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A N

# Ecclesiastical History;

F R O M

The B I R T H of C H R I S T,

T O T H E

P R E S E N T T I M E,

Written originally in FRENCH,

By Mr. F O R M E Y,

Secretary to the ACADEMY of SCIENCES  
at BERLIN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An A P P E N D I X,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the

PEOPLE called M E T H O D I S T S.

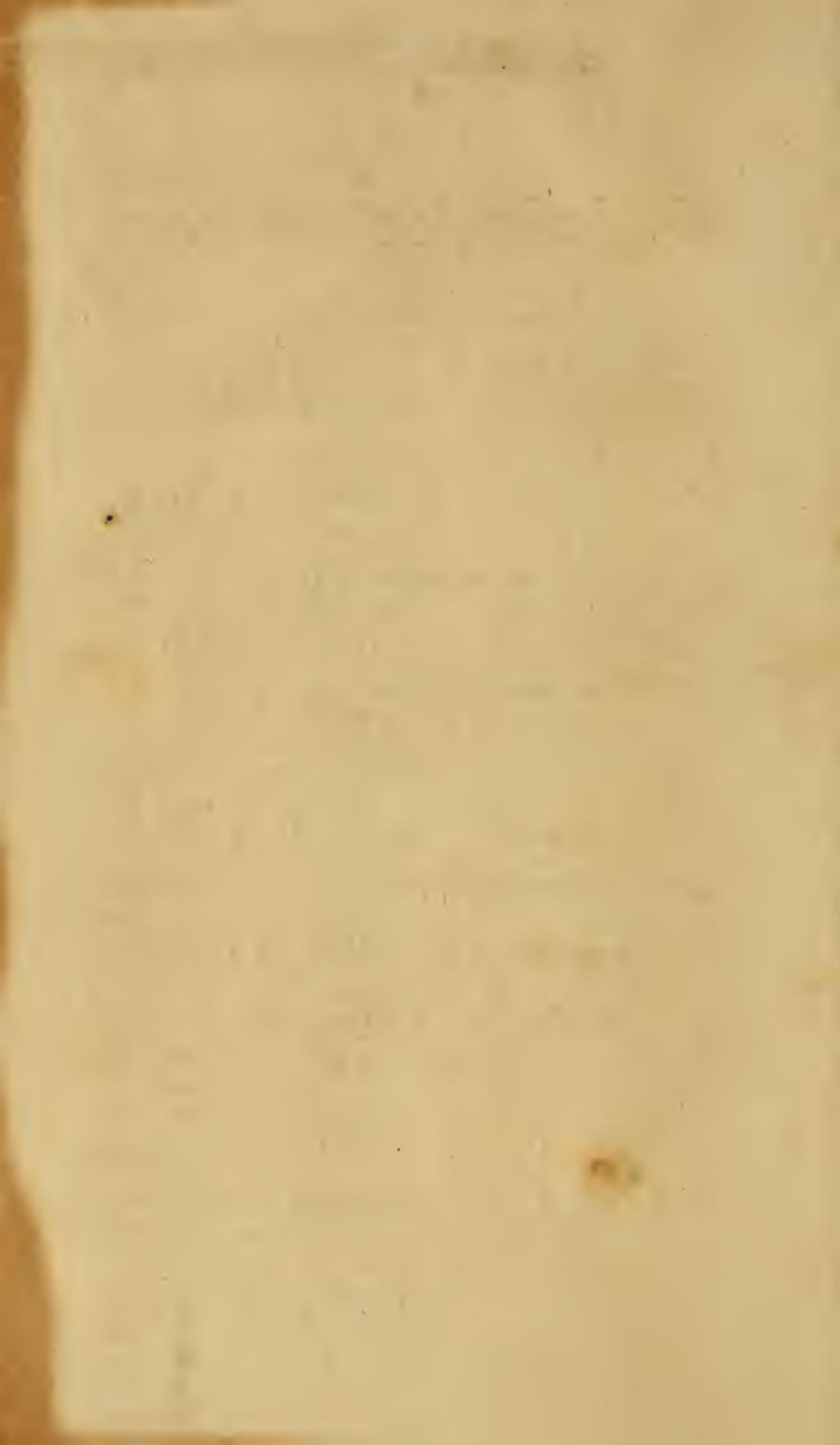
By the T R A N S L A T O R.

V O L. I.

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T H E  
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A WRITER of Mr. Formey's acknowledged merit wants no recommendation. The variety of very useful publications, with which he has favour'd the world, have sufficiently established his reputation in all countries. We are indebted to him for many valuable abridgments; but none amongst them seem to claim more regard from an English reader, than his Ecclesiastical History; as it is a work much wanted in our language, there being no one of the kind that I know of, which can be read with any degree of pleasure. Mr. Formey's work is so happily compiled, that, whilst it serves agreeably to refresh the memories of those who have made Church History their study, it will give those persons, who have neither time nor inclination to read larger histories, a compleat knowledge of the principal revolutions which have happened in the Christian world.

The Roman Catholic writers have taken care to furnish the countries in which their religion prevails, with many short Ecclesiastical Histories; but these can never recommend themselves to a Protestant reader, since they too commonly want the first qualification of a good Historian, Impartiality. But it may be said, that no writer will be impartial, since he must belong to some one communion, and consequently will be too favourable to his own party. Be that as it may : Mr. Formey has much merit in this respect ; for though he is a reformed divine, and therefore no great friend to episcopal government, yet he speaks on the subject with the greatest veracity and moderation. It is true, the scandalous lives of the Bishops at the time of the Reformation, may have led him to mention some of them with great contempt ; yet the reader will find that he no where speaks contemptuously of Episcopacy itself.

Our Author's method of dividing his history deserves much applause ; the events of each century being related in order, and connected by easy and natural transitions, the reader at once easily comprehends, and distinctly retains the contents of his author. I know not how better to recommend the work than in the words of the ingenious authors

## The TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. ▼

authors<sup>a</sup> of *La Bibliotheque des Sciences & beaux Arts*, whose account of it first induced me to read it. They speak of it as “a performance worthy of all applause ; the stile, say they, is simple, clear, and concise, such as History requires. The narrations are spirited and short, without omitting any thing essential ; they are impartial and exact, nothing is advanced as certain of which there is not proof. In cases which are doubtful, the Author acknowledges his uncertainty. The subjects are judiciously chosen, every thing fabulous and trivial is omitted, and nothing is related but what is interesting and necessary to be known. In short, the method he has followed is perfectly unexceptionable.”

The translator fears many faults may be found with his part of the performance, but he doubts not, the candour of his readers will allow, that as all translations may (as some one has observed) be compared to the wrong side of tapestry hangings, which, though it sheweth the figures, cannot retain the beauty, so it must be particularly the case with a translation of a history wrote in the concise manner of Mr. Formey. He will only add, that he was more desirous of expressing his author's meaning, than of gaining himself a reputation.

<sup>a</sup> See their *Bibliotheque* for the months of April, May, and June, 1763.

The translator thought it necessary to give some account of so increasing a sect as that of the Methodists ; and that he supposed he could not do in a more impartial manner, than by letting them speak for themselves, having delivered nothing respecting them but what he found in their own journals.

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## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE World becomes every day more and more convinced of the utility of abridgments. For so great is the increase of all kind of knowledge, that the human mind finds herself incapable of taking in the whole ; and becomes sensible of the necessity of being assisted in her choice of essential and valuable things. The same cause makes a good abridgment very difficult to compile. To omit nothing which is essential, and to insert nothing which is superfluous, requires as thorough knowledge of the subject, and a great discernment ; for to reduce much into little, is far more difficult than to enlarge little into much.

I rejoice that I can with confidence present this abridgment to the public, as I have scarce done more than follow two guides, whose abilities are incontestable. The one is Mr. John Alphonso Turretin, who published in 1734, a Latin abridgment of Ecclesiastical History, from the birth of Our Saviour to

the year 1700. The other is Mr. Paul Ernest Jablonski, who printed at Francfort on the Oder in 1754 and 1756, two volumes in Latin, entituled, *Institutiones Historiae Christianae Antiquioris, & Institutiones Historiae Christianae Recentioris*; but he likewise goes no farther than the 17th century. Whoever chuses to compare these abridgments with mine, will see the use I have made of them. The notes I have chiefly borrowed from Mr. Jablonski.

This work, which I now present to the public, is in my opinion, of the number of those which are still wanted. If there are any such in French, they have been written by authors of the Roman Catholic Communion; so that our Students in Divinity, and particularly those among the Laity, who are desirous of instructing themselves in Church History, will find this the most useful. I heartily wish it may be agreeable to them. I shall not here attempt to recommend the study of Church History: it is not for those who despise it, that I give my time to this work.

By degrees I shall have given a number of abridgments, in which will be included the principal Knowledge required in the plan of Education for Youth. Such are the abridgments of universal history by M. De la Croze, which I have revised and augmented,

mented, an abridged History of Philosophy, and the first Principles of the Belles Lettres <sup>b</sup>. To these I design to add an abridgment of Mythology, after l'Abbé Banier.

It is with the sincerest pleasure that I thus employ the life and strength which God preserves me. So far from complaining, “In-“ serviendo aliis consumor.” I joyfully say, “reficio, recreor;” for this is the true real effect that labour has upon me, and without this cordial, my infirmities would long ago have ended my life.

<sup>b</sup> These works are all printed by Schneidin, Book-feller at Amsterdam.



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T H E



A N

# ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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## CENTURY I.

THE Christian church was founded by Jesus Christ. It is then from the year of the birth of its divine founder that we must date the beginning of the Christian æra, and of the first age of that æra. There was no chronological calculation, on which to rest it, till the sixth century; when it was made by Denys surnamed the Little, a Roman abbot: soon after, all the Christians both of the east and west agreed to receive it. It is nevertheless true that it differs, from some very well proved dates, in placing the birth of our Saviour in the 45th year of the reign of the emperor Augustus, and consequently four, or at least three, years after the death of Herod; which cannot be reconciled with the express testimony of the holy Scripture<sup>a</sup>. There is in this discussion difficulties not easy to be solved, and perhaps those who do not attempt it are in the right. The way the least liable to error, is to go back to the last year of Herod, which coincides with the 41st<sup>b</sup> of Augustus; after which, in taking the space of thirty years, we find ourselves at the 15th of Tiberius, which answers

<sup>a</sup> See P. Pagi in his Apparat. ad Annal. Baronii, Num. 142. Consult also Vitringa's Hypotypos. Historiæ sacræ, p. 180. and Lardner in the first part of his treatise on the credibility of the gospel history.

<sup>b</sup> Computing the commencement of his reign from A. U. C. Var. 711. in which he took the consulship and the triumvirate; the year after the death of Julius Cæsar. See Masson, Janus, Christo nascente, referatus, p. 32. et Chron. ibid. ad fin.

## 2 ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

to the 30th or 31st of the life of our Saviour, and agrees with the 1st and 3d verses of the third chapter of St. Luke; this brings us with sufficient certainty to the conclusion, that the year of the death of Herod is the same with that of the birth of our Saviour <sup>a</sup>. But if we would determine the month and day of his birth; we should find ourselves again embarrassed. In the second age the heretics called Basilidians had placed the anniversary of the birth of our Saviour on the sixth of January; but in the same age the Roman Church fixed it to the 25th of December; and since that time, the whole Christian Church has preserved that date. It is however very certain that Jesus Christ was not born either in December or in January. But we must have an express revelation to be able to determine more precisely. Just before the birth of Jesus, the emperor Augustus ordered a general numbering of the people in the Roman Empire, and Judea was included. Which obliged the parents of our Saviour to go to Bethlehem, where the Son of God came into the world, as foretold by the prophets. Shortly after his birth, there came to him some Wise Men of the East, in all probability from Arabia. A star guided them; they found him lying in a manger, offered him precious gifts, and did him homage.

Herod, hearing of what had passed, was highly enraged and would have destroyed the infant Jesus; but his parents, by their flight into Egypt, saved him from the tyrant's cruelty, to which the children of Bethlehem were the innocent victims. Herod died soon after this massacre; his son Archelaus succeeded him, and the parents of Jesus returned from Egypt to Judea. They settled in Nazareth

<sup>a</sup> The reader will find the most satisfaction on this subject from a treatise entitled, *A critical examination of the holy gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, with regard to the history of the birth and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ*, by the author of the *Vindication of the history of the Septuagint*, p. 738, 800.

of Galilee; and our Saviour remained with them, untill he was commanded by his heavenly father to enter upon his ministry.

During the infancy of Jesus, Archelaus held the reins of government in Judea about ten years; but, his ill conduct obliging the Romans to depose him, he was banished to Vienne. It was then the prophecy was accomplished which said, The scepter should depart from Judah, Genesis xlix. 10. In effect Judea was reduced to a kind of province; and, being annexed to Syria, she has since obeyed the governors of Syria, and the magistrates who came from Rome, to Jerusalem, with the title of Procurators.

The first governor of Syria (on whom Judea depended) was P. Sulpitius Quirinus, who on entering on his office immediately began to number the people of Syria and Judea in order to tax them according to their abilities; taxes which were very hateful to the Jews, Luke ii. 2. This oppression, or at least subjection, awakened in their minds, the idea of the Messiah promised to their fathers, and filled them with the most ardent desire to see the happy time, they looked for, as the epoch of their deliverance.

A little while before our Saviour entered upon his mediation, God sent before him a messenger to prepare his way, John, furname the Baptist, or the Baptiser; who preached the coming of the Messiah, and exhorted the people to prepare for it, by sincere repentance. The birth of this Holy Person was foretold by an angel, Luke i. 13. he passed his life in desarts, his food and raiment answered to the severity of his doctrine; he was in all respects a most striking resemblance of the prophet Elias; his preaching, the baptism he administered, and the martyrdom he suffered, made him very respectable in all Judea. His chief prerogative was the announcing,

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cing, and shewing to the Jews, the Messiah already manifest in the flesh, John i. 29. and he had the honour to prepare Jesus Christ for his offices, by baptising him on the banks of Jordan.

Our Saviour was then thirty years old, Luke iii. 28. when he began to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, to teach the people to work miracles, in order to establish the kingdom of God. His ministry lasted three years and some months; during which time he never ceased doing good, passing through Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and the neighbouring countries, and bringing life and immortality to light, Acts x. 38. The principal subject of his instructions was, to prove that he was the Messiah promised and foretold by the Prophets, and that all those who believed faithfully in him should have eternal life. He made choice of some disciples, who attached themselves entirely to him; to them he gave a particular knowledge of the evangelical truths, which he in general delivered to the multitude under the veil of allegory. The twelve apostles were chosen from amongst the disciples to found the true church, of which Jesus was to be the chief; all the Levitical priesthood being abolished with the legal ceremonies; the apostles had no other offices, than those of pastors, and teachers: their divine master promised the continual help of his grace to them, and to all their lawful successors; and that he would be with them to the end of the world, Matth. xviii. 20.

To unite the Christians to each other, by a sacred and indissoluble tye, Jesus Christ substituted in lieu of the two sacraments of the ancient law, two ceremonies more suitable to the new covenant; Baptism and the holy Sacrament, which are to remain as long as the church, 1 Cor. ix. 26. By this the Mosaical worship was entirely annulled; and the Christian church succeeded to the Jewish.

The

The time appointed for the preaching of Jesus Christ being over, he prepared for his death; and went up to Jerusalem, where, having celebrated the passover after the manner of the Jews, he finished the supper, by instituting the sacrament of his body, represented by the bread and wine. In the same night he was betrayed, and delivered to the Jews, his most implacable enemies; who, having charged him with many unjust accusations, obtained his condemnation. Which was confirmed by Pilate, then governor of Judea, though much against his inclination. Jesus was conducted to the place of execution and fastened to the cross, where he offered himself a sacrifice, to expiate the sins of mankind. After having suffered much both in body and mind, he gave up his soul to God the Father. Many prodigies accompanied the last moments of his life. His friends performed their last duties to him, and gave him an honourable burial. This holy body did not know corruption; but, after having remained three days in the grave, the power of the Almighty broke the bands of death, and it arose from the tomb to a glorious resurrection. After the resurrection, our Saviour did not as before shew himself to the people; he made choice only of some witnesses, from amongst his most faithful disciples, and to them he shewed himself at divers times, Acts x. 40, 41. 1 Cor. xv. 6. He had many long conversations with his Apostles, in which he more fully discovered to them the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; he remained on the earth forty days, Acts i. 3. at the end of which time he ascended into heaven, in the presence of his apostles, after having recommended to them, to establish, extend, and govern his church.

The fame of Jesus Christ, the miracles he had performed, and the doctrine he preached, so spread on all sides; and was so great, even amongst those who did not believe in the gospel, that we find

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

many honourable testimonies given to our Saviour by strangers, which are collected by many learned men. This gave the pagans the notion of attributing to their most celebrated philosophers the like miracles, and of inventing, in the blindness of their zeal, many fables, to put them on a parallel with the authentic narrations of the evangelists. Such are the works of Philostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, that of Eunapius in the lives of the philosophers, as well as the life of Plotinus by Porphyrius, and that of Proclus by Marinus.

The church, whose foundation was fixed by our Saviour, during his abode on earth, was in some manner solemnly inaugurated the tenth day after his ascension, by the gifts of the holy Spirit, received by the Apostles, the first ministers and preachers of the church. Their divine master, faithful to his promises, and willing to accomplish the ancient prophecies most plentifully bestowed on his apostles the gift of the holy Spirit; in so much, that those who were only simple witnesses of this miracle perceived it, and felt its effects. From this moment, the apostles acquitted themselves of their charge, with the most ardent zeal, and unshaken constancy; they conquered the greatest obstacles; and the success of their labour was incredible.

The primitive church was most glorious. The knowledge of God and religion, as Jesus Christ and his apostles preached it, was there found in all its purity, unaltered and unmixed, by any comment or human tradition. The worship resembled the belief; every thing tended to true holiness, and the faithful performed their duty in the most lively manner, and with the most religious exactness. The precious gifts of the holy Spirit were bestowed in such profusion, as were never heard of before, or since <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> We have a treatise of Tibias Pfanner de Charismatibus sive donis miraculosis antiquæ ecclesiæ. The fathers of the three first  
The

The chief of these were the gift of tongues, of prophecy, of cures, and miracles. The persons of the lowest rank, and those of the meanest understanding, had a profound, lively, and sanctifying knowledge of the true religion. Their morals answered to the purity of their doctrine ; the most perfect integrity reigned amongst them, and nothing conduced more to the conversion of Infidels, than the example of the first Christians. They were seen glorifying God in the midst of the most unjust persecutions, and suffering with unexampled fortitude the most cruel torments. What particularly characterised and distinguished them, was, a sincere benevolence and unbounded charity, not only to each other, but to all men <sup>a</sup>. It is with arms like these, that Christianity triumphed over paganism ; it is thus the faith of our Saviour has been planted throughout the world.

During the first years after the ascension of our Saviour, the church was confined to the city of Jerusalem ; she nevertheless increased in an amazing manner ; which drew on her the anger and hatred of the Jews, who, at the end of two years raised a violent persecution against the Christians in that capital ; which caused several of them, and particularly some of the apostles and Evangelists, to leave it, and disperse themselves in the neighbouring countries ; which, in a short time, occasioned the Gospel to be preached not only in Judea and Samaria, but likewise in Syria, Cyprus, and the different regions of Asia. Yet the first preachers confined their doctrine, preaching it only to the Jews dwelling in those places ; and the first

centuries seem to have extended too far the duration of the miraculous gifts, and to have been imposed upon by false miracles. In these latter times there have been great disputes on this subject.

<sup>a</sup> See Cave's Primitive Christianity, and the Manners of the first Christians by Fleury.

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churches were composed of proselytes from Judaism to Christianity. The barrier, which prevented the Pagans from entering the Church, was soon removed. Six or seven years after the ascension of our Lord, the apostle St. Peter had a vision, which informed him of the vocation of the Gentiles; and St. Paul, called in an extraordinary manner to be an Apostle, acquitted himself of that office, with as much zeal as success. He went not only through the countries already named, but through all Greece, and Italy, and preached even at Rome itself; so that, in a very few years, the greatest part of the Roman empire was enlightened with the benign rays of this wholesome doctrine, and in most of the principal cities there were numerous and flourishing churches.

It is easy to conclude from hence, that the apostles employed all the supernatural strength which was given them for the advancement of that great undertaking, and that God prospered with his blessing their endeavours: the number of Christians was incredible; and amongst them were several persons distinguished by their birth, their employments, and their talents. This is a fact, that some modern writers have been in the wrong to contest. The Roman empire was, during this time, the principal seat of the Christian church, before which the emperors themselves at the last bowed their fasces. There certainly was in the more remote countries of the East some churches and even a good number <sup>a</sup>, but they are scarcely mentioned by the ancient Greek or Latin authors. We have on the other side many traditions of

<sup>a</sup> We refer here to the oriental writers themselves, particularly, the Syrian, whose works were entirely unknown to us, until they were published by the learned Assmanni in his *Bibliotheca orientalis Vaticana*. See also the excellent *Histoire Critique de Manichéisme*, by Isaac Beausobre.

the churches founded in that age by the apostles, or their disciples, as far as the extremities of Germany, France, Great Britain, Asia, and Africa ; but the greatest number of these traditions bear such evident marks of falsehood, that they do not deserve attention.—As no society can subsist without order, the Saviour, in founding the church, established ministers, ordinary and extraordinary, whose titles and functions, we find marked out in 1 Cor. xiv. 28. Eph. xiv. 11. The ministers extraordinary, of whom were the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, went no farther than the first age. The ministers ordinary, of whom there is a succession in the church which shall remain to the end of time, are Pastors, and Teachers. We will speak briefly of each order.

The Apostles incontestably hold the first place among the ministers extraordinary. They were immediately chosen by our Saviour himself. They were his companions and hearers during his ministry, and afterwards received the holy Spirit ; and they had full power given them to establish churches in all those places which had received the word, and to govern them in the name and with the authority of Jesus Christ. When our divine master chose them to the number of twelve, he had without doubt regard to the twelve tribes of Israel ; and a proof that the number was not arbitrary, but referred to some determined reason, is, that after the fatal death of the traitor Judas, Matthias was elected to replace him, A&ts. i. 26. There never was any office in the church more eminent than the Apostolical. Some learned divines have distinctly explained all their prerogatives from the Holy Scriptures.

We have certain accounts of the works of some of the Apostles, and of the fruits of their labour ; it is the inspired book of the Acts which has trans-

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mitted to us that knowledge. We see there in particular, how St. Paul, that great Apostle of the Gentiles, called by Jesus Christ himself on the road to Damascus <sup>2</sup>, and added to the number of the Apostles, became one of the most powerful instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of men. St. Peter did not stay at Jerusalem; he went through diverse countries of the east, preached the gospel particularly to the Jews with the success which the Scripture mentions. As to the other Apostles, we know but very few particulars of their lives and preaching, as the sacred writers have thought fit to say little about them.

Ecclesiastical tradition, whether that which goes back to the first antiquity, or that which bears the characters of a later date, gives account of many other things respecting the life and actions of the Apostles, but we cannot admit them with full confidence. There are, however, some articles which it is hardly possible to doubt. Such are the accounts confirmed by the unanimous testimony of the ancients respecting the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome; of Hegesippus's relation of the martyrdom of St. James surnamed the Less, Apostle and Bishop of Jerusalem; and the particulars which the Ecclesiastical history furnishes, respecting St. John, what he did in Asia Minor, and his long life. It is likewise natural to give credit to what the oriental writers agree in saying about the preaching of the Apostle St. Thomas in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Persia, and the Churches he founded in those places. As to what the greatest part of the more modern historians have said of the other Apostles, and the things that happened to them among different people, they are, if not evident falsehoods, at least very suspicious assertions.

<sup>2</sup> See Lord Lyttelton's treatise on the conversion of St. Paul.

It is then sufficient to know, that the propagation of the Christian doctrine throughout the world, is due to the care and labour of the Apostles. This admirable and divine work will be a lasting monument of their indefatigable zeal, and the blessing of God upon it, so long as the church shall subsist; that is, according to the promise of Jesus Christ, to the end of the world.

The primitive Church had other Prophets besides the Apostles, Eph. ii. 20, 3. 5. whose principal office was, the giving clear, and distinct explanations of those ancient prophecies relating to the Messiah, which had hitherto been very enigmatically and obscurely interpreted. This explanation, served to procure a full conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. We cannot doubt that the Prophets of the New Testament<sup>a</sup> were animated, and directed by the Holy Spirit, so as to perform the task prescribed them, in the most true and satisfactory manner. It appears by the Acts of the Apostles, that there were many of these Prophets in the primitive church; for they mention those of the church of Antioch, Ch. xiii. 1. xv. 32. of Cæsarea xxi. 10. and those of Jerusalem xix. 27. It does not appear that their ministry was attached to any particular church; they rather went from place to place as they were led by the Spirit, or as the wants of the churches required. Besides the explanation of the ancient prophecies, they foretold to the churches many things which should come to pass; Acts xi. 27, 28. xiii. 12. 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

After the Prophets, the Scripture mentions the Evangelists; by looking into the gospels included in the canon of the sacred writings, we easily discover

<sup>a</sup> There is a very good dissertation of Mosheim on this subject in his Diff. ad Hist. Eccl. pertinent. vol. ii. p. 132.

what were the offices of those ministers. They taught by word of mouth the doctrine contained in the holy gospel, and made the application to those who heard them, adding to the energy of their discourse, the convincing demonstration of miracles performed by the power of the Holy Spirit residing in them. They preached the fundamental truths of the Christian doctrine, but more particularly the sending of the Son of God into the world, what he did and suffered on earth for the salvation of mankind, and the manner in which he fulfilled the prophecies. This is the testimony St. Luke gives of himself in the 1st chapter of his gospel, verse 4. The Evangelists were then subordinate to the Apostles, in the charge of preaching the gospel to the nations; they had, as well as the Apostles, the right of founding churches, of settling their government, and watching over their conduct; in which they did not act from themselves, but from the impulsion or immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, with whose extraordinary gifts they were filled. Such were Philip, Acts xxi. compared with viii. 5. 12. Tim. ii. Tim. iv. 5, and Titus as well as St. Mark, and St. Luke, to whom from the beginning the church gave the titles of Evangelists.

Some think the Evangelists to be the same with the seventy disciples, who are only once mentioned in the life of Jesus Christ, Luke x. 1. 17. But it appears, the office that with which our Saviour charged the seventy disciples with, was but a temporary employment. It admits of no doubt, but that at the last, some of the Disciples were invested with the characters of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists; it is to be remarked, that among the evangelists, there were some to be found, who had not seen our Lord in the flesh. The ancients had a custom of regarding those, who held any considerable rank in the church,

as having been of the number of the seventy disciples. But as their names are not mentioned in the New Testament, they must be mere conjectures, on which we cannot at all depend.

Such were the extraordinary ministers of the primitive Church. Christ added some ordinary, which are to continue to the end of time; they are the Pastors and Teachers, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11, They are frequently called the Bishops, and Priests, these two titles designing originally the same office, at least in the time of the Apostles. But soon after their death, or even at the end of their life, he who was oldest in office, or in age, amongst the priests of one church, took upon himself the title of Bishop, exclusive of the rest. All the learned agree in acknowledging, that, since the beginning of the second age, episcopacy was a superior office to that of priesthood, and that the Bishops were installed into their office, with particular ceremonies. Nevertheless the Bishops and Priests acted in concert, assisted each other with the advice and united their labour in the government of the church.

The extent and importance of these works, which required all the time and application of those who were charged with them, engaged the Apostles to create a new order in the church, that of Deacons, which name literally translated signifies Ministers; their employment was such as did not require superior understanding or profound knowledge. They were subordinate to the Bishops and Priests. They discharged those duties which would have hindered the others from performing that which was the principal, preaching. St. Paul mentions Deacons, Rom. xiii. 7. Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8. However the Deacons make part of the clergy, and were installed in their office by the laying on of hands, as were the Bishops and Priests. When they found themselves capable of teaching, they then relieved the Bishops

Bishops in that respect. Their charge was perpetual, unless they rendered themselves unworthy of it; when they acquitted themselves of it well, it raised them to superior orders.

From the time of the Apostles, they joined to the Deacons, women, called Deaconesses, Rom. xiv. 1. St. Paul says, they were persons much advanced in years, Titus. ii. 3. 1 Tim. v. 8, 9, 10. In effect, they chose only widows to this office, and they were to be more than sixty. They did very near the same things with the Deacons, but their particular employments were with the persons of their own sex; and they even administered baptism. That office was by degrees abolished; so that there does not remain a trace of it in the Church.

All the observations which have been made on the subject of the ministers of the primitive Church, sufficiently prove that the Apostles did not establish any hierarchy in the church, and that they never permitted the clergy to have any government one over the other, or over the laity; on the contrary, they would have prevented the least appearance of it, 1 Pet. v. 3. Not but there was such a subordination among the ministers of the church, as was necessary for the preservation of good order; but they looked upon one another as fellow-workers, associated to join their knowledge and their labours in the service of the church of Jesus Christ, and obliged equally to concur with all their strength in the great work entrusted to them. While they do not depart from this principle, the apostolical church may subsist, and be found even to this day, in the many Christian churches, notwithstanding the changes introduced in the denominations, of the degrees and offices of the evangelical ministry.

A considerable part of the ecclesiastical government consists in the manner of regulating the public acts and exteriors of divine worship. The rites of

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the apostolical church were few, very simple, and altogether worthy of that holy religion, which came into the world to teach men that God is a spirit, and must be served in spirit and in truth. We may find in the Acts of Apostles the nature of this worship. They have likewise been related by the Christian authors of the second age, at which time they began to introduce some new ceremonies, added to those of the apostolical church <sup>a</sup>; but it will be time to mention them when we shall come to the history of that period.

Discipline is absolutely necessary in the government of the church, the principal object of which is the punishing of those who disturb the peace of the church, or cause any scandal. In effect, all scandals, particularly those which make any noise, not only may dishonour the church, but contribute to the corrupting those, who are witnesses to them, by turning them from the faith, and the sincere practice of piety. The church then has much cause to put an end to all scandal as soon as it becomes public; and upon that account we must, by the means of punishment, take from those notorious offenders the power of persevering in their wicked ways, when we cannot by gentler methods conquer their will. The nature of the thing requires that they should be separated from, and, in the case of invincible obstinacy, entirely deprived of, the communion of the church to which they belong. Since then, without the exercise of some such discipline, no church can preserve its purity and integrity, it follows that it is not only of human but of divine right <sup>b</sup>, which may be inferred from the 15th, 16th, 17th, verses of Matt. xviii, taken in the true sense.

<sup>a</sup> See Fleury's discourses on Ecclesiastical History.

<sup>b</sup> Lawyers and Divines are divided in their sentiments on the above, as we see by consulting Mosheim's *Institutiones Hist. Eccl. maiores* p. 284.

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But it is sufficient on that subject to refer to the precepts and practice of the Apostles.

These holy men, following the custom of the Synagogue, established two different degrees of excommunication. By the first, it was ordered only that the wicked, the sinful, and those who endeavoured to draw others from the faith, should be separated both from the civil and sacred communion of all Christians. The same custom they had, with regard to hereticks, Tit. iii. 10. and for all sort of sinners, Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. v. 7, 9. xi. 13. 2 Theff. iii. 14, 11. John x. Afterwards, when some very extraordinary crimes required a more severe punishment, they delivered the convicts over to the devil, 1 Cor. v. 5. 1 Tim. i. 20. By which is meant no more than some very extraordinary corporal punishment, which the Apostles, appointed by Christ to be the judges of his church, inflicted on the rebellious, not only to correct them, but to be an example to others. The first degree of this censure answered to the common excommunication of the Jews, and the second to the flagellation ordered by the synagogue. But for the forms of imprecation, by which the sinner was devoted from among the Jews to the infernal powers, these were not for a long time introduced into the Christian church, as being neither agreeable to its primitive character, nor to the genius of the Apostles.

To the busines of preaching, the first teachers soon began to add that of writing, as the occasion required. Some of their writings have even come down to us. But here we are to distinguish their writings into two classes. The first is that of the sacred or canonical books, in the composition of which the Holy Spirit guided the Apostles and Evangelists, so that these books might remain always, for the edification of the church, and be looked upon as, what they really are, the word of God. The second clas

class is that of the works of holy and pious men, written for the edification of the church; but their authority is merely human.

We shall not here enter upon the proofs of the authenticity, truth, or divinity of the canonical books of the New Testament. Having been wrote during the life of the Apostles, the several churches successively collected them, and these collections were made with the greatest care. After the death of St. John, who survived all his fellow Apostles, as there was no person who could add any more to the canonical writings, the received canon was looked upon as complete, that is to say, closed and sealed by the tacit consent of the greatest part of the churches, which was soon changed into a publick and general declaration.

Besides the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, concerning which we have no doubt, the ancient church had others, and much more in number, which bore falsely the respectable names of the first disciples of our Saviour, and which impostors endeavoured to spread throughout the christian world, under the titles of Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, &c. Some of them seem to have been written with very good designs, by people whose names are not known. Such are the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the preaching of St. Peter, and some others well esteemed by antiquity. All that remain now, at all worthy of attention, are the Apostolical canons, and the eight books of Apostolical constitutions. Notwithstanding these compilations were not put into order untill a considerable time after the death of the Apostles; yet they give us an idea both of the discipline and customs of the primitive church during the 3d and 4th centuries.

During this century, there were great numbers of ecclesiastical writers, but there are very few writings

tings that have survived their authors. In the last century, they published from a manuscript, which is the only one that can be discovered at present, the epistle of St. Clement the Roman, a companion of the apostles, and which is called the first to the Corinthians; and which the learned men of the present age in general look upon as genuine. The antients greatly valued it, and had it read publickly in some churches: they likewise gave his name to one other epistle called the second to the Corinthians; but this is not received as authentic. It is likewise to the first century that the epistle belongs, which bears the name of St. Barnabas, a person who lived in the Apostles' time; but we have sufficient reasons to suspect its authenticity. To conclude, the pastor of Hermas is said to be of the same antiquity, as it was known and esteemed by the writers of the succeeding ages. These are all the remains we have of this century, to which we can give any credit.

But there are many others, whose fraud and forgery are manifest, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to hand them down to posterity, under respectable names. Such are the writings attributed to St. Clement of Rome. An impostor, who is unknown, has put at the head of many ill-digested writings, the name of Dionysius, the Areopagite, of whom there is mention made in Acts xvii. 34. and who, according to the ancients, was the first bishop of Athens. The following ages teemed with abundance of such-like books, and with others yet worse, some of which have come down to us; but, as there is nobody now living any longer a dupe to them, they need not detain us.

We do not think it necessary to explain the doctrine of this happy century, as it was taught by the Apostles, and the first preachers of the gospel, either by word of mouth, or by writing. The sacred books of the N. T. contain, in the most compleat manner,

manner, all that is necessary to salvation: whoever reads them with attention and proper dispositions, will be sure to find in them an invariable rule both for his faith and practise.

Notwithstanding the field of the Lord was thus happily cultivated, the enemy of man's salvation found means to spread in it the seeds of error. Attacked from without by violent persecutions, of which we shall hereafter speak, the Christian church was not free, even within itself, from false preachers, who propagated dangerous heresies, and caused fatal divisions. Even the Apostles themselves complain bitterly in their writings of false doctrines, which had crept into the church, and of the grievous differences which arose in it. St. Paul sharply censures Alexander, Hymeneus, and Philetus, who denied the resurrection of the dead, 1 Tim. i. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 18. And he reproaches the church of Corinth for being infected with the same error, 1 Cor. xv. 12. Some few years before the death of St. John, the evil spirit, who had endeavoured to destroy the infant church, redoubled the malice and violence of his attacks, as we may judge by what is written 1 John iii. 18. 19. iv. 1. 2. 3. 2 John 7. The Apostle complains in these passages, that there were arisen many false prophets, whom he points out by the name of Antichrists. In the Revelation, mention is made of other heretics, whom the sacred author speaks of under the mysterious names of Bileamites and Nicolaites, who perverted all kind of morality by allowing too much indulgence in pleasure and all the disorderly lusts of the flesh. There is the greatest reason to think, that these were the same, who, in the following age, were known by the name of Gnostics.

There was, in the time of the Apostles, a very warm dispute<sup>a</sup>, and one very difficult to be determined, about

<sup>a</sup> See the Obs. Sacr. of Vitringa, lib. iv. ch. 9.

the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses. The Jews positively insisted upon it, and the Gentiles rejected it. After vehement altercations, the Apostles assembled a council at Jerusalem, where it was positively determined, that the Jews and Gentiles who had embraced the Christian religion, should be absolutely free from the ceremonial law; but, to indulge the descendants of Abraham, they were permitted to observe circumcision, and some other legal ordinances. They were not content with this; and, contrary to the apostolical doctrine, they insisted with the same warmth upon the observation of the whole Mosaical law, as indispensably necessary to the <sup>a</sup> justification of man in the sight of God; and, not content to bear the yoke themselves only, they absolutely would impose it on the Gentile converts. St. Paul strongly opposed, at different times, their unjust pretensions, and used all his apostolical authority to hinder the effect of them. At last God himself decided the question, in abolishing the Levitical law, by the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem. Since that time, those who desired to join circumcision to the other ceremonies of the law, with the faith of Christ, were esteemed heretics, and had, among other appellations, those of Nazarenes and Ebionites.

At the head of these impostors or heretics, of whom mention is made in the history of the church, and to whom are attributed dangerous errors, we must certainly place <sup>b</sup> Simon, called the Magician, who is mentioned in Acts viii. But there is room to

<sup>a</sup> The reader will find a very clear account of this matter in Witsius's dissertation *De controversiis apostolorum tempore in ecclesia ortis circa justificationem*. It is inserted in the 2d vol. of his *Miscellanea*.

<sup>b</sup> Mosheim has collected all that relates to Simon Magus in his *Instit. Eccles. Major*, sec. i. p. 389. &c. This author has taken notice also of the other heretics, whom we shall have occasion hereafter to mention.

doubt whether we are to look upon him as a Christian, though he is called a heretick. He was rather in appearance an apostate, from the Jewish and Samaritan religion, and, incited by the love of vain glory, wanted to be esteemed the deliverer and saviour of mankind. But the deliverance which he offered was not like that which the prophets had promised, but was agreeable in a great measure to the opinions which were afterwards professed by the different sects of the Gnostics. The ancients say, that he taught the unknown God, and that from his divine essence there were many emanations; he pretended that the world which we see, was not the work of a divinity, but of an evil angel, whose orders we are not to obey; likewise that in this disobedience consists the true liberty: he likewise denied the resurrection of the dead. The accounts that are given of the disputes of Simon with St. Peter at Rome, and of the divine honours that were decreed him in that city, are mere fables.

Next to Simon Magus, comes Menander, a Samaritan like him, and equally given to the arts of magick, if we may believe the authors who speak of him. He taught the doctrine of his master at Antioch, with this difference, that he mixed with his principles those of the Christian religion, and reduced the whole into one system. If so, we are not entirely to admit what the ancients say of him, that, like his master, he wanted to pass for the great power of God, which was sent into the world for the salvation of men. He baptised his disciples in his own name, and promised them after this baptism a more easy victory over the evil spirits; and that, after this life, they should become partakers of the resurrection of the dead, and of immortality.

The heresy of the Nazarenes, which arose after the destruction of Jerusalem, was of a different

kind. In examining with attention all that St. Epiphanius says of it, we must suppose that the Nazarenes belonged to a Christian church at Jerusalem, whose members, at the approach of the siege, passed Jordan, and fled for refuge to Pella and other neighbouring villages, where they found a safe asylum, and enjoyed a free liberty of conscience till the time of Trajan. Afterwards Adrian permitted all the Christians, who chose it, to return to Jerusalem; but those who could not persuade themselves to renounce circumcision, and the ceremonial law of the Jews, remained beyond Jordan, and retained their old name of Nazarenes, by which they were known to St. Epiphanius and St. Jerom, in the fourth and fifth centuries. All their error consisted in remaining attached to Judaism, notwithstanding God had entirely abolished the Levitical worship, and in keeping themselves upon that account separated from the rest of the Christian church.

From the Nazarenes, as we may judge, came the Ebionites, probably so called from their chief, Ebion. The ancients call those Ebionites, who, having quitted the synagogue to become Christians, afterwards mixed, with the faith of the Redeemer, circumcision, and the ceremonial law.

Church history divides the Ebionites into the first and second. Without doubt, the first were no other than the Nazarenes themselves; and that which Theodoret ascribes to the second, must be looked upon a mistake, and agrees to the first: according to him they acknowledge, that our Saviour J. C. was born of a virgin; that they used only one gospel, that of St. Matthew; that they observed both the Jewish and Christian Sabbath. All this can be applied to no other than to the first Christians of the church of Jerusalem, and to the Nazarenes. St. Epiphanius likewise quotes a very ancient tradition,

dition, which mentions that the heresy of the Nazarenes, and that of the Ebionites, took their rise at the same time, and in the same place; but the Ebionites having made a formal separation, they joined to their first errors, as it was natural to expect, others much more considerable. Those which Theodoret ascribes to them, and which can be looked upon only as the opinions of the second are; 1. that the Father is the true God; 2. that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, according to the common laws of generation; 3. that the Holy Spirit descended upon him at his baptism, and remained with him to his death. Those who professed these sentiments may properly be looked upon as Ebionites; the others were more commonly called Nazarenes.

The sect that bore much affinity to the Ebionites was that of the Cerinthians<sup>2</sup>, founded by Cerinthus, of whose country, and the time in which he lived, we have no exact account. It is however certain, that he may be reckoned among the ancient heretics. He instructed himself at Alexandria in what was called the mixed, or syncretick philosophy, in which Platonism was altered by ancient eastern notions, and was called by the learned the new Platonism. All the Gnostics adopted this philosophy. Cerinthus, after this, probably joined himself with some Ebionites, those whom we called the first; for he borrowed some of their opinions, in exchange for which, he obliged them to receive some of his; and from this association of ideas it is by no means improbable, the second Ebionites took their rise. Cerinthianism was then a new system of religion, formed by a conjunction of the opinions of the Gnostics, the Ebionites, and of some peculiar notions of Cerinthus himself. They may be reduced

<sup>2</sup> See two dissertations of Mr. Jablonski, printed at Francfort on the Oder, *De regno millenario Cerinthi.*

to the following; 1. Jesus was not born of a virgin by the extraordinary intervention of the Holy Spirit, but from his parents Joseph and Mary, according to the common laws of nature: 2. Jesus the man being baptized, the Christ, or the Spirit of God, descended then upon him, and filled him with wisdom, knowledge, and power: 3. Besides these, the greatest part of the ancients look upon Cerinthus as the father of the Chiliasts or Millenaries. There is foundation for this opinion; but we must remember that the reign of the thousand years, of which Cerinthus and the other Gnostics speak, was not to take place upon earth, but in some celestial region.

It only remains now to speak of the Nicolaites, who are numbered by the ancients in the rank of heretics. This name is without doubt taken from the 2d chapter of Revelations, 6, and 15 verses, where we find a sharp censure of the doctrine and conduct of these heretics. They are joined in these passages with the Bileamites, whom the apostle reproves for eating of things offered to idols, and for giving themselves up to fornication. There is no doubt but the name of Bileamites, made use of by St. John, is mystical; and we may presume the same of the Nicolaites, which comes nearly to the same signification.

To finish this century, we must give an account of the principal historical events, which concerned or interested the Christian church. The most striking of them is certainly that of the intire ruin of the polity of the Jews, and the dispersion of them which followed, and which remains even to this day. But to give a clear account of it:

Herod the great died a little after the birth of our Saviour. The emperor Augustus divided his empire amongst his sons; Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, fell to Archclaus, with the title of Ethnarch.

Herod

Herod Antipas had Galilee and Perea; Philip the countries known by the name of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis. These two last had the quality of Tetrarchs. At the end of nine years, Archelaus, being accused by the Jews, was banished by Augustus into Dauphiny; and Judea, as we have already said, being reduced to a Roman province, was governed by Roman magistrates, named procurators. Herod Antipas, who beheaded John the Baptist, and before whom our Saviour was brought a little before his suffering, as an object of ridicule, was likewise sent by the Emperor to Lyons. Agrippa, surnamed the great, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson to Herod (called also in the 12th ch. of Acts, Herod, the common name of the family) then obtained the government of the two tetrarchs, his uncles Philip and Antipas; so that soon after his advancement he obtained as much power as his grandfather had possessed. This rendered him cruel and vain: he exercised his cruelty on St. James, the brother of our Saviour, whom he caused to suffer martyrdom; and, just as his pride was going to receive the applauses of a people who equalled him to God, he was severely punished. *Acts xii. 22.* The Romans sent again unto Judea procurators, among whom were Felix and Festus, before whom, as well as before Agrippa the younger, the son of the preceding, St. Paul pleaded, *Acts xxiv. 25, 26.* The heavy burthens which these magistrates, and particularly Gessius Florus, laid upon the Jews, caused them to revolt, to which they indeed before had a great inclination. Torn likewise to pieces by their intestine divisions, they made large strides to their destruction. The Romans, being no longer able to keep them in subjection, declared war against them: this war was begun by Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria;

continued

continued by Vespasian, to whom Nero had given the charge of it; and finished by Titus, the son of Vespasian, in the reign of his father. The city was destroyed, and the temple reduced to ashes, tho' Titus much wished to preserve it; declaring, more than once, that he had no design to exterminate the Jews, but that they brought on their own misfortunes. During the siege of Jerusalen, which lasted six months, there perished, partly by fire, and partly by famine, eleven hundred thousand people, and they took and sold ninety seven thousand: so that, if we add to them those who perished during the seven years war, the number will amount to 1,337,490, without taking into our account those who were exposed to beasts, sent into banishment, or were the victims of some particular calamity. The war began in the year of Christ 66, and the city was taken and burnt in the year 70. It took near three years to restore the peace of Jerusalem. The history of this war, filled with events which it is impossible to read without being affected, was wrote by Josephus, a Jew himself, and an eye witness of the things which happened. While God exercised his justice in this wonderful manner upon the Jews, he shewed his mercy to the Christians, who were at Jerusalem. Warned by an oracle of this catastrophe, before it happened, they left the capital, and retired for the most part to Pella, a little city situated beyond Jordan.

Such was the fate of the Jews. God, who punishes the guilty, tries likewise the just, and permitted the infant church to be exposed to such very violent persecutions, as seemed likely to stifle it in its cradle; but, on the contrary, they served rather to increase the number of the converted, and to strengthen the faithful in the faith. The most enraged enemies of christianity were the Jews, the leaders of whom, as they had shewn the greatest violence

lence against our Saviour during his life, treated the disciples as they had done the master. The persecutions of the synagogue against the church may be reduced to three. The first is that in which Stephen, the first martyr, was the victim, *Acts vi. 7.* The second was raised by king Agrippa, who thought by that to please the nation. In this the Apostle St. James, called the Major, sealed the gospel with his blood, *Acts xii.* The chief priest, Ananias, made use of the absence of the Roman governor, to cause the last; in which St. James the Minor, the apostle and brother of our Lord, finished his course, as Eusebius informs us; and his account is confirmed by that of the Jewish historian Josephus.

But the Gentiles treated these innocent people, with a great deal more inhumanity. The diametrical opposition of the gospel precepts, to the dogmas and superstitions of paganism, inflamed the hearts of the Gentiles with the most violent hatred against those who wished to overthrow their idols. This gave rise to violent persecutions, which broke out from time to time, as so many fires which threatened the entire destruction of the church. We shall not, in this place, enter upon their different causes or details. We will confine ourselves to those which were spread through the whole Roman empire, and were either expressly commanded, or consented to, by the emperors themselves. These are generally reckoned ten in number.

Nero, that monster, a reproach both to royalty and humanity, was the author of the first. He did not appear to have acted from any particular hatred to christianity: he sought only to charge the christians with crimes of which he himself was guilty; and to satisfy his natural thirst to cruelty, by making them suffer the most frightful torments, after having himself set fire to the city of

Rome:

Rome: he accused the Christians of this attempt, and condemned them to suffer death for it, by the most incredible tortures, and in the same manner as if they had been lawfully convicted. To all appearance, a great number of the faithful perished; nor was Rome the only scene of these horrid cruelties; they were spread throughout the Roman empire, if we may judge from an inscription found in a town in Portugal: NERONI. CLAVDIO. CAES. AVG. PONT. MAXIMO. OE. PROVINCIAM. LATRONIBVS. ET. HIS. QVI. NOVAM. GENERI. HVM. SUPERSTITION. INCVL CAB. PVRGATAM.

The first persecution<sup>a</sup> began in the year of our Lord 64; but we are not certain how long it lasted. St. Peter and St. Paul are commonly numbered among those who suffered martyrdom on this occasion; St. Paul by having his head cut off, the other by being crucified with his head downwards. It appears very certain that these two Apostles were put to death by order of Nero<sup>b</sup>, and that since the year we mentioned. The learned are not agreed whether or no Nero<sup>c</sup> gave out these edicts with an intention to render the persecutions universal, as the preceding inscription seems to testify<sup>d</sup>.

Domitian, as cruel but more stupid, than Nero, expressed the same rage against the Christians. There is reason to suppose that his principal dislike

<sup>a</sup> Such is the opinion of the best chronologists, P. Pagi, Pearson, and Mr. Basnage. Mr. des Vignoles has wrote a dissertation to prove that this persecution began in the month of November, in the year 64. Toinard, in his notes on Lactantius's book *De mortibus persecutorum*, places it in the beginning of the month of August.

<sup>b</sup> Pearson, in his *Annal. Paulin.* places the martyrdom of these apostles in 68; P. Pagi, in 67; and Mr. Basnage, for very good reasons, in 65.

<sup>c</sup> Sulpicius Severus positively affirms it in his first *Eccles.*

<sup>d</sup> See the preface of Rama t on the acts of the martyrs, sect. iii. p. 26.

was to the Jews, and that the Christians suffered many times upon their account. This persecution lasted about two years, and ended only with the death of the tyrant. Numbers of Christians, accused by the informers, perished. The consul Flavius Clemens, and his wife or niece Flavia Domitilla, relations to the emperor, with many more of the court, were either condemned to banishment, or suffered death: numbers of martyrs were the victims of this persecution: they pretend that the apostle St. John, being cast into boiling oil, received no hurt, and was banished to the island of Patmos, where he had those visions mentioned in the Revelations. They add that, Domitian having ordered the posterity of David to be put to death, the grandsons of that Jude, who was surnamed the brother of our Lord, were brought to him; the emperor, surprised at their mean condition and appearance, ordered them back without doing any thing to them, and ceased any longer to persecute the church<sup>a</sup>. Then the exiles had leave to return; and St. John came back to Ephesus, where he ended his life, which lasted for more than a hundred years. Such is the abridgement of the history of the first century, concerning which, from the scarcity and uncertainty of the materials, we can add no more<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> We may consult P. Pagi an excellent chronologist, for the precise time and duration of that persecution: he fixes the beginning of this persecution to the year 93. Toinard, in his work just mentioned, places it in the month of January, in the year 94; and he is followed by Mr. Bagnage, in his *Annales Politico-Ecclesiastici* on that year.

<sup>b</sup> Petavius, in his *Rationarium*, acknowledges, “res Christianas horum temporum haud magna in luce veritatis, scriptorum magis inopia, quam quia mandari quod posset literis extare nihil; cum neque parva, neque scitu indigna credibile sit Apostolos, ac Christi etiam discipulos, toto orbe gessisse. This quotation is taken from Mr. Turretin, in his *Hist. Eccl. Compend.* p. 10.

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## CENTURY II.

