152 ff.

¹ Comp. § 7. not. 10. Epist. Episc. e synodo apud Carisiacum missa ad Ludov. Reg. Germ. A. D. 858 (in Caroli Calvi capitul. tit. xxvii. ap. Baluz. ii. 101) cap. 8. that Charles the Bald bestowed many monasteries

towards the possessions of the monasteries; while those who were abbots became worldly in their strivings after reputation and power.² Hence all discipline was neglected, disorders and excesses of all kinds prevailed among monks and nuns.³

partim juventute, partim fragilitate, partim aliorum callida suggestione, etiam et minarum necessitate, quia dicebant petitores, nisi eis illa loca sacra donaret, ab eo deficerent, on laymen. Afterwards they were even bestowed by inheritance without distinction of sex. Comp. Rudolf's (King of Upper Burgundy) document of 888 in Mabillon. *annal. app. ad lib. 39. no. 36*, where he bestows on his sister Adelaide abbatiam Romanis in comitatu Waldense, ut haberet post discessum suum potestatem relinquendi cuicumque voluerit heredum suorum. To another Adelaide, daughter of Rudolf II., King of Upper Burgundy, Lotharius King of Italy, 938, gave for dowry among other things three abbies (Mabill. *ann. lib. xliiii. no. 95.*) Of the Emperor Conrad II. (from 1024-1039) his biographer Wippo says (*scriptt. vi. rer. germ. ed. J. Pistorius p. 432*), Ernestus, Dux Aleinanniae, aliquantulum Regi militans, Campidonensem Abbatiam—in beneficium accepit a Rege. And *p. 437*: Manegoldus Comes, miles Imperatoris, de Augensi Abbatia magnum beneficium (habebat) ab Imperatore. The bishops followed these examples, and Hatto, archbp. of Mainz (from 891-912) is said to have possessed as many as twelve abbies.

² Comp. § 24.

³ Conc. Troslejan. ann. 909. cap. 3. (Mansi xviii. 270): De monasteriorum vero non statu, sed lapsu quid dicere vel agere debeamus, jam paene ambigimus. Dum enim, mole criminum exigente,—quaedam a Paganis succensa vel destructa, quaedam rebus spoliata, et ad nihilum prope sint redacta, si tamen quorundam videntur superesse vestigia, nulla in eis regularis formae servantur vestigia. Sive namque monachorum, seu canonicorum, seu sint sanctimonialium, propriis et sibi competentibus carent rectoribus, et dum contra omnem Ecclesiae auctoritatem praelatis utuntur extraneis, in eis degentes partim indigentia, partim malevolentia, maximeque inhabilium sibi praepositorum faciente inconvenientia, moribus vivunt incompositis: et qui sanctitati religionique caelesti intenti esse debuerant, sui velut propositi immemores, terrenis negotiis vacant: quidam etiam, necessitate cogente, monasteriorum septa derelinquunt, et volentes nolentesque saecularibus juncti saecularia exercent.—Nunc autem in monasteriis Deo dicatis monachorum, canonicorum et sanctimonialium, Abbates laici cum suis uxoribus, filiis et filiabus, cum militibus morantur et canibus.—Auditur, quod (monachi) sprete humilitate et abjectione monastica, ornamentis, et his etiam, quae bonis laicis indecentia et turpia sunt, operam impendant; et nequaquam contenti communibus rebus, propriis, et lucris turpibus inserviant etc. Hence Odo Abb. in collectionibus inveighs against the monks who had isolated property, *ex. gr. lib. ii. c. 34. 36.* and against those, qui ad saeculum relabuntur, *lib. iii. c. 17 ss.* Of two nuns he relates *iii. c. 21*: Ad hoc autem egredi permissae sunt, ut de rebus parentum,

§ 31.

REFORMATION OF MONACHISM.

First of all the rules of Benedict were restored in the convent *Cluniacum* (Clugny) that had been founded by Duke William of Aquitania, by the abbot *Berno* A. D. 910.¹ But it was under the second abbot *Odo* (927–941),² who sharpened those rules by

qui forte nuper obierant, aliquid monasterio reportarent. Sed hac occasione saeculum pergustantes oblatae sunt Deum.—Campo, abbot of Farfa (about 930), and his assistant Hildebrand concubinis, quas prius habuerant occulte, postmodum palam abuti coeperunt non solum ipsi, sed et cuncti illorum Monachi hoc scelus non verebantur patrare: sed nuptialiter unusquisque suam ducebat scortam. Campo himself vii. filias et iii. filios habuit, quos et quas cunctos dotavit de rebus Monasterii, et alios parentes plurimos (see Hugo de destructione monast. Farfensis written about 1004 in Muratorii antiqu. Ital. med. aevi vi. 279.) The same thing took place at this time in the monastery of Sens among six abbots. See Richerii (about 1250) chronicon Senoniense ii. c. 18. (in d'Achery spicilegium ii. 617): Monachi—impudicis se actibus, comessationibus, ebrietatibus, ac caeteris mundi delectationibus implicabant, nec erat qui corrigeret.—Quaesivit sibi quisque domunculam, ubi non regulariter, sed voluntate propria sibi conversari quiret.—Victu deficiente et vestitu decreverunt more rusticorum agricultores fieri, ut ita saltem possent inopem defendere vitam.

¹ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, in qua ss. Patrum Abbatum Cluniac. vitae, miracula, scripta caet. cura Mart. Marrier et Andr. Quercetani. Paris. 1614 fol. Planck iii. 697. Raumer's Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen vi. 399. F. Hurter's Geschichte Papst Innocenz III. Bd. 4. (Hamburg 1842) S. 103. Essai hist. sur l'Abbaye de Cluny par M. P. Lorain, Paris 1839. 8.—Bernonis vita in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. p. 66 ss. Wilhelm's original document (testamentum) ibid. p. 78. The conclusion is remarkable: sintque ipsi monachi cum omnibus praedictis rebus sub potestate Bernonis Abbatis: post cujus decessum monachi facultatem habeant alterius Abbatis eligendi, quemcumque sui ordinis voluerint, secundum placitum Dei et regulam s. Benedicti, ita ut nullius potestatis contradictione haec electio impediatur; sitque hic locus subjectus soli Romanae Ecclesiae, cui per singula quinquennia X. solidi ad luminaria Apostolorum persolvantur.

² Odonis vita libb. iii. by his pupil John ap. Mabillon l. c. p. 150 ss. comp. hist. lit. de la Fr. vi. 229. His ascetic writings (among them collationum libb. iii. and moralium in Job. libb. xxxv. extracted from Gregory the Great) in bibl. PP. Lugdun. xvii. 252. comp. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Lit. im karol. Zeitalter S. 538.

additions of his own, that the fame of this convent became general.³ He and his successor (Aymardus till 948, Mayolus till 994, *Odilo* till 1048)⁴ soon became objects of pious wonderment, and were constantly called to found new convents and to reform old ones.⁵ Thus originated, in the order of the Benedictines, the first Congregation (Congregatio or Ordo Cluniacensis), a particular association of many convents under a common head, the abbot of Clugny.⁶ From this time lay abbots gradually disappeared in France.

In *Italy* the reformation of monachism was begun somewhat later by *Romualdus*, who founded the hermit order of Camaldulensians at *Camaldoli* (Campus Maldoli, Camaldulum in the Appenines near Arezzo) about 1018 († 1027);⁷ and *John Gual-*

³ The ritus et consuetudines Cluniacenses were first written down in the eleventh century, by Bernhard, monk at Clugny (ordo Cluniacensis per Bernardum libb. ii. in vetus disciplina monasterica s. collectio auctorum qui de monastica disciplina tractarunt (opera Marqu. Herrgott). Paris. 1726. 4. p. 133 : then about 1070 by Ulrich, monk in Clugny, for William, abbot of Hirschau (antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii lib. iii. in d'Achery, spicil. i. 641). Particularly remarkable (ap. Ulrich lib. ii. c. 3.) the unbroken silence in ecclesia, dormitorio, refectorio, et coquina. Hence the novice opus habet, ut signa diligenter addiscat, quibus tacens quodammodo loquatur. c. 4. these signa loquendi are described.

⁴ Odilonis vita by his pupil Jotsaldus (falsely called Lotsaldus) of which that of Petrus Damiani (in his opp. ed Cajetani ii. 193) is a mere extract. Both in the act. SS. ad 1 Jan., that of Jotsaldus better in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. i. 597.

⁵ In doing which they often met with much opposition from the corrupt monks. This was the case with Odo in Fleury, 930. Mabillon ann. lib. xliiii. no. 17. Thus the monks at St Martialis, in Limoges, resisted still in 1063, and were obliged to be brought into order by Petrus Damiani, as papal legate. See Petri Dam. iter gallicum in Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vi. ii. 204. Out of France also several convents assumed gradually the consuetudines Cluniac. So Farfa near Rome 998. Mabillon lib. lii. no. 72.

⁶ The smaller convents, called cellae and obedientiae, were governed only by coabbates or proabbates. Mabillon lib. i. no. 19. Clugny was Archimonasterium ; its abbots, Archiabbates.

⁷ Romualdi vita by Petrus Damiani in P. Dam. opp. ed. Cajetani ii. 205 (according to the arbitrary alteration of Surius in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. i. 247. comp. Pertz vi. 847). The rules of the Camaldulensians in L. Holstenii cod. regularum monast. ii. 192. comp. Hurter's Innocentius iii. iv. 128.

bert, from whose hermitage in *Vallombrosa* (*Vallis umbrosa*, also in the Appenines, not far from Florence) († 1093) originated the coenobites of Vallombrosa, about 1038.⁸

In *Germany*, the attempts to bring about a similar reformation proved fruitless for a long time, from the obstinate attachment of the monks⁹ to a free mode of life, and from the political

⁸ Joan. Gualberti vita in Mabillonii act. SS. saec. vi. ii. 273. Comp. Jo. Lamii deliciae eruditor. ii. 238. 272. iii. 177. 212. &c. Hurter's Innoc. iii. iv. 133.

⁹ Comp. Widukind's, monk in Corvey (about 960) characteristic narrative in his *rebus gestis Saxon.* ii. 37 (ap. Pertz v. 448): *Gravis persecutio monachis oritur in diebus iliis [about 940], affirmantibus quibusdam Pontificibus, melius arbitrari, paucos vita claros, quam plures negligentes inesse monasteriis oportere: oblit, nisi fallor, sententiae patrisfamiliae prohibentis servos zizania colligere, sed utraque crescere oportere et zizania et triticum usque ad messem. Quo factum est, ut plures propriae infirmitatis consci, deposito habitu, et relictis monasteriis, grave onus sacerdotum devitarent. Fuerunt autem quidam, qui summum Pontificem Fridericum (Archiep. Mogunt.) hoc non pure, sed fecte fecisse arbitrati sunt, quatenus venerabilem virum Regique fidelissimum Abbatem Hadunarum quoquomodo posset dehonestaret. Erluin, abbot of Gemblours, who wished to reform the abbey Laubes, in the diocese of Cambrai, was nearly killed by the monks, and finally blinded (958), and Fulcuin (from 965 abbot of Laubes) de *gestis Abbatum Lobiensium* c. 26 (in d' Archery spicileg. ii. 739) seems to throw the blame only on Erluin, for which he was severely reprov'd by the Anonym. *Gemblacensis* (about 1100) (*ibid* p. 761 s). Abbot Godehard, about 1005, wishing to reform the monks in Hersfeld, primitus eis juxta regulare praeceptum duriora et aspera mandata proposuit, et licentiam eis ad preces Metropolitan, aut secum haec celebrandi, aut quo vellent discedendi contribuit. Qui statim unanimiter conspirati simul omnes, paucis tantum senioribus vel puerulis remanentibus, egressi per diversa loca varie dispersi. However, they gradually returned, probably from necessity, vita Godehardi Ep. Hildesheimensis in Mabillon acta SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. i. 356. and in Leibnitii scriptt. rer. Brunsv. i. 486. Poppo, about 1025, at first abbot in Stablo, then in St Maximin at Treves, had to suffer much from the monks in both monasteries, because he attempted to reform them. Those in St Maximin went so far as to put his life in jeopardy. See vita Popponis ap. Mabillon l. c. p. 511: *cumque sibi sub eo illicita jam non licere—conspexissent, de ejus morte plura machinantur, et quod palam non poterant, quibusdam praestigiarum suarum insidiis operantur. Ad quod, nefas dictu, sacrosancta Misarum sollemnia violando, suis occupant divinationibus, et quas preces credebant, in immunditia et sanguine manuum suarum execrandis admiscunt incantationibus.—tam execrabili quam invida eousque perduntur exagitatione, ut in apponendis beato viro cibis et potibus venenorum suorum uterentur admixtione. Even Theodorich, abbot of St**

position of the convents. At last, however, the examples furnished by France and Italy had their effect here also. *Hanno*, archbishop of Cöln, reformed the monastery of Siegburg (1068), which he had founded, and others besides; and in this course he was pretty generally followed by the bishops on the left bank of the Rhine.¹⁰ *William*, abbot of Hirschau, established the *Congregation of Hirschau* (Congreg. Hirsaugiensis 1069) on the model of that of Clugny. He died in 1091.¹¹

To the new developments of monachism belonged the *donati*

Hubert in the Ardenne, had to contend violently against the open resistance of his monks, when he wished to restore order in his monastery, A.D. 1054, till a judicial miracle came to his aid. See *vita Theodorici* in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. P. ii. p. 369 ss. Hence, too, we can explain the fact of there being men at this time, *qui vel monachico, vel canonico, vel etiam graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrent.* See *vita Godehardi* no. 26. ap. Mabillon l. c. saec. vi. P. i. p. 363.

¹⁰ Lambertus ad ann. 1075 ap. Pertz vii. 238. Judgment of Lambert, an old Benedictine, ad ann. 1071 p. 188: *sicut vulgo assiduitate vilescunt omnia et popularium animi novarum rerum avidi magis semper stupent ad incognita, nos quos usu noverant, nihili aestimabant, et hos, quia novum inusitatumque aliquid praeferre videbantur, non homines sed angelos, non carnem sed Spiritum arbitrabantur. Et haec opinio principum quam privatorum mentibus altius pressiusque insederat. A quibus ad populum derivatus rumor tantum terroris plerisque in hac regione monasteriis injecit, ut ad ingressum illorum alias 30, alias 40, alias 50 monachi, austerioris vitae metu scandalizati de monasteriis abscederent.* Lambert had been for a long time in the monasteries of Siegburg and Saalfeld, for the purpose of learning the new discipline, and came to the conclusion, *nostras quam illorum consuetudines regulae s. Benedicti melius congruere, si tam tenaces propositi, tamque rigidi paternarum nostrarum traditionum aemulatores vellemus existere.*

¹¹ S. *Wilhelmi constitutiones Hirsaugienses*, in *vetus disciplina monastica* (ed. M. Herrgott), Paris. 1726. 4. p. 375 ss. Respecting him see *Bernoldi chron.* ad ann. 1091 ap. Pertz vii. 451. *Jo. Trithemii* († 1516) *annales Hirsaugienses* i. 225: *Hic est Wilhelmus Abbas,—qui Ordinem D. P. nostri Benedicti suo tempore paene collapsum in Germania, et deformatum insolentia monachorum, instaurare et reformare studuit, et plus quam C Monasteria tam per se quam suos, ad pristinam regularis disciplinae observantiam revocavit etc.* He adopted much from Clugny (see note 3). A thank-worthy regulation was (ann. Hirsaug. i. 227): *xii. e monachis suis scriptores optimos instituit, quibus ut divinae auctoritatis libros, et ss. Patrum tractatus rescriberent, demandavit. Erant praeter hos et alii scriptores sine certo numero, qui pari diligentia scribendis voluminibus operam impendebant. Et his omnibus praeerat monachus unus in omni genere scientiarum doctissi-*

or *oblati*, who yielded up themselves, and what belonged to them, to the service of a monastery;¹² the *fratres conversi*, lay brethren, who had under their care the household department, and lived in part on the possessions of the monasteries, but apart from one another;¹³ and the *fratres conscripti, confratres*, to whom was allowed a share in the spiritual blessing of the brotherhood.¹⁴

mus, qui unicuique rescribendum opus aliquod bonum injungeret, mendaque negligentius scribentium emendaret.

¹² The first instance appears at Clugny, 948, Mabillon ann. lib. xlv. no. 4. Later in Germany, Bernoldi chron. ad ann. 1091 ap. Pertz vii. 452: His temporibus in regno Teutonicorum communis vita multis in locis floruit, non solum in clericis et monachis,—verum etiam in laicis. Nempe ipsi abrenunciantes saeculo, se et sua ad congregationes tam clericorum quam monachorum regulariter viventium devotissime contulerunt, ut sub eorum obedientia communiter vivere et eis servire mereantur. So especially in the congregation of Hirschau (chron. Hirsaug. i. 229) see Dufresne glossar. s. v. oblato.

¹³ Gualbert first permitted them (see not. 8), comp. his vita c. 21: Deus—misit ad eum etiam laicos viros timoratos, qui legem Domini per omnia custodire cupientes, in bonis moribus fere nihil a monachis distabant, extra vestium qualitatem et silentium, quod in exterioribus occupati nequibant plenius observare. Tales igitur tam probatos adversos Pater ad mercatum et omnia exteriora secure mittebat. William immediately followed the example in the Hirschau congregation (chron. Hirsaug. i. 228). Here they are called fratres barbati (the monks were not allowed to wear a beard), qui laboribus manuum insistentes, temporalium curam secundum praecepta seniorum agerent, et monachis contemplationi deditis hujus vitae necessaria providerent. Among them were carpenters, smiths, stone-cutters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, &c. Other orders, too, soon followed this example, Mabillon acta SS. saec. vi. P. ii. praef. no. 89 s. Alteserrae asceticorum lib. iii. c. 5.

¹⁴ Thus King Conrad I. 913, became a frater conscriptus in St Gallen (Ekkehardi iv. casus s. Galli ap. Pertz ii. 85), Henry II. in Clugny (fraternitate monachorum humiliter petita et accepta, vita Meinweri c. 30 in Leibnitii scriptt. rer. Brunsv. i. 527), he and his successors in the monastery Fructuaria (Fructuariense coenobium—nos nostrosque in perpetuum successores, prout divae memoriae praedecessorem nostrum, Henricum, suo ac fratrum contubernio sociavit, diploma Conradi II. in Mabillonii act. SS. saec. vi. i. 349). Even the empress Gisela, spouse of Conrad II., monasterium s. Galli ingressa, xeniis benignissime datis, fraternitatem ibi est adepta, Hepidannus ad ann. 1033 in Goldasti scriptt. rer. Alem. i. i. Comp. also the liber fraternitatum monasterii Sangallensis ap. Goldast l. c. ii. ii. 144.

§ 32.

EXEMPTIONS OF THE CONVENTS.

L. Thomassini vetus et nova eccl. discipl. P. i. lib. iii. c. 36 ss. Planck iii. 724.

The privileges granted to the convents by kings, popes, and bishops, during this period, went no farther than merely to secure them in the observance of the rules of their order,¹ and were not meant to abridge the rights of the episcopal order.² Hence

¹ Comp. the privilege given by Pope John XV. to the convents of Corvey and Herford, 989, in Schaten annalium Paderborn. i. 335. Mansi xix. 83 : Habeant praefata monasteria rerum suarum liberam in omnibus disponendi regulariter potestatem :—confirmamus, ut nullus Episcopus Patherbrunnensis aliquam ex eis vel accipiat vel exposcat portionem ; neque vel in his, qui regiminis locum tenent, vel in ipsis congregationibus, aut in ipsis coenobiis potestatem obtineat. Nam ipsius praefati monasterii Abbati suisque successoribus licentiam damus, juxta altare sedendi populoque infra suum monasterium vel cellas secundum Deum praedicandi ac docendi ; ita ut nullus Episcopus per se ad ipsa monasteria vel cellas eorundem—potestatem habeat accedendi, nisi forte necessitatis causa vel dilectionis gratia vocatus advenerit, ne importunitate sui ministorumque suorum inquietudine sacris locis fiat molestia. Ordinationes, quae necessariae fuerint ipsis monasteriis, agere non differat ; altaris quoque et basilicarum benedictiones sive consecrationes libenter concedat ; chrisma quoque oleumque consecratum per singulos annos praebere non differat, et pro his omnibus nullum munus exigat. Abbatem vero et Abbatissam in his locis semper eligendi habeant potestatem [monasteria] :—qui ordinati fuerint ad regimen saepedictorum monasteriorum, nulla potestate praevaletente dejiciantur, nisi criminis causa fuerint deprehensi. Infamiae vero maculis, sive criminis alicujus denotatione si fuerint appetiti, non praeter canonicam aut regularem deponantur examinationem. Nos igitur nostram subscriptionem annuli nostri impressione signantes, obsecramus Coepiscopos nostros omnes, in quorum manus ista devenerint, ut sua etiam auctoritate et subscriptione haec confirmare velint, ut quicumque haec temerare praesumpserit, generalitatis nostrae sententiis ita anathematis vinculo obligetur, ut neminem habeat, de cujus favore blandiatur, aut se tueri putet a sententia damnationis. On the alleged exemption-privileges of Fulda, see Rettberg's Kirchengesch. Deutschl. i. 613.

² Therefore the superintendence of the morals, and the visitation of the convents, was still made the duty of bishops by the concil. Tullense apud Saponarias ann. 859 can. 9. (Mansi xv. 539), Rotomag. ann. 878

bishops still required canonical obedience³ from abbots, and did not allow unusual privileges to the pope.⁴ When the monastery of *Clugny*, which had been assigned to the care of the pope in particular by a Romish privilege attached to the original trust-deed at its foundation,⁵ was about to be made completely independent of its bishop, the synod of *Anse* (1025) strongly opposed the first attempt to make it so.⁶ A second was more fortunate.

can. 10. (in Harduin. act. conc. vi. i. 206), Augustanum ann. 952 can. 6. (Mansi xviii. 438).

³ Thus the bishops of Orleans, Arnulf and Fulco, had a controversy with the abbots of Fleury, Abbo and Gauzlinus (between 970 and 1020), because the latter refused to promise this obedience. On this point Fulbertus, Episc. Carnotensis, ep. 41, ad Fulconem: Sacramenta et caetera, quae ad mundanam legem pertinent, propter amorem Regis domini missa faciatis, ut religionem potius quam saecularem ambitionem vos sectari cognoscat. At si Abbas in tantam superbiam intumuerit, ut ipsam quoque subjectionem canonicam vobis derogare contendat; superbiae, cui non parcit Deus, Dei servus quomodo parcat nescio. When after this Fulco excommunicated Gauzlinus, Fulbertus, ep. 73, wrote to the latter: Unde nunc, frater, commoneo, ut—Episcopo vestro subjiciamini sicut decet.—Ego enim neque legem, neque modum ratiocinationis invenire possum, quae vos ab jugo subjectionis hujus absolvat. Cf. Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. P. i. praef. § iii.

⁴ Hermanni Contracti chron. ann. 1032: Bern Augiae Abbas missis Romam coenobii sui privilegiis, a Papa Joanne item privilegium cum sandaliis, ut episcopalibus idumentis missas ageret, accepit. Unde permoto Warmanno Constantiense Episcopo apud Imperatorem quasi sui pervasor officii et honoris accusatus eo usque ab utrisque coartatur, donec idem cum sandaliis privilegium ipsi Episcopo traderet, publice in synodo sua, i. e. in Coena Domini sequentis anni incendendum.

⁵ Comp. §. 31, not. 1.

⁶ Conc. Ansanum ann. 1025 (Mansi xix. 423): Gauslenus, bishop of Macon, complains of Burchard, archbishop of Vienne, qui sine licentia et assensu suo contra canonum instituta ordinationes de monachis fecerat in Episcopatu suo, scil. in Cluniacensi coenobio. Abbot Odilo desires to justify him, ostendit privilegium, quod habebant a Romana Ecclesia, quod eis talem libertatem tribuebat, ut nulli, in cujus territorio degebant, nec alicui aliquatenus subjacerent Episcopo: sed quemcumque vellent, vel de qualibet regione, adducerent, qui faceret ordinationes vel consecrationes in eorum monasterio. But the fathers relegates s. Chalcedonensis, et plurimorum authenticorum, conciliorum sententias (comp. Vol. i. Div. 2, § 120, not. 2 and 4), quibus praecipitur, qualiter per unamquamque regionem Abbates et Monachi proprio subesse debeant Episcopo, et ne Episcopus in parochia alterius audeat ordinationes vel consecrationes absque licentia ipsius Episcopi facere: decreverunt, chartam non esse ratam, quae canonicis non solum non

Alexander II. pronounced (1063) the complete exemption of Clugny from its bishop,⁷ a privilege which was also granted to many other convents, especially to those associated with that of Clugny.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Martyrologies: Adonis martyrologium about 858 (see above pref. to § 18).

Usuardi (monk of St Germain about 876) martyrol. (Vgl. Bähr's Gesch. d. röm. Lit. im karol. Zeitalter S. 501) castigatus ed J. B. Sollerius. Antverp. 1714. fol. Notkeri balbuli, monk in St Gallen († 912 respecting him s. Ildef. v. Arx Gesch. v. St Gallen i. 90. Bähr S. 531), martyrologium (written 893) published in Canissii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage ii. iii. 39 and in Gallandii bibl. PP. xiii. 753.

§. 33.

The worship of saints at this period completely swallowed up the worship of God, assuming the character to be expected from

concordaret, sed etiam contraireret sententiis. Thus the archbishop was *ratione convictus, petens veniam a Gausleno Episcopo* etc.

⁷ While a new dispute between the bishop of Macon and the abbot of Clugny was decided at the synod of Chalons (A. D. 1063), by the papal legate, Petrus Damiani, in favour of the latter (Mansi xix. 1025), Alexander P. ii. ep. ad Hugonem Abb. Cluniac. (l. c. p. 973), declared himself to this effect: *Sub divini iudicii promulgatione, et confirmatione, et anathematis interdictione corroborantes decrevimus, ut nullus Episcopus, seu quilibet sacerdotum in eodem veniat coenobio, pro aliqua ordinatione, sive consecratione Ecclesiae, Presbyterorum, vel Diaconorum, Missarum celebratione, nisi ab Abbate ejusdem loci invitatus fuerit, venire ad agendum praesumat. Sed liceat monachis ipsius loci, cujuscunque voluerint ordinationis gradum suscipere, ubicunque tibi tuisque successoribus placuerit. Interdicimus autem sub simili anathematis promulgatione, ut idem locus sub nullius cujuscunque Episcopi vel sacerdotis deprimatur interdictionis titulo, seu excommunicationis vel auathematis vinculo* (the date wanting here is supplied by Mabillon ann. Ben. lib. lxii. no. 12: Data in s. Lateranensi palatio VI. idus Maji

a rude, immoral, superstitious age.¹ Great numbers of old saints were discovered,² and new ones made.³ The world⁴ was full of

—anno MLXIII. indictione i). Cf. de gallica profectioe domni Petri Damiani, composed by a companion, in A. Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vi. ii. 193.

¹ How deficient in moral character the worship of saints often was, is proved by the two following cases. Romualdus had lived as a hermit in the neighbourhood of the abbey of Cusan, in Catalonia, and was held in great repute as a saint, throughout the whole country round about. When now he wished to return to Italy (vita s. Romualdi by Petr. Damiani c. 13, in his opp. ed. Cajetani ii. 212): audientes illius regionis incolae, quia Romualdus abire disponderet, nimio moerore turbati sunt. Et tractantes intra se, qualiter ab hac illum intentione reprimerent, hoc illis tandem potissimum visum est, ut eum missis interfectorebus impia pietate perimerent, quatenus quia eum non poterant retinere viventem, haberent pro patrocinio terrae vel cadaver exanime. Romualdus saved himself by feigning madness. Bishop Othwin of Hildesheim stole (962), in Pavia, two saints' bodies, see hist. translationis s. Epiphani c. 3 (ap. Pertz vi. 249): Venerabilis pater (Othwinus) respectu divini amoris, quo semper animo sollicitus exsistat, ossa sanctorum furtim surripere—quasi praesumptionis ducebat. Divinitus, ut credo, ecce adfuit Landwardi, Mindensis Episcopi, Presbyter,—qui illum adhuc titubantem—sanctissimi Patris Epiphani reliquias, sanctaeque virginis Speciosae uno ambitu templi inclusas auferre suasit; supervenientis noctis tempus, nec in aliud protelandum, illis competere. And so it took place.

² Comp. the passio decem millium (al. mccc.) Martyrum, apud Alexandriam in Monte Ararath crucifixorum under Hadrian and Antoninus (act. SS. Juni iv. 182), which Anastasius Biblioth. is said to have translated from the Greek. Papebroch puts it even in the 13th century (ibid. p. 179).

³ Canonization of Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, A. D. 993, by John XV. (conc. Roman. ann. 993, ap. Mansi xix. p. 169), the first example of papal canonization (Mabill. praef. ad acta SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. no. 99 ss. F. Pagi breviarium Pontificum Rom. ii. 257). Besides, the metropolitans, till 1153, still exercised the right of creating saints for their provinces (Pagi l. c. iii. 115).

⁴ Instead of many, take one graphic example by an eye-witness: Glab. Radulph. iv. c. 3, A. D. 1027: Homo plebejus mangonum callidissimus, who had a different name in each different place,—effodiebat e tumulis clancule ossa evellens a cineribus nuperrime defunctorum hominum; sicque imposita in diversis apophoretis venditabat apud plurimos pro ss. Martyrum seu Confessorum reliquiis. Hic vero post innumeras hujusce illusiones in Galliis patratas perfuga venit ad loca Alpium. Illic ergo more solito noctu colligens a loco abjectissimo ignoti ossa hominis, quae posuit in cassella et feretro, dicebat sibi angelica ostensione revelatum fuisse, quem fingebat esse s. Martyrem nomine Justum. Mox quoque vulgus, ut se in talibus habere solet, ignavum, quicquid rusti-

relics and miracles,⁵ the fruit of fraud and pious simplicity,⁶

canæ plebis fuit, totum ad hanc famam confluit; poenitet insuper, si non est sibi morbus, quo curari deponat. Tunc ducit debiles, confert munuscula, pervigil tenet excubias, praestolans repentina fore miracula, quae, ut diximus, aliquotiens permittuntur fieri a malignis spiritibus tentatorie, peccatis hominum praecedentibus; quod tunc proculdubio evidentissime claruit. Multimodae quippe membrorum reformationes ibidem visae sunt exstitisse, ac insignia pendere oscillatorum multiformia; nec tamen—Praesules—diligentiam hujus inquirendae rei adhibuerunt: quin potius conciliabula statuentes, in aliquibus nihil aliud nisi inepti lucri quaesitum a plebe, simul et favorem fallaciae exigebant. Margrave Mainfried bought the body to deposit it in a church just erected at Suze. At the dedication the impostor appeared, and spondebat, se multa pretiosiora SS. pignora in proximo revelaturum, quorum scilicet gesta et nomina, atque passionum certamina, ut caetera, fallaciter confingebat. Glaber also was there, entered into conversation with him, and soon discovered the imposture. Still the pontiffs did not allow themselves to be in error, but went on, rite peragentes, ob quam venerant, Ecclesiae consecrationem, intromiserunt cum caeteris reliquiarum pignoribus ossa illius profani; the elegantiores virorum personae sided with Glaber, and the people injusti nomen pro Justo venerans in suo permansit errore!

⁵ Especially since so many churches were built, and many relics for them were required (comp. § 27, note 9, at the end). Glab. Rad. iii. c. 6: Candidato, ut diximus, innovatis Ecclesiarum Basilicis universo mundo, subsequenti tempore, i. e. anno MVIII. revelata sunt diversorum argumentorum indicia, quorsum diu latuerant, plurimorum Sanctorum pignora. This began in Sens, where even a part of Moses' rod was found, virgae Moysi partem. To the more considerable relics of this time belong the s. lacryma Christi in Vendome in the 11th century. (J. B. Thiers diss. sur la sainte larme de Vendôme. Paris 1699. 12. Mabillon lettre à l'évêque de Blois. Paris 1700. 8. and in his oeuvres posthumes T. ii. p. 361 ss.) Blood of Christ in Reichenau (Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 923: Sanguis Domini in Augiam Insulam a quadam matrona defertur, sicuti literis inibi manifestatur) and in Mantua (according to Regino discovered as early as 804; the s. lancea (hallowed by nails from the cross of Christ, procured about 935 by the emperor Henry I., Luitpr. iv. c. 24, ap. Pertz v. 322, came among the crown-jewels, and was afterwards regarded as the spear of Longinus), &c.

⁶ St Benedict was distinguished uniformly for miracles, a description of which is given by three writers of that age; by Aimoinus Floriac. about 1000 (in Mabillon act. SS. saec. iv. ii. 356), Desiderius Abb. Casinensis, afterwards Pope Victor III. (ibid. p. 425 ss.) and Rodulfus Tortarius mon. Floriacens. about 1100 (ibid. p. 390). That there was no want of imposture besides may be seen from vita Godehardi Episc. Hildesheimensis († 1038), by his disciple Wolferus, no. 48 (in Mabillon act SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. i. 372): quaedam vanae mentis personae in nostra patria usitato more per sacra loca discurrentes, se aut cae-

which were often a source of riches to the monasteries in particular, though at the same time they also led to irregularities.⁷

cos, aut debiles, aut elingues, vel certe obsessos temere simulant, et ante altaria vel sepulcra Sanctorum se coram populo volutantes, pugnisque tundentes, sanatos illico se proclamant, ea scilicet sola vesana voluntate, ut sic tantum majorem stipem vel quaestum a plebe percipiant. Cum in hujusmodi fallacia tales liquido deprehenduntur, etiam verae Sanctorum virtutes in periculosam desperationem hac dubietate retrahuntur; vel certe et hi qui vere sanantur etiam non solum a perfidis sed et interdum a fidelibus fallere creduntur.

⁷ Hence strict abbots forbad all miracles in saints, comp above, § 18, not. 6. So the abbot Stephen in Lüttich (1026-1059) in the case of St Wolbodo: hunc aliquando Sanctum per divinum nomen contestatus est, quo temperaret a miraculis, quibus tantae fratribus fiebant per occasionem infirmorum noctu et interdium molestiae, see vita s. Wolbodonis in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vi. i. 165. Guntramnus, abbot of St Tron (1034-1055), acted similarly. See chron. Abbatiae s. Trudonis lib. i. (in d'Achery spicileg. ii. 662): Hujus vitae ultimis annis domini nostri Trudonis sepulcrum frequentissime coepit coruscare miraculis, quae ille studiosissime satagebat occultare; sagaci enim pectore concipiens quod futurum erat, signa data esse infidelibus non fidelibus (1 Cor. xiv. 22.) dicebat: quod non longe post illum nonnulli de nostris experti sunt, qui inter ipsa quoque miracula Deum offendere non timuerint. Namely, lib. ii. p. 664: Defuncto eo [Guntramno] et succedente Adelardo II. (1055-1082) coeperunt haberi miracula et virtutes sepulcri s. Trudonis non tam timori et reverentiae, quam ostentui et populari gloriae. Frequentabat enim sepulcrum ejus infinitus peregrinorum numerus, neque diebus tantum singulis, sed singulorum dierum horis superveniebat multitudo multitudini, atque noctis medio grandisona faciebat venientium et abeuntium inquietatio. Vellent nollent fratres, per omnes claustrum irrumpebant partes: maxime quia aqua nostri—putei dicebatur potata in nomine s. Trudonis fieri medela atque fiebat accedentibus ad eam languidis. Sed et leprosi ibidem de ea loti referuntur nonnunquam fuisse curati. Quid multa! Oratorium, chorus, templum, claustrum, pratum nocte dieque non inveniebatur a multitudine vacuum, quorum perstreptentium continua inquietatio magnae fiebat molestiae et ordinis impedimento senioribus solitis et volentibus Deo servire in quiete et silentio. Juniores vero, quibus taedio erat religio, et disciplina odio, gratulabantur prius occulte, hac quasi necessitate se magistrae Regulae mandata praeterire: accessu vero temporis, et frequentissimo usu peregrinae multitudinis tandem in verecunda fronte coeperunt ad libitum cuncta agere, locorum indifferenter abutebantur qualitatibus, et horarum tam incompetentium quam competentium vicissitudinibus; seniorum increpationes indignanti supercilio respuere, in ipsum quoque Abbatem interdum indecenter protervire etc.—Quanto longius ferebatur relatione peregrinorum gloriosa celebritas miraculorum s. Trudonis tanto et nostrorum reprehendebatur saecularitas ex levitate morum et abusione indiscipline.

