





















THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

M. L'ABBE FLEURY,

FROM

A.D. 400. TO A.D. 429.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

AT the close of the preceding Volume of this Translation of Fleury's History, St. Ambrose was already dead; St. Jerome, now at the age of sixty or seventy, was engaged in the controversy with Ruffinus, and St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine had lately been raised to the sees of Constantinople and Hippo. The three Fathers last named form the principal subjects of the present Volume. The persecution, exile, and death of St. Chrysostom, with the disputes and divisions which followed throughout Christendom thereupon, and the complete, though tardy restoration of his memory in the Church of Constantinople;—the latter years of St. Jerome, his correspondence with St. Augustine, and his opposition to the rising heresy of Pelagius;—and the episcopate of St. Augustine till within a few years of his death, his unwearied strife with Manichees, Arians, Donatists, Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians; his personal friends, his daily habits, and domestic life;—are here recorded with that fullness of circumstantial detail which is the peculiarity of the work. Other subjects of the present Volume are, the termination of the schism of Antioch by St. Alexander; the Decretals and actions of Pope St. Innocent; the contest of his successors, first with the Gallic, then with the African Bishops; their vindication of the jurisdiction of Illyria from the claims of the see of Constantinople; circumstances which

tended to define the development, then in progress, of the patriarchal power, while the accession of St. Cyril to the see of Alexandria, and of Nestorius to that of Constantinople, carries on our thoughts to the occurrences of a succeeding age. This period too is marked by an event, which, though more peculiarly interesting to the civil historian, extensively and permanently influenced the visible fortunes of the Church; for it was about this time that the tide of Barbarians, which ultimately desolated the Roman Empire, began unceasingly to pour into it. The inroad of Rhadagaisus, and the capture of Rome by Alaric, are here recorded; as well as the settlement of the Burgundians in Gaul, and of the Vandals in Spain, with their first passage from thence into Africa, the precursor of a long series of calamities to the Churches of that country.

In the revision of the present Volume the plan of the preceding has been generally followed; but in the References in the margin of the page, Fleury's form has not always been retained where a later edition than his has been employed; nor has the new reference been bracketed in such cases, nor where his references have been made more complete and minute, or Scripture references have been supplied; though this caution has been strictly observed, wherever any really new reference has been introduced. Where the reference is made to more than one edition, the order in which they are placed in the Table of Editions has been preserved: and the literal numerals inserted have been employed only to indicate the volume of the work referred to.

It should be added that the attempt at abridgment which was contemplated when the former Volume was published, has been abandoned from a sense of its impracticability; also the design of prefixing Essays on ecclesiastical subjects to each Volume, from the difficulty of keeping them within due limits.

For the care with which this Volume has been prepared for publication and carried through the Press, the acknowledgments of the Editor are due to GEORGE BUCKLE, B.A., Fellow of Oriel College.

J. H. N.

Littlemore, June 13, 1843.

EDITIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES, USED IN THE
FOLLOWING VOLUME.

A.

Ambrose, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1686—1690.
Athanasius, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1698.
Augustine, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1670—1700.

B.

Basil, St., Garn. et Bened. fol. Par. 1721—30.
Baronius, Annal. fol. Lucæ. 1738—46.
Baudrand, Geographia, fol. Par. 1681—2.
Bibliotheca Magna V. V. P. P. De la Bigne. fol. Lugd. 1677.
Bolland. Act. Sanct. fol. Antw. 1643.
Bona, Res Liturg. 4to. Par. 1672.

C.

Cassianus, Alard, Gaz. fol. Atreb. 1628.
Chronic. Prosp. Marcell., &c. Roncal. 4to. Patav. 1787.
Chronic. Paschale, Du Cange. fol. Par. 1688.
Chrysostom, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1718—38. and Savil. fol. Eton. 1612. and Morel. fol. Par. 1621—4.
Clemens Alex., St., Potter. Oxon. 1715.
Codex Can. Eccles. Afr. ap. Concil. ii. p. 1041. (iii. p. 699). and ap. Justell. Bibl. Jur. i. p. 101.
Codex Theodos. Gothof. et Sirm. fol. Lips. 1736—45.
Concilia, Labb. et Coss. fol. Lut. Par. 1671—2. and Mansi. Florent. 1759—98.
Concilium Afric. ap. Concil. ii. p. 1638. (iv. p. 478.)
Cyprian, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1726.
Cyril of Jerusalem, St., fol. Oxon. 1703.