**T**H E Christian church, received, during the course of this century, a more considerable increase, than can be conceived any other way than by reflecting on that divine power, which was the first and efficacious cause. The gospel spread itself, notwithstanding the heat of the persecutions, into all the countries of the then known world. In Gaul, many churches were founded; among others, those of Lyon and Vienne became the mothers of several others: Germany likewise obtained a considerable number: Africa also was not without her share<sup>a</sup>. Pantænus, an illustrious doctor of the school of Alexandria, propagated the gospel to much advantage among the Indians; that is, as we have very good reasons to suppose, among the inhabitants of Arabia Felix. Great Britain was certainly enlightened with this heavenly doctrine, though we cannot give full credit to what is reported of the conversions of Lucius king of the Britons, and of Do-

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius says in Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. ch. 10. that Pantænus went from Alexandria to preach the gospel to the eastern nations. This title belongs to the inhabitants of Arabia. Eusebius indeed afterwards names the Indians; but those who are at all acquainted with church history, know that they are often so called. They are the same the Greeks call Homerites. See the Bibl. Orient. d'Affeman, t. iv. p. 437. Eusebius adds, that the apostle St. Bartholomew preached the gospel to the same Indians: and Philostorgius Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 6. says, that he preached among the inhabitants of inland India, called also Sabeans and Homerites.

nald king of Scotland; these accounts<sup>a</sup> have too many doubts and difficulties for us entirely to get over. It is sufficient in general if we can give credit to what Irenæus and Tertullian, authors of that time, report, that there was scarce any nation in the habitable world, to whom the truth was not declared. It is easy to believe, that the churches, founded by the apostles in the preceding age, flourished and daily encreased. That which most favoured the endeavours of these apostolical men, was the care they took to have the sacred books of the N.T. translated into many languages<sup>b</sup>, that they might be understood by those who had no knowledge of the Greek.

The interior state of the church, i. e. the doctrine which they taught, the lives both publick and private of those who composed it, their faith and worship, was as yet pure and respectable. There had been no more changes since the time of the apostles: the prophetical gifts of the spirit had not entirely ceased, as appears from the writings of persons of undoubted credit: concerning other miraculous gifts, which they pretend then existed, we can speak with no certainty. It is from the history of the persecutions, that we have the most striking and indubitable proofs of the ardent zeal and of the constant piety of the ancient faithful, who were always ready to maintain the profession of their faith, and to persevere in it with chearfulness to the last, without being moved either by promises or threats, or by the most dreadful tortures which they endured praising

<sup>a</sup> Our learned countryman Dr. Warner gives not the least credit to these accounts. See his reasons in his History, vol. i. p. 11.

<sup>b</sup> The Syriac version made for all the eastern nations, still exists, as well as that which is commonly called the Italic, made for the people of the West. We may consult the introduction to the books of the N. T. written in German by the learned Mr. John David Michaelis, Sec. 48. 53. and 61. 65.

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and glorifying God. The Church of this century had preserved the essential marks of the doctrine of the preceding; they did not confine true christianity to elegant discourses, but made it consist in good actions.

With regard to ecclesiastical government, after the death of St. John, who survived all his colleagues, ordinary ministers had then the direction. They continued to conduct things after the apostolical institutions, to reserve only the difference that was introduced between bishops and priests, and which was soon universally received. The bishops were superior to the priests, and had together with them the care of the churches; afterwards some churches sought to raise themselves above others, and the bishops, from a thirst of power, formed high pretensions: it will easily be conceived, that the more considerable cities claimed these rights, and those which held at that time the first rank in the christian world, were Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

The publick worship<sup>a</sup> was as yet highly commendable for its great simplicity, tho' they had already added new rites in the room of those used in the Apostles' time. The religious assemblies began by the singing of psalms, prayers, and the reading of the word of God. The bishop afterwards addressed himself to the people, in a discourse and sermon suitable to the persons, times, and other circumstances. They returned again to prayers, which they said on Sundays standing, and on other days kneeling; they then sung more hymns and psalms, and in every part of their worship they expressed the greatest earnestness and devotion. All the faithful afterwards approached the table of the

<sup>a</sup> Many authors have wrote on the worship of the primitive church; but the reader will find the greatest satisfaction in the learned Bingham's Antiquities.

Lord, to receive the Sacrament of the Holy Supper; they concluded the whole by collecting alms for the relief of the poor.

The administration of baptism was made a part of the publick worship. They baptized from this time infants, as well as adults. St. Irenæus and Tertullian affirm it positively; the last making mention of godfathers and godmothers. The learned likewise bring other convincing proofs for infant baptism. The adults, as soon as they renoueed their religion, whether Judaism or Paganism, and expressed a desire to become Christians, were placed in the rank of catechumens; and when they had been sufficiently instructed, and were prepared by fasting and prayers, they received baptism: but before they received it, the catechumens were obliged solemnly to renounce the devil and his works, the world, its pomps and vanities, devote themselves intirely to Christ Jesu, embrace his doctrine, and promise obedience to his commands. They then pronounced a profession of faith; after that, putting off their cloaths, they were dipped three times in water, by the bishop or priest, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This celebration of baptism was followed by some customs, the intention of which was good, such as the unction<sup>a</sup>, the sign of the croſs, and the milk and honey given to the new baptized to taste. But when they administered baptism to the Cliniques, i. e. to those who were confined to their beds from illnes, they made use only of simple sprinkling. The time particularly appointed for these baptismal solemnizations, was Easter-eve, and the whole time from Easter to Whitsuntide.

<sup>a</sup> We may consult, on this unction, the 12th book of Bingham, as well as a learned treatise of Mr. Daillé, on this ſubject, entitled, *De duobus Latinorum ex unctione sacramentis, confirmatione & extrema unctione.*

In all the solemn assemblies of the Christians, the Holy Sacrament always made a second part of their worship. They accustomed themselves afterwards to call it the mass<sup>a</sup> of the faithful, as the Sacrament of baptism was called the mass of the catachumens. The sacred elements of the Eucharist were round leavened loaves, and wine mixed with water. The bishop or priest consecrated these elements by prayer, and all the people answered with a loud voice, Amen. They proceeded then to the breaking of bread, a piece of which they gave to each of the communicants, as well as some of the wine: every member partook daily of this mystical repast, and those dishonoured themselves who omitted it; and that those who were confined at home thro' illness might have the same benefit, a part of it was carried to them. After the participation of the Holy Supper, the communicants celebrated their Agapæ.

The Christians of the second century assembled every day in the week to perform divine worship; but the day the most solemn, was the first of the week, called the day of the Lord, or Sunday. In some countries they likewise celebrated the seventh day, at first, as it appears, out of compliment to the Jews, and with them; and afterwards, in commemoration of the burial of J. C. Others again added the fourth day, in memory of the treachery of Judas; and the sixth as being the day of the death<sup>b</sup> and passion of our Saviour. This custom was soon omitted, and they then only added to the common

<sup>a</sup> In a book of Cardinal Bona, intitled, *Res liturgicæ*, lib. i. chap. i. 2. 3. we have a good account of every thing that respects the word Mass, its origin and usage. Bingham likewise treats of this in his 15th book, to whom in general, we refer for all the customs of the primitive church.

<sup>b</sup> The author that will afford the reader most instruction on this subject, is Bishop Beverege, in his *Canones Apostolici vindicati*, lib. iii. ch. 10.

worship of these days some other religious ceremony; and likewise fasted half the day. We do not find that the church celebrated at this time any more than two anniversary feasts, those of Easter and Whitsuntide. Some churches had also days appointed for the commemoration of their particular martyrs.

As the Christians then assembled on fixed days, it was necessary they should have fixed places for this purpose: they were not permitted to use great churches or temples, or any building of particular structure, much less of pompous decoration, as they used afterwards in the following centuries<sup>a</sup>; but, notwithstanding in the places where they assembled, they had every thing regulated in the most proper manner, suitable to the nature of their worship. The writers of this century usually call these places, Churches, Oratories, and Dominica, or the houses of the Lord.

During the persecutions, the Christians, to conceal themselves the better, sought the most concealed retreats, and particularly fled for refuge to the sepulchres of the martyrs, where they served God in secret, and at uncustomary hours, before break of day<sup>b</sup>, as Pliny, in his famous letter, informs us.

It appears certain, from the testimony of contemporary writers, that the Ecclesiastical discipline was then very severe, tho' not equally so in all churches. This severity increased greatly in the following century: those who were fallen into great crimes, and had caused some public scandal, parti-

<sup>a</sup> The learned Jof. Mede has wrote a very exact treatise on the ancient churches, entitled, *Churches or places appropriated for Christian worship in, and ever since the Apostles' time.*

<sup>b</sup> The learned greatly esteem a dissertation of Mr. Bochmer, Chancellor of the University of Hall; *De antelucanis Christianorum cœtibus.*

cularly apostates, homicides and adulterers, submitted to most austere penances<sup>a</sup>. These culprits were brought before the bishop, or ruling priest; and, after a very severe censure, they were separated from the communion of the church, when they were afterwards, upon their request, admitted amongst the Penitents; they were placed in the rank of the fallen, in the order of penitents, to which they were introduced by prayers, accompanied with the laying on of hands. This penance began by a public confession of their sins, which they made in the face of the church, and which was accompanied with many acts expressive of the greatest humility, frequently repeated in a certain space of time. The penitents were excluded from the Sacrament, till they had obtained pardon from the church, which was confirmed to them, by again repeating prayers, and laying on of hands.

Such was the discipline of the primitive church: we will now proceed to examine her doctrine. After the decease of the Apostles, there were apostolical men, who trod faithfully in their steps, who maintained the purity of the gospel, and now did great services to the church, by teaching, governing, and some of them by their writings. At the head of these we must place St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, a hearer of the Apostles, and one of the greatest lights and principal ornaments of the ancient church. This holy man finished his course with the crown of martyrdom; there remain seven epistles of his writing. Next to him we may place St. Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle St. John, and Bishop of Smyrna, who edified the church during the course of a very long life, which he finished by a most glorious death: we have an epistle of his to the Philippians. There

<sup>a</sup> For a History of the Public Penance, we may consult P. Sirmond, inserted in the 4th volume of his works.

are certain accounts of the martyrdom of these two great men. Those of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, were compiled by the pastors of the church of Smyrna, and inserted, in part, into Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. These are undoubted monuments of those times.

About the middle of this age, Justin<sup>a</sup>, the philosopher and martyr, distinguished himself: he wrote two apologies for the Christians, and some other works less considerable. Much about the same time, the church of Lyons was governed in Gaul by St. Irenæus, who had associated with the disciples of the Apostles, and was very greatly esteemed: he wrote five books against the Heretics. At the same time flourished in Greece, Athenagoras<sup>b</sup>, of whom we have a work in favour of the Christians, and a treatise on the Resurrection. Theophilus of Antioch was useful to the Christians in Syria; and his three books to Autolichus, enable us to judge of his abilities. Tatian<sup>c</sup> ought not to be neglected, for his treatise against the Gentiles. Hermias is a person unknown; what he wrote in ridicule of the Pa-

<sup>a</sup> The life of Justin has been wrote by the learned Abbé Longuerue, and may be found in the posthumous dissertations of this author, published by John Diederic Winckler, at Leipsic, in 1750.

<sup>b</sup> This work is called *προς Χριστιανους*, or, as it is translated in Latin, Legatio pro Christianis. Mr. Bayle has taken much pains in his Dict. to prove that Athenagoras had no commission or deputation from the Christians to the emperors. The thing, perhaps, might not be impossible to prove; however, it may be better to translate it, Supplicatio pro Christianis, as the Greek will allow, which corresponds as well to the tenour of the writing, as to the truth of the fact. This Supplication, was written in the year 177, as the Abbé Longuerue has proved in a Dissertation De Athenagora, and Mosheim, in a Dissertation De vera ætate Apologetici quem Athenagoras scripsit.

<sup>c</sup> There are many things respecting Tatian that are not very clear; however the reader may find satisfaction from a dissertation of Mr. Noury, and another of Abbé Longuerue, affixed to the edition of his works published at Oxford, 1700.

gan philosophers, is the work of a man of wit, and seems to belong to this century. Among the public remains of the church, we have a very excellent epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, on the martyrdom of St. Pothinus, and of some others of the faithful; Eusebius has preserved it intire in his Ecclesiastical History.

There were in the church of this century, many other illustrious persons, whose names are transmitted to posterity, with high elogiums, though their works have long since perished. Such are Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, who lived near the time of the Apostles, and is supposed to be the first author of the doctrine of the Millennium; Apollinaris, the scourge of the Montanists, Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, and Alristides, a philosopher of the same city. These two last wrote many apologies in favour of Christianity. Meliton of Sardis is a name that is even yet highly respectable. Hegesippus was the first who wrote a history of the Christian church; but that is lost. Denys<sup>a</sup>, of Corinth, addressed many epistles to different churches, and at last finished his life by martyrdom. There were likewise Polycrates, of Ephesus, and many others, concerning whom the bounds of our work will not permit us to speak.

In the same century flourished Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian: the first, as his name imports, was a divine of the church and school of Alexandria, who gained much applause from his extensive knowledge and numerous writings: the chief of which is that called Stromata<sup>b</sup>. His divinity is not free from many errors, which is owing to his doctrine being mixed with the philosophy he had

<sup>a</sup> There are some who place him in the rank of Confessors.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. le Clerc has given us, in the 10th vol. of his Bibliothèque Universelle, a life of Clement, where he takes notice of the errors of this father. This was translated into English, and was printed at London in 1696.

learnt and taught at Alexandria. Tertullian<sup>a</sup> is the first of all the Latin fathers, of whose writings we have any remains; and he himself did much honour to the church of Carthage. It is principally from his works, of which we have a great number, that we can form an exact idea of the form, discipline, and interior state of the churches of his time, and particularly of the churches of Alexandria<sup>b</sup>. There are, however, in his writings, many errors mixed with the truth; for when he wrote the greatest part of his works, he had embraced the doctrine of Montanus.

We may very well call the doctrine of this age apostolical. The preachers of the first century, who had received it immediately from the Apostles, preached it faithfully to the disciples, and they transmitted it to the church. We may look upon the creed<sup>c</sup>, commonly called the Apostles', as an epitome of their faith. This creed was compiled in this century, enlarged in the succeeding, and reduced in the fourth to the form it now has. Some particular teachers, however, introduced into the faith, variety of different opinions, which they had imbibed from the schools of philosophers, and particularly from that of Plato. These notions insensibly gained much ground, and were of great

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Allix has given a dissertation *De Tertulliani vita & scriptis*, printed with two others at Paris in 1680.

<sup>b</sup> An attentive reader will find a great difference in the writings of Tertullian, some of which he wrote before he forsook the orthodox opinions, and some after he had embraced Montanism. St. Jerome has made the same remark in his treatise *De viris illustribus*. The reader may find this matter fully cleared up in a dissertation of John William Hoffman, a celebrated lawyer at Wittenberg, and which was printed in this city, and is called *Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia in Montanismo scripta videri*.

<sup>c</sup> There are many treatises on the Apostles' creed; the most celebrated and satisfactory is that of Dr. King, Chancellor of England.

prejudice to true Christianity. We cannot find that the orthodox church made use of at this time, the discipline of secrecy, of which the Romish church speaks with so much confidence: it suited only the genius and customs of heretics. Among the Ebionites and Gnostics we find the first traces of this discipline<sup>a</sup> of secrecy, which is certainly very antient, and approaches near to the origin of philosophy itself.

Let us now proceed to the corrupters of Revelation, and we shall see that the number of heresies which overflowed the church is almost incredible. The spirit of error and seduction, who could not, during the life of the Apostles, act openly, now lifted up his head, and began to appear after these holy men had quitted the world.

Among the foremost of those who signalized themselves in the paths of error, we must certainly place the Gnostics; whose name was known, and doctrine propagated, from the times of the Apostles. The second century was hardly begun, before they industriously spread their extravagancies on all sides, and had great numbers of followers. We will endeavour to give an exact account of this famous sect.

The name of Gnostic is derived from a Greek word, which signifies knowledge: these heretics pretending to have a most profound knowledge of divine things, drawn from the sources of the most sublime wisdom, and which, according to them, destined to bring men to eternal salvation. They pretended that this knowledge, unknown to the rest of the world, subsisted only in their schools, and that they possessed it in the highest degree of per-

<sup>a</sup> See a dissertation of Emmanuel Schelestrate, *De disciplina arcana*, which William Tentze has printed at the end of the 2d part of his *Exercitationes selectae*.

<sup>b</sup> See my *History of the Abridgement of Philosophy*.

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fection. The first principles of this Gnostic knowledge, and which served as a foundation, for all the theological system of this sect, was taken from the philosophy and theology of the East. This is that Alexandrian philosophy of which we have already spoke, and which was made up of a whimsical mixture of the Oriental notions, and the dogmas of Plato. To this association of ideas, already incompatible, the Gnostics added Christianity, the least proper of all to be introduced there; and they proposed to explain the scriptures, and to teach religion in their schools, conformable to these principles. From this over-flowing source proceeded all the other heresies, which appeared in this century, and without knowing the Gnostics, we can have no idea of the others. This is an abstract of their doctrines.

They taught, that from all eternity there existed, in the plerom or plenitude, one infinitely perfect spirit, with whom there co-existed a black matter, incapable of goodness or perfection. By this infinitely-perfect spirit, they meant the supreme God dwelling in the most pure light, and who was intirely unknown, not only to sublunary creatures, but even to the celestial spirits themselves, unless he choose to manifest himself. From this supremely perfect spirit (according to their notions) there proceeded, or emanated from all eternity, Eons; spirits endowed with excellent qualities, power, glory, &c. among whom there were two greatly superior to the rest; the Word of God, who who was his only son, and exact resemblance, by whom the father was known, and who was the principal of all things; and the Spirit of the supreme God. Among these Eons, there was one who had produced a spirit of an inferior nature; the Gnostics <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> To gain a true knowledge of the doctrine of the Gnostics, we must refer to their writings, or at least to the remains of them. Such are those we find at the end of the Stromata of Clement, called

called him Sabaoth, and pretended, that he was the true Creator of the world, and upon this account they gave him the epithet of Demiourgos.

The Creator being then a spirit of an inferior nature, had no power over any thing but matter, and this, as it was imperfect and evil in its nature, could produce no other than an imperfect and evil world. Man, the work of the same Creator, and formed of the same evil materials, partook necessarily of his defects. In the creation, man received a body made, of a more gross matter, and which must in its nature inevitably perish, and likewise a soul of a more subtile matter, capable of perishing; but which might likewise be preserved, and exist without the body. God, moved with compassion to man, whose condition was thus abject, and whose fate thus deplorable, granted him a soul of a spiritual nature, more perfect and immortal; but being confined to the body, it is impaired by this connexion, becomes fleshly, and subject upon that account to the Creator who is a being without goodness, without justice, and who governs the world by laws worthy of himself. The soul depends likewise on many evil angels. The Gnostics add, that the Creator made himself known to the world, as the first cause of all things, and that it was he who gave laws to the Jews.

Men being plunged in this abyſs of misery, the Saviour Jesuſ was granted to them, with the conſent of the Eons, who was ſent into the world to publish

of Alexandria, under the title of Extracts of the writings of Theodoret, or the eastern doctrine. Dr. Grabe has likewise carefully collected the fragments of the same Hereticks, in his Spicilegium Patrum & Hæreticorum Seculi II. p. 35, 117, made at Paris in 1710. We may consult also the works of the fathers, who have spoke of the Gnostics, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Epiphanius, Theodoret, &c. Among the moderns, Mess de Beauſobre, and Mosheim, may be consulted with the most ſucceſſ.

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salvation, and to save men by his passion. In this Saviour were united three or even four distinct substances, viz. the divinity or the word of God; the excellent spirit, who was numbered among the Eons; a soul produced by the Creator, and cloathed with a visible body. The Gnostics had some doubt respecting the body; as it was naturally evil, and consequently could make no part of the person of the Saviour. This caused many of them to declare, that Jesus Christ had no true body, but only an appearance, by which he deceived the eyes of men. Those who saw that this notion was directly contrary to the express words of scripture, acknowledged, that Jesus Christ had a real body, but that it was not of its nature visible, being composed of a celestial matter, incorruptible, imperceptible to the eyes of men, formed of the same matter with the soul, and that it was visible only by an effect of the will of God. As to the death of our Saviour, though the Gnostics acknowledged it as necessary to the salvation of men, yet they were divided into many opinions. They almost all of them agreed in saying, that, a little before the death of Jesus Christ, the divinity and immortal spirit left him, the one returning to the pleroma, the other to a place near the pleroma, where it is employed in taking care of the elect. Those who denied the real body of Christ, did not allow him to have died a common death, and said, that it was only a mere illusion. Those who supposed he had a true but heavenly body, allowed that the body joined to the soul of the Saviour had been, in virtue of the good pleasure and dispensation of God, subject to death and burial, and that, after Jesus Christ was arisen, all that was of body in him remained in the grave. There then remained but the soul, which, after the ascension, dwelt in the supreme region of the planetary

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planetary world, where it presided among the happy spirits who inhabit the same place.

The Gnostics also were of opinion, that the believers became partakers of Christ's salvation, by means of Baptism, the Holy Supper, and above all, by that sublime knowledge, in which, according to them, consisted the height of perfection. The bodies, however, of those who obtained salvation, were to perish for ever, without any hope of a resurrection; the soul, then disengaged from the bands of matter, was carried up to the highest region of the planets, where it stopped, and remained in the same place with the soul of Jesus Christ. For the Spirit, it passed successively through all the spheres of the planets, and came to a heaven, higher than all the planetary worlds, and near to the plerom, where it meets with the eternal spirit of Christ, who there enjoys a happy eternity. These heretics add likewise, that, at the end of the world, the souls will arrive also at this superb place, and they pretend, that this last period of exaltation, is what the scriptures mean by the resurrection of the dead. At last, the spirits and souls of all the Saints again quit this happy dwelling, to be transported with Christ into the plerom itself, to be united with the Eons, and to enjoy there eternally the sight of God <sup>a</sup>.

Such was in general the doctrine of the Gnostics; some changes in which were afterwards made by some other heretical leaders. We will mention the most celebrated. The first of whom we shall speak is Saturninus, a Syrian by birth, and a disciple of

<sup>a</sup> It appears to us superfluous, to enter into longer details, after having exposed the general opinions of the principal sect. But we refer those who are desirous of knowing any thing more respecting them, to Mr. Spanheim, in his *Historia Christiana*, sect. ii. ch. 6, and to Mosheim, in his *Instit. Hist. Christ.* sect. ii. part ii. ch. 5.

Menander, who said, that the world was subject to seven angels, one of whom had been the God of Israel.

Basilides of Alexandria counted 365 heavens, every one of which had a particular angel, and over the whole there was a chief; a divinity to whom he gave the name of <sup>a</sup> Abraxas, a name to which they attributed more than a hundred extraordinary but chimerical virtues. With regard to Christ, he said that it was not his own body that was fastened to the cross, but that of Simon the Cyrenian, which bore the exact resemblance of Christ's body <sup>b</sup>. In general, Basilides affected much obscurity in his doctrine.

Carpocrates advanced, that our Saviour was born of his mother according to the common laws of nature, and he changed Christianity into a school of licentiousness, opening a door to every vice.

Bardesanes was at first a celebrated philosopher among the Christians of Syria; but, afterwards giving way to the reveries of the Gnostics, he became the founder of a sect that survived many years <sup>c</sup>.

But of all these Heresiarchs, Valentine, originally an Egyptian, was the most celebrated for his knowledge and understanding. St. Irenæus and St. Epiphanius have left us large expositions of his system, but in so confused a manner, that it is ex-

<sup>a</sup> The learned are divided in their opinions, respecting the meaning of the enigmatical word Abraxas; or Abrasax. See Mr. Jablonski, *Miscellanea Lipsiensia nova*, vol. vii. p. 68.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Beausobre has made it appear, that this was not the true doctrine of Basilides, and that St. Irenæus was wrong in attributing to him that error. See the four first chapters of the 4th book of his 2d vol. of Manicheism.

<sup>c</sup> For a further history of this sect, see Mr. Assmanni, and the History of Manicheism, vol. ii. lib iv. ch. 3.

tremely difficult to form any intelligible notions of it<sup>a</sup>.

Among the most ancient Heresiarchs of this century, we may place Cerdon the Syrian. He dwelt at Rome, and being separated from the catholic communion, either with his own consent, or from being excluded by others, became the author of a new heresy, which differs only from the notions of the Gnostics; in that he has established two principles, the one good, the other evil, adding, that it was the evil one which created the world, and gave to the Jews the Old Testament. Afterwards Cerdon joined himself to Marcion, of the city of Sinope, who, having been banished his own country, came to Rome, where the communion of the orthodox refused him admission. Marcion, as well as Cerdon, supposed two principles, which gave to his followers the name of Duallists; but we must use great attention perfectly to understand the Duallism of Marcion. He adopted likewise (if we give credit to the authors of that time) several other reveries of Cerdon and the Gnostics, to which he added many of his own. He rejected all the Old Testament, as the work of an evil principle, or at least of a principle that was not perfectly good. As to the New, he admitted but some of the books, and greatly altered the whole. He said, that Christ had only a shadowy body. He ordered his followers to use water instead of wine at the Eucharist. He prescribed to them a very mortified life, to abstain from meat, from wine, and from marriage. Notwithstanding these austeries, this sect greatly increased, and lasted a very long time.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Beausobre, in his History of Manicheism, has informed us of all that can be known of this system of Valentine, vol. ii. p. 155. See also Mosheim, in his Hist. Eccles. sect ii. part ii. ch. 5.

Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, left this sect, but retained their principal errors. Hermogenes, who supposed the body of Christ to be in the sun since the resurrection, was refuted by Tertullian, who wrote a treatise directly against this notion. Tatian, whom we just before mentioned among the ministers of the church, towards the end of his life, associated with the Gnostics, and pressed strongly upon his followers the duties of abstinence and continency; which gave to his followers the name of Encratites<sup>a</sup>: they were also called Hydroparastates or Aquarii, water drinkers, from their custom of using water instead of wine at the Lord's Supper. They were of opinion that the souls as well as the bodies died; and became together partakers of the resurrection.

Many other Heretics arose, and spread very dangerous errors, respecting the person of Jesus Christ, being not able to comprehend, with the true light of reason, the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh. The first who presumed to set aside the divinity of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and acknowledge him no other than a mere man, was, according to the ancients, Theodotus of Byzantium, a tanner by profession. They say that being grievously tormented by a persecution, he denied Jesus Christ, and excused himself by saying, that he had not denied God, but only a mere man, an assertion which he continued to defend with great obstinacy. The Church condemned, on many occasions, the doctrine of Theodotus, which would have died in oblivion, had not Artemon with the same warmth renewed and defended it. Praxeas, a person

<sup>a</sup> See the Abbé Longuerue's very useful Dissertation, de Tatiano, et Encratitis, affixed to the Oxford edition of Tatian's works; and also that of Mr. Noury, to be found in the same edition of Tatian's works. He endeavours to soften and palliate his notions.

otherwise commendable for the services he had rendered the church; denied to Jesus Christ, according to Tertullian, a right to the divine essence, in which he admitted only one person, namely the Father, who had suffered in Jesus Christ, though that person bore three names, and may be looked upon in three different relations. We have reason to doubt all that Tertullian has said respecting the doctrine of Praxeas.

We are now to speak of Montanus, the founder of the Montanists<sup>a</sup>, who made great noise in the world. They were at first called Cataphrygeans, from the place where they had their first principal abode. To speak properly, Montanus ought to be numbered among the first of enthusiasts, and fanatics, as well as heresiarchs. He pretended that the true gift of prophecy remained still in the church, and that some of the faithful had the same sensible manifestations of the spirit as the Apostles had, and received interior revelations, enabling them to bring the church to the greatest perfection, though by very different means from those taught in the word of God. Montanus professed himself to have the same inspirations and revelations, and said that they were granted to all the members of his church, even to women and children, supposing they themselves had an ardent desire to arrive at the gospel perfection. But, as he was a man of the most rigid notions, and censured with a more than ordinary severity human actions, he had few of his followers who could attain to the per-

<sup>a</sup> There was published at London in 1670, by an author who calls himself a Laic, a history of Montanism. This is a very useful treatise, and contains many observations applicable to the Montanists, of the following centuries. Among the Posthumous dissertations of the abbe Longuerue, there is one in which this learned man examines at what period Montanism took its rise, and he supports an opinion contrary to that commonly received.

fection he prescribed, and which he made to consist in the most singular austeries, and a church discipline the most severe. Montanus was the first who preferred patriarchs to bishops in his churches, though he made all the members subordinate to his prophets and prophetesses. The ancients make mention of some of them. The Sibylline oracles that we now have, are probably the production of Montanus, or some of his followers.

Such were the principal heresies of the second century. We cannot help being surprised, that so near the beginning of Christianity, and the preaching of the Apostles, there could arise so many monstrous errors: but, alas! to what wanderings is not the human mind subject, when it is no longer guided by the word of God, but is intirely given up to the fallies of a heated imagination ! Moreover, the greatest part of these erroneous tenets took their source from the mythology and philosophy of the Pagans, as well as from the cabbala of the Jews, which they very improperly mixed with Christianity. And to these reasons we may add also the ambition of gaining to themselves a name, and of making disciples, by proposing new and unheard-of opinions, and by flattering the carnal affections. But while we are lamenting the dangerous effects of heresy, we are not without reserve or examination to admit all that the fathers have told us respecting them; in exposing of which, they have themselves frequently been mistaken, either through negligence or prejudice.

The church, thus infected with heresies, was also rent in pieces by divisions. The most remarkable of which was occasioned by a dispute between the churches of the East and West, respecting the celebration of Easter. Though this point was not of any great importance to the church, it produced a most heated controversy, which occasioned vehement

altercations and bitter hatreds. The faithful enquired at what time they should celebrate the passover? The Asiatic churches answered, at the same time, the Jews celebrated it according to the law of Moses, producing the example of the Apostle St. John. The church of Rome, on the contrary, said that the Sunday following was the proper time of celebrating the feast, pronouncing that to be the custom of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul; adding, that in this manner the memory of Christ's resurrection was much better preserved. During the course of this century, there were variety of steps taken on both sides, relative to this difference, and many councils held, but they answered no purpose. About the year 160, St. Polycarp came to Rome, and had an amicable conference with Pope Anicet. They could not come to an agreement respecting it; but however they parted friends. Things took a much more melancholy turn from the pride of Pope Victor, an ambitious and imperious man, who excommunicated, or at least threatened to excommunicate, the Asiatic churches, because they refused to rest by his determinations. This violent step was disapproved, and St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, wrote thereupon a letter, full of the most pressing remonstrances, to Victor. We do not know for certain whether Victor went any farther: it is however certain, that the churches of Asia notwithstanding his excommunications, persisted in their custom, and that things remained on this footing, till the council of Nice; which abolished the Eastern custom, and branded all those who retained it by the name of <sup>a</sup> Quatuordecimans. This was not the cause of any formal schism.

<sup>a</sup> Consult Valesius, however, in the Eccles. Hist. of Eusebius; and see also those of P. Pagi, on the Critique of Baronius, in the year 126, n. 11. We may add to these, the Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique of Mr. Tillemont, Vol. iii. p. 108. & 633.

The history of the church in this century, is still the history of the persecutions to which it was exposed. In the year 116, the city of Antioch, the capital of Syria, where the emperor Trajan then resided, was afflicted with a very great earthquake, the cause of which was, by their magicians, imputed to the Christians: the Emperor upon this account, decreed against them the most capital punishments. This is what is commonly called the third persecution<sup>a</sup>. The principal bishops, to be as it were an example to others, were dragged to tortures; among these glorious martyrs, St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and Simon the son of Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem, greatly distinguished themselves. The famous letter of Pliny to the emperor Trajan, informs us how they behaved in this persecution. This letter served greatly to <sup>b</sup> moderate the rigour of the punishments.

The fourth persecution is said to have been begun in the reign of Adrian; but we have nothing very certain on this subject. Adrian, though attached much to paganism, and a great despiser of all foreign religions, yet did not, as we know, publish any edicts, or decree any punishments, against the Christians: on the contrary, from a report made to him of the hardships they suffered in some provinces, and from the apologies presented to him in their defence, the emperor gave orders to treat them with greater mildness.

The reign of Adrian was, however, fatal to the church, from the misfortunes brought upon them

<sup>a</sup> The learned are not agreed in what year this persecution began; the greatest part suppose in the beginning of this century: It is nevertheless certain, that St. Ignatius did not suffer martyrdom till 116, as bishop Lloyd has proved in his letter to P. Pagi, who places it in the year 117. See also Pearson, in his posthumous notes on St. Ignatius, p. 58.

<sup>b</sup> See the 3d volume of my Pagan Philosophy.

by the impostor Barocheba <sup>a</sup>, who having convinced the Jews of Palestine that he was the Messiah, persuaded them to revolt, and put himself at their head: but God caused even this calamity to turn out to the advantage of the Christians. The Jews having failed in their enterprise, were reduced to the last extremity, and obliged to leave the city of *Aelia*, which Adrian had built after the plan of the ancient Jerusalem. To this city the Christians were permitted to return; but, being sensible of how much consequence it was to them not to be confounded with the Jews, they rejected all appearance and remains of Judaism, that they might no more be exposed to this inconvenience.

Quadratus, bishop of Athens, and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, presented to the emperor some apologies for the faith; but these time has destroyed. It is said also that Serenius Graniatus, prefect of Asia, represented, by letters to Adrian, the injustice of putting the Christians to death, merely from common report, without formal accusations and lawful proceedings: upon this, the emperor sent a letter to Minutius Fundanus, the successor of Serenius, in which he ordered, that no person should be condemned, without having been first heard, and proved to be guilty.

Antoninus Pius, and successor of Adrian, had never any design to prejudice the church. The ancients assure us, that under his reign she enjoyed the most perfect peace. Notwithstanding the enemies of the faith formed variety of plots<sup>b</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup> This word signifies Son of the Star. The Jews, after having found out the imposture, chang'd it into Barchozba, which signifies Son of Falshood.

<sup>b</sup> The Abbé Longuerue, in a dissertation on the life of Justin, has carefully examined all that can be known respecting the time and duration of the persecution under Antoninus Pius. This may be found among his other dissertations, published by Winckler.

raised many grievous calumnies against the Christians, as we see from Justin's apology to Antoninus, and the emperor's letter to the cities of Greece, to soften their treatment. They ascribe to him, also, another letter directed to all Asia; but the most able chronologists have proved this to belong to <sup>a</sup> Marcus Aurelius.

This emperor, though he had obtained the name of philosopher, and was famous for many excellent qualities, raised persecution against the Christians; he was of a character the most mild and amiable, and had at first published many edicts favourable to the Christians. However, the clamours of the provinces, and the unjust hatred that some of the governors had to the Christians, exposed them to much ill treatment, which the emperor, in the beginning of his reign, put a stop to, and greatly disapproved. But he suffered himself to be led away by prejudice, and took a total dislike to the Christians, more particularly after they had been accused by the slaves in Gaul of the most detestable crimes. Marcus Aurelius, moved by these calumnies, which had not the least appearance of truth, published an edict, by which it was ordered, that all who confessed themselves to be Christians should suffer the most severe punishments; and this edict remained in force during the rest of his life. Many of the faithful then obtained the crown of martyrdom; the chief of whom were Justin Martyr, Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, Photin bishop of Lyons, and with him many other Christians of that city and of Vienne; of whose suffering and constancy we have long accounts in the letters which the churches wrote upon this occasion, and which Eusebius has preserved in his

<sup>a</sup> See Valois's notes on the *Hist. Eccles.* of Eusebius, 1. iv. and P. Pagi's, on the *Critique* of Baronius, in the year 152. n. 5. 6.

History, lib. v. ch. 1. During these persecutions, appeared the apologetical writings of Theophilus of Antioch, of Meliton of Sardis, of Apollinaris of Hierapolis, of Tatian, and of Athenagoras: some of them still remain.

We must not here pass over in silence a tradition which both ancients and moderns have equally reported, according to which, a surprising miracle, being obtained by the prayers of the Christians, entirely gained them the good will of the emperor. Much has been wrote on this subject in the past and preceding centuries: This is the account given of the miracle: In the war against the Marcomans, in the year 174, the emperor, shut up with his whole army in the defiles of the mountains, was in great danger of perishing for want of water, when one of the legions of the army, composed entirely of Christians, offered up prayers to the only true God (as the emperor and all his army confess) and procured the rain which the Romans had so ardently wished for; and such a terrible storm of thunder and lightning fell so impetuously upon the enemy, at the same time, that they were put into the utmost confusion, and retreated with great precipitation. Marcus Aurelius, struck with this miracle, preserved the memory of this great event, by giving the name of Thundering to the legion whose prayers had procured the rain and storm. He afterwards wrote an account of it to the Roman senate, and strongly recommended the Christians to them. Without entering here into all the arguments for and against this account, it will be sufficient to say, that, soon after this real or pretended deliverance, namely in the year 177, the emperor again ordered a very severe persecution against the Christians.

Under Commodus the Church recovered its tranquillity, and many persons of birth and fortune embraced

embraced Christianity. The civil wars, which were raised in the empire, during the reigns of Pertinax, of Didius Julianus, of Pescennius Niger, of Clodius Albinus, and during the first years of Septimius Severus, did not allow them time to think of persecuting the Christians.

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## C E N T U R Y III.

**T**H E persecutions in this century were more violent than ever; notwithstanding which, Christianity daily increased and prospered. The throne, indeed, was from time to time filled with emperors, who were very well inclined to the doctrine of the Christians, or who at least openly favoured their cause. Such was Severus Alexander, who (as we have good reasons to believe) had secretly embraced Christianity, tho' upon Gnostic principles. There are some who number among the Christians Julia Mammea, the mother of this prince; as likewise the emperor Philip of Arabia. However, without all controversy, it is certain, that the number of the churches amazingly increased throughout the world, which became insensibly filled with Christians.

The church government continued upon the same footing it was in the preceding age, and its foundations became more firmly established. The authority of the bishops particularly gained ground: the number of the clergy were greatly increased in the more large and distinguished places.

They immediately instituted the order of Readers, to which they added soon after, the other orders, which gave rise to the distinction of superior and inferior clergy. These last orders were those of Subdeacons, Acolythes, Exorcists, and Door-keepers,

keepers. These officers were at first only in some particular churches, but afterwards they were introduced into all, any ways considerable.

No law as yet subsisted in the church, which imposed celibacy on the clergy. There were, indeed, many fruitless attempts made for that purpose; they answered this end, that those who voluntarily continued single, were held by all in great veneration. Nothing then seemed more agreeable to the gospel perfection, than to preserve unspotted the flower of virginity; it was but seldom, that any who had entered into holy orders, afterwards married; but those who had been so before, remained with their wives without any scandal: At least, the history of this time makes mention of many bishops and priests who had wives and children. But they began from this period to have women, whom they called Subintroductæ, to live with them without being connected with them by any other tye than that of friendship, as we are assured from those who followed this custom. Such was the great hatred, or even contempt, they had for the lawful connexion of man and wife.

Some new rites were now added to those in use before. Baptism was preceded by <sup>a</sup> exorcisms, in order to free the person who was to be consecrated, in the name of the Holy Trinity, from the power of impure spirits. After baptism, those who had received the sacrament were cloathed in white garments, which they wore for seven days. But the most remarkable abuse was, that they admitted infants to the Holy Supper. The faithful of this century had commonly buildings appropriated solely for their worship, as Christian and Pagan writers equally

<sup>a</sup> Exorcism in baptism, was used among the Gnostics in the second century, from whom it by degrees crept into the church.

allow. Some of the learned <sup>a</sup> maintain, that they <sup>b</sup> offered incense to the divinity ; but it is very difficult to establish this assertion.

Publick scandals multiplied on' all sides, particularly from the apostates, who in great persecutions denied their Saviour. The church then thought proper to add new regulations, which increased the severity of its discipline. This was not, however, equally rigorous in all places, and in certain cases they knew how to soften it. To the publick confession of sins, which the sinner made in the face of the church, they now added another, upon account of the persecution of Decius, which the offender was to make to the priest alone. Penitence was distinguished at this time by those who presided in the church, into <sup>c</sup> four degrees. In the first, the penitents were to remain for a certain time without the door of the church. After that, they were admitted to the hearing the word of God. They were then allowed to join in certain prayers, but kneeling, while the rest stood. The third degree allowed them to partake of the prayers of the faithful, still remaining excluded from the Holy Communion. When they passed all these three degrees, they received the peace of the church, were admitted to the holy table, and reinstated in all the privileges of the faithful.

<sup>a</sup> Among others, Bishop Beverege in his *Canon Apostolicus Vindicatus*, l. xi. ch. 2. f. 5. p. 171. where he refers to his annotations on the third of the Apostolical Canons.

<sup>b</sup> Dodwell has refuted Beverege in a work, intituled, *A Discourse concerning the use of Incense in Divine Offices*. Printed at London, in 1711.

<sup>c</sup> Concerning these four degrees of penitence, consult Simplicius Verinus, that is to say, Claude Saumaise, in his epistle to Julius Pacius, p. 113, and Matt. Larroque, in his *Adversaria Sacra*, l. iii. ch. 5. See also Fred. Spanheim, in his *Hist. Christ. eccl. iii. col. 735, 736.*

There were in the Greek church, notwithstanding the violence of the persecutions, many divines who were the great lights and ornaments of the age. The most celebrated of whom were Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, in Italy, or, as some say, metropolitan of Arabia ; Gregory of Cesarea, to whom they attributed those miracles, which gave him the name of Thaumaturgus ; Methodius, bishop of Tyre, in Phœnicia ; and Archelaus, bishop of Cascar in Mesopotamia, who particularly distinguished himself by the dispute he had with the Heretics. Some of the writings of all those whom we have mentioned are still extant ; but the fame of these pious men was almost eclipsed by the celebrated Origen, who did so much honour to the school of Alexandria, by the incredible number and great value of his works, though he made more noise during his life, and since his death, by some particular circumstances which happened to him.

Among those whose writings are lost, but whose memory deserve respect, we may number Julius the African, to whom chronology is much indebted ; and Denys, of Alexandria, one of the most famous divines of his time. The apologists, then much wanted, were very numerous ; the name of one i. e. <sup>a</sup> Macarius Magnes, would have been entirely forgot, had not some of his works been taken notice of by some learned men of our time.

The person, the most distinguished in the Latin church, was without dispute St. Cyprian, bishop of the church of Carthage, and martyr, of whose piety, and other excellent qualities, we may judge from

<sup>a</sup> We principally refer to two works of Magnus Crufius, the one printed at Leipsick. in 1728, under the title of *Dissertatio Epistolica ad Christianum Wormium de scriptis quibusdam integris haec tenus ineditis* ; and the other at Gottingen, in 1737, namely, *Notitia & Θεολογία Macarii Magnetis.*

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his writings. A bishop of Rome, named Cornelius, was in great friendship with St. Cyprian, whose holy life, and pure doctrine served greatly to edify the church. He had the glory of suffering martyrdom. Minutius Felix, a Roman advocate, wrote an extremely elegant work, in the form of a dialogue, in defence of Christianity. Arnobius deserves the same elogium, though we must own, that he was much happier in refuting the idolatry of the Gentiles, than in explaining or establishing the true religion. This is a remark that may be applied to almost all the writers of the primitive church.

The doctrine believed and professed in this century, was in the general conformable to that of the two preceding. If there was any difference, it was only in the manner or method of explaining the truths of religion, to which they applied with more care and art than they had done before. As there had arose some disputes respecting the Trinity of persons in the Deity, and the divinity of the Son, they thought it necessary to explain in a more distinct manner these mysteries; and in doing this, they borrowed variety of terms from the Pagan philosophy; but the misfortune was, that they mixed these philosophical notions with revealed truths; and made sacred things the object of school disputations. Upon this account, the doctrines of Christ's divinity, and that of the Holy Spirit, were proposed and treated of in a manner by no means exact, or agreeable to the analogy of faith.

From hence arose numbers of heresies in this century; we shall first take notice of that branch of the Gnostics, of which Manes formed a particular sect, and which prevailed greatly for a long time in Persia, and throughout all the East. This Manes was a Persian, of a family of the Magi, and instructed in all the learning of the Magi. He embraced

braced very early the Christian Faith, and obtained the dignity of priest in his own country. But when they perceived he had the design of mixing the philosophy and theology of the Magi his ancestors, with the doctrine and precepts of Christ, and that the efforts they had made use of to hinder his persisting in that design were fruitless, he was excommunicated. This put him upon founding a new sect. The steps he took for this purpose exposed his life to various changes, and caused him at last to end it in torture. His sect survived him, and increased in a surprizing manner, and spread itself throughout the world.

The doctrine of Manes did not greatly differ in essential and fundamental points from that of the Gnostics. Both the one and the other took their principles and notions from the eastern schools, which they used and applied in expounding the articles of the Christian Faith. Manes had imbibed the same opinions, but proposed them after the manner of the schools of the Magi. He established two principles, one of which was pure light, which he called God, the other a dark matter, the cause of all evil, and to this he gave a soul, or a principle of life. From the divinity, according to his notions, there proceeded two spirits, who had part in the divine nature and substance; but who were inferior to God the Son, who dwelt in the sun and moon, and the Holy Spirit, who had air for his habitation. From the supreme God, there came, or emanated, the Eons, pure spirits, infinite in number, who did not truly partake of the divine nature, but who, with God at their head, formed the kingdom of light. Manes then said, that there became a difference between the principle of light, and that of darkness, which occasioned a mixture of a certain part of light with a certain part of darkness, the result of which was our visible world.

From

From this mixture, man was formed, composed of a pre-existent spirit, and matter, or a body, that had been added to it, and which made his fate perfectly deplorable. He did, however, attribute to God, the creation of the world, and of man; and he added, that the Supreme Being, affected with a view of the miseries of human creatures, sent his son into the world with the appearance of a human body, who, by proposing his doctrine to men, had reminded them of their heavenly origin, and had given them, with his precepts, an example of mortifying the flesh, in order to raise the soul to a superior region. This Heresiarch placed the height of Christian perfection in despising all pleasure, in the contempt of all carnal gratifications, and in the leading an austere and religious life, by the means of which, his followers were to arrive at heaven. In order to gain greater authority, Manes wanted to pass for the Apostle of Jesus Christ, saying, that though he came the last into the world, he was the chief; he pretended to have frequent revelations, endeavouring to persuade his disciples, that he had been taken up into heaven, and that he had brought from thence the doctrine he taught them. He rejected intirely the Old Testament, and even the New he mixed and corrupted with his chimerical notions, and likewise added to it a gospel of his own, and some apochryphal books <sup>a</sup>.

In the beginning of this century, Noetus of Smyrna, a layman, spread at Ephesus an heretical doctrine, which was immediately refuted by Hippolytus. He taught that there was but one person in the divinity. About the middle of this age,

<sup>a</sup> All that concerns the history and tenets of Manes, may be found in Mr. Beaufobre's most incomparable history of Manicheism. I shall always reflect with pleasure on the close connexion I had with this learned man, during the latter part of his life, which he employed in the composition of this work.

this same heresy was renewed by Sabellius, of Ptolemais; and as his name intirely effaced all heretics who were of the same opinion, so his doctrine, even to this day, is called Sabellianism. It consisted in denying all difference between the persons in the divinity, in acknowledging one God, and one divine person, entirely destroying the divinity of the Son of God. Sabellius preceeded Paul of Samosate, Photin, and the Socinians <sup>a</sup>.

Paul of Samosate made great noise. He was the bishop of the church of Antioch, in Syria <sup>b</sup>. He was a proud and wicked man, whose life answered to his character. All the difference between his heresy and that of Sabellius, consisted in that the one attacked the doctrine of the Trinity in general, the other aimed principally at setting aside the divinity of Christ, teaching that he was only a mere man who had no existence before his conception, and birth. These erroneous tenets, as well as the wicked life of Paul, were condemned by two general councils held at Antioch, the first in the year 265; the second in the years 269 and 270 <sup>c</sup>. The last of these deposed him, and placed Domnus in his room.

To these heresies were added many dreadful disputes, which caused much trouble in the church.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Beausobre speaks of Noetus, Vol. I. p. 153, in the notes, where he advances, contrary to the common opinion, that he died before the year 222. See Mr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, part II. vol. II. ch. 40.

<sup>b</sup> We refer our readers to a most excellent history of Sabellianism, by Christian Wormius, printed at Franckfort in 1696. See also Lardner's history of Manicheism, in the above quoted work.

<sup>c</sup> Concerning the opinions of Paul, see the above-mentioned history of Wormius, as well as a Dissertation of Jablonski, printed at Franckfort in 1736, *De genuina Samosateni doctrina*; and see P. Pagi, in the Critique of Baronius, in the year 271, § iv.

The schism of the Novatians was the principal. This sect took their names from their founders Novat and Novatian; the first a priest of the church of Carthage, the other of that of Rome. Novat, while he lived at Carthage, shewed great indulgence to those who committed great crimes, and would, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions of bishop Cyprian, immediately receive them into the communion of the church, without any preceding pittance. Novatian supported the direct contrary at Rome, against Pope Cornelius. Novat, condemned at Carthage, and expelled his own church, came to Rome, met with Novatian, embraced his opinion, which he afterwards defended with as much warmth, as he had formerly done the contrary. Both these heresiarchs were excommunicated at Rome, and formed separate assemblies, and laid it down for a fundamental tenet, that the church of Christ ought to be pure and free from every stain; and that the sinner who had once fallen into any offence, could not again become a member of it, though they did not refuse him the hopes of eternal life. The sect of the Novatians had a great number of followers, and lasted for some centuries. Novatian wrote a great many treatises, and may be numbered among the ecclesiastical writers of this century. There are some writings of his that have been, and even now are, attributed to some great persons; the most part of them are lost. This first difference produced another, which arose from the baptisms of heretics. Novatian re-baptised all those who came into his church, though they before had been duly baptised. From hence a question was started among the orthodox, whether heretics, upon their repentance, and reception into the church, should not again be baptised.

St. Cyprian<sup>a</sup>, with the churches of Africa, supported the affirmative. Pope Stephen, at Rome, a proud prelate, was of the contrary opinion: the dispute was carried on with much warmth on both sides; and the bishop of Rome did not shew, on this occasion, either true charity, or the love of peace. The first general council of Nice alone could decide these disputes.

We will now speak of the persecutions; and the same remark cannot fail always to present itself at the beginning of our history; that, instead of being the means of destroying Christianity, they served greatly to promote it. The ashes of the Martyrs were the fruitful seed from which there continually sprung new Christians.

The emperor Septimius Severus, who at first shewed favourable dispositions to the Christians, made them endure, at the beginning of this century, a new persecution, which is reckoned the sixth. Bloody edicts were sent throughout all the Roman empire, and the persecution ended not but with the death of this prince. Among a great number of illustrious martyrs, who perished on this occasion, the most distinguished were Victor, bishop of Rome,

<sup>a</sup> The letters that St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Tertullian, bishop of Cæsarea, wrote on this occasion, are to be found in the Oxford edition of St. Cyprian's epistles. In the first are these strong words of St. Cyprian to the bishop of Rome: “ Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adegit.” The partizans of the court of Rome endeavoured to invalidate the authority of these epistles. A brother minor, named Raymond Misorius, published at Venice in 8vo. in 1733, a work, entitled, “ In duas celeberrimas epistolatas Tertulliani & Cypriani disputationes criticæ;” where he endeavours to prove that these epistles were forged by the Donatists, and published under the respective names of St. Cyprian and Tertullian; but Mr. Balch has entirely disproved this assertion, in his *Vindiciae Epistolarum Cypriani & Tertulliani adversus Stephani I Papæ decretum*, printed at Jena, in 1738.

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and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. After a great many years, Maximinus of Thrace persecuted the Christians, out of hatred merely to the memory of Alexander Severus: but this persecution, which is called the seventh, did not either extend far or last long.

We come now to speak of one which greatly exceeded in violence all the preceding persecutions: it is that, caused by the terrible edicts of the emperor Decius, in the year 249. It begun with first killing or putting to torture some of the principal bishops of the church: they then seized others, some of whom were thrown into dreadful prisons, or dragged to cruel torture, and by every means tempted to deny J. C. The greatest part glorified God to the last breath. Some there were, overcome by the severity of their sufferings, and frightened by the dreadful apparatus of death, had the weakness to sacrifice to the Pagan deities, at least to throw incense on their altars, or to shamefully pretend they had performed these acts of idolatry. These different orders of apostates have, in the writings of this period, the names of Sacrificati, Thurificati, and Libellatici.