As the Church now began to admit the ordeal generally,⁸ it also became usual to investigate the genuineness of relics by the fire-process.⁹ This was the age of *the Legend* as well as *the Romance*,¹⁰ and industrious monks dressed out the saints in the most arbitrary mode, with adventures and miracles.¹¹ After

⁸ See below § 36. not. 2.

⁹ Comp. vol. i. Div. 2. § 121. not. 4. Thus Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn, had received the body of St Felix, a present from the patriarch of Aquileia A. D. 1030 (vita Meinwerki § 109 in Leibnitii scriptt. rer. Brunsvic. i. 560): et experiri volens, salutis ipsius auxilio si sibi snoque succurrere posset populo, rogam maximum in medio claustrum sub dio fieri praecepit, in quem cum tertio corpus misisset, totiesque in favillam redactus ignis exstinctus fuisset, cum maxima omnium exsultatione et laudum jubilatione corpus propriis excipiens, super principale altare detulit, et omnium venerationi solemnem sanctum illum deinceps habere instituit. Comp. Mabillon de probatione reliquiarum per ignem, appended to his lib. de cultu SS. ignotorum (also in his vetera analecta p. 568.)

¹⁰ Comp. hist. lit. de la Fr. vi. 12.

¹¹ Letaldus mon. Miciacensis (about 980) in epist. dedicatoria ad Avesgaudum Episc. Cenoman. before his vita Juliani Episc. (in act. SS. Januar. ii. 1152):—cum magnae reverentiae gravitate dicenda et scribenda sunt, quae in conspectu veritatis recitari debent, ne, unde Deus placari creditur, inde amplius ad iracundiam provocetur; nihil enim ei placet, nisi quod verum est. Sunt autem nonnulli, qui dum attollere Sanctorum facta appetunt, in lucem veritatis offendunt, quasi Sanctorum gloria mendacio erigi valeat, qui, si mendacii sectatores fuissent, ad sanctitatis culmen nequaquam ascendere potuissent.—Cum ergo tam mira et speciosa de actibus hujus praecellentissimi Patris recito, non de meritis ejus diffido, nec de potentia Christi ambigo: sed cum haec eadem in aliis invenio, cui potius credendum sit, non perspicue video. Multa enim in actibus supradicti Patris conscripta sunt, quae et in bb. Clementis et Dionysii Martyrum et s. Furcaei Confessoris eodem sensu et paene iisdem verbis inveniuntur. Thus also he puts Dionysius and his company, among whom Julian, first bishop of Mans, was at that time reckoned, in the time of Decius, after the authority of Gregor. Turon. (vol. i. Div. i. § 57. note 2.) Quod vero s. Julianus dicitur a b. Clemente destinatus, neque ratio temporum, neque veterum consensus auctoritas. Comp. Herigerus Abb. Laubiensis about 990 in his gestis Pontiff. Tungrensium, Trajectens. et Leodiensium c. 23 (in Jo. Chapeavilli gest. Pontiff. Tungr. Traj. et Leod. scriptores i. 28), which are elsewhere filled with the most strange fables. St Servatius is said indeed to have descended from the family of Christ, but he was not able to discover any thing certain on the subject, idcirco nec faciles ad credendum esse possumus, nec tantae opinioni, quae fortasse ex pietate ingeritur, judicamus omnimodis derogandum, cum juxta Tullium non debeat pudere nos fateri nescire, quae nescimus, et hujus opinionis

Dionysius and his companions had been raised to the dignity of being disciples of the apostles,¹² a zeal arose among the French churches to procure like honour for their founders; a task which they accomplished the more readily because in the stormy times, the older narratives were frequently lost.¹³ Very characteristic

assertoribus conveniat ignorantiam potius verecunde fateri, quam irreverenter pro pietate mentiri. Petrus Damiani de vita Romualdi in prologo (opp. ed. Cajetani ii. 206): Nonnulli Deo se deferre existimant, si in extollendis Sanctorum virtutibus mendacium fingant. Thus it frequently happens that not only single actions of one saint are copied in the history of another, but whole legends are repeated with merely a change of the name. In this way the legend of St Rictrudis is repeated as that of St Eusebia (hist. lit. de la Fr. vi. 259), the legend of St Ebrulfus for that of St Albertus (ibid. p. 557). also for St Ebremondus (ibid. p. 514). Other examples ibid. p. 90. vii. 193. 194.

¹² See above § 18. note 15. Comp. vol. i. Div. i. § 57. note 2.

¹³ The Normans laid waste 881 Lüttich, Tongern, Cologne, &c. 882 Trier (Regino ad h. a.), by which, particularly at Trier, all the old records were lost. Comp. auct. anonym. vitæ s. Felicis (act. SS. Mart. iii. 622): In hujus autem ter felicitis Sancti mentione, sicut in omnium fere Trevirensium Sanctorum recordatione repetitam sæpius hujus urbis vastationem cogimur plorare, per quam constat ingentia ss. Patrum nostrorum vitæ volumina ita penitus esse consumpta; quod, nisi ex paucissimis, ut ita dixerim, tanti pelagi guttis, in vetustissimis aliorum locorum schedulis, vel etiam in plumbeis ac marmoreis tabulis, terræ penitus infossis, aliquatenus reformata fuissent, organa nostra, velut super flumina Babylonis nostræ suspensa, jam dudum in horum laude Sanctorum conticuissent. (Similar complaints in the legends of bishops Modaldus act. SS. Maj. iii. 52. and Maximinus Maj. vii. 32.) What was the character of that reformatio vitarum may be seen in the promotion of the three first bishops of Trier, Eucharius, Valerius, and Maternus, to the dignity of apostle pupils, soon after that devastation at Trier (comp. vol. i. Div. i. § 57. not. 3). Of these three the only mention in the older martyrologies was ad 29 Januar. Trevis depositio Valerii Episcopi, then in the martyrologies of Ado, Usuardus, and Notker: Trevis depositio b. Valerii Episcopi discipuli s. Petri Apostoli (on this addition see act. SS. Sept. iv. 362, probably in the same way as Boniface in epist. Caroli Martelli and capitul. lib. v. c. 2. is called Missus s. Petri.) This was undoubtedly the foundation of the legend, first found in the vita SS. Eucharii, Valerii, Materni (act. SS. Januar. ii. 918, but not written as is said there by Goldscher, monk in Trier, about 1012, but probably) by Eberhard, monk and scholastic in Trier, † 909, (act. SS. Sept. iv. 358), then in the historia Trevir. (d'Achery spicileg. ii. 208), in Herigeri gesta Pontiff. Tungr. etc. (see note 10), and finally copied into all the chronicles of the middle age, for which even Methodius was afterwards adduced as voucher (first by Marianus Scotus ap. Pistorius-Struve T. i. p. 555. 563) (see above § 18. note 15). Comp. Honthemii

of the time were the disputes concerning the apostleship of *St Martial*,¹⁴ and the monks' quarrels concerning the place where

hist. Trevir. diplom. T. i. praef. p. ix ss. Acta SS. Sept. iv. 354. Walch de Materno uno in the commentationes Soc. Götting. vol. i. comm. hist. p. 1. Rettberg's Kirchengesch. Deutschlands i. 73. The example of Trier was soon followed by its suffragan see. Santinus, first bishop of Verdun, was looked upon as a disciple of St Dionysius, and was already elevated with him. In like manner Metz now raised its first bishop Clemens, and Toul its own Mansuetus to the rank of apostle disciples (first in the legend composed by abbot Adso about 980, acta SS. Sept. i. p. 615 ss.) Comp. histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Lorraine, par Aug. Calmet. T. i. Dissertation prélim. p. xi. ss. Rettberg i. 90. By Paul Crescens is said to have been sent to Vienne (Ado in chronico act. vi. ann. 59 et 101) and Mainz (Rupert. Tuitiensis about 1120 de divinis officiis lib. i. c. 27) according to 2 Tim. iv. 10 (cf. Eusebii h. e. iii. 4); see Rettberg i. 82. About the same time Linus is said to have come to Besançon, Memmius to Chalons, Sixtus to Rheims, Sinicus to Soissons, Ursinus to Bourges, Fronto to Perigueux, Altinus to Orleans, Lucianus to Beauvais, Nicasius to Rouen, Exsuperius to Bayeux, Taurinus to Evreux, Eutropius to Saintes, Julianus to Mans, etc.

¹⁴ After he had been put in the apostolic age with his companion Dionysius, and a correspondent life (vita) had been given him, his proteges, the monks of St Martial in Limoges, wanted even to exalt him to the rank of apostle; but the clergy of Limoges would only allow him the title of Confessor. Controversy on the point at the Syn. Pictav. ann. 1023 (Mansi xix. 413), Syn. Paris. ann. 1024 (ibid. p. 421). Jordanus, bishop of Limoges, epist. ad Benedictum P. viii. (Gallia christiana T. ii. app. p. 162), declared against the new apostle; but Johannes P. xix. (epist. ad Jordanum Episc. ap. Mansi xix. 417), and after him conc. Lemovicense ann. 1028 (not 1029, see Mabillon ann. Bened. lib. lvi. no. 49) decided in his favour; Ademar mon. Cabanensis defended him (see epist. A. D. 1028 in Mabillon ann. append. ad tom. iv. no. 46), and the conc. Bituricense can. i. (Mansi xix. 503) and conc. Lemovicense, both A. D. 1031, at length settle the matter. Comp. particularly the copious acta of the latter (ibid. p. 507 ss.), ex. gr. p. 512: Plane si Apostolus nullus est exceptis duodecim, sicut Ebionitae haeretici praedicant,—ergo Paulus et Barnabas non sunt Apostoli etc.—p. 525: Nos non sumus Ebionitae, qui non recipiunt praeter XII. Apostolos, et Paulum quasi transgressorem legis repudiant etc. Cf. acta SS. Jan. v. 535. This, however, did not prevent the monastic discipline in St Martial from utter extinction, nor the monks from offering violent opposition when the monastery was intended to be reformed (1063) externally by Clugny. See § 31. note 5. At a later period the monks of St Martial forged two letters in the name of their new apostle, ad Burdegalenses and ad Tolosanos (ed. Badius Ascensius, Paris. 1521, also annexed to Gennadius de dogm. ecl. ed. G. Elmenhorst, Hamburg 1614.)

the real bodies of *St Dionysius*¹⁵ and *St Benedict*¹⁶ were preserved.

The virgin *Mary*¹⁷ was honoured above all saints. *Saturday*

¹⁵ On this controversy between the monks of St Emmeran in Regensburg and of St Dionysius in Paris see Mabill. ann. Ben. lib. ix. no. 21 (where also the decision of Leo IX. in favour of the Regensburgians, probably spurious, is printed) and no. 34.

¹⁶ The convent Fleury near Orleans claimed the honour of possessing them since the middle of the 7th century; on the other hand Monte Cassino claimed to have the grave and body. Leon. Ostiens. chronic. Casin. lib. ii. c. 43. 44. 47. Mabill. ann. in many passages.

¹⁷ Comp. especially Fulberti Ep. Carnotensis [† 1029] Sermones (opp. ed. Car. de Villiers. Paris. 1608. 8. Bibl. PP. Lugd. xvii. 1) and Petri Damiani sermones (opp. ii. 1). In the latter's sermo xlv. or i. de nativitate Mariæ p. 107 it is said among other things: Etsi multa magna facta sunt in creaturis mundi, nihil tamen tam excellens, tam magnificentum fecerunt opera digitorum Dei.—Numquid quia ita deificata, ideo nostrae humanitatis oblita es? Nequaquam, Domina.—Data est tibi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra.—Nil tibi impossibile, cui possibile est desperatos in spem beatitudinis relevare. Quomodo enim illa potestas tuae potentiae poterit obviare, quae de carne tua carnis suscepit originem? Accedis enim ante illud aureum humanae reconciliationis altare, non solum rogans, sed imperans, Domina, non ancilla. Sermo xi. de annunciatione b. V. M. p. 25: Cum fecerit Deus omnia opera sua valde bona, hoc (Mariam) melius fecit, consecrans sibi in ea reclinatorium aureum, in qua sola se post tumultus Angelorum et hominum reclinaret, et requiem inveniret.—Peccant rationabiles creaturae.—Tacet Deus omnipotens, et ordinans ejus omnipotentia tantam dissimulat confusionem. Tandem nascitur Maria, et ad nubiles annos egrediens speciem induit speciosam, quae ipsum alliciat Deum, et divinitatis oculos in se convertat.—Videt et ardet ille vehemens amator, et totum epithalamium in laudibus ejus decantans (Song of Solomon), ubi manifeste sponsus inducitur spirans amorem sincerissimum, nec ultra valens dissimulare quod patitur. Evocatur statim caelestis ille conventus, et juxta Prophetam (Jes. xvi. 3) init Deus consilium, cogit concilium, facit sermonem cum angelis de restauratione eorum, de redemptione hominum, de elementorum renovatione, ac illis stupentibus et mirantibus prae gaudio, de modo redemptionis. Et statim de thesauro divinitatis Mariæ nomen evolvitur, et per ipsam, et in ipsa, et de ipsa, et cum ipsa totum hoc faciendum decernitur, ut sicut sine illo nihil factum, ita sine illa nihil reffectum sit. Traditur epistola Gabrieli, in qua salutatio Virginis, incarnatio Redemptoris, modus redemptionis, plenitudo gratiae, gloriae magnitudo, multitudo laetitiae continetur. Serm. xl. de assumptione b. M. v. p. 97: Sublimis ista dies, in qua Virgo regalis ad thronum Dei Patris evehitur, et in ipsius Trinitatis sede reposita naturam etiam angelicam sollicitat ad videndum. Tota conglomeratur Angelorum frequentia, ut videat Reginam sedentem a dextris Domini virtutum in vestitu deaurato etc.—Ascendenti Domino egressa est obviam

was devoted to her, and an *officium St Mariae* instituted in her

omnis illa beatorum Spirituum gloriosa societas.—Attolle jam oculos ad assumptionem Virginis, et salva Filii majestate, invenies occursum hujus pompae non mediocriter digniorem. Soli quippe Angeli Redemptori occurrere potuerunt, Matri vero caelorum palatia penetranti Filius ipse cum tota curia tam Angelorum quam Justorum solemniter occurrens evexit ad beatæ consistorium sessionis, et ait: Tota pulchra et amica mea, et macula non est in te (Cant. iv. 7).

¹⁸ Both first began in convents. The officium proceeded from the hymns of praise in honour of Mary, of which the first trace is found in the vita Udalrici (bishop of Augsburg from 923-973), written by a contemporary, Gebhard, no. 14 (Mabillon acta SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. p. 426): Cursus quotidianus cum matriculariis in choro ejusdem matriculae ab eo caute observabatur, quandocumque ei domi manendum aliae occupationes consenserunt. Insuper autem unum cursum in honore s. Mariae genitricis Dei, et alterum de s. Cruce. tertium de omnibus Sanctis, et alios psalmos plurimos, totumque psalterium omni die explere solitus erat (cf. Mabillon ann. Bened. lib. xlii. no. 71). However, these demonstrations of honour received a definite form and greater diffusion in the eleventh century, and especially by means of Petrus Damiani. Comp. his opusc. xxxiii. de bono suffragiorum c. 3: quam fideliter aeterna sperabunt, qui beatæ Reginae mundi quotidiana horarum omnium vota persolvunt! Unde pulcher etiam mos in nonnullis Ecclesiis inolevit, ut specialiter ad ejus honorem per omne sabbatum Missarum celebrentur officia, nisi forte festivitas vel feria Quadragesimalis obsistat. Nos etiam Eremitis sive Monasteriis, quorum videlicet ad Christi gloriam Ministri sumus, tres per hebdomadas singulas dies Sanctis assignatos habemus, ad quorum scilicet honorem Missas specialiter celebramus.—Quod secundum virorum illustrium pias opiniones atque sententias quaelibet animae defunctorum in diebus dominicis requiescunt atque a suppliciiis feriantur, secunda vero feria ad ea quibus assignata sunt poenarum ergastula revertuntur: idcirco ipso potissimum die Angelis missarum honor impenditur, ut et mortuis et morituris patrocinalis eorum defensio procuretur. Sexta quoque feria vivificæ Crucis non inconvenienter adscribitur, quae scilicet dies pendens in Cruce Domini glorioso sanguine purpuratur. Qua die omnes fratres nostri, quos utique monasterialis ordo connectit, hoc etiam ad cumulum propriae salutis adjiciunt, ut et se mactent in Capitulo vicaria collisione scoparum, et insuper celebrent in pane et aqua jejunium. Ad honorem quoque sanctæ Crucis eodem die Missas celebrant, ut sibi patrocinium Crucis in die necessitatis acquirant. Cap. 4: Sabbatum enimvero, quod requies interpretatur, quo videlicet die Deus requievit legitur, satis congrue beatissimæ Virgini dedicatur. Quam nimirum sibi Sapientia domum aedificavit, atque in ea per humilitatis assumptæ mysterium, velut in sacratissimo lectulo requievit. Petrus Damiani also spread very zealously the Officium s. Mariae, but not without opposition, in the Italian monasteries. See lib. vi. ep. 32: Statutum erat (in monasterio b. Vincentii), atque jam per triennium fere servatum, ut cum horis canonicis b. Mariae sem-

praise.¹⁸ The festival of *all souls*, which arose in Clugny after 1024,¹⁹ soon became general throughout the whole church.

per Virginis officia dicerentur. However, a monk, Gozo, opposed it coepit conqueri, satis superque sufficere, quod sanctus praecepit Benedictus, nec novae adinventionis pondus debere superponi, nec nos esse antiquis Patribus sanctiores, qui videlicet haec superstitiosa ac superva sua judicantes psallendi nobis metam omnemque vivendi regulam praefixerunt: hac sane debere nos esse contentos, ne ab illa incautius declinantes per anfractus et invia ducamur erronei. He actually succeeded in persuading the other monks, ut solitas b. Mariae laudes ulterius non offerent: but the convent met with great disasters, which did not cease till after they had solita Genitricis Dei praeconia unanimiter pollicentur. Petrus Damiani had himself composed an Officium s. Mariae, opp. T. iv. p. 9 ss. According to Gaufridus Prior Vosiensis (1183) in chron. in Labbei biblioth. nova Mss. T. ii. p. 292. Urbanus II. established as early as the Council of Clermont (1095), ut horae beatae Mariae quotidie dicerentur, officiumque ejus diebus sabbati fieret. Mabillon annales lib. lviii. no. 15. lib. lx. no. 81. Ejusd. acta SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. praef. p. lxxvi.

¹⁹ The decretum by which the abbot Odilo prescribes this festival to all the monasteries of Clugny (ap. Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. vii. i. 385), mentions the Emperor Henry II. († 1024) as deceased. On the solemnization of it see antiquiores consuetudines Cluniac. (§ 31. not. 3) lib. i. c. 42. It was not till Odilo's death that the legend was formed for the purpose of procuring its permanence and greater diffusion, which is first met with in the vita s. Odilonis by Jotsaldus c. 14 (Mabillon l. c. p. 615): Retulit mihi etiam dominus Richardus Episcopus (in Pannonia, who had previously been a disciple of Odilo) quandam visionem, quam et ego quondam audieram, sed tunc animo minime retinebam. Quodam tempore, inquit, vir quidam religiosus de pago Rotenensi (of Rodez) oriundus ab Jerosolymis revertebatur. Transiens autem mare, quod a Sicilia versus Thessalonicam protenditur, pertulit cum pluribus aliis gravissimum ventum in medio positus, qui navim impellens, appulit ad quandam insulam sive rupem, ubi quidam servus Dei reclusus manebat. This person related to the other: Vicina loca sunt nobis, ex semetipsis manifesto Dei judicio gravissima eructantia ignis incendia, in quibus animae peccatorum ad tempus statutum diversa luunt supplicia. Sunt vero ad eorum semper renovanda tormenta multitudo daemonum deputata, qui eorum poenas de die in diem restaurantes, intolerabiles magis ac magis exaggerant dolores. Quos tamen saepius audivi lamentantes, et non parvam querimoniam facientes, quia orationibus religiosorum hominum, et eleemosynis pauperum, quae fiunt per diversa loca sanctorum, multotiens per Dei misericordiam ab eorum poenis liberarentur animae damnatorum. Inter caetera vero mentionem et maximam querimoniam noveris illos praecipue fecisse de illa Cluniacensi congregatione et ipsius Abbate. Quapropter per Deum te admoneo, si ad tuos cum prosperitate habueris redditum, ut haec omnia quae a me audisti nota facias prae-

SIXTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

Contemporary chronicles: Reginonis, abbot of Prün, *de disciplinis ecclesiasticis et religione christ.* lib. ii. written 906-908 (according to the latest editors of the *gesta Trevir.* Wytttenbach and Müller, 899, see Tom. i. Adnotat. p. 27 at p. 99. ed. Jo. Hildebrand. Helmst. 1659, auctius St Baluzius. Paris. 1671. 8. ad opt. codd. fidem rec. F. G. A. Wasserschleben, Lips. 1840. 8. Cf. Ballerini *de antiquis collect. canonum* P. iv. c. 11, Wasserschleben's *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. vorgratian. Kirchenrechtsquellen.* Leipz. 1839, S. 1. Bähr's *Gesch. d. röm. Lit. im karol. Zeitalter* S. 535.) Abbonis, abbot in Fleury († 1004) *canones excerpti de aliis canonibus*, written before 997 (in *Mabillonii analect.* ed. ii. p. 133 ss.) Burchardi, bishop of Worms († 1025), *conlectarium canonum or decretorum volumen*, written 1012—1023 (ed Colon. 1548. fol. Paris. 1549. 8. Cf. Ballerini l. c. P. iv. c. 12). Comp. Spittler's works published by K. Wachter, Stuttgart 1827 i. 270. (Fragment from a second part of the history of canonical law.

dictae congregationi, et ex mea parte denuncies, quatenus magis ac magis insistant orationibus, vigiliis et eleemosynis pro requie animarum in poenis positarum. The pilgrim, after his return, executed this commission. *Hac igitur occasione sanctus Pater generale propositum per omnia monasteria sua constituit, ut sicut in capite kalendarum Novembrium festivitas agitur omnium Sanctorum, ita etiam in sequenti die memoria generaliter ageretur pro requie omnium fidelium animarum, privatim et publice Missae cum psalmis et eleemosynis celebrarentur, omnibus supervenientibus pauperibus eleemosyna multipliciter daretur; quatenus per haec jacturam sibi provenire magis ac magis doleret adversarius, et e contrario gratularetur sub spe misericordiae in hoc laborans Christianus.* Nearly the same thing, but not without variations, is likewise related after the death of Odilo by a person belonging to Clugny, Burchardus, *Dominis Patribus et senioribus Cluniacensis coenobii*, told as something, *quod veridicis testibus nuper audivimus* (see *Mabillon* l. c. p. 584). From this expression as well as from the introduction of *Jotsaldus*, it is clear that the story was unknown at Clugny in Odilo's lifetime. The same is given in extract by *Sigebert. Gemblac. ad ann. 998* who, however, transfers the scene to Sicily, to the places, *quae vocantur ab incolis, Ollae Vulcani.*

§ 34.

DISCIPLINE OF THE CLERGY.

Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den christl. Geistlichen und ihre Folgen, von D. F. A. Theiner und A. Theiner (2 Bde. Altenburg 1828) i. 444.

The impurity of the clergy caused by their celibacy, long a constant subject of legislation at the synods, increased during these times of rudeness to unnatural crimes.¹ The bishops, who were always becoming more worldly, led the way in evil example, and the inferior clergy followed with the less restraint as they had become so much more independent by the firm establishment of their benefices. While their office appeared to be privileged to commit the most scandalous excesses,² many began to

¹ Conc. Moguntiac. ann. 888 can. 10 (Mansi xviii. 67): Ut clericis interdicatur, mulieres in domo sua habere, omnimodis decernimus. Quamvis enim sacri canones quasdam personas feminarum simul cum clericis in una domo habitare permittant: tamen, quod multum dolendum est, saepe audivimus, per illam concessionem plurima scelera esse commissa, ita ut quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent. So too conc. Metense ann. 888, can. 5. Riculfi Ep. Suessionum constit. ann. 889, c. 14. Conc. Namnetense ann. inc. c. 3 (Mansi xviii. 167).

² Among the numerous synodal regulations, comp. conc. Aenhamense ann. 1009, c. 1. (Wilkins conc. Magn. Brit. i. 286. Mansi xix. 299): Omnes Dei ministros, et imprimis sacerdotes rogamus et docemus, ut Deo obediunt et castitatem diligant, et caveant sibi ipsis ab ira Dei. Certissime norint, quod non debeant habere ob aliquam coitus causam uxoris consortium; ast pejus est, quod aliqui habeant duas vel plures: et quidam, licet dimiserit eam, quam nuper habuit, ipsa vivente tamen aliam ducit etc. Benedictus P. viii. in conc. Ticinensi (between 1014 and 1024), ap. Mansi xix. 345:—sacerdotes Dei, ut equi emissarii, in feminas insaniant:—toto vitae suae tempore summum bonum, ut Epicurus philosophorum porcus, voluptatem adjudicant. Neque id caute faciunt incauti: cum publice et pompaticè lascivientes, obstinatius etiam quam excursores laici meretricari non erubescant (comp. below, note 5). A fearful description of priestly lewdness is given by Petrus Damiani opusc. vii. liber Gomorrhianus. Praef.: Vitium contra naturam velut cancer ita serpit, ut sacrorum hominum Ordinem attingat. Cap. 1. Alii siquidem secum, alii aliorum manibus, alii inter femora, alii denique consummato actu contra naturam delinquant. Cap. 2. Quidam rectores

live in the ordinary state of marriage. The violent measures

Ecclesiarum circa hoc vitium humaniores forsitan quam expediat, absolute decernunt, propter tres illos gradus, qui superius enumerati sunt, neminem a suo Ordine debere deponi; hos autem solummodo non abnuunt degradari, quos ultimo actu cecidisse constiterit. Cap. 6. Sed o scelus inauditum!—quod dignum illis poterit excogitari supplicium, qui cum suis spiritualibus filiis haec mala—committunt?—Quis jam sub ejus imperio maneat,—qui de poenitente facit pellicem, et quem spiritualiter Deo genuerat filium,—per suae carnis immunditiam subjungat servum? Comp. Leo IX.'s letter to Petrus Damiani, relating to this subject, prefixed to the latter's work. Ecce omnes illi, qui quavis quatuor generum, quae dicta sunt, foeditate polluuntur,—ab omnibus immaculatae Ecclesiae gradibus tam sacrorum canonum, quam nostro judicio depelluntur. Sed nos humanius agentes, eos, qui vel propriis manibus, vel invicem inter se egerunt semen, vel etiam qui inter femora profuderunt, et non longo usu, nec cum pluribus, si voluptatem refraxerint, et digna poenitudine probrosa commissa luerint, admitti ad eosdem gradus, in quibus—fuerant,—volumus atque etiam jubemus. (Cf. Baron. ad. ann. 1049, no. 10.)

³ Cf. § 23, not. 2. Bonizo ap. Oefele ii. p. 799. Guidonis disciplina Farfensis (about 1040) in vetus disciplina monastica (ed. M. Herrgott). Paris 1726, p. 37: Cum per universam Italiam Christi praecepta annullarentur, et velut in fastidio versarentur: diabolicae suggestiones coeperunt augmentari, et opere compleri, ita ut etiam in sacris constituti ordinibus, sicut mos laicorum est, uxores acciperent, et sine aliqua difficultate haeresim exercerent simoniacam. Leonis VII. († 939) ep. ad Gallos et Germanos (Mansi xviii. 379): [Gerardus s. Lauriacensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopus] intulit lamentabile et nimis lugendum, ut Domini sacerdotes publice ducant uxores. Aventinus, who also anal. Bojorum lib. iv. c. 23, p. 461, ed. Gundlingii mentions this epistle, remarks, lib. v. c. 13, p. 541, of the times before Gregory VII: Sacerdotes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicuti caeteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant, sicuti in instrumentis donationum, quae illi templis, mystis, monachis fecere, ubi hae nominatim cum conjugibus testes citantur, et honesto vocabulo Presbyterissae nuncupantur, invenio. Thus Presbyter quidam Gunduni nomine cum Presbyterissa sua Hiltigunde makes a present of the Abbey of Ebersperg (Oefele scriptt. rerum Boicarum ii. 28, no. 82); So too quidam sacerdos nomine Perhcozus ac ejus Presbyterissa Liutpurc (l. c. p. 29. no. 100). In the year 1055, Richolfus Presbyter makes a gift of the convent Benedictbeuern, and among the witnesses we find first mentioned Froibirgis, uxor praelibati Presbyteri (monum. Boica vii. 40). In the case of another presentation appears Gisila, quam Atto Presbyter duxerat uxorem (l. c. p. 42). Wilhelm, Episc. Ausonensis, gives in fief with the approbation of his chapter, 1052, Ermengando, canonico nostrae sedis, uxoriq; tuae et filiis tuis a Castrum (Petr. de Marca Marca Hispanica, app. p. 1097, no. 236). Petri Damiani lib. iv. ep. 3, ad Cunibertum Ep. Taurinensem (or opusc. xviii. contra Clericos intemperantes diss. ii.): Inter nonnullos virtutum flores, venerabilis Pater, quibus tuae sanctitatis ver-

of *Dunstan*, from 961 archbishop of Canterbury († 988) in England, had only a temporary effect;⁴ still no yielding on the part

nat ingenium, unum mihi, fateor, valde displicuit. Permittis enim, ut Ecclesiae tuae clerici, cujuscunque sint ordinis, velut jure matrimonii confoederentur uxoribus. Praesertim cum et ipsi clerici tui, alias quidem satis honesti, et literarum studiis sint decenter instructi. Qui dum ad me confluerent, tamquam chorus angelicus, et velut conspicuus Ecclesiae videbatur enitere senatus. Only a Petrus Damiani, although he fully perceived the abominations of celibacy in his liber Gomorrhianus could fail to see that this excellence of the Turin clergy coincided exactly with that permission of marriage, and could require the renunciation of it in the following time. Worthy of remark is cap. 3: Aliquando cum me Laudensis Ecclesia tauri pingues armata conspiratione valarent,—tamquam ructum fellis in os meum evomere, dicentes: Habemus auctoritatem Triburiensis, si tamen ego nomen teneo, Concilii, quae promotis ad ecclesiasticum ordinem ineundi conjugii tribuat facultatem. Quibus ego respondi: Concilium, inquam, vestrum, quodcumque vultis, nomen obineat: sed a me non recipitur, si decretis Romanorum Pontificum non concordat. Even bishops were married (*Æsopeja*, spouse of bishop Paschalis of Chur, is called in the documents *episcopa* and *Antistita Curiensis*, Meier v. Knonau's *schweizer. Gesch.* i. 29). At the time of Gregory VII., the bishop of Toul particularly (*Gregor. vii. lib. ii. ep. 10: quoniam—cum muliere quadam in publica fornicatione jaceret, de qua filium genuisset, quamque rumor esset sacramento et desponsatione laicorum more sibi copulasse*), and Burkard, bishop of Lausanne (*uxorem legitimam habuit; chartul. Lausann. in Müller's Schweizergesch.* i. 318.)

⁴ Eadmerus (about 1122) *de vita s. Oswaldi Archiep. Eboracensis* in H. Wharton *Anglia sacra* ii. 200: Per id temporis ex sanctione et auctoritate Johannis apostolicae sedis Antistitis b. Dunstanus Archiepiscopus Cantuariae et Primas totius Britanniae—coacto generali Concilio (ann. 969) statuit, et statuendo decretum confirmavit, videlicet ut Canonici omnes, Presbyteri omnes, Diaconi et Subdiaconi omnes aut caste viverent, aut Ecclesias quas tenebant una cum rebus ad eas pertinentibus perderent. Habebat autem Regem Edgarum in hoc negotio fidelem factorem, constantem adiutorem, firmum defensorem. Qui rex ipsius patris consilio utens, curam exequendi decreti hujus super totum regnum dobus viris injunxit, Oswaldo scilicet Episcopo Wigornensi et Athelwoldo Wintoniensi. Quod illi zelo domus Dei succensi, et divinitatis amore subnixi, et insuper praedicta auctoritate muniti, strenuissime sunt executi. Nam ut de aliis taceam, b. Oswaldus septem monasteria in sua dioecesi regulari disciplina, ejectis clericis seminarum consortium Ecclesiis anteponentibus, insituit.—Post haec in aliis Angliae partibus ad parochiam suam nil pertinentibus insignes Ecclesias ob praefixam causam clericis evacuavit, et eas—viris monasticae institutionis sublimavit. Comp. the *vita s. Dunstani* by Eadmer *ibid.* p. 219, the other by Osbernus (about 1070) *ibid.* 112 and in Mabillon *acta SS. ord. B. saec. v.* p. 681; and the *vita s. Ethelwoldi Ep. Wintoniensis*, written probably by his pu-

of the hierarchy could be expected here, because the church estates were threatened by those disorders.⁵

pil Wolstanus ap. Mabillon l. c. p. 614. A document of King Edgar by which the transference of a foundation in Worcester to the monks, eliminatis clericorum naeniis et spurcis lasciviis, is confirmed, ita ut jam amplius non sit fas neque jus clericis reclamandi quicquam inde, quippe qui magis elegerunt cum sui ordinis periculo et ecclesiastici beneficii dispendio suis uxoribus adhaerere, quam Deo caste et canonicè servire, see in Usserii vet. epistt. hibernic. sylloge p. 121, and in Jo. M. Kemble codex diplom. aevi Saxonici Tom. ii. (Lond. 1840, 8.) p. 404. Comp. Kemble ii. 402, 421, 429. After Edgar's death the state of things was changed († 975). Matthaëus Westmonasteriensis (about 1307): Sicque post decessum Regis pacifici regni status perturbatus est, et in execrationem commutatus. Nam Principes plurimi et Optimates Abbates cum monachis de monasteriis, in quibus Rex Eadgerus eos locaverat, expulerunt, et clericos, ut prius, loco eorum cum uxoribus induxerunt. The struggle between monks and secular clergy increased to be a contention of political factions; however, the old state of things again reappeared gradually (see conc. Aenham. above not. 2). Stäudlin's Kirchengesch. von Grossbrit. i. 92. Theiner i. 533. Lappenberg's Gesch. von England i. 400. Gfrörer iii. iii. 1609.