D.

Dionysius Exiguus, ap. Justell. Bibl. Jur. i. p. 101. fol. Par. 1661.

E.

Epiphanius, St., fol. Colon. 1682.
Epist. Rom. Pontif. ap. Concil. and Coustant. fol. Par. 1721.
Eusebius, Evagrius, &c. Reading. fol. Cantab. 1720.

F.

Facundus, 8vo. Par. 1629. and Albasp. fol. Par. 1679.
Ferrandi Breviar. Can. ap. Justell. Bibl. Jur. i. p. 448.

G.

Gennadius, ap. S. Hier. tom. v. p. 29.
Gregory Nazianzen, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1778.
——— *Nyssen.* Bened. fol. Par. 1638.
——— *Turonensis*, fol. Par. 1699.

H.

Hilary, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1693.

I. & J.

Idatii Chronic. ap. Roncall. pt. 2. p. 5.
Jerome, St., Bened. fol. Par. 1693—1706.
Isidorus Hispalensis, de Script. Eccles. ap. Bibl. Miræi, p. 77. fol. Antw. 1639.
——— *Pelusiot.* fol. Par. 1638.
Justelli Bibl. Jur. Can. fol. Par. 1661.

L.

Liberati Brev. Garn. 8vo. Par. 1675.

M.

Marcellini Chronic. ap. Roncal. pt. 2.
p. 265.
Martyrologium Romanum, 4to. Ven. 1661.
Mercator, Marius, Baluz. 8vo. Par. 1684.
and Garn. fol. Par. 1673.

N.

Nicephorus Callistus, fol. Par. 1630.
Nili Epist. Suaresius. fol. Rome. 1673.
—— *Narr.* Possinus. 4to. Par. 1658.

O.

Optatus, St., Albasp. fol. Par. 1679.
Origen, Bened. fol. Par. 1733—59.
Orosius, Havercamp. 4to. Lugd. Bat.
1738.

P.

Palladius, Vit. S. Chrys. ap. S. Chrys.
Bened. tom. xiii.
—— *Lausiaca Hist.* ap. Bibl. P.P.
De la Bigne. Par. 1589. tom. vii.
p. 1521.
Pauli Diaconi Aquilegiensis, Hist. Mis-
cell. ap. Rom. Script. Gruter. fol.
Hanov. 1611. p. 771.
Philostorgius, ap. Euseb. &c.
Photii Bibl. Bekker. 4to. Berol. 1824
—5.
Possidius, ap. S. Aug. x. App. p. 257.
Procopius, fol. Par. 1662—3.
Prosperi Chronic. ap. Roncal. pt. 1. p. 522.
—— *Opera*, 8vo. Colon. 1630.

Q.

Quesnel, Cod. Can. Rom. 4to. 1675.

R.

Rosweydi Vit. P.P. fol. Lugd. 1617.
Ruinart, Hist. Persec. Vandal. 8vo. Par.
1694.

S.

Salvianus, ap. Bibl. V.V. P.P. De la
Bigne. Par. 1589. tom. v. p. 161.
Schelstrate, Eccles. Afr. 4to. Par. 1679.
Severus, Sulpitius, Hier. de Prat. 4to.
Ver. 1741—54.
Sirmond's Opera, fol. Par. 1696.
Socrates, Sozomen, &c. ap. Euseb., &c.
Synesius, fol. Par. 1631.

T.

Theodoret, Sirmond. fol. Par. 1642. and
Reading. Cantab. 1720.
Theophanes, fol. Par. 1655.
Thomassini Ludov. Disciplina, fol. Par.
1688.

V.

Victor Vitensis, Hist. Persec. Vandal.
Ruinart. 8vo. Par. 1694.

Z.