The persecution of Decius, which lasted for more than two years, gave rise to the schism of Novatian, concerning which we have just spoken, which induced Paul <sup>a</sup> of Thebes to lay the first foundation for the Hermitical life, and Anthony, his countryman, that of the Monkish; both the one and the other prevailed first in Egypt. After the death of Decius, there was a short persecution raised by the emperors Gallus and Volusianus, upon account of a publick plague, which made great devastation in the Ro-

<sup>a</sup> St. Jerome wrote the life of Paul, which may be found in the edition of his works published by the Benedictines, vol. iv. p. 1. col. 86. St. Athanasius has left us a life of Anthony, which is inserted in the Greek edition of this father's works, published by Monfaucon, vol. ii. p. 293. and in the Latin edition of Commelin, vol. ii. p. 445.

man empire, and which, according to the custom of the Heathens, was laid upon the Christian church, she being, in their opinions, the cause of all their publick calamities.

This tempest was scarcely over, before another dreadful storm arose. This is the eighth persecution<sup>a</sup>, or, according to others, the ninth, under the emperor Valerian, who followed the evil counsels of some bitter enemies to Christianity. The beginnings of this persecution were moderate; but there soon followed an edict, which caused torrents of blood to be shed. The most celebrated martyrs were St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Laurence, deacon of the church of Rome. About four years after, Valerian was taken by the Persians, and Galerian not only revoked all the edicts, which had been issued out against the Christians, but restored to them their churches. The emperor Aurelius, who succeeded, after having at first shewn some inclinations favourable to the Christians, took a great dislike to them, meditated a new persecution, which would again have caused many innocent victims to have been sacrificed, had not death prevented his fatal designs<sup>b</sup>.

We cannot finish this century, without mentioning a work which does so much honour to it. This is that of Origen, in which he placed, in different columns, the Hebrew text of the Old Testament with the ancient Greek versions. He gave to this work the names of Tetrapla, Hexapla, and Octupla. There was not any church-writer who equalled Origen in knowledge and understanding. But his difusive genius and unbounded love of allegory led him into many errors, both in theory and practice.

<sup>a</sup> See in Eusebius, lib. vii. ch. 11. an account of this persecution, written by Dionysius of Alexandria, who lost by it all his fortune, and was condemned to banishment.

<sup>b</sup> *Inter initia furoris sui protinus extinctus*, says Lactantius.

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## C E N T U R Y IV.

**T**H E divine wisdom and goodness, intending to prove and purify the church before she enjoyed the blessings of peace, at last prepared the æra of her deliverance and triumph over Paganism. This memorable event took place in the beginning of this century.

Constantine the Great, after his conquest of Maxentius in the year 312, became master of the Roman empire, and acknowledged <sup>a</sup> that it was to the Saviour only he was to attribute these glorious successes. We must not omit mentioning a fact attested by the Prince himself; that, while he was at the head of the army, he saw in the sky, then perfectly serene, the sign of the cross, with these words about it, “*In hoc signo vinces*”; *In this sign thou shalt conquer*; and that afterwards he had the same vision in a dream. Many learned men have taken upon them to deny, others to confirm, the truth of this fact, to whose discussions we shall refer. It is however certain, that the emperor, immediately after this vision, whether real or pretended, published an edict, granting to the Christians full liberty and security in the exercise of their religion; and a second edict in the following year, given by Licinius and Constantine, confirmed the first. After that time, the emperor openly protected

<sup>a</sup> As Eusebius and other historians of those times affirm. Constantine, desirous to make this conversion publickly known, erected a triumphal arch, on which may be read to this day, “That he and his army, animated by divine instinct, had freed the state from the oppression of a tyrant.” See Inscript. Antiq. of Gruter, p. 282. n. 2.

the Christians; furnished them with means to establish the exercise of their religion on the most solid foundations; and was the first of the masters of the world who publickly professed the faith of J. C. though he was not baptized till the close of his life. The beginnings of this peace of the church, so long expected, and so ardently desired, were not however free from some troubles, at first from Licinius, and afterwards from Julian<sup>a</sup>, furnamed the Apostate. The cruelty of the former, but more particularly the artifices of the latter, exposed her to new and greater dangers than any she had essayed before. Even from the very bosom of the church arose enemies and persecutors, from whom the defenders of the true faith suffered the most cruel treatment: But God put at last a final period to her sufferings, and the gospel compleatly triumphed under the happy reigns of Gratian and Theodosius the Great, who entirely effected the destruction of Paganism.

The fate of the church, beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, was not so favourable. The barbarous Princes were almost all of them her persecutors: however these cruel oppressions did not prevent the progress of truth. It happened about this time that whole nations embraced the gospel. A little before the beginning of this century, Gregory, furnamed the Enlightner, converted Tiridates, king of Armenia, who at first persecuted that faith he afterwards professed<sup>b</sup>, and his example was followed by his subjects. In Africa, the Ethiopians, who were called Abyssinians, became converts; and in Asia the Iberi, who were situated near the borders of the Euxine and Caspian feas. The Goths even listened to the gospel

<sup>a</sup> See his life written by the Abbé de la Blatterie.

<sup>b</sup> See the history of Armenia by Clement Galanus, lib. ii. We may add also the New memoirs of the missions of the Jesuits, vol. iii. p. 68. But all that we have of the history of Armenia, abound with apparent fictions.

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of Christ; but had the misfortune to be infected with Arianism.

The government of the church remained, as before, in the hand of the clergy, and particularly, under the authority of the bishops; but when Constantine had made a public profession of the Christian faith, and had declared himself a member of the church, he took upon himself the power<sup>a</sup> of ordering every thing that regarded the exteriour part of the government of the church; and the rights he claimed were preserved and extended by his successors. These claims had nothing in them that was prejudicial either to the rights of the clergy, or of the bishops; on the contrary, nothing contributed more to the augmenting of their prerogatives, than living under the protection of the emperors. But the enlarging and confirming of the rights of the clergy, by laws civil and ecclesiastical, gave rise to ambitious views, and the forming of chimerical pretensions, which caused afterwards most fatal differences. The bishops of the principal cities, particularly of Rome and Alexandria, became in a short time possessed of such power and riches, that their places were greedily sought after, and procured often by indirect means, frequently even by violence and the force of arms: those who gained them by these methods lived afterwards with the same pomp and luxury, that bishops in future times have done. The bishops of Constantinople exerted themselves greatly, in the defence of their rights, against those of the churches of Rome and Alexandria: they increased also the number of ecclesiastical dignities, and invented the names of Exarchs, Primats, Metropolitans, Archbishops, Archpriests, Archdeacons, &c. which begun already to appear in the works of the writers of this period.

<sup>a</sup> A clear account of this may be found in Spanheim's Hist. Christ. Eccles. sec. iv. col. 880.

We saw in the last century, the rise of the hermitical and monastic life: which made rapid progress at first in Egypt, and in Syria, and from thence spread throughout the East. The Hermits, after the example of Paul of Thebes, sought for desert places, and shut themselves up in caves<sup>a</sup>, where, giving way to melancholy ideas, they led the most austere life; nay, even the most contrary to reason and humanity. The <sup>b</sup> Cœnobites shunned also, in the beginning, the cities and the commerce of men, forming societies in the country, or in places the most retired, where they lived in a very frugal and miserable manner, following the rules of their order; but by little and little, the monasteries <sup>c</sup> were removed from the country into the cities, and were, for some time, the schools of science and religion, from whence came many learned and pious men, who were the greatest ornaments of the church. The monastic life afterwards established in the West equally prospered; but what they called since monastic vows, were utterly unknown at this time.

<sup>a</sup> Those who desire further information respecting these people, may consult a work which is not much known, that of Palladius, entitled, *Historia Lausiaca*. The learned John Albert Fabricius speaks of different editions of this work, in the 9th vol. of his *Biblioth. Græc.* p. 3. &c. See also the *Pratum Scriptuale* of John Moschus, of which he speaks in the same volume of the *Apophthegmata patrum*, of an anonymous author, published by Cotelerius in his *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, vol. iii. p. 171. There is also the *Paradisus* of another anonymous author, in the same Cotelerius, vol. iii. p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> See also the above mentioned authors.

<sup>c</sup> St. Pachomius was the first who built monasteries, and his example was followed by all those who embraced the Cœnobitical life. See Tillemont's memoirs, vol. vii. p. 176 St. Pachomius wrote the rules of his order in the Egyptian language; and St. Jerom translated it into Latin. There were many editions of this work, which may be found with other monastic orders, published by Lucas Holstenius. The Paris edition of this work, in 1663, is not genuine. Tho. Ittingius has taken notice of all these orders in his treatise of *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, p. 662. &c.

The great veneration and respect paid to this kind of life gave rise to the notion, that it was necessary the clergy should remain unmarried. At the council of Nice, there were some who would have absolutely imposed this yoke, if Paphnutius, bishop of Egypt (although unmarried himself) had not alledged so many arguments in favour of marriage for the clergy, that they could not obtain their wishes. The Ecclesiastical History of this time even makes mention of many respectable divines, who led a married life, and who left children. Pope Siricius, indeed, published a law, absolutely forbidding marriage to the clergy. It has been renewed since, almost in the same words, by Pope Innocent<sup>a</sup>; but, was so far from being observed in the West, that it appears they rather despised it. Anastasius, the successor of Siricius, was the son of a priest<sup>b</sup>.

When the Christian became the prevailing religion, Constantine, in concert with the bishops, gave great splendour and majesty to the publick worship. The ministers of the church succeeding to the privileges, dignities, and <sup>c</sup> revenues of the Pagan priests, adopted and introduced <sup>d</sup> many ceremonies of their religion into the church, and by this means imposed more on the people, and gained greater respect; it would be almost impossible to give an account of the changes and innovations in their worship. Not only every church, but every particular preacher, had a power of indulging almost every caprice of his own, so long as he continued to retain the essentials; of this we may judge

<sup>a</sup> See the history of the Popes, by Mr. Bower, vol. i. p. 346.

<sup>b</sup> Militiae Dei natus in officiis. This is the epitaph of this Anastasius in the Sylloge inscriptionum antiquarum, p. 362, n. 1. This collection contains many more examples of the same kind.

<sup>c</sup> See Spanheim, cent. iv. col. 387.

<sup>d</sup> The learned are well acquainted with the work of Dr. Conyers Middleton, concerning the agreement between Popery and Paganism.

by many particular liturgies of the ancient church that are even now extant <sup>a</sup>.

Baptism was, by an established custom, celebrated only on the eves of Easter and Whitsuntide; and this custom continued for many centuries, though, in some places, they still retained the ancient usage of administering it during the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide. The Catechumens generally deferred their baptism till extreme old age, and often even to the very point of death. This sacrament was administered in the porches of the churches, where they had fonts of a convenient size. There are examples in Africa, of priests baptizing the dead <sup>b</sup>, and offering them the holy Eucharist; but this practice was always censured. The writers of this time make mention of uncovering the elements at the holy supper <sup>c</sup>, after they had been consecrated; but speak not a word of elevation, as it was intirely unknown in this century, but the word Mass began to be introduced. The discipline of <sup>d</sup> secrecy was in practice, both with regard to the holy supper, as well as baptism; and it was not permitted to give the Catechumens a distinct explanation of these two sacraments in the discourses or sermons they addressed to them.

To the feasts already celebrated, they added that of the Theophany, which they at first commemorated on the 6th of January, and afterwards on the 25th of December. The observation of the fasts in the church was as yet free, and their times varied; but, instead of real fasting, they confined themselves to particular food. At last, to increase the

<sup>a</sup> There is a very excellent work of Mr. David Clarkson, intitled, *A discourse on the Liturgies*, published in 8vo, at Rotterdam, in 1716.

<sup>b</sup> See the Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ, Can. 18.

<sup>c</sup> In Greek Αναδείξεις or ὑποδείξεις, in Latin *retectio*.

<sup>d</sup> Consult Casaubon, in his Exercit. adversus Baronium, exerc. 16 n. 45. See Bingham, l. x. ch. 15.

decency and dignity of the worship, they built magnificent churches, highly adorned within, sometimes, though rarely, embellished with images.

The true ornaments of the church, men illustrious for their learning and piety, were more numerous in this century, than in any other. To begin with the learned in the East; we may place at their head Eusebius, bishop of Cæfarea, in Palestine; an excellent divine, and one whom we may look upon as the father of church history, and restorer of true chronology. There are some who, without any reason, look upon him as an Arian<sup>a</sup>. St. Athanasius, the zealous defender of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, deserves the greatest admiration, for his extensive knowledge, particularly in divinity; as likewise does St. Basil, the bishop of Cæfarea in Cappadocia, furnamed justly the Great, and St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerufalem, famous for his Catecheses, not to mention many others, whose names may be found in Mr. Dupin's catalogue. The two Gregories of Nyssa, and Nazianzum, the latter the ancients call by way of excellence the Divine, were men celebrated for eloquence as well as learning, as was likewise St. John Chrysostom. St. Epiphanius's History of heresies has immortalised his name.

Among the Latin authors who deserve applause, we must rank Firmicus Maternus, whom the learned esteem for his work, entitled, *On the errors of the Pagan religions*, and Laetantius, the most eloquent man of his time. St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, a zealous defender of orthodoxy, was a very learned divine. Optatum, bishop of Milevis in Africa, has given us a

<sup>a</sup> Mr Godfrey Hernant has published the lives of some of the Fathers. They were printed at different times. In the life of Athanasius, we have a very good account of Arianism, and some other prevailing heresies of those times. These lives are written in a very useful and instructive manner.

very exact account of the Donatists. St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was so very severe an assertor of church discipline, that he made even Emperors themselves submit to it. We have a ridiculous and contemptible work, called a history of heresies, by Philastrius of Brescia. We must not forget likewise Ulphilas, though an Arian, yet deserving great commendations for his <sup>a</sup> invention of the Gothic characters, and translating the sacred scriptures into the language of his country.

These great men whom we have mentioned, with many others little inferior to them, took every means to preserve the faith, in its primitive purity. But the defects that had sprung up in the preceding ages increased in this; and many others, as is common, were added to them. Upon account of the different heresies that arose, the fundamental articles of Christianity were explained, with great learning and exactness, as we see in the works which we now have of the writers of this century. The eternal divinity of the Son was clearly proved, in answer to the notions of Arius, and Photinus; and the divine and eternal existence of the Holy Spirit, as a distinct person, received as much evidence from those who opposed the errors of Macedonius. Many divines have left us very full treatises on these subjects; but we receive the most information on these heads, from the acts of the councils of Nice and Constantinople.

The heresy that most prevailed <sup>b</sup> in this century, had for its author Arius, a priest of

<sup>a</sup> Those who are desirous of knowing all that concerns the language and letters of the Goths, as well as the Gothick version of the four evangelists, may consult a most excellent dissertation of the celebrated Mr Croze, put at the end of the Collection of the versions of the Lord's Prayer, published by Mr. Chamberlayne, p. 196.

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Tillemont's Memoirs &c. vol. vi. p. 339.

Alexandria, who maintained, that, before the beginning of the world, the Son was created by the Father, out of nothing <sup>a</sup>; and that then the only true God became a Father, a quality which he had not before. He added, that the Holy Spirit was of a different nature from that of the Father and of the Son; and that he had been created by the Son. However, the disputes during Arius's life turned principally on Christ's divinity. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, before whose eyes Arius had spread the venom of his doctrine, after having made many fruitless efforts <sup>b</sup> to bring him back to orthodoxy, at last excommunicated him; but as Arius had many powerful friends, this produced a schism in the church. Constantine the Great tried every means to remedy this evil; but, finding all ineffectual, he had recourse to a general council, which was held in 325 <sup>c</sup> at Nice, in Bithynia, where, as it is reported, 318 bishops assisted, and the Emperor sat as president. The fathers of the council passed many decrees concerning ecclesiastical discipline, and composed a creed, which confirmed the eternal divinity of the Son, and his consubstantiality with the Father. The heresy of Arius was condemned, and himself and his whole party anathematized; to this punishment, the Emperor added that of exile <sup>d</sup>. Notwithstanding these different sentences, Arius, supported by his friend

<sup>a</sup> οὐκ εἰς οὐτανόν.

<sup>b</sup> He sent to Alexandria, Hosius, bishop of Corduba, with letters to Alexander and Arius; exhorting them to put an end to the controversy.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Beaufobre has made some very useful observations, on the number of the Fathers of the council of Nice, in Hist. Manic. vol. i. p. 529, &c. See also Renaudot, in his Hist. Patriarch. Alexan. p. 69, &c.

<sup>d</sup> The Pontiffs, agreed on the exile of the Arians. See the different opinions of the ancients and moderns; in the Life of St. Athanasius, l. iii. ch. 10. Consult Mr. Tillemont's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 264

Priscillian, gained the favour of Constantine, and was recalled from exile. The opinions of the Emperor, changed so much towards the end of his life, that, if he did not embrace the doctrine, he openly protected the cause of the Arians, and put great difficulties in the way of the orthodox, and their great support St. Athanasius. Constantius <sup>a</sup>, the son and successor of Constantine, went still further, and brought very considerable troubles upon the true church, and its most worthy pastors. Valens, after his conquest of the East, increased those calamities. Almost all the churches either by death or by exile, lost their faithful guides; and had their places filled by the Emperor with Arian teachers, so that there were very few bishops who professed the truth. In general, the Emperor took every occasion to shew his hatred and vent his fury upon the orthodox; so that the persecutions the church suffered upon this account, were not inferior to those brought upon it by the Pagans. But the unfortunate death of this prince, and the happy reign of Theodosius the Great, which immediately followed, delivered the church from the poison of Arianism, restored her tranquillity, and re-established her in her ancient splendour.

The Arians, who had thus cruelly destroyed the church, were themselves greatly divided and split into different factions. Arius, as we have seen, placed the Son of God in the mere rank of creatures, as being, before the beginning of the world, produced out of nothing by the Father. Those of his disciples who persevered in his opinion, taught that the Son differed from the Father with regard to his essence, that he is *αρχειος*, or of an essence

<sup>a</sup> The Emperor Julian reproached his predecessor Constantius, with the cruelty with which he treated those who professed the same faith with himself. See the 5<sup>2</sup>d epistle to the Borronians; in the works of Julian, p. 435.

totally different. The principal supporters of this sect after Arius, were Aetius, and Eunomius; their disciples took the names of Aetians, and Eunomians; or they were called, from the doctrine they professed, Anomians, or pure Arians. Their number was not very great, and it continually decreased. Ecclesiastical history mentions others who were called Semiarians, whose opinions were that the Son was of a like essence with the Father, ὁμοίωτος; though they would not agree with the orthodox, that he was of the same essence, ὁμοεστος. These Semiarians condemned the tenets of the Arians, as much as they did those of the orthodox; and since the council of Nice, their party greatly prevailed, both from the number and credit of their adherents<sup>a</sup>. There were many who called themselves Arians, not from an approbation of Arian principles; but in order to gain the Emperor's favour, and they might not improperly be called political Arians. We may easily mention many other sects; but we must remark upon this occasion, that many learned men who had very sound notions respecting Christ's divinity; but who refused to subscribe to the novel terms introduced into theology, were frequently ranked in the number of Arians<sup>b</sup>.

Among the greatest disturbers of the peace of the church, next to Arius, we may place Photinus, bishop of Smyrna, who following the steps of Sabellius, and Paul of Samosatum, presumed openly to avow and support, that there was but one person in the divinity; and that Jesus, the son of Mary, is

<sup>a</sup> Those who desire to know more on this subject, may consult Hernant's life of Athanasius, l. vii. ch. 10, Tillemont's Memoirs vol. vi. 410. and see also Spanheim, cent. 7. col. 888. and Lardner, part ii. vol. iv. l. 1. ch. 69.

<sup>b</sup> A learned Benedictine of St. Maur, Don Prudentius Moran, has thrown much light on this subject, in a dissertation printed at Paris, in 1722, in 8vo, and reprinted in the Biblioth. Hær. of Mr. Vogt, vol. ii. Paris, p. 115.

a simple man, in whom the godhead dwelt in the same manner as it had done in the prophets. Upon this account, the name of Homuncionites was given to his followers. Photinus <sup>a</sup> himself was condemned by the Catholics in many successive councils: and in 351, was deprived of his bishoprick <sup>b</sup>, by the synod held at Smyrna. Another bishop, Apollinarius of Laodicea, propagated a very considerable error respecting Christ's person; teaching, that it was composed of a union of the true divinity and a human body, endowed with a sensitive soul, but deprived of the reasonable one, the divinity supplying its place. He added, that the human body, united to the divine spirit, formed in Jesus Christ one entire divine nature; so we may justly look upon him as the father of those heretics, who, under the name of Monophysites, caused much trouble to the church. They make Apollinarius the author of many other particular notions <sup>c</sup>; but they are not sufficiently proved or explained.

Afterwards Macedonius, who was for some time bishop of Constantinople, denied the divinity of the spirit; whom he regarded as a created spirit only appointed to wait upon the Son. To condemn this heresy, a second general council was assembled at Constantinople in 381; and the fathers took occasion to add a sentence to the Nicene creed,

<sup>a</sup> The history of Photinus was written by Mr. Ittigius, and may be found in the collection which this divine has intitled, *Heptas dissertation. n. 6.* There are some difficulties respecting Photinus, which Mr. Larroque undertakes to resolve in a dissertation printed at Geneva, in 1670; *de Photino Hæretico, ejusque multiplici condemnatione.* See also P. Pagi, in his *Critique on Baronius*, to the year 344.

<sup>b</sup> We have a history of Apollinarius, and his heresy, by Mr. James Basnage, printed at Utrecht in 1657; and may be found in Mr. Vogt, *Biblioth. Hist. Hæres. Vol. I. Tasc. 1.* who mentions other authors who have treated on this subject.

<sup>c</sup> Consult this work likewise for an account of Macedonius, and the authors who have taken notice of his history.

confirming the true and eternal divinity of the Holy Spirit; they likewise passed many laws for the government and discipline of the church. The sixth council, which gave to the bishop of Constantinople the second rank, and granted to the bishop of Rome the first, furnished ample matter for dispute.

We must not forget to mention Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, whilst we are speaking of those who altered the true scripture doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ; but we have not a very clear and exact account what his opinion was <sup>2</sup>. It is certain that, in the council of Nice, he strongly and successfully proved the divinity of Jesus Christ against the Arians. He supported the same cause with the like zeal in many other councils, and also in his writings. He took the part of Athanasius against his implacable enemies the Arians, to whom for that reason he became as odious as he was dear to the Catholics. The former held at Constantinople in 336 an assembly of their faction, and condemned and deposed him. After that time, the whole life of Marcellus was full of troubles and perplexities. He continued to attack the Arians, and in particular the sophist Asterius, who was among the most zealous defenders of their doctrine; and against whom Marcellus wrote a particular treatise. He by these things greatly increased the hatred and violence of the Arians, and rendered himself suspected by the orthodox; who thought that in shunning one error, he had fallen into another; and reproached him with the doctrine of Sabellius, or that of Photinus. But on this subject we cannot procure sufficient light to speak with certainty.

<sup>2</sup> We have a good account of Marcellus, in the life of Athanasius; and the memoirs of Mr. Tillemont. Dom. Bernard Montfaucon, has a dissertation *De Causa Marcelli Ancyranii*, which he has inserted in the second volume of the *Nova Collectio Patrum Græcorum*, and which Mr. Vogt has reprinted in his *Biblioth. Vol. I. Tafc. 2.*

Priscillian, bishop of Avila, in Spain, was the introducer of a new heresy called after his own name<sup>a</sup>. He, if we may credit the testimony of the ancients, revived the reveries of the Gnostics; spread them in Spain, in the second century; and added to them some particular notions of his own. As soon as Priscillian began to propagate his heretical tenets, the clergy and bishops of Spain, condemned him; and he was banished the kingdom. His cause was, however, carried before different tribunals, the judges of which were sometimes favourable, and often otherwise. At last, the tyrant Maximinus, excited by some bishops upon account of his heresy, condemned him to death, an example unknown before; and which was universally condemned by all the wise and judicious persons of that time. This heresy spread on all sides, and for many ages caused much trouble in the church.

We must not forget to mention in the catalogue of heretics the Messalians<sup>b</sup>, who appeared in Mesopotamia, about the year 361. The Greeks called them Euchites, or Prians; and the name of Messalians, in Syriac, has the same signification. They aimed at a very high degree of perfection, which they made to consist in the contemplation of God, at which they were to arrive by continually re-

<sup>a</sup> Among the ancients, Sulpicius Severus has wrote the longest account of the history of Priscillian. A learned Hollander, named Simon de Uries, printed at Utrecht in 1715, in 4to. a work, intituled, *Dissertatio critica de Priscillianis, eorumque, fatis, doctrinis, & moribus*. The letter of Leo the Great, to Turihius; which makes the n. 15 of the edition of P. Quesnel, gives us a very good account of Priscillianism.

<sup>b</sup> See the Panoplion of Euthymius Zigabenus, Tit. 26, and the same author's treatise, intituled, *Victoria & Triumphus de secta Amessalianorum*; which Tollius has inserted in his *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*, p. 106, &c. Consult also Harmenopulus, n. 18, p. 527, in his treatise *De Sectis*, and the Memoirs of Tillemont, and Asselman, in his *Biblioth. Orient.* Vol. I. p. 128.

peating prayers, and especially the Lord's Prayer. Hereupon they shunned not only the society of other men, but renounced all the exterior part of religion, the usage of the Sacraments, and the fasts; dwelt with their wives and children in the woods, and forests; that they might wait solely and continually on prayer <sup>a</sup>. They boasted likewise of having perpetual revelations and visions, and these they expected particularly in the night. These people were very troublesome to the church; and to their first errors, they soon added many others, which were much of the same nature with the extravagances of the Manichees. There was no great difference between the heresy of the Messallians and that of Audius, or <sup>b</sup> Andacus, a Syrian; who affecting a most eminent sanctity and a superiour degree of perfection, imitated the customs of the Encratites; and separated himself entirely from the communion of the church, because she preserved in her bosom known sinners. As he was a vulgar and illiterate man, he advanced, that God had a real body, made as ours, which gave his disciples the name of Anthropomorphites. They penetrated from Syria, into Egypt; and gave much uneasiness to the bishop of Alexandria, about the end of this century. They make Andacus, the author of many other errors; which we shall forbear to mention. They add, that he took great pains in the conversion of the Goths, or Scythians; in which he was very successful.

If we pass on from the heresies to the divisions, we shall find the schism of the Donatists <sup>c</sup> the most

<sup>a</sup> This at least is what Harmenopulus attributes to the most perfect, p. 572.

<sup>b</sup> The ancient writers who have mentioned Andacus, are enumerated by Mr. Tillemont, Vol. VI. p. 691. See also Lardner, Part 2. Vol. IV. I. i. ch. 80.

<sup>c</sup> Many writers have given us a history of the Donatists. The principal are Witsius, J. Higius, Histicus, Leydeckher, Car

prejudicial to the peace of the church. They took their name from Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ, a city of Numidia. The beginning of this dispute did not seem to threaten any fatal consequences; though the church of Africa suffered from it very great hurt, and more than a century elapsed before the wound was healed. This was the cause. Mensurius<sup>2</sup>, bishop of Carthage, died in the year 311. Cecilian was lawfully elected his successor. Donatus, to whom this election was disagreeable, associated himself with others of the same character with himself; and this faction advanced that Cecilian, had been ordained by the Traditors, for so they called all those who, during the violence of Dioclesian's persecution, had delivered the sacred scriptures to the judges to be burnt. The adversaries of this new bishop concluded from hence, that he himself was upon that account guilty of the same fault with them; that his ordination was unlawful, and that he had no right to exercise the duties of his charge. Thereupon they assembled a council in which Cecilian was condemned. Felix, bishop of Aptunges, who had ordained him, and all their adherents, were also condemned; after which, Cecilian was deprived of his bishoprick, and Majorinus put in his place; upon that account, the church of Carthage separated herself from all the other Catholic churches in Africa. But neither Felix, nor any of his party, could be convicted of the crime the Donatists accused them of, nay, on the contrary, it was notoriously evident that many of their accusers were themselves culpable in that respect; yet, notwithstanding the

dinal Noris, Thomas Long, &c. Consult Tillemont, who, in the beginning of the 6th Vol. of his Memoirs, speaks of him with his usual exactness.

<sup>2</sup> There had been, indeed, in the life-time of Mensurius, some preludes to a schism; which immediately broke out upon his death, as we see in Tillemont.

party of Mensurinus and Donatus considerably increased in Africa; and hence it was that in many cities there were two congregations, and two bishops, the one Catholic, the other Donatist; and consequently an opposition that might almost be called a war. The Emperor Constantine, being informed of the proceedings of the Donatists, assembled many councils against them at Rome, Arles, and Milan, in which these schismatics were always condemned. But they were not shaken by these condemnations; but continued equally inflexible and unmoved either by mild treatment, or by the severe edicts which they published against them. This obstinacy at length changed into fury, and it became difficult, even at the end of the century, to apply a remedy to these evils.

There were many other divisions, which in many places destroyed the peace of the church; but they were not near so considerable as those we have mentioned. The schism of the Meletians in Egypt was one. Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, in Thebais, was deposed upon account of some dispute he had with Peter, bishop of Alexandria; upon which he freed himself from all church jurisdiction, and claimed a right of ordaining priests contrary to the tenour of the ecclesiastical laws prevailing in Egypt. He formed a party, which was joined after the council of Nice by the Arians, and became very troublesome. They got the surname of Eustathians, from one of their chiefs, Eustathius, and not Sebastus, as some pretend. He was a man otherwise unknown, a kind of fanatic, who had been in Paphlagonia, Pontus, and the neighbouring countries about the year 370. He founded a particular sect, forbidding his followers to marry, and to eat flesh; from hence many have believed that he came from the ancient Encratites, to the precepts of whom the Eustathians added many others

others of their own. All these opinions were condemned in a council summoned for that purpose at Gangres.

Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, an indefatigable defender of orthodoxy, but of a very untractable and furious temper, caused, from his great warmth, many particular and unnecessary divisions on the affair of the Arians. Equally averse to Arians and Semi-arians, he excluded without mercy from church communion, all those who had the least connexion with Arian bishops. Upon this he became the chief of a sect, and those who came into his opinion were after his death called Luciferians. There were then also Aerians, who, with their master Aerius, denied all superiority of bishops over priests; and who disapproved divers other real abuses, which had by stealth crept into the church. Jovinian, against whom St. Jerom wrote with much bitterness, appears to have been in the same sentiments, for which Pope Siricius issued out against him divers anathemas; and the Emperor Honorius, inflicted on him many civil, and even corporal punishments; we do not know whether his sect survived him.

This century was witness to some very warm disputes respecting the doctrine of Origen, which many endeavoured to render odious; and likewise to several upon account of St. John Chrysostom, who possessed, about the end of this century, the see of Constantinople, and whose exemplary life and great fame drew upon him the jealousy of the envious; who took every method to hurt him and dispossess him of his bishoprick. All these quarrels caused many grievous troubles, which lasted for the two following centuries, in the history of which we shall have occasion again to speak of them.

Though we are now come to the end of the history of the century which was witness to the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, yet however in this century she underwent a last assault, more violent than all, under Diocletian, who at the beginning of this age possessed the imperial throne. This was called the tenth persecution, the Emperor was principally induced to begin it by the suggestions of his colleague Galerius Maximianus. The edicts that commanded this persecution were dated the <sup>a</sup> 23d of February, from a city of Nicomedia in Bithynia, where Diocletian then was; upon this account the church of that city experienced the first trial. They granted no indulgences to any, but to those who cast the sacred scriptures into the flames; and to whom they gave the name of Traditors, as we before observed. This persecution was greatly heightened by a cruel charge of Galerius; who accused the innocent Christians of a fire, which had reduced to ashes a part of the imperial palace. They then came to the last extremities; there was no species of cruelty, or kind of torment, which they did not invent and put in practice, to exterminate Christianity. This calamity spread itself through all the provinces of the Roman Empire, in which an incredible number of Christians lost their lives; it was only in Great Britain, and in Gaul, that they escaped, at least in great part, this disaster; they having the happiness to be under the government of Constantius Chlorus. The persecution ended at the death of Galerius Maximinus, which happened in the year 311. His death was brought on by a disorder which was extremely painful, and obliged the tyrant to enter

<sup>a</sup> This was on the day of the feast of Terminales, which made Lactantius say, ut quasi terminos imponeretur huic religioni, Cap. xii. of his treatise De mortibus persecutorum.

a little into himself, to acknowledge the justice of God's judgments, and to recommend himself to the prayers of the Christians. After this terrible trial from the unshaken constancy of her members, the church found her numbers increase, and her glory greatly augment <sup>a</sup>.

The Christians now enjoyed the peace Constantine procured for them, when Licinius caused her to suffer another persecution contrary to the faith of the edicts, he had before published in their favour. He gave much trouble to the churches of Bithynia, who were under his authority; and he might properly be numbered among the greatest enemies of the church. But Constantine soon after deprived him of a power to hurt the Christians, by taking away his government, and at last his life, in the year 325.

All that Constantine, and his sons had done, for the extending and confirming the reign of Christ, was in danger of being totally destroyed by Julian; who succeeded to the Empire. He was surnamed the Apostate <sup>b</sup>, for his deserting Christi-

<sup>a</sup> Parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est; verum autem Dei Templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. These are the words of Lactantius. What Sulpicius Severus says, on this subject is as true as it is well expressed: Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutio exorta, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est; qua tempestate, omnis fere sacro martyrum amore orbis infectus est. Quippe certatim gloria in certamina raebat, multoque avidius tum martyria gloriois mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc. Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est; neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam cum decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus.

<sup>b</sup> Some learned men have advanced, that Julian did not deserve this title of Apostate. See their reasons in the Dissertations histor. sur divers sujets, which Mr. Croze published at Rotterdam, in 1707. p. 76. &c. There is a life of Julian published by M. Desvoeux, and printed at Dublin, in 1730, under the title of The life and character of Julian the Apostate, in seven dissertations. This is a work well esteemed.

anity, and returning to Paganism. This Prince, endowed in other respects with great qualities, was more capable than any of the former Emperors had been, of ruining the church, if any human force could have accomplished such an undertaking. The artifices he used instead of violence, the inutility of which the former persecutions had fully proved, were likely to effect his purpose. He pretended to be a great enemy to all rigorous methods, and particularly to the shedding of blood; but he took every means he possibly could, to turn the Christians from their faith; depriving them of all the considerable advantages of society, and the necessary means to live in an honest and comfortable manner. And it also happened more than once in his reign, that innocent Christians were put to death. One of his stratagems against Christianity was the rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem<sup>a</sup>, and re-establishing the Jews in their ancient splendour; but he could not succeed, God himself intervening, and rendering all his attempts ineffectual. The Christians could not help being greatly alarmed at the ardour with which Julian carried on the execution of his projects; when, in the moment they least expected it, Providence put a period to this trial, by permitting Julian to perish, in the war he waged against the Parthians.

The Persian church, which had as yet been extremely flourishing, and enjoyed the most profound peace, was cruelly afflicted under the reigns of Sapor, Isdigerdes, and Varanus, remarkable persecutors, whose edicts condemned numbers of Chris-

<sup>a</sup> The writer who has most ably and successfully defended the truth of this miracle, which prevented Julian from building the temple of Jerusalem, is Dr. Warburton, the present Bishop of Gloucester, in a work, intitled, Julian, or a discourse concerning the earthquake and fiery eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. This work has been translated into French and German.

tians to death; all of whom signalised their faith, by suffering with the greatest constancy a glorious martyrdom. The motive that appears to have influenced the kings of Persia to have pursued this conduct, was the fear, lest the numbers of Christians dispersed throughout their vast kingdom, and who were very powerful in the neighbouring provinces of the Roman empire, should take part with the Romans, against whom they were then at war, as the emperors themselves had embraced Christianity. They endeavoured to force them to return to the ancient religion of the Persians, as that was the only one professed in the whole kingdom. These persecutions lasted a long time, and put a period to the lives of many thousands of the faithful <sup>a</sup>.

Such was the fourth century. The church now certainly enjoyed more happiness, than she had ever yet done, if we regard the exterior part only, the splendor and pomp; but her purity daily decreased: the heat of the disputes, and the attachment to Pagan ceremonies, caused great evils, or at least paved the way for them. Images began to be introduced into the churches, though this custom was condemned by all truly pious persons, as the decrees of the council of Elvira, and the known action of St. Epiphanius fully prove to us. They multiplied the honours paid to the memory of the saints; they busied themselves in searching for and preserving their relicks; and soon after, from the declamations of their orators and the licences of their priests, they were persuaded to invoke them. The

<sup>a</sup> Many Greek authors have left us histories of these persecutions; an exact list of which may be found in the life of Athanasius, lib. v. c. 26. The Eastern, and particularly the Syrian, writers have since furnished us with new accounts, which may be found in Mr. Assmann's *Biblioth. Orientale*, vol. iii. part 2. fol. 53, &c.

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celibacy of the clergy began to be in great esteem, as we have already had occasion to remark. In a word, the riches and honours which the church obtained from the liberality of the emperors, brought in their train pride, ambition, avarice, and the most shameful intrigues.

C E N-

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## CENTURY V.

**A**T the beginning of this century, the Roman empire was in a most deplorable condition; having been divided, and, as it were, torn into two parts. It was likewise, about the same time, a prey to a number of barbarous nations; the Goths, the Heruli, the Vandals, the Suevi, the Bourgundians, the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxons. The church suffered greatly during these public calamities: history likewise informs us, that, in some of the provinces, then under the dominion of the Romans, shameful idolatry and other gross heresies greatly prevailed; so that the true religion was for a time so disguised, as scarcely to be known; but, to make up in some measure for these misfortunes, some barbarous nations, that is to say, those countries which were beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire, came into the communion of the Christian church. Some of the people who inhabited the borders of the Red Sea, such as the Axumites <sup>a</sup> in Africa, and the Homerites <sup>b</sup> over against Arabia Felix, received the gospel for the first time; and others again embraced that faith which

<sup>a</sup> I have already spoke of them in the preceding century, under the name of Abyssinians; but the conversions of the Axumites, who are likewise Abyssinians, belong more properly to this century.

<sup>b</sup> This nation was likewise before mentioned, in the history of the 4th century.

had

had been once preached amongst them, but of which they long since lost all knowledge. The same thing may be said of the Irish in Europe<sup>a</sup>, and their apostle St. Patrick<sup>b</sup>, whose zeal was attended with very happy effects in that Island. In France, the Bourgundians indeed became Christians; but it was through the ministry of the Arians, whose errors they at first adopted, and afterwards renounced. Towards the end of this century, the Franks, under the guidance of their king Clovis<sup>c</sup>, forsook paganism, to embrace the gospel dispensation. The conversion of Clovis, which happened in 496, was one of the principal events of that century.

The bishops, who had the chief authority in church affairs, lost daily, more and more, all sentiments of true piety and ancient simplicity, though there always remained some amongst them who performed their duty with dignity and success; but in reading attentively the history of this century, we shall have the sorrow to see most of the superior clergy given up to the most shameful ambition, insupportable pride, and inordinate love of power. Those in particular who filled the first places were so entirely taken up with the desire of enlarging their rights and prerogatives, that they thought little of the interests of the church, or the salvation of those souls committed to their charge. The pretensions of the bishops of Rome daily increased. We find them frequently mentioned in the laws of the emperors, and in the canons of the councils. At length the popes carried their arrogance to the greatest height, and used every means to obtain an

<sup>a</sup> See chap. 16 and 17 of Usher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*.

<sup>b</sup> James Wareus, a learned man, printed at London, in 1656, in 8vo. some writings, supposed to be St. Patrick's.

<sup>c</sup> See P. Pagi, on the year 499.

unlimited power over the universal church, in which design they were strongly opposed by many pious and sensible persons.

The titles of exarchs, primates, metropolitans, and archbishops, first known in the last century, were now become common, and ambitiously affected by those to whom they were reputed to belong. The original of these denominations came from Constantine the Great<sup>a</sup>; who, to keep up a form in the church, made the bishops subordinate one to the other, according to the custom of civil government, such as it was established in all the provinces of the Roman empire; so that by degrees, those who wished to honour or flatter the bishops, gave them such titles of the civil magistracy, as answered to the employments they had in the church. At length the bishops took them up themselves, pretending they belonged to them, and maintained their rights with great warmth.

To these titles was added that of Patriarchs, which the Montanists introduced in the second century, in their particular churches, and which was given to the principal bishops in the Catholic church, but with some difference in the sense affixed to it. In time it became an established custom throughout the Roman empire, and that title was given to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, who with it enjoyed all the prerogatives and authority that dignity was supposed to confer. The same title was given to the bishop of Jerusalem, who had

<sup>a</sup> This matter is fully discuss'd in M. Du Pin's first Dissertation on the ancient Church discipline, 6, 7, 8. Sur l'ancienne discipline de l'Eglise histoire civile de Royaume de Naples per Giannone, lib. ii. ch. 8. ought likewise to be consulted. These customs were however in use in the primitive church before Constantine, as Beverege observes in his Canon Apostolicus vindicatus, book ii. chap. 2. but they regarded high titles as contrary to the spirit of the gospel, and the express declaration of our Saviour. Luke xxii. 25. 26.

likewise many other privileges belonging to the see he possessed. The Vandal Arians in Africa, and the Nestorians in the kingdom of Persia, had also their patriarchs.

The number of Hermits and Monks increased daily: the cloisters, both for men and women, became so numerous (from the many idle people resorting to them from a principle of indolence), that the emperors <sup>a</sup> thought fit to publish edicts to suppress the abuse of them <sup>b</sup>. Notwithstanding this, the people in general held the monastic life in great veneration, regarding it as the only sure road to the attainment of true Christian perfection: but however we must add, that, in many of the convents, the study of the sacred writings was closely and very successfully pursued; so that most of the bishops and priests, who had afterwards part in the government of the church, prepared themselves first in some convent, before they entered on their public ministry. The Monks and Hermits were 'till now looked upon as laity; but from this time, almost all those who entered on the monastic life devoted themselves entirely to the service of the church: those Monks who lived in convents obeyed a superior, whom they called Abbot, or in Greek Archimandrite. They already began to oblige themselves to that life by a vow, which, though tacit, they commonly thought themselves bound to keep <sup>c</sup>; but the history of those times furnishes us with many examples of persons, who, though they had made this vow, returned into the world <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> At that time the number of monasteries in the West were very few, and those few very inconsiderable buildings. V. L'*histoire de Giannone*, tom. i. p. 172.

<sup>b</sup> V. L'*histoire de Giannone*, tom. i. p. 169. Likewise Spanheim, an. iv. col. 935.

<sup>c</sup> V. the 16th canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

<sup>d</sup> We shall find proofs of all these facts in the writers of the monastic history, whose works we have mentioned above.

The public worship of religion became by de-  
crees so loaded with vain and superfluous cere-  
monies, as to offend all people of solid understand-  
ing and true piety <sup>a</sup>. They however retained in the  
church that part of ancient discipline, which gave  
them liberty to introduce, reject, or change, any  
new rites <sup>b</sup>. Pope Innocent I. was the first in that  
century, who had the arrogance to insist on the  
other churches conforming themselves in that re-  
spect to his. That fervent and sincere piety which  
characterised the first Christians, decreased in pro-  
portion as the love of introducing superfluous cere-  
monies and exterior pomp prevailed in the church.  
The holy sacrament, which formerly was celebrat-  
ed every Sunday by all the faithful, was now at-  
tended by very few. In the West, Pope Leo the  
Great abolished the public confession <sup>c</sup> of great  
sins, and substituted in its place private confession  
to a priest, which he declared sufficient: this took  
away greatly from the rigour of ancient discipline;  
and at the same time increased the power of the  
clergy, by thus extending it over the consciences  
of men.

About this time many superstitions, that were  
beginning in the preceding centuries, and which  
in the following ones became much more considera-  
ble and dangerous, now disclosed themselves. Such  
were the immoderate and useless desires of making  
pilgrimages to holy places; the adoration of the  
holy virgin, the worship they began to pay to her,

<sup>a</sup> Every one is acquainted with the passage of St. Austin on this  
subject, which may be found in his epistle to Januarius. This  
epistle is the 119th of the ancient edition, and the 4th of that  
of the Benedictines.

<sup>b</sup> See the same epistle, and the preceding one, in which St.  
Austin relates what St Ambrose had said on these abuses.

<sup>c</sup> The epistle to Decentius is to be found in *Les Councils de  
Labbe*, tom. ii. col. 1245.

<sup>d</sup> See his epistle, n. 136. p. 719. of F. Quesnel's edition.

as well as to all the saints, and particularly to the martyrs, the veneration for the reliefs, the pompous dedications of the churches, the superfluous ornaments with which they adorned them, and the number of images which daily increased and soon became the objects of their worship. We may add to these, the crosses they put up in the churches, the tapers they lighted in the day-time, the incense they burnt, and many other such abuses; which became subjects of real grief to those who had the spirit of true religion, who openly and violently censured them, but had not power to stop their progress.

These abuses would have been much greater, had not this age produced several illustrious persons, who did great services to the church, and whose names ought to be transmitted to the latest posterity. In the East, St. Cyril of Alexandria became very famous by the number of his writings, and his vehement disputes with the Nestorians. Some authors look upon him as the forerunner of the Monophysites<sup>a</sup>. The works of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, are very elegant; but appear more like the writings of a Platonic philosopher<sup>b</sup>, than a Christian divine.

<sup>a</sup> The author of the famous book, entitled, *De supposito*, (which some attribute to Darodon, and others to Gaillard) strives to justify this imputation in chap. 5, from page 71 to 234. Consult Mr. Vogi, in his *Biblioth. Hæres.* tom. 1. s. fasc. 3. p. 459, &c. Mr. Salig, chap. 3<sup>1</sup> of his *Eutychianismus ante Eutychum*, and Mr. La Croze's *Hist. du Chrît. des Indes*, p. 16. 22. and that of *Chrît. d'Ethiopie*, lib. 1. p. 22. 27. It is true that St. Cyril has oftentimes expressed himself in a manner to be suspected of Monophysitism; but, on several other occasions, he has declared himself so positively, that we can make no doubt what were his real sentiments.

<sup>b</sup> Ignatius's great partiality to the Platonick philosophy is evident in all his writings, but more particularly in his Hymns. This philosophy we have often mentioned, as an absurd mixture of the Eastern doctrines and the errors of the Gnostics. See Mr. Jablonski's second dissertation *De regno millenario Cerinthi*.

If we will agree in the opinion of one of the most learned men, and the most conversant in those subjects, those books that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, were wrote by Syneſius<sup>a</sup>. There are many things very interesting in the letters of Isidorus of Pelusium<sup>b</sup>. Nilus, who abdicated the prefecture of Constantinople to become Monk, was in great esteem among the ancients; he composed several books in practical divinity, and particularly on the monastic life. There are many elegant homilies attributed to Basilius of Seleucia; but we have reason to suspect they are not his. They appear rather to be the production of some zealous defender of the sect of Nestorius. Theodoret, bishop of Cyre, was indisputably the most distinguished writer of this age, and one of the greatest lights of the Greek church or indeed of the times. Not only divinity in general, but likewise church history have great obligations to him. We must not omit to mention Socrates Scholaſticus, Hermias, Sozomene, and Philostorgius the Arian, all of whom employed themselves in writing the history of the church. Palladius, bishop of Hellenopolis, wrote a history of the Monks, called, Historia Lausiaca: he is supposed, likewise, to have written the Dialogues on the life of St. Chryſtōm; but they appear to us to be the work of another hand.

The Western church was not less fruitful than that of the East. St. Austin, bishop of Hippo in Africa, alone, was of more value than many others; his name will ever be lov'd and respected in the church. He had a friend worthy of being compared with him; St. Jerom, priest of Stridon,

<sup>a</sup> Hist. du Christ d'Ethiopie, par Mr. La Aroze, p. 15, 20.

<sup>b</sup> The celebrated Mr. Christ. Aug. Heumann has treated on this subject, in a dissertation, intituled, Epistolas Pelusiotarum maximam partem esse confitatas. Goett. 1737.

the most learned of the Latin fathers, but unfortunately of a very morose and unhappy temper. Ruffinus gained reputation by the many books he published, and the great attachment he always expressed for Origen (though much to his own disadvantage), and the lively disputes he had with St. Jerome on that subject. We must not refuse to give due praises to St. Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Italy, who did considerable services to the church; and to Pope Leo, who would more truly have deserved to be called great, had he not, from his love of power, strove to carry too far the authority of the holy see. John Cassier put himself at the head of the Semi-Pelagians, and was likewise a zealous defender of the monastic life. Salvian of Marseilles may be reckoned among those who were the most zealous in defence of true religion. The merit and writings of Alcimus Avitus, bishop of Vienne in Dauphiny, deserve great praise. Prosper of Aquitain was most remarkable for his great zeal for St. Austin, and his doctrine. Gennadius, priest of Marseilles, has left us a catalogue of church-writers, and a treatise of the tenets of the church. Sulpicius Severus, an elegant writer, and Paul Orosius, were famous for their works both in sacred and profane history. The works of Vincent of Lerins against heresies, have always been greatly esteemed by the learned. We find some poets and orators among those who have been ornaments to the church; such as Aurelius Prudentius, a Spaniard, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Auvergne, and Cœlius Sedulus. Marius Mercator strove to make himself famous, by confuting the Pelagians and the Nestorians; but he was a man equally destitute of sense and learning. However, we are obliged to him for the preservation of some monuments of antiquity; among others, thirteen sermons or discourses of Nestorius. Notwith-

Notwithstanding all the care that the clergy of this century took to preserve the gospel in its original purity, from the innovations of the hereticks (as we may see by the many disputes they had with the Nestorians, the Pelagians, and the Eutychians) they could not preserve it from the errors and corruptions that daily increased; they joined to the canonical books others merely apocryphal: we must, however, be very circumspect in the judgment we pass on these matters. The dangerous persuasion, that the approbation and assistance of the dead might be useful to the living, daily gained ground; and the doctrine of the absolute necessity of the sacraments, particularly that of baptism, gave rise to the fiction of the limbo for little children. The errors that we mentioned in the preceding centuries made in this very rapid progres.

In this century the church received many fatal wounds, which she has never perfectly recovered: The first was given by the heresy of the Pelagians<sup>a</sup>, so called from their chief Pelagius, an English monk, of whom St. Austin<sup>b</sup> speaks with great respect. About the beginning of this century, Pelagius went from Great Britain to Rome; and, having contracted a strict intimacy with Ruffinus, it is supposed that it was from him he imbibed the doctrine of the force of free-will, which was the source of all the other tenets of his heresy. Pelagius acquired likewise, at Rome, in Celestius, a

<sup>a</sup> We have many excellent works on this heresy. Such are the books, entitled, *De Pelagianorum et Semi-Pelagianorum Dogmatum Historia*, which may be found in Petavius's large work, *De Dogmatibus Theologicis*, the 8th and following chap. of the *Antiquitates Britanicarum Ecclesiarum*, by Usher; the two celebrated *Historiae Pelagianæ*, one by Gerard John Vossius, and the other by Cardinal Noris; and the first *Dissertation of John Garnier*, intituled, *De primis auctoribus & defensoribus Historiae Pelagianæ*, in his *Appendix posterior ad primam partem operum Marii Mercatoris*.