⁵ In an epist. canonica, quam debent adimplere Presbyteri, Diaconi seu Subdiaconi, of the tenth century (in Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vi. ii. 102) it is said: Ad nos perlatum est eo quod quidam conjugati habentes titulos in quibus deserviant, de sacris vestibus, mulierum vel filiarum suarum ornamenta faciant, et proprietario jure sibi defendant. Benedictus P. viii. in conc. Ticinensi (between 1014 and 1024) ap. Mansi xix. 343: Omnes Ecclesiam pertranseuntes diripiunt, et hi maxime, qui videntur esse rectores, modis omnibus quibus possunt, conculcant et paupertant. Praedia enim et possessiones aut tollunt, aut minuunt, aut quibusdam titulis et scriptis colludio fabricatis, a nomine et a jure Ecclesiae alienant; servos libertant, licet non possint; filiis congerones infrontati omnia congerunt. Ipsi quoque clerici, qui sunt de familia Ecclesiae,—ex liberis mulieribus filios procreant; ancillas Ecclesiae hac sola fraude fugientes, ut matrem liberam filii quasi liberi prosequantur. Ampla itaque praedia, ampla patrimonia, et quaecunque bona possunt, de bonis Ecclesiae, neque enim aliunde habent, infames patres infamibus filiis adquireunt. Sic Ecclesiae utrumque et servos perdit et conquisita. Sic Ecclesiae olim ditissima—pauperrima nostris est effecta temporibus.—hac fraude omnes filii servorum Ecclesiae ad clericatum aspirant, non ut Deo serviant, sed ut scortati cum liberis mulieribus, filii eorum de famulatu Ecclesiae cum omnibus bonis Ecclesiae raptis quasi liberi exeant. Hence the synod enacted, can. 3: Filii et filiae omnium clericorum, omniumque graduum de familia Ecclesiae, ex quacunque libera muliere, quocunque modo sibi conjuncta fuerit, geniti, cum omnibus bonis—servi proprii suae erunt Ecclesiae, nec unquam ab Ecclesiae servitute exhibunt, which was confirmed by the emperor Henry I. Comp. the remarkable enarratio eorum, quae perverse

Thus, then, under the last popes of this period, in addition to the other evil of the time viz., *Simony*,⁶ the incontinence and marrying of the clergy were stamped as the *Nicolaitan heresy*,⁷ and zealously opposed.⁸ On the other hand, the first defenders of priest-

gesta sunt a custodibus Ecclesiarum s. Stephani et s. Donati in civitate Aretina, et quomodo Canonici tandem eas Ecclesias acquisierunt, written about 1092, in Muratorii antiquitt. Ital v. 217.

⁶ Comp. § 23. not. 2. § 24. not. 12, 14. Cf. Girberti Phil. sermo de informatione Episcoporum § 8. (Mabillon analect. vet. p. 105, and ap. Galland. xiv. 135). Abbonis Abb. Floriacen. apologeticus § 9. [about 1000] ap. Galland. xiv. 139: Nihil paene ad Ecclesiam—per tinere videtur, quod ad pretium non largiatur, scilicet episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus, et reliqui minores gradus, archidiaconatus quoque, decania, praepositura, thesauri custodia, baptisterium, sepultura, et si qua sunt similia. Et hujusmodi negotiatores subdola responsione solent astruere, non se emere benedictionem, qua percipitur gratia Spiritus S., sed res Ecclesiarum, vel possessiones Episcopi, etc. Petrus Damiani in vita s. Romualdi c. 35 (opp. ed. Cajetani ii. 221): Inter caeteros autem praecipue saeculares clericos, qui per pecuniam ordinati fuerant, durissima severitate corripiebat. Qui novam rem audientes, occidere illum moliti sunt. Per totam namque illam Monarchiam (i. e. Camerinam provinciam) usque ad Romualdi tempora vulgata consuetudine vix quisquam noverat, simoniacam haeresim esse peccatum. Est enim venenata illa haeresis, praesertim in episcopali ordine, tam dura, et ad convertendum rigida, ut semper promittens, semper de die in diem producens, atque in futurum procrastinans, facilius possit Judaeus ad fidem converti, quam haereticus latro plene ad poenitentiam provocari. The expression simoniaca haeresis first in Gregory the Great.

⁷ First in Humberti responsio adv. Nicetam Pectoratum (ann. 1054) ap. Baronius xi. 1010: arbitramur ab inferis emersisse principem hujus haeresis nefandum Diaconum Nicolaum, de quo Epiphanius vester sic scripsit (should rather be Augustini haer. 5, but is corrupted): “Quarta Nicolaitarum a Nicolao haeresis est adinventata —. Iste—docere coepit, indifferentur debere uti conjugibus non solum laicos, sed etiam qui sacerdotis fungerentur officio.” Petrus Damiani opusc. xviii. contra clericos intemperantes. Diss. ii. c. 13: Qui dum corruunt, impudici; dum defendere nituntur, merito judicantur haeretici. Unde et clerici uxorati Nicolaitae vocantur, quoniam a quodam Nicolao, qui hanc dogmatizavit haeresim, hujusmodi vocabulum sortiuntur.

⁸ This too was begun by Leo IX.: Conc. Rom. ann. 1059 refers to his constitutum de castitate clericorum, as to the law that established a new order. At this council it was decreed by Nicolaus II. (Mansi. xix. 907): ut nullus Missam audiat Presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem. Still in this matter they were not yet so zealous as in regard to Simony. Petr. Dam. epist. ad Nicol. P. ii. ap. Baron. ann. 1059 no. 39: Nostris quidem temporibus gemina quodammodo Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudo servatur, ut de caeteris quidem ecclesiasticae disciplinae studiis examen

ly marriage⁹ reappear at the time, especially in Milan, where it had become quite customary.¹⁰

(prout dignam est) moveat; de clericorum vero libidine propter insultationem saecularium dispensative conticescat. Si malum hoc esset occultum, fuerat fortassis utcumque ferendum. Sed (oh scelus) omni pudore postposito pestis haec in tantam prorumpit audaciam, ut per ora populi volitent loca scortantium, nomina concubinarum, etc.

⁹ To this time belongs the epist. Udalrici Ep. Augustani ad Nicolaum P. pro conjugio clericorum (prim. ed. Matth. Flacius. Magdeb. 1550, 8, and in the catal. test. verit. no. 77. G. Calixtus de conjug. cleric. ed Henke p. 547. Martene collect. ampliis. i. 449, &c.) first mentioned about 1090 by Bernoldus in chron. ad. ann. 1079 (ap. Pertz vii. 436): In hac synodo Papa—scriptum quod dicitur s. Udalrici ad Papam Nicolaum de nuptiis Presbyterorum, et capitulum Paphnutii de eadem re, immo omnia sacris canonibus adversa damnavit. Afterwards adopted into Udalrici Babeberg. codex epistolaris (collected about 1125, in Eccardi corp. historicum medii aevi ii. 23). The first Ulrich whom we find in the see of Augsburg is Ulrich, count of Dillingen, from 923-973. In the name of this long deceased bishop, who was in great repute as a saint in all Germany, this letter was addressed, probably to Nicolaus II. Probably Ulrich was reckoned in the tradition as a defender of sacerdotal marriage. He speaks here as representative of the Augsburg Church. Many other opinions about this epistle may be seen in Theiner Bd. 1, S. 467 ff. In the letter it is said: Cum tua, o Pater et Domine, decreta super clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa a discretione invenirem aliena, timor quidem turbavit me cum tristitia.—non parum quippe a discretione deviasti, dum clericos, quos ad continentiam consiliis monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas.—Dominius quidem in veteri lege sacerdoti conjugium constituit, quod ille postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed in Evangelio loquitur: “Sunt eunuchi,” etc.—sed “non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat” (Matth. xix. 11, 12). Quapropter Apostolus ait: “De virginibus praeceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do” (1 Cor. vii. 25). Quod, etiam juxta praedictum Domini. consilium non omnes capere posse considerans, sed multos ejusdem consilii assentatores hominibus, non Deo, pro falsa specie continentiae placere volentes, graviora praevidens committere, fratrum scilicet uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorreere, ne morbi hujus aspersione adusque pestilentiam convalescente nimium status labefactetur Ecclesiae totius: “Propter fornicationem,” dixit, “unusquisque suam uxorem habeat” (1 Cor. vii. 2). Quod specialiter ad laicos pertinere, iidem mentiuntur hypocritae; qui, licet in quovis sanctissimo ordine constituti, alienis revera uxoribus non dubitant abuti. Illud apostolicum “unusquisque suam habeat uxorem” nullum excipit vere, nisi professorem continentiae, vel eum, qui de continuandi in Domino virginitate praefixit. Then follow proofs from 1 Tim. iii. 2. Isidor. de eccles. off. ii. c. 1, can. apost. 5, (Vol. i. Div. 2, § 97, not. 9), tripartita hist. eccl. lib. ii. (Paphnutius, see Vol. i. Div. 2, § 97, not. 4).

Sunt vero aliqui qui s. Gregorium suae sectae sumunt adiutorium : quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quod periculosum hujus haeresis decretum a s. Gregorio factum condigno poenitentiae fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe cum die quadam in vivarium suum propter pisces misisset, et allata inde plus quam millia infantum capita videret ; intima mox ductus poenitentia ingemuit,—suoque decreto prorsus damnato apostolicum illud laudavit consilium ; melius est nubere quam uri (1 Cor. ix. 7), addens ex sua parte : melius est nubere, quam mortis occasionem praebere. (A similar thing is related, ap. Landulphus Sen. Mediol. histor. lib. iii. c. 25 in Murat. scriptt. rer. Ital. iv. 112, by Andreas, a priest defending the marriage of priests, A.D. 1065 : Terrere te debent bella civilia, homicidia, sacramenta ac perjuria inenarrabilia : parvulorum multitudinem multorum necem sine baptismate incurrentium, quorum membra aequalia, et quanta hoc in anno in cisterna theatri cum munda data a lutariis inventa sunt, paucis tamen condolentibus, ante tuos oculos habens. Such occurrences might easily have given rise to similar traditions respecting earlier times.) Quid vero per homines fieri potest stolidius, quid divinae maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel Episcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita praecipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor!) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorrere, quod casta clericorum conjugia sibi dicant foetere ; et ab eis non verae justitiae compassione clericos, ut conservos, rogent vel moneant continere, sed, ut servos, jubeant ac cogant abstinere ? Ad cujus imperii—tam fatuam tamque turpem addunt suggestionem, ut dicant : honestius est pluribus occulte implicari, quam aperte in hominum vultu et conscientia cum una ligari. On the passage, “ vae vobis Pharisaeis, etc. [Matth. xxiii. 5]. Hi sunt homines, qui prius deberent nobis persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cui omnia nuda et aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum studeamus mundi esse. Finally 1 Tim. iv. 2, is explained of those false teachers, and a hope expressed that the pope would root out Pharisaeicam doctrinam ab ovili Dei.

¹⁰ A Milan chron. ms. flos florum relates even of archbishop Heribert (from 1019-1045) : Hic Archiepisc. habuit Uxeriam, nobilem mulierem, uxorem : quae donavit dotem suam monasterio s. Dionysii, quae usque hodie Uxeria dicitur (cited in Murat. scriptt. rer. Ital. iv. 122). At the same time the Milanese clergy as well as the married Turin clergy (see Petr. Dam. lib. iv. ep. 3, above note 3), stood in high repute. A proverb was : Mediolanum in clericis, Pavia in deliciis, Roma in aedificiis, Ravenna in Ecclesiis (Landulphi hist. Mediol. iii. c. 1). Even Anselm, bishop of Lucca (afterwards Pope Alexander II.) the author of the persecution of married priests confessed (ibid. c. 4) : Certe nisi feminas haberent omnes hujus urbis sacerdotes et Levitae, in Praedicatione et in aliis bonis moribus satis congrue valerent : and the Papal legate Petrus Damiani testatus est ad verum, nusquam se talem vidisse clerum (Arnulphi hist. Med. iii. c. 12). Arnulphus admits besides : ut caveatur mendacium, non ex toto fuerunt omnes ab objectis immunes : but the prejudicial descriptions of the Milanese clergy in Arialdus's partial biographers Andreas and Landulphus de s. Paulo in Puricelli's work

about to be quoted below, cannot be overborne by the above testimonies. Concerning that persecution, comp. § 25, note 13. Archbishop Guido first put off the authors of the trouble Landulphus and Arialdus (Landulph. iii. c. 6) : Vos dicitis, quia sacerdotes impossibile est adulterare et sacrificare, et verum dicitis; sed nostri sacerdotes, Deo gratias, nec sunt nec nominati sunt adulteri; sed curiose observant apostolicum praeceptum, ut sint unius mulieris viri. Cf. id. iii. c. 25: Dixisti: Sacerdos, qui duxerit uxorem, deponatur. Bene dicis, et ego dico, si post acceptum sacerdotium duxerit uxorem, sui ordinis periculo subiaceat: sin autem in sacerdotio unius uxoris virum inveneris, quid separas, quod non licet? (Comp. Vol. i. Divis. i. § 73, note 15). For the followers of Rome's example, the appellation, Patarini, was formed (Arnulph. iii. c. 11, iv. c. 11. Muratori on the last passage, and antiqu. Ital. med. aevi v. 83. Mosheim institutt. p. 406, not. m). Disputation between the two parties (ap. Landulph. iii. c. 21-25): Cum diu per Apostoli Pauli et canonum (effata) altercarentur, Arialdus et Landulphus proclamare coeperunt dicentes: vetera transierunt, et facta sunt omnia nova, Quod olim in primitiva Ecclesia a Patribus sanctis concessum est, modo indubitanter prohibetur. Tantum b. magister et doctor Ambrosius, cujus ordinem tenemus, vos damnet aut affirmet (c. 21). The married priests then defended themselves actually with expressions of Ambrose. They had even at that time the following story (Landulph. i. c. 11): Vivente b. Ambrosio gravissima dissensio inter sacerdotes monogamos et alios sub virginitate aut castitate degentes in Synodo coram Apostolico orta est.—Apostolico imperante, et multis catholicis Episcopis exhortantibus in judicio b. patroni nostri Ambrosii a partibus ambabus datum est, affirmantes, quidquid ipse diceret, teneret et firmum atque sanctum haberent. At b. Ambrosius videns atque cognoscens sensus humanos, et sancta consilia et omnes pronos ad peccandum, maxime propter incontinentiam, sciens aliquem neque virginitatem, neque castitatem, nisi a Deo, posse habere, os suum aperiens, quod in libro jam dictaverat de officiis, ait: "de monogamia sacerdotum quid loquar? quin una tantum permittitur copula, et non repetita, et haec lex est non iterare conjugium," etc. Itaque Graeci sacerdotes Ambrosianam tenentes sententiam, usque hodie, etc. (The passage is de officiis i. c. 50, but refers to marriage before consecration as a priest). However even the miracles which took place in favour of the married priests (Landulph. iii. c. 27), were ineffectual. The older Milanese historians have frequently repeated this tradition about Ambrose ex. gr. Galvaneus Flamma (about 1340) in the manipulus florum c. 40. (Murat. scriptt. rer. Ital. xi. 570): Clericis omnibus benedicens b. Ambrosius una uxore posse uti concessit, qua defuncta et ipsi vidui in aeternum permanerent. Quae consuetudo duravit annis 700 usque ad tempora Alexandri Papae. Also Petrus Azarius (about 1360) and Bernardinus Corius (about 1500), whom therefore the congreg. Indicis 1621, commanded to be expurgated. To prevent mischief from these passages, Muratori has accompanied them with (scriptt. rer. Ital. iv. 121) J. P. Puricelli diss. utrum s. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolanensi permiserit, ut virgini nubere semel posset (from his dissertt. de Martyr. Arialdo, Alciato et Herlembaldo. Mediol. 1657, fol.)

§ 35.

SYSTEM OF PENANCE.

The ecclesiastical punishment of public sinners was now regulated by the complete development of the *synodal judicature* (Synodus Placitum Episcopi);¹ though such pernicious moral

¹ Placitum Episcopi, opposed to the placitum Comitum by the conc. Triburiense ann. 895. cap. 9.—Regino de discipl. eccles. lib. i. gives an account of the rule after which the bishop, in his ecclesiastical visitations, had to look in reference to the clergy, then he extracts, lib. ii., from the moral rule there to be assumed respecting the laity the following ex concilio Rotomagensi, which afterwards Burchardus lib. i. cap. 90-92, and in part Gratianus caus. xxxv. qu. 6. c. 7. repeat, but ascribe to pope Eutychianus. Lib. ii. c. 1: Cum Episcopus suam dioecesim circuit, Archidiaconus vel Archipresbyter eum praeire debet uno aut duobus diebus per parochias, quas visitaturus est, et plebe convocata adnunciare debet proprii pastoris adventum, et ut omnes ad ejus synodum die denominata impraetermisse occurrant, omnimodis ex auctoritate ss. canonum praecipere, et minaciter denunciare, quod, si quis absque gravi necessitate defuerit, procul dubio a communione christiana sit repellendus. Deinde adscitis secum Presbyteris, qui illo in loco servitium debent exhibere Episcopo, quicquid de minoribus et levioribus causis corrigere potest, emendare satagat, ut Pontifex veniens nequaquam in facilioribus negotiis fatigetur, aut ibi immorari amplius necesse sit, quam expensa sufficiat. Cap. 2. de juratoribus synodi (or testibus synodalibus): Episcopus in synodo residens, post congruam allocationem septem ex plebe ipsius parochiae, vel eo amplius aut minus, prout viderit expedire, maturiores, honestiores, atque veraciores viros in medio debet evocare, et allatis sanctorum pignoribus unumquemque illorum tali sacramento constringat: Cap. 3. Amodo inantea quidquid nosti, aut audisti, aut postmodum inquisiturus es, quod contra Dei voluntatem, et rectam christianitatem in ista parochia factum est, aut in futurum erit, si in diebus tuis evenerit, tantum ut ad tuam cognitionem quocumque modo perveniat, si scis, aut tibi indicatum fuerit, synodalem causam esse et ad ministerium Episcopi pertinere, quod tu nec propter amorem, nec propter timorem, nec propter praemium, nec propter parentelam ulla-tenus celare debeas Episcopo, aut ejus Misso, cui hoc inquirere jusserit, quandocumque te ex hoc interrogaverit. Sic te Deus adjuvet, et istae Sanctorum reliquiae. Then follows a long series of questions: Est in hac parochia homicida? etc. Comp. the description in the vita Udalrici Ep. August. (from 923-973) in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Ben. saec. v. p. 431. Worldly power gave external force too to the procedure of the bishop. See Caroli Calvi cap. de statu Ecclesiae et de rebus ecl. reformandis ann. 853 c. 10: ut Comites vel reipublicae ministri—sint in ministeriis illorum, quando Episcopus suam parochiam circumierit, cum

abuses in the system of penance as had been rejected by the French synods in the first half of the ninth century (§ 19) pervaded general ecclesiastical practice in the second half of it.² The *libri poenitentiales*³ gave directions for substituting something more convenient for canonical punishments;⁴ and these ex-

Episcopus eis notum fecerit, et quos per excommunicationem Episcopus adducere non potuerit, ipsi regia auctoritate et potestate ad poenitentiam vel rationem atque satisfactionem adducant. Epistola Episcop. syn. Carisiac. ad Ludov. Reg. Germ. ann. 858 (Caroli Calvi capitull. tit. xxvii.) c. 7: Ut Episcopi quietam libertatem suas parochias circumcundi, et praedicandi, ac confirmandi, atque corrigendi habeant, ordinate. Ut Missus reipublicae, i. e. minister Comitum, cum ipsis, si jusserint, eat, qui liberos homines incestuosos, si per admonitionem Presbyterorum venire ad Episcopum noluerint, eos ad Episcopi placitum venire faciat, commendate. Comp. Boehmer jus eccles. Protestantium iii. 581. C. Ph. Kopp's Nachr. v. d. Verfassung der Geisl. u. Civil-Gerichte in den Hessen-Casselischen Landen. (Cassel 1769. 4.) i. 118. F. A. Biener's Beiträge zu d. Gesch. d. Inquisitionen processes. Leipz. 1827. S. 32 ff. These synodal judicatures were certainly at that time an important support of the public order, since the civil courts had only to do with accusatorial not inquisitorial processes respecting crime. A similar institute in civil judicature, originating since Charlemagne, did not continue long, though perhaps it served as the model of the spiritual synod. See Biener S. 130 ff.

² Regino de discipl. eccles. first spread more generally in the church such regulations taken from the liber poenitentialis Romanus (cf. § 19. not. 4); then Burchardus in his decretorum volumen.

³ According to Regino de discipl. eccl. in the Inquisitio prefixed to lib. 1. the bishop was to ask the parish in his ecclesiastical visitations: Si habeat poenitentialem Romanum, vel a Theodoro Episcopo, aut a venerabili Presbytero Beda editum; ut secundum quod ibi scriptum est, aut interroget confitentem, aut confesso modum poenitentiae imponat. Comp. the mode in which conc. Cabilon. ann. 813 can. 38 (see above § 19. note 5), still declares itself against all libelli poenitentiales. But even Atto, Cardinalis Presbyter, about 1080, before his capitulare declares the poenitentiale romanum to be apocryphum, and finds in it turpissima quae sanctis viris solet esse pudor dicere, et pudor audire (Maji scriptt. vett. nova coll. vi. ii. 60. 61.)

⁴ The first trace of them is found perhaps in concil. Tribur. ann. 895, cap. 56-58. In a fuller form in Regino de disc. eccl. lib. ii. c. 446. De redemptionis pretio: Si quis forte non potuerit jejunare, et habuerit, unde possit redimere; si dives fuerit, pro VII. hebdomadis det solidos XX.: si non habuerit tantum, unde dare possit, det solidos X.—Sed attendat unusquisque, cui dare debeat, sive pro redemptione captivorum, sive supra s. altare, sive Dei servis, seu pauperibus in eleemosynam.—c. 447: Pro uno mense, quod in pane et in aqua poenitere debet aliquis. psalmos decantet MCC. genu flexo, et si non genu flexo, MDCLXXX.

changes soon degenerated into a proper sin-transaction, by which the Church was not a little enriched.⁵ Besides this, more fre-

—c. 449: Qui vero psalmos non novit, et jejunare non potest, pro uno anno, quod jejunare debet in pane et aqua, det in eleemosynam XXVI. solidos etc.—c. 454: cantatio unius Missae potest redimere XII. dies, X. Missae IV. menses etc. In like manner in the cann. editis sub Edgardo rege ann. 960 (Wilkins conc. Magn. Brit. i. 237. ap. Mansi xviii. 525), and in the libris poenitential published by Morinus de discipl. poenit., Edm. Martene de ant. Eccl. rit. T. ii. and by Muratori ant. Ital. med. aev. v. 719. This alms-giving was considered partly as in itself a good work, and partly as a mode of buying off penance. Poenitentiale ap. Murat. v. 726: Et qui hoc facere non potest, quod superius dictum est, eligat sacerdotem justum, vel monachum, qui verus monachus sit, et secundum regulam vivat, qui pro se hoc adimpleat. et de suo justo pretio hoc redimat. On the consequences of it see Petrus Damiani lib. i. ep. 15 ad Alexandrum ii.: dum afflictio carnis a cunctis poenitentibus paene respuitur, in praefigendis poenitudinum judiciis vigor canonum funditus enervatur. Quamobrem aut liber omnino claudendus est canonum, aut a delegandae poenitentiae taxatione cessandum. Quis enim saecularium ferat, si vel triduo per hebdomadam jejunare praecipias? Modo stomachi laesionem simulant, modo splenis etc.—Comp. generally Muratori de redemptione peccatorum diss. in the antiqu. Ital. v. 710.

⁵ Planck iii. 678, judges perhaps too favourably of the buying off of sins practised in these times. Comp. Spittler's Werke i. 284.—Conc. Rotomag. ann. 1050 c. 18: Ut poenitentes occasione avaritiae gravare aut levare nemo praesumat; sed juxta modum culpa vel possibilitatem naturae moderentur poenitentiae. The connection in which they stood with numerous endowments bestowed on churches and convents see in Petrus Damiani lib. iv. ep. 12. ad v. Episc.: Non ignoras, quia, cum a poenitentibus terras accipimus, juxta mensuram muneris eis de quantitate poenitentiae relaxamus, sicut scriptum est: divitiae hominis redemptio ejus (Prov. xiii. 8). Hence the formulary used in documents of bequest at this period, especially in Upper Italy: Quisquis in sanctis ac venerabilibus locis ex suis aliquid contulerit rebus, juxta Auctoris vocem in hoc saeculo centuplum accipiat; insuper, et quod melius est, vitam possidebit aeternam (Muratori antiqu. Ital. v. 628). Comp. the donatio facta coenobio Casauriensi ann. 1032 (in Muratorii scriptt. rer. Ital. ii. ii. 994): Cum quadam die cogitare coeperimus, qualiter impii et peccatores, qui peccata sua redimere (after Dan. iv. 24) negligunt, in illa poena perpetua cum diabolo damnabuntur;—cum tremore et aestuatione cordis coepimus anxie quaerere consilium a sacerdotibus et religionis viris, qualiter peccata nostra redimere, et iram aeterni judicis evadere possemus. Et consilio accepto, quod nil sit melius aliud inter eleemosynarum virtutes, quam si de propriis rebus et substantiis nostris in monasterio dederimus etc. In like manner the donatio facta Tremitensi coenobio ann. 1055, almost word for word in Muratori antiqu. Ital. v.

quent indulgences came to the aid of sinners.⁶ Hence, even times of penance could be imposed which reached far beyond the term of human life.⁷ For certain heavy crimes severer penances were common;⁸ but in the eleventh century, rigid exercises of penance,

631. How earlier Catholic Christians were judged by Arians on account of such matters may be seen in vol. i. Div. 2. § 108. note 9.

⁶ For example, the indulgence bestowed by Pontius, archbishop of Arles, A. D. 1016, on a new conventual church, in d'Achery spicileg. iii. 383, and Mabillon annal. Bened. lib. liv. no. 26: A penitent ad jam dictam ecclesiam si venerit, in die videlicet dedicationis ejus, aut semel in anno cum sua vigilia, et adjutorium dederit ad opera ecclesiae s. Mariae,—sit absolutus ab ipso die, quo suam vigiliam fecerit, de tertia parte majorum peccatorum, unde poenitentiam habet acceptam, usque ad ipsam diem revertentis anni.—Denique illos, qui de minoribus peccatis sunt confessi, et habent acceptam poenitentiam,—absolvimus de una medietate acceptae poenitentiae etc. In the 11th century the popes too began occasionally to issue plenary indulgences. The infamous Benedict IX. (Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. v. praef. no. 109) first bestowed on the church of St Victor at Marseilles, at its consecration, the privilege, that every one who repaired to it, omnium criminum squaloribus absolutus libere ad propria laetus redeat, eo scilicet tenore, ut transacta peccata sacerdotibus confiteatur, et de reliquo emendetur. Afterwards the like practice is first met with again under Alexander II. who in 1065 tam iis, quos tunc praesentes esse contigerat, quam omnibus, qui per octo continuos dies ob devotionem tantae solemnitatis ibidem accurrere possent, confessorum peccatorum absolutione concessa, dedicated a new church in Cassino (chron. Casin. iii. c. 31. in Muratorii rer. Ital. scriptt. iv. 449), and A. D. 1070 at the consecration of a church in Lucca concessit, ut octo dierum spatio dedicationis memoria perageretur annis singulis, concessa indulgentia poenitentiae (ex cod. Vatic. in the propylaeum ad acta SS. Maji i. 132. no 8), where the expression indulgentia first appears. Comp. Eus. Amort de origine, progressu, valore ac fructu indulgentiarum. August. Vind. 1735. fol.

⁷ So Petrus Damiani to Archbp. Guido of Milan (cf. § 25. not. 13). Petri Dam. opusc. v. (ap. Mansi xix. 893): Centum itaque annorum sibi poenitentiam indidi redemptionemque ejus taxatam per unumquemque annum pecuniae quantitate praefixi.

⁸ So for parricidium, cf. vita s. Conwojonis lib. iii. c. 1. (in Mabillon acta SS. ord. Bened. saec. iv. ii. 215): Tunc sanctus Praesul jussit illum Diaconem ferro ligari per collum et brachia, sicut in lege parricidarum censetur, imperavitque ei, ut loca sancta circuiret, et indesinenter Deum omnipotentem pro reatu suo postularet. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 8. p. 219: Episcopi jusserunt fabricare catenas ferreas, et ligare eos per brachia et per lumbos strictim: et sic loca sancta circuirent in cinere et cilicio, quousque Dominus reciperet poenitentiam eorum. Vita s. Wolfgangi Ep. Ratisbon. by Othlonus monk in Hersfeld († after 1068) c. 41 (ap. Pertz vi. 542): Homo pauperculus quidam, qui ob criminum multorum perpetrationem circulis ferreis in utroque brachio fuit constrictus, et ex

particularly pilgrimages to Rome and Palestine,⁹ and the process

hoc gravissimis quotidie suppliciis afflictus, cum multa sanctorum loca pro ejusdem cruciatus remedio commissisque sceleris abolitione perlustrasset, divina tandem miseratione respectus, ferri ligamen, quod in uno gestabat brachio, per sancti viri Adalperti merita amittere meruit. Deinde etiam quoniam s. Wolfgangi famam per longinquas audivit regiones, ad Ratisponam veniens, ibique ante sepulchrum ejus orationi insistens, alterius circuli cruciatu absolutus est. Cf. Petrus Damiani de vita Romualdi c. 28 (opp. ed. Cajetani ii. 218). Mabillon annal. Bened. lib. 48. no. 63. iii. 647. However even here abuses had early made their appearance. See Rabani Mauri epist. ad Clerum Argentin. in Kunstmann's Raban. Maurus S. 214: Et quia parricidae aliqui vadunt per diversas provincias et civitates vagando, comessionibus atque ebrietatibus operam dando, dicentes, se ita poenitentiam agere debere; cum in hoc non imminuunt scelera sed augent decrevit s. Synodus, ut in uno loco manentes districtae poenitentiae se subjiciant et orationibus vacent, si forte omnipotentis Dei bonitas veniam peccati aliquando illis tribuat.—Besides offences against the church were looked upon as requiring peculiarly severe penances; for example, Lamberti ann. ad ann. 1046 (Pertz vii. 154): Dux Gotefridus—civitatem Verdonensem cepit, majorem in ea Ecclesiam concremavit. Sed post modicum facti in tantum poenituit, ut publice se verberari faceret, et capillos suos, ne tonderentur, multa pecunia redimeret, sumtus ad reaedificandam Ecclesiam daret, et in opere caementario per se ipsum plerumque vilis mancipii ministerio functus deserviret.

⁹ Pilgrims Romei and Romipetae see du Fresne glossar. s. h. v.—Glab. Radulph. iv. c. 6: Per idem tempus (about 1033) ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo coepit confluere ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantam nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Primitus enim ordo inferioris plebis, deinde vero mediocres, posthaec permaximi quique Regis et Comites, Marchiones ac Praesules: ad ultimum vero, quod nunquam contigerat, mulieres multae nobiles cum pauperioribus illuc perrexere. Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori, priusquam ad propria reverterentur.—multi ob vanitatem profiscuntur, ut solummodo mirabiles habeantur. In the year 1064 several German bishops travelled with a great retinue to Palestine (Lambert. ad ann. 1064 et 1065 ap. Pertz vii. 168). From the ninth century the pious and curious were attracted thither by the lumen seu ignis sancti sepulchri (first mentioned by Bernardus Monachus 870 in Willelmi Malmesbur, de gestis Reg. Angl. iv. c. 2; and Monachus Gallus anonymus in the time of Nicolaus I. in his itinerarium in Mabillon act. SS. ord. Bened. saec. iii. ii. 523.) Cf. Mosheim de lumine s. sepulchri (ejusd. dissertatt. ad hist. eccl. pertin. ii. 211.) The transition from symbolical discourse to symbolical action, which afterwards gave occasion to that false miracle, is indicated by the following passages: Eliae Cret. comm. in Gregorii Naz. orat. xix. (Gregorii opp. ed. Paris. 1630. ii. 738): Splendidam autem noctem eam, quae diem hunc praecessit, appellat, ut quae peccati tenebras solveat: nam cum in ea per certam oeconomiam lux vera delituisset, ac postea e sepulchro exorta esset,

of flagellation recommended in particular by *Petrus Damiani*, were very often undertaken spontaneously, with the idea that the customary penance was too easy to propitiate Deity.¹⁰

peccati tenebrae deletae sunt. Zachariae P. epist. ad Bonifacium (in Bonif. epistt. ed. Würdtwein ep. 87. p. 250): De igne autem paschali quod inquisisti,—quinta feria Paschae, dum sacrum chrisma consecratur, tres lampades magnae capacitatis—in secretiori ecclesiae loco ad figuram interioris tabernaculi insistentes, indeficienter cum multa diligentia inspectae ardebunt, ita ut oleum ipsum sufficere possit usque ad tertium diem. De quibus candelis sabbato sancto pro sacri fontis baptismate sumtus ignis per sacerdotem renovabitur. In the church of the ascension on the Mount of Olives there also appeared earlier a peculiar miracle. See Beda de locis sanctis c. 7: In die ascensionis dominicae per annos singulos, Missa peracta, validi flaminis procella desursum venire consuevit, et omnes, qui in Ecclesia fuerint, terrae prosternere. Proofs that in Palestine they had learned not only to sympathise with the seeking after relics, but also the miracle-seeking of the pilgrims.

¹⁰ As early as Regino de discipl. eccl. ii. c. 442 ss. they are mentioned as proposed by individuals (quidam dixerunt, quidam judicaverunt etc.), ex. gr. for one day xii. plagae or percussiones. But they did not become general till Petrus Damiani brought them forward. Damian's pupil, Dominicus Loricatus († 1062) distinguished himself by his voluntary exploits in this kind of penance. Concerning him, Petri Dam. vita SS. Rodulphi Ep. Eugubini, et Dominici Loricati (opp. ii. 233). The tariff may be seen in Petr. Dam. opusc. li. de vita eremitica et probatis Eremitis ad Teuzonem Eremitam c. 8. (opp. iii. 400): Cum tria scoparum millia unum poenitentiae annum apud nos regulariter expleant; decem autem psalmorum modulatio, ut saepe probatum est, mille scopas admittat; dum cl. psalmis constare psalterium non ambigitur, quinque annorum poenitentia in hujus psalterii disciplina recte supputantibus invenitur. Sed sive quinque vicies ducas, sive viginti quinquies, centum sunt. Consequitur ergo, ut qui viginti psalteria cum disciplina decantat, centum annorum poenitentiam se peregisse confidat. Quamquam et in hoc plerosque noster Dominicus superet; quia cum nonnulli unam manuum in disciplinis agendis exerceant, iste ut revera Benjamin filius (Judic. iii. 16) contra rebelles carnis illecebras utraque manu infatigabiliter pugnat. Hanc autem centum annorum poenitentiam, ut mihi ipse professus est, facile sex diebus ex more consummat. On the spread of this penitential discipline see Petri Dam. opusc. l., institutio monialis ad Blancam Comitissam c. 14 (opp. iii. 395): Hujus s. senis exemplo faciendae disciplinae mos adeo in nostris partibus inolevit, ut non modo viri, sed et nobiles mulieres hoc purgatorii genus inhianter arriperent. Thus a woman of rank had told him, per praefixam hujus disciplinae regulam centum annorum se poenitentiam peregisse. Damiani, however, had still to defend his new discipline against various opponents, particularly against a monk, Peter, and against Cardinal Stephanus. Cf. Damiani epistt. lib. vi. ep. 27. ad Petr. cerebrosum monachum and opusc. xliiii. de laude flagellorum et disciplinae ad Casin-

The authority of the Church to grant or refuse forgiveness of sins, was looked upon with the more awe, inasmuch as it had now extended for a long time even to the dead.¹¹ *The interdict* was invented for the purpose of bending obstinate sinners.¹²

enses monachos. Comp. Mabillon ann. Bened. lib. lx. no. 83 ss. Die christlichen Geitzlergesellschaften, von D. E. G. Förstemann, Halle 1828. S. 9 ff.