Zosimus, ap. Rom. Script. Sylburg.
fol. Franc. 1590. tom. iii. p. 625.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. Theophilus condemns Origen.</p> <p>II. Paschal Letters of Theophilus.</p> <p>III. Theophilus drives away the Four Brothers.</p> <p>IV. St. Chrysostom opposes Gainas.</p> <p>V. Accusation against Antoninus of Ephesus.</p> <p>VI. St. Chrysostom at Ephesus.</p> <p>VII. Gerontius of Nicomedia deposed.</p> <p>VIII. St. Porphyrius of Gaza at Constantinople.</p> <p>IX. Attempts of Severian of Gabala.</p> <p>X. Tumult of the Arians at Constantinople.</p> <p>XI. The Four Brothers at Constantinople.</p> <p>XII. Letter of Theophilus against the Four Brothers.</p> <p>XIII. Council of Carthage.</p> <p>XIV. Persecution of the Four Brothers.</p> <p>XV. St. Epiphanius at Constantinople.</p> <p>XVI. Testimony of Posthumian.</p> <p>XVII. Theophilus at Constantinople.</p> <p>XVIII. Council of the Oak.</p> <p>XIX. Bishops assembled with St. Chrysostom.</p> <p>XX. Continuation of the Proceedings of the Council of the Oak.</p> <p>XXI. St. Chrysostom's Condemnation.</p> <p>XXII. St. Chrysostom is recalled.</p> <p>XXIII. Flight of Theophilus.</p> <p>XXIV. St. Nilammon.</p> <p>XXV. First Council of Milevum.</p> <p>XXVI. Council of Carthage.</p> <p>XXVII. Behaviour with regard to the Donatists.</p> <p>XXVIII. Difference between St. Jerome and St. Augustine.</p> <p>XXIX. Difference between St. Jerome and St. Augustine adjusted.</p> <p>XXX. Death of St. Paula.</p> <p>XXXI. St. Melania's Return to Rome.</p> | <p>XXXII. Letters of St. Innocent to the Spanish Bishops.</p> <p>XXXIII. New Conspiracy against St. Chrysostom.</p> <p>XXXIV. Canons of the Council of Antioch.</p> <p>XXXV. St. Chrysostom expelled the Church.</p> <p>XXXVI. Outrages committed on Easter Eve.</p> <p>XXXVII. St. Chrysostom driven out of Constantinople.</p> <p>XXXVIII. Martyrdom of St. Eutropius and St. Tigrisus.</p> <p>XXXIX. Arsacius, Bishop of Constantinople.</p> <p>XL. St. Olympias.</p> <p>XLI. Other holy Women persecuted.</p> <p>XLII. Journey of St. Chrysostom.</p> <p>XLIII. St. Chrysostom ill-used at Cæsarea.</p> <p>XLIV. St. Chrysostom arrives at Cucusus.</p> <p>XLV. St. Chrysostom's Epistles.</p> <p>XLVI. St. Maruthas in Persia.</p> <p>XLVII. Death of St. Flavian, Porphyrius Bishop.</p> <p>XLVIII. The Punishments of the Schismatics.</p> <p>XLIX. St. Chrysostom complains to the Pope.</p> <p>L. Divers Deputations to Rome.</p> <p>LI. St. Victoricius and other Bishops of Gaul.</p> <p>LII. The Council of Turin.</p> <p>LIII. The Council of Carthage.</p> <p>LIV. The Affair of Spes and Boniface.</p> <p>LV. Conference between St. Augustine and Felix.</p> <p>LVI. Second Meeting.</p> <p>LVII. Other Works against the Manichees.</p> |
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXI.

A. D. 399. THE first, and the most eager to undertake the condemnation of Origen, was Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria¹. It was long before he could resolve to do it, though earnestly solicited by St. Epiphanius² and St. Jerome³; the latter of whom wrote to him, that many pious persons disapproved the patience he shewed towards heretics, whom he hoped in vain to correct by gentle usage. He was at length determined by the following circumstance⁴. Among the Monks of Egypt were some simple and very ignorant persons, who strictly adhering to the bare outward form of the phrases of Holy Scripture, imagined that God had a human shape, for which reason they were called in Greek, Anthropomorphites. When those who were better instructed attempted to undeceive them, disputes arose, and as Origen, though in other respects decried, was the furthest from this gross explanation of Scripture, the Anthropomorphites treated such as laboured to convince them of their error, as Origenists; while these latter regarded their accusers as blasphemers and idolaters.

The Bishop Theophilus maintained the sound doctrine, and publicly taught, that God was incorporeal. He likewise further explained himself as to this matter in a Paschal letter, where he at great length refuted the contrary error⁵. This letter being carried as usual to the monasteries, strangely incensed all the Egyptian Monks, who said the Bishop Theophilus had fallen into a dangerous heresy; and the greater part of the more aged among them resolved to separate themselves from his communion; "because," they said, "he contradicts the Holy Scripture, in alleging that God hath no human shape, although the Scripture so expressly de-

¹ There appears to be no authority for this assertion. St. Epiphanius opposed the Origenists before Theophilus (Hier. Ep. 111), and wrote to St. Je-

rome on the subject (Ep. 63), but there is apparently no notice of any letter of his to Theophilus.