<sup>b</sup> He calls him *Sanctum, bonum, & prædicandum vi um.*

faithful disciple, and a zealous fellow-labourer. They went to Sicily about the year 408 or 409, leaving Italy upon account of the many calamities which then oppressed that country. From thence they travelled to Africa, Pelagius expecting great things from the friendship of St. Austin; but, things not turning out to his wishes, he left Celestius in Africa, and went from thence to the East, where he found great numbers of people disposed to receive his erroneous doctrine, which doctrine became the cause of many troubles; in the midst of which it is supposed he died. After his death, Celestius, and another of his disciples, named Julian, continued to preach Pelagianism, and with greater success than their late master. They advanced, that the guilt of the first man's crime could not descend to his posterity, or be transmitted from father to son; so that man, consequently, became incapable of doing good, hateful to God, and deserving of eternal punishment. Pelagius, thus denying the natural corruption of the soul, drew from it this consequence, that the Divine Grace was unnecessary: but, from the contradiction so natural to man, this heresiarch maintained, that baptism was absolutely requisite to salvation; nay, he even went so far as to exclude those persons who died without having received the sacrament from celestial happiness, and sent them I know not where. Pelagius met with many difficulties in the beginning; but, as we have before said, he at length became very successful in the East. Notwithstanding this, his doctrine being carefully examined, there arose a general clamour against it, at first in Africa, raised particularly by the zeal of St. Austin, and afterwards in Rome; after that in France, and at last even in the East, where it was solemnly condemned. The emperors<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Vossius, *Histor. Pelag.* lib. iv. part i. p. 392.

themselves interfered in this affair, publishing edicts and ordaining punishments, against the favourers of Pelagianism.

Notwithstanding the general reprobation of Pelagianism, many people, not approving entirely the doctrine of St. Austin, sought for a medium between the two opinions, which they looked upon as two extremes; and proposed a new system, to which was given the name of Semi-Pelagianism. They acknowledged that human nature in its present state is much weakened, and of itself incapable of good; but added, that this imperfection of nature might be surmounted by its own natural strength, with the assistance of the divine grace: they explain it thus; saying, that man prepares himself for the reception of the faith; and that the first act of his will depends on himself, though it often happens that he is assisted by the preventing grace of God: yet the Semi-Pelagians allowed no merit to these good emotions and preparatory acts of faith, when they proceeded from man alone. Likewise they judged the preventing grace of God to man, necessary to the perfection of good works. In this manner they attributed the whole act of faith and repentance, partly to the grace of God, and partly to the strength of man. They likewise made the persevering in the way of salvation <sup>a</sup> dependant in part on the natural strength of man, and in part on the grace they had once received in regeneration.

Cassianus <sup>b</sup> was the person who placed this doctrine of Semi-Pelagianism in its full light: he has been already mentioned among the writers of this age. His notions were well received among the Gauls, particularly at Marfeilles, upon which account these sectarists were likewise called Mar-

<sup>a</sup> Ubi supra, p. 435, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Cassianus has himself explained his doctrine in his 13th conference.

lians<sup>a</sup>: Faustus of Riez, Vincent of Lerins, Gennadius of Marseilles, Hilerias of Arles, and Arnobius the younger<sup>b</sup>, were the principal defenders of this sect. In order to render the doctrine of St. Austin hateful, and himself and his followers suspected of heresy, they called all those who professed it Predestinarians<sup>c</sup>. St. Austin and Prosper opposed the Semi-Pelagians with all their power; the former, however, treated them with much more moderation than the Pelagians. This doctrine was condemned by some synods, and was rejected by the church.

The next famous heresy we shall speak of, is that which took its rise in the East<sup>d</sup>, and became the cause of many fatal dissensions. Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, was a very eloquent man, to whom the church is much indebted; but his zeal against the heretics carried him too far. The question being started at Constantinople, whether we ought to give the title of Θεοτόκος, mother of God, to the Blessed Virgin; the bishop was of opinion we ought not to use that epithet, but call her Χριστοτόκος, the mother of Christ; not that

<sup>a</sup> We may consult the second part of l'Histoire littéraire de la France, by a society of learned Benedictines. Very large extracts have been made from this work in the Acta Eruditorum German. part 12. sec. 2.

<sup>b</sup> See Dupin, Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom iii. c. 2. p. 219.

<sup>c</sup> We find in 2d vol. of the collection of writers who have in the 9th century treated on predestination and grace, p. 447. A work, intitled, Gilbertis Manguini accurata Historia Prædestinationis confutatio. Add to this, Christiani Eberhardi Weissmanni introduc̄tio in Histor. Sacram. N. Test. sec. 5. p. 4. 10, &c.

<sup>d</sup> We have a very extensive work in French, intitled, Histoire du Nestorianisme, by F. Louis Doucin. John Garnier has wrote on this subject in the preface to the 2d vol. of the works de Marius Mercator. Du Pin is the most exact in tom. iii. part 2. de sa Bibliothèque, which contains Les Actes du Concile d'Ephese.

he intirely rejected the first of these appellations<sup>a</sup>, but he would have the sense of it fully determined, and not have it used too frequently lest they should fall into the error of the Apollinarists. Theodorus of Mopsuestes, to whom Nestorius was a disciple, had wrote against this sect. The most celebrated of Nestorius's adversaries explained the epithet of Mother of God, as if Mary had brought not only a God into the world, but the divine nature itself, and the not agreeing to this assertion was alledged as a crime against him. Nestorius<sup>b</sup> shewing himself averse to the use of this term, in proportion to the abuse they made of it, his adversaries took occasion from thence to accuse him of denying the divinity of the son of God, or at least of destroying in him the personal union of the two natures, divine and human, to substitute in its place two sons or two persons, united solely by the common ties of society and friendship; that is to say, Jesus the man, and the Son of God, who assisted the humanity. Though many of Nestorius's expressions in this controversy may appear very singular to us, we ought to regulate our judgment, not by them, but by the custom of those times: for many learned men, who are fully acquainted with these matters, are of opinion, that Nestorius was very unjustly accused of heresy.

Among the multitude of antagonists who from all parts declared themselves against Nestorius, none opposed him with greater warmth, nay, I may even

<sup>a</sup> Which appears from the expressions so frequently repeated by Nestorius himself in his sermons. as is evidently proved by Mr. Christian Augustus Salig, in his *Eutychianismus ante Eutychem*, cap. xxix. p. 290.

<sup>b</sup> Many writers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have spoken of Nestorius, and most favourably. Mr. Jablonski, besides *Exercitatio de Nestorianismo*, has wrote a dissertation *De origine & fundamento Nestorianismi*, and another *De meritis Nestorii*.

say, with greater malice, than St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who, after having endeavoured to refute Nestorius, by twelve censures which he called anathemas, issued out a writ of excommunication against him, and engaged some other bishops to do the same. Nestorius, to escape this oppression, had recourse to the emperor Theodosius the younger, and obtained of him a general council for the decision of this controversy<sup>a</sup>. This council was assembled at Ephesus in 431: it was the third of those called oecumenical or general. At the opening of the council, as John the Patriarch of Antioch with the bishops of his diocese were not yet arrived, Cyril acted as president; and, as the whole was conducted by his directions, things were carried on tumultuously<sup>b</sup>, and without any regard either to order or equity: but when the Eastern bishops arrived, they informed themselves of all that had passed, annulled the preceding deliberations, discharged Nestorius, and condemned Cyril and all their adherents, whom they degraded from the episcopal dignity. From this time the dispute was carried on with greater vehemence than ever; there was nothing seen but condemnations and depositions from either party, and it was impossible to foresee when, and in what manner, these troubles would end; when, all of a sudden, the emperor, who 'till then had been favourable

<sup>a</sup> Many authors, both antient and modern, give a different account; but Mr. Jablonksi has proved it.

<sup>b</sup> The transactions of this council are very exactly mentioned in Dupin's history.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Salis, in his *Eutychianismus ante Eutychem*, says, that Cyril gained the emperor's protection by presents. It will easily be credited that the eunuchs and other domesticks of this prince, in whom he solely confided, could make him believe what they pleased. This appears more than once in the letters which were written near the time of the councils, on the subject of Nestorius and his doctrine, and of which the learned men, Christian Wolf, Garnier, and Baluzius, have made a very useful collection, and to

to Nestorius, conceived a dislike to him. The effect of this change was fatal to Nestorius; he was deposed, and obliged to end his life in a melancholy exile, of which he was even often forced to change the place; so that he passed through the most deplorable situations, till death delivered him from them. His doctrine, in consequence of this, was anathematized, as heretical and impious, and proscribed by the church. However, some of the followers of Nestorius, made a sort of peace with Cyril, of which the principal condition was, that they should pronounce an anathema against Nestorius, and his doctrine, which the greatest part of them were constrained to do. The other friends of Nestorius, being fully persuaded of the justice of his cause, and resolutely opposing the ill treatment this persuasion drew on them, were sent into exile, or banished the whole extent of the Roman Empire.

They retired into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into the Eastern Provinces<sup>a</sup>, under the Persian government; where they founded several churches, which at last spread themselves throughout all Asia; and continued for a long time very flourishing. There are some remaining to this day.

While they were thus with great warmth refuting the heresy of Nestorius, many divines fell into the opposite extreme<sup>b</sup>; Eutychius, an Archimandrite of Constantinople, rejecting the doctrine of

published under the title of *Synodicon Cessianense*, from the place where they were found. See the 31st of this *Synodicon*, in the *Nova collectio conciliorum* of Baluzius, col. 7, 30.

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. Assemani, 4th Vol. of his *Biblioth. Orient.* wherein he has collected with the greatest care all that the Greek and Oriental writers have left us respecting this dispersion of the Nestorians.

<sup>b</sup> See the 2d Vol. of *Vigile de Tapre*, against Eutychius, ch. x. p. 21.

two natures in Jesus Christ, which they imputed to Nestorius, went so far as to say, that we ought to acknowledge but one nature <sup>a</sup> in Christ, which tenet he proposed in such a manner, as apparently to confound the two natures together, so that one seemed to be converted into the other. This opinion displeased many, even of those who had declared against that of Nestorius; and Flavius, bishop of Constantinople, assembled on this occasion a synod, in the year 448, in which Eutychius was condemned and excommunicated. Cyril was then dead; but his friends and followers opposed this decision. Dioscorus, who succeeded Cyril in the see of Alexandria, was the most distinguished amongst them, he assembled at Ephesus a new council, in which the doctrine of Eutychius was approved, and Flavius condemned and exposed to the greatest indignities, and sent into exile. In this manner Eutychianism triumphed, during the remainder of the life of Theodosius the Younger.

After the death of that Emperor, Marcian, who succeeded him, being very desirous of appeasing the troubles caused by the quarrel of Eutychius, summoned another general council. This was the fourth, and it was held at Chalcedon, in 451 <sup>b</sup>. Many disorders passed in this council, unworthy of such an assembly; which were principally raised by the followers of Dioscorus. However at last a quiet and impartial examination of the tenets of Eutychius was with difficulty obtained. The consequence of which was, that the fathers of the council condemned that of the unity of one nature in

<sup>a</sup> In the acts of the council of Constantinople, we shall find an exact account of the opinions of Eutychius. See the collection des Conciles de Labbé, Vol. iv. col. 150. See also a dissertation de Eutychianis, by Mr. James Basnage, which Mr. Vogth has printed in Vol. ii. of his Biblioth. Hæret.

<sup>b</sup> We have a very exact and elegant account of the acts of this council, in the Nov. Biblioth. of Mr. Dupin.

Jesuſ Christ, and also declared its chief defender Dioscorus attainted and convicted of many crimes, and separated from the communion of the church. The Emperor ſent him into banishment, where he died at the end of three years. The errors of Eutychius, Dioscorus, and the Monophysites, being thus rejected, the fathers of the council fixed the true doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ in the same form it is now held in the orthodox church; confefſing Jesus Christ to be perfectly God, and perfectly man, co-subſtantial with the father as to the divinity, co-subſtantial with man as to the humanity, the two natures being united in him without conversion, without conſusion, and without diſtinction. The celebrated letter of Pope Leo the Great to Flavius, contributed much to this decision, it received the highest applaule from the council, but was held as an object of execration by the Eutychians and the Monophysites, who always comprehended it in their anathemas, againſt the council of Chalcedon. In the 28th Canon of the ſame council, they confirmed a decision made by the ſecond œcumenical council of Constantinople; which was, that the privileges of the ſee of Constantinople ſhould be equal to thoſe of the ſee of Rome. The Legates of Leo opposed this with all their power, however without ſucceſs.

Thus the fathers of the council of Chalcedon eſtabliſhed the pure doctrine in the church; but they in vain attempted to reſtore its peace, and to bring back to its communion thoſe whose errors had ſeparated them from it. The diſcipliſes of Dioſcorus, commonly called Eutychians, were divided into many ſects; and their members in many countries greatly prevailed over the orthodox, particularly in Egypt and in Syria. Although the whole diſference of their doctrine, and that of the council of Chalcedon, was a mere form of expreſſion; they were

were most cruelly incensed against the memory of that assembly ; and so great was their fury against those who acknowledged its authority, that they made no scruple of shedding their blood on many occasions. The Greek Emperors, in their turn, opposed the followers of Dioscorus <sup>a</sup>, and made them suffer the greatest tortures, which served only to augment their reciprocal animosity <sup>b</sup>.

The Emperor Zenon took a different method, thereby conciliating the minds of the different factions. He published, in the year 482, the celebrated edict of union ; well known in the church history, by the name of Henoticon <sup>c</sup>. They thereby gave an easy and proper explanation of the orthodox doctrine, concerning the person of Jesus Christ ; without using the term of two natures, or mentioning the council of Chalcedon, so much abhorred by all the Monophysites. The Emperor flattered himself that the orthodox, and the hereticks, might with safe consciences both subscribe to this edict. Indeed it was signed by Peter Mongus, Patriarch of Alexandria ; and Peter le Toulan, Patriarch of Antioch ; the same who was accused of altering the hymn, well known to the Greeks, by the name of

<sup>a</sup> We cannot read without horror of the cruel treatment, the Christians received from the Eutychians of Alexandria and of Antioch. Mr. Jablonski has collected all the testimonies of the ancients on this subject, in his dissertation de Hæretico Zenonis. Many cruelties, still more shocking, were committed, by the Monks of that faction, in Jerusalem and in Palestine. See L'Histoire des Papes, by Mr. Bower, Tom. ii. p. 262, &c.

<sup>b</sup> We shall find several examples of this, in L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, par Renaudot, p. 122, 134, 163. See Mr Assémani's Dissertation sur les Monophysites fol. 27, 28, to which we may add, La Lettre de Du Bernat au Comte de Toulouse ; we shall find it at the end of Tom. ii. des Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions des Jésuits dans le Levant.

<sup>c</sup> This Henoticon, was brought into Greece by Evagrius, in his Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ch. 14, and by Liberatus, ch. 18. of his Breviare. Mr. Jablonski has inserted the different opinions of the learned on this edict, in his above mentioned dissertation, printed

Trisagion<sup>2</sup>. But the greatest number both of the Eutychians and the orthodox had a great aversion to this Henoticon, as appeared more fully under the reign of Anastasius Dicorus. Which obliged Justin his successor to abolish the edict of Zeno, and to put things on their former footing.

The Donatists, a sect, which took its rise in the beginning of the preceding century, and had been condemned at several different times by the decrees of councils, and the severe edicts of princes, were however tolerated by the Catholics; and received some marks of support and good will from them. But this could not soften their inflexibility; on the contrary, many amongst them (and particularly those known by the name of Circumcellians) often took up arms, excited seditions, invaded by force the catholick church; pillaged it, killed their bishops and other ecclesiastics, or at least used them excessively ill, and were guilty of public robberies.

But while they thus openly declared war to the Christians, they were far from being united among themselves; the Rogatists, the Maximianists, the Primians, different sects amongst them, treated each other with nearly the same violence. The church of Africa, was by this means reduced to

at Francfort on the Oder in 1739. See Mr. Rambech, on the Henoticon, in a note on p. 74. Vol. iii. of his translation of the History of the Popes, by Mr. Bower.

<sup>2</sup> He there added these words, “ who suffered for us:” from whence they made the heresy of the Theophosytes, and from whence arose the question, that gave rise to many strange disputes, namely “ whether we may say with truth, that one of the trinity “ was fixed to the cross.” See the dissertation of Cardinal Noris, intitled, *Historia Controversiae de uno e Trinitate passo*, in the third vol. of his works. We may likewise consult many other writers, particularly F. Daucin, lib. iv. de l’Histoire de Nestorianisme. Thus the purity and simplicity of the gospel was daily degenerating, and at last gave place to vain subtleties, which were but the preludes to scholastic errors and the indecent questions proposed in the schools.

a most deplorable condition; to remedy which, the Emperor Honorius ordered in 411 a conference to be held at Carthage, between the Catholicks and the Donatists; this conference was very famous. Marcellus, a man of a very mild and peaceful temper, presided in the name of the Emperor. Every thing being maturely considered, the Donatists were clearly proved to be in the wrong, and condemned, under severe punishments, to break up their assemblies, and to rejoin the catholick church. This considerably diminished the party in Africa, but did not intirely destroy them, as we see by the troubles they occasioned in the 6th century.

There were many other great disputes in this century, which disunited the Eastern and Western churches, but were not of the same fatal consequences with the schism of the Donatists nor of so long duration. The first of these disputes began almost with the century, on account of St. John Chrysostom, the severity of whose life and conversation drew on him many enemies. There came to Constantinople, in 402<sup>a</sup>, some monks whom Theophilus had expelled Egypt, on account of their attachment to Origenism. Chrysostom received them with humanity, which greatly offended Theophilus; who being called to Constantinople, by the Emperor Arcadius, joined himself to the enemies the bishops had in that city. They carried their hatred to such a degree, that St. Chrysostom was condemned and deposed, in the year 403, by a

<sup>a</sup> We shall find the full account of this affair in the life of St. Chrysostom, by Mr. Hermant, in books v. ix. We may likewise consult Cave and Du Pin, &c. As to the time in which these things happened, see P. Pagi, in the years 400, 401, 402, 403, and 404. But he is wrong when he asserts that St. Chrysostom, oppressed by an unjust sentence, appealed to the bishop of Rome. See *Histoire des Papes*, per M. Bower, Tom. 1. p. 468, 469. P. Pagi has better ground for saying, in the year 404, that the dispute between the Greeks, and Latins did not come to an open rupture.

synod held in the suburbs of Chalcedon. The Emperor added to it the punishment of exile, and the deposed bishop was carried to Bithynia. The emotion that the people expressed, at the unjust treatment of their worthy pastor, obliged Arcadius to recall him immediately; but it was not for long; they soon pretended to find reason to condemn him, in a synod held in 404: he was again exiled, and sent far into Cucusas, in Armenia, where he suffered great hardships, and saw the end of his misfortunes but with that of his life, in 407. His enemies, not satisfied with having thus oppressed him, strove to dishonour his memory, by persuading the Emperor to strike his name out of the list of the Diptyques <sup>a</sup>. Innocent the first, who then held the see of Rome, would not suffer such an injury to be done to one of the most respectable prelates the church ever possessed, and declared absolutely against all communion with the Eastern churches, until such time as they had replaced the name of St. Chrysostom in the Diptyques. This however had no effect, and things remained on the same footing during the life of Arcadius. But when this Prince, and soon after him Theophilus died, the heat of the quarrel abated, and the name of St. Chrysostom was again placed in the Diptyques of the Eastern church; and the Greek and Latin churches were again reconciled.

Towards the close of this century, there arose another dispute, much more vexatious than the last, and which became the cause of many calamities, and the source of infinite scandal. In the year 482, Timotheus bishop of Alexandria died, strongly attached to the council of Chalcedon. Those who

<sup>a</sup> They were publick registers, on which were inscribed the names of the consuls, and other great magistrates amongst the Romans; and, since Christianity, those of the bishops, and other distinguished persons.

were of the same party with him, elected to his place John Talaja, he being of the same sentiments; but Zeno wanted to set aside the election, as John had been convicted of perjury, and many other crimes. The Emperor, by the suggestions of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, resolved to restore the see of Alexandria to Peter Mongus, who had formerly been, though unlawfully, elected to it. Peter was at that time at the head of the followers of Dioscorus, in Egypt; but he had promised Acacius, to use every means to maintain the peace of the church; and, after that, he voluntarily subscribed to the Henoticon of Zeno, or rather of Arcadius, who was the real author of it. John Talaja did not tamely suffer their proceedings against him, but not being able to gain admittance to the court of the Emperor, he at first addressed himself by writing to Simplicius, bishop of Rome; and soon after went himself to consult him. This Pope, after the example of his predecessors, did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of extending his power; and gave a sentence by which he declared John the lawful bishop of Alexandria, whilst Peter, long since condemned, was now deposed. After which, Simplicius was very urgent with Zeno and Acacius, that they should confirm his decree. But, as they refused to do it, the Pope determined to excommunicate Acacius; but death prevented him. Felix II. his successor, executed what he had but projected; and, finding such insuperable resistance in Acacius, he degraded him from the episcopacy and excommunicated him, which excommunication Arcadius returned with another. Felix, one of the most arrogant prelates that ever existed, would not be reconciled to the successors of Acacius; but on condition that they should efface his name out of the Diptyques, which they would not consent to. The enmity between the Eastern and Western churches,

churches, still continued. The Popes, who succeeded Felix, Gelasius, Anastasius the II<sup>d</sup>, Symmachus, and Hormisdas, acted with as much obstinacy and haughtiness as he had done. Anastasius indeed expressed greater mildness and love of peace than the others. During the pontificate of Hormisdas, Justin the First, successor of Anastasius Dicorus, Emperor of the East, not only abolished the Henoticon of Zeno, but submitted to the unjust conditions that had been prescribed by the bishops of Rome, and agreed to by Hormisdas. By this means peace was re-established between the Eastern and the Western churches <sup>a</sup>.

The churches which were not under the subjection of the Roman Emperors suffered many persecutions during this century. We have seen, in the preceding one, the beginning of that of Persia; it gathered new strength, when, in 419 <sup>b</sup>, Abdas, bishop of Susa, had the imprudence to destroy the temple of the Magi, and the obstinacy not to rebuild it <sup>c</sup>. This greatly increased the rigorous treatment the Christians already suffered in Persia, which continued till 449. In Great Britain, the Anglo-Saxons <sup>d</sup>, who were become masters of that island, and who were given up wholly to idolatry, used every means both by fire and sword, to destroy the Christian church, which till that time had greatly

<sup>a</sup> Nothing in this century made so much noise, as did this dispute, as we may see by consulting L'Histoire des Papes par Mr. Bower. Les Vies de Simplicius, de Felix II. de Gélaſe, d'Anastase II. de Symmachus, & d'Hormisdas.

<sup>b</sup> See La Biblioth. Orient. de Mr. Asselmani, Vol. IV. fol. 61, also Tom. i. p. 182, 183, and 248. Among the Greek authors, Theodore has related the origin and circumstances of the persecution, Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. ch. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Bayle speaks very fully on this action of the Bishop of Susa, in the article ABDAS, of his dictionary.

<sup>d</sup> See the Antiquit. Britann. Eccles. d'Uſſer, ch. xii. p. 387, of the Dublin Edition, in 4to.

flourished. In Africa, the Vandal Arians, under the command of their King Genseric, having subdued and got possession of this fine part of the Roman Empire in 429, took every possible means to extirpate the orthodox faith. During 37 years, the Christians suffered, from Genseric, a more cruel persecution, than they had ever endured from the Pagan Emperors. Hunneric, son of this tyrant Gundaband, his nephew, and his other successors, followed his example. We have a very exact history of these persecutions left us by Victor, bishop of Vite, in Africa; who was an eye witness to part of them.

We see by the history of this century, that the prosperities of the church were not unaccompanied with misfortunes. Besides the heresies and schisms of which we have been speaking, many superstitious customs were introduced even into the orthodox churches. The fear of giving offence deterred many from censuring these innovations as they deserved; and Vigilantius, who was almost the only one, that ventured to attack them, was severely reproved for so doing by St. Jerom. The pride and arrogance of the Roman Pontiffs increased daily; but there were still some churches who opposed them with all their power. The church of Africa distinguished itself in this particular, and condemned by more than one council, the appeals of Outremer; by which all causes were referred to the Pope. In short, we need only read the work of Salvian, to see how much the morality of the Christians was corrupted, and how greatly degenerated from its primitive purity.

<sup>a</sup> Multi in ipsa vera religione superstitionis, multi sepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores, says St. Austin, in his 1st book de Moribus Eccles. Cath. and he adds, in his epistle 119. to Januarius, Multa hujusmodi propter nonnullorum vel sanctorum vel turbulentarum personarum scandala decurtanda, liberius improbare ausum non esse.

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## C E N T U R Y VI.

**W**E shall begin our history of this century with the acquisitions the kingdom of Christ made, in the East. The Saracens, under the government of Almundar, embraced the gospel about the year 512. Many other tribes of the Arabians were converted, either in this, or the preceding century. Christianity was likewise received by several of those nations, who live on the banks of the Euxine and the Caspian Seas; such as the Herules, the Lazes, the Alains, the Huns, the Abages, and many other nations, some of which the power of Mahomet converted to his opinions; whilst the others preserved, if not the faith, at least the name of Christians. In the West, the Anglo-Saxons <sup>a</sup> were converted by the monk Augustin; this was a very important event. Some faint rays of divine light penetrated likewise, into Germany, among the Boyans and the Thuringians <sup>b</sup>.

The bishops of the Church, in this century, acted in such a manner, as if the augmentation of their power, and the extending of their jurisdiction, was the only point they had in view. The authority of

<sup>a</sup> See Beda, Lib. i. ch. 23. of his Histor. Gentis Anglor.

<sup>b</sup> Aventin, Velsor, and other authors, have mentioned the conversion of the Boyans. And Caspar Sagittarius has written, in German, on the conversion of the Thuringians.

the bishops increased so considerably during the reign of Justinian, that the office of priesthood was no longer esteemed. Whilst things thus passed in the East, the Goths, in Italy, carefully preserved the ancient church discipline <sup>a</sup>. At this time there arose many new Patriarchates, both within the precincts of the Roman Empire, and also beyond its limits. The jealousy between the sees of Rome and Constantinople, which on many occasions had already shewn itself, gathered new strength, after the latter usurped the title of Oecumenical bishop, and affected frequently to use it. In reality this title was much more ancient, and did not belong to the church of Constantinople exclusively. It is certain that the Roman Pontiff was greatly hurt at the bishop of Constantinople's taking this title upon himself, and eagerly endeavoured to attain the power which it imported.

The bishops of Rome no longer sought by intrigues, and secret means to arrive at the supreme authority of the whole church; for they began already to pretend they had incontestable, and even divine right thereto, as successors of St. Peter. From the preceding century, Innocent the 1st. and particularly Leo the Great, had shewn the like intentions; and they afterwards became the express and constant motive of action of the court of Rome. The Greek church indeed neglected no opportunity to repress their pride, and oppose their undertakings, and they sometimes met with powerful adversaries in the West; but there were unfortunately in that quarter too many vile flatterers, who openly defended the prerogatives usurped by the see of Rome, and even encouraged the Popes, to aim at new ones. Notwithstanding this, the bishops of that capital remained subject, both in civil and ecclesi-

<sup>a</sup> See Giannone, Hist. de Naples, Vol. i. p. 944.

astical affairs, first to the kings of the Goths <sup>a</sup>, and afterwards to the Greek Emperors <sup>b</sup>.

The institution of Monks, whose principal establishments had been till that time in the East, now spread themselves all over the West <sup>c</sup>. They owe their increase to St. Benedict <sup>d</sup>, of the province of Mursia, in Italy, a hermit, who drew up some monastic rules, at the request of his brethren, which were greatly approved, particularly by Pope Gregory. From this order that of the Benedictines took its rise, an order the most flourishing and extensive that ever was, and which became, in the following century, the occasion and model of many others. Congollus instituted in Ireland an order of monks, which was called apostolical, the members of this order employing themselves, as the Apostles had done before them, that is to say, in spreading the knowledge of the gospel amongst the Gentiles.

The divine worship was already loaded with superfluous ceremonies, yet they still admitted new ones, and even employed themselves in inventing them. Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, was very ingenious in this way. It is to him we are indebted, for the canon of the Mass, or Missal, called from him,

<sup>a</sup> During the continuance of the kingdom of the Goths, in Italy, the election of the Popes was not valid without the consent and confirmation of the King. See Mr. Muratori, Hist. de Italie. Giannone has clearly shewn the dependance the bishops of Rome had on the kings of the Goths.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek Emperors claimed new rights from the example of the Gothic monarchs. See the above-mentioned writers.

<sup>c</sup> Giannone, in the 1st. Vol. of his Hist. has given us a very complete view of the Monastic states.

<sup>d</sup> Rodolphus has spoken of St. Benedict, and his order, in his treatise De origine & progressu Monochatus, Lib. iv. ch. i. There is also a good life of St. Benedict, in the Miscellaneous Tracts of Mr. Geddes.

the Gregorian <sup>a</sup>; it was at first designed for the particular use of the Roman church, and being afterwards improved and enlarged, was introduced into many other churches. They added to the feasts then celebrated, that of the Purification of the Virgin, her Annunciation or Conception, and that of the Birth of St. John Baptist. The Orientals, from the beginning of this century, celebrated the feast of branches, called also the Hosanna. The tonsure of the priests became now an essential part of the ordination of the clergy. The publick penances <sup>b</sup> were abolished by degrees: to them succeeded private penances, imposed by the priest. The rules for these penances were reduced afterwards to a kind of art.

The Eastern and Western churches had still amongst them some celebrated priests and writers. We may place among the principal of them Procopius of Gaza, a philosopher, and an interpreter of the holy scriptures; John, furnamed the Faster, bishop of Constantinople, author of a Penitential <sup>c</sup>, and well known by his disputes with the Popes; and John Climaque, so furnamed from a work he published, intituled, A Ladder to Paradise. John Maxentius, Eulogus of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium, and Anastasius the Sinaite, were all celebrated

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Lilienthal, of Konishberg, has given a very excellent work, printed at Leyden, in 1740, in 8vo; intitled, *Schediasma Historico-Theologicum de canone Missatico Gregorianum*. Those who are desirous to know how the various Missals differed in different churches, before the Gregorian Missal prevailed, may consult the 1st Book of the *Res Liturgicæ* of Cardinal Bona.

<sup>b</sup> That means the Greeks; it was not till the following century, that the Latins, after their example, introduced penitential books, which contained all the whole of the church penance. See the works of John Morin, intitled, *Commentarius Historicus de disciplina Poenitentiæ*, at the end of which he has inserted many of the Latin and Greek Penitentials.

<sup>c</sup> There are two Penitentials of this John, in Greek and Latin, in the works of Morin.

for defending the orthodox faith. Evagrius the Scholastic, Cyrilus of Scythopolis, and Theodorus the Reader, applied themselves solely to church history; as did Procopius of Cesarea, and Agathias the Scholastic, to civil history.

The principal writers on divinity in the West, were Gregory bishop of Rome, surnamed the Great; and who, considering the times in which he lived, would not have been thought unworthy of that title, had he been less inclined to superstition, Fulgentius, an African, the scourge of the Pelagians and the Arians, who very warmly and ably defended the three Capitula; Isidorus of Seville, who applied himself with much success to the study of the Belles Lettres; as did also Ennodius bishop of Pavia; the latter was one of the most zealous supporters of the papal power. Denys the Little, a Roman Abbot, who made a collection of canons, and passes for the author of the vulgar Christian æra. Both civil and ecclesiastical history have great obligations to Jornandes of Ravenna, Gregory of Tours, Victor of Tunone, and to Liberatus, arch-deacon of Carthage. We ought not to forget Cassiodorus and Boethius, more illustrious for their writings, than for their preferments.

The Emperor Theodosius the Great so effectually destroyed Arianism, that, in this century, there was nothing of it to be found, except some trifling remains in the East. During the course of the preceding century, some barbarous nations had brought back this heresy into several countries of Europe; but it nowhere struck such deep root as in Africa, where the Orthodox were miserably oppressed. God however sent them some relief. The Emperor Justinian subdued the Vandals in Africa, and restored the church to the splendor and tranquillity she had before enjoyed. In Portugal, and in Galatia, Theodimir, king of the Suevi,

with his subjects, abjured Arianism; as did likewise Recaredus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This example was followed by the Burgundians, in France; and by the Lombards, in Italy; though they found it very difficult to get rid of this error. Thus, throughout all Europe, the doctrine of Arius insensibly lost the great credit it had formerly obtained.

The Nestorians, banished from the Roman Empire, formed numerous and flourishing churches in Persia <sup>a</sup>, and in the more Eastern countries. The Monophysites, vulgarly called Eutychians, were tolerated in the Empire, so long as the Henoticon remained in force; the Catholics hoping, by this means and by the mildness with which they treated them, to bring them insensibly back to the communion of the Orthodox church. Those amongst them who favoured the Henoticon, were called Hesitants <sup>b</sup>; and those who rejected it gave themselves the name of Acephali <sup>c</sup>, or People without a chief.

The Emperor Anastasius, successor to Zeno, was so well inclined to the Henoticon, that many looked upon him as a direct Eutychian, which induced the Monks to invent, upon his unhappy death, a very gross fable, which, gross as it was,

<sup>a</sup> Nothing is more instructive on this subject, than Mr. Assemani's Dissertation de Syris Nestorianis, Tom. iv. Biblioth. Orient. particularly ch. v. See also the twelfth chapter, which contains an enumeration of the Metropolitan and Episcopal churches, under the government of a Nestorian Patriarch, the number of which was very large.

<sup>b</sup> In Greek διακρινομένοι. They have numbered the Emperor among them. See Leontius de sectis, and Mr. Assemani, Vol. II. of his Biblioth. Orient.

<sup>c</sup> Consult Leontius, p. 463, and Renaudot, in his Histoire des Patriarches de Alexandrie, p. 123. Afterwards this name was given to other Eutychians, as Renaudot has proved, p. 131.

gained credit in the dark ages that followed<sup>a</sup>: there was no more talk of the Henoticon after the death of that prince.

Justin the first succeeded him, a defender of the true faith, and of the council of Chalcedon; he insisted strictly on the performance of every decree of that council. From that time, the Orthodox prevailed throughout the Roman empire: Philo and the Eutychians, on the contrary, were punished for their former conduct; deprived of all their dignities or ecclesiastical power, and forced to assemble in private places: indeed, under the reign of Justinian, Theodora the wife of that prince, particularly favoured a sect of the Eutychians, who were called Aphthartodocetes. She even brought over the emperor to her sentiments, and bestowed the dignity of the Patriarchate of Constantinople upon Anthimus, a man strongly attached to the doctrine of the Monophysites; but, in a very short time after, the new patriarch was condemned by a council held at Constantinople, deposed and sent into exile, by which means things were once more established upon the old footing; but, however, they would not at once destroy the Monophysites, as there were such immense numbers of them both in Egypt, in Syria, and in the neighbouring countries; but they were miserably oppressed and persecuted in many different ways, and exposed to the greatest misfortunes.

<sup>a</sup> We must not confound this Baradaeus with another person named Baradatus, as Baronius, Renaudot, and others have done. See the *Biblioth. Orient.* of Assemani, vol. i. p. 19. As to Baradaeus, the same author has spoken of him in his *Dissertation de Monophysitis*. The surname of Zanzalus seem to signify a man of little valour and consideration, and that of Baradæus, a man who carries a pack-saddle, such as beasts of burden carry; or otherwise it means the same as Sophi among the Persians. See Assemani, vol. iii. part 1. p. 375. in the notes, and Renaudot in his *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, p. 133.

The most famous person amongst the Eutychians in this century was Severus, patriarch of Antioch, from whom they took the name of Severites. Justin caused a severe sentence to be pronounced against Severus, deprived him of his patriarchate, and sent him into exile. From this time the affairs of the Eutychians grew worse and worse, to which they contributed greatly themselves by dividing as they did, into so many sects; but at the time their ruin seemed inevitable, they revived for a while under the protection of James Baradaeus, a disciple of Severus, and bishop of Edeffa in Mesopotamia. This man acquired so much esteem and authority among the Monophysites, that they renounced all their factions and former divisions; all joined in receiving his doctrine, and took upon themselves the name of Jacobites, which they preserve even to this day: some amongst them are called Coptes and Arminians, from the countries they inhabit<sup>a</sup>; but the name of Jacobites is common to them all.

Severus, formerly patriarch of Antioch, lived after his banishment at Alexandria, as a private man: he had there some disputes with Julian, once bishop of Halicarnassus, of the same sect with himself, and who had been banished for the same cause. Their controversy arose on the subject of Christ's body, whether or no before the resurrection it had been subject to corruption. Julian and his disciples asserted that it was not, which gave them the name of Aphthartodocetes. Severus maintained that it was; upon which account his party was called Phtartolatres<sup>b</sup>. Amongst them was one Themistius, a deacon

<sup>a</sup> See Faustus Naionus, in his Enoplia, part 1. and Assemani, in the dissertation *De Monophysitis*.

<sup>b</sup> All the books that have been written on these different errors leave still an uncertainty. Happy indeed it is, that it is not very essential to have an exact knowledge of all these subtleties, of which there remain at this time no traces.

of Alexandria, who advanced that J.C. as man, might be ignorant of certain things. Those who adopted this sentiment bore the name of Agnoetes, or that of Themistians, from their master. Theodosius, who had been some time patriarch of Alexandria, but was now deprived of that dignity, strongly opposed the latter; his followers were called Theodosians. Eutychianism produced also the Tritheists. The chief defender of their doctrine in this century was John Philoponus. Peter Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, in attacking him, appears to have fallen himself into the opposite error of Sabellianism, and his disciples were called Damianites: but all these different sects of the Eutychians were united, as we have before observed, by John Baradæus.

In this century the disputes on the doctrine of Origen, which had caused so much trouble in the preceding centuries, were again renewed. To return to the first cause of these quarrels, we must remember that Origen, at the time he was head of the famous school at Alexandria, incurred the displeasure of Demetrius, bishop of that place, who had before greatly favoured him. This change arose (according to Demetrius's account) from Origen's having twice disobeyed the ecclesiastical canons. The bishop carried this affair so far, that Origen was banished by a council held at Alexandria in 231 or 232; and by another council, which is supposed to have followed soon after the preceding one, he was solemnly condemned, as being convicted of having spread many errors in his writings. Demetrius, according to the custom of those times, wrote letters to all the principal churches, acquainting them with this condemnation. The greatest part of them could not fail to acquiesce therein; but however Origen, on his side, did not neglect the defence of his cause, and addressed several writings to Fabius, bishop of Rome, and to several others who occupied

occupied the principal sees, to justify himself from the errors of which he was accused. He finished his life in peace and communion with the Catholic church, esteemed and honoured by all those amongst whom he lived, and after his death celebrated by several famous writers, as one of the greatest lights of the church<sup>a</sup>.

After his death, the disputes he had with the heads of the church, seemed to be buried with him; and for very near 150 years, his works were held in great esteem. But unfortunately these quarrels, which had lain so long dormant, were again revived towards the year 391, and the first sparks of them soon blew up a great flame; Epiphanius, bishop of Salamin, in the island of Cyprus, who spent the greatest part of his life in refuting heresies, had conceived a great aversion to Origen and his works. Having had several disputes with John, bishop of Jerusalem, he publickly accused him of Origenism. John did not deny the great respect he had for the memory of Origen, and for his works. But as it was easy to foresee from the beginning, that this affair would make a great noise, and probably be fatal in its consequences, each of the bishops strove to bring over to their own interest Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; who at that time had great weight. He, seeking in all affairs his own advantage before that of religion, used many evasions; till at the last an unforeseen event obliged him to condemn, not only the errors, but the writings of Origen in general<sup>b</sup>. Ruffinus, priest of Aquileia, who had studied five and twenty years in Jerusalem,

<sup>a</sup> See Tillemont's Memoirs, and particularly the 3d vol. p. 545, and also the life of Chrysostom, lib. v. ch. 3.

<sup>b</sup> The principal errors which they charged Origen with at that time are mentioned by St. Jerom, in his epistle to John of Jerusalem. This is the 100th in the Benedictine edition. See also Dupin.

and had already in that place vigorously taken the part of Origen, returned to Italy in 397, and stopping at Rome, he there translated into Latin, Origen's book on principles. He added to this translation many things, with design to prove the innocence of Origen. By this means he greatly provoked St. Jerom and his friends; but, being in favour with Siricius, bishop of Rome, this affair brought him into no trouble during the life of that Pontiff.

However, the dispute daily increased, and Theophilus, in 400 or 401<sup>a</sup>, convoked a synod at Alexandria, at which, though so many years were passed since the death of Origen, they pronounced, for the first time<sup>b</sup>, a sentence of condemnation, not only against his errors, but against all his writings<sup>c</sup>. Anastasius, who succeeded Siricius, in the papal dignity, was of very contrary sentiments to the doctrine of Origen; and an enemy to Ruffinus, whom he excommunicated. He also proscribed the books of Origen. Ruffinus died afterwards in peace and communion with the church, being a member and priest thereof. Theophilus afterwards, without difficulty, persuaded Epiphanius to convoke a synod in the island of Cyprus, and there to confirm the sentence that had been given against the works of Origen. The bitter zeal of Epiphanius did not stop there; he wanted to oblige St. John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (who was unjustly disliked by the enemies of Origen) to condemn without delay these writings, Anastasius, Theophilus, and himself having already done it. As Chrysostom refused to do this, he came himself to Constantinople, hoping, if it was possible, to engage

<sup>a</sup> See P. Pagi, in the year 401. n. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Consult Bower's history of the Popes, Vol. I.

<sup>c</sup> Baronius denies it; but Posthumien, who was about that time in Egypt, positively affirms it, from what he had heard from the Monks and other ecclesiastics of that time. See Sulpicius Severus, dial. i. ch. 3. and also the life of Chrysostom.

the bishops, then assembled in great numbers in that city, to subscribe to the sentence he had caused to be given in the Island of Cyprus against the writings in question, and to act in concert with him; but all his hopes were disappointed, and he was forced to return without having obtained any one of his ends. Soon after, there arose great disputes between Theophilus and St. Chrysostom, which we spoke of in the preceding century; those added to the disputes on Nestorianism and Eutychianism, which followed soon after, produced this good effect, that people insensibly forgot the controversies about Origen. It was however but a truce: for, though it lasted forty years, at the end of that time their rage was once more renewed against the memory and works of Origen. Pelagius, then deacon of the church of Rome, and Apocristaire <sup>a</sup> of the bishops of Rome at the court of Constantinople, incited by his hatred to Theodorus of Cesarea, who strongly defended the memory of Origen, though at the same time he was secretly attached to the party of the Monophysites, took so much pains, that he obtained of the emperor Justinian, a solemn condemnation of the tenets of Origen, pronounced by this prince in 541 <sup>b</sup>, and confirmed by a synod held in the same year. Theodorus on his side, to distress his enemies who were attached to the council of Chalcedon, persuaded the same emperor to order a public con-

<sup>a</sup> Under the kings of France, and under the emperors of the West, the Apocristaire was a sort of Chancellor, or Keeper of the seals. This quality afterwards belonged to the Pope's deputy, who resided at Constantinople, to present letters to the emperors, and receive and send answers to him. He had the same office with the Pope's nuncios to the Catholic princes. The Popes continued to send Apocristaires to Constantinople; after the separation of the Greek church in the 8th century.

<sup>b</sup> This edict or tract ( $\lambda\alpha\gammaος$ ) of Justinian against Origen is to be found in the 5th vol. Des Conciles de L'abbé, in Greek and Latin, col. 686, 680.

demnation <sup>c</sup> of the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestes, some of those of Theodorus of Cyre, and the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Mario a Persian, as being works infected with Nestorianism, though they had been approved by the council of Chalcedon. This is what is called the three chapters, and was the cause of many disputes in the course of this century. Justinian granted the request of Theodorus, and published in 545 an edict, the contents of which were ratified by a council at Constantinople the year following. And, to give greater weight to this condemnation, they assembled in 553 a general council <sup>a</sup>, the fifth, in which the proscription of the writings of Origen was renewed <sup>b</sup>, and the three pieces above mentioned were anathematised. Vigilius, bishop of Rome, who was then at Constantinople, shewed himself to be very weak and inconstant, by receiving and rejecting at several different times the decrees of this council, which was in general but little respected in the West,

The church met with other adversities in this century. The Jews, finding themselves powerful among the Homerites, a people of Arabia Felix, made the Christians of that place suffer great hardships who till then had been in a very flourishing state. About the beginning of this century, one Damien, a Jew, was sovereign of that district, and treated the Christians who were under his dominion

<sup>a</sup> This also may be found in the above-mentioned collection.

<sup>b</sup> There is a dissertation of Cardinal Noris, *De synodo quinta*, in the 1st vol. of his works.

<sup>c</sup> Some learned men, among the rest Mr. Dupin, are of opinion, that there was no question on the subject of Origen's notions in the 5th council. It is true that the collection of Hardouin was the first that had the acts on Origenialism. Peter Lambecius published the canons of the 5th council, who procured them from the emperor's library at Vienna. Baluzius afterwards inserted them in the acts of the 5th council, and from him they came into the works of P. Hardouin, vol. iii. p. 282 and in the *Biblioth. Græc. of Fabricius*, vol. ii. p. 29.

very cruelly; but towards the year 521, Eleesban, king of the Axumites in Abyssinia, deprived Damien both of his sceptre and his life, and placed on the throne a Christian prince. Eleesban dying soon after, the Jews took arms, and confirmed the royal dignity upon one amongst themselves, named Dunāan, in the year 524. This revolution was the cause of dreadful calamities to the Christians: two hundred and fourscore of the clergy were sacrificed to the fury of the Jews, who exercised unheard-of cruelties upon all those who professed the true religion. The excessive cruelty of Dunāan did not remain unpunished: the king of the Axumites overcame him, took him prisoner, and put him to death. He afterwards gave the government of the Homerites to one of their own citizens, who professed Christianity, called Abraham; but the Jews, assisted by the idolaters who were mixed with these people, soon obliged him to quit the throne, that they might place in his stead one whom they chose. Celestius, son to Eleesban king of the Axumites, vanquished again this new king, almost entirely destroyed the power of the Jews and Gentiles among the Homerites, and gave the crown to Esimepheus, a follower of the true religion, under whom the Christians recovered their former tranquillity<sup>a</sup>.

This century presents us but very few agreeable objects. The church daily more and more degenerated from her antient purity. Gregory the Great compared it justly, to a ship that is rotting, takes in water, and is hourly threatened with a wreck.

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## CENTURY VII.

**T**HE Christian church daily increased her numbers, particularly in the countries of Europe; but the doctrine now taught was far different from the purity of the Apostolic times. In England, the king of Kent, having embraced the faith in the preceding century, applied himself diligently to the propagation of it amongst his subjects. The Monk Austin was the first Apostle in England; but his preaching met with much opposition. It was the indefatigable labours of Theodorus of Canterbury, which accomplished this important work. He converted all the other kings, amongst whom Great Britain was at that time divided. Willibrard, following the example of others, left England, to preach the Gospel to the Frisons, and the Zelanders. The same knowledge was conveyed to the Westphalians by Swibert. Columban an Irishman, after having lived many years in France in a monastery, went into Swisserland to destroy the remains of Paganism, that still subsisted in that country. The Boyans and the Suevi had afterward the same obligations to him; from them he retired to a monastery he had founded in Italy, where he peaceably ended his days. Gallus, who had accompanied him for some time in these holy expeditions, continued them after his death, and with equal success. Kili-

lian, an Irish Monk, signalized his zeal in Franconia, but principally in the district of Wurtsburg, where, it is supposed, he sealed his doctrine with his blood.

It is very probable, that the Nestorians succeeded in their endeavours to convert the nations inhabiting the borders of the Caspian sea, and the countries farther East, known at this day by the name of Tartars. But, however, we find no proofs of their success till the following centuries. It is certain, that, since that time, their missionaries, who went through the countries of the Scythians or Tartars, had advanced as far as Chataca, that is to say, to the northern part of China, and consequently even into that vast and ancient empire, as we see by that celebrated monument of stone, said to have been erected in 781, and which<sup>a</sup> was found in 1625 in the city of Sigan-fu, in the capital of the province of Xen-si. We there read, that the Gospel had been preached in China from the year 636, and that, during 150 years, there had been in that place an uninterrupted succession of Priests. But we must remark that the authenticity of this monument<sup>b</sup> is disputed; and perhaps we shall find it best to leave

<sup>a</sup> This monument was published for the first time by Anthony Kircher, in his *Prodromus Coptus*, ch. iii p. 50. and 62. of his *China illustrata*. See also Mr. Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Vol. iv. fol 543. Millar likewise defends the truth of this monument, in a work written expressly on this subject, printed at Berlin in 4to, 1672. See also Renaudot, in his *Remarques sur les anciennes Relations des Indes & de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans*, p. 293.

<sup>b</sup> People most versed in Antiquities, say that this city was then the capital of China. See some of the letters of the Pionet Missionaries. Mr. la Crose strongly attacks the authenticity of their monuments, and he principally rests on the authority of Navarette, which is indeed of considerable weight. See the *Suite de l' Examen des intérêts de la défense de Mr. l' Abbé Renaudot dans l' Europe Savante*, Vol. xi. part 1. p. 64. and additions to the *History of Christianity of the Indians*, p. 17.

this question undecided: however, certain proofs remain of their having possessed many flourishing churches, dispersed through a great extent of the country, during this century and the following. We cannot doubt that the churches were founded solely by the Nestorian missionaries.

While the bishops of Rome were using every means to become the heads and masters of the universal church, they obtained, by an unforeseen accident, the wished-for title of Oecumenical bishop, which was solemnly conferred upon them, with all the power they affixed thereto <sup>a</sup>, by the Greek Emperor Phocas, an hateful tyrant and a detestable parricide. But all that the popes got by the title at that time, was only an increase of that animosity which then subsisted between the Greek and Latin Churches. Many bishops of the Western church resolutely opposed these extravagant attempts of the Popes, as did several princes. And we may observe of the kings of Spain in particular, that they claimed very near the same supremacy over the churches of their kingdom, <sup>b</sup> as the kings of England have had over theirs from the time of Henry the Eighth.

They pretend, that Benedict obtained of the Emperor Constantine Pogonat, that the election of the Popes should be held good and valid, though made without the consent of the Greek Emperors. This by some is called in question; it is certain the successors of Benedict could not make use of this privilege.

<sup>a</sup> See the Collection of Letters of Launoi, printed at Cambridge, p. 543. but which is addressed to Anthony Haure.

<sup>b</sup> See the History of Italy, by Muratori, in the year 686, and the Journal of the Popes, which was compiled about the middle of this Century, ch. ii. tit. iii.

<sup>c</sup> We find them among the Symmicta of Leo Allatius, lib. i. p. 48.

In this century they continued increasing the number of church feasts. To those which had been successively instituted to the honour of the blessed Virgin, they added the commemoration of her birth, which was commanded to be observed the 8th of September. In the year 631, the Emperor Heraclius, having recovered the cross of Jesus Christ, which they pretended was found by Helena, the mother of Constantine the great, and had been carried off by the Persians, he ordered a particular feast on that account, which was called the Exaltation of the cross. Before that time, in 610, pope Boniface the fourth consecrated the first of November, to the memory of all the saints. The new rites increased to such numbers, that we shall not have room to give an account of them. The church discipline underwent great changes, and was in extreme need of reformation, as the fathers of the ninth council of Toledo publickly declared.

This century produced but very few good writers. Some authors however have left proofs of their learning, that ought not to be forgotten. Among the Greeks, John Philoponus was much celebrated for his extensive knowledge; he was at the same time a very subtil philosopher, and an able divine, at least for those days. We have already said, that he was the supposed author of the doctrine of the Tritheites. Maximus, the Monk and Confessor, acquired great reputation by his writings, but more particularly by the affair of the Monothelites. We have likewise some works remaining of Sophronius patriarch of Jerufalem, and of Andrew, archbishop of Crete. Theodore, a priest of Rhaite, has left a small but very good treatise, upon the incarnation of Jesus Christ, written against the Hereticks. The learned have great obligations to the author of the Chronicum Alexandrinum, or Paschale, for his chronological exactness in universal history;

and

and to Theophylact Simocatta, who employed himself in writing the history of his own time. There is a great mixture of good and ill in the monastic history, transmitted to us in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moscus. Epiphanius Hagiopolites, a monk, wrote a very interesting account of the cities of Syria and Jerusalem, the sacred places of Palestine, and of the most remarkable things in Egypt. We don't know the exact time in which <sup>a</sup> he lived, but will venture to place it at the beginning of this century, or at the latter end of the preceding.