¹¹ Supported particularly on Gregorii M. dial. ii. c. 23. iv. c. 55. Cf. Joannis viii. ep. 66. ad Episcopos in regno Ludovici constitutos ann. 878: Quia veneranda fraternitas vestra modesta interrogatione sciscitans quaesivit, utrum hi, qui pro defensione sanctae Dei Ecclesiae et pro statu christianae religionis ac reipublicae in bello nuper ceciderunt, aut de reliquo pro ea re casuri sunt, indulgentiam possint consequi delictorum; audenter Christi Dei nostri pietate respondemus, quoniam illi, qui cum pietate christianae religionis in belli certamine cadunt, requies eos aeternae vitae suscipiet, contra Paganos atque infideles strenue dimicantes etc. Nostra praefatos mediocritate, intercessione b. Petri Apostoli, cujus potestas ligandi atque solvendi est in caelo et in terra, quantum fas est, absolvimus, precibusque illos Domino commendamus. At the conc. Lemovicense ii. ann. 1031 Jordan, bishop of Limoges, defends this authority at length. Sess. ii. (ap. Mansi xix. 539) especially with Gregorii M. diul. lib. ii.: Tantam Ecclesiae suae Christus largitus est virtutem, ut etiam, qui in hac carne vivunt, jam carne solutos absolvere valeant, quos vivos ligaverant. Examples: Hattonis ep. ad Joh. P. ix. § 25. not. 10). Count Erlebald is absolved, after his death, by the archbishop of Rheims, at the synod of Trosley (ann. 921) (Flodoard hist. Eccl. Rhem. iv. c. 16).

¹² We meet with even earlier individual cases, in which passionate hierarchs extended ecclesiastical punishment to entire societies to which the guilty belonged; but this was always disapproved. Thus Augustinus, ep. 250, blamed one bishop Auxilius on account of such a proceeding, and shews him how unjust it is, aliquem cum omni domo sua anathematis sententia ferire, and animas innocentes pro scelere alieno, spiritali supplicio punire. The interdict which Hincmar, bishop of Laon, inflicted on his diocese (869), was very much disapproved and removed by Hincmar of Rheims. See Hincmari opusc. xxxiii. adv. Hincm. Laud. c. 28. 30-32. The first example of an uncontradicted interdict is in Ademari Engolismensis (about 1029) chron. ad ann. 994 (ap. Bouquet x. 147): Alduinus Episcopus Lemovicensis pro nequitia populi novam observantiam constituit, scilicet Ecclesias et Monasteria cessare a cultu divino, a sacrosancto sacrificio, et populum quasi pagana a divinis laudibus cessare: et hanc observantiam excommunicationem censebat. After this example the interdict was now introduced as the legal punishment against those who should disturb the peace of the country, at the instance of Odolricus, abbot of St Martial, at the conc. Lemovicense ii. ann. 1031 (ap. Mansi xix. 541). The proposal of the abbot, which was adopted, was: Nisi (principes militiae Lemovicensis) de pace acquieverint, ligate omnem terram Lemovicensem pub-

§ 36.

INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE PRESERVATION OF
CIVIL ORDER.

From the middle of the ninth century, the clergy, yielding to the rude notions of the times, began to assume the superintendence of *the ordeal*,¹ an institute both ancient and important in

lica excommunicatione: eo videlicet modo, ut nemo, nisi clericus, aut pauper mendicans, aut peregrinus adveniens, aut infans a bimatu et infra, in toto Lemovicino sepeliatur, nec in alium episcopatum ad sepeliendum portetur. Divinum officium per omnes Ecclesias latenter agatur, et baptismus petentibus tribuatur. Circa horam tertiam signa sonent in Ecclesiis omnibus, et omnes proni in faciem preces pro tribulatione et pace fundant. Poenitentia et viaticum in exitu mortis tribuatur. Altaria per omnes Ecclesias, sicut in parasceue, nudentur: et cruces et ornamenta abscondantur, quia signum luctus et tristitiae omnibus est. Ad Missas tantum, quas unusquisque sacerdotum januis Ecclesiarum obseratis fecerit, altaria induantur, et iterum post Missas nudentur. Nemo in ipsa excommunicatione uxorem ducat: nemo altari osculum det. Nemo clericorum aut laicorum, vel habitantium, vel transeuntium, in toto Lemovicino carnem comedat, neque alios cibos, quam illos, quibus in quadragesima vesci licitum est. Nemo laicorum aut clericorum tondeatur, neque radatur, quosque districti principes, capita populorum, per omnia sancto obediant concilio. Comp. Planck iii. 516.

¹ Charlemagne had allowed the ordeal to continue (*capitulare* iv. ann. 803 c. 3) and merely forbade the appeal to God by fighting (*cap.* i. ann. 804 c. 14: *ad declarationem rei dubiae iudicio crucis Dei voluntas et rerum veritas inquiratur, nec unquam pro tali causa cujuslibet generis pugna vel campus ad examinationem iudicetur*). Lewis the Debonaire forbade also *capit.* ann. 816 c. 27. *examinationem crucis, ne quae Christi passione glorificata est cujuslibet temeritate contemptui habeatur, and though still Pope Eugenius II. prescribed ritus probationis per aquam frigidam* (in Mabillon *analect* p. 161), yet Lewis ordained *cap. Wormat.* ann. 829 tit. ii. c. 12. (Baluz. i. 668), *ut examen aquae frigidae, quod hactenus faciebant, a Missis nostris omnibus interdiceretur ne ulterius fiat.* Against the ordeal generally Agobard declared himself (see above § 10. not. 13). So also Pope Stephen V. *epist. ad Leutbertum* (not Heribertum, as Baron. ann. 890 no. 7. has) *Episc. Moguntin* about 888 (Mansi xviii. 25): *ferri candentis vel aquae ferventis examinatione confessionem extorqueri a quolibet, sacri non censent canones: et quod ss. Patrum documento sancitum non est, superstitione adinventionem non est praesumendum.* Still later papal disapprovals see in d'Achery *notae ad Guiberti Abb. opp.* Paris. 1651. fol. p. 661.

German jurisprudence; though they had hitherto generally overlooked it, or in part directly discountenanced it.² By this means, they certainly rescued many a victim from superstition by their mild use of the instrument.³ Of like utility in this rude and fierce age was *the truce of God* (*trengra Dei*),⁴ first established in

² First defended by Hincmar. de divort. Loth. et Theutb. (see § 21. not. 5), especially with Num. v. 11 ss., and in his epist. 39. ad Hildegarum Ep. Meldensem. Conc. Wormat. ann. 868 can. 15. (Mansi xv. 872) decrees that, in cases of theft in convents, the suspected monks pro expurgatione sua corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri J. Chr. percipiant. Conc. Tribur. ann. 895 can. 21: Præbyter vice juramenti per s. consecrationem interrogetur: on the other hand, a suspected layman, can. 22. aut Episcopo vel suo misso discutiente, per ignem candenti ferro caute examinetur. But the ordeal by duel remained forbidden, conc. Valent. ann. 855 c. 12. Nicolai i. ep. 50. ad Carol. Calv. A. D. 867 (Mansi xv. 319). Directions for the hinderance of ordeals in Aethelstani R. Angl. constitutt. ann. 928 c. 5. (Wilkins conc. M. Brit. i. 206. Mansi xviii. 353). Ordo diffusior probandi homines de crimine suspectos per ignitos vomeres, candens ferrum, aquam ferventem s. frigidam in B. Pez. thes. anecdot. ii. p. 2. Comp. F. Maier Gesh. d. Ordalien. Jena 1795. 8. Zwicker über d. Ordale. Gött. 1818. 8. especially M. Gerbert. monum. veteris liturg. Alleman. ii. 553.

³ William Rufus, king of England, said, in 1096, when fifty nobles had purified themselves in his presence by the fire-proof process (Spelmann codex legum Angliæ in Houdard anciennes loix des François. Rouen 1766. ii. 213): meo judicio amodo respondebitur, non Dei, quod pro voto cujusque hinc inde plicatur.

⁴ Even before, the bishops had attempted to put an end entirely to private feuds. Thus A. D. 994, in a time of pestilence, at a council held at Limoges pactum pacis et justitiæ a Duce et Principibus vicissim foederata est (chron. Ademari written 1029, ap. Bouquet x. 147). Thus in 1016 King Robert proposed a council at Orleans de pace componenda (Fulberti carnot. ep. 21 ad Robert. ibid. p. 454). Comp. farther, Bouquet x. 172, 224, 379. Besides the bishops of Burgundy had made a decree, ut tam sese, quam omnes homines sub sacramento constringerent, pacem videlicet et justitiam servaturos (Balderici chron. Camerac. et Atrebat. written 1082, lib. iii. c. 27, ibid. p. 201): in like manner the Aquitanian bishops in conc. Lemovic ii. ann. 1031 (Mansi xix. 530, comp. § 35, not. 12), and their example was followed by the other French provinces, Glaber Radulph, iv. cap. 5, ap. Bouquet x. 49, and especially chron. Camerac. et. Atrebat. ap. Bouquet xi. 122: Istiusmodi decretum a Franciæ Episcopis datum est servari subjectis sibi populis. Unus eorum caelitus sibi delatus dixit esse literas, quæ pacem monerent renovandam in terra. Arna quisquam non ferret, direpta non repeteret: sui sanguinis vel cujuslibet proximi ultor minime existens, percussoribus cogereetur indulgere, etc. Here the language throughout relates to a total abolition of club-law; and therefore the pax, which was

Aquitania (1041), but soon adopted in the neighbouring countries also.⁵

the objects of all such attempts, has been erroneously confounded with the later *treuga*. Gerardus Abb. (*miracul. s. Adalhardi lib. i.* written about 1050, ap. Bouquet x. 379) thus describes one of these compacts belonging to the year 1021: *Ambianensis et Corbeienses cum suis Patronis (remains of patron saints) conveniunt, integram pacem, i. e., totius hebdomadae (in opposition to the latter treuga) decernunt,—ut si qui disceptarent inter se aliquo dissidio, non se vindicarent praeda aut incendio, donec statuta die ante ecclesiam coram Pontifice et comite fieret pacificalis declamatio.* As this complete peace could not be attained, the *Treuga Dei* was substituted. Comp. Stenzel's *Gesch. Deutschlands unter den fänk. Kaisern. i.* 88.

⁵ Glaber Radulph. v. c. l. [Bouq. x. 59]: *Anno MXLI. contigit, inspirante divina gratia, primitus in partibus Aquitanicis, deinde paulatim per universum Galliarum territorium, firmari pactum propter timorem Dei pariter et amorem: taliter ut nemo mortalium a seriae quartae vespere usque ad secundam feriam incipiente luce, ausu temerario praesumeret quippiam alicui hominum per vim auferre, neque ultionis vindictam a quocumque inimico exigere, nec etiam a fidejussore vadimonium sumere; quod si ab aliquo contigisset contra hoc decretum publicum, aut de vita componeret, aut a Christianorum consortio expulsus patria pelleretur. Hoc insuper placuit universis, veluti vulgo dicitur, ut Treuga Domini vocaretur: quae videlicet non solum humanis fulta praesidiis, verum etiam multotiens divinis suffragata terroribus. Contigit enim, ut dum paene—per totas Gallias hoc statutum firmiter custodiretur, Neustriae gens illud suscipere recusaret. Deinde quoque occulto Dei judicio coepit desaevire in ipsorum plebibus divina ultio: consumsit enim mortifer ardor multos, etc.* Hugo Flaviniacensis in *chron. Viridunense* (written 1102) ap. Bouquet xi. 145, relates the same more briefly ad ann. 1041 and then adds: *Superest adhuc domnus Eduensis Episc.—qui et referre solitus est, quia cum a s. Odilone et caeteris ipsa pax divinis revelationibus instituta, Treva Dei appellata, et ab Austrasiis suscepta fuisset,—negotium hoc strenuitati hujus patris nostri Gratiae Dei ab omnibus impositum est, ut ejus studio et industria pax eadem in Neustria servaretur, etc.* The oldest document on the subject is the *sermo et confirmatio ss. Patrum, A.D. 1041*, by Raginbaldus Arelat. Archiep., Benedictus, Avenionensis, Nitardus Nicensis, Ab. Odilo and all the Gallic clergy addressed to the clergy of Italy, recommending the *treuva Dei* (in Martene et Durand thesaur. anecdot. i. 161, Mansi xix. 593):—*Quicumque hanc pacem et trevam Dei observaverint, ac firmiter tenuerint, sint absoluti a Deo Patre omnipotente, it Filio ejus J. Chr. et Spiritu S., de s. Maria cum choris virginum, et de s. Michaelae cum choris angelorum, et de s. Petro—cum omnibus Sanctis—. Qui vero trevam promissam habuerint, et se sciente infringere voluerint, sint excommunicati a Deo Patre, etc., maledicti et detestati, hic et in perpetuum, et sint damnati sicut Dathan et Abiron, et sicut Judas, qui tradidit Dominum, et sint demersi in profundum inferni, sicut Pharao*

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 37.

IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

Chief authority: *Adami Bremensis* (wrote between 1072 and 1076 hist. eccles. praesertim Bremensis libb. iv. (prim. ed. A. S. Vellejus Hofniae, 1579) and ejusd. lib. de situ Daniae et reliquarum, quae trans Daniam sunt, regionum natura, moribus et religione ed. Erpold. Lindenbrogius. Lugd. Bat. 1595. 4. and in his scriptt. rerum germ. septentrionalium, Francof. 1609. fol. J. J. Maderus. Helmst. 1670. 4. translated with remarks by Carsten Misegaes. Bremen 1825. 8. Cf. Jac. Asmussen de fontibus Adami Brem. comm. Kiliae 1834. 4.

In *Denmark*, where Anschar had established Christianity in its weak beginnings (comp. above § 16), it had afterwards to suffer much persecution, till the German king, *Henry I.*, extorted toleration for it from *Gorm the old* (about 934). Accordingly, the number of the Christians increased under King *Harald Blaa-tand* (from 941-991), especially in Jutland. This was in a great measure owing to intercourse with the Normans, who had been longer settled and converted in *England* and *France*, especially

in medio maris, si ad emendationem non venerint. Afterwards adopted by William Duke of Normandy, 1042 (Mansi xix. 597) constitutt. pacis et treugae in vico Ausonensi (Marca Hispan. illustr. a. P. de Marca app. p. 1140, and ap. Bouquet xi. 512), excerpta concilii apud s. Aegidium habiti 1042, (ap. de Marca de conc. Sac. et Imp. annexed to lib. iv. c. 14, ed Boehmer p. 416, ap. Bouquet xi. 513), conc. Tulu-giense (Tulujes at Perpignan about 1845, ap. de Marca l. c. p. 409 and ap. Bouquet xi. 510.) Synod Helenensis (Perpignan) sub Oliba Ep. Ausonensi A.D. 1047 (ap. de Marco p. 411, Bouquet p. 514), where the time of the treuga is always brought down ab hora sabbati nona usque in die lunis hora prima. Conc. Narbonense A.D. 1054 (de Marca p. 412. Bouq. p. 514. Mansi xix. 827). Often renewed subsequently.

under *Rollo* or *Robert* (911).¹ On the other hand, it was checked by the apparent connection of Christianity with German sovereignty, particularly after *Harald* had been compelled to submit to baptism by *Otto I.*² (about 965).³ This was especially the case in the islands, where the heathen were the more numerous. At the head of the foes of Christianity appeared at first *Swen*, heir to the throne; but after he had become king (991-1014), and began to invade England, he tolerated and even favoured its spread. His son, *Knut the Great* († 1035) completed the work by means of English priests.⁴

In *Norway*, Christianity had first been introduced from England, and was obliged, in the beginning, to encounter very severe struggles, till *Olaf Trygvesen* (995-1000) undertook the conversion of his countrymen by force, which work was completed by *Olaf the Holy* (1019-1033), in the same mode.⁵ From Norway, Christianity was carried, by *Olaf Trygvesen's* endeavours, to

¹ Depping hist. des expéditions maritimes des Normands et de leur établissement en France au dixième siècle. Paris 1826, 2 voll. 8.

² See Asmussen über die Kriegszüge der Ottone gegen Dänemark, in Michelsen's and Asmussen's Archiv. f. Staats, u. Kirchengesh. v. Schleswig, Holstein u. Lauenburg Bd. 1, (Altona 1833) S. 197.

³ Of what character Christianity had been up to this time in Denmark may be seen from the narration of Widukind the contemporary monk of Corbey iii. 65 (Pertz v. 462): Dani antiquitus erant Christiani, sed nihilominus idolis ritu gentili servientes. Contigit autem altercationem super cultura deorum fieri in quodam convivio Rege praesente, Danis affirmantibus, Christum quidem esse deum, sed alios eo fore majores deos, quippe qui potiora mortalibus signa et prodigia per se ostenderent. On the other hand, a cleric, Poppo, confessed the Christian faith and stood the fire-proof for it (comp. on the transaction Giesebrecht's Wendische Geschichten i. 197). Ad haec rex conversus, Christum deum solum colendum decrevit, idola respuenda subjectis gentibus imperat, Dei sacerdotibus et ministris honorem debitum deinde praestitit. Otto at that time erected the three bishoprics of Schleswig, Ripen and Aarhus in Jütland, and subordinated them to the Archbishop of Hamburg. Adam. Brem. hist. eccl. lib. ii. c. 2, de situ Daniae. c. 1.

⁴ Annales Ecclesiae Danicae diplomatici zusammengetragen von Erich Pontoppidan. (Th. 1. bis Th. 4. Bd. 1. Copenh. 1741-1753, 4.) Th. 1. F. Münter's Kirchengeschichte v. Dänemark und Norwegen. Th. 1, (Leipz. 1823, 8) S. 322 ff.

⁵ Chief authority is Snorro Sturleson's [† 1241] Heimskringla (history of the Norwegian kings) translated into German by F. Wachter, Leipz. 1835, 36, 8), and in it especially Olaf. Trygvasesens Saga u. Saga af Olafi hin Helga. Münter i. 429.

Iceland,⁶ *the Faro and Shetland Isles*,⁷ and even to *Greenland*.⁸

In Sweden, Christianity had increased its votaries in a more peaceful way, from the time of Anschar, though it was very often mingled with paganism. From the time of *Olaf SkautKonung* (baptized about 1008), the kings were Christians. King *Inge* at length forbade all worship of idols (1075), and obtained for Christianity complete victory in Sweden, after a severe contest with the rebellious heathen of his kingdom.⁹

All these countries belonged to the ecclesiastical province of the archbishopric *Hamburg-Bremen*, till, A. D. 1104, the archbishopric of *Lund* was founded, and the north subjected to it.¹⁰

§ 38.

CONVERSION OF THE MORAVIANS AND BOHEMIANS.

The conversion of the Slavonian nations dwelling to the east of Bavaria was looked upon as their official duty, both by the archbishop of Salzburg, to whom it had been entrusted by Charlemagne, and the bishop of Passau, who laid claim to the metropolitan rights of the ancient archbishopric of Lorch. But from the entire dissimilarity of language, Christianity could not attain to life in these lands; while the external condition of it always

Authorities are the *Iceland-book* of the priest Aredes Weisen [† 1148] c. 7 ss. translated in Dahlmann's *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte*. Bd. 1. (Altona 1822) S. 472 ff.; the *Hungurvaka* s. hist. primorum quinque Skalholtensium in *Islandia Episcoporum* (probably by Magnus, from 1215 bishop at Skalholt). Hafn. 1778, 8. (an extract in Schneider's *Bibliothek d. Kirchengesch.* i. 265; and the *Kristni-Saga* s. hist. religionis christ. in *Islandiam introductae* (of the 14th century). Hafn. 1773, 8. *Fini Johannaei* (Finnur Joensen, bishop of Iceland) hist. eccl. Islandiae, Hafn. 1772-75, 3 T. 4, (Comp. the *Göttingen Geleh. Anz.* A. D. 1777, S. 273 ff.) Münter i. 517.

⁷ Münter i. 548.

⁸ Münter i. 555.

⁹ *Claudii Oernhjalm historia Sueonum Gothorumque ecclesiasticae libb. iv. priores.* Stockholm 1689, 4. *Rühs Gesch. v. Schweden* (also as the sixty-third part of the *Allgem. Welthistorie* Halle 1803). 2tes Buch.

¹⁰ Münter ii. 76.

depended on the degree of German influence.¹ Very different, however, was the success of two Greek monks, *Constantine and Methodius*,² who, after previous missionary labours in Chasaria

¹ Respecting Salzburg's endeavours, which were directed towards the Slavonians dwelling south of the Raab-river, especially towards the state of little Moravia Pannonia Savia (Slavonia, Croatia, and a part of Styria) ruled since 830 by Priminna † 861, afterwards by Chozil under French sovereignty, see *de conversione Bojoariorum et Carentanorum*, written by a Salzburg priest, A.D. 873, (in Marquardi Freheri rer. Bohemicarum scriptt. p. 15; more complete, but from Aventin's copy, which is not verbally accurate, in Oeseli scriptt. rer. Boic. i. 780. First critical edition in B. Kopitar Glagolita Clozianus, i. e. codicis glagolitici antiquissimi λειψανov. Viennae 1836, fol. p. lxxii.) The Salzburg archbishops from the time of Arno, maintained an Episc. regionarium for the Slavonians, but Adelwin entirely took away this office (before 865) and took the few churches under his own inspection. Bishop Uroff of Passau even went so far as to appoint beforehand four suffragan bishops for his portion, and had these confirmed by Eugenius II. about 824 (Eugen. ii. bulla in Goldast. comm. de regn. Bohem. juribus ed. Schminck T. i. opp. p. 1, ap. Mansi T. xiv., and often with a commentary in Hageki, ann. Bohem. ed. Dobner ii. 486): but his only object in this was to have suffragans to keep up the appearance of being successor to the old archbishop of Lorch. We know nothing of the efforts of the bishops of Passau to bring Christianity to Great Moravia, where Rastislaw reigned till 870, and Swatopluk till 894.

² Sources: I. Latin: I. vita Constant. cum translatione s. Clementis (act. SS. Mart. ii. 19, composed perhaps by Guadericus bishop of Velitrae, a contemporary ib. p. 15, ap. Dobrowsky: the Italian legend). 2. Presbyteri Diocleatis [about 1161] regnum Slavorum c. 8 ss. (in Jo. Lucii de regno Dalmat. et Croat. Amsteld. 1666. fol. p. 288 ss., in J. G. Schwandtneri scriptt. rer. Hungar. iii. 479, and in Schlözer's Nestor iii. 153). 3. Bohemian legends: a. vita s. Ludmillae (Dobner in the Abhandl. d. böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. auf 1786, S. 417. Dobrowsky krit. Versuche i. 70). b. Vita s. Ludmillae et s. Wenceslai auct. Christanno de Scala mon. (partly in the act. SS. Sept. v. 354, and vii. 825. The extracts belonging here are also found Mart. ii. 24. The author addresses the preface to Bishop Adalbert (about 985) and claims to be great-grandson of Ludmilla. Dobner ad Hageki ann. iv. 328). According to Dobrowsky both legends, a. and b., belong to the first half of the 14th century. c. Vita ss. Cyrilli et Methodii. (The first half is borrowed from the Italian legend, the second from Christianity. According to Dobrowsky it was composed in the 14th century in Moravia, hence called the Moravian legend, reprinted in act. SS. Mart. ii. 22. and in Schlözer's Nestor iii. 154. best by Dobrowsky: Mähr. Legende von Cyrill u. Method. Prag. 1826. 8.) II. Greek. Remarkable silence of all Greek contemporaries. Greek biography of Clement, archbishop of Bulgaria, a disciple of Methodius, † 916 (fragment in Leon. Allatii in R. Creyghtoni apparatus ad hist. conc. Florentini exercitationum i. 259,

and Bulgaria, came to great Moravia (862),³ preaching in the language of the country, and bringing with them the holy Scriptures.⁴ From a journey to Rome, where *Constantine* (Cyril) died, *Methodius* came back as bishop (868) to his Slavonians,⁵ and

published entire by Ambros. Pampereus. Wien 1802. The author represents himself as a confidant of Clement, but Dobrowsky thinks he lived long after the eleventh century). III. Russian: 1. Nestor's annals cap. 10 (in Schlözer's extracts iii. 149, according to Dobrowsky inserted in the name of Nestor, in the 14th century). 2. Short Bulgarian legends, published by Kalajdowitsch (comp. Dobrowsky mähr. Legende S. 64 ff.) 3. Legends in the Russian menologium (ap. Schlözer iii. 233, late and of no value).—Works: Among the older uncritical collections is conspicuous J. G. Stredowsky *sacra Moraviae hist. s. vita SS. Cyrilli et Methodii. Solisbaci 1710.* 4.—Critical works: J. S. Assemani *calendaria Ecclesiae univ. (Romae 1750-1755. T. vi. 4.)* Tom. iii. *Gelasii a s. Catharina [Gel. Dobner] Hageki annales Bohem. illustrati (Pragae 1761-1777. PP. v. 4.)* Pars iii. Schlözer's commentary on Nestor's 10th chapter, l. c. Jos. Dobrowsky *Cyrill u. Method., der Slaven Apostel, Prag 1823. 8.* (Comp. Blumberger's review in the *Wiener Jahrb.* Bd. 26. 1824. S. 211 ff.) Dobrowsky mähr. *Legende v. Cyrill und Method., Prag 1826. 8.* (Comp. Blumberger's review in the *Wiener Jahrb.* Bd. 37. 1827. S. 41 ff.)

³ Italian legend § 7: audiens Rastilaus, Princeps Moraviae, quod factum fuerat a Philosopho in provincia Cazarorum: ipse quoque genti suae consulens ad praedictum Imperatorem (Michaellem) nuncios misit, nuncios hoc, quod populus suus ab idolorum quidem cultura recesserat, et christianam legem observare desiderabat; verum doctorem talem non habent, qui ad legendum eos et ad perfectam legem ipsam edoceat: rogare se, ut talem hominem ad partes illas dirigat. Cujus precibus annuens Imperator eundem supernominatum Philosophum ad se venire rogavit: eumque illuc—simul cum Methodio germano transmisit.

⁴ L. c.: Coeperunt itaque ad id quod venerant peragendum studiose insistere, et parvulos eorum literas edocere, officia ecclesiastica instruere, et ad correptionem diversorum errorum, quos in populo illo repererant, falcem eloquiorum suorum inducere. Manserunt ergo in Moravia per annos quatuor et dimidium, et direxerunt populum illius in fide catholica, et scripta ibi reliquerunt omnia, quae ad Ecclesiae ministerium videbantur esse necessaria. Against Dobrowsky (*Cyrill u. Method.* S. 38. 52), according to whom Cyril was the inventor of Slavonic writing, but that the Glagolitic alphabet was first invented in the 13th century for the Latin-Slavonian liturgy, it is asserted by Kopitar (*Glagolita Clozianus p. x. lxxx.* and in *Chnel's österreich. Geschichtsforscher Bd. i. Hest 3. 1838*), that Cyril modelled the older Slavonic alphabet, which is substantially contained in the Glagoliza, after the Greek alphabet (*Kiuriliza*).

⁵ According to the Italian legend they were invented by Nicolaus, but on their arrival found Hadrian II. in his place. Canstantine delighted the Romans by producing the body of St Clement (who, accord-

began now, probably because great Moravia was distracted with wars,⁶ to preach in the territory of the Moravian prince, *Chozil*. When every thing succeeded with him here also,⁷ he became an object of hatred to the Salzburg clergy, and was accused at Rome as a heretic. By this means *Pope John VIII.* became suspicious of the use of the Slavonic language in public worship,⁸ but

ing to a tradition first appearing in the Clementina epitome c. 166 ss., in *Cotelerii Patr. apost. i.* 799, is said to have been banished to the Pontic Chersonese under Trajan, and to have suffered martyrdom there), and they consecraverunt ipsum et Methodium in Episcopos, nec non et caeteros eorum discipulos in Presbyteros et Diaconos. Of the use of the Slavonic language in public worship we hear not a word as yet. The Bohemian legends first copy transactions under Hadrian similar to the later ones under John VIII. respecting the same object (see notes 8 and 9.) Constantine proclaimed himself the old opponent of Photius (comp. the story of Anastasius praef. ad syn. viii. ap. Mansi xvi. 6), besides at that time Constantinople appeared to bow beneath Rome, and there were Greek ambassadors with the pope. Why therefore mistrust the successfully working Greek?

⁶ Dobner ad Hageki annales P. iii. p. 118 ss.

⁷ Anonym. de convers. Bojoar. et Carent. : As late as 865, Adelwin, archbishop of Salzburg, dedicated several churches in Chozil's dominions, and the Salzburg high-priest, Richbald, remained so long with Chozil, usque dum quidam Graecus, Methodius nomine, noviter inventis Slavinis literis, linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam atque literas auctoriales Latinas philosophice superducens, vilescere fecit cuncto populo ex parte Missas et Evangelia, ecclesiasticumque officium illorum, qui hoc latine celebraverunt. Quod ille (Richbaldus) ferre non valens, sedem repetivit Juvaviensem. View of the papal see in Joh. viii. epist. ad Ludov. R. about 874 (in Sam. Timon imago ant. Hungariae lib. ii. c. 16) : multis ac variis manifestisque prudentia tua poterit iudiciis deprehendere, Pannonicam dioecesin ab olim apostolicae sedis privilegiis deputatam. ad Carolomann. (ibid.) : reddito et restituto nobis Pannoniensium episcopatu, liceat praedicto fratri nostro Methodio, qui illic a sede apostolica ordinatus est, secundum priscam consuetudinem libere, quae sunt Episcopi, gerere. (Comp. the instructions given by John VIII. to the legate Paul, ap. Mansi xvii. 261 : Non enim solum intra Italiam ac caeteras Hesperiae provincias, verum etiam intra totius Illyrici fines consecrationes, ordinationes et dispositiones apostolica sedes antiquitus patrare consuevit, and therefore he even invited epist. 190 ad Salonitanos clericos this ecclesiastical province to unite itself again to Rome). This was probably in reference to the complaints of the Salzburg clergy.

⁸ *Johannis VIII.* epist. 195. ad Method. Archiep. Pannoniensem A.D. 879 (Mansi xvii. 133) : audivimus, quod non ea, quae s. Romana Ecclesia ab ipso Apostolorum principe didicit, et quotidie praedicat, tu docendo doceas, et ipsum populum in errorem mittas. Unde his apos-

Methodius justified himself at Rome, and obtained an express declaration from the pope in favour of the Slavonic worship (880).⁹ In the meantime, however, *Swatopluk* had become still

tolatus nostri literis tibi jubemus, ut omni occasione postposita, ad nos de praesenti venire procures, ut ex ore tuo audiamus et cognoscamus, utrum sic teneas, et sic praedices, sicut verbis et literis te s. Romanae Ecclesiae credere promisisti, aut non; ut veraciter cognoscamus doctrinam tuam. Audimus etiam, quod Missas cantes in barbara h. e. in Slavina lingua; unde jam literis nostris per Paulum Ep. Anconitanum tibi directis prohibuimus, ne in ea lingua sacra Missarum solemnia celebrares; sed vel in Latina, vel in Graeca lingua, sicut Ecclesia Dei toto terrarum orbe diffusa, et in omnibus gentibus dilatata cantat. Praedicare vero, aut sermonem in populo facere tibi licet, quoniam Psalmista omnes admonet Dominum gentes laudare (Ps. cxvii.), et Apostolus: "omnis," inquit, "lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Jesus in gloria est Dei Patris" (Phil. ii. 11). In the same strain is the epist. 194. ad Tuventarum de Marauna contemporaneously issued (in the first syllable of Tuventarus the Slavonic princely title Zupan is unquestionably concealed, see Frähn's *Ibn-Fotzlan über die Russen älterer Zeit*. Petersb. 1823. 4. S. 167). But the most important point of suspicion against the Slavonians is clear from Joh. VIII. epist. 190. ad Salonitanos clericos:—si aliquid de parte Graecorum vel Slavorum super vestra ad nos reversione, vel consecratione, aut de pallii perceptione dubitatis etc.—At that time, therefore, Methodius was archbishop, and had other Episcopos regionarios under him (cf. epist. ad Tuvent.) So probably Gorasdos, see Dobrowsky *Cyrril und Method*. S. 121. Hence the later legend of the seven suffragans, see *ibid.* p. 105.

⁹ *Johannis VIII. epist. 247 ad Sfantopulcrum Comitem A. D. 880: Methodium venerabilem Archiepiscopum vestrum interrogavimus,—si orthodoxae fidei symbolum ita crederet,—sicut s. Romanam Ecclesiam tenere—constat.—Nos autem illum in omnibus ecclesiasticis doctrinis et utilitatibus orthodoxum et proficuum esse reperientes, vobis iterum ad regendam commissam sibi Ecclesiam Dei remisimus, quem veluti pastorem proprium ut digno honore et reverentia laetaque mente recipiatis jubemus.—ipsum quoque Presbyterum nomine Wichinum, quem nobis direxisti, electum Episcopum consecravimus s. Ecclesiae Nitrensis, quem suo Archiepiscopo in omnibus obedientem, sicuti ss. canones docent, esse jubemus. Presbyteros vero, Diaconos, s. cujuscunque ordinis clericos, sive Salvos, sive cujuslibet gentis, qui intra provinciae tuae fines consistunt, praecipimus esse subjectos et obedientes in omnibus jam dicto confratri nostro, Archiepiscopo vestro ut nihil praeter ejus conscientiam agant. Quodsi contumaces et inobedientes existentes, scandalum aliquod aut schisma facere praesumerint,—praecipimus esse procul abjiciendos secundum auctoritatem capitulorum, quae illi dedimus, et vobis direximus. Literas denique Slavonicas a Constantino quodam [quodam?] philosopho repertas, quibus Deo laudes debite resonent, jure laudamus; et in eadem lingua Christi Domini nostri praeconia et opera ut enarrentur, jubemus. Nequae enim tribus tantum, sed omnibus linguis Domi-*

more estranged from Methodius; the German, *Wiching*, whom he had appointed bishop of Neitra (880), ventured to be disobedient to his archbishop;¹⁰ and after Methodius' death,¹¹ the Greek-Slavonic clergy were even expelled from Moravia.¹² When Swatopluk's son, *Moimar*, attempted to erect his kingdom into

num laudare auctoritate sacra monemur. (Reference to Ps. cxvii. Act. ii. Phil. ii. 11. 1 Cor. xiv). Nec sanæ fidei vel doctrinae aliquid obstat, sive Missas in eadem Slavonica lingua canere, sive sacrum Evangelium, vel lectiones divinas novi et veteris Testamenti bene translatas et interpretatas legere, aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere: quoniam qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebraeam scilicet, Graecam et Latinam, ipse creavit et alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam. Jubemus tamen, ut in omnibus Ecclesiis terrae vestrae propter majorem honorificentiam Evangelium latine legatur, et postmodum Slavonica lingua translatum in auribus populi, latina verba non intelligentis, annuncietur: sicut in quibusdam Ecclesiis fieri videtur. Et si tibi et iudicibus tuis placet Missas Latina lingua magis audire, praecipimus, ut latine Missarum tibi solemnities celebrentur.