I. Theophilus condemns Origen.
¹ Pros.
Chr. Pith. an. 7. Arcad. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 6.
² Hier., Ep. 111. 63.
al. 67, 73.
³ Ep. 58.
al. 68.
⁴ Socr. 6. 7.
Soz. 8. 11.

⁵ Cass. Coll. 10. c. 2.

“clareth that Adam was created after His image.” The Monks of Scetis, who were esteemed the most perfect in all Egypt, rejected this letter; and among the Priests who governed them, the Abbot Paphnutius alone received it; those of the three other Churches did not suffer it to be so much as read in their assemblies. A. D. 399.

Among these Anthropomorphites there was an old man called Serapion¹, whose austere and exemplary life gave great credit to the heresy. Paphnutius endeavoured to undeceive him by frequent exhortations, but without effect; for Serapion still looked upon what was said to him as a novelty, contrary to the ancient tradition. A Deacon of great learning, named Photinus, happened to come at that time from Cappadocia: Paphnutius received him with great joy, and bringing him before all the brethren, asked him, how the Eastern Churches explained this passage: “Let Us make man in Our image and likeness?” Photinus replied, that all the Bishops understood it not in a low literal meaning, but in a spiritual sense; and proved by a long and learned discourse, and from many passages in Scripture, that God is infinite, invisible, and incorporeal. Serapion was persuaded of the truth of it. Paphnutius and the rest who were present, were overjoyed that God had delivered this pious old man from the error into which he had fallen through his simplicity. They all rose up to pray together, and Serapion lying prostrate upon the earth, cried out with tears: “Alas! they have taken from me my God, and I no longer know whom to adore;” meaning that he had lost that image which he used to form to himself, when he would represent God to his imagination, while he was at prayer. Cassian and Germanus were present at this conversion; and it gave occasion to the second conference they had with the Abbot Isaac concerning Prayer²; in which he shewed them that this error was the remains of the impression made by idolatry in the mind of man³.

But the multitude of the Monks were not so speedily convinced. They left their monasteries, and crowded to Alexandria, murmuring against Theophilus, treating him as an impious wretch, and attempting to murder him. In this extremity Theophilus had recourse to artifice, and presenting

¹ Coll. 10.
c. 3.

² Supr. 20
c. 7.

³ Coll. 10.
c. 5.

A. D. 399. himself before them, said: "When I behold your face, me-
 [Gen. 33. "thinks I behold the face of God¹." This appeased them;
 10.] and they said to him, "If you say true, and believe that God
 "has a face like ours, anathematize the books of Origen;
 "otherwise expect to be treated as one of the impious, and an
 "enemy to God." "I will," replied Theophilus; "for I as
 "well as you, disapprove of Origen's books, and have long
 "since resolved to condemn them." In this manner he dis-
 missed the Monks, and convened a synod wherein it was
 decreed, that whosoever should approve the works of Origen,
 should be driven out of the Church²; and he wrote a synodical
 letter to this purpose to all the Bishops.

² Prosp.
 Chr. Pith.
 an. 7. Arcad.
 Sever.
 Dial. 1.
 c. 6.

II.
 Paschal
 letters of
 Theo-
 philus.
 A. D. 401.

He further declared himself against Origen in the Paschal
 letters^b which he sent every year, according to custom, to all

^b For the determination of Easter, the
 early Christians employed the Jewish
 cycle of eighty-four years, some cele-
 brating Easter on the actual day of the
 Passover (the Quartodecimans), and
 the others on the Sunday immediately
 succeeding. This cycle, however, gradu-
 ally fell into disuse in the East after
 the cessation of the line of Hebrew
 Bishops on the destruction of Jerusalem
 by Hadrian (A. D. 134), and several
 others were put forward in its stead, thus
 producing a great diversity in the time
 of the celebration of Easter, as different
 Churches adopted very different cycles.
 Hence, probably, arose the custom for
 the Metropolitan in every province to
 determine the time of Easter, and
 announce it by Paschal letters to the
 Bishops of his province. (Bingh. 2. 16.
 § 21.) To remedy the inconvenience
 arising from this diversity, the Council
 of Nicæa is said to have fixed the day
 of Easter to the first Sunday after the
 first full moon, which fell on or after
 the vernal equinox, (see above, 19. 35.
 note u,) and to have left the adaptation
 of the solar and lunar years in the
 hands of the Patriarch of Alexandria,
 in consequence of the superiority in
 astronomical computations possessed by
 the Egyptians from the earliest times.
 (S. Leo. Ep. ad Marcian.) He was to
 give notice to the Bishop of Rome, that
 so the Eastern and Western Churches
 might be able to celebrate their Easter-
 festival on the same day. This unanim-
 ity, however, does not seem to have
 been easily obtained, as the Alexandrian
 Patriarchs adopted the Metonic cycle