There are some amongst the Latin writers, who merit our commendations. Theodorus of Canterbury was in a great measure the restorer of learning in England; some of his writings still remain. Adhelmus, of the same nation, wrote some poetry which was far from contemptible. Columbar, whom we have before mentioned as a reformer, was likewise an author; his Monastic rules have been admired by many learned protestants. Cresconius, an African, employed himself in explaining the canonical or ecclesiastical law. Those who wish to acquaint themselves with the genius of this century, may read with pleasure the Ecclesiastical Formularies of Marculphus, a French Monk. The see of Toledo, the first in Spain, has been filled by many Prelates, famous in the history of those times; such as Eugenius, who at first refused this dignity, and did not at last accept it, till it was almost forced upon him; Ildefonsus, author of many works, and, among others, of a book upon the church writers; and Julian, who despised and openly

<sup>a</sup> See the Dissertation of Dr. Cave, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticiis incertæ ætatis* at the end of the second part of his History, L. A. Pr. Eccl. and the *Biblioth. Græc.* of Fabricius, Vol. III. p. 82. and Vol. VI. p. 705.

opposed the authority usurped by the bishops of Rome over the church <sup>a</sup>.

The Monks, whose members greatly increased in the West, did not a little contribute to the corrupting of the purity of the faith. They were the first who introduced the doctrine of Purgatory, and as they had no real good proof to found it upon, they invented numbers of visions, revelations, and, other childish stories, which easily imposed upon the common people. It is to their base adulation that the papal power owed its rapid progress throughout the West, and the submission with which the popes of Rome were acknowledged vicars of Jesus Christ. There arose in Spain some disputes about the immersion in baptism, whether it ought to be done once, or thrice. This kingdom, in other respects, preserved itself from many superstitions which overran the West <sup>b</sup>.

Some heresies of the past ages were revived in this, particularly those of the Manichees in Armenia and Mesopotamia; but we shall speak more fully concerning them in the 9th century. The Nestorians enjoyed great prosperity in Persia, in Chaldea, and the other Eastern countries, under the dominion of the Mahometan princes " who granted them many privileges and dignities, which greatly increased the number of their followers. These princes granted very nearly the same advantages to the Monophysites.

<sup>a</sup> See the Acts of the Council of Toledo, held in the year 688 in the Collection of Labhee, vol. VI. col. 1296. where there are several strokes against Pope Benedict II.

<sup>b</sup> This is proved by Michael Geddes, in a particular Tract which may be found among his Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. I. N. L.

<sup>c</sup> We cannot enter here into a longer detail: Those who would know more may refer to Renaudot, in his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, sur les anciennes Relations, &c. p. 258. and to Mr. Assemani, Vol. III. p. 108.

sites and Jacobites <sup>a</sup> in Egypt, particularly in Syria, where to this day their churches are more numerous, and in every respect more considerable, than those of the Orthodox.

Eutychianism produced in this century another sect, which was the heresy of the Monothelites, so called from their allowing Jesus Christ but one will, and one only operation of the will both divine and human, Θεανθρικόν.

Theodosius of Pharan, Cyrus bishop first of Phasis and afterwards of Alexandria, Sergius Patriarch of Constantinople, who were the authors of this doctrine, seemed to favour the sentiments of the Monophysites, and sought to introduce them again into the church under this new appearance. Others are of opinion that the emperor Heraclius encouraged this doctrine, and caused it to be proposed, hoping thereby to reconcile the Monophysites and the Orthodox <sup>b</sup>. It is not in effect an error to attribute to Jesus Christ but one will, as the Nestorians <sup>c</sup> had before done, provided it is explained in a manner conformable to the analogy of the faith. The fault of the Monothelites chiefly consisted in their insisting too much on this expression, and making it a kind of fundamental article. It is certain that the first defenders of this doctrine, gave no explication of it, that was essentially wrong. The same cannot be said of their disciples; with whom Heraclius had many clandestine intrigues. One amongst them, called Cyrus, gained, by his attachment to the Emperor's views, the rich

<sup>a</sup> See the History of the Fathers of Alexandria, by Renaudot, p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> A long account of this Heresy may be found in a History, which is supposed to be written by Combebis, and in the fifth Dissertation, in the History of the 7th Century, which is inserted in the History of the 9th Century, by Noel Alexander, Vol. v. p. 623.

<sup>c</sup> See Mr. Asselmani, in different places of his Biblioth. Orient.

reward of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in which he was no sooner installed than he openly proposed the doctrine of the Monothelites. As it was not difficult to perceive that this novelty concealed something dangerous, the principal of the Clergy, fearing its consequences, complained of it to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who, to their great surprise, professed himself of the same sentiments with Cyrus. This Sergius engaged likewise Pope Honorius to approve, and publickly to profess, Monothelitism. Sophronius Patriarch of Jerusalem, far from following the example of the other three Patriarchs, openly and courageously defended the orthodox doctrine of the two natures and the two wills in Jesus Christ, in which he was seconded by many other bishops.

In order to completely silence the adversaries of the Monothelites, the Emperor Heraclius, by the persuasion of the patriarch Sergius, published, in 639, an exposition of their faith, by which they acknowledged indeed a double nature in Jesus Christ, but allowed only one will.

This edict did not in the least calm the spirit of discord which was risen in the church. The other edict like to this, called the Type, which was published in 649 by Constantius II, Grandson to Heraclius, met with no better success. But this affair entirely changed its appearance, when the Popes who succeeded Honorius embraced the orthodox party, and on that account separated themselves from the communion of the see of Constantinople. The Defenders of the Truth suffered yet for a great while many persecutions; but at length their just cause prevailed: for which purpose Constantine Pogonat, son of Constantius II convened, in 680, a council, that was the sixth oecumenical one, at Constantinople, and in which the fathers assembled condemned the heresy of the Monothelites, its followers,

followers, and even the late Pope Honorius, who by name was anathematized. The anathema pronounced against Honorius was again repeated and confirmed by several following councils. From that time, the Roman Pontiffs after their ordination were obliged to make a solemn profession of faith<sup>a</sup>, and to declare they approved and ratified the decisions of the sixth council. Thus was peace restored to the church. But as, neither in this last council, nor in the preceding one, they had given any orders concerning the church discipline, they held, in 962, another council to supply that omission; for which reason it was called Quinisext, or that of Trull, from the place in which the assembly met, which was a town of the royal palace at Constantinople. They there made one hundred and two canons on matters of ecclesiastical discipline. The church of Rome rejected this council, and gave it the name of Conciliabulum pseudo-sex-tum<sup>b</sup>.

The christians in this century suffered greatly from the animosity<sup>c</sup> of the Jews, who never omitted an opportunity to injure them; and by so doing they frequently hurt themselves. The church was yet more distressed in Persia, where the Idolaters strove to oblige the Christians to join in their worship. Cosroes, who governed that kingdom in the beginning of this century, was not contented with giving great disturbances to the Christians under his power<sup>d</sup>, but attacked several provinces of the Greek empire, subdued them, and there exerted his utmost fury against the Christian religion. At last

<sup>a</sup> This may be found in the *Liber Diurnus*, ch. ii. Tit. ix. p. 4<sup>o</sup>. in the Edition of Garnier.

<sup>b</sup> See the councils of Labbee, col. xiii. 16. Pagi has laid open the whole of this affair, in the year 692, p. 14.

<sup>c</sup> See farther of the *Historia Mifcell.* Book xvii. 546, and Hottingen, *Hist. Eccl. Sect. f.* Vol. i. p. 6421.

<sup>d</sup> See Assemani, *Biblioth. Crient.* Vol. vi. p. 93.

the emperor Heraclius had the happiness to quell this cruel and dangerous enemy both to the empire and to the true faith.

The greatest wound the church ever received, and that which destroyed beyond all means of recovery the countries in which Christianity appeared most flourishing, was caused by Mahometism, a new sect or religion that took its rise in Arabia about the beginning of this century. Its author or founder was Mahomet <sup>2</sup>, who was born of good family in Mexico, a city of Arabia Petræa, called by the natives Hegia. He at first applied himself to commerce; but, being tired of that life, he began at more than forty years of age to act the prophet; and, after having for some time declared to his countrymen the visions and revelations he pretended to receive from heaven, he at last declared himself an envoy from God, sent to destroy totally the law of Moses and of Christ, and to establish in the world the most pure and perfect religion that had ever existed. At the first he found but few persons who gave credit to him; on the contrary, he was laughed at, and at length persecuted, so that he was forced in 622 to leave Mexico and to retire to Medina. It is from this flight of Mahomet, called Hegira by the Arabians, that the Musselmen date the beginning of their æra. Mahomet in Medina joined to the office of prophet that of prince; and after having laid the foundations of an empire surpassing all that had ever been, in

<sup>2</sup> We have a life of Mahomet written by Abulfeda, a Mahometan prince of Hama, in Syria. John Gagnier, who himself wrote a life of Mahomet, published an edition of this work in Arabic and Latin, at Oxford, in 1723. The learned Dr. Prideaux has given us a life of this Impostor, in which he has collected with much care all that is known of him. The preliminary discourse of Mr. Sale, prefixed to his edition of the Alcoran, informs us of most of the particulars of Mahomet's life and doctrine.

extent, power, and duration, died in that city, aged 63.

The new religion introduced by Mahomet, and adopted by several nations since that time, is contained in the Alcoran, a book that this impostor pretended to have received by the ministry of the Angel Gabriel. It is very evident that the doctrine of this pretended revelation was nothing more than an absurd mixture of the ancient Paganism of the Arabians, of Judaism, and of Christianity. Though Mahomet hoped to draw his countrymen from their ancient idolatry to the worship of one God, he still retained many things of the ancient religion of the Arabians. But, as he was assisted by a Jew and a Nestorian Monk in the composition of the Alcoran, it is not surprising that he should have united in his laws many things taken from the Jewish and Christian religions, adding to them numerous reveries, the fruit of his own imagination : In order to make proselytes to his new doctrine, this false prophet used every art of seduction. Agreeable to the constitution and morals of his countrymen, he allowed them in this world the enjoyment of a plurality of wives and of all other temporal blessings, and promised them from God, that after death they should enjoy in paradise a life of the most perfect voluptuousness. At the same time, he employed the force of arms against those who refused to receive the Alcoran.

Mahomet dying at Medina in 632, they chose for his successor Abubeker his father-in-law, to whom they gave the title of Caliph. As many among the Arabians received this religion merely by constraint, they waited impatiently for the moment when they might renounce it; but Abubeker knew how to restrain them in their duty. This Caliph, from the first year of his reign, got possession of Chaldæa and Assyria; and passing from thence to

Mesopotamia and Syria, he subdued the greatest part of those provinces in the space of two years. The Caliph Omar, who succeeded him, defeated several times the armies of the Greeks, and added to his dominion all Syria, with Palestine, Egypt, and Africa. Under the reign of this same Omar, and his successor Othman, the vast empire of Persia was near wholly subdued by the Mahometans, and has since that time been subject to the Caliphs. All these things were transacted in the space of about eighteen years.

<sup>a</sup> Sim. Oakley has given us a very exact account of the astonishing conquests the successors of Mahomet made, in his History of the Saracens, and the manner by which they brought into subjection Syria, Persia, and Egypt.

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## C E N T U R Y VIII.

**T**H E Nestorians dispersed throughout the eastern part of Asia had, in this century, particularly towards the close of it, the happiness to publish the glad tidings of salvation ; founding several churches among the nations who inhabited the Western, Southern, and Eastern parts of the Caspian sea. There were likewise in Germany, many useful labourers in the Lord's vineyard, who with as much zeal as success employed themselves in the conversion of the Thuringians, the Franks, the Bavarians, the Hessians, and the Frissons, which work they had begun in the preceding century<sup>a</sup>. But it must be allowed their success was much more complete, when the princes interposed by their authority, and the force of arms gave additional weight to the preaching of the Missionaries. These were the principal means made use of by Boniface (an Englishman, who was entirely devoted to the Popes) to convert some of the Germans, notwithstanding which he was called their apostle. All things went for a long time according to his wishes, and he even enriched himself in the discharge of his office ; but at last he met with a reward he did not aspire to, which was the martyrdom

<sup>a</sup> Numbers of writers have treated on this subject. See among others John Henry Ursinus's Works, *De Ecclesiarum Germanicarum origine & progressu.*

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he suffered by the Barbarians of Friesland, into whose hands he fell. We must not omit to speak of the conversion of the Saxons, who at that time were the most powerful and warlike nation of all Germany. Charlemagne king of France, and afterwards emperor of the West, after a long and cruel war, subdued them and forced them to receive the gospel. This prince, who had more zeal than knowledge, used every endeavour to succeed in this enterprize, and to establish the Christian faith so effectually in Saxony, that it should never be destroyed. He was equally desirous of bringing back the Hungarians <sup>a</sup> to the profession of Christianity, which they had once received but now almost totally abandoned; and did not cease making war against them till he had effected his purpose <sup>b</sup>.

Charlemagne was in general well inclined to the church, and used every opportunity to signalize his zeal for religion, of which the Roman church was sensible, for he protected her bishops and considerably augmented their power and riches. They, in their turn, desirous to shew their gratitude to this prince for so many services, declared him at first a Roman Patrician <sup>c</sup>, and afterwards, about the end of

<sup>a</sup> Of the conversion of the Hungarians, see Pagon, A. D. 796.

<sup>b</sup> There has appeared at Wirtenberg, in 1759, a work entitled *Commentatio de propagatione Lucis Evangelii seculonati Christi primo, apud majores hodie norum Hungariae incolarum Austri*, G. L. H.

<sup>c</sup> The learned are not agreed in what the dignity of a Roman Patrician consisted. Mr. Muratori has made it plainly appear, that the government of the city and supreme power in civil affairs was invested in them. They had preserved to the Greek emperors in the city of Rome, which had been for a long time the seat and only capital of the empire, the titular dignity of emperor with some prerogatives annexed to it ; but, after the time of the Lombards, the Patricians had real power over Rome and its territories ; such as had before belonged to the emperors. See Muratori, *Hist. rerum Ital. vol. iv. p. 556.*

the century, consecrated him emperor. They carried their gratitude even beyond the grave ; for, at the pressing request of the emperor Frederick the first, in the twelfth century, they placed Charlemagne amongst the number of their saints <sup>a</sup>. This good emperor perceived that the state of the church was very deplorable and daily degenerating, which made him think seriously of destroying or at least reforming by degrees the many <sup>b</sup> abuses that were introduced therein. He laboured particularly to dissipate the extreme ignorance which prevailed throughout the church, and with it the croud of ills it brought. To that effect, he tried every means to bring back the taste and study of the Belles Lettres ; he was profuse in his generosity to the learned, admitted them to his conversation and even to his council, and founded several monasteries, wherein lectures were given on every subject of human knowledge. Besides, he established schools <sup>c</sup> in every place where they might be useful, and did many other actions truely praiseworthy, for the service of his people. But the ill-fate of those times was the cause, that intentions so wise, and methods in appearance so efficacious, produced only the philosophy or theology that has been since called scholastic, a science very hurtful to the progress of the human mind.

We are now come to the highest pitch of the popes greatness, which enabled them to

<sup>a</sup> See an excellent work of Mr. Francis Welch, entitled *Historia Canonisationis Caroli M.* printed at Jena, in 1750 in 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> See the Syriac Abridgment of the History of France, Vol I. p. 262, and Dupin, in his Preface to the 4th Vol. of his History.

<sup>c</sup> The learned Launoi has written very clearly concerning the laudable zeal of Charlemagne, for the advancement of learning, in his book *De scholis a Carolo Magno per occidentem institutis*. This book is reprinted by John Albert Fabricius.

throw off the dominion of the Greek emperors, and to enjoy the right of sovereignty over the considerable possessions they had acquired in Italy ; this project they had long ago formed, and with great art at last effected. The pretended donation of the Cottian Alps made to John the 7th, who in 705 possessed the see of Rome, is certainly a fable <sup>a</sup>; for that domain never belonged to any one of the Popes. Constantine the 1st refusing to receive the confession of faith, sent him by the emperor Philip Bardanes, caused many tumults and seditions in Italy. During the pontificate of Gregory the II. the emperor Leo III. declared his objections to the images which were introduced into the Greek church, and banished them ; commanding also the same thing to be done in all the provinces of Italy that acknowledged his authority. The Pope, to whom this order was addressed, opposed it with all his power. It is even said that he excommunicated the emperor, and freed his Italian subjects from their allegiance. But though it is well known that Gregory excommunicated Anastasius, patriarch of Constantinople, as well as Paul and Eutychius, Exarchs of Ravenna, there are no sufficient proofs <sup>b</sup> that he dared to treat the emperor in that manner. It appears rather that he recollect ed his duty to him, as a master whom he acknowledged (though he called him heretick) and he

<sup>a</sup> See, by Anastasius the Librarian, that this referred to some lands on the Alps, which had been given to the Romish church taken from them afterwards by the Lombards, and restored again by king Aribert. See his life of John 7th. Consult also Muratori's History.

<sup>b</sup> We receive the best information on this subject from Lanoii, in letters before mentioned. See also Dupin's 7th dissertation, and his treatise on the ancient discipline ; and Giannoni in his History of Naples, Vol. I. p. 403. This report never gained much credit amongst the Greeks, from the hatred to the popes ; nor likewise amongst the modern Latins : but we see evidently the contrary in the Latin writers of that time.

he strove to preserve others in their allegiance. Gregory the Third followed his example, and in a synod, held at Rome, he excommunicated all the Iconoclasts in general. The disputes of these two popes with the Greek emperors, laid the foundation of the temporal power of the popes in Italy.

Zacharias, successor to the two Gregories, found, by their example, that the church of Rome might receive much advantage from the French nation; for which reason he thought to do an agreeable thing to that People, by authorising them to depose their lawful king Childeric, and to raise Pepin, formerly mayor of the palace, to the throne. Pepin, being raised to the supreme dignity, never failed to express his gratitude to the popes; and was from that time a constant and beneficent Friend to the Roman see. Stephen II. still happier than any of his predecessors, saw the exarchate of Ravenna taken from the Greek emperors, and obtained the possession of it from Pepin; who, however, reserved the sovereignty thereof to himself and his successors<sup>a</sup>.

Charlemagne, having subdued the Lombards, confirmed this Donation to Adrian I. and even added to it some new territories. Notwithstanding this, the city of Rome, which for many centuries had been the seat and capital of empire, was all this time dependant on the Greek emperors<sup>b</sup>, till it was delivered by Charlemagne upon his being invested with the imperial dignity. This solemnity was celebrated by Leo III. successor to Adrian, at the Christmas of the Year 800. The Pope, after

<sup>a</sup> Though Stephen demanded of Pepin, and obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for the apostolical see, or, to use the old style, for St. Peter, this Prince only meant that they should have the profits, while he himself, and his successors, retained the power. This is proved in Mr. Muratori's Hist. vol. iv. p. 4, 6.

<sup>b</sup> Consult Muratori Hist. vol. ii. sec. 72.

having crowned Charlemagne, paid him the homage of an emperor and master. His successors continued the same marks of submision.

It was in this century that private or solitary masses were first heard of. These were introduced as it were by stealth <sup>a</sup>, and much disapproved by people of understanding. About the same time all the churches, under the dominion of Charlemagne, received, by his orders, those passages of the New Testament, called <sup>b</sup> Gospels and Epistles; and

<sup>a</sup> They were severely condemned in the sixth council of Paris held in 899. See the 7th vol. of Labbe's Collection. Canon 48 begins thus: *Irrepsit in plerisque locis, partim incuria, partim avaritia, reprehensibilis usus & congrua emendatione dignus, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> Among others, Theodulphus of Orleans, who lived in this and the following century. See his *Capitula ad Presbyteros suæ Ecclesiæ*, inserted in the work of P. Sirmond, vol. ii. col. 926; and also Walafred Strabo in his book *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, ch. xxii. and Charlemagne himself, in his *Capitulaire, sur les images*, lib. ii. p. 246.

The festival days probably gave rise to this custom, as they were always obliged on those days to treat on the same subjects, and afterwards they appointed some for Sundays; but every church had free liberty to do as they pleased in that respect. For many centuries the Greek church had the same custom, though their choice of texts entirely differed from that of the rest. In this, therefore, Charlemagne followed an antient custom, tho' it was but by degrees that it again came into use. It is not improbable that the churches of the Gauls were the first who used the texts near the end, or about the middle of the fifth century; and this is perhaps what Grenadius of Marseilles has in view in his 79th chapter of his book *De Viris Illustribus*. It is remarkable, that all these texts are in the same order we have them now in the Homilies of Eusebius and Enesa, published in 1675 at Paris in 8vo. It is apparently some clergyman of the church of the Gauls, as Zacher of Lyons, or Trustus of Nizz, Cesarius of Arles, who is distinguished under the Name of Paul of Emesa. To return to the use of the gospels and epistles: we have good ground to believe that they passed from the Gallican into the Roman church. Charlemagne made use of his authority to introduce them into all the churches subject to him: the west by degrees entirely conformed to this institution. See Joh. Hin. Thameri *Schediasma de Origine & Dignitatis Pericoparum*, a work reprinted at Jena in 1739, and Jo. Franc. Buddæi *Isagoge Historico-Theologica*, p. 1640.

they

they were read regularly throughout the year: This custom was, however, still more ancient. The incredible ignorance of the clergy of that time seems to have been the motive that determined Charlemagne on this occasion; as it likewise did to order them to read to the people some extracts from the best works of the antient fathers and others on the explanation of those texts; from thence was made the collection of Homilies. Nothing surely could be done wiser than this in such times. But there arose from it great disadvantage: They applied themselves less to the reading of the holy scriptures, and grew indifferent about the right understanding them.

We may easily suppose, that there were but few learned men, who did honour to the church in this century. The Greek church, suffering under numerous calamities, both from within and without, produced but very few persons distinguished for their learning. Andrew, the metropolitan of Crete, was celebrated for his sermons; some of which remain to this day. John Damascenus, who was distinguished among all the philosophers and theologists, introduced into divinity the subtleties of the Peripatetic philosophy, and is the first among the Greeks, who published a system of scholastic divinity: He likewise gained applause by many other writings. He was remarkable for his superstitious veneration for images, which he carried so far as openly to defend them. The best historians amongst the Greeks were, George Syncellus and Theophanes.

We cannot refuse to the emperor Charlemagne the first place amongst all the writers of the west, of whose works we have any remains. Bede, an Englishman, surnamed the Venerable, was a laborious writer, and is greatly esteemed even by the learned of our days. The knowledge of Alcuin gained him

the favour of Charlemagne, and enabled him to render such singular services to science in general, that his memory will be ever esteemed. The principal theologists of this century in the Latin church were, Paulin, patriarch of Aquileia, Leidradus of Lyon, and Theodolf of Orleans; to whom we may add Boniface, already mentioned. Paul Deacon, Fredegairus, the scholastic, and Eginhard, gave up their time to the history of this century and the preceding ones. Eginhard was an author far superior to the genius of the times: He left us a good life of Charlemagne. It is to this epoch we may place the composition of two books, whose authors are unknown, called *Ordo Romanus* and *Liber Diurnus*, both useful to those who wish to acquire the knowledge of these times.

This century, like the preceding ones, was greatly troubled with dissensions and heresies. The heresy known throughout the west by the name of Felician, its author<sup>a</sup>, or that of Adoption from its subject, though trifling in itself, was the cause of great disputes amongst the divines. Elipand, bishop of Toledo, under the dominion of the Saracens, consulted by letter Felix, bishop of Urgel, whether "our Saviour, according to his human nature, ought to be looked upon as the real or adopted son of God." Felix answered him, that "J. C. according to his human nature, could not be called the own son, or eternal son of God, but that he was only the adopted son."

After that time these two bishops always made use of that expression, both in their discourses and

<sup>a</sup> We find the history of Felix de Urgel exactly stated, with all the details and subtleties of this controversy, in a dissertation of John Trellond, intitled, *De Felice Urgelitani & Elypardi Tolelani, Leerisi vulgo Adoptiana*, which Mr. Vogt has inserted in his *Biblioth. Hæref.* vol. i. tas. 2. The other authors, who have treated on this subject, are enumerated by Mr. John Albert Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Mediae Latinitatis*, vol. ii. p. 484.

in their writings, which caused them to be suspected of heresy. It was thought they would, as Nestorius had done before them, carry too far this division of the two natures in our Saviour, and give him not only two natures, but even two persons. As Felix always acknowledged, without any equivocal expression, Jesus Christ to be the true God, and never called him the adopted son; but when speaking of his human nature, we must agree with the opinion of the learned, who look upon this controversy as a mere dispute of words<sup>a</sup>. But, however, the learned of this century looked upon it in a very different light: they declared Felix guilty of propagating a dangerous heresy, and on that account condemned him. Immediately the abbot Beatus, and bishop Etherius, both Spaniards, wrote against this pretended error, and strove, though unsuccessfully, to refute it. The emperor Charlemagne and pope Adrian convoked in 788 a council at Narbonne<sup>b</sup>, by which the doctrine of Felix was proscribed. It met with the same fate in a synod held in the city of Aquileia in 791, where Paulinus of that place presided; as likewise at that of Ratisbonne in 792, and in that at Franckfort in 794. Pope Leo III. assisted at this last; and the decrees of the preceding assemblies were there confirmed. In short, they held another assembly at

<sup>a</sup> Among those who thought so, we may number P. Pagi himself; who, contrary to custom, speaks advantageously of this heresy in his oration on the Incarnation, lib. vii. ch. i. We are not to wonder then that many other protestants have done the same. Among others, John-George Dorscheus, George Calixtus Spanheim the younger, and Basnage, and John. Laur. Mosheim, with many more.

<sup>b</sup> Baluzius was the first who published the acts of this council in his addition to the work of Peter de Marca de Concordia Sacer. & Imp. lib. vi. ch. xxv. See particularly the notes at the bottom of page 993. We find the same acts in the collection of Labb , vol. vii.

Aix-la-Chapelle the same year, and on the same subjects. Some say that the emperor was there, and that Felix, at length convinced of his error, acknowledged and there renounced it; and by that means put an end to all the troubles it had caused; but others think this very improbable<sup>a</sup>. However this may be, Felix remained beloved and respected by many, even of his adversaries, in so much, that, after his death, the church of Urgel canonized him<sup>b</sup>.

The use and worship of images<sup>c</sup> was in this century the cause of most fatal and violent disputes, and of great commotions in the eastern church. The church had tolerated the use of them from the first century, but at the same time condemned the worship paid to them, which afterwards was clandestinely introduced, and daily gained ground. The quarrel on this subject became very violent, when, about the year 711 or 712, the Greek emperor Philip Bardanes, a favorer of the Monotholites, commanded the picture, that represented the sixth council, by which that error had been condemned, to be taken out of the church of St. Sophia.

<sup>a</sup> Fabricius, l. c. p. 483.

<sup>b</sup> Baluzius in his notes on Agobord, p. 8.

<sup>c</sup> The whole account of this dispute has been wrote with great care, sense, and judgment, by the learned Mr. Daillé in his treatise *De Imaginibus*; this work is divided into four books, and was printed at Leyden in 1642 in 8vo. It remained for a long time unanswered by the Roman Catholic writers, till Noel Alexander inserted, in the eighth century of his history, a dissertation *de usu & cultu imaginum*, in which he attempts to throw off all Mr. Daillé's arguments. It is true, indeed, that Maimbourg published in France a history of the Iconoclastes, but it is filled with nothing but childish fables, and has not even any appearance of the fidelity and dignity that such a history requires. Fred. Spanheim answered these two writers in the most satisfactory and convincing manner. The work is intitled *Historia Imaginum Restituta*, printed in 1686 in 8vo.

Pope Constantine I. thought that by this the emperor intended to attack at the same time both the orthodox doctrine as well as the images ; which, indeed, induced him to reject the confession of faith of this prince, and to oppose it by a formulary, in which he established the true doctrine in opposition to the tenets of the Monotholites ; and at the same time ordered that the images should remain in the church as objects of veneration <sup>2</sup>. This proceeding of the pope's, so offensive to the emperor, was but the prelude to many others still more injurious. Thus began the cruel war between the Iconoclasts and the Iconolators, which lasted a long time, and was the cause of many misfortunes to both parties. The death of Philip Bardanes suspended the dispute, and procured them peace for about fifteen years. During this time, the attachment to images and to the worshiping of them encreased most surprisingly. Leo III. perceived it with great affliction, and to prevent at least the worshiping of images, he ordered them to be placed so high in the temple as to render it impossible. This happened in the year 726 ; but the extravagant proceedings of the patriarch Germain and the monks in favour of their favorite images, as likewise the troubles they caused in Italy on this occasion, encreased so far the emperor's aversion to them, that in 730 he entirely banished them from the churches, and decreed punishment for the worshipers of them : these laws remained in force so long as he lived. His son Constantine, to whom the Iconolators, through hatred, gave the dishonourable name of Copronymus, followed his steps. In order to put an entire end to this affair, he assembled in 754 a general council

<sup>2</sup> See the life of Constantin I. by Anastasius the librarian in the councils of Labb , vol. vi. col. 1390 ; and Francis Pagi in the Breviar. Pontif. vol. i. p. 507.

at Constantinople, in which the worship of images was universally and unanimously condemned.

Leo IV. the son of Constantine, persevered in the disposition of his predecessors; and being of gentle and humane temper, he probably might have effected, by mildness, what his father attempted by severity, if he had not had Irene for his wife, whose extreme attachment to the worship of images transported her with such fury as made her guilty of the greatest crimes; having begun, as some pretend, by hastening the death of her husband, she took the reins of government, and made use of her authority to commit the most unworthy actions, and to establish the images and their worship in the churches. For this purpose she thought it necessary to oppose another general council to that which had proscribed the images; and after many delays arising from different obstacles, this council was held at Nice in Bithynia in the year 787. By this the acts of the preceding council were entirely annulled; and it was decided, that the honour, worship, and adoration of images should be established beyond the power of opposition. Charlemagne, and the divines of the west, disapproved the decrees of this council, and condemned them in another held at Franckfort in 794. The emperor himself defended the judgment passed by this council in the writings to which he signed his name. Notwithstanding all this, the Greeks adopted the impious and absurd decisions of the second council of Nice, but they did not carry the idolatrous worship to such an height of extravagance as it has been since arrived at in the Roman church <sup>a</sup>.

The principal outward calamities, which the church suffered in this century, were occasioned by the Mahometans, who persecuted the Christians in several countries. The dominion of the infidels encreased

<sup>a</sup> See Daillé, lib. lxiv. ch. viii. and Spanheim, sect. 8, 15.

very considerably in the east, and they became so powerful, that they seemed to hold Constantinople in the state of a besieged city. They entered likewise into the west, having sent an army, in 710 and in the year following from Africa to Spain, where, after defeating the king Roderick in a pitched battle, they deprived him at once both of his kingdom and his life. This was the epoch of the foundation of the kingdom of the Saracens in Spain. From thence they made an irruption into the Narbonoise Gaul, and, after having miserably ravaged Burgundy, they would have carried their arms still farther, had they not been opposed by Charles Martel and his grandson Charlemagne, who entirely defeated them, and forced those who escaped from this defeat to return into Spain.

We must now conclude this century. The reign of Charlemagne was its greatest glory : it was he who preserved it from that ignorance, which would otherwise have entirely overspread it. Yet, however, the seeds of those capital errors concerning the sacrament, which infested the following centuries, were already discernible in this. During the heat of the dispute concerning the images, the fathers, assembled at Constantinople in 754, declared that our Saviour had left no other image of himself than the sacrament. To which those of Nice answered in 784, that the sacrament was not the image, but was the real body and blood of Jesus Christ. Thus the notion of the real presence took its rise from the worship of images. The whole history of this century is filled with crosses, reliks, and other superstitions. We may judge of the ignorance of those times by the canon that ordered the priests to learn to read, by the baptism administered in nomine patria, filia, & spiritua sancta, and by the condemnation Virgilius pronounced against some priests for believing there were Antipodes.

CENTURY

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## C E N T U R Y IX.

**L**EWIS the debonair, son and successor to Charlemagne, ascended the throne in 814. He imitated the piety of his father, but wanted his discernment; for the principal thing in which he shewed his care to religion, was by loading the clergy with favours, which they at last made use of to his detriment. His zeal, however, was useful by exerting itself for the propagation of the gospel among the infidels. It is to him that the Cimbri, the Danes, and the Swedes, are indebted for their conversion. Lewis sent into those countries Ebbon, archbishop of Rheims, who preached to them in 823, but with very little success. Ansgaire, a monk of Corbia, was much happier in his endeavours; for arriving in Denmark in 826, he there planted the seeds of the faith, and saw it bring forth abundantly: from thence he went into many other northern countries. Ansgaire was made in 831 the first archbishop of Hamburg<sup>a</sup>; and for his sake the bishoprick of Bremen was added to the archbishoprick of Hamburg in 849<sup>b</sup>. His labours

<sup>a</sup> See P. Pagi in the Critique de Baronius in the year 832. The same author declares from Adam of Bremen, that there were churches dependent at that time on the archbishoprick of Hamburg.

<sup>b</sup> See P. Pagi on the 858, No. 3. It is right to attend to those dates, because they differ very extraordinarily in different writers; a circumstance which makes great confusion in history.

justly merited all the honours they obtained. The Sclavonians were about the same time indebted to him for their knowledge of the true faith. The Bulgarians were first among these people, who embraced the gospel under their king Bogoris<sup>a</sup>, Methodius and Cyrillus their apostles, who went from them to preach to the Moravians and Bohemians, who likewise embraced christianity about the year 894. The popes afterwards granted to the Moravians the liberty of celebrating divine worship in their own language, which was the Sclavonian<sup>b</sup>.

The see of Rome acted always on the same principles, and was continually making efforts to render the jurisdiction it had usurped over the church secure and immovable<sup>c</sup>. For which reason they strove to free themselves from all temporal dominion, even from that of the king of France, to whom they had such great obligations, and without whose help they never could have obtained the supreme power they now enjoyed. These attempts were strongly re-

<sup>a</sup> There is a letter from Photius to this Bogoris, who at baptism took the name of Michael. The patriarch throughout this long letter calls him his spiritual son. It is the first in the London edition of 1657. This letter may be looked upon as an epitome of christianity.

<sup>b</sup> See Andrew Wengereius in his Hist. Eccles. Sclavon. i. p. 8, and the Breviar. Pontif. Roman. vol. ii. p. 113.

<sup>c</sup> We shall do well to consult on these subjects a work of Philip Mournay, intitled, *The Mystery of Iniquity, or the History of Papacy*, which appeared at Samur in 1611 in French, dedicated to Henry IV. king of France; and in Latin dedicated to James I. king of Great Britain. We meet with here an exact account of the ambitious steps of the popes from the second century till the reformation, and of the obstacles they met with. This treatise may be looked upon as an excellent refutation of the annals of Baronius: it is at the same time the first that broke the ice and cleared the way for others. Giannone, in his History of Naples, has very fully laid open the rapid progress of the pope's power, and the attempts they made on the authority of the kings of France,

fisted by the princes on their side, and even by the bishops of the principal churches, who omitted nothing to maintain their rights and prerogatives. Gregory IV. favoured the unnatural rebellion of the two sons of Lewis the debonair against their father; assisted them in it, and gave them the most pernicious advice. The insupportable pride of Nicholas the first caused the Greeks to separate themselves for ever from the communion of the eastern church. This pope took the advantage of the Decretal letters<sup>a</sup>, a work evidently supposititious to take upon himself an unlimited authority. It is supposed by many, and with great probability, that it was for the same reasons, and about the same time, they forged the famous donation of Constantine the Great<sup>b</sup>, which was then made public, but not at all regarded; at least those who first spoke of it lived in this century. Another remarkable thing about this pope Nicholas is, that in the letters, and other writings that we have<sup>c</sup> of his, we find his name always placed before those of the emperors or kings he was concerned with. Adrian II. was his successor and faithful imitator; as was likewise John VIII. and Adrian III. This last

<sup>a</sup> These ridiculers were at first (as we believe) brought to light by M. Isidore, surnamed the Fisher, or the Merchant. The Jesuit Turrian undertook, in the sixteenth century, to support the authenticity and authority of the Decretals. David Blondel wrote a treatise, entitled, *Pseudo-Isidorus et Tarrianas Vapulans*, which entirely refutes all the jesuit has advanced; so that all the sensible part of the Roman church look upon these letters as an absurd fiction.

<sup>b</sup> See the Biblioth. of Alb. Fabricius, vol. vi. p. 45. Consult also Mic. Geddes's treatise, intitled, the *Grand Forgery displayed*. This work may be found among his miscellaneous tracts.

<sup>c</sup> See the authors mentioned by Fabricius, l. i. Peter of Marca attributes this donation to the eighth Century, which he says was made with the knowledge and advice of the popes. Geddes likes better to attribute this grant to Stephen, the predecessor of Paul. See the above.

Pontiff, by a decree made in the year 884, declared, that the emperor's consent and confirmation <sup>a</sup> should not be waited for as necessary after the election of a pope. The plan of our work does not allow us to enter upon a fuller account of the conduct of the popes.

It is to this century that we must place the history or fable of the popess Joan. They say, that a girl, having disguised her sex, succeeded to the popedom after Leo IV. in 855, and possessed the holy see for two years and some months; when, in a public procession, she was seized with the pains of child-birth and died. Some writers of the Roman church were the first relaters of this fact: it was adopted by the protestants, and for a long time credited. But some learned men having taken the trouble to trace this report to its first rise, have rendered it suspicious, and particularly proved that it cannot be reconciled with chronology. Some people, however, still believe in the existence of this popess <sup>b</sup>.

The Greek and Latin churches produced some learned men, whose memory ought not to be forgotten. Among the first of whom in the Greek church was Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who, for the time in which he lived, might be justly reckoned a man of admirable erudition and exquisite judgment. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, applied himself to history, and was distinguished among the most zealous defenders of

<sup>a</sup> Giannone, vol. i. p. 527. Breviar. Pontif. vol. ii. p. 160. But at the end of this century, Stephen VI. passed a decree, restoring to the emperors the antient rights, and Theodore II. confirmed it.

<sup>b</sup> The Latin treatise of Mr. Spanheim on this subject is well known, and still more what L'Enfant has taken from it, and published under the title *De la Histoire de la Papesse*. It was reprinted in 1720.

images; as likewise Theodore, surnamed Studitus <sup>a</sup>, who has left us several writings which are far from being contemptible; Methodius the Confessor, and some others. Several subjects in theology were treated by Theodore Abucara and Nicetas David. Peter of Sicily composed a history of the Manichees of those times. The Syrians possessed a very learned man in the person of Moses Barapha, well known to the writers of other communions <sup>b</sup>.

Rabanus Maurus may be ranked among the first of the learned of the Latin church. He was a native of Mayence, and may be looked upon as the common teacher of France and Germany. We must not forget to mention Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, and Claude of Turin. The letters and little treatises of Loup Servat are much esteemed by the learned. John Erigenus, commonly called Scot, a Scotchman, was a very subtil philosopher, and celebrated as a divine. Florus Deacon of Lyons, and Walafrid Strabo employed themselves in expounding the sacred rites then used in the church. Freculphus of Lisieux, Adon of Vienna, Hayman of Halberstadt <sup>c</sup>, Anastasius the librarian, Reginon Abbot of Prom, and the monk Usuard, consecrated their time to the writing both of sacred and civil history.

We may judge of the corruption in the divinity of these times by the doctrine of Transubstantiation,

<sup>a</sup> He was so called from a monastery at Constantinople, called Studium, of which he was abbot. Mr. Joh. Emanuel Muller published in Latin a history of this monastery, which was printed at Leipsick 1741 in 4to.

<sup>b</sup> See the Histor. Literar. of Mr. Cave, vol. i. p. 561. See also Assemani in Bibliol. Orient. vol. ii. p. 127.

<sup>c</sup> There is a useful work published at Helmstadt in 1747 in 4to, intitled, *Commentarius Historicus Christianus, Gothofredi Darlingii of Haymore, Episcopo Halberstadiensi.*

which

which took its rise in the west. Paschas Radbert<sup>a</sup>, a monk of Corbia, laid the first foundation of it: it is true he delivered his opinion in such very obscure terms, that it was difficult to understand him; and the learned actually are not agreed about what he meant to express. But whatever was the foundation of his doctrine, soon as it was known and spread among the people, it appeared very new and intricate. This work, that Paschas published, was severely censured by many divines; the principal of whom was Ratramnus<sup>b</sup> of Bertram, who undertook its refutation by order of Charles the Bald; but he expressed himself so very obscurely, that we cannot justly say what were his real sentiments.

In this century the east was distressed by troubles caused by a new sect, which was that of the Paulicians, whose origin we may trace back to the 7th century. It is supposed they took this name from the two brothers, Paul and John, who were the first teachers of this doctrine in Armenia; and that the word Paulicians is equivalent to Paulo-Johannites. It is said that their fundamental tenets were taken from the doctrine of the antient Manichees<sup>c</sup>. But the innovations afterwards made in this sect, by the new doctors that came into it, entirely changed its appearance. The cotemporary authors, who have written on the te-

<sup>a</sup> Father Sirmond has affixed to his edition of Paschal a succinct account of his life. See P. Sirmond's works, vol. iv. col. 622.

<sup>b</sup> For an account of this author, consult Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ & Infimæ Ætatis*, vol. i. under the article Bertramus, p. 660.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. John Christopher Wolf, of Hamburg, was the first who published in Greek and Latin the four books of Photius against the Manichees in the first and second volumes of his *Anecdota Græca*. See also *Guthymit Zigaleni Panoplia*, tit. xxv. of the Greek edition.

nets of the Paulicians, are the patriarch Photius<sup>a</sup> and Peter of Sicily, an illustrious person: as their relations differ, we cannot say any thing positive on this subject.

Whatever was the genius and system of this sect, it has certainly always had a great number of followers; which engaged the Greek emperors early to take measures for its destruction; and they carried their rigour so far, as to condemn to punishment several doctors, and even private persons, among the Paulicians. During the heat of the disputes about the images in the eighth century, these heretics seem to have enjoyed some repose, in which time their assemblies greatly increased. The Greek emperors, Michael Curapalatus and Leo V. but particularly the empress Theodora, widow of Theophilus, added to the severity of the punishments formerly decreed against them, and obliged them to quit all the countries under their dominion. It is thought they retired at first to Bulgaria, and went from thence to France in the 11th century<sup>b</sup>: but their history has not been as yet fully cleared up.

The unhappy disputes about the images took up almost all the attention of the emperors in this century, particularly in Greece. Nicephorus, who succeeded the wicked Irene, who was deposed in 802, was not favourable to them. Leo V. surnamed the Armenian, ascended the throne after him, and assembled a new council at Constantinople in 805. The decrees of the second council of Nice, held

<sup>a</sup> His History *De Ortu Progressu & Occasu Manichæorum* was published in Greek and Latin by Matthew Raderus at Ingolstadt in 1604 in 4to; and the Latin version may be found in the Paris edition of the *Grand Bibliotheque des Peres*.

<sup>b</sup> See the *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, by Mr. Bosuet; and also *Usser de Christianarum Ecclesiarum continua Successione & Statu*.

under Irene, were there annulled; and on the contrary, those of the seventh general council, held under Constantine, were restored to their full force. Michael the stutterer, who succeeded Leo V. was of the same sentiments, and even solicited, by his envoy, Lewis the emperor of the west, to give weight to this decision, by adding thereto the sanction of his authority, and the votes of the bishops under his jurisdiction, which was done in a council held at Paris in 829. Theophilus, son to Michael, carried his zeal still farther, and declared war against the images. But, after his death, the administration of affairs falling to Theodora his widow, she totally annulled all the acts and decrees antecedently made against the images, and renewed with full force the decisions of the council of Nice. The Greek church has retained the worship of images ever since that time.

The discord between the eastern and western churches revived in a most violent manner, and became an incurable evil on the deposition (in 857) of Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, and the accession of Photius to that see, who was a person of superior merit, but had been till that time a layman: they both used every means to bring pope Nicholas over to their respective interests. This Pontiff did not neglect so favorable an opportunity of increasing his power, and took upon himself the office of judge, which he executed with great pride. Several councils were held on this affair; one at Constantinople in 861, where Photius got the advantage; one at Rome in 863, where Nicholas, judging Photius unworthy of the place he possessed, deposed and excommunicated him; and one at Constantinople in 867, at which the Greeks retorted the excommunication upon Nicholas. Soon after this there happened a great revolution in the Greek empire, by which Basilius of Macedonia, getting

possession of the imperial throne, deposed Photius, and caused sentence to be pronounced against him in a council held at Constantinople in 869 in presence of the pope's legates, and called by the Latins the eighth oecumenical council. This was but a made-up peace, which reunited the two churches for a short time<sup>2</sup>.

Soon after this there arose another difference that separated them for ever. The church of Bulgaria, newly converted to the Christian faith, gave rise to it. The two primates of the universal church, the pope and patriarch of Constantinople, pretended each of them that this church was under their spiritual dominion. The Bulgarians decided themselves this question, by sending away, in 870, the Latin Bishops, and demanding Greek bishops to be sent them. It was in vain the popes sought afterwards to recover their rights over these churches: they were not heard, and things remained on the same footing. After the death of Ignatius, Photius, being reconciled to the emperor Basilius, was restored to the possession of the patriarchal see, and his re-establishment confirmed in the council of Constantinople, called by the Greeks the eighth oecumenical council. The Greeks having in this council expressed their contempt for the authority of the Roman see, and having at the same time condemned the doctrine of that church, with regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost; and the communion between the two churches, being by that destroyed, was never more established, not even when patriarch Photius was again deposed and condemned to exile, in which he died.

The disputes on Predestination and Grace, which for so long a time had lain dormant in the west,

<sup>2</sup> The whole history of this dispute is very exactly stated by Mr. Dupin in his Nov. Biblioth. vol. vi. ch. ix. Consult also a dissertation of Noel Alexander, *De Photiano Schismate*, which is the fourth history of the ninth and tenth centuries.

were again revived by a French monk, named Godeschald, who taught, that God had predestined to eternal death a certain number of men, for whom Jesus Christ would not die, and at the same time predestined others to salvation by an effect of his good pleasure. This doctrine, publicly maintained by Godeschald at the very beginning, excited great troubles in the church. The first, who condemned it, was archbishop Raban, in a council held at Mayence in 848. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, not content with confirming this sentence, had, in another synod in the following year, Godeschald whipped, and afterwards imprisoned. Several writers attacked this heretick, among whom were Pandulus, bishop of Loudon, and John Erigenus, called Scot. There were likewise distinguished both by rank and abilities, who undertook his defence; such as Amelon, archbishop of Lyons; Romi, his successor; Florus the Deacon, and the whole church of Lyons; Prudence, bishop of Troyes; Loup, abbot of Farieres in France; the monk Ratramnus and others. This doctrine was also approved by several councils; by that of Valence in 855, and by those of Langres and Tulle in 859.

During this time the power of the Mahometans increased, not only in the east, but likewise in the west, to the great detriment of Christianity. Those, by whom the Christians were the most cruelly treated, were the western Mahometans, particularly those who had subdued Spain; for many of the faithful, under their dominion, suffered martyrdom. The Christians of the west were again exposed to another calamity in this century. From the distant parts of the north there rushed out a swarm of ferocious men, called Nordmans or Normans, whose first habitations were along the borders of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: they followed piracy, but of a sudden determined to make excursions into the

countries subject to the Christian princes : they carried every where fire and the sword, and left behind them fatal traces of the greatest devastation. France and England were particularly exposed to these devastations. But when the Barbarians had there fixed their dwelling, they insensibly lost their original ferocity, and at last embraced the Christian religion.

We have seen, that in the seventh century the vast empire of China had received the gospel, and even that Christianity flourished greatly in that country. But if we give credit to the Mahometan writers of those times, the churches in that empire suffered a severe shock towards the close of this century, which they never recovered. They pretend that one Baichus, a general of the imperial armies, having revolted against the emperor, took by force of arms, in 877, the great and celebrated city of Canfus (now called Canton); and that in the first fury of the soldiers there perished, besides the natives of the country, one hundred twenty thousand Mahometans, Jews, Persians, Worshippers of Fire, and Christians<sup>a</sup> : from which they conclude, that the true religion and its professors must have suffered in the other provinces and cities of China. But we cannot rely on the truth of these facts<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> These facts are taken from the *Anciennes Relations des Indes & de la Chine*, which were printed by Renaudot at Paris in 1718. But Mr. Crose does not allow the truth of any of them ; he says in his margin of his *Exemplaire*, *Hæc omnia fabulosa esse liquet*. In the *Lettres Edifiantes* there is a long letter of P. Prenare, in which he has fully proved, that the relations of the Arabian Mahometans, published by Renaudot are a string of falsehoods, particularly all that refers to China ; and he looks upon in the same light the revolt of Baichu and the persecutions which followed. There is in the same collection, vol. ii. a letter of P. Perennin, who passes the same judgment on these relations, p. 158, &c. He grants the truth of the revolt, but he gives another name to the rebels, and places this event in 789.

Not to omit any thing worthy of attention in this century, we must add two or three or more observations. The first relates to the account of the causes of schism between the Greek and Latin churches. We before saw that the affair of Photius, and that of the Bulgarians, brought on this decisive rupture; but they alledged, besides those causes, the ten following articles, about which the two churches could never agree. 1. The procession of the holy spirit. 2. The fast of the sabbath used at Rome. 3. The duration of the fast in Lent. 4. The shaving the beards of the Latin priests. 5. The law of celibacy. 6. The unction of chrism on the forehead in baptism. 7. The admission of deacons to the episcopacy. 8. The use of common water instead of chrism. 9. The consecrated lamb at the feast of Easter. And 10. The pre-eminence of the church of Rome.

We must not forget to mention the proceedings against the memory of Formosus, who from bishop of Porto became pope. Stephen VI. ordered his body to be taken up, stripped of the sacred vestments, three of the fingers to be cut off, and the body thrown into the Tiber. This ignominious treatment was disapproved by John IX. and by other popes, who re-established the memory of Formosus.

In this century, given up to the most childish superstitions, those famous trials first began by cold water, hot iron, and by single combats, designed to discover the innocence or the crimes of those, who could not be justified or convicted by other means.

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## CENTURY X.

THE western church considerably increased her numbers by the conversion of several nations. The Normans, having taken possession of that province of France, to which they gave their name, becoming too powerful to be expelled, were softened by great promises; and in the year 912 brought over to the profession of Christianity, under the auspices of their duke Rollo. Poland procured the same blessing in 965, when Mieczlaus, duke of Poland, demanded in marriage Dambrowka, daughter of Boleslas, duke of Bohemia: for on that occasion Mieczlaus solemnly professed Christianity, and used every endeavour to propagate the same faith among his subjects. The Russians were converted much in the same manner upon the marriage of their duke Wlodimir with the princess Anne, sister to the emperor Basilius. Attempts had been before made for the conversion of the Hungarians, which was about this time brought to perfection. The Danes and Swedes were indebted for their knowledge of the faith to Adeldagus and Poppe, both zealous and respectable preachers of the gospel.

But how shall we here describe the excesses of corruption in the morals of those who had the government

ment of the church, and who so far from setting a good example to others in the high stations they possessed, led the most scandalous lives, giving themselves up to every vice.