¹⁰ Joh. VIII. ep. 268 ad Methodium Archiepisc. A.D. 881. Worthy of note is the assurance, neque aliae literae nostrae (as those note 9.) ad Sfantopulcrum ad eum directae sunt neque Episcopo illi palam vel secreto aliud faciendum injunximus, et aliud a te peragendum decrevimus; quanto minus credendum est, ut sacramentum ab eodem Episcopo exegerimus, quem saltem levi sermone super hoc negotio allocuti non fuimus (*Wiching*, therefore, probably asserted that he had immediate correspondence with the pope, and owed no obedience to Methodius). Ideoque cesset ista dubietas etc. Caeterum et aliis tentationibus, quas diverso modo perpeusus es, noli tristari. Cum Deo duce reversus fueris, quidquid enormiter adversum te est commissum, quidquid jam dictus Episcopus contra suum ministerium in te exercuit,—legitimo fini trademus, et illius pertinaciam iudicii nostri sententia corripere non omitteremus. Blumberger's doubts of the authenticity of the letters of John VIII. mentioned in notes 8-10. (see Wiener Jahrb. Bd. 26. S. 232, and renewed in the same journal, vol. 37. p. 50 ff. against Dobrowsky mähr. Legende p. 115 ff.), taken from the epistle of the German bishops (note 13) lose their force when we consider that Method. was Archiepiscop. regionarius.

¹¹ That letter (note 10) is the last we have with certainty concerning Methodius. The older Latin legends say nothing of his death. Later ones assume that he died in Rome, but fluctuate between the years 881 and 910. The Greek biographer of Clement states that he died in Moravia, after he had been twenty-four years archbishop, consequently in 892. Dobrowsky Cyrill u. Method. S. 115. 122 ff. According to Palacky's Gesch. v. Böhmen i. 139. he died the 9th of April 885, and was probably buried in the church of St Mary, at Welehrad, in Moravia.

¹² Biography of Clement see in Dobrowsky, Cyrill, and Method. S. 115 ff.

a separate diocese, with the pope's assistance, he was strongly opposed by the German bishops (900).¹³ Soon after, however, Moravia was divided between Bohemia and Hungary (908), and the fate of Christianity now depended on the new rulers.

From Moravia Christianity was carried into *Bohemia*, where Duke Borziwoi (871 ?) is said to have been baptized by Methodius.¹⁴ Yet neither the example of the holy *Ludmilla*, his spouse, nor the zeal of his grandson, saint *Wenzeslaus* (928-936), but the severe measures of *Boleslaus the pious* (967-999), were able to secure the triumphs of Christianity in Bohemia.¹⁵

¹³ Comp. the two letters Hattonis Archiep. Mog. ejusque suffraganeorum, and Theotmari Archiep. Juvav. et suffrag. ad Johannem IX. A. D. 900 (ap. Goldast de regno Bohem. p. 5. Dobner iii. 343. Mansi xviii. 203). In the latter we read: Nequaquam credimus, quod coacti quotidie audimus, ut de illa s. et apostolica sede, quae nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, et origo christianae religionis, profluxerit quippiam perversitatis, sed doctrina et auctoritas ecclesiasticae rationis. Sed venerunt, ut ipsi promulgaverunt, de latere vestro tres Episcopi, videlicet Johannes Archiepiscopus, Benedictus et Daniel Episcopi, in terram Slavorum, qui Maravi dicuntur, quae Regibus nostris et populo nostro, nobis quoque cum habitatoribus suis subacta fuerat, tam in cultu christianae religionis, quam in tributo substantiae saecularis, quia exinde primum imbuti, et ex paganis Christiani sunt facti. Nunc vero, quod grave nobis videtur et incredibile, in augmentum injuriae jactitant se magnitudine pecuniae id egisse, qualia de illa apostolica sede nunquam audivimus exisse. Est enim unus Episcopatus [Pataviensis] in quinque divisus. Intranses enim praedicti Episcopi in nomine vestro, ut ipsi dixerunt, ordinaverunt in uno eodemque episcopatu unum Archiepiscopum et tres suffraganeos ejus Episcopos. Antecessor vester, Zventibaldo duce imperante, Wichingum consecravit Episcopum, et nequaquam in illum antiquum Pataviensem episcopatum eum transmissit, sed in quandam neophytam gentem, quam ipse dux domuit bello, et ex paganis Christianos esse patavit. Methodius and his assistants are not mentioned because they, as mere Episc. regionarii, did not endanger the rights of the German bishops.

¹⁴ So first Cosmas Pragensis (about 1100) in chron, Bohemorum (libb. iii. best in Menckenii scriptt. rer. Germ. i. 1967. Cf. iii. 1771.) lib. i. then the Bohemian legends, note 2. Defended by Dobner (Abhandl. d. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch, auf 1786. S. 365 ff). Comp. Dowbrowsky krit. Versuche, i. Borziwoy's Taufe, Prag 1803. Same author's Cyrill und Method. S. 106. Also his mähr. Legende S. 114. F. Palacky's Gesch. v. Böhmen, Bd. i. (Prag 1836) S. 135. In the Koeniginhofer MS., a collection of old Bohemian songs, published by W. Hanka, put into German by W. A. Swoboda, Prag 1829, 8., several songs still belong to heathenism, and breathe hatred to Christianity. See particularly p. 73.

The strong attachment of all these nations to their Slavonic ritual, only made the German priests, now pressing in on every side, the more eager to suppress it. In *Bohemia*, John XIII.; in founding the bishopric of Pragne (973), made the use of the Latin ritual a condition.¹⁵ The Slavonic was only maintained here and there amid constant opposition, in addition to the Latin.¹⁷

¹⁵ Dobner ad Hageki annal. P. iii. et iv.

¹⁶ On the year of foundation see Giesebrecht's *Jahrbücher unter Otto II. S. 123.* Joh. XIII. ep. ad Boleslaum A.D. 967 (in *Cosmae chron. lib. i.* in Dobneri annal. Hageki iv. 164):—Unde apostolica auctoritate et s. Petri principis Apostolorum potestate—annuimus et collaudamus atque incanonizamus, quo ad Ecclesiam ss. Viti et Wenceslai Martyrum fiat sedes episcopalis.—Verumtamen non secundum ritus aut sectas Bulgariae gentis, vel Russiae, aut Slavonicae linguae; sed, magis sequens instituta et decreta apostolica, unum potiore totius Ecclesiae ad placitum eligas in hoc opus clericum, Latinis apprime literis eruditum etc.

¹⁷ Comp. the narrative *Cosmae chron. lib. i.* appended to the cod. *Dresdae* by a monk of Sasawa (in *Menckenii script. rer. Germ. iii. 1782*). The convent Sasawa, founded by abbot Procopius about 1035, according to the Slavonic ritual, was already evil reported of to the Duke Spitignew (aures Principis favorabiliter compositis mendaciis obfuscentes, eos multifariis vituperiis publicabant, scilicet dicentes, per Slavonicas literas haeresis secta hypocrisisque esse aperte irretitos ac omnino per-versos; quamobrem ejectis eis in loco eorum Latinae auctoritatis Abbatem et fratres constituere omnino esse honestum), who, therefore, 1058, introduced these Latin monks. But Duke Wratistlaw restored, 1063, the Slavonians, and applied to the pope for universal liberty to use the Slavonic ritual. But Gregory VII., A. D. 1080, replied, (*lib. vii. ep. 11, ad Vratisl, Bohem. Reg. ap. Mansi xx. 296*): Quia vero Nobilitas tua postulavit, quo secundum Slavonicam linguam apud vos divinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuae nequaquam posse favere. Ex hoc nempe saepe volventibus liquet, non immerito sacram Scripturam omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam, ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret et sub-jaceret despectui, aut prave intellecta a mediocribus, in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem juvat, quod quidam religiosi viri hoc, quod simpliciter populus quaerit, patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt; cum primitiva Ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, quae a ss. Patribus, postmodum firmata christianitate, et religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctae sunt. Unde ne id fiat, quod a vestris imprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate b. Petri inhibemus, teque ad honorem omnipotentis Dei huic vanae temeritati viribus totis resistere praecipimus. The Slavonic monks in Sasawa were entirely expelled in 1097, et libri linguae eorum deleti omnino et disperditi, nequaquam ulterius in eodem loco recitabuntur, *Mon. Sazaviensis l. c. p. 1788.* Still, however, the Latin-Slavonian ritual was here and there retained after-

In the southern Slavonic countries, also, the Latins endeavoured to abolish it;¹⁸ but yet the *ritus slavo-latinus* has been continued in Illyria in many churches (the ritual books in the Glagolitic writing) down to the latest times.¹⁹

§ 39.

CONVERSION OF THE WENDS.

Sources: Widukindi [about 970] Corbej. *res gestae Saxonicae*, libb. iii. (ap. Pertz v. 408). Thietmarus (see preface to section 2). Adamus Bremensis (see preface to § 37). Helmoldi [preacher at Bosow, † 1170] *chronicon Slavorum* ed. H. Bangert. Lübeck 1659. 4. and in Leibnit. script.

wards in Bohemia (Dobner *Abhandl. d. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wiss. auf* 1786. S. 443); in the convent Emaus built by Charles IV., 1347, in the suburbs of Prague, it is retained to this day.

¹⁸ In the most southern part, the province of the metropolis Diaclea, Alexander II. allowed it, probably on account of the nearness of the Greek Church. Cf. Alex. ii. *epist. iv. ad Petrum Dalmatiae et Slavn. Archiepisc. a. d. 1062* (ap. Mansi xix. 943): *Monasteria quoque tam Latinorum, quam Graecorum sive Slavorum cures: ut scias et haec omnia unam Ecclesiam esse.* On the other hand, in the more western ecclesiastical province of Salona, it was to be extirpated. Cf. Thomae Archidiacon. Spalatens. († 1268) *hist. Salonitanorum Episc. atque Spalatensium cap. 16.* (ap. Lucius de regno Dalmat. p. 310 ss. and Schwandtneri scriptt. rer. Hung. iii. 552). Under Alexander II., the papal legate, Maynard, called a synod at Salona, where, among other things, it was decreed: “*ut nullus de caetero in lingua Slavonica praesumeret divina mysteria celebrare, nisi tantum in Latina et Graeca, nec aliquis ejusdem linguae promoveretur ad sacros ordines.*” Dicebant enim, Gothicas literas a quodam Methodio haeretico fuisse repertas, qui multa contra catholicae fidei normam in eadem Slavonica lingua mentiando conscripsit: quamobrem divino judicio repentina dicitur morte fuisse damnatus. (The Slavonians were at that time often called Goths. Comp. Dobner in the *Abhandl. d. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. auf* 1785, S. 109, and hence those enlightened fathers confound Methodius with Ulphilas!!) Since now omnes sacerdotes Slavorum magno sunt moerore confecti, omnes quippe eorum ecclesiae clausae fuerunt: the Slavonians apply to Pope Alexander II. But their ambassadors receive the following reply: Scitote, filii, quia haec, quae petere Gothi student, saepenumero audisse me recolo, sed propter Arianos, inventores literaturae hujusmodi, dare eis licentiam in sua lingua tractare divina, sicut praedecessores mei, sic et ego nullatenus audeo etc.

¹⁹ Approved by Innocent IV. in 1248. See Dobner in the *Abhandl. d. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. auf* 1785. S. 174 s. Kopitar *Glagolita Clozianus* p. xiii. xvii.

Brunsv. ii. 537.—L. Giesebrecht's wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780 bis 1182. 3 Bde. Berlin 1843. 8.

It was not to be expected that Christianity should meet with a friendly reception among the Wends, forced upon them as it was by German power, and in a foreign language. After *Henry I.* had conquered them, and erected the margraviates *Meissen*, *North Saxony* (Altmark), and *East Saxony* (Lausitz), about 931, *Otto I.* busied himself in the conversion of these people. The most enduring fruits of his efforts were among the *Sorbi* (in Meissen and Lausitz), where he founded the bishoprics *Meissen*, *Merseburg*, *Zeiz* (1029 transferred to *Naumburg*), and the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, about 968.¹

Otto had still earlier established among the *Wilzi* or *Lutizians* (between the Elbe and Oder), the bishoprics of *Havelberg* (946), and *Brandenburg* (949);² and among the *Obotrites* (in Mecklenburg) the bishoprick of *Oldenburg* (952 not far from Lubeck, 1163 transferred to Lubeck);³ but here the conversions did not

¹ Dönniges in Ranke's *Jahrbüchern des deutschen Reichs* i. iii. 137-222. Giesebrecht i. 192. The oldest history of these bishoprics relates much of endowments, but little of conversions. The religious state of the country may be illustrated by an anecdote of Boso, first bishop of Merseburg, one of the most zealous of their bishops. (Thietmar ii. 23, ap. Pertz v. 755): Hic ut sibi commissos eo facilius instrueret, Slavonica scripserat verba, et eos Kirieleison cantare rogavit (see above, § 10. not. 37), exponens eis hujus utilitatem. Qui vecordes hoc in malum irisorie mutabant Ukrivolsa, quod nostra lingua dicitur: Aeleri stat in fructo (the Alder stands in the thicket); dicentes: sic locutus est Boso. Comp. chron. Episc. Merseburg (in J. P. a Ludewig reliquiae mss. omnis aevi diplomatum T. iv. p. 379) of bp. Werner from 1073-1101: Quem tantus divini verbi seminandi fervor accenderat, ut studio praedicationis episcopalia plerumque negotia postponeret, et lucrandis animabus omni virtute quasi providus pastor intenderet. Verum quia Slavonicae linguae admodum ignarus erat, et eum cura pastoralis Schlororum genti, quorum multitudinem copiosam error adhuc idololatriae detinebat, verbum salutis credere cogebat; libros Slavonicae linguae sibi fieri jussit, ut Latinae linguae caractere idiomata linguae Schlororum exprimeret, et quod non intelligeret, verbis stridentibus intelligendum aliis infunderet.

² Chr. W. Spieker's *Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. der Mark Brandenburg* Th. 1. (Berlin 1839) S. 17. Köpke in Ranke's *Jahrb. d. deutschen Reichs* i. ii. 64. 77. Giesebrecht i. 175. 176.

³ Jul. Wiggers *Kirchengesch. Mecklenburgs, Parchim und Ludwigsluft* 1840, S. 18.

reach farther than the Saxon garrisons extended their influence. The general insurrection of the Wends, under the prince of the Obotrites, *Mistui* or *Mistewoi* (983), was aimed alike at the German rulers and at Christianity.⁴ *Mistewoi's* grandson, *Gottschalk*, founder of the great Wendian empire (1047), fell a victim to his efforts in favour of Christianity (1066);⁵ and then all traces of it were effaced with wild rage for a long period.⁶

§ 40.

CONVERSION OF THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS.

In Poland, Christianity was propagated from the time of Duke *Mjesko*, or *Miecislav*, who had adopted it at the instance of his Bohemian spouse *Dambrowka* (966).¹ Among the *Prussians*,

⁴ Helmold i. c. 14 ss. Kanngiesser's *Gesh. v. Pommern* i. 128. Giesebrecht i. 257. Wiggers S. 19.

⁵ On *Gottschalk's* zeal Helmold i. c. 20: Sane magnae devotionis vir dicitur tanto religionis divinae exarsisse studio, ut sermonem exhortationis ad populum frequenter in Ecclesia ipse fecerit, ea scilicet, quae ab Episcopis vel Presbyteris mystice dicebantur, cupiens Slavicis verbis reddere planiora. Kanngiesser i. 233 ff. Giesebrecht ii. 85. Wiggers S. 22.

⁶ Adam. Brem. iv. c. 11.—Helmold. i. c. 25: Slavi servitutis jugum armata manu submoverunt, tantaque animi obstinantia libertatem defendere nisi sunt, ut prius maluerint mori, quam christianitatis titulum resumere, aut tributa solvere Saxonum Principibus. Hanc sane contumeliam sibimet parturivit infelix Saxonum avaritia, qui—Slavorum gentes, quas bellis aut pactionibus subegerant, tantis vectigalium pensionibus gravaverunt, ut divinis legibus et Principum servituti refragari amara necessitate cogerentur (cap. 21: Saxones—semper pronoiores sunt tributis augmentandis, quam animabus Domino conquirendis. Decor enim christianitatis, sacerdotum instantia, jamdudum in Slavia convaluisse, si Saxonum avaritia non praepedisset).

¹ Comp. Thietmar iv. 35, ap. Pertz v. 783, and the first Polish historian's Martini Galli (about 1130) chron. (ed. J. V. Bandtkie. Varsav. 1824. 8.) lib. i. c. 5. But when Martinus Gallus l. c. c. 11, and Vincentius Kadlubko (about 1200 bishop of Krakau, res gestae Principum et Regum Poloniae per Vinc. Kadl. Varsav. 1824. 8. P. i. p. 92) make the two archbishoprics, Gresen and Krakau, with seven bishoprics, to be founded by Boleslaw, son of *Mjesko*; and John Dlugossius (bishop of Lemberg, † 1480. Hist. Poloniae libb. xiii. ed. H. de Huysen. Lips. 1711. fol. lib. ii. p. 91), even by *Mjesko* himself; it is more probable, according to Ditmar, that Posen had been the only Polish bishop-

on the contrary, nothing but martyrdom had yet been obtained.²

Among the *Hungarians*, the first and more important advances of Christianity began under their Duke *Geisa* (972-997)³ *Stephen*, the first king (997-1038), rendered it victorious.⁴ These

ric for a long time. Comp. Chr. G. v. Friese, Kirchengesh. des Königreichs Polen (2 Th. Breslau 1786. 8.) Th. 1. Röpell's Gesch. Polens. Th. 1. Hamburg 1840. Giesebrecht's wend. Gesch. i. 196, 202. Epistola inedita Mathildis data 1027 ad Misegonem ii. s. vindiciae iv. primorum Poloniae latino-christinae Regum, auct. Ph. A. Dethier. Berol. 1842. 8. Judicial laws for Christianity Thietmar viii. 2 : quicumque post septuagesimam carnem manducasse invenitur, abscisis dentibus graviter punitur. Lex namque divina in his regionibus noviter exorta, potestate tali melius quam jejuniis ab Episcopis instituto corroboratur. As the conversion of the Poles was achieved chiefly by Bohemian and Moravian priests, many peculiarities of the Greek-Slavonian ritual have also come to the Poles, and have long continued there. Friese i. 61. Krasinski's Gesch. d. Reform. in Polen, übers. v. Lindau (Leipz. 1841.) S. 5. Still, however, Poland connected itself immediately with Rome. As early as Miecislav's son, Boleslav, we find him complaining, about 1012, to the pope (Thietmar vi. 56), ut non liceret sibi propter latentes Regis (Henry II.) insidias promissum principi Apostolorum Petro persolvere census.

² Adalbert, bishop of Prague, murdered 997, cf. vita Adalberti in Canis. lectt. ant. ed. Basn. iii. i. 41, ap. Pertz vi. 574. Voigt's Gesch. Preussens, i. 244, 650. Palacky's Gesch. von Böhmen i. 233. Bruno, slain 1009, see Thietmar vi. 58. Voigt i. 281. Giesebrecht ii. 19, 24.

³ The baptism of the Hungarian princes Bulosudes and Gylas (Vérables and Gvula) in Constantinople A.D. 948 (Cedrenus p. 636. Zonaras lib. xvi. Tom. p. 194) was indecisive. See Geschichte der Magyaren von Joh. Grafen Mailáth. Bd. 1. (Wien 1828) S. 23, 32. The spread of Christianity in Hungary under Geisa proceeded from Germany, favoured by the emperor Otto, promoted by Piligrin, bishop of Passau (see information to Benedict VII., A.D. 974, ap. Mansi. xix. 49. Since he considered himself as the successor of the old bishops of Lorch he asks here, that his metropolitan rights over Hungary might be restored), subsequently also by Adelbert, bishop of Prague, Mailath p. 31. Theitmar viii. 3. ap. Pertz v. 862, respecting the Christianity of Geisa, whom he calls Deuix : Hic Deo omnipotenti variisque Deorum illusionibus immolans, cum ab antisite suo ob hoc accusaretur, divitem se et ad haec facienda satis potentem affirmavit. Comp. generally Gfrörer iii. iii. 1373. Neander iv. 83.

⁴ The political character of this conversion shown in Schlosser's Weltgesch. ii. ii. 557. Thietmar iv. 38, ap. Pertz v. 784 : Imperatoris autem (Ottonis iii.) gratia et hortatu gener Heinrici, ducis Bawariorum, Waic (i. e. Stephen) in regno suimet episcopales cathedras faciens, coronam et benedictionem accepit. Bishop Chartvitiis (about 1100) re-

violent conversions, however, still left in the people a very great inclination to Paganism.⁵

lates in his *vita s. Stephani* (in the act. SS. ad d. 2. Sept., and in Schwandtneri scriptt. rer. Hung. i. 417), that Stephen had sent Abbot Astricus to Rome A.D. 1001, to confirm the bishoprics already founded and to obtain for the Duke a regal crown. Just at that time a crown may have been ready for the Duke of the Poles, at Rome, but the Pope had received instruction by an angel to bestow it on the ambassador of an unknown people that appeared the next day. Thus, therefore, the Pope granted the wishes of the Hungarians, *crucemque ante Regem, ceu apostolatus insigne, gestandum adjunxit, ego, inquiring, sum Apostolicus; at ille merito Christi Apostolus dici potest, cujus opera tantum populum sibi Christus acquisivit. Atque ea causa, quemadmodum divina gratia ipsum docebit, Ecclesias Dei, una cum populis, nostra vice ei ordinandas relinquimus.* Accordingly, Stephen also says in the trust-deed of a convent, A.D. 1036 (in G. Fejér cod. diplom. Hungariae i. 328): *sicut habui potestatem, ut ubicunque, vel in quocunque loco vellem, Ecclesias aut Monasteria construerem; ita nihilominus a Romanae sedis supremo Pontifice habui auctoritatem, ut quibus vellem Ecclesiis, seu Monasteriis libertates et dignitates conferrem.* These rights over the church were always held fast by the Hungarian kings. See A. F. Kollar de originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis legislativae circa sacra apostolicorum Regum Hungariae. Vindob. 1764, 8, c. 24. The bull issued at that time, as is pretended, by Sylvester ii. (ap. Fejér i. 274) agrees for the most part word for word with Chartvitiu's, but adds besides, that Hungary was given over by Stephen to St Peter, and again received as fief. It is said to have been discovered again in 1550, but was first brought to light in the *annal. ecclesiast. regni Hungar. Romae 1644*, of the Jesuit Inchofer, to whom it was given by the Franciscan Raphael Levakovicz in Rome. From the latter's own letters it has been proved that he forged this bull, Kollar p. 157. Its authenticity, however, is defended by Gfrörer iii. iii. 1534.

⁵ Reaction of paganism in the disturbances that followed Stephen's death. Schröckh Th. 21, S. 550. Schlosser Bd. 2, Th. 2, S. 578 ff. 665 ff.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

FIRST CHAPTER.

RELATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO THE LATIN.

Partial, but useful as collections, are: Leo Allatius de *Eccl. occid. et orient. perp. consensione*, Colon. Agripp. 1648. 4. lib. ii. c. iv. ss. L. Maimbourg *hist. du schisme des Grecs*. Paris 1677. 4. and often reprinted.—Besides J. Gf. Hermann *hist. concertationum de pane azymo et fermentato in coena Domini*. Lips. 1737. 8. J. G. Walchii *hist. controversiæ Græcorum Latinorumque de processione Spiritus Sancti*. Jenæ 1751. 8. p. 32 ss.

§ 41.

CONTROVERSIES OF PHOTIUS WITH THE POPES.

Sources. Besides the acts cited in the notes below, the following works by contemporaries. By Greeks: *Vita s. Ignatii* by Nicetas David Paphlago (in the acts of the conc. viii. œcum. ap. Mansi xvi. 209), Metrophanis Ep. Smyrn. *epist. ad Manuelem Patric.* A. D. 870 (Latin translation by Baronius ann. 870 no. 45 ss.), Stilianus Mapæ Ep. Neocaesar. *epist. i. ad Stephanum* P. v. A. D. 886 (ap. Mansi xvi. 425 ss., in an old Latin version xviii. 14.) By Latins: Anastasii *bibl. præf. ad conc. viii. œc.* (Mansi xvi. 1 ss.); *ejesd. vit. cvii. Nicolai I. et cviii. Hadriani II.*, all unfair to Photius. Later historians: Theophanes *continuatus* (written at the instance of Constantine Porphyrogenn. about 940) lib. iv. de Michaelæ c. 30 ss. lib. v. de Basilio Mac. and Symeonis Magistri et Lozothetæ (about 967) *annal.* c. 28 ss. (Theophanes cont. Joannes Cameniata, Symeon Mag. Georgius Mon. ex recogn. i. Bekkeri. Bonnæ 1838. 8.)—Cf. Mart. Hankii *de Byzantinarum rerum scriptoribus liber*. Lips. 1677. 4. p. 269 ss. Neander iv. 409. Gfrörer iii. i. 233.

The old jealousy between the hierarchs of *old and new Rome* broke forth afresh, when *Ignatius*, patriarch of Constantinople,

was deposed at the instigation of Caesar *Bardas* by the Emperor *Michael III.*, and *Photius* appointed in his place (858). When an ecclesiastical schism took place on this account in Constantinople, and Pope *Nicolaus* was invited to adjust it,¹ instead of acting as mediator he immediately assumed the character of supreme judge.² The legates whom he sent to Constantinople

¹ The letter of the Emperor *Michael* is lost. *Nicolaus* relates (ep. i. ad univ. Cathol. ap. Mansi xv. 160): Imp. *Michael*—ad apostolatum nostrum legatis cum epistolis destinatis, accusationes quasdam adversus *Ignatium* deferentibus, petiit, ut a sede apostolica missos daremus, qui scandala illa sedarent et schismata dissiparent. In the same words ep. ix. ad *Michael*. Imp. p. 218 and ep. x. ad cler. Constant. p. 241.—*Photius's* writings (ap. Baron. ann. 859 no. 61 ss.) is a usual Euthronistica.

² Nic. ep. ii. ad *Michael*. Imp. and ep. iii. ad *Photium*. In the first, reproaches that *Ignatius* was deposed, without the knowledge of the pope, for a patribus et deliberatum ac observatum existit, qualiter absque Romanae sedis, Romanique Pontificis consensu, nullius insurgentis deliberationis terminus daretur. Then, that *Photius* a layman, should have been made bishop. So also ad *Photium* p. 168: Sed rectum vos ordinem minime continuisse dolemus, eo quod non per gradus Ecclesiae ductus ad tantum honorem de laici habitu vos prosilulistis.—Nam Sardicense concilium per omnia tantae temeritatis praesumptionem vetuit, pariter et ss. Pontificum Romanae sedis, Caelestini,—Leonis.—seu *Gelasii* doctrina.—Quapropter vestrae consecrationi consentire modo non possumus, donec nostri, qui a nobis Constantinopolim sunt directi, revertantur, qualiter per eos cognoscamus vestrae observationis actus, et ecclesiasticae utilitatis constantiam etc. *Photius's* reply (ap. Baron. ann. 861 no. 34 ss.):—At canones, inquit, violati sunt, quod ad pontificatus fastigium e laicorum ordine adscendisti.—Quales autem canones hi, quorum asseritur praevaricatio? quos ad hunc diem Constantinopolitanorum Ecclesia non accepit.—Multi canones aliis traditi sunt, aliis ne novi quidem sunt. Qui accipit et violat, dignus, qui in iudicium inducatur: qui vero non novit, nec recipit, quomodo obnoxius est?—Legitimis nuptiis Presbyter Romae uxori conjunctus non invenitur: nos vero eos, qui unico conjugio vitae suae moderati, sunt, edocui sumus in Presbyterii gradum efferre, eosque, qui hoc in discriminem ponunt, ac se secernunt, ne ab his Domini corporis participationem capiant, undique excludimus, eodem loco ducentes eos, qui legem aut fornicationis sanciant aut nuptiarum tollunt.—Quaedam vero ne ab iis quidem, qui delinquant (quod quidem sciam), quod fiunt, laudantur ob summam fortasse absurditatem.—Quis enim sabbatissare, qui in Christianis censeatur, etiam si millies his succumbat, non ejuret? Quis se conjugium execrari legitimum, nisi quis impiorum ac sine Deo hominum sententiam opifici proponat?—Quis autem dominicorum, et paternorum, et synodaliū decretorum (ne sigillatim dicam) non revereatur confiteri, se moliri contemptum?—testes apud nos et regulis nostris ad tres nume-

were indeed won over to declare for Photius (861);³ but he annulled what was there transacted at a *synod in Rome* (863), and decided in favour of Ignatius.⁴ Michael's threatening replies⁵ could not of course terrify the pope, who had long been independent of Byzantine power.⁶

ramus, qui si caeteroqui vitio careant, satis sunt ad fidem veritati faciendam quamvis in Episcopi crimen adsciscantur: apud alios vero nisi testium numerus superet septuaginta quasi populum, qui accusatur, quantumvis in re ipsa fuerit deprehensus, omni crimine liber absolvitur. As there is a reference in this passage to a Roman regulation developed in the ninth century, and adopted also by Pseudo-Isidore (see § 20. note 5), so we must not overlook generally the bitter irony of this letter against Roman ecclesiastical customs, in order that a right view of Nicolaus' conduct and Photius' Encyclica may be obtained. Hear, however, the conclusion: Canonum custodia a quovis bono debetur: magis vero ab iis, divinae providentiae dignatione alios regunt: omnium sane maxime, quibus in horum numero primatus obtigit.—Quare vestra debet amabilis beatitudo, ecclesiasticam disciplinam ac modestiam in omnibus curae habens, et canonicam tenens rectitudinem, eos qui sine commendatitiis literis ad Romanam Ecclesiam hinc proficiscuntur (followers of Ignatius, namely), non temere ac fortuito recipere, nec sinere hospitalitatis specie odii fraterni jaci semina etc.

³ Concerning the syn. Const. A. D. 861 see Nicol. ep. ix. ad Michael. Imp. (Mansi xv. 219), ep. x. ad clerum Const. (ib. p. 241), Nicetas David (Mansi xvi. 237), when the *παριστάνουσιν ἐβδομήκοιτα καὶ δύο ψευδομάρτυρας* (comp. Photius not. 2) is worthy of notice.

⁴ Acta syn. Rom. ann. 863 in Nicol. epist. vii. ad Michael.

⁵ Michael's letter is lost, but its contents may be gathered from Nicolaus' answer. Nic. ep. viii. (Mansi xv. 189): Dixistis, quod nullus antecessorum nostrorum a sexta synodo meruerit a vobis, quod nos meruisse dignoscimur:—quasi nostrum fuerit opprobrium, eo quod sedem apostolicam in nullo quaerere antecessores vestri dignati fuerint, cum magis eorum fuerit dedecus.—p. 192: dicitis, non ideo ad nos misisse vos, ut secundum iudicium Ignatius sustineret, p. 206: noluisse vos, ut a missis nostris Ignatius iudicaretur, eo quod fuerit jam iudicatus et condemnatus, p. 203: non eguisse vos in causa pietatis Romanae Ecclesiae.—p. 204: si vestra fuerunt verba, quae in despectum b. Petri Apostolorum principis inno Dei, cujus ordinationi resistitis, scripta, et quasi detrahentia privilegii hujus sacratissimae Ecclesiae missa sunt etc.—Ep. ix. p. 235: epistola sub nomine vestro conscripta—tantis erat verbis contumeliosis, immo blasphemis, respersa, ut scriptor ejus non nisi in gutture colubri calamum tinxisse putetur, et dictatoris labia pro dictionibus venena fudisse videantur.

⁶ Nicol. ep. vii. et ix. ad Michael. Ep. x. ad clerum Constant. Ep. xi. ad Photium. Ep. xii. ad Bardam Caes. Ep. xiii. ad Ignatium. Ep. xiv. ad Theodorum Augustam. Ep. xv. ad Eudoxiam Aug. Ep. xvi. ad senatores Constant. All containing copious proofs of the privi-

These controversies were followed by a new one concerning church jurisdiction,⁷ which embittered men's spirits to a much

legia Eccl. Rom. (but without mention of the Pseudoisidoriana, which yet he was at the same time defending against the Frank bishops. See § 20, not. 15). For instance, that the judgment against Ignatius was null, because no one (Epist. viii. p. 200), qui minoris auctoritatis est, eum, qui majoris potestatis est, iudiciis suis addicere potest. Hence aut nunquam omnino aut certe vix Constantinopolitanorum praesulum aliquis sine consensu Romani Pontificis reperitur ejectus. Remarkable that he even cites in his own favour the long rejected (at Rome) can. Chalced. ix. (Vol. i. Div. 2, § 93, not. 15), (ep. viii. p. 201): nunc Chalcedonensis concilii sanctiones ad memoriam reducamus, quae ita decernunt: "Si clericus habet causam adversus Episcopum proprium, vel adversus alterum, apud synodum provinciae iudicetur: quod si adversus ejusdem provinciae metropolitanum Episcopus vel clericus habet querelam, petat primatem dioeceseos, aut sedem regiae urbis Constantinopolitanae." Cum dixisset: "petat primatem dioeceseos," praeceptum posuit eadem s. synodus, regulamque constituit. Cum vero disjunctiva conjunctione addidisset: "aut sedem regiae urbis Constant." liquet profecto, quia hoc secundum permissionem indulsit. Quem autem primatem dioeceseos s. synodus dixerit, praeter Apostoli primi vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur. Ipse est enim primas, qui et primus habetur et summus. Ne vero moveat, quia singulari numero dioeceseos dictum est, quia tantumdem valet dixisse primatem dioeceseos, quantum si perhibuisset dioeceseon etc. (!!) Ep. ix. p. 236 [of 866] he threatens: scitote, quoniam, postquam in hac vos pertinacia persistere sine tenus velle compererimus, primum quidem congregatis cunctarum occidentalium regionum ven. sacerdotibus dictatores et dispositores atque praeceptores tantae fallaciae etc.—diris anathematis vinculis innodabimus. Deinde vero—ipsam epistolam in stipite videntibus cunctis suspensam vasto supposito foco ad vituperium vestrum coram omnibus nationibus, quae penes memoriam s. Petri multiplices inveniuntur, extremae perditioni donabimus etc. Concerning these controversies see Nicolaus' own account in ep. lxx. ad Hincmarum et caeteros Episc. in regno Caroli constitutos A. D. 867, where he also mentions the view of the Greeks (Mansi xv. 358): gloriantur atque perhibent, quando de Romana urbe Imperatores Constantinopolim sunt translati, tunc et primatum Romanae sedis ad Constantinopolitanam Ecclesiam transmigrasse, et cum dignitatibus regiis etiam Ecclesiae Romanae privilegia translata fuisse. Quite analogous to the principles of the older Greek Church. See vol. i. Div. 2, § 93, not. 3. and 14.

⁷ Even at the very beginning Nicolaus had referred to the subject, ep. ii. ad Mich. Imper. (Mansi xv. 167): Oportet vestrum imperiale decus,—ut antiquum morem, quem nostra Ecclesia habuit, vestris temporibus restaurare dignemini, quatenus vicem, quam nostra sedes per Episcopos vestris in partibus constitutos habuit, videlicet Thessalonicensem, qui Romanae sedis vicem habuit per Epirum veterem, Epirumque novam, atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessalianam, Achaiam, Daciam

greater degree. The Byzantines had succeeded, after many vain attempts, in persuading *Bogoris*, king of the Bulgarians (about 861), to be baptised.⁸ But immediately after, in order not to lose his independence by the influence of the too neighbouring Greeks, he sought to attach himself to the Western Church, and received forthwith from Rome (866) Latin teachers.⁹ Enraged at this, *Photius* summoned a *synod at Constantinople* (867), by an *Encyclica*,¹⁰ violent, and in the highest degree offensive to the

ripensem, Daciamque mediterraneam, Moesiam, Dardaniam, Praevalim, b. Petro Apostolorum principi contradicere nullus praesumat. Praeterea Calabrianum patrimonium et Siculum—vestris concessionibus reddantur. Inter ista et superius dicta volumus, ut consecratio Syracusano Archiepiscopo nostra a sede impendatur (comp. above, § 5, not. 3).