of nineteen years for the basis of their
 calendar, while the Roman Church still
 retained the Jewish cycle; nor was the
 difference entirely removed till the
 adoption of the Alexandrian cycle at
 Rome by Dionysius Exiguus (A. D.
 525), whose example was followed at
 a still later period by the Churches of
 France and Britain. See Bingh. 20. 4.
 § 9, and 5. § 4; also Natalis Alex. Sæc.
 2. Diss. 5; and Pasch. Chron. Præf.

Of the Paschal letters of the Alex-
 andrian Primates, we have, besides the
 three of Theophilus, mentioned in the
 text, two of St. Dionysius, preserved by
 Eusebius (lib. 7. c. 21, 22), (who also
 mentions four others,) together with a
 fragment of another in his works (p.
 197); a fragment of the thirty-ninth of
 St. Athanasius; and twenty-nine of St.
 Cyril, which are also styled Homilies
 (Cyr. v. pt. 2), as he appears to have
 read them himself at Alexandria, before
 he despatched them as circulars to the
 other churches of his diocese. (Tille-
 mont xiv. S. Cyr. 1.) These Paschal
 letters seem to have been regarded in
 the light of a modern Charge, as fur-
 nishing an opportunity of alluding to
 the topics of the day, and giving the
 advice suited to existing circumstances.
 Thus we find those of St. Dionysius
 occupied with the civil disturbances
 and the plague then prevailing at Alex-
 andria; St. Athanasius writes on the
 Canon of Scripture; and St. Cyril com-
 ments on the practices of the time, and
 attacks the Nestorian and Eutychiean
 heresies.

the Churches. For since the Council of Nicæa, the Bishop of Alexandria was bound to give notice to all the rest, of the time of Easter¹. These letters were sent after Epiphany, that every body might be early informed on what day Lent was to begin, and when the other moveable feasts depending upon Easter were to be celebrated. The bearers of these letters were well received in every city, and supplied with all necessaries, and fresh horses to continue their journey². We have three of these Paschal letters of Theophilus for the years 401, 402, 404, but only in the Latin translation of St. Jerome, and in the editions the two first are transposed³.

That which is really the first, opposes many of the errors of Origen. First, that the reign of CHRIST was to have an end, which we do not find expressly in any of his works. But it was a consequence of his principles: for if all bodies are to be finally destroyed, as being made only for the punishment of spirits⁴, CHRIST will be without a body, and so cease to be man, and consequently to reign over men, at least in His human capacity. Secondly, that the evil spirits are to be saved; which Origen affirmed; believing that by their free will they might, after very long torments, at length purify themselves; and that CHRIST was to be the Saviour of all rational creatures. Thirdly, that our bodies should not rise again wholly incorruptible, i. e. that they should be at last annihilated⁵. This, Origen advanced as a consequence of his principle, that bodies were only created for the punishment of spirits; whence it followed, that they became unnecessary when the spirit was thoroughly purified. His fourth error is, that we are not to pray to the Son of GOD; which I have explained in its proper place^c. Theophilus displays, with vehemence, all these errors of Origen, and refutes them by passages of Scripture. At the end of the letter he says: "Lent will begin on the

¹ Synes. Ep. 13.
S. Leo. Ep. 64. ad Marcian.
Concil. iii. (Mans. vi. Ep. 121.)

² Cass. Coll. 10. c. 2.

³ Bibl. PP. iii. p. 495. et Hier. iv. pt. 2. p. 691.

⁴ Orig. i. Princip. 1. c. 5.]

⁵ Prin. 2. c. 3.

^c Fleury refers to bk. 7. c. 20, of his own work, where he says, speaking of Origen's errors: "The most exceptionable point is his assertion in his treatise on Prayer, that prayer ought to be addressed to the Father alone, without joining to Him any other person, not even Christ. (Orig. i. De Orat. § 15.) Afterwards, however, he explains himself, shewing that he only

wishes to guard against prayer being offered to Father and Son in the plural number, as if there were two Gods; but he wishes the Father to be addressed through the Son, according to the ancient and universal custom of the Church." (Ὁὐ χωρὶς Αὐτοῦ προσευχῆν τινα προσευκτέον τῷ Πατρὶ, Ibid.)