The popes surpassed the eastern prelates in this respect, and went far beyond them in the number and greatness of their crimes, which they committed without any sense of shame. The church of the capital of the world seemed changed to a house of prostitution; the tiara and the sceptre were in the hands of the vilest courtesans, by whose will all things were conducted. The famous Marozia procured the papal dignity to Sergius III. by whom she had a son, who likewise became pope. John X. by his criminal connections with Theodora, mother of Marozia, first gained the archbishoprick of Ravenna, and afterwards the see of Rome. But Marozia caused this lover of her mother's to be put to death. Soon after John IX. son to Sergius III. and Marozia, obtained the popedom; but he ended his life in a prison. At the end of about twenty years, John XII. grandson to Marozia, though very young, became pope, and led a more scandalous and debauched life than any of his predecessors. It would be easy to multiply these examples. The consent and confirmation of the emperors was, however, still necessary in the election of the popes.

The life of the monks in the convents became extremely scandalous. From those excesses of superstitious devotion, which we saw in the fifth and sixth century, they proceeded to the most shameful licentiousness and open impiety. Some persons, still preserving a sense of religion, hoped to put an end to these evils by a strict reformation of the monastic orders. Two persons among these reformers distinguished themselves; Berno, who instituted the

new order of Cluny, and Odo<sup>a</sup>, who seconded the establishment of that order, and at the same time reformed that of the Benedictines. Others followed their example, which produced at length so many new families of monks.

The feast of the assumption of the blessed Virgin was now celebrated more solemnly than it had ever yet been. It was likewise about this time that the custom of canonizing of saints began, which the popes afterwards claimed as their exclusive right.

We find scarce one person in the Greek church who deserves the name of theologist. The epistle of Nico, the Armenian, upon the depraved religion of his countrymen, is but a short work, points out but few errors, and speaks of them without any exactness<sup>b</sup>. Olympiodorus and Oecumenius wrote some tolerably good commentaries upon the holy scriptures; but we are not well assured that they lived in this century. Simeon Metaphrastes wrote the lives of the saints in a very flowery style, but his fidelity is suspected. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, an emperor and author, has left many works which do honour to his memory. Suidas's Dictionary is much esteemed by the lovers of antiquity. Eutychius Batricidus, patriarch of Alexandria, wrote a history in Arabic, treating principally on the affairs of the church, which he brought down to his own times.

The west felt the same want of good writers. We may mention indeed Ratherius of Verona; Atto of Verceil; and Alfric of Canterbury; some

<sup>a</sup> See P. Pagi on the year 941, No. 1, 2, and on the year 927, No. 3. For what regards the institution of the order of Cluny, see Hospinian de Origine Monachatus, lib. v. cap. ii.

<sup>b</sup> This epistle is intitled *De Fessima Armenorum Religione*. See the *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, by Mr. Le Croze, p. 33.

of whose writings have escaped the injury of time. Burchard of Worms published a compilation of ecclesiastical laws that is well known. Both civil and church history were illustrated by Wittekind, a Saxon; Luitprand of Cremona; Notger, bishop of Liege; and by one of the fair sex, called Rhofwide, whose understanding was far superior to the genius of that century.

The corruption in the doctrines of religion daily increased, and became more scandalous in this century than it had been in any of the preceding ones. On the subject of the Justification of Sinners, they principally regarded man's own merits: they were continually adding to the number of the saints, and to the worship paid to them. The east, however, went something farther than the west in this respect. With the worship of the saints, that of images, gained ground in equal degrees even in the Latin church; to the latter they already attributed the most surprising miracles. The true and pure doctrine of the Lord's Supper still prevailed in the same church; but as the opinion of Paschas, proposed in the preceding century, and at first by the greatest number rejected with indignation, was favorable to the superstitions of both the secular and regular clergy, it gradually introduced itself, and the numbers of its favorers increased to such a degree, that in the following century we shall see it openly acknowledged and become the prevailing opinion.

Anthropomorphism, which had in the fourth century been the cause of many troubles in the church of Egypt, was renewed in this, and met with many people who professed it openly. This error seems to have arisen from the neglect of true philosophy; and as it has been justly remarked by some learned men, it was the worship of images which produced this notion. Christians, who saw frequently, and even

even adored the divinity represented under a human form, could scarcely avoid thinking God to be really such as those images represented him. Ratherius of Verona, a celebrated divine, at least for these times, did every thing in his power to destroy this gross error, and bring men back to the right truth. Some pretend that the bishop of Milan employed fire and sword to destroy the Anthropomorphites, and by these violent means did effectually extirpate this heresy <sup>a</sup>.

The tenth century in general offers to our view the most frightful objects, the deepest ignorance, and the most corrupted morals; for which reason this century was called the Obscure and wretched; the century of Iron and Lead. The popes, as we have seen, were rather monsters than men, as even those, who are the most zealously attached to the Roman church, cannot deny. The ecclesiastical discipline was so totally abolished, that the archbishoprick of Rheims was conferred upon Hughs, a child of five years old, son to Hebert, count of Vermandois, and approved by the king of France, and the pope John X. which election, however, was the cause of great troubles.

Otho, surnamed the Great King, and afterwards emperor of Germany, makes a very considerable figure in the history of this century. John XII. son of Alberic, and grandson to Marozia, who was created pope (some say at twelve, others at the age of seventeen or eighteen years) fixed the imperial

<sup>a</sup> This is what Mr. Godfrey Arnold says in his History of Heresies, lib. x. ch. v. and other authors say the same upon the authority of Sigebert de Gemblours, who they pretend has said that this was done in the year 939. However, in referring to the edition of Aubert le Mire, I only find, in p. 127, these words in characters less than the rest of the text: *Italiam vexat heresis Anthorpomorphitarum, contra quam Ratherius Veronensum Episcopus, & verbis & scriptis reclamabat.* There is no mention made of the expedition or military execution.

crown on the head of Otho, and swore fidelity to him. But this prince had no sooner left him than he forgot his allegiance, and turned rebel. Otho returned, and assembled a council at Rome; to which this abominable pope was cited, and on his not appearing was condemned as attainted, and convicted of the most incredible and enormous crimes. Leo VIII. was put in his place. Notwithstanding the justice of this sentence, the Romans did not subscribe to it; but as soon as Otho had left Italy, they deposed Leo, and re-established John, who, through the help of money, had gained himself many friends; but he did not escape divine vengeance, for being surprised in adultery, he received a blow on the head, of which he died in 964. After his death, the Romans, having no regard to the emperor, did not take Leo, but created a new pope under the name of Benedict V. Thereupon Otho returned, besieged Rome, obliged it by famine to surrender, and restored Leo VIII. to the dignity Benedict had usurped. Leo, partly through gratitude to his benefactor, and partly from the remembrance of past events, granted to Otho, and to those who should come after him, by a solemn decree, the rights of electing their successors in Italy, of confirming the popes, and of giving investiture to the bishops. This decree may be found in Gratian; and some historians add to it another, by which the popes give up to the emperors all these domaines, which Pepin, Charlemagne, and the other princes had given to the church of Rome. However it was, after the death of Leo, the emperor was consulted on the choice of a successor, and this choice fell upon John, bishop of Normandy, who became pope under the name of John XIII. As he treated the Romans with too much rigour, they at first put him into prison, and afterwards banished him to Campania; but Otho, on his return, re-established

re-established John, and punished those magistrates who had sent him away. Among the following popes, Boniface VII. having caused Benedict VI. to be strangled, took possession of the see of Rome: but as the inhabitants of that city very much disliked him, he made off with the treasures of the church, and took refuge in Constantinople. During his absence, Benedict VII. was made pope, and after him John XII. whom Boniface, when returned to Rome, imprisoned and starved to death. Soon after this he himself died; and as he had been extremely hated by the people, they dragged his body through the streets, wounding it with many blows; and it was with great difficulty that his relations found an opportunity of burying him privately. Towards the end of the century Bruno, son to a duke of Suabia, and to a daughter of Otho the Great, was elected pope, and took the name of Gregory V. but he was driven away by Crescence, who exerted a kind of tyranny at Rome, and John XV. succeeded him. As soon as the emperor came into Italy, he threw Crescence and his pope into irons, and re-established Gregory. After whose death, in 999, Gerbert, at first archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards of Ravenna, became pope, and took the name of Sylvester II. He was a man of uncommon learning for that century; and from his great knowledge of the mathematics he was accused of magic. Whilst he held the see of Rheims, he advanced several very free things against the Roman church; but soon as he was become pope, he changed his style, and sought only to maintain the authority of his office.

There arose in the Gallican church, towards the end of this century, two disputes which caused some disturbance. The first was occasioned by Arnolph, archbishop of Rheims, son to king Lotharius by a concubine, and consequently descended from Charlemagne.

magne. Arnolph having been accused of revolting against Hugh Capet, and of giving up the city of Rheims to Charles of Lorrain, his uncle, was deposed by a council of bishops in his province, and his place given to Gerbert. Though this judgment was lawful, the popes John XV. and Gregory V. refused to confirm it; and by their authority the archbishoprick was taken from Gerbert and restored to Arnolph. Gerbert did by no means spare the church of Rome on this occasion, little thinking that he should one day become its chief. The other affair was, the marriage of Rabert, king of France, with Berte. Gregory V. annulled the marriage on account of their relationship, though that indeed was very distant, and for some centuries past they had extended the prescription of marriages of consanguinity far beyond the bounds prescribed by the divine laws. The consequences of this affair were very disagreeable; and the monarch felt to what length the power of superstition may be carried.

If we take a view of the east, we shall there see many troubles likewise caused by a matrimonial affair. Leo, furnamed the Philosopher, having had three wives, but no son by either, and being very desirous of having one, married, with this hope, a fourth wife, called Zoar: but as the canons of the eastern church prohibited all fourth marriages, the patriarch Nicholas opposed this; and not being able to prevent it, he excommunicated the emperor; who in his turn deposed Nicholas, sent him into exile, and gave the patriarchate to Euthymus. After the death of Leo, Euthymus was turned out, and Nicholas re-established; and by a new decree, not only the fourth marriages were condemned, but even the third and second.

About the middle of this century, Theophylact, son to the Roman emperor, being made patriarch of Constantinople when he was scarce sixteen, and otherwise

otherwise very unworthy, behaved extremely ill, selling the consecrated things. He was taken up with his horses and dogs to such a degree, that it is said of him, when officiating as priest one holy Thursday, somebody came to inform him that his favorite mare had foaled ; he abruptly left off in the midst of the solemnity, went to see the foal, and returned afterwards to finish the ceremony.

Let us draw a veil over this deplorable century, where all light was under a bushel, and all decency trodden under foot. Feasts, pilgrimages, images, and relics, were the foundation of their religion. The Baptism of Bells was in these times instituted by pope John XIII.

C E N T U R Y

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## C E N T U R Y XI.

**T**HE Nestorians settled in the eastern parts of Asia, continued with as much zeal as success to preach the gospel to the Pagan nations. We find by their annals, that Kerit, the king of Tartary, upon the confines of the Chinese empire, embraced Christianity in 1002, and that two hundred thousand of his subjects followed his example. This nation afterwards, during 200 years, was governed by Christian kings, who bore the name of Ungchan, that is to say, king John. They affected to join the dignity of priesthood to that of royalty, which gave rise to the notion that prevailed in Europe of a great Prester John, whom many have ignorantly sought for in Abyssinia, a great kingdom in South America.

This century will furnish us with some new events of a very singular kind; I mean the consequences of the absurd desire which the Europeans conceived, first of visiting the holy places of Palestine, and afterwards of subduing that kingdom. The noise was no sooner spread of the Christians being exposed to great sufferings and ill treatment, in making the pilgrimage to Palestine, than the most violent hatred inflamed the minds of every one against the Saracens, who were then in possession of the Holy Land, and inspired them with a most ardent desire of taking from

from them that country <sup>a</sup>. After many projects, which for a long time took no effect, Peter the Hermit, a great fanatic and very famous impostor, going to all the courts of Europe, and, in particular, negotiating with that of Rome, brought numbers to a resolution of taking arms for Palestine. The affair was fully concluded by a council, held in 1095 at Clémont in France, under the auspices of pope Urban II. where, in presence of an incredible number of princes, prelates, and persons of all orders, was declared with unanimous consent; and those who enlisted themselves took as a badge the sign of a cross, worked in red worsted, on the right shoulder; from thence came the names of Crusades and Crossed.

After the breaking up of this council, a prodigious number of men assembled themselves in all Europe, but particularly in France, Germany, and Italy, to take part in this war, and in the benefits they hoped to gain by it. They were forced to divide this multitude into troops, and send them out one after another for the Holy Land; but very few of them escaped a most deplorable fate. At length several princes, who had declared themselves chiefs of this enterprise, placed themselves at the head of some soldiers, who might properly be called soldiers, and passing through Greece, arrived in 1097 in Asia Minor, where they gained many considerable victories over the Turks, took several of their strong places, got possession of Syria, Mesopotamia, Phœ-

<sup>a</sup> Many writers have given us the history of these holy wars; the works of the principal of whom are collected in a work, intitled, *Gesta Dei per Francios*, printed at Hano in 1611, in two vol. fol. See also Fabricius *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. vi. p. 762. Father Maimbourg *Histoire de Croisades* is well known. No credit is to be given to Dominic de Janna *Histoire des Royames de Chypre, & de Jerusalem de même de Croisades*.

nicia, and Palestine; and crowned all these exploits by taking Jerufalem itself in 1099. After which conquest, Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, was elected and crowned king, with the consent of the other princes; he enjoyed his new dignity only one year, and was succeeded by Baldwin his brother.

The popes were now arrived to the height of their wishes, having acquired so great a degree of power and authority, that they dared openly to declare war, and even prescribe laws <sup>a</sup> to the emperors of the west. Before the time of Gregory VII. the popes had not so far forgot their duty and engagements, as to receive their solemn inauguration, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor. Sylvester II. the most ingenious and learned of the popes, and who, in every office he discharged, had been admired for his great talents <sup>b</sup>, no sooner became possessed of the papal power, but he dishonoured them, by applying them solely to the promoting of his ambitious projects. The greatest part of his successors were in continual war with the Antipopes. The church had frequently three popes at one time, and was miserably distressed by their different parties. Gregory VII. formerly called Hildebrand, carried his pride and arrogance to a greater height than any of his predecessors. The laws he made concerning the celibacy of the clergy, and their investiture; his intrigues against the emperor Henry IV. the decrees attributed to him under the name of Dictata; and in general all his actions, render his memory as hateful as it will be lasting.

The popes, desirous of adding grandeur to the papal see, introduced the new dignity of Cardi-

<sup>a</sup> See the Breviar. Pontif. vol. ii. p. 293.

<sup>b</sup> Consult the treatise of Michael Geddes, called an History of the Schisms, which have been in the see of Rome: it is in his Miscellaneous tracts, vol. iii. p. 33.

nal <sup>a</sup> into the church. The Roman church had formerly given that title to their principal priests and deacons: but it was about this time decreed, that the election of the popes should depend chiefly upon the Cardinals <sup>b</sup>, and the popes now began to admit them upon all consultations of importance <sup>c</sup>; which rendered this dignity more eminent than any other in the western church. Thus not only the bishops of Rome, but even the priests and deacons, became superior to all the bishops <sup>d</sup> and archbishops of Christendom. From this time the popes never omitted an opportunity of extending and confirming the privileges of the Cardinals.

In this century began the disputes between the popes and emperors concerning the investiture of the clergy; the former, desirous of breaking all the ties that kept them still dependant on the emperors <sup>e</sup>, claimed the right of investiture. It had been before the custom, that the bishops and abbots, who were indebted to a prince for any

<sup>a</sup> Claudio Saumaise has very learnedly discussed all that concerns the origin of Cardinals, in his book *de Primatu Papæ*, p. 10, and in the apparatus to the same book.

<sup>b</sup> This is what ruled pope Nicholas in a synod held at Rome in 1059. See P. Pagi on this year, No. 4. and the *Breviar. Pontif. vol. ii.* p. 374.

<sup>c</sup> See the great work of Mr. Marca, lib. i. ch. ix. and that which Baluzius has remarked on their privilege.

<sup>d</sup> Respecting the dignity and prerogatives of the Cardinals, and the Roman church, see *Sagittarius's Introduct. in Histor. Eccles. and the Biblioth. Antiq. of Fabricius*, p. 464.

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. de Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii cum imperio*. Bishop Burnet has wrote a very excellent treatise on this subject, entitled, *The History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands*, printed at London, 1682, in 8vo. See particularly ch. v. p. 174. Mr. Dithmar, a celebrated professor at Franckfort on the Oder, has thrown much light on these matters, in his life of *Gregory VII.* printed in that city in 1710 in 8vo. and likewise in *Historia Belli inter Imperium, & Sacerdotium, sive Controversia de Investitura Clericorum*.

considerable fief, should solemnly acknowledge the gifts conferred on their predecessors, and by that engage themselves to perform some duties to their benefactors, who had granted them the possession of their fiefs and dignities, by giving them a staff and a ring. This is what they called the Investiture of the Clergy. The popes exclaimed against this custom, antient and lawful as it was, pretending it was an indignity the clergy ought not to submit to. In consequence of this, Gregory VII. declared war not only against the princes who claimed the right of investiture, but likewise against those prelates who received it from them; condemning the one as guilty of sacrilege, and the other of simony. From thence arose the long and violent animosity between this pope and the emperor Henry IV. Their successors continued them in the following century; but at last, for the sake of peace, they suppressed them.

The abuses of the monastic institution daily increased, notwithstanding the measures we saw taken in the last century for its reformation; for which end some superstitious men instituted a number of new orders, under pretence of establishing more severe regulations in them. The order of Camaldules, founded by an Italian called Romuald, was as severe almost as any one amongst them. John Gualbert was the institutor of that of Vallombreuse, which takes its name from the place where the first house of that order was built. We do not know on what occasion Bruno, prebendary of Rheims, instituted the society of Chartreux; an order which professes the greatest severity and mortification. Robert de Melesme introduced into the church the order of Citeaux. To this century we may place the establishment of regular canons, though some pretend to trace them back to St. Austin.

The number of superstitious feasts, which had very much encreased during the course of the preced-

ing centuries, became still greater in this. Odillo <sup>a</sup>, the fourth abbot of the monastery of Cluny, commanded all the converts of his order to celebrate the feast of All Souls, which was soon adopted by the whole western church. At the council held at Clermont 1095<sup>b</sup>, pope Urban XIV. commanded that the sabbath of the Virgin should be kept sacred by all the church.

The custom of repeating a certain number of prayers, and counting them by the help of the beads of a chaplet <sup>c</sup>, which had been customary with the fanatic monks of the east from the fifth century, became towards the close of this the constant practice of the church: in general it was introduced by Peter the Hermit <sup>d</sup>, at whose exhortations the holy wars were first begun. Redemption by canonical penance is very near of the same date; and it was about the time of the pontificate of Victor II <sup>e</sup>. that pecuniary taxes were frequently accepted in the room of penance.

Gregory VII <sup>f</sup>. following the example of Alexander II. wanted to extend the use of the Gregorian Missal, which for a long time had been solely appropriated to the use of the church of Rome, to those of Spain, to whom he interdicted the Mozarabic office. He met with very little opposition in Arragon. The Kings of Castile

<sup>a</sup> See principally Hospinian, *de Origine Festorum Christianorum*, in the first vol. of his works, p. 153, &c.

<sup>b</sup> The acts of this council are to be found in the collection of Labbé, vol. x. col. 511.

<sup>c</sup> See the 22d, 23d, and 24th chapters of the *Historia Lausiacæ* of Palladius.

<sup>d</sup> Consult Polydore Vergil, *de Rerum Inventoribus*, lib. v. p. 347, the edition of Bale.

<sup>e</sup> See Matthew Laroque in his *Adversaria sacra*, & Baronius on the year 1055.

<sup>f</sup> See the *Res Liturgicæ* of Cardinal Bona, lib. i. ch. xi. and P. Pagi, in his *Critique de Baronius*, on the year 1068. See also *Breviar. Pontif.* vol. ii. p. 4to.

for some time made great resistance, but at last were forced to yield to Urban II. However, this rite of the Spaniards could never be fully destroyed<sup>a</sup>, for it remains even to this day in some places<sup>b</sup>. Alexander II. and Gregory VII. ordered, that in all Christian churches divine service should be read in no other language than in those of the Greek or Latin. Thus was the Sclavonian language banished from all those places, where, till this time, it had been preserved.

The Greek church produced in this century many learned men, whose memory deserves to be immortalised. Nicetus Pectoratus, and Michael Cerularius, may be placed among the first of those who signalized their zeal and erudition by their disputes with the church of Rome. Mystic theology was revived among the Greeks by Simeon, called the Young. We have likewise some good Homilies of Theophanus Cerameus; and we may justly esteem Theophylact, archbishop of Achris in Bulgaria, as one of the best interpreters of the holy scriptures. Michael Psellus, illustrious both by fortune and birth, was the greatest philosopher and most learned man of his time. George Cedrenus, John Xiphilin, and John, whose office procured him the surname of Curopalata, were good historians.

There were at this time many learned men in the Latin church, who applied themselves with great attention to the clearing up of matters of revelation by the help of philosophy. The chief among them were, Lanfranc and Anselm, both archbishops of Canterbury; to whom we may add Hildebert of Mâns: they may all three be looked upon as the introducers of scholastic

<sup>a</sup> See P. Pagi on the year 1090, and the Breviar. Pontif. p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> See again Bona, in his Res Liturgicæ, lib. i. ch. ix. and the Breviar. Pontif. vol. ii. p. 416.

divinity. Cardinal Humbert was particularly famous for his disputes with the Greek church. Peter Damien, likewise Cardinal, ought to be numbered among the witnesses of the truth, who lamented the corruption of the church. Posterity deservedly reverences the memory of Ives of Chartres on many accounts, but particularly for his having so clearly explained the ecclesiastical laws. The best historians were, Dithmar of Mersbourg, Hermann the Little, Glaber Rodolphus, Marianus Scotus, Lambert of Aschaffenbourg, and Adam of Bremen.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the state of the Christian doctrine at this time, as their notions on the subject of the holy sacrament sufficiently prove. It had been the subject of dispute ever since the ninth century, as we have before-mentioned, and likewise remarked, that in the tenth century the opinions on this subject were the most rational. But the erroneous doctrine of Paschas was so much to the taste of the depraved clergy, that it soon gained many adherents. Berenger<sup>a</sup>, an excellent divine of the church of Algiers in France, wanted to maintain the antient and true doctrine; but he was condemned by the popes, and by several councils<sup>b</sup>. The fear of death obliged him many times to retract his own sentiments, and even to sign, with an oath, several formularies<sup>c</sup>, that his adversaries forced him to

<sup>a</sup> There are many very instructive things on the subject of Berenger, in a treatise of Aubertin de Sacramento Eucharistiae, lib. iii. p. 947. The learned Fabricius has mentioned, with his usual exactness, the authors who have treated on this subject, in his Biblioth. Latina Mediae & infimae Latinitatis, lib. ii. p. 570.

<sup>b</sup> Besides other authors mentioned by Fabricius, see a very excellent dissertation of P. Mabillon, de Berengarii multiplici damnatione, fidei profacione & relapsu, de ejusque penitentia.

<sup>c</sup> There are some expressions in them which do not agree with the doctrine the church of Rome now supports. Panem & vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, non solummodo sacræ receive

receive; which makes it difficult to say what were those he professed when he died<sup>a</sup>; neither can we easily determine what was the real doctrine of the church of Rome which she opposed to that of Berenger. But it is certain, that the monstrous tenet, since known by the name of Transubstantiation<sup>b</sup>, was at that time gaining ground. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, before-mentioned, was a zealous defender and ardent promoter of the doctrine of Purgatory.

The heresy of the Manichees, which had formerly penetrated from the east into Bulgaria, at this time infected France, if we may give credit to some writers, who affirm, that it was first discovered in Orleans<sup>c</sup>, and looked upon in so serious a light, that a council was<sup>d</sup> held in 1022, in which some ecclesiastics of that city, with their followers, were condemned to be burned, which many of them suffered with the greatest constancy, chusing rather to forfeit their lives than abjure their errors. They add, that this contagion was carried into the Low

mentum, symbolum, five figuram, sed etiam verum corpus & sanguinem D. N. J. C. esse; & sensualiter non solum sacramento sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri.

<sup>a</sup> See a sermon of archbishop Tillotson on Transubstantion.

<sup>b</sup> We must refer to Hospinian de Origine Chrys. p. 153, and to the Breviar. Pontif. vol. ii. p. 300.

<sup>c</sup> The acts that respect this affair were taken de Commentaire Anecdote d'Aganon, and published by Dom. Luc d'Acheri in the second vol. of his Spicilegium. See the councils of Labbé and Uſer de Ecclesiarum Christi Successione; and Bossuet, in his Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, lib. xi. f. 17, 14. This last author is to be read with caution.

<sup>d</sup> All the historians agree in placing this council in the year 1017, and it bears the same date in the acts of the council of Labbé. However, Nicholas Vignier, in his Vraye Histoire de l'Egliſe, has put it in the year 1022, not from mistake, as Bossuet pretends, but justly, as they may be convinced who consult the Critique de Baronius du P. Pagi on the year 1017, No. 1, 2, 3.

Countries by some Italians ; that many people felt its effects, but they were brought back to the right way by the exhortations and instructions of the synod of Arras <sup>a</sup>. The history of this modern Manicheism is so intricate and difficult, that we can form no judgment of its doctrine. It clearly appears, that about this time there were many people, in some parts of France, and perhaps likewise in Germany and Italy, who professed opinions in some sort resembling the doctrine of the antient Manichees ; tho' they held some others which these heretics never thought of. We may likewise observe, that the church of Rome always censured those who remarked any of the errors of her doctrine or worship ; and that, to render them still more odious, she branded them with the names of several antient heresies, most frequently with that of the Manichees <sup>b</sup>. Some annals likewise mention, that about the middle of this century there were found in Germany some Manichees, who prohibited the eating of any thing that had life.

In France, Roscelin, a priest of Compeigne, and a very able logician, was suspected by many persons of endeavouring to introduce Tritheism into the church. He advanced, that the three persons in the Holy Trinity are three things, or realities <sup>c</sup>, distinct one from the other, in the same manner as are three souls, or three angels ; that the sole union of these three persons consisted in their having but one will and one power. This doctrine, being condemned as heretical in the council held at Soissons in 1092, Roscelin was intimi-

<sup>a</sup> See the acts of the synod of Arras in the *Spicilegium d'Achori*, in the beginning of the 13th vol.

<sup>b</sup> See Bossuet, lib. sep. f. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Consult the book of Adam Tribbechovius, entitled, *De Doctoribus Scholasticis*, ch. vi. p. 323, and the *Nov. Biblioth. de Dupin*, vol. viii. p. 101.

dated, subscribed to the condemnation, and solemnly retracted his opinion; which, notwithstanding, he again professed. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, claims the first rank among those who undertook, by writing, the refutation of this heresy. But, by attempting to conciliate the Trinity of persons with the unity of substance in the divine nature, many people were of opinion, that he fell into the error of Sabellius. The scholastic doctors, however, still retain to his expressions.

The controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, which, towards the close of the preceding century, had produced a schism, still continued to increase. A letter was published, written by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, in which he very severely censured some rites of the Latin church <sup>a</sup>, at the same time prohibiting, at Constantinople, all churches and monasteries for the use of that communion. Pope Leo IX. not satisfied with answering these censures by the letters he wrote, deputed envoys to Constantinople <sup>b</sup>, where they met with a very favourable reception from the emperor Constantine Monomaque, who was then in great need of the favour and assistance of the Latins. Finding themselves thus supported by the emperor, they at first disputed, both *viva voce* and by writing with the patriarch, and with Nicetas Pectoratus, a divine of reputation; they at last obliged the latter to condemn and to retract all the writings he had published on this affair; and at length, after having given a solemn judgment against Ce-

<sup>a</sup> He insists principally on four points: 1. The using of unleavened bread in the sacrament: 2. Of the Saturday's fasting in Lent: 3. Of blood and things strangled: 4. Of the singing of Hallelujah during Lent.

<sup>b</sup> These were, the Cardinal Humbert, Cardinal Frederick, the chancellor of the Roman church, and Peter, archbishop of Amalphi.

rularius, they excommunicated, deposed, and treated him with great ignominy. A sudden revolution soon changed the face of things. The emperor dying, the deposed patriarch easily recovered his dignity and authority in the Greek church ; and he was scarcely restored to his see, when he returned to the Roman Pontiff the same excommunication, with the like solemnity, he had before received from him. Thus were all hopes of reconciliation between the two churches totally destroyed.

The eastern and western churches had not in this century seen an end of their sufferings. The Mahometan princes in general were tyrants over the Christians. In the north, the Danes, the Sclavonians, and the Venades, were great enemies to them : but in length of time these barbarians became more civilized, and at last received the faith.

The history of the popes making a considerable part of the church history, we shall extract from thence some particulars which may enable us to judge of the state of the church under their usurped dominion, which daily increased, and at length arose to such a height as passes all credibility.

Guy, Count of Limoges, having had a difference with Grimoald, bishop of that city, pope Sylvester II. took notice of it ; and on that occasion made the inhuman law, which prohibited any one to imprison a bishop, under pain of being torn in pieces by wild horses.

Sergius IV. formerly called Hog's Snout, not chusing to preserve his name, followed the example of his predecessor, by changing it when he took the tiara, and also made a law by which all his successors were obliged to do the same.

Benedict II. whose former name was Theophylact, became pope at the age of ten or twelve years by the immense presents of his brother Alberic, count

of

of Tusculum. His conduct was very scandalous : he even gave into the idolatries of Paganism, and made use of diabolical arts. Two anti-popes rising up against him, the emperor Henry III. deposed them and him, declaring them Simoniacs, illegal, and guilty of several other crimes. Clement II. who succeeded them, died soon after he was made pope ; and his successor, Damasus II. being poisoned at the end of twenty-three days, the pontificate returned to Benedict IX. but as the Romans would not suffer this monster, the emperor sent them Bruno, bishop of Tulle, who took the name of Leo IX. He was more deserving of esteem than any of his predecessors, but he did not sufficiently maintain the dignity of his office ; being once found armed in a battle against the Normans, he was taken, but the enemy immediately sent him honourably back without any ransom.

The extraordinary attempts of Gregory VII. could never be credited, were it not for the authentic proofs we have of them. Soon after he was made pope, he held a council at Rome, in which all the ecclesiastics, accused of simony and keeping of women, were condemned. The execution of this sentence was the cause of infinite trouble and confusion in Italy, Germany, and all the other Christian countries of the west ; for all those who had received the investiture from the Laics were declared guilty of simony ; and the married men, who were in great numbers, were condemned as keeping mistresses. Germany being at this time in great confusion, occasioned by the revolt of Saxony, and some other states of the empire against Henry IV. Gregory seized this opportunity, and used every endeavour to encrease the revolt. He had excommunicated, as guilty of simony, Godfrey, archbishop of Milan, and some other bishops, in whose communion the emperor still continued.

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This was the principal cause of the difference between the pope and him; though many other incidents contributed thereto. After some negotiations, things came to an open war. Henry held in 1076 an assembly at Worms of princes and bishops, in which Hildebrand was declared unworthy of the pontificate, as attainted and convicted of many crimes. Twenty-six bishops signed the sentence, and an envoy was sent to Rome to acquaint the pope with it. The pope, upon hearing what had happened, immediately held a council at Rome, in which he in his turn condemned all those bishops who had condemned him, excommunicated and deposed Henry, and freed his subjects from their oath of allegiance. He wrote at the same time to the princes and people of Germany, soliciting them to reject the dominion of Henry, and elect a new emperor. The princes, thus excited by the pope, assembled about the end of the same year in the neighbourhood of Mayence, and would have proceeded to the deposition of Henry; but he assured them, by his envoys, he should, in the space of one year, obtain absolution from the pope. The unhappy prince, forced to submit to his hard fate, went to Italy in the month of February, the year 1077, accompanied by his wife and son, yet an infant. The pope, who was then at Lombardy in a castle belonging to the countess Matilda, received him with great indignity. This castle was surrounded with a triple inclosure. Henry was obliged at the first to leave all his attendants without, to throw off his royal robes, and walk barefooted. They kept him in the second court from morning till night, where he was near perishing with cold and hunger. This cruelty continued for three days; on the fourth the pope admitted him to an audience; and, after having imposed on him the most rigorous laws, he gave him absolution,

but

but on condition that “ he should go to the place, “ and, on the day prescribed by Gregory, to de-“ fend his cause, and answer the accusations al-“ ledged against him, be ready to renounce his em-“ pire, if the pope required it ; and promise to re-“ tain no resentment, and never to revenge the in-“ jurious treatment he had received ; ” at the same time obliging himself not to take up the ornaments of his dignity, nor the administration of affairs, till this judgment was passed. Henry did not obtain his end by this shameful submission ; on the contrary, those who were before attached to his party now forsook him, despising him for his meanness, joined themselves to the princes who opposed him, and adhered to the election of Rodolphus, duke of Swabia, who was made emperor. It is said that the pope, when he sent him the crown, sent with it this Latin verse :

“ *Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi papa coronam ;*”

Or, according to others,

“ *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*”

Henry, finding himself now capable of resisting Rodolphus, they fought for some time with different successes, till the year 1080, when Rodolphus was vanquished, and killed. It was looked upon as an effect of divine justice, that he was wounded in that hand which he had formerly lifted up to give his oath of fidelity to Henry. Gregory renewed his anathemas against the emperor ; but he, being now sufficiently powerful, procured the pope’s condemnation. Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, was elected to his place, and took the name of Clement III. Henry, freed from Rodolphus, came into Italy ; and having besieged Gregory, who was in Rome, and who had called the Normans to his assistance, obliged him to take refuge in Salerno, where he died in 1085. Such was the end of this turbulent pontiff ; the fatal effects

of whose unbounded pride and ambition were felt not only in Germany and Italy, but likewise in France, England, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, Poland, Sicily, Sardinia, and at last even by the Greek empire. He wanted to usurp throughout all his dominions the temporal as well as spiritual authority. In his epistles we find some of his decrees, which include his chief pretensions, amongst others the following :

“ The Pontiff of Rome alone has the right of  
 “ taking the title of Universal. He alone can de-  
 “ pose bishops, or re-establish them, without the  
 “ concurrence of any synod or convocation. It is  
 “ not lawful for any one to remain in the same  
 “ house with those he has excommunicated. He is  
 “ the only one who can create new laws, as exi-  
 “ gencies shall require. He alone has the right of  
 “ investing himself with the imperial ornaments.  
 “ All princes should kiss his feet. He is to be  
 “ spoke of in churches by the name of the only,  
 “ POPE <sup>a</sup> in the world. He has the right of  
 “ deposing emperors. No council can be called ge-  
 “ neral without his order. No work shall pass for  
 “ canonical but what bears his authority. No one  
 “ can annul or change a sentence he has given : it  
 “ is only he can do it. No person can be his judge.  
 “ The Roman church never did err, and never can  
 “ err. A pope, who has received the canonical or-

<sup>a</sup> The name of Pope was given to all bishops, as we see in the epistles of H. Austin and H. Jerom, and other ecclesiastical writers. Eutychius says, that Heracleas, patriarch of Alexandria, in the third century, took the title of Pope, which they, from that time, gave to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and all the bishops. Gregory was the first who ordered, that the name should be given only to the bishop of Rome, as being the visible head of the catholic church : but custom, more than the decree, determined the western churches to give the name of Pope to the bishops of Rome only.

“ dination,

" dination, becomes holy by the merits of the  
" apostle St. Peter. Whoever differs from the  
" Roman church cannot be called a Catholic. The  
" pope has the right of dispensing the subjects of  
" a wicked prince from their allegiance to him;  
" that is to say, those whom the holy see have con-  
" demned, &c."

The most reasonable of the popes have acknowledged the pride and tyranny of these decrees, and have endeavoured to persuade the world that this is not the work of Gregory: but whether he did or did not write them, it is evident that his whole conduct answered to those principles.

The schism continued after his death. Victor III. was elected by the faction, and afterwards Urban; whilst Clement III. who had been acknowledged by the emperor, still remained pope. Urban II. held the council of Clermont, in which the expedition for the holy war was determined.

About the same time, that is, about the years 1094 and 1095, Urban II. excommunicated Philip, king of France, for having divorced his wife Berthe, and marrying Bertrade; and did not take off the anathema till Philip had put away Bertrade. However, he at last took her again, and kept her by a dispensation from Paschal II.

Stephen, first king of Hungary, and Casimir, who, from monk of Cluny, became king of Poland, were highly celebrated in this century for their eminent zeal and great piety. After their deaths, they were numbered in the list of saints.

The law of celibacy imposed on the clergy became daily more and more rigorous. Leo IX. Nicholas II. and Gregory IX. insisted on the observation of it with the greatest severity; and this law was so hateful to most of them, that it became the cause of many troubles. Many ecclesiastics of

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Milan chose rather to separate themselves from the communion of Rome than to part with their wives, and formed separate assemblies in a place called Paterea.

This was the origin of the Paterins or Vaudois, who became well known in the following century. God began thus to draw light out of darkness, by opening the eyes of many persons in Italy, and several countries of France, on the errors of the Roman church, and the tyranny of the popes.

C E N T U R Y .

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## CENTURY XII.

THE idolatry that still prevailed in some of the northern countries of Europe was entirely abolished about this period, and the knowledge of Christianity daily dispelled the clouds of darkness, which had overspread the minds of those ignorant people. The Pomeranians had for their apostle Otto of Bamberg, who took much pains in their conversion in 1124, and the following years. Vincelin, bishop of Aldenbourg<sup>a</sup>, spent more than thirty years very successfully in the conversion of different parts of Holstein and Mecklenbourg, which were still under the power of the Sclavonians and Venedes. The Livonians were indebted for their conversion to Maynard, bishop of Riga; though it must be allowed, that his successors, completely to finish the work, were obliged to call in the assistance of some troops, who came from Germany. The Swedish soldiers<sup>b</sup> were likewise the converters of the Finlanders; and the victories of Woldemar, king of Denmark, brought the Russians to the profession of the truth. In Norway the seeds of Christianity took very deep and lasting root<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Helmold in his Chron. Slav. lib. i. ch. xli. and P. Pagi, in his Critique on Baronius, on the year 11.

<sup>b</sup> Blans Magnus in his Abregé de l'Histoire Lesslon, I. iv. c. xvii.

<sup>c</sup> P. Pagi in his Critique on the year 1148, No. 15.

We have seen, that, towards the end of the preceding century, the Christians in Europe had taken Palestine from the Mahometans. The state of this new kingdom continued very flourishing during the reigns of Baldwin I. and II. and under some of their successors. Foulques, who reigned after Baldwin II. extended his kingdom to the limits assigned by scripture to the kingdom of David and Solomon<sup>a</sup>, from Dan to the north, and Beershebah to the south. But after his death, the European power began daily to decline, and that of the Mahometans to encrease, which threatened approaching ruin to the dominion of the Christians. To prevent this, in 1146 preparations were made for a new expedition, at the head of which they placed the most powerful princes that then were; the emperor Conrad II. and Lewis VII. king of France. The event was deplorable. These illustrious princes, after being witnesses to the loss of their numerous armies, were put to great difficulty to escape themselves and regain their kingdom. Saladin, one of the most valiant princes mentioned in history, and who then reigned over the Mahometans in Egypt and Smyrna, took Jerusalem by capitulation in 1187. Frederic I. emperor of Germany, an illustrious prince, formed a design of recovering the Holy Land; and for this purpose put himself at the head of a powerful army; but he did not even enter Judea, having the misfortune to be drowned in a river of Cilicia<sup>b</sup>. Philip Augustus, king of

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 10. 1 Kings, iv., 25.

<sup>b</sup> It is very surprising that the best historians, and the most able critics, have not determined exactly the river in which this illustrious emperor lost his life. We have, however, in the first vol. of the appendix to *Scrip. Rer. Germ.* of Marquard Freher, a very exact account from the papers of Tagenon, who accompanied this prince, and related things as they happened under his own eyes. In following this guide we cannot err. But what has deceived the learned, is the name of Armenia, the country

France,

France, and Richard, king of England, having raised new forces, arrived safe at Palestine; but, after many battles and various enterprises, they were obliged to return unsuccessful. In a word, the Christians, through their own faults, saw all their prospects for this purpose entirely fail them.

The history of the popes, during the course of this century, affords little more than an account of the perpetual struggle they had sometimes with the anti-popes, who disputed with them the triple crown, and sometimes with the emperors, and other princes of the Christian world. Honorius II. gave signal proofs of his arrogance to the princes of his time. Eugene III. endeavoured to deprive the city of Rome of her antient rights and privileges; but the Romans suppressed this attempt, and drove him out of their territories. Adrian IV. a proud pre-

where he says the emperor entered when he left Lycaonia, because Armenia is situated to the east and north of Lycaonia; and Frederick, when he left the country, went to the south, where is Cilicia; but they do not consider that Cilicia was often called by the name of Armenia Minor, upon the account of its being governed by a king from the antient race of the kings of Armenia. Few people have been free from this error. The name of the city, near to which the emperor went, and that of the river whose waters pass through that city, is likewise unknown to other writers; though Tagenon has given to this city its antient name of Seleucia, which was formerly one of the most considerable cities of Cilicia, as we may see in the geography of antient Asia, by Cellarius, p. 228. The anonymous author and contemporary, whose works Canisius has published in his *Antiq. Lect.* part ii. p. 526, calls the same city Saleph; others call it the Camp de Saleph. The best writers of this give the river the name of Saleph; and Tagenon calls it *Aqua Selphica*. Among the antients it has the name of Calycadnus, as Canisius has remarked in the above-mentioned work. It is not difficult to guess at the reason of the name Saleph. The Greeks then pronounced the antient name of Σελευκία, by saying Seleukia or Selfikia. From thence the Turks called it Selef; and the river took the name of Selif or *Aqua Selphica*. This was undoubtedly the place where the world was so unfortunately deprived of one of the most worthy princes that ever lived.

late, lived in great enmity with the emperor Frederic I. and this breach still remained afterwards under Alexander III. who at last, though with some difficulty, reconciled himself with Frederic: this reconciliation reflected no disgrace on the emperor. Urban III. to whom they gave, upon this account, the name of Turban, wished to renew these troubles; but he could not succeed. The emperor Henry VI. was attacked in the same manner by pope Celestin III. Such is the general view of the conduct of the popes, of which we shall soon give a further account. The disputes concerning the investiture of the clergy, of which we spoke in the preceding century, was renewed with great warmth, particularly between Henry V. and pope Paschal II. The latter, at last overcome by necessity, waved his pretensions; but his successor, Calixtus II. again renewed them. At last all parties, being heartily tired of this unending dispute concerning the rights of the empire and the priesthood, conditions were offered in order to establish a lasting peace. The conditions being such, as neither abridged too much the majesty of the empire, or the rights of the church, were consented to by both sides, and tranquillity was for some time re-established.

The greatest mark of distinguished piety, which could be given in this age, was the foundation of some monastic order. About the beginning of this century, Robert of Arbriselles, whom some speak of in very high terms, and others with much contempt, instituted a new order in France, called by the name of Fontevraud, from the place where it was first established; this society was composed of convents of both men and women; and what is most remarkable, the whole was governed by a woman. Norbert, afterwards archbishop of Magdebourg, founded an order of Premontres, who took the name

from

from the place where the first cloister was built, and in which there were, in length of time, various changes. The Carmelites, who take their name from Mount Carmel, pretend to be the most antient of the monks; but, in reality, their beginning was only in the year 1170, when Almeric, patriarch of Antioch, founded this order in Palestine. In the following century it was brought into Europe, with some changes, and the popes added it to the other monastic orders. The voyages into Palestine caused likewise the establishment of various orders for the future support and maintenance of those who had made the pilgrimage. These orders were almost all military, and gave the title of Knights to those who belonged to them. Such were the orders of the knights of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic orders: there were also a great many others in Spain upon the same plan, and for the same purpose.

True piety and good works were very little regarded in this century; while the most childish superstitions, and the most scandalous abuses, abounded every where. The Crusades contributed particularly to increase disorders, and all sorts of excesses. Some of those evils took their rise in this, but did not come to full maturity till the following age.

The east, in this century, produced many very celebrated writers. The principal of them are the following: Eustathius, metropolitan of Nice, was a great philosopher, who defended the cause of his church against the Latins with much success. Michael Glycas published likewise many works upon the same subject, as well as some historical writings. Andronicus Camaterus was one of the opposers of the Roman church, and of the sect of Armenians. Euthymius Zigabenus acquired much reputation from many of his writings, particularly from his Panoply of Orthodoxy against Heresy, which is one

of the best books of the kind; and gives us the truest notions of the nature of heresies. Constantine Harmenopulus has thrown much light both on ecclesiastical and civil law. Theodorus Balsamon was well versed in ecclesiastical law, as his histories sufficiently testify. We may justly place Eustathius, archbishop of Theffalonica, in the first rank of the most learned men that the Greek church ever produced. Nicephorus of Brienne, and his wife Ann, daughter of Alexis Comnenus, were famous for their historical writings; as were John Zonaras, Constantine Manasses, and John Cinnamus. The descriptions, which John Phocas has given of the parts of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, which he visited in his pilgrimage, are, in many respects, curious and interesting.

The study of philosophy prevailed much throughout all the schools of the west; but it was such philosophy as tended rather to enliven the wit than strengthen the judgment. We are now come to the times in which divines gave themselves entirely up to logical disputes, as they thought them the most probable means to extend the bounds of human knowledge, and to explain, with clearness, revealed truths. The most distinguished of these divines was an abbot of Clairvaux, known by the name of St. Barnard, and who is called the last of the fathers. The writings of Anselm of Loudon, of Peter Abelard, of Gilbert of Porrée, and other scholastic writers of those times, are filled with these subtleties. But Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, surnamed the Master of Sentences, excelled them all. Those who employed themselves particularly in the study of divinity were, Rupert of Dwitz, a good interpreter of holy scripture, in whom we find more sense and judgment than we could possibly expect from the times in which he lived; Hugh of St. Victor was a man of polite learning;

ing; Richard of St. Victor, the chief of the mystics of that time; Peter of Blois, and John of Salisbury. The name of the monk Gratian is still preserved by the compilation of ecclesiastical law which he has left us; neither must we forget the abbot Joachim <sup>a</sup>, the leader of a congregation in Calabria, who was so much reverenced by his contemporaries for his great learning, that the greatest part of them supposed he had the gift of prophesy, not that he pretended to any more than a knowledge of sacred scripture, and particularly of the prophetical books <sup>b</sup>. The opinions of the learned are divided in respect to this man; and in the following age we find his condemnation signed by the fourth council of Latran. The best Latin historians of this time were, Sigebert of Gemblours, who did not spare the popes; Otto of Frisingue, less illustrious for his high birth than for the services learning, and particularly history, received from him; William of Tyre, the best of the writers, who have left us any account of the holy wars; and Saxo, surnamed the Grammarian, whose memory is rendered immortal by his history of Denmark.

The method of treating theology, which Lanfranc, Anselm, and some others introduced in the preceding century, prevailed more and more, and was afterwards used in all the universities of France, England, and Germany. This is what is called <sup>c</sup> Scholastic Divinity. This erroneous divinity was

<sup>a</sup> There is a work printed at Paris, in 1745, intitled, *Histoire de l'Abbe Joachim, surnommé le Prophète*, in two vols. Svo. See the writers who have treated on the Literary Church History, and Fabricius, vol. iv. p. 107, &c. of his *Biblioth. Med. Latin.*

<sup>b</sup> See the *Histoire des Croisades*, par Maimbourg vol. ii. p. 246, and the *Histoire de Naples*, by Giannone, vol. ii. p. 406, and the *Breviar. Pontif.* vol. iii. p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> The principal writers, to whom we may refer on this subject, are mentioned by Buddeus in his *Isagoge Historico-Theologica*, p. 569.

founded on the principles of Aristotle's philosophy, and even that philosophy corrupted by the Arabians<sup>a</sup>, such as had for some time prevailed in the west. There were many of the clergy, who, however, still preferred the fathers of the church to this philosophy. The great inconvenience of this method of the schools arose from its giving room to an infinity of subtle, vain, and often very ridiculous questions, which, to the great prejudice of true and solid knowledge, employed the whole time and attention of the divines. Though we must acknowledge, that this age did not carry things near so far in this respect as the following. The knowledge of salvation, originally pure and simple, was changed into a heap of confused ideas, and loaded with an infinity of terms and barbarous expressions<sup>b</sup>. Those who depended on scripture for their first rule of faith, and who revered also the authority of the fathers, were called Dogmatists; but their number daily decreased. Those on the contrary, who gave themselves up to logical subtleties, and who built wholly on the principles of their favourite philosophy, called themselves Positives; they afterwards had the sole government of the schools. The purity of our holy religion was greatly prejudiced by them, as we may judge from their doctrine of indulgences from the nature and number of their sacraments, and in particular from their doctrine of Transubstantiation. The continuance of scholastic divinity is divided into three ages: The first was that in which Peter Lombard shone, whom we mentioned before; and we shall at proper times speak

<sup>a</sup> The Arabians translated Aristotle's works into their language. It is from the Arabic the Latin Translation was made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See Brucker Hist. Philos. v. iii.

p 683.

<sup>b</sup> See Mosheim in his Inst. Histor. Eccles. Antiq. p. 702.

of the others, in which things grew worse and worse.

The Mystic Theology, founded almost wholly on mere notions, and filled with a heap of absurdities, was so much unlike the divine wisdom, which had inspired the apostles, and their successors in the primitive church, that it could not but highly disgust all those in whom there were any sentiments of true religion. There were some people of opinion, that they should not reject the philosophy almost universally received; but that, by using it with prudence and moderation in religious disputes, it might be made subservient to true piety. Such were the notions of Hugh of Victor. Some others again, to arrive at an end so truly laudable, would take no other guide but the sacred scripture, and kept themselves within such proper bounds, that even now we cannot refuse them our commendations. But the far greatest number, in order to shun the inconveniences of the scholastic divinity, went into the opposite extreme; from whence arose the Mystic Theology, very properly so named. This divinity led to the most manifest absurdities, and the most shameful errors. There were some, who, after the example of the scholastics, endeavoured to give a systematical form to the precepts of their divinity, and who took for their model the writings of the false Dionysius the Areopagite. They filled their system with notions taken from the impure sources of the heathen Philosophy, expressed in a manner which no one could understand; and they engaged by it to bring men to a state of mind, which it was impossible he should attain in this life: in short, it opened a door to enthusiasm. We may conclude, from the whole, that though there are many very sensible and edifying things in some of the mystic writers, yet they are not to be read without great circumspection;

tion, and guard against the effects of a too easily heated imagination.

In Bulgaria, about this time, there sprung up the new sect, called Bogomiles <sup>a</sup>, so called from their imploring the divine mercy by continual sighs, that being the meaning of the word in the Bulgarian language. The supposed tenets of this sect were of the same nature with those of the Manichees and Gnostics; though some pretend that they were a branch of the sect of Messalians, whom we mentioned in the history of the fourth century. Such is the opinion of many antient authors who speak of them, and which is founded on a conformity of their notions with those of the Messalians. The principal of these new sectarists was one Basil, a monk, who was burnt at Constantinople. The sect survived him. History makes mention of it as existing in the following century.

The subtleties of the scholastic divinity gave frequent occasion to those who professed them, to accuse of heresy all those who did not enter into their ideas, and who refused to admit things, which to them appeared incomprehensible. So it happened to Peter Abelard, whose sense and learning could not free him from the accusation of Arianism, of Nestorianism, and Pelagianism, and two councils condemned him, though neither could convict him. The effects of St. Bernard's hatred fell also on Arnaud de Bresse, a disciple of Abelard: the scholar went, indeed, farther than the master, for he attacked some of the tenets of the Roman church, and particularly censured the vices of the clergy; crimes which he soon expiated by death.

<sup>a</sup> There are many authors, both antient and modern, who have mentioned this heresy; but the most celebrated of them is Mr. J. Christ. Wolf, who has wrote their history in Latin.

Gilbert de la Porree, bishop of Poitiers, was very famous among the scholastics; but, having advanced some things very subtle, and by no means comprehensible, respecting the divine essence and the incarnation, St. Bernard opposed and condemned him several times; and at last obliged him to retract his errors, whether real or imaginary.