⁸ On the preliminary steps by the sister of *Bogoris* and the picture of *Methodius*, see *Theophanes continuatus* iv. c. 13-15. The actual conversion is placed by a contemporary, *Nicetas David* (ap. *Mansi* xvi. 245), in the time when *Nicolaus'* legates return to Rome: Βούλγαροι δὲ τότε προνοίαις Θεοῦ, βιαίῳ κατακέντες λιμῶ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς δώροις τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος θελχθέντες τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενοι τῷ ἀγίῳ προσήεσαν βαπτίσματι. On the contrary, it is said by *Simeon Mag.* c. 25 (followed by *Leo Gramm.* A. D. 1013, ed. Paris. p. 462), *Michael* undertook an expedition with *Bardas* against the Bulgarians, in the fourth year of his reign. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Βούλγαροι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ λιμῶ τηκόμενοι—Χριστιανοὶ γενέσθαι τῷ Βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἤτήσαντο. ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς τούτους ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀγαγών, ἐβάπτισε πάντας, καὶ τὸν Ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Μιχαὴλ ἐπώνομασεν. So too *Photius* in his epist. ad *Michael*em *Bulgarorum Regem* (in *Phouii* epist. ed. *Rich. Montacutius*. Londini 1651. fol. epist. i. also in *H. Canisii* lection. ant. ed. *Basnage* ii. ii. 379) calls the king καλὸν ἄγαλμα τῶν ἐμῶν πόνων (ap. *Basn.* p. 384) and τῶν ἐμῶν πνευματικῶν ὠδίνων εὐγενὲς καὶ γνήσιον γέννημα (p. 418). Comp. *Schlosser's Weltgesch.* ii. i. 519.

⁹ *Anasiasius* in *vita* cvii. *Nicolai I.* and in *praef. ad conc. oecum.* viii. (*Mansi* xvi. 10), *annales Beriniani* and *Fuldenses* ad ann. 866. At the same time *Bogoris* sent by his ambassadors a series of questions on ecclesiastical subjects to be laid before the pope, which called forth the *responsa Nicolai P. i. ad consulta Bulgarorum* (ap. *Mansi* xv. 401.)

¹⁰ *Encyclica ad Patriarch. orientales* (Latin ap. *Baronius* ann. 863, no. 34 ss., more fully in Greek in edit. *Montacutii* ep. ii. p. 47 ss.) respecting the Latin teachers that had come among the Bulgarians: Οὐπω γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους, οὐδ' εἰς δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς, τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τιμῶντος θρησκείαν, ἄνδρες δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι, — ἄνδρες ἐκ σκότους ἀναδύντες (τῆς γὰρ ἐσπερίου μοίρας ὑπῆρχον γεννήματα), οἴμοι πῶς τὸ ἰπόλοιπον ἐκδιηγῆσμαι; οἱτοι, πρὸς τὸ νεοπαγὲς εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ νεοσύστατον ἔθνος, ὥσπερ κεραυνὸς, ἢ σεισμὸς, ἢ χαλάζης πλῆθος, μᾶλλον δὲ οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἄγριος μοιὸς (according to the *Ixx.* Ps. *Ixxx.* 13), ἐμπηδήσαντες, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα Κυρίου, τὸν ἠγαπημένον καὶ νέφνυτον καὶ ποσὶν καὶ ὕδουσιν, ἦτοι τρίβοις αἰσχρᾶς πολιτείας, καὶ διαφθορᾶ δογμάτων—κατανεμησάμενοι ἐλυμήναντο· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀρθῶν καὶ καθαρῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀμω-

Romish Church, and there pronounced sentence of condemnation on the pope.¹¹ The Encyclica was answered in the West with the same bitterness;¹² and from that time forward an insurmountable wall of separation remained between the two churches.

μήτου πίστεως παραφθείρειν τούτους, καὶ ὑποσπᾶν κατεπανουργήσαντο. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκθέσμως εἰς τὴν τῶν Σαββάτων νηστείαν μετέστησαν (see vol. i. Div. 2. § 100. not. 4.) Οἶδε δὲ καὶ ἡ μικρὰ τῶν παραδοθέντων ἀθέτησις καὶ πρὸς ὄλην τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιτρέψαι καταφρόνησιν. Ἐπειτα δὲ τὴν τῶν νηστειῶν πρῶτην ἐβδομάδα τῆς ἄλλης νηστείας περικόψαντες, εἰς γαλακτοποσίας καὶ τυροῦ τροφήν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων ἀδδηφαγίαν καθείλκυσαν (see vol. i. Div. 2. § 100. not. 14.) Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν παραβάσεων ἐμπλατύνοντες, καὶ τῆς εὐθείας τρίβου καὶ βασιλικῆς διαστρέφοντες, καὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνθέσμων γάμφῳ Πρεσβυτέρους διαπρέποντας οἱ πολλὰς κόρας χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς γυναικάς δεικνύοντες, καὶ γυναικάς παῖδας ἐκτρέφουσας, ὧν οὐκ ἔστι πατέρα θεάσασθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ ἱερεῖς μισάττεσθαι τε καὶ ἀποστρέφεισθαι παρεσκεύασαν, τῆς Μανουῦ γεωργίας ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ σπέρματα κατασπείροντες, καὶ ψυχὰς ἄρτι βλαστάνειν ἀρξάμενας τὸν σπόρον τῆς εὐσεβείας τῇ τῶν ζιζανίων ἐπισπορᾷ λυμαινόμενοι. Ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Πρεσβυτέρων μύθῳ χρισθέντας ἀναμυρίζειν αὐτοὶ οὐ πεφρίκασιν, Ἐπισκόπους ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες, καὶ τὸ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων χρίσμα ἄχρηστον εἶναι, καὶ εἰς μάτην ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τερατενόμενοι.—Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχὶ μόνον εἰς ταῦτα παρανομεῖν ἐξηνέχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἴ τις κακῶν ἐστὶ κορωνὶς, εἰς ταύτην ἀνέδραμον. Πρὸς γὰρ τοι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀποπήμασι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἅγιον σύμβολον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς συνοδικοῖς καὶ οἰκουμενικοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἅμαχον ἔχει τὴν ἰσχὺν, νόθους λογισμοῖς, καὶ παρεγγράπτοις λόγοις, καὶ θράσους ὑπερβολῇ κιβδηλεύειν ἐπεχείρησαν ὧ τῶν τοῦ ποιηροῦ μηχανημάτων, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καινολογῆσαντες!—Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας μερῶν συνοδικῆ τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναπεφοίτηκεν, ἀρρήτων ἐγκλημάτων γέμουσα, ἅτινα κατὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτῶν Ἐπισκόπου οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες μετὰ πολλῆς κατακρίσεως καὶ ὄρκων μυρίων διεπέμψαντο, μὴ παριδεῖν αὐτοὺς οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ὀλλυμένους, καὶ ὑπὸ τηλικαύτης βαρείας πιεζομένους τυραννίδος, καὶ τοὺς ἱερατικούς νόμους ὑβριζομένους, καὶ πάντας θεσμοὺς Ἐκκλησίας ἀντρεπομένους. Ὅσα καὶ πάλαι μὲν διὰ μοναχῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἐκείθεν ἀναδραμόντων εἰς πάντων ἀκοὰς διεφέροντο. Βασιλείος δ' ἄρα ἦν, καὶ Ζωσιμᾶς, Μητροφάνης τε, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι, οἱ τὴν τοιαύτην τυραννίδα ἀπαδύροντο, καὶ πρὸς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξεκαλοῦντο δακρύνοντες. Νῦν δὲ—καὶ γράμματα διάφορα καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων ἐκείθεν ἀναπεφοίτηκεν,—ὧν τὰ ἴσα κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ ἐξαιτήσιν (καὶ γὰρ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερατικούς καὶ ἀποστολικούς θρόνους διαδοθῆναι ταῦτα μετὰ φρικτῶν ὄρκων καὶ παρακλήσεων ἐδυσώπησαν) ὡς αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα παραστήσει ἀναγινωσκόμενα.

¹¹ Comp. Metrophanis epist. ad Manuelem and Anastassi praef. ad conc. oecum. viii.

¹² The emperors Michael and Basil issued a letter to the king of the Bulgarians, of like contents as the Encyclica. Bogoris communicated this to the pope, and Nicolaus gives epist. lxx. ad Hinemar. et caeteros Episc. in regno Caroli constitutos A. D. 867 (ap. Mansi xv. 355), from it an extract, and admonishes the Frank bishops, who were always held to be the most learned, to defend the Roman Church. In his list of

But no sooner had *Basil the Macedonian* ascended the throne, than *Photius* was compelled to yield to *Ignatius* (867), and the pope was invited to give a new decision.¹³ *Photius* was condemned at a *synod* held in *Rome* (868),¹⁴ and afterwards in *Constantinople* (oecumen. viii. 869).¹⁵ But as *Ignatius*, in conse-

Greek objections still appear the following: *Mentiuntur quoque, nos, sicuti per alia ipsorum conscripta indicatur, agnum in Pascha, more Judaeorum, super altare pariter cum dominico corpore benedicere et offerre.* (That this was substantially true, see *Walafridi Strab. lib. de rebus eccl. c. 18: Illum dico errorem, quo quidam agni carnes in Pascha, juxta vel sub altari eas ponentes, benedictione propria consecrabant, et in ipsa resurrectionis die ante caeteros corporales cibos de ipsis carnibus praecepiebant. Cujus benedictionis series adhuc a multis habetur.* The Benediction formula see in the *ordo Romanus* ap. *Hittorp de divinis officiis* p. 79. So also a lamb was solemnly eaten by the pope and eleven cardinals. See *ordo Romanus auct. Benedicto* in *Mabillon museum Ital.* p. 142, and *ordo Rom. auct. Cencio, ibid.* p. 186 f.) *Quin et reprehendere satagunt, quia penes nos clerici barbas radere suas non abnuunt, et quia Diaconus non suscepto presbyteratus officio apud nos Episcopus ordinatur.* (Certainly this took place, and was probably not abolished till these objections were adduced. See *Mabillon comm. in ord. Rom. in the museum Ital. T. ii. p. cxix. ss.*) *Hincmar* required *Odo*, bishop of *Beauvais*, to defend the Latin Church (ep. ad *Odon. Belvac., opp. ed. Sirmond. ii. 809*). He also furnished a work (*Flodoardi hist. Eccl. Rhem. iii. c. 23*), which has been lost. Probably, too, a lost work of *Ado*, archbp. of *Vienne*, was directed against the Greeks (*hist. lit. de la France v. 473*). There are still extant *Ratramni Corbej. mon. contra Graecorum opposita libb. iv.* (in *d'Achery spicileg. i. 63*), and *Æneae Episc. Parisiensis liber adv. Graecos* (*ibid. p. 113*). Recently *Angelo Majus* has published two anonymous writings belonging to this time, *de Spir. S. processione a Patre Filioque* in the *scriptt. vett. nova coll. vii. i. 245*. The Greeks appealed in favour of their view of this doctrine to *Joh. xv. 26*, the Latins to *Joh. xx. 22; Act. ii. 33, xvi. 7; Gal. iv. 6; Phil. i. 19*.

¹³ *Basillii Imp. epist. ad Nicolaum P. in the Acts of the eighth oecumenical synod actio iii.* (ap. *Mansi xvi. 46, 324*).

¹⁴ The acts of this synod in *Anastasius in vita Hadriani ii.* and in the *Acts of the eighth oecumenical synod actio vii.* (ap. *Mansi xvi. 122 ss. and 371 ss.*)

¹⁵ The acts in a Latin translation by *Anastasius bibl.* (*Mansi xvi. 1*), and in a shorter Greek collection (prim. ed. *Matth. Raderus. Ingolst. 1604. 4.* ap. *Mansi xvi. 209*). The predominance of Rome was so evident here, that soon after a complaint was made by some Greek bishops to the emperor and the patriarch, *non bene factum fuisse, quod Ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam tanta subjectione Romanae subdi Ecclesiae permiserint, ita ut hanc ei tamquam dominae ancillam tradiderint*, whereon some of the acts are said to have been privately stolen from the papal legate, *Anastasio annotatio ad act. i.* (*Mansi xvi. 29*). Thus the

quence of the decision of the other patriarchs, and favoured by Greek influence over Bulgaria resuscitated by Basil, again took ecclesiastical possession of this country,¹⁶ the controversy between Rome and Constantinople still continued.¹⁷

Greek collection certainly appears to have proceeded from a new revision. The difference is most striking in the cann. which are firmly established act x., and of which 27 are found in Anastasius l. c. p. 160 ss.; in the Greek collection, *ibid.* p. 397 ss., only 14. Almost all are directed against Photius. So, for instance, can. lat. xi. *græc.* x. the opinion is condemned, *δύο ψυχὰς ἔχει τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (*comp.* vol. i. div. 2, § 83, not. 30, at the end), because it is supposed to have been held by Photius, *cf.* Anastasii *praef. ad conc.* p. 6 (which Schroeckh overlooks). Two canons extant in the Latin acts only, are remarkable for their evident attempt to modify the Pseudoisidorian principles to suit the East: can. xvii: *Patriarchae—Metropolitanorum—habeant potestatem, videlicet ad convocandum eos, urgente necessitate, ad synodalem conventum, vel etiam ad coercendum illos et corrigendum etc. Consueverunt autem Metropolitanis bis in anno synodos facere, ideoque, sicut dicunt, ad patriarchale penitus non posse concurrere caput. Sed sancta haec et universalis synodus, nec concilia quae a Metropolitanis fiunt interdicens, multo magis illa novit rationabiliora esse ac utiliora Metropolitanorum conciliis, quae a patriarchali sede congregantur; et idcirco haec fieri exigit etc.* Can. xxvi.:—*nullo modo quisquam Metropolitanorum vel Episcoporum a vicinis Metropolitibus vel Episcopis provinciae suae iudicetur, licet quaedam incurrisse crimina perhibeatur, sed a solo Patriarcha proprio iudicetur.* But in both collections is found the regulation (*can. græc.* xiii. *lat.* xxi): *si Synodus universalis fuerit congregata, et facta fuerit etiam de sancta Romanorum Ecclesia quaevis ambiguitas et controversia, oportet venerabiliter et cum convenienti reverentia de proposita quaestione sciscitari, et solutionem accipere,—non tamen audacter sententiam dicere contra summos senioris Romae Pontifices.* It has been already remarked (§ 1, not. 28), that decrees were passed, at this council, against the enemies of image-worship, who began to be more active, *cf.* can. iii. and vii. Remarkable continues to be always the observation of the Continuator Aimoini *hist. Francorum lib. v.* (in Duchesne *scriptt. rer. Franc. T. iii.*) respecting this synod: *In qua synodo de imaginibus adorandis aliter, quam orthodoxi doctores ante definierant, statuerunt; quaedam etiam pro favore Romani Pontificis, qui eorum votis de imaginibus adorandis annuit, et quaedam contra antiquos canones, et contra ipsam synodum constituerunt, sicut qui eandem synodum legerit, patenter inveniet.* *Cf.* Richerii *hist. concill. generall. i. 717, 740.*

¹⁶ Anastasius in vita cviii. Hadriani ii. After the conclusion of the council, the papal legates, the vicarii Patriarcharum, Ignatius and some others were assembled before the emperor. Then appeared the Bulgarian ambassadors, asking: *Usque hodie pagani fuimus, et nuper ad gratiam christianitatis accessimus. Ideoque ne in aliquo errare videamur, cui Ecclesiae subdi debeamus, a vobis, qui vices summorum Patriarcha-*

When *Photius* again took possession of the See of Constantinople after *Ignatius's* death (878), *John VIII.* was induced to acknowledge him in hope of regaining in this way jurisdiction over Bulgaria;¹⁸ and to appoint a *second conc. œcumen. viii. at*

rum geritis, nosse desideramus. The vicarii of the oriental patriarchs ask the legates: quando vos illam patriam cepistis, cujus potestati subdita erat, et utrum Latinos, an Graecos sacerdotes habuerit, dicite. The ambassadors: Nos illam patriam a Graecorum potestate armis evicimus, in qua non Latinos sed Graecos sacerdotes reperimus. To this the vicarii: Si Graecos sacerdotes ibi reperistis, manifestum est, quia ex ordinatione Constantinopoleos illa patria fuit. The Roman legates declare on the contrary: Sedes apostolica—utramque Æpirum, novam videlicet veteremque, totamque Thessaliam, atque Dardanium—cujus nunc patria ab his Bulgaris Bulgaria nuncupatur, antiquitus canonicè ordinavit et obtinuit. Ac per hoc etc. Secondly: Bulgares,—sedis apostolicæ semet—patrocínio—specialiter committentes, nobis debent, nec immerito, subjici, quos ultronea voluntate magistros elegere. Thirdly: eosdem Bulgares s. sedes apostolica—a diversis erroribus ad catholicæ fidei veritatem multo sudore—transferens—ultra triennium tenuit, tenet, ordinat ac disponit. Finally: S. sedes apostolica vos, quia revera inferiores estis, super sua causa judices nec eligit nec per nos elegit, utpote quæ de omni Ecclesia sola specialiter fas habeat judicandi. But to this the vicarii reply: Satis indecens est, ut vos, qui Graecorum imperium detrectantes, Francorum foederibus inhaerentis, in regno nostri Principis ordinandi jura servetis. Quapropter [quod] Bulgarum patriam ex Graecorum potestate dudum fuisse, et Graecos sacerdotes habuisse comperimus, s. Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ, a qua quia per paganismum recesserat, nunc per christianismum resitui judicamus. And thus it was decided, Bulgares—Graecos sacerdotes—suscipientes, nostros ejiciunt.

¹⁷ Continuation of the Roman claims to jurisdiction in Bulgaria in *Hadriani ii. epist. ad Basilium* (in *append. ad conc. viii. ap. Mansi xvi. 206*), *Johannis viii. epist. 75, 77, 174, 189, 192*, ad *Michaelem Regem Bulgar. 76*, ad *Petrum Comitem. 78*, ad *Ignatium Patr. 79*, ad *Episc. et clericos Graecos*, all in *Mansi xvii. 62 ss.*

¹⁸ *Joh. viii. epist. 199*, ad *Basilium et Alexandrum Imp. 200*, ad *clericos Constantinop. 201*, ad *Photium Patr. 202*, ad *Constantinopolitanos*, all dated 16th August 879. To *Photius* he writes: Quod dicitur autem, s. Constantinopolitanam Ecclesiam in te convenire, teque privatam sedem recipere,—de adunatione omnium Deo gratias agimus. Verum super receptione privatae sedis nos debuimus ante consuli. Tamen quia obeunte fratre et coepiscopo nostro *Ignatio*, te Constantinopolitano throno praesidere audivimus: tantum ut pax augeatur, et jurgia cessent, multimodas Deo gratias agimus. Et cum non sit reprehensibilis erga correctum quantacumque miseratione, si satisfaciens coram synodo misericordiam secundum consuetudinem postulaveris, ac si evidenti correctione ntaris, et peritiae non obliviscens nullius damna moliaris,—et si—omnes

Constantinople (879 and 880),¹⁹ at which the first of 869 was re-

uno voto—in tua restitutione convenerint: veniam pro pace s. Constantinopolitanae Ecclesiae tibi concedimus etc. Praeterea sicut vestra pars suum velle conatur vires accipere, ita et diocesim nostram Bulgariam, quam—P. Nicolai certamine sedes apostolica recepit, ac Hadriani—tempore possederat, summa nobis celeritate restitui volumus etc.

¹⁹ Afterwards commonly called by the Latins Pseudosynodus Photiana. The acts ap. Mansi xvii. 373 ss. The Greeks succeeded in bringing over to their mind the papal legates, by flattery and artful management; those papal letters to Basil and to Photius were laid before the synod in a Greek translation, in which all their rudeness was taken away. That passage of the letter to Photius (note 18) ran thus for example (p. 413): *Ἐγραψας ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἡ ἀγιωτάτη τοῦ Θεοῦ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν Ἐκκλησία ἐν σοι συνεφώνησε,—καὶ ὅτι τὸν θρόνον, ὃν ἐστερήθησ, ἀπέλαβες, ὃς ἦν ἰδιός σου ὑπὲρ τούτων, λέγω δὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεώς σου—Θεῶ τὴν εὐχαριστιαν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνεπέψαμεν.—Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς τῇ ἐνούσῃ σοι σοφία καὶ συνέσει—πάντας μετέρχου οἰκειοῦσθαι πρὸς σέ κ. τ. λ.—Διὸ καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀξιούμεν,—μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι ἐπὶ τῇ συνόδῳ κηρύξαι τὸ εἰς σέ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλεος, καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας τὸν ὑπερασπισμὸν κ. τ. λ. Concerning Bulgaria noi a word, but on the contrary there was interpolated: Τὴν δὲ γενομένην κατὰ τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας σύνοδον ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι ἠκυρώσαμεν καὶ ἐξωστρακίσσαμεν παντελῶς, καὶ ἀπεβαλόμεθα, διὰ τε τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν μακάριος πάπας Ἀδριανὸς οὐχ ὑπέγραψεν ἐν αὐτῇ.—Concerning the demands of the papal legates respecting Bulgaria it was said: ὁ περὶ ἐνορίας λόγος τῆς παρουσίας διέστηκεν ὑποθέσεως, καὶ καιρὸν ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ. Whatever the emperor may decide on the subject, στέργομεν καὶ συνευδοκοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς (p. 420. 488.) Finally actio vi. (p. 515) the Nicene-Constantinopolitan symbol was recognised, and respecting it the determination was: εἴ τις—ῥήμασι νόθοις ἢ προσθήκαις ἢ ἀφαιρέσεσι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου καὶ σεβασμίον ὄρον κατακιβδηλεῦσαι ἀποθρασυνθεῖη—εἰ μὲν τῶν ἱερωμένων εἴη τις, παντελεῖ καθαίρειται τούτον καθυποβάλλομεν· εἰ δὲ τῶν λαϊκῶν, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπομεν. By this only the Western addition could be meant. As to what Baron. ad ann. 879, no. 73. and Bellarminus de concil. lib. i. c. 5. asserted, that the whole synod may have been a fabrication of Photius, Leo Allatius de octava synodo Photiana. Rom. 1662. 8. and de Eccles. occid. et orient. perpetua consensione p. 591, has expressed as a certainty. On the contrary John viii. epist. 250 ad Photium: Ea, quae pro causa tuae restitutionis synodali decreto Constantinopoli misericorditer acta sunt, recipimus. Et si fortasse nostri legati in eadem synodo contra apostolicam praeceptionem egerunt, nos nec recipimus, nec judicamus alicujus existere firmitatis. In like manner epist. 251 ad Imperatores with the date Idibus Aug. Indict. xiii. (880.) Before open enmity had broke forth again, Photius sent a letter to the patriarch of Aquileia (Latin ap. Baronius ann. 883, no. 4), in which he proves at length to him that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father.

versed. But he soon found himself deceived ; and no resource was left him but to retract every thing and condemn Photius.²⁰

Photius was a second time deposed by *Leo the Wise* (886), though with less reference than before to the co-operation of Rome.²¹

The attempts of Photius (shortly before 866) to gain over the *Armenians* again to the Greek Church,²² were as fruitless as those of *Nicolaus Mysticus*,²³ patriarch of Constantinople, from 895—925.

²⁰ In an old work on the various condemnations of Photius, ap. Mansi xvi. 449 : Ἰωάννης—ἀνεθεμάτισε Φώτιον, ὅτε ἀπεπλάνησε τοὺς περὶ Εὐγένιον διὰ τὴν Βουλγαρίαν ἐλθόντας. Λαβὼν γὰρ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι, πάντων ἀκονόντων ἔφη· ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὸν θεοκρίτως ἀναθεματισθέντα Φώτιον, ὡς ἀφήκαν αὐτὸν Νικόλαος καὶ Ἀδριανὸς οἱ ἀγιώτατοι Πάπαι, οἱ προκάτοχοί μου, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. The Latins continued to count the council of 869 the viii. oecumenical one, the Greeks abide by that of 879, but reckon only seven general councils. Of the measures taken by the following popes against Photius, we have extant only Stephani v. epist. ad Basiliū Imp. A. D. 885 (Mansi xviii. 11).

²¹ It is true that even the emperor and Stylianus bishop of Neocaesarea (epist. ad Stephan. Mansi xvi. 425, and xviii. 14), applied this time to the pope, on which Stephanus epist. ad Episc. orient. (ib. xviii. 18) replied. With Styliani epist. ii. ad Stephan. A. D. 889 (ib. xvi. 437), to which Formosus (ib. xvi. 440, xviii. 101) replied, and a third letter of his A. D. 898, now lost, the answer to which, by John ix. Baronius ad ann. 905 no. 9, has, the correspondence closed without having had any effect.

²² Photii ep. ad Zachariam, Patriarcham Armeniorum, and ep. ad Asutum, Principem Armeniae, both from the Armenian in the spicilegium Romanum x. ii. 449. It is remarkable that Angelo Majus has only given in brief the contents of the part of the first letter (p. 452) in which Photius praises very much the church of Constantinople, caeteroqui de Patriarchatuum aliquot origine malitiose et procul omni veritate loquitur. Photius seems to have been at first deceived by favourable replies and oriental flatteries from the Armenians; for in his Encyclica (ed. Montacutii p. 48 s.) he thinks he had converted them.

²³ A collection of his letters in the spicilegium Romanum x. ii. 161. In the same ep. 139 p. 417, to the ruler of Armenia comp. praef. p. xviii.

§ 42.

LATER CONTROVERSIES TILL THE ENTIRE SEPARATION OF
THE TWO CHURCHES.

Michaelis Cerular. epist. ii. ad Petrum Patriarch. Antioch. (in Cotelerii
Ecclesiae Graec. monum. ii. 135 and 162.)

Since the *Encyclica* of Photius, doubts of Latin orthodoxy had been gradually taking deeper root among the Greeks. And because, on the other side, the Pseudoisidorian principles, and the continued claims of the popes to Bulgaria appeared in the way, the ecclesiastical bond between the sees of Constantinople and Rome was necessarily always becoming looser, and would have been entirely broken earlier, had not the interest of the Greek emperors prevented the crisis. The little communication between them had long been of a merely hostile character,¹ when at length

¹ Ex. gr. the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo Philosophus having been condemned by the patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus, Pope Sergius III. (904) declared it allowable (cf. Nicolai epist. ad Anastasiam P. A.D. 912 and ad Joannem x. A.D. 920, ap. Mansi xviii. 243, more fully in Greek in the spicilegium Rom. x. ii. 287, 326). Hence arose a division in the Greek church: but the Synod Constant. A.D. 920, decided against the pope (Acts ap. Mansi xviii. 331), cf. Theophanis continuati lib. vi. de Leone, c. 23, 24. Symeon Logoth. in Leone c. 12, 17, 18. Schlosser's Weltgesch. ii. ii. 226. Another remarkable transaction between the two hierarchs is related by Glaber Radulph iv. c. 1: Circa annum igitur Domini MXXIV. Constantinopolitanus Praesul cum suo Principe Basilio, aliique nonnulli Graecorum consilium iniere, quatenus cum consensu Romani Pontificis liceret Ecclesiarum Constantinopolitanam in suo orbe, sicuti Roma in universo, universalem dici et haberi. Qui statim miserunt, qui deferrent multa ac diversa donorum xenia Romam, tam Pontifici, quam caeteris —. Ac licet pro tempore philargyria mundi regina queat appellari, in Romanis tamen inexplebile cubile locavit. Mox namque ut videre, Graecorum sibi deferri fulgidas opes, versum est cor illorum ad fraudulentiae diverticula, pertentantes an forte clanculo concedere quiverant, quod petebatur: sed nequaquam.—Dum ergo adhuc leni sub marmure hujusce machinatores in conclavi sese putarent talia tractavisse, velox fama de ipsis per universam Italiam decurrit. Sed qualis tunc tumultus, quam vehemens commotio per cunctos exstitit, qui audierunt, dici non valet. Willelmus Abbas Divionensis s. Benigni wrote a severe letter of warning to the pope, concluding with these words: De caetero quoque optamus, uti universalem decet Antistitem, vos acrius

Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, renewed open warfare, by his letter to *John*, bishop at *Trani* in Apulia² (1053),

in correctione ac disciplina sanctae et apostolicae Ecclesiae vigere. So also Hugonis Flaviniac. chron. Viridunense ad ann. 1024 (ap. Bouquet x. 209). The later Greeks pretend that Filioque was inserted in the symbol for the first time under Pope Christophorus (904) and that from that time forwards the popes were erased from the Diptycha in Constantinople (Allatii de Eccl. occid. et orient. perpet. consensu p. 606 ss.) But this is not true, since as late as John XVIII. († 1007) it was not so (Petri Patr. Ant. ep. ad Michael. Cerul. in Cotelerii monum. Eccl. Gr. ii. 148). At the time of Michael Cerul., however, it had long been so, for he even supposes that it had been done since the sixth oecumenical council on account of the behaviour of Vigilius (!) ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις ἀναφορὰ—ἐξέκόπη τοῦ Πάπα (ep. ad Petr. Ant. l. c. p. 140), an error which Peter corrects in this very passage. Perhaps that difference respecting the Patr. oecumenicus had given rise to such an idea.

² Only extant in Humbert's Latin translation (ap. Baronius ad. ann. 1853 no. 22 and Canis. lectt. ant. ed. Basnage iii. i. 281): Michael universalis Patriarcha novae Romae et Leo Archiepiscopus Achridae metropolis Bulgarorum dilecto fratri Joanni Tranensi Episc. Dei magna dilectio et jucunda compassionis viscera flexere nos scribere ad tuam Sanctitatem et per te ad universos principes sacerdotum et sacerdotes Francorum, et monachos et populos, et ad ipsum reverendissimum Papam, et memorari de Azymis et Sabbatis, quae mystice indecenter custoditis, et communicatis Judaeis. Etenim Azyma et Sabbata ipsi custodire a Moyse jussi sunt: nostrum vero Pascha Christus est. Reference to Matth. xxvi. 17, 18, 20, 26—28.—“hic est sanguis meus novi Testamenti.” Dicendo enim “novi” ostendit, quomodo ea, quae veteris fuerunt Testamenti, cessavere. Aspicite quomodo panem corpus suum sub novo Testamento vocavit. Vos quidem panem, nos ἄρον dicimus Ἄρον autem interpretatur elevatus et sursum portatus a fermento et sale, calorem et elevationem habens. Azymae autem nihil distant a lapide sine anima, et luto lateris, deorsum conjunctae terrae et sicco luto comparatae. Aut non audistis Jesum dicentem discipulis suis: “Quia vos estis sal terrae?” (Matth. v. 13) et “quoniam simile est regnum caelorum fermento, “quod accipiens mulier abscondit in farinae satis tribus,” etc. (Matth. xiii. 33). Mulierem sanctam Ecclesiam vocat. Satis vero tribus [s.] modis repleis, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, quorum nequaquam lutulentae azymae sunt participes. (According to J. Sirmondi disquis. de azymo, semperne in usu fuerit apud Latinos? Paris 1651, 8, the Latins also used fermented bread in the Lord's supper till the eighth century; with whom agrees J. Bona, rerum liturg. lib. i. c. 23. On the other side is J. Mabillon diss. de pane eucharistico, azymo ac fermentato. Paris 1674, 8, also in his analectis ed. ii. p. 522 and J. Ciampini conjecturae de perpetuo azymorum usu in Ecclesia latina. Romae 1688, 4). Sabbata vero quomodo in Quadragesima Judaice observatis? An allusion to Matth. xii. 1 ss. Marc. ii. 27. Joh. ix. 16. Luc. xiii. 15. Et ideo hi, qui Sabbata cum azymis custodiunt, neque Judaei neque Christiani sunt, sed similes sunt

filled with invectives against the alleged errors of the Latin Church. The Emperor *Constantine Monomachus* used indeed every means in his power to prevent the entire rupture, and fortunately succeeded in persuading Pope Leo IX. to enter on the preliminaries of a reconciliation;³ but the extravagant demands of the Roman legates⁴ sent to Constantinople, the bitterness of the writings which *Humbert* composed in refutation of that letter of the patriarch,⁵ and another of a later opponent of the Latin

leopardo, sicut dicit magnus Basilius, cujus capilli nec nigri sunt, nec albi omnino. Quomodo autem et suffocata hi tales comedunt, in quibus sanguis tenetur? An nescitis, ut omnis animalis sanguis anima ipsius sit, et qui comederit sanguinem, animam, comedit? (Cf. Jo. Rud. Kiesling hist. concertationis Graec. Latinorumque de esu sanguinis et carnis morticinae. Erlang. 1763, 8). Item Alleluja in Quadragesima non psallitis, sed semel in Pascha tantummodo, etc. Cur tantam deceptionem horum talium non aspiciitis, nec intelligitis, neque corrigitis populos et vosmetipsos, sicut qui debent judicari ex his a Deo? Non derelinquitis, quod dicitur, quod hoc Petrus, et Benedictus, et Paulus et caeteri docuerunt? Decipitis vos ipsos et populum in istis. Quae vero scripsi, ea sunt, quae Petrus et Paulus et caeteri Apostoli et Christus docuit; et sancta Ecclesia catholica suscepit et custodit religiose. Quae et vos correcti custodite. Azymas vero et custodias sabbatorum projicite miseris Judaeis: similiter et suffocata barbaris gentibus, ut fiamus puri in recta et immaculata fide, et unus grex unius pastoris Christi. Cujus in cruce divino sanguine inebriati laudamus puri pure Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, universa Mosaicae legis et ab eo custodita derelinquentes sine Deo Judaeis, qui velut caeci perquirentes Christum lumen amiserunt, permanentes in umbra, sicut insipientes perpetuo. Haec autem homo Dei et multotiens ipse cum populo agnoscens docuisti esse, et correctus scripsisti multis similem consuetudinem habentibus. Et ut habeas salutem animae tuae, mitte principibus sacerdotum et sacerdotibus, et adjura, ut per haec seipsos corrigant et Dei populum, ut Dei mercedem in istis habeas. Et si hoc feceris, propono et per secundam scriptionem majora et perfectiora his tibi scribere, fidei vera ostensione et firmamento animarum, pro quibus Christus posuit animam suam. A larger work of Michael against the Latin church is found in MS. in the Imperial library at Vienna (Lambec. comm. de bibl. Viudob. lib. iii. p. 160).

³ Cf. Leonis ix. epist. i. et vi. ad Michaellem Constantinop. Patr., epist. vii. ad Constant. imp. (ap. Mansi xix. 635 ss.)

⁴ Their names see below not. 7.