A. D. 401. "eighth of the Egyptian month Phamenoth; Passion week
 "on the thirteenth of Pharmouthi; holy Saturday the
 "eighteenth, and Easter-day the nineteenth of the same
 "month." That is to say, Lent began that year on Monday
 the fourth of March, Passion week on Monday the eighth of
 April, and Easter-day was Sunday the fourteenth of the
 same month; all which plainly point out the year 401. The
 Greeks still begin their Lent on the Monday of the first
 week¹. The second Paschal letter of Theophilus, improperly
 called the first, begins by refuting the errors of Apollinaris,
 and afterwards those of Origen. It is still more violent than
 the first; and there is reason to believe that Theophilus took
 in too strict a sense some expressions of Origen, which might
 easily be explained². This letter sets down the beginning of
 Lent on the thirtieth day of the month Mechir, that is,
 Monday the twenty-fourth of February; Passion week the
 fifth of Pharmouthi, that is, Monday the thirty-first of March;
 Easter-day the eleventh of Pharmouthi, that is, Sunday the
 sixth of April, which indicate the year 402. At the end of
 the letter it is said: "You are to know that in the room of
 "the holy Bishops who have fallen asleep in the LORD,
 "Nascas hath been ordained at Lemnadus in the room of
 "Hero, Paul at Erythrum instead of Sabbatius, and Verres at
 "Omboes to succeed Sylvanus. Write therefore letters of
 "peace, and receive the same from them according to the
 "custom of the Church." The third Paschal³ letter takes
 notice that abstinence from wine, as well as from flesh, is
 prescribed in Lent^d; and shews how it must be spent in a
 holy manner. Theophilus again speaks against Origen, and
 then states the beginning of Lent to be the eleventh of

[¹ Supr.
 20. c. 6.]
 A. D. 402.

² V. Huet.
 Orig. ii.
 q. 2. § 23.
 et q. 3. § 8.

³ A. D. 404.

^d This rule appears to be laid down by Theophilus, as Primate of the Egyptian Church, for his own diocese only, as it is not recognised by the Universal Church. "The Lent fast of the ancients was a strict and rigorous abstinence from all food till the evening. Their refreshment was only a supper, and not a dinner of any kind; and then it was indifferent whether it was flesh or any other food, provided it was used, as became the refreshment of a fast, with sobriety and moderation. They generally, indeed, abstained from flesh and wine

"and fish, and all other delicacies at this season; but yet there was no such universal rule or custom in this matter, but that, when men had fasted all the day, they were allowed to refresh themselves with a moderate supper upon flesh or any other food without distinction." Bingham, 20. 1. § 16. St. Augustine condemns those who abstain from wine, only to use more agreeable liquors. "How much better," he adds, "if the infirmity of the stomach cannot bear water, to use a little ordinary wine." Aug. v. Serm. 74. de Div. al. 210.

Phamenoth; of Passion week the sixteenth of Pharmouthi; and Easter-day the twenty-second, which answer to the seventh of March, and the eleventh and seventeenth of April, and consequently to the year 404. He also names the new Bishops to whom letters were to be sent, and from whom they were to be received. St. Jerome translated these letters as they appeared, and sent them both in Greek and Latin to his friends at Rome. His letter to Pammachus and Marcella, which he sent with the second Paschal letter, is still extant¹. He therein makes mention of the first, and highly extols the zeal of Theophilus.

A private quarrel excited Theophilus to proceed yet further. The Priest Isidore², ordained by St. Athanasius³, being four-score years old, was at that time governor of the hospital⁴ of Alexandria. A widow of quality gave him a thousand golden pence⁵, and made him swear by the Sacred Table, that with it he would buy clothes for the poor women of the city, without the knowledge of the Bishop Theophilus, who, she feared, might lay out this money in purchasing stone, as he was passionately fond of building, and raised many structures of no service to the Church. Isidore having taken the money, disposed of it for the use of the poor women and widows. Theophilus was informed of it, by spies who gave him notice of every thing that took place. He sent for Isidore, and without any signs of anger, asked him how the matter was? Isidore told him the whole affair; at which Theophilus was incensed, though he dissembled his anger. There is related also another reason for Theophilus' aversion to Isidore⁶. Two months after, having assembled the Presbyters, he produced a paper, and directing his discourse to Isidore, said: "It is eighteen years since I received this memorial against you; by reason of my other employments I had forgotten it, but on looking among other papers, I have just met with it; answer then to the complaint which it contains." It accused him of an abominable crime.