The corruption of the Roman church began to increase so very much, both in her doctrine and worship, as well as in the manners of her clergy, that it rendered the state of Christianity truly horrible and deplorable throughout the west. Many people could not any longer, without the greatest concern, be witnesses to such scandals, or remain in the bosom of a church so altogether depraved. We do not pretend that those who separated themselves were certainly free from error (that perhaps was impossible for the times in which they lived) but it must be acknowledged they shewed at least their pure intentions, and the sincere design they had to retain the genuine doctrine of the gospel. As the historians of this time were Roman Catholics, they called all those who quitted their communion by the name of heretics, and branded them with the most ignominious titles. They represented them as divided among themselves, and fluctuating between different opinions; which is not altogether without foundation<sup>a</sup>. The most famous were the Vaudois, who are supposed to be so called from one Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lyons, who, about the year 1140, translated the sacred scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and from them he taught and inculcated a doctrine much more conformable to the gospel of Christ than that professed in the Roman church. Of this we have convincing proofs in the antient confessions of the faith of the Vaudois. We may venture, with much

<sup>a</sup> See Usher de Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione, cap. viii. reafon,

reafon, to place the origin of these people, who, to this day, inhabit the vallies of Piedmont, prior to the twelfth century, though we have no demonstrative proofs to support the affeſtional.

It is the custom to join the Vaudois with the Albigenses<sup>a</sup>; for at the beginning at least there was no great difference between them, both the one and the other perceiving the principal errors, and the most remarkable vices of the Roman church, thought it their duty to separate themselves from her communion, and ardently wished for a reformation of these abuses. The name of Albigenses was taken from Albi, a considerable town in Guienne, near which Peter and Henry Bruys, the first preachers of this fect, formed their assemblies. Peter was condemned to be burnt. They were likewise called, from the names of their teachers, Petro-Brusians and Henricians. Their adversaries very rashly and calumniously charged the Albigenses with Manicheism<sup>b</sup>; and this the Roman Catholic historians continually assert. It must be granted, by all those who have a regard for truth, that, in proceſs of time, there were ſome among their party, whose doctrine was not very far, in ſome points, from the reveries of the Gnostics and Manichees, as it appears from the public records of that time. Though these ſame

<sup>a</sup> Bossuet has greatly exaggerated things in his *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, as we shall easily ſee by reading his tenth book. Mr. Basnage has corrected this exaggeration in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, lib. xxiv. ch. x. and also many other authors, who have ſpoken of the Vaudois. Their History of Mr. Leger, in folio, is well known.

<sup>b</sup> Their opinions, drawn exactly both from their own writings, and also from those of their enemies, are faithfully collected in a learned dissertation of Mr. Henry Cornelius Helter, of Hamburg, printed at Leipsick, in 1721, under the title of *Petrobrusiani & Henriciani Testes veritatis seculo xii.* See particularly the *Histoire des Variations*, lib. ii. p. 70.

records <sup>a</sup> fully prove, that the usual persecutions the Albigenses suffered from the Roman church were solely upon account of their attacking her doctrine and worship, and more particularly her sacraments. This was the capital crime which rendered them so hateful to the popes and clergy.

Though the time, one should have thought, was now come, when all remains of idolatry should entirely have been rooted out of Europe, and the tranquillity of the church wholly confirmed, yet there were still some nations more obstinate than others, and who gave great trouble to the church. Such were the Slaves or Sclavonians, whose hatred was the most envenomed against Christianity. The Christians had much difficulty to deliver themselves from the effects of their fury, and from the fear they had of those barbarous men, whose implacable hatred they had for a long time experienced. The inhabitants of the island of Rugen <sup>b</sup>, some little time before they embraced the faith, made an excursion into the country of the Venedes, and destroyed there many churches. In Finland, though Eric, king of Sweden, and Henry, archbishop of Upsal, seemed to have perfected the conversion of that people, the archbishop fell by the sword of a common assassin <sup>c</sup>. In the southern countries of Europe, and particularly in the provinces of the south of France, the Vaudois and Albigenses, wishing to enjoy the free profession of their faith, fell under the heavy displeasure of the clergy, and the Roman church, which they then felt in all

<sup>a</sup> We find these acts in the *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanæ*, ab anno 1307 ad 1323, which Limborch has added to his history of the inquisition, in Latin. See also the eighth chapter of the 1st book of his work.

<sup>b</sup> See the history of the church of Pomerania, by Cramer, book i. chap. xxxvi.

<sup>c</sup> See P. Pagi in the *Critique of Baronius* on the year 1151, No. 8.

its strength and fury. Most of their teachers were dragged to the stake; and they would have served all the congregations in the same manner, if their great and increasing number had not prevented them, by rendering their power very formidable. Upon this account conferences were held, and councils were summoned to condemn them; but as their sentences did not answer the grand purpose, we shall find, in the following century, they were succeeded by violence and the most cruel tortures. During the Crusades, the Christians and Mahometans had done so much injury to each other, that there still remained in the minds of each a great fund of animosity.

We promised before to give some account of the conduct of the popes during this century. They were at first entirely taken up with the affair of the Investitures. At last Calixtus II. entered into an agreement with the emperor Henry V. by which it was settled, that the emperors should give up all right of conferring Investiture by the staff and the ring; but that the elections of bishops and abbots should be in the presence of the emperor, from whom they were to receive the right of the regalia by the scepter. This treaty was concluded at Worms, in 1122, and confirmed the year following in the council of Latran. A period was now put to the troubles and calamities, which the church and empire had suffered for more than fifty years.

Without entering into the different schisms caused by the anti-popes, we shall come to the great quarrel that arose in 1159 between the emperor Frederic Barbarossa and the pope Alexander III. who had been elected by the greatest number of cardinals. This election Frederic refused to acknowledge, taking part with the anti-popes, Victor III. Paschal III. and Calixtus III. This dispute lasted for more than eighteen years, and gave occasion

for

for many councils to be summoned, and wars to be made with different success. At last Frederic, being forced to yield, was sent ambassador to Venice, to treat of peace with Alexander ; and the conditions being settled, he came to receive the kiss of peace from the pope, prostrating himself upon the earth before him in the porch of St. Mark's church. Some authors add, that Alexander put his foot on the neck of Frederic, and said, “ It is written thou ‘ shalt tread on scorpions and serpents, and trample ‘ under foot the lion and the dragon ;’ upon which the emperor answered thus: “ This right does not ‘ belong to you, but to St. Peter.” The pope replied, “ It belongs both to me and to St. Peter.”

In England, Henry II. had a terrible quarrel with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate had incurred the king's displeasure, by not permitting him to judge and punish some of the clergy, who had committed many crimes, among others a canon ; notwithstanding the laws of the kingdom decided in favour of the monarch, the archbishop insisted on the pretended prerogatives of his order. However, he was persuaded, in 1164, to swear solemnly with the other bishops, that he would, for the future, faithfully observe the laws of the nation. He soon after violated his promise ; for which he was condemned, in a synod held at Northampton, and fled for refuge to France, where the king and pope granted him their protection, by which means he regained his place, and returned into England in 1170. But continuing still to disturb the king, and the other members of the clergy, he was murdered by four of Henry's guards, though without his order. Notwithstanding which, the pope imposed a most severe penance on the king ; and three years after Thomas was ranked in the number of saints and martyrs.

The Crusades against the infidels being over, others were entered upon against the heretics ; the signal for which was given in the third council of Latran, held by pope Alexander III. The twenty-seventh canon of this council promised indulgences to all those who engaged in this war, and denounced excommunication to whosoever should suffer heretics, either in their houses or upon their estates, or grant them the least assistance, or hold any society with them.

Some celebrated universities were founded in this century ; among others those of Paris and Bologne.

The civil law was brought to light by the discovery that was made of the Pandects of Justinian. The German emperor Lotharius, the Saxon, ordered them to be publicly taught ; and Iranerius, or Wernerius, was the first who took upon himself that office. Upon this plan they prepared a new canon, or pontifical law, taken from the writings of the fathers, the acts of the councils, and the letters and constitutions of the popes. Gratian, a monk of Tuscany, made this compilation, which was at first called Concordantia Discordantium Canonum ; but it has now the title of Gratian's Decree. In the following centuries it was much enlarged by the desires of the popes, Gregory IX. and Clement V. and others. This work is filled with errors, and some pieces, the most manifestly supposititious, are continually cited in it as authentic ; even the learned themselves of the Roman church acknowledge this.

The Jews had in this century among them many very learned men of high reputation ; as R. Solomon Jarchi, R. Aben Esra, R. David Kimchi, and his brother Moses, another Moses, son of Nachman, and Moses the son of Mainon, a person of most undoubted merit, who ought to have been mentioned before any other.

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C E N T U R Y XIII.

THE Nestorian churches, which for many centuries had been established in the eastern and northern parts of Asia, and appeared to be settled on the most solid foundations, received many shocks during the course of this century, threatening their entire ruin ; though they had by intervals some favorable prospects, and in general supported themselves tolerably well, having many powerful princes in their communion, particularly the greatest of the considerable nation of the Tartars, called Monguls. Historians give us many accounts of the conversion of the Tartars: It cannot be denied, indeed, that there were princes of this nation, to whom almost the whole world was subject, who openly favored the Christian religion, and greatly promoted its advancement. It might reasonably be supposed that things, being put on so good a footing, would certainly for the future go on prosperously. All Asia being filled with accounts of these progresses of the gospel, it was not possible that the popes should continue ignorant of them : they therefore sent some missionaries, who were to take every means to induce both the Tartan and Nestorian churches to submit to the

church of Rome. Their undertakings were not entirely useless; for one of the legats of the holy see procured a version of the Psalms of David and New Testament into the Tartar language. But these people having an inclination for the law of Mahomet, which prevailed soon after, utterly destroyed all hopes that the former had conceived of their being for ever subject to the laws of Christ.

In Europe, the Prussians expressed the utmost aversion to the Christian religion; which it would not have been easy to have overcome, if the Teutonic knights<sup>a</sup>, in conquering this province, had not employed fire and sword, to oblige the inhabitants to make at least an outward profession of Christianity. Time and custom insensibly changed these constrained homages into a free and voluntary worship.

The Europeans were not as yet fully satisfied with their expeditions into Palestine; and whenever their zeal seemed to fail them, the popes were not slow to sollicit and reanimate it. A new French army, under the auspices and conduct of Baldwin, count of Flanders, went into the east: the Venetians furnished them with proper vessels for their voyage. These troops did not deliver Jerusalem from the subjection of the Mahometans; but they took Constantinople in 1204 from the Greeks, and founded there a new Latin empire, appointing Baldwin to the supreme dignity. Some years after, in 1218, Andrew, king of Hungary, accompanied with Leopold, duke of Austria, and Lewis, duke of Bavaria, transported new forces into Palestine, which, by the assistance of new recruits that they

<sup>a</sup> These accounts may be found at full length in the *Prussia Antiqua & Nova* de Christophe Hartknock, part ii. ch. v. and in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Borussica*, lib. i. ch. i.

continually received from Europe, met with very great success, and would probably have entirely re-established the affairs of the Christians, if the obstinacy and pride of the pope's legate had not overturned every thing, and destroyed all the happy effects of the best concerted measures. Ten years after, the emperor Frederic II. a valiant prince, and very fortunate in his battles, re-took Jerusalem, and would have recovered the antient glory of the European arms, if the perfidious machinations of pope Gregory V. had not obliged him to return in haste into his own country. Notwithstanding so many ineffectual enterprises, Lewis IX. king of France, known by the name of St. Lewis, made two successful expeditions into the Holy Land ; but neither the one nor the other was of any advantage to the Christians ; and he himself lost his life in the last. So many disasters at length quite tired out the Christian princes, and took from them for ever the desire of recovering Palestine by the force of arms. The Roman pontiffs did not fail, however, for a long time to sound the alarm, and form projects for new wars. The Tartars themselves, advancing as far as Palestine, promised to second the undertakings of the Christians ; but they would hear no more of it : so that all the countries they formerly possessed in the east soon fell into the power of the Infidels, who have peaceably enjoyed them ever since.

The popes were never more troublesome, or formed more plots against the emperors and kings, than in this century. Their power was become very formidable, and their pride and haughtiness carried to the most insupportable height. Innocent III. formerly called Lotharius, a native of Anagni in Campania, and son of count Trasimond, possessed the holy see at the beginning of this century. Considering the times in which he lived, he was a tolerable

lerably good scholar; but his pride was incredible <sup>a</sup>, as all his actions sufficiently testified. In the year 1199, Philip Augustus, king of France, divorced his Wife Isemburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, that he might take in her room Maria Agnes; upon this Innocent excommunicated him, and layed France under an interdict; so that all divine worship was there prohibited. He supported, with the greatest obstinacy, this action, not but the cause itself was just; he being only culpable for making himself the judge, where he had no right to be so, and behaving in a manner truly tyranical. Philip was obliged to yield, retake Isemburga, and send back Agnes: this happened about the middle of Lent, in the year 1201. Near the same time, Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho, duke of Saxony, being elected emperors, each by his own party, Innocent embraced that of Otho, and anathematized that of Philip. Death soon after removed the latter, and all the Suffragans became united in favour of Otho, who was crowned with great solemnity by the pope in 1209. But Innocent altering his disposition with regard to Otho, he was excommunicated in his turn, deposed, and all his subjects freed from their allegiance in 1211. The event answered the pope's wishes. The princes of the empire abandoned Otho; his troops were forced to retreat, and he lost his empire, which came to Frederic, grandson of the emperor Barbarossa.

We must not omit the dispute this same pontiff had with John, fownamed Lackland, king of England; a dispute in which we know not how to admire most, the presumption of the pope, or the cowardice of the monarch. This was the subject of their quarrel. The fee of Canterbury being

<sup>a</sup> Super omnes mortales ambitious & superbus, says Matthew Paris.

vacant by the death of the former prelate, the right of election of a successor caused much disturbance; the monks of Canterbury on one side, and the bishops of the diocese on the other, claiming the right of electing. The first, without delay, and without the knowledge of the king, assembled in secret; and having elected Reginald, the under prior of their convent, sent to Rome for the confirmation of the pope. But almost immediately after, fearing that the want of the king's consent would render the election fruitless, they proceeded to a new choice, which fell on John, bishop of Norwich, whom their king recommended to them. The bishops, on their side, upon account of the same recommendation, elected likewise John. The pope coming at the knowledge of all that had passed, annulled equally both the elections, and made a third by some English monks, who were then at Rome. They confirmed the primacy of England on Stephen Langton, cardinal, an Englishman, and chancellor of the university of Paris. When the pope acquainted the king with their election, he sent, at the same time, some small presents, and wrote a very particular letter, flattering the monarch, and softening the impression that this affair would naturally make on his mind. The king, however, was not the less indignant at this attempt: he wrote a very sharp letter to the pope, in which he complained bitterly of the injury that had been done him; declaring that he would, even to death, defend the liberties of his kingdom, and consequently the election of the bishop of Norwich. He threatened, at the same time, that in case he did not obtain the satisfaction which was due to him, he would forbid any one leaving his kingdom, to prevent the carrying elsewhere his treasures, and thereby rendering him incapable of opposing his enemies; and he added, that there were in his own

kingdom a number of bishops of great knowledge, with whose decisions he should be content, without any application to foreign authority. The pope, in his turn, complained, that the king had treated him in a very outrageous and impertinent manner, and that he had alledged the most frivolous reasons for opposing the election of Stephen; to which he added the most urgent intreaties, and even menaces, to engage his obedience to the holy see. John appearing to take not the least notice of them, Innocent had recourse to his ordinary arms, excommunicated the monarch, and laid all England under an interdict. He went likewise much farther, declared the prince unworthy of the throne, freed his subjects from the oath of allegiance, stirred up the clergy and all the people to a revolt, and particularly advised Philip, king of France, to declare war against him, and to dethrone him; allowing his soldiers to take the sign of the cross, as in the holy wars, and promised to all those, who any ways seconded this expedition, an entire remission of their sins, as if they had visited the sepulchre itself. John, as soon as he received this letter, fell into a violent passion, and swearing, by "the teeth of God" (his favorite oath) protested, that he would send to the pope, the bishops, and all the clergy of England, whose goods he would confiscate; and that if there still remained one Roman in the kingdom, he would put out his eyes, cut off his nose, and in that condition he should present himself at Rome. John wanted the resolution to support these expressions. Fear soon seized him, particularly from the preparations made by the king of France for the war he intended to declare against him; and he was persuaded by Pandulph, legate of Rome, to resign, in 1212, the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the pope, to keep them for the future as a fief of the Roman church, and

to pay for them a certain tribute <sup>a</sup>. This shameful submission procured him neither peace, nor the tranquil possession of his kingdoms; on the contrary, it has rendered his memory infamous, and brought on him a deluge of misfortunes, as we may find in the histories of that time.

It is not surprising that a pope, who behaved in so furious a manner to Catholic princes, should shew an implacable hatred to the Vaudois and Albigenses, who had bravely resisted the oppressions of the Roman see. They sent commissaries into all the places where they resided to bring informations against them. They held, indeed, some conferences with them, but not so much with a design to work a reformation as to draw them into their snares; and when they saw they would not suffer themselves to be surprised, they called in the force of arms, and invited the princes to assist them, particularly Philip Augustus, king of France. They raised numerous troops, who set up the cross; the indulgences were freely given, and war was made with so much fury, that the Catholics themselves were frequently mixed with the Albigenses, and shared their fate. Bourges, Carcassonne, Castres, and many other places belonging to the Albigenses, were taken, and their inhabitants treated in the most cruel manner. Raymond, count of Toulouse, being of the party, was deprived of his patrimony, which was given to Simon, count of Montfort. In short, from the murders, bloodshed, desolations, and fires, this war became the most furious that perhaps ever was.

The Vaudois, who were in France, Germany, and other countries, did not meet with more fa-

<sup>a</sup> See a letter of Mr. Isaac Beausaure, in the fourteenth vol. of his Biblioth. German. See also the Mystery of Iniquity of Philip Mournay, p. 316. and Usher de Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione, ch. ix.

vorale treatment: the greatest part of them were taken and cast into the flames. Among the most zealous promoters of this war, called holy, but that, in reality, was most execrable, we find Dominic Guzman, a Spaniard, who founded the order of Preachers, called Dominicans; and Francis of Assises, who, about the same time, gave rise to the order of Minorites or Franciscans<sup>a</sup>. These two men were afterwards ranked by the Catholics in the number of their saints; and they truly deserved to be so, if the most bloody fury, and the most extravagant notions, could give them a right to sanctity. It was Dominic also who erected the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition, intended at first for the extirpation of the Albigenses, and afterwards for that of all heretics. This establishment, though an equal reproach to religion and human nature, was confirmed by pope Innocent in the fourth council of Latran<sup>b</sup>.

This council was held in 1215. There were then assembled 412 bishops, about 800 abbots or priors, and ambassadors from almost all the kings and princes in Christendom. One thing happened in this numerous assembly very singular, which was, that the seventy articles, drawn up by the pope, were read by his order in the presence of all the world, and received as canons without the advice or concurrence of any other person. The first was a rule of faith, in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation, unknown till this time, was confirmed. The second contained the condemnation of the

<sup>a</sup> Never was superstition carried further than with respect to St. Francis, to whom his disciples attributed numbers of miracles. Bartholomew Albicias, of Pisa, published, in the fifteenth century, a most impious work, intitled, *De Conformite de la vie du Bienheureux François, avec la vie de N. S. J C.* In this parallel the saint is made greatly superior to the Saviour.

<sup>b</sup> Some say Innocent approved only this tribunal in 1210, and that the confirmation was made by Honorius III. in 1228.

errors of the abbot Joachim, who had some disputes, consisting in mere subtleties, with Lombard upon the doctrine of the Trinity. In the third, the excommunication of heretics, and the delivery of them into the hands of the secular powers, was insisted upon, and even princes were threatened with excommunication, who neglected to expel them out of their territories. The twenty-first article mentioned, for the first time, auricular confession. The immunities of the clergy were established in the forty-third. The fiftieth prohibited, for the most childish reasons, all marriages of consanguinity to the fourth degree. There were likewise many things contained in these articles, respecting a project for a new holy war, which indeed was the occasion of the council being summoned.

We have seen that the pontificate of Innocent II. was the most memorable from the excesses to which pride carried this pontiff: he was the first who claimed the title of Spouse of the church; and in the council, of which we have just given an account, acted not as the lieutenant, or vicar of J. C. but as sovereign chief or lord of the church. His successors trod faithfully in his steps, and did not give up any of his immoderate pretensions. Gregory IX. and Frederic II. re-commenced the disputes between the priesthood and the empire. The pope, from his anathemas, obliged the emperor to a new holy war; and though this prince met with the greatest success, and had already taken Jerusalem, he was obliged to return, in the greatest hurry, into Italy, where Gregory, who was the author of all the troubles, received him with new excommunications. The war then began with great violence in Italy; and Gregory being defeated, Rome was taken and pillaged, and the pope died with grief and disappointment in 1241.

About this time arose in Italy the two great factions, known by the name of Guelfs and Gibelins. The one took the part of the pope, the other that of the emperors. Their wars and animosities produced in this, and the following centuries, the most bloody events.

The pontifical see was vacant for near two years, when Innocent IV. took possession of it: he was more furious than any of his predecessors, throwing out fire and flames against the emperor Frederic; and having convoked, in 1245, a council at Lyons, the first ever held in that city, and which has the title of Oecumenical, he there excommunicated and deposed the emperor; in consequence of which, Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, and after the death of Henry, William count of Holland, bore the title. Frederic spent the rest of his life in perpetual trouble, always at war with the Guelfs in Italy, till the year 1280, when his bastard son, Mainfroi, smothered him under a pillow in the thirty-second year of his reign. All Europe was then in the greatest confusion. Conrad, son of Frederic, and William, count of Holland, and afterwards Richard, brother to the king of England, claimed the empire. The kingdom of Sicily was also the subject of discord between Conratin, son of Conrad, and Charles of Anjou, brother of Lewis, king of France. The popes very soon interfered in these affairs. Urban IV. deprived the lawful heirs of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily of their patrimony, which he conferred on Charles of Anjou. After variety of engagements between the disputants, Conratin at last fell into the power of Charles, who commanded him, and his relation Frederic, duke of Swabia, to be beheaded in a public place at Naples: this he did through the suggestions of Clement IV. Boniface VIII. the last pope of this century, was not at all inferior to any

of

of his predecessors, either in wickedness or arrogance, as we may judge from his attempts against Philip the Beautiful, king of France; but he was punished as he deserved <sup>a</sup>.

All at last submitted without resistance to the popes. Many princes and prelates as yet, however, opposed, with all their power, the insupportable tyranny they wanted to exercise. We have some very severe writings of the emperor Frederic, and the bishops of Germany, in which the pride and arrogance of the popes are described with great spirit, and censured with much warmth. Besides the Dominicans <sup>b</sup> and Franciscans, whom we have already mentioned, there arose in this century many other orders of Mendicants, which the popes were glad to multiply, being so many creatures devoted to their services, and who were ever ready to coincide with their ambitious views. The Augustin Hermits <sup>c</sup> were of this period. The pope Alexander IV. executed a project, which Innocent IV. had long intended, which was to bring all the Hermits, dispersed in different societies, and subject to different institutions, into one order, and subject them to the rule of St. Austin. The order of Carmelites, which took its rise in Palestine in the former century, was confirmed in this by the popes Innocent IV. and Honorius IV. who approved the rule which this order has ever since observed.

<sup>a</sup> He was convicted after his death of the most notorious crimes, and of having openly contemned all religion, in consequence of which he was finally condemned. See the *Entretiens sur divers Sujets de Histoire*, par M. la Croze, p. 389.

<sup>b</sup> For a good account of Dominic, and his order, see the work of Hospinian de Origine Monachatus, lib. vi. cap. iv. & i. and also Geddes View of all the Orders of Monks, in the 3d vol. of his Miscellaneous Tracts.

<sup>c</sup> See the Breviar. Pontif. vol. iii. p. 341. The bull of Alexander IV. in favour of this order, is to be found in Bullarium de Cherubim, vol. i. p. 84, of the Roman edition, 1617, in fol.

The Mendicant monks were a true vermin, which infected and laid waste every place where they were permitted to remain. Christianity was much injured by them: they were the cause of continual quarrels between the churches and universities. The second council of Lyons felt the abuse, and wished to remedy it. But Rome supported her Satellites, and would not permit their vices to be censured. William of St. Amour, a doctor of Paris, experienced this partiality. His work, intitled, *The Dangers of the latter Times*, met with a most severe condemnation; while, at the same time, they had great difficulty to obtain the same sentence from the pope (and which, indeed, he would not give but in secret) against a scandalous production of a monk, which was called the *Eternal Gospel*, or the *Gospel of the Spirit*, and contained many injurious things against J. C. and his apostles.

There remained very little now in divine worship, which bore any affinity to the religion of Christ and his apostles. In the room of the holy precepts of the gospel, the popes and monks substituted their own decrees and innovations, which were entirely contrary to the true spirit of religion. The absurd doctrine of Transubstantiation (received, as we have seen, in 1215, at the council of Latran) gave rise to the elevation and the adoration of the consecrated host, and likewise to the scrupulous care of preserving this host after the celebration of the mass <sup>a</sup>. They began to deprive the laity of the cup, though there was not any express law for this purpose; and, indeed, this unjust retrenchment was openly condemned by the greatest number. It was likewise to the honour of this anti-christian tenet, that pope

<sup>a</sup> Cardinal Bona advances, that the elevation of the consecrated elements was in use in the fourth century. But he evidently appears to have falsely interpreted the meaning of the writers, as may be seen by consulting Bingham's *Origines Eccl.* lib. xv. cap.v.

Urban IV. instituted the feast of the body of Christ, pretending he had authority for so doing from revelations and miracles <sup>a</sup>, such as we might expect in this unfortunate century. The idolatrous worship of the mother made great progress; and Dominic strongly recommended the custom of the Rosary of the Virgin <sup>b</sup>; to which they added the Psalter of Mary. About the end of this century, Boniface VIII. celebrated the first jubilee of the Christian church; an invention purely intended to fill the pope's treasury by the sale of indulgences, and which became a source of intolerable superstitions. It would detain us too long to give an account of all the ridiculous customs which prevailed at this time.

The Greek church scarce furnishes us with any divines, whose memory is worthy of being preserved from oblivion. Those who were the most celebrated wrote on the disputes between their communion and that of the Latins; the greatest part defending the cause of the Greeks, and some that of the opposite party <sup>c</sup>. We may distinguish among the first Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica, a man of great moderation; George Mochamper, an implacable and vehement adversary of the Latins; Germain, patriarch of Constantinople, of whom we have some treatises upon other subjects; and George of Cyprus, who also possessed the patriarchal see. We might add to the list a royal author, Theodorus Latcaris the younger, emperor of the Greeks. The principal advocates for the Latins were, Nicephorus Blemmidus, and John Veccus, to whom the party

<sup>a</sup> Two of the religious at Liege, named Juliana and Eve, pretended to have had visions on this subject.

<sup>b</sup> There is a dissertation, wrote by Mr. John Frederick Mayer, on the Rosary or Pater-noster.

<sup>c</sup> The learned Leo Allatius has mentioned at large the authors who have written on both sides, in his treatise De Perpetua Confessione Eccles. Occidentalis & Orientalis, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

he espoused gave great trouble. History is much indebted to Nicetas Choniatus, who has left us a treasury of orthodox faith <sup>a</sup>; in which he has regularly mentioned all the heresies and disputes which troubled the church until his time; and to George Acropolitus, and to George Pachymerus. An illustrious name among the Syrians was that of Gregory Abulpharagius <sup>b</sup>, primate of the sect of the Jacobites, a very learned and excellent man. We must not forget to mention George Elmacin, who wrote the history of the Saracens in Arabia.

The Latin divines were, on the contrary, very numerous, and have transmitted their names to posterity by many very voluminous writings. Among the order of preachers there were many very celebrated men; such were Albert Groot, or the Great, whose extraordinary learning for the time in which he lived caused him to be suspected of magic; Thomas Aquinas, whom the Roman church place among the first rank of the scholastics; Hugh of St. Cher, who was a very good interpreter of scripture, and to whom we are indebted for the useful invention of Concordances; and Raymond Martins, whose useful work, intitled, *The Sword of Faith*, is vastly superior to the genius of the age, and even now affords the learned much pleasure. Among the minor brethren, Anthony of Padua was greatly esteemed; he was a commentator of sacred scripture, and an indefatigable preacher, who acquired much reputation by his sermons, which could appear excellent to none but hearers like his own; the Roman church ranked him in the catalogue of saints; cardinal Bonaventure is by most preferred to all the other

<sup>a</sup> Concerning Nicetas, and his work, see the *Biblioth. Græc.* of Joh. Albert Fabricius.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Aßermani has said every thing that is at all interesting with regard to Abulpharagus in the forty-second ch. of the second vol. of the *Biblioth. Orient.*

scholaſtic doctors; he was, with reaſon, looked upon as a miſticiſt; and Alexander Hales, who, according to the cuſtom of that time, obtained the name of the Irrefragable Doctor; to whom they attributed a vast number of writings, which, according to the opinion of many, do not belong to him; Henry of Gand, archdeacon of Tournay, was a very ſubtle interpreter of Aristotle, and the author of queſtions, which they called *Quodlibetaires*: we have a ſmall and well known work of his on the ecclieſiaſtical writers. William Durand, biſhop of Mandes, gained the name of Speculator, from a celebrated work of his, called *Speculum Juris*. The university of Paris, which at that time enjoyed great ſplendor, looked upon, as its principal ornaments, William of St. Amour, and another William, biſhop of that city. James of Vitri, biſhop of John d'Acre in Paleariſe, has left us a history of Jeruſalem. Aegi of Colonne, and Richard Middleton, explained the ſcriptures, though more agreeable to the noſtions of Aristotle than to their true ſignification. Conrad of Anſperg, Martin the Polander, and Matthew Paris, were the celebrated historians of the time. The great genius, uncommon learning, and ſingular fate of Peter of Vignes, the chancellor of the emperor Frederic II. will ever preſerve his memory. Janes of Voragine is mentioned alſo for his history of Lombardy, though the work itſelf is very riſiculous.

We ſee by this account, that the mendicant monks were the moſt famous among the diſciples: they applied themſelves wholly to the ſcholaſtic divinity; but, iſtead of bringing it to perfeſtion, they entirely corrupted it <sup>a</sup>, by introducing into it a heap of their own ſuperſtitions, and inceſtantly inculcating a blind obedience to the church

<sup>a</sup> See the ninth chapter of Uſſer's Treatise, *De Ecclesiæ Christianæ Successione*.

of Rome: by this they obtained the favour and protection of the popes, and a power of doing just what they pleased. They took the advantage of a lucky occasion that offered itself to usurp, partly by art and partly by force, the chairs of divinity in the university of Paris, the most celebrated then in the Christian world, though contrary to the rights of this university; and they maintained their posts, notwithstanding the known scandal of their doctrines<sup>a</sup> and manners, by the favour of the decrees of Innocent IV. and Alexander IV<sup>b</sup>. Whenever they were attacked, they never failed to accuse their adversaries of heresy, under the weight of which accusation they were soon crushed<sup>c</sup>. The Logic of Aristotle, according to the Arabian versions of it, began in the last century to be the favorite study of the divines, which caused their doctrines of salvation to be full of sophistical, puerile, indecent, and even impious subtleties. Those who did not entirely give themselves up to these doctrines had great difficulty to understand them, and could not help proposing their doubts and objections; whereby they were exposed to censures, and even to law procedures, which most commonly ended in their condemnation.

Some divines of the first order, and among others St. Bernard, employed all their abilities against the Peripatetic Philosophy, exposing all the dangers with which this philosophy threatened the church. It happened, that, about the beginning of

<sup>a</sup> See Stillingfleet's discourse concerning the idolatry, and the fanaticism of the church of Rome, chap. iv. s. 8. p. 238. Consult also Dupin's Hist.

<sup>b</sup> These disputes of the Mendicants with the university of Paris are very exactly related in the Nov. Biblioth. of Dupin.

<sup>c</sup> See Matt. Paris's History of Henry III. king of England, p. 806, and Usher, ubi sup.

this century, a doctor, named Amaury, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, was accused of heresy after his death, and condemned, with all his followers, in a council held at Paris in 1209. As they pretended that he had learnt his errors of Aristotle; the books, which contained the metaphysics of this philosophy, having been brought some little time before from Constantinople, were burnt by an order of the council, and the reading of them prohibited, under pain of excommunication. Though this proscription of all, or some parts only of Aristotle's works was, with certain restrictions, severely repeated, both by the pope's legates<sup>a</sup> and the popes themselves, at different times, and expressly in the years 1215 and 1231, and 1265, yet it did not prevent the spreading of this philosophy, which grew daily more and more esteemed. The high credit which Thomas Aquinas, and Albert the Great, had obtained, compleated the triumph of this doctrine, which intirely prevailed afterwards in the schools of divinity. This was the epoch of the second age of scholastics. The number and influence of the Dogmatics visibly decreased; whilst the most idle questions, and the most frivolous disputes, greatly multiplied.

If we proceed now to the history of the heresies of this century, we must not lose sight of the remark which we have already made, which was, that all those who spoke too freely of the church of Rome, or who were wanting in respect to its valuable supports the Mendicants, could never escape the imputation of Heresy. This, without doubt, was the reason that they treated as such Jo-

<sup>a</sup> See Rigord in his life of Philip Augustus, quoted by Lou noi in the first chapter of his treatise, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna*. Consult also the councils of Labbé.

achim <sup>a</sup>, an abbot of Flore, in Calabria, a most excellent man, and one who had otherwise conciliated the esteem and favour of many kings and princes. He had advanced a thing which they could never pardon him for, that the pope was the Anti-christ, whilst they founded their condemnation on another pretence ; his having too warmly attacked the Trinity, as taught by Peter Lombard. The fourth council of Latran, held in 1215, branded his memory. William of St. Amour, and John of Poliaco, who endeavoured to defend his cause, shared the same fate <sup>b</sup>.

The errors, which had so deplorably corrupted the Roman communion, and rendering it entirely unlike the primitive church, both in doctrine and worship, as well as in government and manners, were now come to such a height, and were so extremely apparent, that many members of the church came to a resolution, either of for ever quitting it, or restoring it to its antient simplicity and purity. However, we must acknowledge, that all those who formed these resolutions did not proceed to the execution of them with the same degree of knowledge and prudence. They certainly encountered many difficulties, met with variety of obstacles, were exposed to dangers, which, for a long time, made them despair of seeing a reformation ever take place. They were treated immediately as heretics, thrown into prisons, from whence they rarely or ever came out, but to the flames. Such particularly was the fate of the Vaudois and Albigenses. The persecu-

<sup>a</sup> See Flacius in his *Auctarium Catalogi testium veritatis*, No. 18. and Mournay, p. 310, of the *Histoire de la Papauté*; and Mosheim, in a work intitled, *Geschichte des Apostel Ordens*. It is true, indeed, that Joachim, and others, who spoke of the Anti-christ, admitted other Anti-christs, besides the pope. They were not agreed among themselves.

<sup>b</sup> See Fabricius *Biblioth. Med. Latin.* vol. iv. p. 348.

tions, commenced against these unhappy people in the preceding century, were carried on with the same fury in this.

Near the end of the century there sprung up in Italy, under the auspices of Gerhard Segarelli, a sort of people who took the name of Apostolic <sup>a</sup>. They condemned likewise the ambition, tyranny, opulence, and pride of the pope, and all the clergy; proposing to restore the antient simplicity, to imitate the poverty of the first ministers of the gospel, and to copy them in their dress, food, and the form of their assemblies. These people, seeing the necessity they were under of escaping the hatred and cruelty of the Romish clergy, concealed themselves in the most retired places as long as they possibly could; but from the great increase of their party, it was impossible for them any longer to shun the penetrating eyes of the inquisitors. Segarelli, their leader, having been imprisoned and excommunicated by the popes, Honorius IV. and Nicholas IV. was at last burnt at Parma in 1300. His successor, in the government of the Apostolics, was one Dulcin, a man of a very warm temper, and capable of undertaking any thing. He, according to the genius of the time, forged prophesies, foretelling the approaching ruin of the Roman church; and suiting his predictions by frequent changes to the conjunctures, he strove to reanimate the drooping courage of his party. He took likewise other measures; and when the persecutions began to be very violent, he seized upon some fortified places, which he defended with his troops for a considerable time very courageously, and he repulsed more than once the fury of his enemy. His resistance served only to retard his ruin; for they at last took

<sup>a</sup> These people are mentioned in Mr. Dupin's Nov. Biblioth. p. 126; and likewise in Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the idolatry of the church of Rome.

possession of his forts, and even of his person ; his trial was soon made over, and he ended his life in the midst of the most cruel torments. All his sect were not destroyed ; some afterwards joined themselves to the Albigenses <sup>a</sup>.

We promised to speak of Amaury, who was numbered among the heretics of this century. He spent his life in study at the university of Paris ; where, according to some, he was a professor. The errors, for which he was condemned in a council held at Paris, consisted in saying <sup>b</sup>, that every Christian ought to look upon himself as a member of J. C. and that no person could be saved without that belief. This proposition, properly explained, contains most assuredly neither error nor impiety. But others pretend <sup>c</sup>, that it was his public opinion, that God was every thing, and that there was no difference between the Creature and the Creator ; in which case we must allow, that the proposition above-mentioned, as far as it proceeded from those principles, is false and condemnable. We must add also, that, in the judgment then given, they found a very intimate connection between the doctrine of Amaury and the principles of the Aristotelian Philosophy, and that the council, at the same time, united both in the same condemnation. It was much in the same sense that David de Denant <sup>d</sup>, a disciple of Amaury,

<sup>a</sup> See the *Histoire d' Inquisition*, by Limborch, and Mosheim, in his *Historia Ordin. Apostol. lib. ii. 19.*

<sup>b</sup> This is what Rigord, a contemporary writer, says in his *Vie de Philippe Auguste*, on the year 1209. See also the councils of Labb .

<sup>c</sup> Such is the opinion of Mr. Spanheim in his *Hist. Eccles. Cent. xii. col. 1694.*

<sup>d</sup> Consult the Dialogue of Cesarius Husterbacensis, and Prucker, in his *Hist. de la Philos. vol. iii.* Fabricius has mentioned other writers, who have spoken of this David de Dezant, in his *Biblioth. Med. Lat. vol. ii. p. 44.*

maintained, that God is continually every thing; and that He is the first subject matter of all things. The determination of the university of Paris, respecting these notions, was approved and confirmed by pope Innocent III. Another provincial council, held at Paris in 1209, after the death of Amaury, repeated the condemnation of those errors; and the fourth general council of Latran confirmed it. They accused the followers of Amaury of many other errors<sup>a</sup>, which, in general, bore great affinity to the tenets of the Vaudois. The council of Paris went so far as to condemn to the flames some of those heretics.

Much about the same time mention is made of the Beguards, the Beguins, and the Fraticelles. Their history is very obscure, different men, whose characters were as different, appear to have distinguished themselves under these names. It is, however, very probable, that the Beguards, or the Fraticelles, were no other than those called the Minor-Brethren or the Franciscans, and who gave themselves the appellation of Spirituals. Their leader's name was Peter John Olive or d'Oliva: they preached with great zeal the merit of voluntary poverty, and a renunciation of all property, such as that which St. Francis prescribed to those of his order, declaring that this was the true gospel poverty practised by the Saviour and his apostles, and from which it was not permitted the children and disciples of Francis to deviate in the least, even tho' the popes commanded them to renounce it and lead another kind of life. At the same time they greatly censured the church they had before their eyes for being so far distant from this true gospel poverty, so given up to the world and its pleasures, and applied to the church of Rome the epithets of Babylon and the Great Whore. We may easily judge

<sup>a</sup> See the councils of Labb .

then how extremely enraged the popes must have been, and how they thundered out their anathemas against them. The inquisitors pursued every where these heretics with the most implacable fury; numbers of them perished in the flames; notwithstanding which their party subsisted for a considerable time <sup>a</sup>.

In the midst of these troubles, many attempts were made to heal the schism which had for so many centuries separated the Greek and Latin churches. The thing which gave the western churches the most favorable hopes upon this subject was, that when the Greek emperors recovered the capital in 1261, they seemed unable to proceed without the friendship and succours of the European powers. Pope Gregory IX. brought this affair upon the carpet in 1233, and sent deputies to confer with the patriarch Germain, who resided then at Nice. They held many conferences, principally upon the procession of the holy Ghost, and the use of bread at the sacrament. The emperor John Ducas appeared willing to comply with the conditions necessary for the re-establishment of peace; but this treaty ended at last very unprofitably. Alexander IV. who renewed it, did not meet with better success. When Constantinople fell again into the power of the Greeks, the emperor Michael Paleologue, every time he thought himself in danger, favored, or at least appeared to favor, the re-union of the two churches. In a general council, held at Lyons in 1274, in presence of pope Gregory X. this emperor sent deputies in his name, and in that of the Greek churches, whose instructions were to agree to all the pope's requests. But after their re-

<sup>a</sup> Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Med. Lat.* vol. v. has enumerated all the principal authors who may be consulted on this subject. See particularly Stillingfleet in the work which we have quoted more than once, and Limborch *Hist. Inquis.* lib. i. cap. xix.

turn, there happened many delays; all which were promoted by the Greek Clergy, till the death of the emperor Michael Paleologue in 1282. His son Andronicus, who succeeded to the throne, annulled all that had been done on the subject of the re-union, and put things on their old footing <sup>a</sup>.

Let us take a view of the state of religion in the countries of eastern Tartary, and under the dominion of the Turks. For many centuries the Christian churches had been very flourishing in all these countries, and even many kings and princes had done homage to Christ. History makes mention particularly of those Christian kings of the Tartars, to whom they gave the name of Ung-Chan, or king John. The last of these kings was obliged to carry on an unfortunate war against Gengiskan, the famous conqueror of Asia. The occasion of this war was not known; but we are certain that the Christian monarch lost both his kingdom and life in 1202. This fatal event was a most irreparable loss to the Christians of those places. Another Christian king obtained indeed the government, but only in quality of vassal to the Tartars. These people, actuated by the most superstitious rage, destroyed by degrees all the Christian churches in those countries, which were under their demission; insomuch, that, after the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there did not remain the least trace of Christianity <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This whole affair is discussed with great exactness by Mr. Dupin in the tenth vol. of his History. Consult also the above-mentioned treatise of Allatius's, and the Breviar. Pontif. The emperor Andronicus, convinced that they had imposed on his father Michael, would have nothing more to do with the negotiation, and had the patriarch Vecchus, who had favoured the re-union, solemnly deposed; and Joseph, who had been deprived of the patriarchate, was re-established.

<sup>b</sup> All these revolutions are very exactly recited by Mr. Assemani, in his Biblioth. Orient. vol. iv. fol. 495. See also the Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica, p. 27, 36.

We shall say no more of the sufferings of the Vaudois and the Albigenses, nor of the barbarities of the inquisition. They reckon upwards of seventy thousand of these pretended heretics, who perished in war and in cool blood: they, indeed, in their turn, had more than once gained considerable advantage over their enemies. However, they were obliged to abandon the countries they had inhabited, and disperse themselves throughout all Europe, where they spread the seeds of truth, which afterwards produced the most plentiful harvest <sup>a</sup>.

Among the crying abuses of this century, the most shameful was that, which took place in church election and the collation of benefices; learning and morality were never considered; all was done by money and intrigue. The pope and the princes had perpetual disputes about their rights. They held many councils, and introduced, in different kingdoms, rules, in order to remedy these abuses, and in particular to moderate the demands of the church of Rome. Such was the Pragmatic Sanction which St. Lewis established in France: but these barriers were by no means strong enough to oppose such great disorders.

Robert of Sorbon founded in this century the famous college at Paris, called afterwards by his name, the Sorbonne. Another doctor of that city, who, upon that account, was called John of Paris, defended the royal power in opposition to the pope's usurpations; he had also a particular opinion respecting the manner in which Christ's body existed in the Eucharist, which, according to him, was not by Transubstantiation, but by the assumption of the substance of the bread into the word. Such also

<sup>a</sup> Consult Leger Perrin, Chastanion, and many more Christian authors, who have wrote the history of the Vaudois and Albigenses.

was the notion of John Damascene. The doctors of Paris of that time did not condemn them.

We may add to the list of illustrious men of this century two Englishmen, Roger Bacon, and Roger Capiton or Grosthead; a Majorcan, Raymond Lulle, whose reputation was very great, though equivocal; and the king of Castile Alphonfus, famous for his knowledge in astronomy. The Jews, though persecuted and oppressed throughout Christendom, had among them many able doctors, such as R. Meir, R. Ascher, R. Bechai, R. Levi ben Gerfon, R. Schem-Tof.

The most memorable events of the civil history of this thirteenth century are the ruin of the Saracens in Spain, where they preserved only the kingdom of Grenada; the advancement of Rodolphus of Strasbourg, a branch of the House of Austria, to the imperial dignity in 1275; and the dreadful massacre of the French in Sicily, executed on Easter eve, in 1282, known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers.

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## CENTURY XIV.

**I**N the beginning of this century Christianity greatly flourished in the vast and powerful empire of China. The Nestorians, indeed, after having been there upon a very advantageous footing, saw their establishments insensibly come to nothing, perhaps from their own fault; but the different missionaries, sent by the popes to preach the gospel, were very successful, and founded some considerable churches<sup>a</sup>. The most famous among these missionaries was John de Corvin, who, towards the end of the preceding century, took much pains to propagate the faith in Chataja among the Tartars. In 1308 pope Clement V. made him archbishop of Pekin, and appointed other bishops to be his Suffragans in China. After the death of this archbishop, John XXIII. appointed for his successor Nicholas de Bantra, of the order of Minor Brethren. The following popes attended greatly to the interests of the Christians, whilst there remained any hope of preserving religion among them.

In that province of Tartary, where the descendants of Ung-Chans were the tributary kings, one

<sup>a</sup> A very exact and circumstantial account of all these transactions may be found in Mr. Mosheim's Histor. Tartar. Eccles. p. 93, 121. See also Asemanni Biblioth. Orient. vol. iv. fol. 130.  
of

of them, named George, joined himself, towards the end of the preceding century, to the Romish Communion; but John his son and successor, permitted his subjects to return to Nestorianism, which still preserved in these countries numerous and flourishing Churches.

The state of Christianity throughout the vast countries of China and Tartary, presents us with a very pleasing prospect; but the face of things was changed about the middle of this century, by a strange revolution, of which we shall give an account in its proper place.

In Europe the Lithuanians, whose aversion to Christianity had been as yet insurmountable, embraced the faith to which they were induced by the example of the great duke Jagellon, who became a Christian before he married Hedwige, heiress to the crown of Poland.

Pope Boniface the VIIIth, behaved in so insolent and impudent a manner, to the King of France, that even his successors could not approve of his conduct. This affair is too important to be passed over in silence. Benedict Cajetan took possession of the See of Rome when his predecessor Celestin the Vth. abdicated it in 1294. This new pope, superior in pride to all his predecessors, usurped to himself an unlawful authority, not only over the spiritual, but even civil concerns of the sovereigns of his time. He published a bull, by which he forbid them to impose any tribute on the clergy without his consent. Philip the Beautiful, then King of France, vigorously opposed this attempt, and prohibited in his turn any money being carried to Rome out of his dominions. Upon hearing this, the pope was extremely enraged, he thundered out a new bull, by which he declared the prohibition of Philip, as far as it respected the clergy, rash, mad, and deserving an anathema. The king answered

swered him by a publick edict, in which he maintained his own rights, and those of his kingdom.

During these transactions, Boniface strove to give to the whole world a new instance of his arrogance, the authority which he proposed to exert over all the Christian princes. For this purpose, he made use of the opportunity afforded him by the solemn celebration of the jubilee in 1300. On the first day of this festival he gave his benediction to the people in his pontifical habits; but on the second, being covered wth the ornaments of the imperial dignity, and having a drawn sword carried before him by a herald, who proclaimed with a loud voice, these words; "There are here two swords," by which the pope intended to represent the double power, spiritual and temporal, which he asserted to himself. In the following year, new bulls more violent than the preceding ones shew to how great a height the fury of Boniface was carried against Philip. From one we may judge of the rest.

" Boniface, bishop, Servant of the servants  
" of God, to Philip king of France. Fear God  
" and keep his commandments. We would have you  
" know, that thou art subject to us in all things,  
" spiritual and temporal. The collations of benefi-  
" ces and prebendaries do not at all belong to thee;  
" and if the profits of some voidances are com-  
" mitted to thy charge, thou art to preserve them  
" for the successors. That if thou disposest of  
" them otherwise, we declare such collations null,  
" and revoke all that thou hast done with regard  
" to them. We esteem all those heretics who think  
" otherwise." Given at our palace at Latran, &c.

The king immediately burnt this bull in a publick manner, and assembled at the same time the orders of the kingdom, who declared that they acknowledged no other lord than the king, and promised

mised to support even to death the rights and liberties of the kingdom. Philip answered Boniface in a style equally sharp and laconic,

“ Philip, by the Grace of God, king of France, to  
 “ Boniface, who pretends to be the sovereign Pontiff,  
 “ little or no health. We would have your royal  
 “ foolishnes know, that we depend on no temporal  
 “ person ; and that the collation of Churches and  
 “ Prebendaries belongs to us by royal right, as  
 “ well as the profits of all benefices during their  
 “ voidance ; and that the collations made by us  
 “ hitherto, and that may be hereafter made, are  
 “ and shall remain valid ; and that we will resolute-  
 “ ly maintain our possefsons against every body,  
 “ looking upon those as fools or madmen, who think  
 “ otherwise.” Given at Paris, &c. <sup>a</sup>.

Boniface more furious than ever, went on in his old way, and published the famous bull, which begins with these words, “ Unam sanctam,” in which he declared and determined, that the double sword, or the double power, spiritual and temporal, belonged to the Church, condemning all those who thought otherwise, as if with the Manicheans they had admitted two principles, and concluding, “ that it was necessary to salvation to believe, that “ every human creature was subject to the Roman “ Pontiff.”

These new efforts not bringing the king to a compliance, the pope excommunicated him, and joined in this excommunication all those priests or bishops, who administered to him in holy things. William de Nogaret, whom Philip sent at this time to Rome, did not meet with a favourable reception ; but he executed so much the better the commission he was charged with,

<sup>a</sup> This bull was inserted in the canonical law, Extravag. Comm. Lib. 1. T. 1. de majoritate & obedientia.

which was to make an exact enquiry into the life and conduct of Boniface, whom he represented to the king and grandees of the kingdom, as guilty of the greatest crimes, and particularly that he was not the lawful pope, and had intruded himself into the See by fraud and violence, during the life of his predecessor; that he was Heretical and Simoniacial; that he was a tyrant, a usurer, and blasphemer, &c. These accusations were read and approved in the general assembly of the states, who appealed from Boniface to a general council, to be held on this subject, and to the future pope. They did not, however, keep only to these proceedings, but took the most probable means to bring the pontiff to reason, or at least to subdue him. Nogaret taking with him some Roman citizens of the family of Colomnes, who were enemies to the pope, went to Anagnia, where he then was, and having seized the fort, they took possession of the treasures of Boniface, and brought him away with them prisoner. It is said, that Nogaret, or one of the Colomnes, upon this occasion, gave the pope a violent blow with his hand, armed with an iron gauntlet. His countrymen, the inhabitants of Anagnia, surrendered soon after. Boniface did not long survive these disgraces, for he died with grief and vexation, in October 1303, on his return to Rome.

It is said of him and his pontificate, “ that he entered upon it like a fox, governed like a lion and died like a dog”.

Benedict II. succeeded him who was soon followed by Clement the Vth. a Frenchman. Both the one and the other of these popes reversed all the acts of Boniface against Philip. Clement particularly, who was before archbishop of Bourdeaux, wishing to give his sovereign an instance of his attachment, removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, where

where it remained for 72 years. The Italians used to call this period the Babylonish captivity <sup>a</sup>.