⁵ Humberti responsio instar dialogi ab ipso latine conscripta—et jussu Imp. Constant. graece edita sub nominibus Constantinopolitani et Romani (prim. ed. Baronius in append. T. xi. in Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basn. iii. i. 283). The epist. Michaelis ad Joannem Tranensem is expressed piece by piece from the Constantinopolitan, and is then refuted by the Roman. Ex. gr. in the beginning: Ex hac vestra praefatione,

Church, *Nicetas Pectoratus*,⁶ in Constantinople, and the mode in

sicut profitemini, crederemus, vos salutem totius Latinae seu occidentalis Ecclesiae pro sola magna Dei dilectione quaerere: si sciremus vos vestram vestrorumque non negligere. Cum vero vos ipsos et vobis commissos negligatis, ut nefandos Jacobitas, imo Theopaschitas, seu alias haereticorum pestas, inter vos et penes vos habeatis (Comp. vol. i. Div. ii. § 111. not. 6, below § 45, not. 3), neque eorum consortia, neque colloquia, neque convivia seu pariter orare devitetis: quomodo saltem suspicabimur, vos aliqua dilectione Dei aut proximi praemonitos compati nostrae perditioni, sicut putatis? etc. Ast vos, quasi omnia munda immunda sint vobis, oculis contra vos et vestra clausis, s. Romanam et omnem occidentalem Ecclesiam pollutam haeresi et Judaismo proclamatis, et velut quandam abominationem devitatis. Ex qua tam caeca et hactenus inaudita audacia ad hoc prorupistis, ut cunctorum haereticorum, quos adhuc deprehendere voluimus, temeritatem transcendatis. Quamvis omnino singulae haereses suis adinventionibus aliqua Ecclesiae membra fatigaverint: nulla tamen adhuc ad tantam vesaniam erupit, ut opinionem suam primae et apostolicae sedi ingerere praesumsisset cum interpositione anathematis. Recensete si placet ab initio Christianitatis usque ad nostra tempora cunctorum haereseon molimina, et videbitis, an aliqua earum praesunserit talia. Et cum non inveneritis, saltem tunc respiscite, ne, quod absit, permaneatis viciniore praecursores illius Antichristi, qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne, quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur. The conclusion: Haecine sunt illa majora et perfectiora, ut tanta oblatio imponatur altari, quanta nequeat a ministris, vel a populo sumi, et idcirco debeat subterrari, aut in puteum ad hoc praeparatum projici? Haecine quoque sunt illa majora et perfectiora, ut novus maritus, et recenti carnis voluptate resolutus, et totus marcidus Christi ministret altaribus, et ab ejus immaculato corpore sanctificatus manus confestim ad muliebres transferat amplexus? Haecine sunt illa perfectiora, ut mulieribus christianis in partu vel in menstruo periclitantibus communio denegetur? aut paganis baptismus interdicator? et parvulis morituris ante octo dies regeneratio per aquam et Spiritum Santum subtrahatur? In quo utique crudeliores Herode, non tantum in corpore, sed et in anima quotidie trucidatis parvulorum innumerabilem populum, et destinatis ad ignem aeternum. Numquid etiam inde est, quod hominis morituri imaginem affigitis crucifixae imagini Christi, ita ut quidam Antichristus in cruce Christi sedeat, ostendens se adorandum tanquam sit Deus? Numquid et illud inde est, quod pejus sit, monachos femoralibus indui et carnibus vesci, quam fornicari? Ideone clauditis ecclesias Latinorum, et dirigitis scripta per totum orbem, ut ad haec majora et perfectiora pertrahatis omnem christianum populum? Non sunt haec talia ostensio verae fidei, sed adinventio Diaboli. Nec sunt firmamentum, sed destructio animarum. Pro quibus omnibus et aliis, quos longum est scripto prosequi, erroribus, nisi respueritis, et digne satisfeceritis, irrevocabile anathema hic et in futuro eritis a Deo et ab omnibus catholicis, pro quibus Christus animam suam posuit.

⁶ Nicetae Presb. et monachi monasterii Studii lib. contra Latinos (ap. Baron. l. c. and Canis. l. c. p. 308). This work touches also other

which the latter had been humbled with the aid of the emperor,⁷ must have prevented all adjustment of the dispute. Michael, supported by his clergy and the people, remained immovable ;

peculiarities of the Latins. Quis ille est, qui tradidit vobis, prohibere et abscindere nuptias sacerdotum ? Quis ex doctoribus Ecclesiae hanc vobis tradidit pravitatem ? Referring to can. apost. 5. (vol. i. Div. 2. § 73, not. 9) and Conc. sexti can. 13, (ibid. § 129, not. 3). Unde igitur vobis, et ex quibus hae horribiles infirmitates supervenerunt, o viri Romanorum sapientissimi, et omnium aliarum gentium nobilissimi ? Aestimo, quod quidam ex Judaeis in tempore Apostolorum credentes, vana lucra cupientes, et pecuniarum amatores reperti, volentes multos fidelium abstrahere ex Evangelio :—in hoc et Christianitas et Judaismus corrupta sunt. On the other hand Humberti responsio contra Nicetam (ll. cc.) ex. gr. in the beginning: Vae tibi, Sarabaita, qui nulla coenobitali examinatus disciplina, voluntate atque voluptate ductus propria, contra sanctam et Romanam et apostolicam Ecclesiam et omnium ss. Patrum concilia horribiliter latrasti, stultior asino, frontem leonis et murum adamantinum frangere tentasti. In quo utique conatu non es victor erroris, sed victus errore:—puer centum annorum maledictus, potius dicendus Epicurus, quam monachus: nec credendus es degere in monasterio Studii, sed in amphitheatro aut lupanari, etc.

⁷ Brevis commemoratio eorum, quae gesserunt Apocrisarii s. Rom. sedis in regia urbe (written by Humbert ap. Baron. ann. 1054 no. 19, Canis. l. c. p. 325): Anno XL. imperii Constantini Monomachi, Ind. vii. ipso die nativitatis b. Joannis Baptistae, advenientibus a domino Papa Leone IX. Apocrisariis s. Romanae sedis, Humberto scilicet Cardinali Episcopo Sylvae Candidae, et Petro Amalphitanorum Archiepiscopo Friderico quoque Diacono et Cancellario, ad monasterium Studii intra urbem Constantinopolitanam: Niceta monachus, qui et Pectoratus, ante praesentiam praefati Imperatoris et procerum ejus, insistentibus ipsis Nuntiis Romanis, anathematizavit quoddam scriptum sub suo nomine contra sedem apostolicam et omnem Latinam Ecclesiam editum, et praetitulatum: De azymo, de subbato, de nuptiis sacerdotum. Insuper anathematizavit cunctos, qui ipsam s. Ecclesiam Romanam negarent primam omnium Ecclesiarum esse, et qui illius fidem semper orthodoxam prasumerent in aliquo reprehendere. Post haec statim in conspectu omnium, ad suggestionem eorundem Nuntiorum Romanorum, jussit idem orthodoxus Imperator praefatum incendi scriptum, sicque fuit discessum. Sequenti autem die praedictus Niceta urbe est egressus, ultra adiit legatos ipsos intra palatium Pigi. A quibus accipiens perfectam suarum, propositionum solutionem, iterum sponte anathematizavit omnia dicta et facta vel tentata adversus primam et apostolicam sedem. Sic ab eis in communionem receptus, effectus est eorum familiaris amicus. Porro dicta vel scripta eorundem Nuntiorum adversus diversas calumnias Graecorum, et maxime contra scripta Michaëlis Constantinopolitani Episcopi, et Leonis Acridani Metropolitanani Episcopi, et saepedicti Nicetae monachi, jussu Imperatoris in Graecum fuere translata, et in eadem urbe hactenus conservata.

the legates (on the 16th July 1054) laid upon the altar of St Sophia an act of excommunication against him,⁸ which, however,

⁸ Brevis commemorat proceeds: Tandem Michaële praesentiam eorundem et colloquium deviante atque in stultitia sua perseverante, praefati Nuntii xvii. kal. Aug. adierunt Ecclesiam s. Sophiae, et super obstinatione illius conquesti, cetero ex more ad Missas praeparato, jam hora tertia, die sabbathi, chartam excommunicationis super principale altare posuerunt sub oculis cleri et populi. Inde mox egressi, etiam pulverem pedum suorum excusserunt in testimonium illis, dictum Evangelii proclamantes: "Videat Deus et judicet." (Michaël epist. i. ad Petr. Ant. admits, after much complaint of the presumptuous pride of the legates: ἡμεῖς μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν συντυχίαν παρητησάμεθα καὶ τὴν ἔντευξιν διὰ τε τὸ ἀμεταθέτως ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς δυσσεβείας πεπεῖσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἀνευ τῆς σῆς μακαριότητος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγιωτάτων Πατριάρχων, περὶ τοιούτων λόγους πρὸς τοὺς τοποτηρητὰς τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνακινεῖν, καὶ ἀνάξιον ὄλως, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τοὺς ἄνω χρόνους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κρατησάσῃ συνθηγείᾳ ἐναντίον καὶ ἀκατάλληλον ἐνομίζομεν). Hinc ordinatis Ecclesiis Latinorum intra ipsam Constantinopolim, et anathemate dato cunctis, qui deinceps communicarent ex manu Graeci Romanum sacrificium viuperantis, in osculo pacis accepta orthodoxi Imperatoris licentia donisque imperialibus s. Petro et sibi, alacres coepere reveri xv. kal. Augusti; sed nimia instantia precum Michaëlis, spondentis tunc demum, se conflicturum cum eis, Imperator compulsus a Solembria literis suis eos revocavit xiii. kal. Augusti. Quo etiam die festinantes regressi devenerunt ad palatium Pigi. Quos praefatus Michaël haeresiarcha comperiens redisse, quasi ad concilium conabatur adducere in Ecclesiam s. Sophiae, sequenti die ut ostensa charta, quam omnino corruperat transferendo, obruerentur ibidem a populo. Quod prudens Imperator praecavens noluit haberi aliquod concilium, nisi et ipse adesset praesens. Cumque hoc ei omnimodis Michaël contradiceret, jussit Augustus ipsos Nuntios confestim arripere iter. Quod et factum est. (On the other hand, Michaël l. c., says there was no intention of punishing the bold, however, τοὺς τὴν ἀσεβῆ κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκθεμένους γραφὴν, προστάξει βασιλικῇ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σεκρέτῳ ὑπερβάλομεν ἀναθέματι πολλὰ μὲν μετὰ τὴν τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ τοῦ εἰς ὄψιν ἡμῖν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τῇ διαστροφῇ τοῦ ἀγίου συμβόλου ἀποτάξασθαι παραιέσαντες· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἠείχοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαχειρίσασθαι ἑαυτοὺς, εἰ μὴ παύσονται περὶ τούτου ὀχλούμενοι, διηπεῖλουν, εἰς τὸ κατὰ τῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημίας συνείδομεν χωρῆσαι ἀνάθεμα). Porro vesanus Michaël dolens suas non procedere insidias, concitavit Imperatori vulgi seditionem maximam, velut Nuntiis cooperata fuerit ejus voluntas. Unde Imperator coactus, interpretes Latinorum Paulum ac filium ejus Smaragdum, caesos et detonsos Michaëli tradidit: sicque tumultus ille conquievit. Verum Imperator post Nuntios Romanos directis suis, exemplar excommunicationis verissimum a civitate Russorum remissum sibi accepit, civibusque exhibuit, ac tandem Michaëlem falsasse chartam legatorum comperit atque convicit. Itaque commotus amicos et affines ipsius honoribus privatos a palatio eliminavit, contraque ipsum usque nunc graves iras retinuit. Denique exemplar chartae excommunicatoriae est tale: Humbertus,

was immediately answered by the patriarch with a like anathema.⁹ The other oriental patriarchs joined with the Constan-

—Petrus,—Fredericus,—omnibus catholicae Ecclesiae filiis : Sancta Romana prima et apostolica sedes—nos Apocrisarios suos facere dignata est, ut juxta quod scriptum est, descenderemus et videremus, utrum opere completus sit clamor, qui sine intermissione ex tanta urbe conscendit ad ejus aures. Quantum ad columnas imperii, et honoratos ejus atque cives sapientes, christianissima et orthodoxa est civitas. Quantum autem ad Michaëlem abusive dictum Patriarcham, et ejus stultitiae fautores, nimia zizania haereseon quotidie seminantur in medio ejus. Quia sicut Simoniaci donum Dei vendunt : sicut Valesii hospites suos castrant, et non solum ad clericatum sed insuper ad episcopatum promovent : sicut Arriani rebaptizant in nomine s. Trinitatis baptizatos, et maxime Latinos : sicut Donatistae affirmant, excepta Graecorum Ecclesia, Ecclesiam Christi et verum sacrificium atque baptismum ex toto mundo periisse ; sicut Nicolaitae carnales nuptias concedunt et defendunt sacri altaris ministris ; sicut Severiani maledictam dicunt legem Moysis : sicut Pneumatomachi vel Theomachi absciderunt a symbolo Spiritus Sancti processionem a Filio : sicut Manichaei inter alia quodlibet fermentatum fatentur animatum esse : sicut Nazareni carnalem Judaeorum munditiam adeo servant, ut parvulos morientes ante octavam a nativitate diem baptizari contradicant, et mulieres in menstruo vel in partu periclitantes communicari, vel si paganae fuerint, baptizari prohibeant, et capillos capitis ac barbae nutrientes, eos qui comam tondent, et secundum institutionem Rom. Ecclesiae barbas radunt, in communione non recipiant.—Therefore : Michaël—et Leo Acridanus Episcopus dictus, et sacellarius ipsius Michaëlis Constantinus, qui Latinorum sacrificium profanis conculcavit pedibus, et omnes sequaces eorum in praefatis erroribus et praesumptionibus, sint Anathema Maranatha, cum Simoniacis, Valesiis etc. et cum omnibus haereticis, imo cum Diabolo et Angelis ejus, nisi forte resipuerint. Amen, amen, amen.

⁹ A synod summoned by Michael issued in July 1054, in opposition to that excommunication—writing a *ζημείωμα* (edictum) (see in Allatii de libris ecclesiasticis Graecorum diss. ii. Paris. 1645. 4. p. 161. Instead of *μηνί 'Ιουνίω 'Ινδικτ. ζ'*. it must be read *'Ιουλίω*, as p. 170 the reading twice appears). There it is said that those legates were *ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ* (a Greek dux in Lower Italy, see Schlosser's Weltgesch. ii. ii. 602 ff. 647 ff.) *δολεραῖς ὑποθήκαις καὶ συμβουλαῖς, αὐτοὶ τε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ μήτε παρὰ τοῦ Πάπα ἀποσταλέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἃ ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δῆθεν ἐπέφεροντο, πλασάμενοι*. This was proved in particular by the false seal. Having departed immediately after their daring act, the emperor, at the instance of the patriarchs, sent to bring them back, but *οὐ βούλονται δὲ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μετριότητι προσελθεῖν, ἢ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τινα δοῦναι, περὶ ἧν ἀσεβῶν ἀπηρεύξαντο,—αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ θανεῖν μάλλον, ἢ εἰς ὄψιν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ ἔλθειν*. According to his letter inserted here, the emperor was entirely on the side of the patriarch, and only withheld from violent measures against the legates *διὰ τὸ δοκοῦν περιεῖσθαι τούτους τῆς πρεσβείας ὀφφίκιον*,

tinopolitan;¹⁰ and thus the Christian East separated from the West for ever.¹¹

The conclusion is, that on the 24th July, ἐπ' ἀκροάσει τοῦ πλήθους ἀναθεματισθῆναι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀσεβές καὶ αὐθις ἐγγραφόν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο ἐκθεμένους καὶ γράψαντας, καὶ συναίνεσίν τινα, ἢ βουλὴν εἰς τὴν τούτου ποιήσιν δεδωκότας. τὸ δὲ πρωτότυπον τοῦ ριφέντος παρὰ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἀνοσίτου ἐγγράφου καὶ μισαροῦ [οὐ] κατεκαύθη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὐαγεί τοῦ χαρτοφύλακος ἀπετέθη σεκρέτῳ εἰς ἔλεγχον διηλεκῆ τῶν τηλικαῦτα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν βλασφημησάντων.

¹⁰ Cf. Michaëlis epist. i. ad Petrum Antioch. in which an account of the affair is given, and of the errors of the Latins. To those already recounted new ones are added : ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μεταλήψεως εἰς τῶν λειτουργούντων ἐσθίων τὰ ἄζυμα τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσπάζεται (above § 18. not. 8). καὶ δακτυλίου φοροῦντες ἐν ταῖς χερσίν οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς δῆθεν γυναικας τὰς Ἐκκλησίας λαμβάνοντες, τὸν ἀρραβῶνα φορεῖν λέγουσι (above § 24. not. 4). καὶ εἰς πολέμους δὲ ἐξιόντες, αἵμασι τὰς ἑαυτῶν χεῖρας χραίνουσι (above § 24. not. 6)—ὡς δὲ τινες ἡμᾶς διεβεβαίωσαντο, καὶ τὸ θεῖον βάπτισμα ἐπιτελοῦντες, τοὺς βαπτιζομένους βαπτίζουσι εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν (this was really a custom in Spain, Gregor. Magni lib. i. epist. 41. Conc. Tolet. iv. ann. 633 can. 6., approved by Alcuin epist. 75., justified by Walafrid Strabo de reb. eccl. c. 26.)—ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλατος πρὸς τοῦτο τὰ τῶν βαπτιζομένων πληροῦσι στόματα.—Instead of Μικρὰ ζύμη ὄλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοί, they read, 1 Cor. v. 6. and Gal. v. 9, φθείρει (Vulg. has corrumpit), for the purpose of defending their unleavened bread. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ λείψανα τῶν Ἁγίων ἀνέχονται προσκυνεῖν· τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας (see above § 11). οὔτε μὴν τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ μεγάλους Πατέρας ἡμῶν, —τόν τε θεολόγον φημί Γρηγόριον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον καὶ τὸν θεῖον Χρυσόστομον τοῖς λοιποῖς συναριθμοῦσιν Ἁγίοις, ἢ ὄλωσ τὴν διδαχὴν αὐτῶν καταδέχονται. More rational and moderate is the judgment of Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in his reply to Michael (ap. Cotelerius l. c. p. 145 ss.) respecting this controversy : p. 149 : ὅσα δέ σοι καὶ ἀπηρίθμηται Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἑλαττώματα μετήλθομεν καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων ἐδόκει ἀπενεκταῖα καὶ φευκτὰ, τὰ δὲ ἰάσιμα, τὰ δὲ παροράσεως ἄξια. τί γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ ξυρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τοὺς πώγωνας, καὶ δακτυλοφορεῖν αὐτοὺς κ. τ. λ. ;—p. 152 : κακὸν δὲ καὶ κακῶν κάκιστον, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ συμβόλῳ προσθήκη. p. 153 : ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπόλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πρώτης συνόδου, οἷα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ τῶν Οὐνανδάλων ἔθνους κυριαρχήσαντος· παρ' ὧν ἴσως καὶ ἔμαθον ἀρειανίζειν, καὶ εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν, εἰ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὡς ἐδήλωσας, τὸ βάπτισμα ἐπιτελεῖν. p. 154 : Καλὸν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ καλοθελές ὀρώντας ἡμᾶς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔνθα μὴ θεὸς ἢ πίστις τὸ κινδυνευόμενον, νέυειν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ εἰρηνικόν τε καὶ φιλάδελφον· ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν οὗτοι, κἂν ἐξ ἀγροικίας ἢ ἀμαθίας συμβαίη τούτους πολλὰκις ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ εἰκότος, τῷ ἑαυτῶν στοιχοῦντας θελήματι. καὶ μὴ τοσαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιζητεῖν ἐν βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν, ἢν αὐτοὶ περὶ λόγους ἀναστρεφόμενοι ἀπαιτούμεθα. p. 157 : Περὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ συμβόλῳ προσθήκης, καὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀγιασμάτων ἀπὸ γεγαμηκότος ἱερέως, καλῶς καὶ θεοφιλῶς ἢ ἀγισσύνης σου ἐνίσταται· καὶ μὴ παύσαιτό ποτε περὶ τούτου ἐνισταμένη καὶ πείθουσα,—μέχρις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔξεις συντιθεμένους τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.—τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφρονητέα μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν καταβλαπτομένων. In like

manner Theophylact, archbp. of Bulgaria, about 1078, in his lib. de iis in quibus Latini accusantur (prim. ed. in Jo. Aloys. Mingarelli anecdotorum fasc. Romae 1756. 4. p. 257 ss.), with bitter complaints both against the passionateness of the Greeks, and the proud obstinacy of the Latins. Ex. gr. p. 283: Καὶ τοῖς δυτικοῖς τοῖνυν εἶ τι μὲν περὶ τὸ δόγμα διαμαρτάνεται τὴν πατρικὴν πίστιν σαλεύον, οἷον δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος προστιθέμενον· ἔνθα ὁ κίνδυνος μέγιστος, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ διορθώσεως ἀξιούμενον ὁ συγχωρῶν, ἀσυγχώρητος· κὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τοὺς λόγους ποιῶνται, ὃν ὑψηλὸν ὑψηλοὶ προτιθέασιν· κὰν τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου ὁμολογίαν προβάλλωνται· κὰν τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ μακαρισμὸν περιφέρωσι· κὰν τὰς κλείς τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῖν ἐπισείωσιν· οἷς ὅσῳ τιμᾶν ἐκείνους δοκοῦσι, τοσοῦτον ἑαυτοὺς ἀτιμάζουσιν, ἃ ἐκείνος ἤδρασεν αὐτοὶ καταλύοντες, καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ὑποσπῶντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ἐκείνος ἀνέχει πιστεύεται.—p. 286: οὐ τοῖνυν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων, οὔτε περὶ τῶν νηστειῶν ἀντισκληρυθησόμεθα τῷ ἀκαμπεί τοῦ ἔθνους φρονήματι.—οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δέι περὶ τῶν ἀπηριθμημένων λοιπῶν, ἅπερ ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τηρεῖν—δοκοῦσι πολλοῖς ἀσύγγνωστα σφάλλασθαι. Ὡν μὴ συντίθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ἀνδρὸς ἔστιν, ὡς οἶμαι, ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἱστορίαις ἐγγυμασθέντος, καὶ μαθόντος, ὡς οὐ πᾶν ἔθος ἀποσχίσειν Ἐκκλησίας ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς διαφθορὰν ἄγον δόγματος. κ. τ. λ.

¹¹ The views of the Greeks of the highest rank in the hierarchy are expressed by the Patrician Baanes, imperial plenipotentiary at the genuine oecumenical council of 869, in the Latin Acts, act. viii. (Mansi xvi. 140): Posuit Deus Ecclesiam suam in quinque patriarchiis, et definivit in Evangeliiis suis, ut nunquam aliquando penitus decidant, eo quod capita Ecclesiae sint. Etenim illud quod dicitur: et portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam (Matth. xvi. 18), hoc denunciat, quando duo ceciderint, currant ad tria; cum tria ceciderint, currunt ad duo; cum vero quatuor forte ceciderint, unum, quod permanet in omnium capite Christo Deo nostro, revocat iterum reliquum corpus Ecclesiae. Cf. Petri Antioch. epist. ad Dominicum Archiep. Gradensem (in Cotelerii mon. Eccl. Gr. ii. 114): πέντε ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ὑπὸ τῆς θείας ὠκονομίῃς χάριτος εἶναι Πατριάρχας,—ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων ἕκαστος κυρίως Πατριάρχης καλεῖται καταχρηστικῶς δέ. ἀνακηρύττονται δέ, ὁ μὲν ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ῥώμης Πάπας, ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας Πάπας, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος· μόνος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἰδιαζόντως ἐκληρώθη Πατριάρχης ἀκούειν καὶ λέγεσθαι.—τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἄγεται κεφαλῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ μέλη πολλά· καὶ πάντα ὑπὸ πέντε μόνον οἰκονομεῖται αἰσθήσεων.—καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ τῶν πιστῶν λέγω Ἐκκλησία,—ὑπὸ πέντε αἰσθήσεων οἰκονομούμενον, τῶν εἰρημένων μεγάλων θρόνων, ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἄγεται κεφαλῆς, αὐτοῦ φημὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. About 870 this comparison was also allowed in Rome, see Anastasii praef. in conc. viii. generale (Mansi xvi. 7): Cum Christus in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, tot patriarchales sedes, quot in cujusque mortali corpore sensus, locaverit; profecto nihil generalitati deest Ecclesiae, si omnes illae sedes unius fuerint voluntatis, sicut nihil deest motui corporis, si omnes quinque sensus integrae communisque fuerint sanitatis. Inter quas videlicet sedes quia Romana praecellit, non immerito visui comparatur: qui profecto cunctis sensibus praeeminet, acutior illis existens, et communionem, sicut nullus eorum, cum omnibus habens. But the Greeks did not acknowledge such a pre-eminence of the Romish patriarch, comp. Nilus Doxo-

SECOND CHAPTER.

INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 43.

The dependence of the church on the court gave countenance to its cabals and alterations (see above § 2),¹ and therefore it could never regain a peculiar life of its own.

When science, or more properly only scientific industry in compilation, was favoured once more under the Macedonian emperors *Basilius Macedo* (867—886), *Leo Philosophus* († 912), *Alexander* († 913), *Constantine Porphyrogennetos* († 959), theology also gained by that means useful collections;² but no

patrius, in his (written A. D. 1143) *τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων* (in Steph. le Moyne varia sacra ed. 2. Lugd. Bat. 1694, i. 211 ss.), who also uses that comparison, but in reference to that Roman pretension remarks, p. 242: 'Ὁρᾶς ὅπως ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος κανόνος (can. Chalced. 28, see Vol. i. Div. 2, § 93, not. 14), προφανῶς ἐλέγχονται ληρούντες οἱ λέγοντες προτιμηθῆναι τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον. Ἴδου γὰρ, προφανῶς ὁ κανὼν οὗτος—φησὶ “διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Ῥώμην βασιλείαν, ἔχειν τὴν προτίμησιν”—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσθη τοῦ εἶναι βασίλισσα—ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνης, ἐκπίπτει καὶ τῶν πρωτείων. p. 245: διὸ καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπογράφει Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος Νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκουμηνικὸς Πατριάρχης· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔλαβε τὰ πρεσβεῖα καὶ τὰ προνόμια τῆς Ῥώμης· βασίλισσα λὰρ ἡ Ῥώμη ἦν τῆς οἰκουμένης πρότερον, εἶτα πάλιν ὕστερον ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις (cf. Nicol. i. ep. lxx. ad Hincmar. above, § 41, not. 6). This is also the view of the later Greeks. See Anna Comnena Alexiados lib. i., Joannes Cinnamus histor. lib. v. c. 10, Nilus Archiepisc. Thessal. de Papae primatu lib. ii., Barlaamus Mon. de Papae principatu c. 5 et 6, and also Joannes Zouaras, Theodorus Balsamo, and Alexius Aristenus in their scholia on the conc. Chalced. xxviii.

¹ The new civil legislation of Basil and Leo (*βασιλικὰ διατάξεις* or *βασιλικά* in 60 books) comprehended, like the older, ecclesiastical relations also. So too the 113 novellae constitutiones or *ἐπανορθωτικὰ καθάρσεις* of Leo (among others in the corpus juris civilis ed. Spangenberg ii. 673 ss.) and the *διατάξεις* of the following emperors (ibid. p. 773 ss.)

² Heeren's *Gesch. d. klass. Literatur in Mittelalter*. Th. i. (Histor. Werke Th. 4.) S. 138 ff.

independent or new impulses. *Photius* († about 891)³ deserves distinction beyond all scholars of the time. *Simeon Metaphrastes* (about 900)⁴ devoted himself to the history of the saints; *Euty-chius* (*Said Ibn Batrik*), patriarch of *Alexandria* († 940),⁵ to general and ecclesiastical history; *Oecumenius*, bishop of *Tricca* (about 990),⁶ to exegesis.

³ His works are *Bibliotheca* (prim. graece ed. Dav. Hoeschelius. August. Vind. 1601 fol. gr. et lat. Andr. Schott. Genev. 1613 and Rothom. 1653. fol. ex rec. Imm. Bekkeri. Berol. 1824. T. ii. 4.)—*Σύνταγμα κανόνων* (in the spicilegium Rom. vii. ii. 1), put together according to an arrangement of subjects in 14 titles. To it is attached the *Νομοκανόνων* (cum comm. Theod. Balsamonis in H. Justelli biblioth. juris can. vet. ii. 785 ss.), in which there is first a short reference to the canons in the *Syntagma*, but afterwards the laws relating thereto are adduced, and explanations appended. It is according to Biener in his *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft* vii. ii. 148, the revision of an older work. Comp. his *Gesch. d. Novellen Justinian's*, Berlin 1824. S. 202 ff. *EjUSD. de collectionibus canonum Eccl. Graecae schediasma*, Berol. 1827, p. 21 ss.—*Διήγησις περὶ τῶν νεοφάντων Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως* libb. iv. (see above before § 3.) *Epistolae* ed. Rich. Montacutius. Lond. 1651. fol.—*Ἀμφιλόχεια* or *Ἀμφιλόχεια*, 313 theological elucidations, mostly of passages from the Bible, addressed to Amphilochus, metropolitan of Cyzicus, have been in part published, about a half, viz. 65 in the collection of letters ed. Montacutii, 7 in Canissi lect. ant. ed. Basnage ii. ii. 420, 2 by Combefis, 4 in Montfaucon catal. bibl. Coisl. p. 346, 46 in Wolfi curae philol. et crit. V. 651, 18 by Angelus Scotus in Naples, 20 in Angeli Maji scriptorum vet. nova collectio i. 193, comp. Fabricius-Harles xi. 25. A Maji praef. p. xxxvi. ss. Among the unprinted works of Photius several controversial ones against the Latins (see Cave hist. lit. ii. 49 s. A. Majus l. c. p. xlv.) and his commentarius in Pauli epistt. (Ms. in Cambridge) are to be noted. Cf. Fabricii bibl. Graeca ix. 369 ss. (ed. Harles x. 670 ss.)

⁴ He has left 122 vitae Sanctorum, many more are spuriously ascribed to him (see Leo Allatii diatr. de variis Simeonibus et Simeonum scriptis. Paris. 1664, 4. p. 124), in part Latin, ap. Surius, Greek and Latin in the actis SS. Antverp., partly still unprinted. Different opinions about Simeon's period: Oudinus de scriptt. eccl. ii. 1302 ss. places him in the 12th century. On the other side, Cave scriptt. eccl. hist. liter. ed. Basil. 1745, ii. 88. Comp. Hanke de Byzantinarum rerum scriptt. p. 418 ss. Fabricii bibl. Gr. ix. 48 (ed. Harles x. 180).

⁵ From him we have the Arabic contextio gemmarum s. annales ab orbe cond. ad annum usque 940. An extract from it origines Alexandrinae ed. J. Seldenus. Lond. 1642, 4. The whole ed. E. Pocockius. Oxon. 1659, 4.

⁶ Comm. in acta Apost., epist. Pauli et epist. catholicas ed. Frid. Morellus. Paris, 1631, T. ii. fol. Cf. Rich. Simon hist. crit. des principaux commentateurs du N. T. c. 32, p. 460.

THIRD CHAPTER.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§. 44.

Muhammedanism now thwarted the farther progress of Christianity even in the Eastern boundaries of Europe. The *Bulgarians at the Danube* had, indeed, been won over to the gospel;¹ but those at the *Wolga* were soon after gained to Islamism.² Among the *Chazari*, both religions took root about the same time.³ On the other hand, the *Slavonians* dwelling in the inte-

¹ See above, § 41, not, 8.

² The Chalif Muktedir sent thither 921 Ibn-Fosslan, to complete the introduction of Muhammedanism, agreeably to the request of the Bulgarian king. Comp. the accounts of Ibn-Fosslan and other Arabians respecting the Russians of older time by C. M. Frähn, Petersburg 1823, 4. Vorr. S. lii. ff. and lvi.

³ Regarding the spread of Christianity among them by Cyril, about 850, see the contemporaneous vita Constantini cum translat. Clementis (see above, § 38, not. 2), § 1. To the emperor Michael, Cazarorum legati venerunt, orantes ac supplicantes, ut dignaretur mittere ad illos aliquem eruditum virum, qui eos fidem catholicam veraciter edoceret, adjicientes inter caetera, quoniam nunc Judaei ad fidem suam, modo Saraceni ad suam nos convertere e contrario moliantur. The emperor had sent Constantinus Philosophus (Cyril), and the latter, § 6, praedicationibus et rationibus eloquiorum suorum convertit, omnes illos ab erroribus, quos tam de Saracenorum quam de Judaeorum perfidia retinebant. On this account they had thanked the emperor, affirmantes se ob eam rem imperio ejus semper subditos et fidelissimos de caetero velle manere. However, Ibn-Fosslan in his journey 921 among the Chazari, found as many Muhammedans as Christians, and, besides, Jews and idolaters. Their prince (Chakan) was a Jew. See Fraehn in the Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de St Petersburg. Tome viii. (1822) p. 589 ss. The same thing is related by the geographers, Massudi, A.D. 943, and his contemporary, Ibn Hhaukal, whose paragraphs concerning the present topic are translated in Jul. v. Klaproth's description of the Russian provinces between the Caspian and Black Seas. Berlin 1814.

rior of Hellas and the Peloponnesus, gradually subdued since 783, now adopted Christianity, especially after the conversion of the Bulgarians;⁴ in like manner, too, *the Mainots*.⁵ The Byzantines were not less successful in the conversion of *the Russians* to Christianity. The baptism of the grand Duchess *Olga* (955)⁶ did not decide the matter; but after her grandson *Wladimir* (Wassily) had become a Christian (988), he caused his Russians to be baptised in crowds in the Dnieper.⁷ Under his successors *Jaroslav* (1019–1054)⁸ and *Isaeslav* (1054–1077), Christianity was firmly established in Russia. Under the latter, the celebrated hollow monastery at Kiew was founded by *Anthony*;⁹ in which the first Russian annalist *Nestor* appeared.¹⁰

S. 196 ff. 262 ff. comp. Jost's *Gesch. d. Israeliten* vi. iii. According to Elnacin († 1273) *hist. Sarac.* p. 62, Islamism had been urged as early as 690 p. C. on a part of the army of the Chazari, vanquished by the Arabians. According to Ibn-el-Asir († 1233) they adopted it first in 868, for the purpose of obtaining help against the Turks. See Frähn in the *mémoires de Petersb.* viii. 598, and the same writer's *Ibn-Fosslan*, preface. S. ix.

⁴ Comp. vol. i. div. 2, § 109, not. 3. On their subjugation see Fallmerayer's *Gesch. der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* i. 216. Zinkeisen's *Gesch. Griechenland's* i. 752. On their conversion, Fallmerayer i. 230. Zinkeisen i. 767.

⁵ Constantini Porphyrog. de administr. imperio c. 50 (Constant. Porphyrog. recogn. Imm. Bekker, vol. iii. Bonnæ 1840 p. 224): *Οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Μαίης οἰκήτορες—μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἕλληνας προσαγορεύονται διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς προπαλαιοῖς χρόνοις εἰδωλολάτρας εἶναι καὶ προσκυνητὰς τῶν εἰδώλων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλείου βαπτισθέντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγόνασιν.* Fallmerayer i. 137. Zinkeisen i. 769.

⁶ Nestor in Schlözer's *Uebers.* v. 58 ff. (his commentary especially should be compared). Zonaras lib. xvi. c. 21, ed. Paris, p. 194. Cedrenus p. 636, in whom she is called Ἐλγα. Karamsin's *Geschichte des Russ. Reichs*, übers. v. F. v. Hauenschild (Riga 1820 ff. 5 Bde.) i. 136 ff. Ph. Strahl's *Geschichte der russischen Kirche*, (Halle 1830) S. 51 ff.

⁷ According to Nestor, see Karamsin i. 168 ff. Strahl S. 58 ff.

⁸ Karamsin ii. 21 28. Strahl S. 86 ff.

⁹ Karamsin ii. 71. Strahl S. 96 ff.

¹⁰ Nestor's annals with translation and remarks by A. L. v. Schlözer. Göttingen 1802-1809. 5 Th. 8. (The edition unfortunately extends only to the commencement of the reign of Wladimir.) On Nestor's life see Schlözer i. 3 ff. On the state of his annals i. 10, v. 4, remarks. They reach to 110. Schlözer i. 15. Karamsin ii. 61, remarks.

THIRD PART.

HISTORY OF HERETICAL PARTIES.

§ 45.

HERETICS IN THE EAST.

(See the literature before § 3).