¹ The *ξενοδοχεῖον* was a place originally appropriated, as its name imports, to the reception of strangers; but its use was afterwards extended to the relief of the poor, as in the present case of Alexandria, and also of the sick. St. Basil built a very large one

at Cæsarea, which is described at length by Tillemont, tom. ix. St. Basil. 51. In the time of the Council of Chalcedon, it seems to have been a common adjunct of a Church. Can. 10. Concil. iv. (Mans. vii.) See Hoffman.

A. D. 404.

¹ Hier. Ep. 87. al. 78.

III.
Theophilus drives away the Four Brothers. A. D. 399. ² Pall. Vit. ap. Chrys. xiii. p. 20. [³ Supr. 19. c. 45.] [⁴ ξενόδοχος] [⁵ 550L.]

⁶ Soz. 8. 12.

A. D. 399. Isidore replied: "Were it true that you received this memorial against me, and that you had forgotten it, could not he who gave it you have repeated his suit?" "He was gone to sea," answered Theophilus. "But," returned Isidore, "did he not return, at least two or three years afterwards? If he is in this place, let him appear." Theophilus being thus urged, put off the affair till another time. In the meantime, he gained a certain young man, by promises, to accuse Isidore; and, moreover, gave him, it is said, fifteen golden pence¹. The young man carried them to his mother, who, fearing lest Isidore should prosecute her before the governor, went to him, and shewed him the money which she said she had received from Theophilus' sister. Isidore continued at his house in prayer to God. The young man, fearing the punishment of the laws and the resentment of Theophilus, took sanctuary in the Church. Theophilus condemned Isidore in secret², and expelled him from the Church, on pretence of an infamous crime, which decency did not allow to be explained. Isidore, fearing some attempt on his life, fled to the mountain of Nitria, where he had spent his youth, and retired into his cell to pray to God. Theophilus then wrote to the neighbouring Bishops, bidding them, without giving any reason, to drive from the mountain, and the remotest part of the desert, the Monks who presided over the rest. They came to Alexandria to beg Theophilus to tell them why they were condemned. He, changing colour, and glancing at them furiously, turned towards the aged Ammonius, threw his pallium³ about his neck^f, and struck him with his clenched fist, so that the blood gushed from his nose, at the same time crying out, "Heretic! anathematize Origen." Ammonius was one of the four so-called tall brothers, of great reputation among these Monks⁴. With this ill usage they returned to their dwellings, and continued their ordinary exercises, relying on the purity of their consciences. Theophilus convened a Council against them of the neighbouring Bishops, and without having cited them, or given them an

[1 8l. 5s.]

[² κωφῆ τῆ δίεργ][³ ἠμοφόριον][⁴ Soz. 8. 12. The others were Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius. Fleury, 17. c. 4.]

^f The ἠμοφόριον was a woollen hood, thrown over the shoulders, and peculiarly appropriated to Bishops, as representing the lost sheep on the shoulders of the good shepherd. (See Isidore i.

Ep. 136.) Theophilus took it from his own shoulders, and threw it round the neck of Ammonius, as though intending to strangle him. Comp. Tillemont. xi. Theoph. 12.

opportunity of making their defence, he excommunicated A. D. 399. three of the chief, Ammonius, Dioscorus[§], and another, under pretence of their maintaining corrupt doctrines, not daring to pass sentence against the whole multitude. He afterwards sent for five Monks from the same mountain, of whom, though they were not Egyptians, he made one Bishop of a small town, a second Priest, and the three others Deacons; and employed them to present petitions against the three he had excommunicated, which he himself drew up and they only subscribed. Having received these petitions from them in the Church, he went to the Præfect of Egypt, and presented another in his own name, together with these, which contained accusations against the three Monks, and required that they might be forcibly driven out from all parts of Egypt. Having obtained an order to this purpose with some soldiers, he, in the night-time, attended by some of his own people, attacks the monasteries. He first drove away Dioscorus, one of the four brothers, Bishop of the mountain, who was dragged from his throne by some Ethiopian servants. He afterwards pillages the mountain, leaving the humble furniture of the Monks to the young men who followed him. Having plundered their cells, he sought for the three brothers, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius; but they had been let down into a well, which was covered with a mat. Not finding them, he burnt their cells, with which were burnt the Holy Scriptures, and other religious books, a young boy, and the sacred mysteries. Theophilus afterwards returned to Alexandria; and the three brothers fled to Palestine, and came to Jerusalem. The Priests and Deacons of the mountain and three hundred Monks followed them; the rest were dispersed in different directions. The greater part of those in Palestine retired to Scythopolis, a place abounding in palm trees, the leaves of which they wanted for their work¹. These were about eighty in number. Theophilus², having understood that they had retired to Palestine, wrote to the Bishops of the country in these terms: "You