The Cardinals, after the death of Clement, could not agree upon a successor. The Italians wanting to have one of their nation; the Frenchmen one of theirs; and it was not till the end of two years, that they united their votes in favour of John the IIId. or rather he appointed himself, and wanting to conciliate the favour of the French, he still continued the see at Avignon: This did not, however, prevent them from accusing him as a heretick. John distinguished himself particularly by that vehement dispute he had with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, whom he excommunicated for not writing for his approbation before he took possession of the ornaments of the imperial dignity. To the proud bulls of this pontiff, who claimed as Pope, the right of nominating the Emperors, Lewis opposed an outrageous edict, in which he called John a cruel wolf, the author of discord and sedition, antichrist, Heresiarch, and even satan. He gave the Roman people at the same time a right of electing a new pope; this they did in effect, and the choice fell on Peter of Cario, who took the name of Nicholas the Vth.; but this antipope was soon after seized and delivered into the hands of John.

There was, during this papacy, some pleasant disputes among the Franciscans, concerning the forms of their capuchins and their habits; the one who were called Conventuals, affirmed, that the capuchins and habits should be large and full, the other called Spirituals, advanced just the contrary. They carried their obstinacy so far, as to prefer for the most part, dark dungeons, and some of them even the flames, rather than quit their opinion. We

<sup>a</sup> Stephen Balazears has collected in 2 vols. 4to. the Lives of the Popes of Avignon, written by eminent writers, with additions of his own.

know not upon this occasion, which to admire at most, the strange obstinacy of the one, or the more strange cruelty of the others, who could punish them with so much rigour.

There was also in this same order, another contention that was in reality neither more important nor more reasonable. It respected the property of the things the Franciscans used, and which they consumed in using. They pretended to be entirely free from all right of property, and in this they made the perfection of gospel poverty to consist. Many popes, Gregory IX. Innocent IV. Nicholas I. Martin IV. Nicolas IV. and last of all Clement V. pronounced successively decrees conformable to their opinion. But John II. passed other sentences, determining that in the things they consumed, property ought not to be separated from use; and that the kind of poverty which consisted in renouncing the property and preserving the use, was unknown to Jesus Christ and his apostles, and that it was advancing a heresy to say of the saviour, that he had no right or power over the things he used. John by this decision became odious to the Franciscans, who joined themselves to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and other enemies of the pope, in order to accuse him in his turn of heresy.

After his death Benedict XII. and Clement the VIth. his successor, confirmed the excommunication that John had thundered out against Lewis of Bavaria, and it at last prevailed so far as to draw a considerable part of the empire from their attachment to Lewis, and to elect in his place Charles the IVth. who, soon after, by the death of Lewis, in 1347, possessed the imperial throne, without a competitor.

Near the end of this century, in 1276, Pope Gregory the XIth, brought the pontifical see from Avignon to Rome, to which (as they pretended) he was

was incited by the warnings of St. Catharine of Sienne. After the pope's death, in 1378, there arose the division which had the name of the Grand Schism of the West <sup>a</sup>, and which lasted for fifty years, and was both a prejudice and scandal to the Church. The Italian cardinals at Rome wished to have a pope of their own; the French were as solicitous for one of theirs; the former, after having made use of other means, proceeded at last to menaces, in order to prevent the election of any one but a Roman. They reported, to appease the people, who murmured at the length of the conclave, that Bartholomew Pregnano, archbishop of Bari, was elected. Although this was a falsity, propagated merely to appease the clamours of the people, the prelate asserted, that the election was real and valid, and claimed the popedom under the name of Urban the IVth. The cardinals re-assembled in order to proceed to another election, and their choice fell on cardinal Robert, brother of Amedée, count of Geneva, who was called pope Clement the VIIth. Urban remained at Rome, and Clement fixed his seat at Avignon. Each, immediately upon his succession, thundered out anathemas against the other, and their quarrel divided the whole Christian world. Italy, Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Flanders, supported the party of Urban; France, Scotland, the kingdom of Naples, Lorain, and Savoy, that of Clement.

The death of these two competitors did not reestablish peace and concord. That of Urban happened first in 1389. Peter of Thomassellis succeeded him under the name of Boniface IX. and Clement finished his course in 1394. Benedict the XIIIth. who before had the name of Peter de

<sup>a</sup> See this subject well treated in the first books of the *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, by Mr. L'Enfantot.

Lune, took possession of his see. Every method was tried to put an end to this schism: but all to no purpose; the popes once elected being never willing to abdicate the triple crown, though sometimes they had solemnly engaged to do it; the kingdom of France, with the advice of the learned at Paris, withdrew itself from the obedience of the two pontiffs, and would acknowledge neither. This resolution was published in 1598, and was repeated at different times, of which we shall give an account, as well as of the end of the schism, in our history of the following century.

Although the troubles caused by the monk-mendicant, in some measure prevented the increase of orders, and had brought those already established into contempt, yet we shall see, from time to time, others still rising up. Such was the brotherhood of the Jesuits, so called from their having the name of Jesus so common in their mouths; this society was afterwards abolished by Clement the IXth. Some women who were afterwards ranked in the list of saints, among others St. Bridget and St. Chatharine, founded also new convents for the religious.

One of the most extraordinary events of this century, was the ruin of the order of Templars, which had been instituted in Palestine, in the 12th century, and which, after the Christians were dispossessed of all the conquests in the east, spread themselves in every kingdom, obtained considerable settlements, and acquired incredible riches. Pope Clement, the same who removed the see to Avignon, in conjunction with King Philip the Beautiful, took measures to annihilate this order, whose power had raised their jealousy, but whose wealth particularly had excited their avarice. The Templars were accused of the most atrocious crimes, and of some which even surpassed all belief. They pretended,

that

that upon their institution into this order, they denied Jesus Christ, by spitting three times on the cross; that they worshipped a head of wood covered with gold; that they had forsook all commerce with women for that of the men; and that if it happened that any Templar should have a child by a woman, the infant was burnt, and their idol anointed with his fat. All the knights, whether guilty of these crimes or not, or whether, as is most probable, those accusations were invented to render them odious, were seized on a day fixed for that purpose, first in France, afterwards in Spain, England, and Italy, and after very irregular proceedings, were for the most part put to cruel deaths in 1307, and the following years, till the whole order was entirely abolished, in the council held principally for this purpose at Vienna, in 1311. Many amongst them, in the extremity of their sufferings, in hopes to obtain favour, confessed the crimes they were charged with. But the greatest number supported the trials, and protested to the last breath their own innocence, and that of their whole order. The immense wealth they possessed throughout all Europe, was in part adjudged to the Fief, in part distributed to the Hospitallers, and to other orders<sup>a</sup>.

Let us now take a view of the writers of this century. There were still many of the Greek Church who much wished for a re-union with the Latin, and who took pains to recommend it in their sermons and writings. This we may see in the works of Manuel Calecas, of the order of preachers. History says the same of the monk Maximus. But however, we find many warm defenders of the opposite party, who supported with all their abilities

<sup>a</sup> Many writers have given us long accounts of the unhappy fate of the Templars. Mr. Da Virg has wrote their history in French. See Dupin's History.

the cause of the Greek Church. Among other the monk Maximus Planudes, a very polite scholar greatly distinguished himself, as well as Nilus and Cabasilas, archbishops of Theffalonica, and Gregory Palamas, a great favourer of the mystic theology, to whom we may add Demetrius Cydonius, who opposed the notions of the former, and likewise some others. Barlaam wrote at first for the Greeks against the Latins, and afterwards for the Latins against the Greeks. Philotheus who had successively possessed many ecclesiastical dignities, and at last obtained the patriarchate of Constantinople, wrote much on practical divinity ; Matthew Blastares a monk greatly cleared up the laws of the Greek Church, and Nicephorus Callistus employed himself in writing Church history, in which he mixed many fables. John Cantacuzene, a royal author, has left us a faithful and elegant history of his own times. The events of the Greek history from the year 1204 to 1341, are written by Necephorus Gregoras ; but he has not expressed much regard to truth in his history.

The scholastic divines made always a great figure in the west ; their leader in this century, was John Duns Scotus, founder of the sect of Scotists, the opposers of the Thomists, and who first defended the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. The name of Durand de St. Pourgain, bishop of Meaux, will particularly be remembered for his doctrine on the incarnation <sup>a</sup>. Thomas Bradwardin, archbishop of Canterbury, was a very deep divine, and William Occam, a subtle philosopher. Peter of Ailly, archbishop of Cambray, and William Durand, bishop of Mende, deserve to be honourably mentioned for their free and bold complaints of the corruptions of the

<sup>a</sup> Our author calls it, on the subject du Concours de Dieu.

Church

Church of Rome. Among those who favoured the mystic theology John Teuler, and John Ryfbrach deserve the most notice. Nicholas of Syra <sup>a</sup>, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, was celebrated for his Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, and they agree on all hands, that he was one of the best interpreters of scripture of his time. To these learned men we may join two celebrated women. St. Bridget, a Swedish Princess, and St. Catharine, of Sienne, who composed works, and boasted of revelations, to which none but the very credulous can pay any regard. <sup>b</sup>.

We may easily judge what doctrines prevailed in this century, particularly in the western Church, when we know that the mendicant monks continued to possess the principal chairs of divinity. The Scholastic learning then flourished under their protection, and they began to reckon the third age from Durand of St. Pourcain.

We may judge of the excess to which these Doctors carried their extravagancies from the absurd book of Conformities, which we mentioned above. In a general assembly of the Minor Brethren, held in 1389, this shameful work received a solemn and unanimous approbation. This century gave some favourable hopes that things would hereafter take a more happy turn. The Greek and oriental languages were studied with much success. Academies were established, and considerable libraries collected; and there was an appearance that a freedom of reasoning would once more prevail in the schools. The number of those who were called Witnesses to the Truth, considerably increased. However, there still prevailed as yet in general a great barbarity in

<sup>a</sup> This does not appear probable to Mr. La Croze. See his *Entretiens sur divers Sujets d'Histoire*, p. 222.

<sup>b</sup> Consult bishop Stillingfleet's Works, which we have quoted more than once.

language, an extreme superstition in religion, and a blind submission to the Pope's decrees. Disputes on questions the most useless daily multiplied; those of the Reals and the Nominals <sup>a</sup> were heard of from every quarter.

In the oriental Monasteries, the religious attended almost wholly to the study of the mystic divinity <sup>b</sup>. Some of them upon that account, were contemptuously called Hesychastes, or Quietistes. These people were really mad, affirming, that by bringing their souls to a state of repose, which they might do, by remaining for a considerable time with their eyes fixed on the navel, they perceived even with their bodily sight, the divine light which shone round about them. Barlaam, a Greek monk of the party of the Latins, a turbulent and inconsistent man, reproached them for the disorder of their minds, and their fanatical deliriums, giving them the names of Messalians and Omphalopyses.

Gregory Palamas, afterwards archbishop of Thessalonica, undertook their defence against Barlaam, advancing, that it was possible for a mortal creature to behold with the eyes of flesh the uncreated light, which encompasses the Deity, justifying his assertion, by the example of the Apostles, who contemplated on the mount Tabor, the light with which Christ was invested at his transfiguration.

This second subject of dispute took place of that on the state of quietude. Barlaam afterwards applied himself solely to refute the opinion respecting the Light on Mount Tabor. Gregory Pala-

<sup>a</sup> See my *Histoire abrégée de la Philosophie*. Our author has given in this work a very concise and instructive account of all the principal sects of philosophers, both ancient and modern. This work is printed in one volume 12mo.

<sup>b</sup> Consult Leo Allatius' *de perpetua consessione*, &c. and the Nov. Bib. of Dupin.

mas and his followers, affirmed that this light was the very glory of God <sup>a</sup>, and though it was a thing distinct from his essence, was not however, a created substance, but was eternal and uncreated. He added, that the very essence of God could not indeed be perceived either by the Angels or the blessed ; but that this eternal glory was visible to them. Barlaam expressed great indignation at all this doctrine, and regarded it as blasphemy. He publickly accused Palamas and his followers of doubling the divinity, *διθεῖος*, and demanded a convocation of lawful councils, to determine it. The decisions of these councils were divided ; Palamas was sometimes condemned, but Barlaam much oftner lost his cause. The former persisted in his opinion to the end of his life. After his death, the monk Gregory Acyndinus espoused his quarrel, but with still less success ; at last he was enjoined silence. His death was not as yet sufficient to re-establish tranquillity ; however, at length their dispute was suppressed, and the Greeks thought no more of it.

An affair which lasted much longer, and was of much more importance, took up the attention of the western nations. We mentioned the custom they had of branding as hereticks, and of defaming and treating as such, all those who were offended at the scandalous state of the Church, and who expressed openly their wishes to see a reformation take place, both in her doctrine and manners. The most distinguished among those who professed these sentiments, was John Wickliff <sup>b</sup>, an Englishman, of an excellent understanding, great

<sup>a</sup> See the above-mentioned writers, and Adam Rechenberg, his *Exercitationes varii argumenti*.

<sup>b</sup> We have a very useful life of Wickliff, published by Lewis, in 8vo.—You have also long accounts of Wickliff in the histories of England,

courage, and solid piety ; but was neither a learned man, nor a polite scholar. He was at first a doctor and professor of Divinity at Oxford, where he had some disputes with the mendicant monks, which ended in violent enmities. He was afterwards appointed rector of the Church of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln. The doctrine he publickly preached, was directly opposite to the received notions. He particularly insisted on the vices of the clergy, the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the insatiable avarice of the monks, who invaded every thing! This freedom was much approved, and procured him many followers, not only of the common people, but even of people of consequence, and of the clergy. This served only the more to enflame the zeal of those against him, whom he had directly attacked. He continued, however, with great zeal and intrepidity to oppose superstition and unmask hypocrisy. In 1365, Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Wickliff master of the college of Canterbury, in the university of Oxford. But two years after, he was deprived of this benefice by Simon Langton, successor of Islip, who conferred it on a monk. Wickliff appealed to pope Urban the Vth. but met with no redress, the pope confirmed the appointment of the archbishop. Wickliff, however, did not lose any of his credit at court ; he was appointed one of the members of the embassy that king Edward the IId. sent in 1373, to pope Gregory at Avignon, strongly to represent to him the heavy taxes, with which England was burthened by the Popes. Wickliff having by this means an opportunity of seeing with his own eyes, the court of Rome, of convincing himself of their maxims, and of being a witness to their proceedings, conceived the highest dislike to it, and was fully persuaded, that it was the see

of Antichrist. By this means he happily freed himself from all his infant prejudices, gave himself up entirely to the study of the sacred scriptures, which he translated into English; and his translation was the first which ever appeared in that language. Armed with these succours, he proceeded vigorously to overthrow the power usurped by the popes over all the Church and Christian princes, in which he was supported by the king and the nobles of the kingdom. He opposed with the same freedom the reigning abuses, viz. the worship of saints and images, indulgencies, the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and all the other doctrines and practices which had any kind of affinity with the proceeding. He particularly employed himself in combating that monstrously absurd tenet of Transubstantiation; upon this account many of those forsook him who had before approved his doctrines, and espoused his interests.

In 1377 he had a great dispute with Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, who incited against Wickliff by Gregory the 111. assembled a council at London, to examine his doctrine. The protection of the duke of Lancaster, and some other noblemen, prevented the council's passing a sentence of condemnation on Wickliff. After some years, the duke of Lancaster having nothing more to do with the administration of affairs, the proceedings against Wickliff were recommenced with new animosity in 1382, by William Courtenay, then archbishop of Canterbury; his doctrine being discussed in two councils, the one held at London, the other at Oxford, they condemned nine articles as heresies, and four as simple errors; he was not however, deposed, either from the credit of those who still protected him, or from his retracting and abjuring some of his tenets. It is certain, that the capital heresy of which he was accused, con-

sisted in denying the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament; we have two of his confessions on this subject, the one more full, the other more concise, but both expressing rather Consubstantiation than Transubstantiation. This was also, as they pretend, the opinion of the greatest number of the english clergy, which sooner than give up, they would have sacrificed their lives <sup>a</sup>.

Wickliff was struck with the palsy and died, at Lutterworth, the last day of the year 1384. He left a great many writings, and numbers of followers, who spread themselves every where, under the names of Wicklifites and Lollards <sup>b</sup>, and who were exposed to violent persecutions. After the death of Wickliff, the fathers of the council of Constance passed a sentence of excommunication on his memory, and ordered, that his bones, if they could be separated from those of other bodies, should be burnt; but this was not put in execution till the year 1438.

<sup>a</sup> See also on the doctrine of Wickliff, Mr. L'Enfant's *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, Lib. ii. Ch. 57, 60.

<sup>b</sup> It has been commonly supposed, that this name, which is undoubtedly of German original, was derived from one Walter Lollard, a German Reformer. Dupin and others assert this; but Mr. Mosheim declares, that, upon the strictest enquiry, he could not be satisfied of the truth of this, and gives it as his opinion, that as the religious people, who were called by the name of Lollards in reproach, were remarkable for all charitable offices, particularly attending the sick, and taking care of their funerals, when according to the German custom, hymns and psalms were always sung; and as upon other occasions, they delighted especially in spiritual songs and hymns. Hence they were called, by way of derision, Lollards, or Psalm-singers; for he tells us, such is the direct signification of the word, derived from the German original. Lallen, Lollen, Lallon, with the usual termination, Hard-Lollen, or Lullen, signifying to sing with a low and sweet voice; and hence says he, in English, the phrase to lull asleep. See his *Instit. Eccles.* p. 589. — Consult also a very learned Dissertation of Mr. Walch's on the Lollard's, published at Jena.

If Wickliff was not a man of great learning, his adversaries must allow, that he was very well versed in the scholastic divinity, as it was then taught, and that nobody excelled him in the talent of disputing. This without doubt, was the cause, that, in rejecting and opposing many errors, he could not help falling himself into some of those, which are the necessary consequences of subtleties, carried too far, as well as the effects of an age, buried in such extreme ignorance, as that was in which he lived. It is not to be doubted that his enemies very falsely imputed to him many ridiculous notions, namely, that God is obliged to obey the Devil, and that all is God. These were things which could never be drawn from his principles, without doing the greatest violence to them.

During this time, the Vaudois were greatly persecuted. Pope Clement V. made a great slaughter of them in the vallies of Piedmont, and in the neighbouring countries. Many of them fled for an asylum into Austria, but they did not remain long there in safety; for in the year 1315, the flames were lighted for their extirpation. The most cruel tortures were prepared for them also in Saxony, Pomerania, in the archdutchy of Mayence, and in many other parts of Germany. It would be impossible in a work much larger than this, to speak of all the miseries that these unfortunate people were forced to suffer.

The great calamities the Greeks suffered from the oppression of the Turks, induced them to fly for assistance to the Latins, and to make in appearance some advances to procure the re-union of the two Churches. Andronicus, the younger, sent Barlaam into the west, in 1539, and the Emperor John Paleologue came himself into Italy three years after. But this was a mere artifice to gain supplies, and ended in nothing.

The

The jubilee which returned at first only once a century, was in 1350, by order of Clement VI. commanded to be celebrated at the expiration of every fifty years. Afterwards Urban VI. Sixtus IV. and other popes, made it recur still more frequently, that they might the oftner reap a harvest, which they found answered so well. In general, all the traffic of the court of Rome prospered surprizingly. They got as much as they pleased for Exemptions, Reserves, Graces, Expectations, and a heap of other things which they invented purely to fill their coffers. In the mean time the Churches lost their liberty, and discipline was altogether violated, which caused many heavy complaints to be made by several Christian nations, particularly by those of France and England. These abuses, though of very ancient date, yet did not come to their height till the time that the popes see was at Avignon, and particularly during the continuance of the schism, and under the auspices of Boniface the IXth.

The inquisition increased daily in its power, and caused rivers of blood to flow at the feet of its tribunal. Besides the Vaudois, the Patarins, the Bagards, &c the Jews were likewise the victims of its cruel decrees. They attributed to them numbers of atrocious crimes, such as killing of infants, poisoning the springs and wells, piercing the hosts, or throwing them into boiling water. Their accusations served for pretences to torture them, to confiscate their goods, or to banish them at different times from France and Germany.

Among the celebrated men of this century, we must not forget Francis Petrarch, who ought not only to be mentioned for his distinguished excellency in poetry, but because his writings are full of the most lively descriptions of the deplorable estate of the court of Rome, from which all piety and purity of manners were entirely banished.

The

The events, or other memorable particulars of this century, are the golden bull, by which the emperor Charles the IVth. determined the rights and duties of the electors; the deposition of Venceslaus son of Charles, and successor to the empire; the perpetual wars between the English and French; the dethronement of two kings of England, Edward the IIId. and Richard the IIId. the state of the Turks under the Ottoman Emperors, and particularly the defeat of Bajazet by Tamerlane; the invention of artillery, which totally changed the art of war; and that of the magnet which as much changed the art of navigation.

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## CENTURY XV.

**T**H E corruption of the western or Roman Church, was at last come to its height. It was no longer possible to palliate its excesses, or to conceal its shameful deformities. All those who had any knowledge or virtue remaining, deplored its state, and in the most pressing terms, conjured all those who had it in their power, immediately and sincerely to set about the great and indispensable work of reformation. There was no council held in this century <sup>a</sup>, in which the fathers

<sup>a</sup> It is a certain fact, that in all the general councils assembled in this century, the fathers, who assisted, acknowledged the necessity of a general reformation; so those of the council of Pisa expressed themselves, and which they also promised more than once, but without effect. This is what the best and most learned writers of the Roman Church cannot deny, as the thing speaks for itself. We find the acknowledgments of the most authentic in the *Histoire des Variations*, by the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, but he denies, that this reformation so much desired, and so frequently promised, concerned any matter of faith and doctrine, but only church discipline. We need only read with attention the acts of the council at Constance, to convince us to the contrary. In the second, of the collection published by Labbe, in 12 Vol. or in the eight Vol. of that of Hardouin, we read these words. “ *Istud sacrum concilium non debet dissolvi “ nec dissolvitur . . . quousque ecclesia sit reformata in fide & “ moribus, in capite & membris.*” In the bull also of the invocation of the council, the pope John thus expresses himself.

did not strongly urge the necessity of beginning this work. But however, every body knows that all these generous efforts, all the lively representations of the witnesses of the truth, all the sincere advances of the Christian princes, vanished in smoke, merely from the fault of the pope and the superior clergy, who did not fail to throw powerful obstacles in the way. The great aversion they had for all reformation, was not the insurmountable objection; but they perceived how much their avarice and their ambition would suffer by it; they knew that the yoke of superstition could not be broken without the ruin of their authority, and the loss of their temporal advantages. Some provincial councils indeed took this affair into their deliberations; but all the schemes they proposed, fell far short of what the necessities of the Church required.

The great and scandalous separation which began in 1378, lasted even to the beginning of this century, Boniface the IXth. holding his see at Rome, and Benedict the XIII. at Avignon. Both the one and the other had engaged voluntarily to abdicate the popedom, whenever it should be required; but they did not perform their engagements. France, as we before mentioned, withdrew her subjection. This resolution, published in 1398, was annulled under certain conditions in 1403, re-established in 1406, and confirmed in 1408. Other kingdoms, and particularly a part of Germany, followed this example.

" Considerantes quod præcipue agendum in concilio generali esse  
 " debet de his quæ concernunt catholicam fidem. — Ut tem-  
 " pore opportuno possint ea determinari quæ vicebuntur tenenda  
 " vel repudianda, pro utilitate & incremento ipsius fidei ca-  
 " tholicæ." It would be easy to bring other proofs, as they  
 may see who consult the Histoire des Eglises Reformes, by Mr.  
 Basnage.

Boniface

Boniface dying in 1404, was succeeded by Innocent VII. and after him Gregory XIV. was elected in 1406, by the cardinals of the same faction. Neither of these popes being willing to abdicate, great troubles ensued. After having tried every means to remedy these evils, without any success, they had at last recourse to a general council, held at Pisa <sup>a</sup>, in 1409, by the order of which, Gregory XII. and Benedict XII. were deposed, and the papedom was conferred on Alexander the Vth. But instead of putting an end to the schism, by this order, they only made the breach still wider; the three popes persisted each in a resolution to retain possession of the Holy See; they divided the west amongst them. Gregory XII. whose former name was Angelo Corrario, was favoured by a part of Italy, as well as by the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who was master of Rome. The kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Scotland, acknowledged Benedict XIII. or Peter de Lune; the other nations submitted to Alexander the Vth. who was succeeded in 1410 by Balthazar Caffa, who took the name of John the XXIIId.

This man's character was such, as rendered him hateful to every body; regarding neither honour nor law, he boldly bid defiance to all right divine and human. By favor of the emperor Sigismund, which he had taken care to preserve, he hoped to keep possession of his place, and agreed to the calling of a new general council, which was assembled at Constance in 1414. John came there with a great number of cardinals and prelates. The emperor was also attended by some German

<sup>a</sup> See in this council, the first and second Dissertation of Noel Alexander, in the Hist. Eccles. of the 15th century. Dupin Hist. and Histoire du Council de Pise, by Mr. L'Entant, published in 2 vol. 4to. at Amsterdam, in 1724.

princes, and the ambassadors of all the other kings and princes in Europe. The council proposed three principal things as objects of their deliberations; the extinction of schism, the extirpation of heresies, and the reformation of the Church, both in its principal, and members.

With regard to the first of these, after having established in the 4th and 5th sessions the authority of the council over the pope <sup>a</sup>, they insisted upon John's performing the solemn promise he had made of abdicating whenever they required him; but seeing that he persisted with an invincible obstinacy to elude this engagement, he was condemned and deposed, not only for his obstinacy, but for his being convicted of various crimes. Gregory XII. sent by his ambassadors the resignation they demanded. But Benedict X. equally disregarding the requests of the council, as well as those of his own cardinals, and the emperor himself, who personally requested this of him, was forsaken by all the world, and deposed by the council, without any opposition. Odo Colomne, a Roman, was elected to be the only lawful pope, and he took the name of Martin the Vth. Whilst these things were transacting, John Hus, a Doctor of Prague, a man of much knowledge, and great piety, and who was highly respected in his country, having incurred the censures of the archbishop of Prague, and likewise those of the pope, for having spoken rather too freely of the see of Rome <sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> That was certainly the most famous decree of this council, which declared the popes subject to the supreme authority of general councils. The Gallican Church conformed afterwards to the decision. The fathers of the council thought by this means to have remedied every thing; but the efficacy of this remedy was not of any long continuance. See Mr. Dupin's History, and Mr. E'Enfans History of the Council of Constance.

<sup>b</sup> It appears that their doctrine did not differ much at that time from that of the Church of Rome.

came to Constance to justify himself. But, although he was protected by the passport of the Emperor, they violated the public faith; and after having thrown him into prison, they burnt him alive on the 4th of July 1413. Jeremy of Prague, the friend and companion of John Huss, was also seized. The horrors of a dreadful prison, and the fear of death extorted from him a recantation, which he soon after retracted, upon which he was brought to the stake, where he expired on the 30th of May 1416. These two martyrs expressed to the last, in the midst of tortures, the most surprising constancy, and the most fervent piety. Before they proceeded to their condemnation, they pronounced that of Wickliff, who was looked upon as their master, though their principles and his did not entirely agree. It was then they ordered the bones of Wickliff to be dug out of his grave, and to be publicly burnt.

At the same time there were in Bohemia, some reformers, headed by one James de Misa, or, as he is sometimes called Jacobel. These men instructed either by the Vaudois, whom the violence of the persecution had dispersed into all parts of Europe, or by the writings of Wickliff, taught, that the communion ought to be distributed in both kinds, and they even celebrated it in this manner in some churches to the great satisfaction of the people. Their doctrine and practice was condemned by the famous canon of the 30th session of the council of Constance, which says, that as Jesus Christ administered his holy sacrament in both kinds to his disciples, and that the faithful in the primitive Church had also received it in that manner; yet notwithstanding, in conformity to a custom reasonably established, the laity only ought to receive the eucharist in bread. As to the third object of the council, namely, the reformation of the Church, both in its

its chief and members, though the greatest number of the bishops assembled, were sensible of its necessity, it being strongly and evidently represented to them by many able men ; yet all their deliberations on this subject came to no more than the appointing a certain number, to fix on some plan to bring this good design into execution. These people held many meetings, but took no important resolutions, so that the pope Martin the Vth. dismissed the fathers of the council, without their having determined any thing decisive on the subject of Reformation.

This council lasted three years and a half, having been begun on the 5th of November 1414, and ended on the 22d of April 1418. Those who appeared to the most advantage in this assembly, were the Emperor Sigismond, who greatly interested himself in the affairs of the Church ; John of Brognac cardinal of Viviers, or of Ostie, who presided at most of the Sessions ; Peter de Ailly, cardinal of Cambray ; Francis Zabarella cardinal of Florence, and John Gerson chancellor of the university of Paris, who was one of the ambassadors of the king of France.

The end of the council was not, however, that of the schism. Benedict the XIII<sup>th</sup>. obstinately persisted in his resolution to the last, and was succeeded after his death by a man, who took the name of Clement the VII. This Pope consented at length to abdicate upon the solicitations of Peter François, cardinal of Toix. We shall speak soon of the violent disturbance caused in Bohemia, from the councils prohibiting the use of wine in the sacrament ; but not to interrupt the thread of church affairs, we shall proceed to the council of Bale. Martin the Vth, at the dissolution of the council of Constance, had promised to convoke another soon after, which was to attend only to the reformation of the Church.

After some preliminaries, the council was appointed at Bale in 1431, and the sessions began. The pope died just before the opening of the council, which was on the 23d of July, under the auspices of his successor Eugene the IVth, and in presence of cardinal Julian, whom he sent to preside there. The first thing the council entered upon, was the renewing, and that in the strongest manner possible, of the decree of the council of Constance, which established the authority of a general council over the Pope. Eugene was piqued at this, and wanted to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Boulogne. He did not succeed in this attempt. This, however, did not at all discourage him, he transferred, by his own authority, the council at first to Ferraro, in 1438, and upon account of the plague infesting that city in the year following, to Florence. The fathers of the council of Bale went on however, in their own way, and having at first signified to the pope, that unless he revoked the Bull, by which he pretended to deprive them of the Power of acting, that they should not only disregard it, but should attack him, as refractory, obstinate, and unworthy of the rank he held in the church. They kept their words, and proceeded vigorously against him. They began with first declaring the nullity of the council which set up itself in opposition to them; after which they degraded the pope, as guilty of contumacy, obstinacy, and disobedience to the universal church, as rebellious, and a violator and contemner of canons, a disturber of unity, author of scandals, simoniacl, perjured, heretical, incorrigible, schismatical, fallen from the faith, persisting obstinately in his error, prodigal of the revenues of the church, &c.

They afterwards proceeded to the election of a new pope, on the 19th of November 1439, when their

their choice fell on Amadeus duke of Savoy, who dwelt at Ripailes, near the lake Leman, where he led a very retired and a kind of hermetical life. Amadeus took the name of Felix the Vth. Scarce had the schism of the antipopes ceased, before they again revived, and nothing was heard but excommunications, which were reciprocally thundered out, pope against pope, and council against council.

To finish our account of the council at Bale, we must speak first of the affair of the Hussites, concerning which, they deliberated very long, and very unprofitably. They had invited the Bohemians to send deputies to the council; which they did; and amongst others, sent their famous general Procopius, and John Rokzana, one of their principal clergy. These deputies demanded four things of the council. The first respected the celebration of the communion under two sorts; the second turned upon the right the civil magistrates had of punishing all crimes, without exception, the clergy to be allowed no privileges in that respect; in the third place, they required a free preaching of the word of God; and in the last, they insisted upon churchmen having no civil authority. The divines of the two parties conferred for a long time on these particulars, but could come to no agreement, and the Bohemian envoys returned into their own country, after a very fruitless journey. But the council sent deputies very soon after into Bohemia, amongst whom was *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*. They allowed them the use of the cup, which brought back many among the Bohemians to their communion, who had the name of Calixtins given to them. Those who would not follow their example, were called Taborites, from Tabor, a mountain near Prague, and from a fortress situated on that mountain, which was one of their principal retreats. These last did not allow the

granting them the use of wine in the sacrament, was a sufficient reason for a reconciliation with the Church of Rome, which they censured on many other accounts. Instead then of becoming subjects to her, and living peaceably as the former, they continued to support a very bloody war, the success of which was various, till the time of the reformation, when the Taborites joined with the protestant churches. The council of Bale ended in 1443.

We must not neglect in this place, to take a general view of the council of Florence, and to say something of the reunion with the Greek Church, which was there planned, and of their pompous proceedings in this affair. The Greek emperor John Paleologue, came himself to the council, attended by his brother Demetrius Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, Mark Eugenius archbishop of Ephesus, and many other persons very considerable both in church and state. Their conferences turned upon four principal points; 1. The procession of the spirit; 2. Purgatory; 3. Unleavened bread; and 4. The primacy of the pope. As their disputes on the two first subjects did not seem to present the fairest prospect of a return of concord, the emperor who was willing to agree at any rate in hopes of gaining succours against the Turks; and the pope, who promised himself and his council much glory from the success of this affair, proceeded in another manner. They agreed to name commissaries on both sides, with full power to settle every thing. The Greeks made choice of a prelate intirely devoted to the Latins, whose name was Bessario, bishop of Nice, and who was afterwards made cardinal. Mark of Ephesus was the only one who resolutely opposed these measures; the others, partly intimidated by threats, and partly gained by promises, or by real presents, consented

consented to agree with the Latins, and signed a decree of concord manifestly fraudulent. This they found out upon their return into their country, when they complained very loudly of having been deceived, and immediately retracted their consent <sup>a</sup>.

The schism of the west still continued. Eugenius IV. died in 1477. Nicolas the Vth. was elected to succeed him. The wisdom of Felix put an end to this long and hateful division. He consented to abdicate the pontificate, and contented himself with having the first place among the cardinals.

Nicolas was a pope who deserves much commendation for his love of literature, and for the protection he gave to the learned. We may distinguish among his successors in the course of this century, Pius the IIId. the same *Æneas Sylvius*, whom the council of Florence sent into Bohemia. He was a very learned man, and had acquired much reputation both in his private life, and as a cardinal; but when he came to the see, he disgraced himself very much, shamefully retracting all that he had said, done, and wrote, in favour of the council of Bale. Paul the IIId. signalized himself by his aversion to the Belles-Lettres. Sixtus IV, as well as Innocent the VIIIth. are remembred only for their scandalous amours. But the last pope of this century, Alexander the VIth was a very monster, a reproach not only to the see of Rome, but even to human nature <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The whole that passed in these councils are very exactly related in the history of these councils by Sylvester Syropalus, an eye-witness of the facts. Robert Craighton, an Englishman, has printed this history at the Hague, in 1660, in folio. See Dupin, and Vol. xii. Ch. 2.

<sup>b</sup> We shall revive this subject in the next century. See the life of this pontiff, and his son Cæsar Borgia, written by Mr. Gordon.

There were many learned men in the Greek Church at this period, and who are well known for their writings. Simeon, archbishop of Thessalonica, may be compared to the best divines of Greek antiquity. Those who most eagerly defended their communion against the Latins, were Joseph of Bryenne, Macarius Macres, Mark of Ephesus, who, as we have seen, assisted at the council of Florence; George Scholarius, or Gennadius, the first patriarch of Constantinople, after that city had been taken by the Turks, and Sylvester Syropalus, to whom we are indebted for an excellent history of the council of Florence. The party of the Latins was defended for some time at least, by Joseph patriarch of Constantinople, who betrayed indeed the cause of his church in the council of Florence, and by Bessario, who was one of the principal ornaments of this century. He left the communion of the Greek Church for that of the Latins, where he was honoured with a cardinal's cap.

It will be proper to speak of an event fatal indeed to the eastern empire; but very fortunate for science in the west; which happened about the middle of this century; the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, I mean, in 1453. This violent storm drove into Italy, a heap of learned Greeks, who brought with them a love of study, and particularly a taste for their language. Such among others, were Theodorus of Gaza, George of Trebizonde, Argyropulus, Demetrius Calcondylas, &c. The protection of the popes Nicolas V. and Pius the II<sup>d</sup>. was very serviceable to them. The Belles Lettres in a very little time flourished much in Italy, from whence emulation carried them into the other countries of the west.

\* See my *Histoire Abrigée de la Philosophie*.

The Latin Church also now produced many celebrated names. In the first rank we must place John Charlier Gerson, a disciple of Cardinal D'Ailly, and his successor in the chancellorship of the university of Paris. He was one of the most illustrious defenders of the pure doctrine and liberties of the Gallican church. We may remark the same love of truth, and the same knowledge in Nicolas of Clemenges, and John Wessel of Groningen, who was surnamed the Light of the World, and whom they regarded as one of the fore-runners of the Reformation, as his doctrine differed in many respects from that of the Roman Church. We may say as much also of Jerom Savonarolus of Ferrara, a dominican and a celebrated preacher, who, for having publickly said many things greatly to the discredit of the Roman Church, to which he gave the name of Babylon, was burnt alive at Florence, in 1498. Among the many interpreters of Holy Scripture, Alphonsus Tostat, D'Avila, Paul of Bergos, and Denys Rychel, Carthusian Fryars, are the most famous. Laurence Valla employed himself in the same manner. The scholastic divines of this century, who deserve to be mentioned, are Nicolas of Causa and Gabriel Biel, the last and best of these doctors. The mystic divinity is much indebted to Henry Harphius, and Thomas à Kempis, who is looked upon as the author of a famous work <sup>a</sup> on the Imitation of Jesus Christ. Among the historians of this century, Thierri of Niem, who spoke with much freedom of the vices of the popes of his time, and Platina, who wrote the lives of them all, are the most distinguished.

<sup>a</sup> There was a very warm dispute in the last century, respecting the true author of this book. See a particular Dissertation of Mr. Dupin, on this subject, in his Nov. Biblioth. Eccle. Vol. XII. p. 157.

Religion now assumed a much better appearance both in theory and practice. Many sensible divines began more and more to be convinced of the folly of scholastic disputes, and conceived for the subtleties of this science all the contempt they deserved. The number of the witnesses of the truth visibly increased. The disgraces and scandals of the Roman Church struck them more forcibly than they had ever yet done. They held councils, formed projects, wrote books on the ways and means most proper to procure a reformation of the Church. The Belles-Lettres were cultivated every where, and became very useful. The languages, without which it is impossible for any body to understand, and solidly explain the scriptures, found every where admirers, who knew their value, and applied to the study of them. Men began now to have a taste for sacred scripture, which they had scarcely ever read before, or at least never understood. The knowledge of divinity now flowing from its purest source, wuold undoubtedly have made great progress, if the authority of the Roman Church had not still supported the doctrine of the schools. This was the capital obstacle to a change so desirable and so desired in the western church, a revolution which providence had reserved for the following century.

In order to unite in one point of view the causes which brought about the work of the reformation, we must reduce them to four heads. 1. The scandalous corruption of the Roman Church, which now passed all bounds; the shameful superstition in which their minds were plunged, and which had reduced the whole practice of piety into mere trifling; the childish fables, the legends which they heaped on the people in greater abundance, after they had deprived them of the word of God; the avarice,

avarice, luxury, and debaucheries of the clergy, the most barefaced simony, and the infamous traffic of things sacred at Rome, where every thing was sold, temples, priests, altars, sacraments, and God himself. 2. The strong and frequently repeated complaints of the learned, even among those of the Roman Church, to whom these scandals were insupportable. Such were Nicolas Clemangis, Peter d'Ailly, John Gerson, Thomas Netter, called the Vaudois, the Poet Mantouan, and the historians Riem and Platina, who were domestics and secretaries of the Popes. 3. The open war declared by the Roman Church against all those who separated from her, and which for the most part were branches of the Vaudois, dispersed in France, Italy, and elsewhere. 4. Lastly, the return of light at the epoch, which they distinguished by the name of the New Birth, or Renewal of Learning. Besides the great services received from the Greek refugees, in this respect, whom we before mentioned, we must allow a great deal to be owing to the discovery of printing, a discovery which many cities have laid claim to; but the glory of which appears to be due to a gentleman of Mayence, named John Guttenberg, whose first typographical attempt was made about the year 1440.

We will now stop a little while to take a general view of the principal doctrines which in this century bore the name of Heresies. The assemblies of the Wicklifites in England, grew daily more numerous, though they were prohibited by the laws of the kingdom, under the most severe punishments, and these punishments were inflicted without mercy. All those who sought for a knowledge of the true religion, read with eagerness the writings of Wicliff, which were dispersed throughout Europe. They were much read and esteemed in Bohemia. From these

these, John Huds <sup>a</sup>, whose opinions, resolution, and martyrdom, we have just taken notice of, formed this system. The charge of heresy, which deprived him of life, was as false, as the violation of publick faith committed upon his account was cruel. His punishment caused also much blood to be shed in Bohemia. The inhabitants of the kingdom having opened their eyes to the clear light of the gospel, took arms in 1419, headed by a nobleman named John Ziska, who, though blind, was, during his life, as well as after his death, a terror to his enemies. These troops carried on a war with almost continual success for some years, but they left in every place they passed through, dreadful marks of cruelty <sup>b</sup>, which they exercised principally on the priests, monks, and convents. The plague having carried off Ziska, in 1424, Procopius Rasa, his uncle, whose courage and good fortune were equal to his nephews, succeeded him in the command of the Hussites. During ten years and more, he at different times beat, and often entirely defeated, the troops of Sigismond, emperor of the Romans and king of Bohemia, and even other armies, who came to the assistance of Sigismond. About this time the Hussites made frequent excursions into some of the neighbouring countries, where they spread themselves like a torrent, caused

<sup>a</sup> Mr. L'Enfant in his *Histoires des Conciles de Pise and Constance*, has mentioned every thing that concerns John Huds. The fate of the Hussites after his death are related by the same author in the *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. Consult also the Supplement of Mr. de Beausobre.

<sup>b</sup> We must remark, that these cruelties are greatly exaggerated by the Roman Catholic Writers, to whom we may oppose the accounts of Laurence Byzinius, a distinguished person, and an eye-witness of most of the Facts of which he has made a journal, which Mr. Beausobre, in his *Supplement à l'Histoire des Hussites*, has inserted almost entire.

dreadful havocks, and carried every where fire and sword.

We have before spoken of the Calixtins, and the Taborites <sup>a</sup>, we must mention also the Picards and Adamites <sup>b</sup>, who appeared much about the same time. They came from other countries into Bohemia, where they advanced many things which much resembled the ancient doctrine and discipline of the Vaudois, from whom, according to some learned men, they were immediately descended <sup>c</sup>. There are authors too modern to have full credit given to them, who lay to the charge of these heretics most atrocious crimes. Common justice commands us, therefore, to suspend our judgment in this respect. The Orbites, or the Orphans, who are likewise often mentioned, did not greatly differ from the Taborites, either in doctrine or worship.

The emperor Sigismond was in hopes all these differences would be settled at the council of Bale, where they had invited the Hussites to hold conferences, promising them full security in the most solemn manner possible. Upon this, there came to Bale in 1433, near three hundred, selected from all orders. These people made demands, which the council would not agree to. There were, however, as we have seen, deputies sent soon after from the council, into Bohemia, who allowed them the use of the cup, and by that means, brought back one part of the dissenters to the pale of the Roman

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. Beaufobre's above-mentioned work on the Origin of the Castle of Tabor, and the name of the Taborites. The Taborites were rightly called disciples and descendants of the Wicklefites.

<sup>b</sup> We find at the end of *Histoire du Concile de Bale*, by Mr. L'Enfant, two Dissertations on the Adamites, by Mr. Beaufobre, worthy of their author.

<sup>c</sup> See the *Histoire du Concil de Bale*, lib. iv. p. 79-83.

Church. The Taborites, being no longer able to support themselves by the force of arms, continued to hold secret assemblies; the descendants of some of the members of these assemblies are to this day called the Brethren of Bohemia <sup>a</sup>.

The state of religion in Spain, in the course of this century, is an affair too interesting to be passed over in silence; for more than seven hundred years this kingdom had been in subjection to the Mahometan Moors. But, by degrees this whole kingdom was freed by the Christian princes, from this dreadful yoke, by which it had been oppressed for so many years; and by that means the Christian religion was restored to all its ancient liberty and splendour. Ferdinand, king of Castile, to whom this event had given the surname of Catholic, having conquered the kingdom of Granada, and taken its capital in 1472, deprived the Moors of the only kingdom which was left them in Spain. However, the country was still over-run with vast multitudes of these people, to whom Ferdinand promised, with an oath, after his conquest of Granada, that they should enjoy full security, and a free exercise of their religion. This prince, very zealous in all respects for the propagation of the faith, hoped that the preachers of the gospel by their instructions and exhortations, would soon overcome the prejudices and infidelity of the Moors. But after seven years trial, seeing that mildness and indulgencies had no effect, in 1439, he caused severity, or, to speak more properly, cruelty to succeed, by abandoning them to the dreadful tribunal of the

<sup>a</sup> See John Lasitius de Moribus et Institutis Fratrum Bohemicorum, printed at Lefna in Poland, in 1694. Consult also Joh. Amos Comenii Synopsis Historica Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ, printed at Leyden, 1647.

inquisition. By this means two hundred thousand at least embraced Christianity, but as the event sufficiently shewed, without any sincerity on the part of the greatest number, this engaged him to try afterwards other methods.<sup>a</sup>

At the same time, the Jews shared much the same fate in Spain and Portugal. An innumerable multitude of the descendants of Abraham had for many years resorted to these kingdoms. Immediately upon taking of Granada, Ferdinand ordered them to join the Christian Churches, or to leave the kingdom. They preferred the latter, and quitting Spain, spread themselves in most of the countries in Europe and Africa. The greatest part, in order to gain time, took refuge in Portugal, hoping that there they might peaceably consider upon the choice of another asylum. But contrary to expectation, nay even contrary to the hopes, that John III. king of Portugal had permitted them to conceive, they were not only ruined in their fortunes, but condemned to slavery. Emmanuel, the successor of John, at first repaired this injustice, by restoring to them not only their liberty, but even all they had lost. But changing soon after his opinion, he took away their children, and would have reduced them again to servitude, if the Jews had not, on account of such cruel treatment, and from the fear of worse, consented to receive baptism, which they did to the number of more than three hundred thousand. From the history of them and their descendants, we may judge of the sincerity of this step, and not to have any doubt on this subject, we need only cast our eyes on the terrible punish-

<sup>a</sup> You will find a very just and learned account of all that relates to the Moors in Spain, in Michael Geddes's Treatise of the History of the Expulsion of the Moors out of Spain. You will find this work in his Miscellaneous Tracts.

ments which they have experienced ever since that time <sup>a</sup>.

In Lithuania the inhabitants of Samogitia, a people given up to Idolatry, were in the beginning of this century, happily converted by the labours of Uladislas Jagellon <sup>b</sup>. The Portuguese luckily finding out a passage from the African Sea by the Cape, afterwards called the Cape of Good Hope, to the Islands of the East Indies, had the happiness to lay the first foundations of Christianity, in the vast kingdom of Congo, which they had great reason at that time to suppose, would hereafter become very flourishing. John II<sup>d</sup>. King of Portugal, having sent envoys to Congo, the king and queen of the country, with the princes of the blood, and most of the grandees of the kingdom, received baptism, and made a profession of Christianity in 1491 <sup>c</sup>. It is said, that the son of this king, who was baptized by the name of Alphonfus, succeeding to the throne after his father, was so much attached to Christianity, that he even himself took the pains of instructing his subjects in the articles of religion, and sent his own children, with others of the first distinction, into Portugal, in order to acquire a complete and perfect knowledge of the truth. The profession of the faith is not yet abolished in these kingdoms, and they take care regularly to send Missionaries, from Europe, but it appears that these missions answer very little purpose.

<sup>a</sup> Jerom Osorio, a Portuguese bishop, has mentioned this calamity that befel the Jews, in his treatise *De Rebus Immanuelis Lusitaniae Regis*, Lib. i. p. 14, &c. See also the above mentioned work of Geddes's, and particularly the *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, by Limborch, Lib. i. c. 25.

<sup>b</sup> See Cramer Hist. Polon. Lib. xviii. p. 277. Matth. de Moscovie, Chro. Polon. Lib. iv. c. 45. & Christ- Harthnock, *Prussia antiqua & nova*.

<sup>c</sup> See Joh. Pet. Maffei Hist. Ind. Lib. i. p. 16, &c. & Osorio ubi sup.

The East-Indies, which, as we observed, the Portuguese met with by sailing round the coast of Africa, as well as the new world discovered by the Spaniards, opened a large field for the propagation of the gospel. But neither the seed sown, nor the manner in which it was sown, was at all conformable to the true doctrine of Jesus Christ.

We may still add to our list of the great men of this century some respectable names. Among the divines, we may mention John de Turrecremata, John Caprolus, Jerom de Saintefoi, Raymond de Sebunde, cardinal Nicolas de Cusa, &c. Among the lawyers, we may take notice of Nicolas de Tudeschis archbishop of Palermo and cardinal, Alexander d'Imola otherwise called Tartagni; and among the historians Blondus Flavius, Gobelin Persona, Matthew Palmerius, Sabellicus, Antoninus Tri-themus, &c. Among the grammarians and linguists, the most famous names are those of Emanuel Chrysolorus, Francis Philephus, Leonard Arretin, John Francis Poggus, Rodolphus Agricola, Hermolaus Barbarus, John Pic de la Mirandola, Angel Politien, Marsilius Ficin, &c.

The most memorable events of the secular history in the 15th century, are the wars of the English against the French, in which, at the beginning, the former had the advantage until the raising of the siege of Orleans, which was caused by Joan of Arc, commonly called the Maid of Orleans. The valour of this extraordinary girl revived the drooping courage of the soldiers, and supported the tottering throne of the king. The power of the Turks received a considerable check from the exploits of Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, who, at the head of his war-like Tartars, saw himself master of almost all Asia, where he strove to establish the law of Mahomet, in opposition to that of Jesus Christ, which was still observed in

many parts of that country. The Turks, after the death of Tamerlane, in 1415, soon recovered themselves, and were capable in their turn of destroying the Greek empire, in 1453. They would, without doubt, have carried their conquests still farther, if they had not been vigorously repulsed by two heroes, John Hunniadus, prince of Transilvania, and Scanderberg king of Epirus. Italy was continually embroiled during the course of this century; the kingdom of Naples, particularly, was the cause of some violent wars. The discovery of the new world was one of the most memorable events of this century. This discovery was made by Christopher Columbus a Genoese, and by Americus Vespusius, a Florentine, under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile.

The END of VOLUME I.

*James F. Armstrong*

The Reader is desired to correct the following  
ERRATA in this Volume.

- p. 12. l. 20. *that with*, dele.  
p. 25. l. 29. *Geffius*, read *Gestius*.  
p. 28. l. 22. for *no* read *not*.  
p. 40. l. 28. for *before destined*, read *was*.  
p. 41. l. 18. *Plerom* read *Pleroma*, in that and other places.  
p. 66. l. 18. before *had*, read *who*.  
p. 71. l. 8. after *even*, read *one*.  
p. 92. l. 2. after *they* read *had*.  
p. 108. for *Zenon*, read *Zeno*.  
p. 137. l. 15. for *town* read *tower*.  
p. 139. l. 13. for *But* read *And*.  
p. 197. l. 25. for *Peripatitie* read *Peripatetic*.  
p. 163. l. 16. after *likewise* read *men*.  
p. 109. l. 17. after *Frisingue* read *not*.  
p. 208. l. 26. for *desires* read *decrees*.  
p. 210. l. 4. for *Fartan* read *Tartar*.  
p. 225. l. 18. for *Aquianus* read *Aquinus*.  
p. 226. l. 13. dele *and*.  
p. 228. l. 2. dele *made*.  
p. 231. l. 26. for *demission* read *dominion*.  
p. 234. l. 15. for *suffrigams* read *suffragans*.  
p. 236. l. 5. before *the* read *and of*.





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