After *Karbeas*, the Paulicians received in his son-in-law *Chrysocheres*, an equally bold leader, who continued to invade the Byzantine territories, at first with no less success; and in 867 reached as far as Ephesus.¹ But after he had been overpowered by the Greeks on returning from such an invasion, and cut off with his army (871); the Paulicians were compelled to be subject to the emperor *Basil*, the Macedonian.² Finally, *John Tzimisce*s removed a great part of them to the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, in Thrace, (970) as border-watchers, where they were allowed religious freedom.³

¹ Jos. Genesii (about 940) Regum lib. iv. (ed. Lachmann, Bonnae 1834, p. 120 ss.)

² Theophanes contin. lib. v. de Basilio Mac. c. 37 ss. Genesisius p. 123 ss.

³ Zonaras lib. xvii. p. 209. ed. Paris. This is copiously described by Anna Comnena [1148] in Alexiade lib. xiv. p. 450 ss. ed. Paris, especially p. 453: 'Ο δὲ Τζιμισκῆς Ἰωάννης τοὺς ἐκ Μανιχαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως ἀντιμάχους ἡμῖν ποιησάμενος συμμάχους, κατὰ γε τὰ ὄπλα, ἀξιωμαχούς δυνάμεις τοῖς νομάσι τούτοις Σκύθαις ἀντέστησε, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πλειόνων καταδρομῶν ἀπέπνευσε τὰ τῶν πόλεων. Οἱ μέντοι Μανιχαῖοι φύσει ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐποίουν, καὶ εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἀνέκαμπτον. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Φιλιππούπολις, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ὄντων Μανιχαίων, τῶν τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανῶν ἐτυράνουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων διήρπαζον, μικρὰ φροντίζοντες ἢ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀποστελλομένων παρὰ βασιλέως. Ἡᾶσαν τοίνυν, καὶ τὰ κύκλω Φιλιππουπόλεως πάντα ἦσαν αἰρετικοί. Συνεισέβαλε δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἕτερος ποταμὸς ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀλμυρὸς, καὶ ἄλλος ἀπὸ τῶν θολερωτάτων πηγῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ ἦν, ὡς οὕτω γε φάναι, κακῶν ἀπάντων μισγάγκεια. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δόγματα διεφώνουν, συνεφώνουν δὲ ταῖς ἀποστασίαις οἱ ἄλλοι τοῖς Μανιχαίοις.

Thus not only the Paulicians spread themselves thence,⁴ but that country became the asylum of all parties who were persecuted elsewhere. Among them the *Euchites* or *Messalians* now emerged once more; a party who had given evidence of their existence for centuries past only in individual traces.⁵ It was a necessary consequence that the near residence of these parties should have an influence on their internal development also.

⁴ That they did much for this purpose may be seen in Petri Siculi's dedication of his history (see preface to §. 3) to the archbishop of the Bulgarians: *χρονοτριβήσας τοίνυν—πρὸς τοὺς Παυλικιανούς ἐν Τιβρικῇ* (nine months 868)—*τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκείνων ἀκούσας φληναφούντων, ὡς μέλλουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀποστέλλειν ἐν τοῖς τόποις Βουλγαρίας τοῦ ἀποστήσαι τινὰς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μεμιαμμένην αἵρεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος θαρρόντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, ὡς εὐκόλως δυνήσονται, τῷ ἀδῆλῳ καὶ ἀληθινῷ σίτῳ τὰ οἰκεία σπείρειν ζιζάνια. Εἰώθασι γὰρ τοῦ πολλάκις ποιεῖν οἱ ἀνόσιοι, καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους καὶ κινδύνους προθύμως ἀναδέχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μεταδιδόναι τῆς οἰκείας λοίμης τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι.*

⁵ The basis of the Euchite doctrine was the opinion, that a demon dwells in every man from his birth, who can only be expelled by unceasing prayer (Vol. i. Div. 2, § 95, not. 39), an opinion, which, so far as it led to an excessive estimate of the power of the devil, and to a contempt of ecclesiastical worship, certainly bordered on Monachism. As it originated with the monks who believed that they continually had to fight with the devil and to conquer him by prayer, and who accustomed themselves in their solitude to dispense with ecclesiastical worship (comp. l. c. note 37); it subsequently too was fostered by an overstrained monachism, and had its secret firm points in the concealment of many convents (Theodoret's hist. eccl. iv. 10: Letojus saw *πολλὰ τῆς νόσου ταύτης σπάσαντα μοναστήρια*. hist. religiosa c. 3. opp. ed. Halens. iii. 1146: *Εὐχίτας ἐν μοναχικῷ προσχῆματι τὰ Μανιχαίων νοσοῦντας*. Concil. Ephesini ann. 431 definitio contra Messalianos, act. vii. Mansi iv. 1477: [Messaliani] *convicti non permittantur habere monasteria, ut ne zizania diffudantur et crescant*. Jo Damasc. de haeresibus c. 80: *Μασσαλιανῶν, τῶν μάλιστα ἐν μοναστηρίοις εὕρισκομένων*). The Euchites arose in Mesopotamia, withdrew to Syria, and from thence, towards the end of the fourth century, to Pamphylia (Theodoret's hist. eccl. iv. 10). In the fifth century, they were found in Syria (Hieron. dial. adv. Pelagian. prooem.), in Pamphylia and Lycaonia (Conc. Ephes. definitio l. c.); in the sixth and seventh centuries among the Nestorians in Mesopotamia (Assemani bibl. orient. iii. ii. 172), and under Justinian and Justin II. in the Greek empire (Timoth. Presb. de receptione haereticorum in Cotelerii monum. Eccl. Graecae iii. 400). In the eighth century, John Damascenus speaks of them as still existing (de haeresibus c. 80 in Cotelerii monum. Eccl. graecae i. 302). In like manner in the 9th century, Photius (bibl. cod. 52: *καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς—πολλὴν σηπεδόνα παθῶν καὶ κακίας τὰς ἐκείνων ψυχὰς ἐπιβοσκομένην ἐωράκαμεν*). Comp. generally Walch's Ketzehist. iii. 500. Engelhardt's Kirchengeschichte Abhand-

lungen S. 191. Amid their concealment one can scarcely wonder, when in the sixth century, the western Facundus pro defens iii. capitul. viii. 7. (Gallandii bibl. xi. 755) reckons the Messalians as heretics, quorum nomina abolita sunt cum haeresibus suis. In the eleventh century they again appear openly in Thrace. Georg. Cedrenus (about 1060) *historiarum comp.* ed Bonn. i. 514, relates how Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, towards the end of the fourth century, expelled the Euchites, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ μέγας Φλαβιανός μοναχοὺς συναθροίσας πολλοὺς—διήλεγξεν, from Syria: εἰς δὲ τὴν Παμφυλίαν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ταύτην τῆς λώβης ἐπλήρωσαν, νῦν δὲ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν πλείονα δύσιν, *i. e.*, the west of the Greek imperial empire, particularly Thrace. About the same time more definite particulars are given by Michael Psellus *περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων διάλογος* (cur J. F. Boissonade. Norimbergae 1838, 8). Here a Thracian coming to Constantinople relates the following, p. 2, respecting the party that had newly arisen there: Εὐχίτας αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστὰς οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν.—Ἐχει μὲν τὸ παλαμναῖον τοῦτο δόγμα παρὰ Μάνεντος τοῦ μανέντος τὰς ἀφορμάς· ἐκείθεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἱ πλείους ἀρχαί, καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τινοῦ δυσώδους, ἐρρύθησαν. Ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἐπαράτῳ Μάνεντι δύο ὑπετέθησαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχαί.—Εὐχίταις δὲ τούτοις τοῖς κακοδαίμοσι καὶ ἕτερα τίς ἀρχὴ προσελήφθη τρίτη. Πατὴρ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, υἱοὶ τε δύο, πρεσβύτερος καὶ νεώτερος, αἱ ἀρχαί, ὧν τῷ μὲν πατρὶ τὰ ὑπερκόσμη μόνα, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν τὰ οὐράνια, θατέρῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων τὸ κράτος ἀποτετάχασιν.—Οἱ μὲν—νέμουσιν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν υἱοῖν τὸ σέβας· κἄν γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφέρεσθαι φασὶ νῦν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄμφω σεβαστέον, ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς ἑνὸς καταλλαγησομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. Οἱ δὲ θατέρῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ λατρεύουσιν, ὡς τῆς κρείττονος καὶ ὑπερκειμένης μερίδος κατάρχοντι· τὸν πρεσβύτερον οὐκ ἀτιμάζοντες μὲν, φυλαττόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν ὡς κακοποιῆσαι δυνάμενον. Οἱ δὲ χείρους αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ διῆστωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ πάν, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον τὸν ἐπίγειον Σαταναὴλ ἐνστερνίζονται, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων τοῖς εὐφημοτέροις ἀποσεμνύνοντες, πρωτότοκον τὸν ἀλλότριον ἐκ πατρὸς καλοῦσι, φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνθέτων δημιουργὸν τὸν φθοροποιὸν καὶ ὀλέθριον. Ἀποθεραπεύειν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βουλόμενοι, φεῦ! ὅποσα παρονοοῦσιν εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον, φθονερόν τε λέγοντες εἶναι, τὰ δελφῶ παραλόγως διαφθονούμενον εὐ διακοσμοῦντι τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ φθόνῳ τυφόμενον σεισμούς καὶ χαλάζας καὶ λοιμούς ἐπάγειν. Διὸ καὶ ἐπαρῶνται αὐτῷ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ παλαμναῖον ἀνάθεμα. Then it is related of them, that in their assemblies they practised lewdness, murdered and burned the children there begotten, and partook of blood and ashes; a report which even the heathen circulated against the first Christians, the Catholics against many heretical sects, and which has always been revived where secret meetings consisting of both sexes appeared. How the doctrine which Psellus attributes to the Euchites, was developed among them, whether by the influence of the Zend religion, already in Syria, or by Gnostic influences, is uncertain. In the addictedness to contemplation which was peculiar to the Euchites, a manifold fantastic development of doctrine could not fail to appear. Hence even towards the end of the eleventh century the Bogomiles took their rise from them. Comp. Walch and Eugelhardt, *l. c.* Schnitzer: die Euchiten im 11ten Jahrh. in *Stirm's Studien der evangel. Geistlichkeit Wirtembergs* xi. i. 169.

§ 46.

MANICHÆANS IN THE WEST.

J. C. Füesslin's *Kirchen = u. Ketzehist. der mittlern Zeit.* i. 31. H. Schmid der *Mysticismus des Mittelalters* in seiner Entstehungsperiode dargestellt, Jena 1824. 8. S. 387 ff. D. Chr. U. Hahn's *Gesh. d. Ketzler im Mittelalter*, Bd. 1. *Gesch. d. neumanichäischen Ketzler*, Stuttgart 1845, 8.

Encouraged by the apparent downfall of the church, and doubts of its soundness which were spreading in consequence, *the Manichæans*¹ again emerged from their obscurity, after the com-

¹ Contemporaries looked upon these heretics as sprung from the Manichæans, and they themselves declared it as their own opinion. According to Roger, bishop of Chalons, between 1043 and 1048 (see below note 7) they taught that the Holy Spirit is only vouchsafed through Manes. Comp. Ekberti (about 1163) *adv. Catharos* serm. 1. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. xxiii. 602): *indubitanter secta eorum—originem accepit a Manichæo haeresiarcha.* Albericus (about 1241) *chron. ad ann. 1239* ed. Leibnit. p. 570: *invenit etiam frater Robertus, et secundum hoc publica terit opinio, quod ille Fortunatus Manichæus pessimus, quem b. Augustinus de Africa expulit, venit eodem tempore ad illas partes Campaniæ, et invenit Widomarum Principem latronum in eodem monte cum suis latitantem; hunc ad suam sectam cum sociis convertit, et a tempore illo circa montem illum in proximis villulis nunquam defuit semen istud pessimum Chanaan et non Juda.* That in Italy, from which country this party had certainly transplanted themselves in the first place to France (see Glaber Radulphus iii. c. 8. below not. 3. and *acta syn. Attrebat.* below note 4), the Manichæans also existed, according to Leo the Great (see vol. 1. Div. 2. § 86. not. 6.), which is also testified by the notices in the biographies of Gelasius († 496), Symmachus († 514), and Hormisdas († 523) belonging to Anastasii liber pontificalis, purporting that the popes had had to contend against the Manichæans. Besides, their continuance till the time of Gregory the Great is established. See his lib. v. ep. 8. *ad Cyprianum Diaconum: De Manichæis, qui in possessionibus nostris sunt, frequenter Dilectionem tuam admonui, ut eos persequi summopere debeat, atque ad fidem catholicam revocare.* lib. ii. epist. 37 *ad Joh. Episc. Squillacinum: Afros passim vel incognitos peregrinos ad ecclesiasticos ordines tendentes nulla ratione suscipias: quia Afri quidam Manichæi, aliqui rebaptizati.* This last passage has been repeated for centuries at the induction of bishops. See *liber diurnus* cap. iii. tit. ix. 3. *Gregorii* ii. ep. *ad clerum et plebem Thuringiæ* A. D. 723 (*Mansi* xii. 239), and also in the institution-documents set forth by Gerbert, archbp. of Capua, in the year 978 (in *Ughelli Italia sacra* vi. 564), Athenulph, archbp. of

Capua, A. D. 1032 (ibid. p. 676), and Alfano, archbp. of Salerno, A. D. 1066 (Ughelli vii. 802). In every case it is clear that even after Gregory the Great the Manichaeans were in Italy, and threatened danger to the Church; but the general account of this period agrees, to the effect that they again emerged from their obscurity about the year 1000, and spread themselves from Italy into other countries. It has been attempted, however, to deduce them from other sources. These new Manichaeans are derived from the Priscillianists in the *histoire générale de Languedoc* i. 148, and by H. Leo *Lehrbuch der Gesch. des Mittelalters* S. 79. It is the most common opinion, however, after Muratori *antiquitt. medii aevi* v. 83. Mosheim *institt. hist. eccl.* p. 463. E. Gibbon's decline and fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 54, that these new western sects sprung from the Paulicians. Neander (*Kirchengesch.* iv. 457) has modified this view by considering the Euchites as their proper progenitors. The origin of the new Manichaeans from a Greek party appears to be favoured by Evervini *epist. ad Bernardum* A. D. 1146 (*Mabill. annal.* p. 473): *Illi vero, qui combusti sunt, dixerunt nobis in defensione sua, hanc haeresin usque ad haec tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus Martyrum, et permansisse in Graecia et quibusdam aliis terris.* So also Reinerius († 1259) *summa de Catharis et Leonistis* in Martene *thesaur. anecdot.* v. 1767, where he mentions the 16 Catharian churches, and among them last of all the *Ecclesia Bulgariae* and the *Eccl. Dugunthiae* (s. *Dugunithiae* s. *Dugranicae*) adding: *et omnes habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis.* Then it may be also adduced in favour of this opinion that in the 13th century *Bulgari*, *Bulgri*, *Bogri*, French *Bougres*, were the usual appellation of these heretics. See *Monachus Antissidorensis*, Albericus and Matthaëus Paris. On the other hand it is to be observed, that at the first appearance of the sect in France it was derived from Italy, and not till more than a century later, from Greece and Bulgaria. Farther, that the new western Manichaeism was very different from Paulicianism in many essential points, and rather approached the old Manichaeism by the rejection of marriage and flesh-eating, the distinction of the Electi and Auditores, and a proper hierarchy, for even Manes, whom the Paulicians cursed (*Petrus Sicul* p. 42: *προθύμως ἀναθεματίζουσι Σκυθιανόν, Βουδδάν τε καὶ Μανέντα*, cf. Photius i. c. 4), stood in high repute among the western Manichaeans. It is not the less to be remarked, that even the Euchites of the 11th century are distinguished from the western Manichaeans in this, that according to them the perfect had to abstain from no food (*Cedrenus* i. 515, *μηκέτι δεῖσθαι λοιπὸν νηστείας*): and that the Bogomiles who sprung from them subsequently, first adopted the principles of the western Manichaeans on this point. Since then these sects, in such times as they vegetated in retirement, without progress, would naturally abide most firmly by such external usages, we may certainly conclude from those relations that their origin was different. It is not till after the crusades that the western Manichaeans and those Greek sects appear to have become known to one another as cognate parties, and to have borrowed many things from one another, so that in the 12th century in the east, the Bogomiles, and among the western Manichaeans the Concorrezensians appeared to agree completely in doctrine and usages.

mencement of the eleventh century; a few remains of them having been still preserved in Italy; and diffused themselves in the West. Similar manifestations present themselves in earlier times.² But the *Manichaeans*, properly so called, were first

Hence therefore the tradition might originate among the western Manichaeans that their party had existed in the East from the beginning, in the same manner as similar false traditions respecting their own origin arose among the Waldenses.—The western Manichaeans, when they emerged from their obscurity in the 11th century, had only preserved the most general features of their creed in addition to external usages; but by degrees the old Manichaean doctrinal system again appeared among them in greater completeness, though occasionally with peculiarities. If the source from which they may have derived it again be inquired after, none other can be pointed out than Augustine's writings against the Manichaeans. Since, very early, ecclesiastics are found among the heads of the party, to whom the writings of Augustine were accessible, since they could not be indifferent to the Manichaean fragments preserved in these writings, and to Augustine's account of the Manichaean doctrine (comp. Ekberti adv. Catharos sermo i. in fine, A. D. 1163, in the bibl. PP. Lugd. xxiii. 600: *Produnt autem semetipsos quod sint de errore Manichaei, in eo, quod dicere solent, quod b. Augustinus prodiderit secreta eorum*), a restoration and new development of the system from this source is very probable. As the Catholic Church honoured in Augustine its chief teacher, so those who renounced that church, for this very reason, sought for the truth among his most decided opponents.

² Glab. Rudolph. lib. ii. c. 11. relates of one Leutardus in the village Virtus in pago Catalaunico A. D. 1000: Terrified by a dream he had in the field, he came home, dimittens uxorem, quasi ex praecepto evangelico fecit divortium: egressus autem velut oraturus intrans ecclesiam, arripiensque crucem et Salvatoris imaginem contrivit. He was looked upon as insane, but he maintained, universa haec patrare ex mirabili Dei revelatione. He taught, decimas dare esse omnimodis superfluum et inane,—Prophetas ex parte narrasse utilia, ex parte non credenda. But against a bishop coepit—de Scripturis sacris testimonia sibi assumere.—In brevi ad se traxit partem non modicam vulgi. Finally, semet puteo periturus immersit.—Cap. 12. of a Grammarian Vilgardus, who coepit multa turgide docere fidei sacrae contraria, dictaque poetarum per omnia credenda esse asserebat. He was executed. Plures etiam per Italiam tunc hujus pestiferi dogmatis sunt reperti, qui et ipsi aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt. Ex Sardinia quoque insula, quae his plurimum abundare solet, ipso tempore aliqui egressi, partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes, et ipsi a viris catholicis exterminati sunt. In Sardinia paganism sustained itself for a very long time (vol. i. Div. 2. § 109. note 9.) The confession of faith which Gerbert, as archbp. of Rheims 991 issued (ep. 75. ap. Bouquet x. 409), does not prove, as Hahn (Gesch. d. neumanichäischen Ketzers S. 31) thinks, that Manichaeism existed in that country. Gerbert was doubtless accused in

discovered in *Aquitania* and in *Orleans* (1022),³ much about

many ways by his numerous opponents, and therefore he set forth this confession against many heresies, expressly rejecting not only Manichæan but also Origenist and Novatian errors.

³ Three accounts by contemporaries. Ademar (monk in Angouleme about 1029) chronic. (ap. Bouquet x. 154) alone relates: *Paucopost tempore (after 1018) per Aquitaniam exorti sunt Manichæi, seducetes plebem, negantes baptismum sanctum et crucis virtutem, et quidquid sanæ doctrinæ est: abstinentes a cibis quasi monachi, et castitatem simulantes, sed inter seipsos luxuriam omnem exercentes.* Then p. 159, the discovery and burning of ten canonici in Orleans, A.D. 1022, not 1017 (see A. Pagi ad ann. 1017 no. 1), concerning which see also Glab. Radulph. iii. c. 8. (ap. Bouquet x. 35) and gesta syn. Aurelianensis a. 1017 (rather 1022, in d'Archery spicileg. i. 604. ap. Mansi xix. 376).—Glaber Rad.: *Fertur a muliere quadam ex Italia procedente hæc insanissima hæresis (he says of it before: diutius occulte germinata) in Galliis habuisse exordium, quæ—seducebat quoscumque volebat, non solum idiotas et simplices, verum etiam plerosque, qui videbantur doctiores in clericorum ordine. (Ademar: those Canonici, qui videbantur aliis religiosiores, were decepti a quodam Rustico Petragoriensi).—Qui non solum in prædicta urbe, sed etiam in vicinis urbibus malignum dogma spargere tentabant, dum quendam sanæ mentis in Rotomagorum civitate Presbyterum cupientes suæ consortem facere vesaniæ, missis legatis, qui ei omne secretum hujus perversi dogmatis explanantes docerent: dicebant nempe fore in proximum, in illorum scilicet dogma cadere populum universum.* Thus they expressed themselves subsequently in the hearing they had before the king: *Hoc enim diu est, quod sectam, quam vos jam tarde agnoscitis, amplectimur; sed tam vos quam caeteros cujuscunque legis vel ordinis in eam cadere exspectavimus: quod etiam adhuc fore credimus.* Concerning their doctrines see gesta synodi Aurelianensis, though merely from the relation of a novice, Arefastus. It was taught by the two heads of the sect, Stephanus and Lisojus: *Christum de virgine Maria non esse natum, neque pro hominibus passum, nec vere in sepulcro positum, nec a mortuis resurrexisse.—in baptismo nullam esse scelerum ablutionem: neque sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi [effici] in consecratione sacerdotis. Sanctos Martyres atque confessores implorare pro nihilo ducebant.* They had addressed him thus: *Tractandus es a nobis ut arbor silvestris, quæ translata in viridario, tamdiu aquis perfunditur, donec humo radicetur, dehinc spinis et rebus superfluis emundatur, ut postmodum terræ tenus truncata sarculo, meliori inseratur ramusculo, quæ postmodum fertilis sit mellifluo pomo. Itaque tu simili modo translatus de iniquo saeculo, in nostro sancto collegio aquis perfunderis sapientiæ, donec informeris, et gladio verbi Dei vitiorum spinis carere valeas, ac insulsa doctrina tui pectoris ab antro exclusa, nostram doctrinam a s. Spiritu traditam mentis puritate possis excipere.* Then: *Procul dubio, frater, in charybdi falsæ opinionis hactenus cum indoctis jacuisti.—Pandemus tibi salutis ostium, quo ingressus per impositionem videlicet manuum nostrarum, ab omni peccati labe mundaberis, atque*

sancti Spiritus dono repleberis, qui Scripturarum omnium profunditatem ac veram dignitatem absque scrupulo te docebit. Deinde caelesti cibo pastus, interna satietate recreatus, videbis persaepe nobiscum visiones angelicas, quarum, solatio fultus cum eis quovis locorum sine mora vel difficultate, cum volueris, ire poteris: nihilque tibi deerit, quia Deus omnium tibi comes nunquam deerit, in quo sapientiae thesauri atque divitiarum consistunt. Respecting the preparation of the heavenly food it is related: Congregabantur certis noctibus in domo denominata, singuli lucernas tenentes in manibus, ad instar letaniae daemonum nomina declamabant, donec subito daemonem in similitudine cujuslibet bestiolae inter eos viderent descendere. Qui statim ut visibilis illa videbatur visio omnibus extinctis luminaribus, quam primum quisque poterat mulierem, quae ad manum sibi veniebat, ad abutendum arripiebat. Sine peccati respectu, et utrum mater, aut soror, aut monacha haberetur, pro sanctitate et religione ejus concubitus ab illis aestimabatur. Ex quo spurcissimo concubitu infans generatus, octava die in medio eorum—in igne cremabatur. Cujus cinis tanta veneratione colligebatur atque custodiebatur, ut christiana religiositas corpus Christi custodire solet, aegris dandum de hoc saeculo exituris ad viaticum. Inerat enim tanta vis diabolicae fraudis in ipso cinere, ut quicumque de praefata haeresi imbutus fuisset, et de eodem cinere, quamvis sumendo parum, praelibavisset, vix unquam postea de eadem haeresi gressum mentis ad viam veritatis dirigere valeret. So Ademar relates, l. c. Rusticus—pulverem ex mortuis pueris secum deferebat, de quo si quem posset communicare, mox Manichaeum faciebat. Adorabant Diabolum, qui primo eis in Aethiopia, deinde Angeli lucis figuratione apparet etc. (On this report see § 45. not. 5., comp. Baur, d. neuen manich. Religionsysteme S. 138). At this council these two heads say, respecting the birth of Christ from a virgin, and his resurrection: Nos neque interfuimus, neque haec vera esse credere possumus.—Quod natura denegat, semper a creatione discrepat. Quibus praesul respondit, dicens: Antequam quicquam fieret per naturam, non creditis per filium Deum patrem fecisse omnia ex nihilo? Cui alienati a fide dixerunt: Ista illis narrare potes, qui terrena sapiunt, atque credunt figmenta carnalium hominum scripta in membranis animalium: nobis autem qui legem scriptam habemus in interiori homine a Spiritu sancto, et nihil aliud sapimus, nisi quod a Deo omnium conditore didicimus, incassum superflua et a divinitate devia profers: idcirco verbis finem impone, et de nobis quidquid velis facito. Jam regem nostrum in caelestibus regnantem videmus, qui ad immortales triumphos dextera sua nos sublevat, dans superna gaudia.—Glaber Radulph l. c.: Dicebant deliramenta esse quicquid in veteri ac novo Canone certis signis ac prodigiis veteribusque testatoribus de trina unaque Deitate beata confirmat auctoritas: caelum pariter ac terram, ut conspiciuntur, absque auctore initii semper existisse asserebant. Et cum universarum haeresum insanientes canum more latrantes deterrima, in hoc tantum Epicureis erant haereticis similes, quoniam voluptatum flagitiis credebant non recompensari ultionis vindictam: omne Christianorum opus, pietatis dumtaxat et justitiae, quod aestimatur pretium remunerationis aeternae, laborem superfluum judicabant esse.

the same time in *Arras* (1025),⁴ in *Monteforte*, near *Turin*

⁴ The only authority is *acta syn. Attrebatensis ann. 1025* (in *d'Achery spicil. i. 607*, ap. *Mansi xix. 423*). These reply at the council, se esse auditores Gundulfi cujusdam ab Italiae partibus viri, et ab eo evangelicis mandatis et apostolicis informatos, nullamque praeter hanc scripturam se recipere, sed hanc verbo et opere tenere. But the bishop had heard, illos sacri baptismatis mysterium penitus abhorrere, dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum respuere, negare, lapsis poenitentiam post professionem proficere, Ecclesiam annullare, legitima connubia execrari, nullum in ss. Confessoribus donum virtutis spectare, praeter Apostolos et Martyres neminem debere venerari. In the praefatio this is expressed thus: dicebant, baptismatis mysterium et dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum nullum esse, et idcirco rejiciendum, nisi simulationis causa non intrare [leg. ministrarentur]: poenitentiam nihil ad salutem proficere: conjugatos nequaquam ad regnum pertinere (hence the charge brought against them ap. *Mansi xix. 449*: De connubiis vero, quae vos contra evangelica et apostolica decreta sacrilega mente abominanda judicatis, dicentes conjugatos in sortem fidelium nequaquam computandos etc.) They themselves reply to the bishop, to his questions regarding baptism (*l. c. p. 425*): Lex et disciplina nostra, quam a Magistro accepimus, nec evangelicis decretis, nec apostolicis sanctionibus contraire videbitur, si quis eam diligenter velit intueri. Haec namque hujusmodi est, mundum relinquere, carnem a concupiscentiis fraenare, de laboribus manuum suarum victum parare, nulli laesionem quaerere, charitatem cunctis, quos zelus hujus nostri propositi teneat, exhibere. Servata igitur hac justitia, nullum opus esse baptismi; praevaricata ista, baptismum ad nullam proficere salutem. Haec est nostrae justificationis summa, ad quam nihil est, quod baptismi usus superaddere possit, cum omnis apostolica et evangelica institutio hujusmodi fine claudatur (hence the charge against them *l. c. p. 457*: falsae justitiae doctrinam introducere tentatis, quam divinae gratiae adeo praeponitis, ut omnia propriis meritis adscribatis). Si quis autem in baptisinate aliquod dicat latere sacramentum, hoc tribus ex causis evacuatur. Una, quia vita reproba ministrorum baptizandis nullum potest praebere salutis remedium. Altera, quia quidquid vitiorum in fonte renunciatur, postmodum in vita repetitur. Tertia, quia ad parvolum non volentem neque currentem, fidei nescium, suaeque salutis atque utilitatis ignarum, in quem nulla regenerationis petitio, nulla fidei potest inesse confessio, aliena voluntas, aliena fides, aliena confessio nequaquam pertinere videtur. Unfortunately the bishop did not allow them to answer the other charges again. Remarkable, however, are the objections that they taught (ap. *Mansi xix. 436*): in templo dei nihil esse, quod sit aliquo cultu religionis dignum magis, quam proprii domicilii cubiculum,—mensam Domini—nullum—in se aliud praeter acervum lapidum retinere sacramentum, *p. 453*: ex errore hominum venisse, quod venerantur crucem, cum nullam magis in se virtutem contineat, quam caetera ligna sylvarum etc. They returned to the Catholic Church. Schmid *S. 415 ff.*

(1030),⁵ not long after, and even in *Goslar* too (1025)⁶ *Wazon*, bishop of Lüttich († 1048), lifted up his voice in vain against the universal practice of putting these heretics to death.⁷

⁵ Glaber Radulph iv. c. 2. Respecting their doctrine the only authority is Landulph. Sen. Mediol. histor. lib. 2. c. 27. (Murat. scriptt. rer. Ital. iv. 88.) One of them, Girardus, thus expresses himself before Herbert, archbishop of Milan: Deo omnipotenti, Patri et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto gratias refero immensas, quod tam studiose me inquirere satagitis. Et qui vos ab initio in lumbis Adæ cognovit, annuat, ut sibi vivatis, sibi que moriamini, et cum ipso per saeculorum saccula regnantes gloriemini. Vitam meam, et meorum fratrum fidem qualicumque animo ea sciscitetis, vobis edicam: Virginitatem prae caeteris laudamus, uxores habentes.—Nemo nostrum uxore carnaliter utitur, sed quasi matrem aut sororem diligens tenet (afterwards: si universum genus humanum sese conjungeret, ut corruptionem non sentiret, sicut apes sine coitu genus humanum gigneretur). Carnibus nunquam vescimur, jejunia continua et orationes indesinenter fundimus; semper die nocte nostri majores vicissim orant, quatenus hora oratione vacua non praetereat, omnem nostram possessionem cum omnibus hominibus communem habemus. Nemo nostrum sine tormentis vitam finit, ut aeterna tormenta evadere possimus (afterwards: si nos ad mortem natura perducit, proximus noster, antequam animam damus, quoquomodo interficit nos). Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum credimus et confitemur (namely Pater Deus est aeternus—Filius animus est hominis a Deo dilectus and Jesus Chr. animus sensualiter natus ex Maria Virgine, videlicet natus est ex s. Scriptura,—Spiritus Sanctus divinarum scientiarum intellectus, a quo cuncta discrete reguntur). Ab illis vero, qui potestatem habent ligandi et solvendi, ligari ac solvi credimus (to the question whether he meant the pope to be bishop or priest: Pontificem habemus non illum Romanum, sed alium, qui quotidie per orbem terrarum fratres nostros visitat dispersos, et quando Deus illum nobis ministrat, tunc peccatorum nostrorum venia summa cum devotione donatur. This is not, as Schmid thinks, a human pope, but the Holy Spirit who was given by the imposition of hands: according to Baur, *das manich. Religionssystem* S. 305, Christ, as the sun surrounding the earth). Vetus ac novum Testamentum ac ss. Canones quotidie legentes tenemus.

⁶ *Hermannii Contr. chron. ad. ann. 1052* (ap. *Pertz vii. 130*): Imperator Natalem Domini Goslare egit, ibique quosdam haereticos inter alia pravi erroris dogmata, Manichaea secta, omnis esum animalis execrantes—in patibulis suspendi jussit.

⁷ *Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium c. 59* (in *Martene et Durand ampliss. collectio iv. 898 ss.*): Roger, bishop of Chalons, wrote to *Wazon* between 1043 and 1048: in quadam parte dioecesis suae quosdam rusticos esse, qui perversum Manichaeorum dogma sectantes, furtiva sibi frequentarent conventicula, nescio quae obscœna et dictu turpia quadam sua solemnitate actitantes, et per sacrilegam manuum impositionem dari Spiritum Sanctum mentientes, quem ad adstruendam errori suo fidem

non alias a Deo missum, quam in haesiarcha suo Mani (quasi nihil aliud sit Manes nisi Spiritus Sanctus) falsissime dogmatizarent: incidentes in illam blasphemiam, quam juxta veritatis vocem et hic et in futuro impossibile est remitti. Hi tales, ut dicebat, cogeant quos possent in suam concedere turbam, nuptias abominantes, esum carniū non modo devitantes, sed et quodcunque animal occidere profanum dicentes; tutelam errori suo assumere praesumentes sententiam Domini in veteri lege occidere prohibentis. Si quos vero idiotas et infacundos hujus erroris sectatoribus adjungi contingeret, statim eruditissimis etiam catholicis facundiores fieri asseverabat, ita ut sincera sane sapientium eloquentia paene eorum loquacitate superari posse videretur. Addidit etiam plus de quotidiana perversione sese aliorum dolere, quam de ipsorum perditione. Quid de talibus praestet agendum, anxius praesul certum sapientiae consuluit secretarium, an terrenae potestatis gladio in eos sit animadvertendum necne: modico fermento, nisi exterminentur, totam massam posse corrumpi. The reply of Wazon is preserved entire c. 60: Haec licet christiana abhorreat religio,—tamen imitata Salvatorem suum—jubetur interim tales quodammodo tolerare. A reference to Matth. xiii. 24 ss. particularly, v. 29 and 30. Quid his verbis nisi patientiam suam Dominus ostendit, quam praedicatores suos erga errantes proximos exhibere desiderat? Maxime cum hos, qui hodie zizania sunt, possibile sit, cras converti et esse triticum. Cesset ergo judicium pulveris, audita sententia condemnatoris; nec eos quaeramus per saecularis potentiae gladium huic vitae subtrahere, quibus vult idem creator et redemptor Deus, sicut novit, parcere: ut resipiscant a diaboli laqueis etc. Meminisse debemus, quod nos qui Episcopi dicimur, gladium in ordinatione—non accipimus; ideoque non ad mortificandum, sed potius ad vivificandum auctore Deo inungimur. The historian adds: Haec tantopere vir Dei exemplo b. Martini (Vol. i. Div. 2, § 104, not. 11) studebat inculcare, ut praecipitem Francigenarum rabiem caedes anhelare solitam a crudelitate quodammodo refraenaret. Audierat enim, eos solo palliore notare haereticos, quasi quos pallere constaret, haereticos esse certum esset (Vol. i. Div. 2, § 86, note 6); sicque per errorem simulque furorem eorum plerosque vere catholicorum fuisse aliquando interemptos. He then finds fault with the executions in Goslar cap. 61: Wazonem nostrum, si haec tempora contigisset, huic sententiae assensum nequaquam praebiturum, exemplo b. Martini etc. Haec dicimus, non quia errorem haereticorum tutari velimus; sed quia hoc in divinis legibus nusquam sancitum [nos] non approbare monstremus. Concerning Wazon see hist. lit. de la France vii. 588.

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