¹ Soz. 8. 13.² Pall. Vit. p. 23.

[§] This is inconsistent with c. 11, where Theophilus is said to expel Dioscorus from his church; a circumstance which could not then have taken place, if Dioscorus had been already excom-

municated. Palladius, from whom this narrative is copied, says only "three of the chief Monks:" and Tillemont calls them the three brothers of Dioscorus. Tillem. xi. Theoph. 13.

A. D. 399. "ought not to have received those people against my will, " but since you have done it through ignorance, I pardon " you. Take care, therefore, that you do not admit them for " the future, either into the Church or any other place." Thus these Monks were often obliged to change their abode, and at length resolved to go to Constantinople.

IV.
St. Chry-
sostom
opposes
Gaiinas.
A. D. 400.

Here St. John Chrysostom was gaining still more and more the affection of the people, by his courage and eloquence, and at the same time becoming more odious to the great men, and a section of his Clergy. After the fall of Rufinus and Eutropius, the Goth Gaiinas became the most powerful man in the empire of the East, and the Emperor Arcadius was obliged to confer upon him the command of all his troops, as well horse as foot¹. He was an Arian, as were most of the Goths, and wished to use his interest in procuring them a Church at Constantinople. He consequently represented to the Emperor, that it was neither reasonable nor becoming that they should be obliged to pray without the city. The Emperor replied, he would take it into consideration. He then sent for St. John Chrysostom, laid before him the request of Gaiinas, represented his power, and giving him to understand that he aspired to the empire, concluded, that, to keep him quiet, it was necessary to grant his demand. St. Chrysostom replied: "Do not thou, O " Emperor, make any promise, nor order me to give that " which is holy unto dogs. For I can never resolve to drive " out those who acknowledge the Divinity of the Word, in " order to deliver up the temples of God to those who blas- " pheme Him. For the rest, fear not this barbarian; send for " us both together, and I will easily find a way to stop his " mouth." The Emperor joyfully accepted this condition, and sent for them the next morning. Gaiinas renewed his demand, and challenged the Emperor's promise. St. Chry- sostom, accompanied by all the Bishops who were present at Constantinople, replied, that a Christian Emperor could not undertake to do any thing against the law of God. "But I " as well as others," answered Gaiinas, "ought to have a house " of prayer." "All the Churches," replied John, "are open; " no one hinders you from praying in them." "But," said Gaiinas, "I am of another communion; I demand a Church

¹ Soer. 6. 6.
Soz. 8. 4.
Theod. 5.
32.

“ for those of this communion, and may well demand it after A. D. 400.
 “ the services I have done the Romans.” John replied ;
 “ Your rewards have been greater than your services. You
 “ are General, you wear the consular habit ; you ought to
 “ remember what you were once, and what you now are ;
 “ consider how you were clothed before you passed the
 “ Danube ; how poor you were then, and now how rich.” In
 fact, Gainas was at first a common soldier¹. The holy Bishop ¹ Soz. *ibid.*
 proceeded, by putting him in mind of the oaths he had
 taken to the Emperor Theodosius, to be true to him and his
 children, and to maintain and defend the empire and its
 laws ; and shewed him the decree which prohibited the
 assemblies of heretics in the cities. Then turning to the
 Emperor, he exhorted him to support the law, telling him, he
 had better resign the empire than deliver up the house of
 God. Gainas did not dare to insist any further, and the
 Arians had no Church at Constantinople.

Some time after Gainas openly revolted. He ravaged
 Thrace, and no one dared to oppose him, or even to under-
 take a deputation to him². In this exigency they had recourse ² Theod. 5.
 to St. Chrysostom, who accepted the employment, without c. 33.
 fearing the resentment of the Barbarian on account of the
 Church he had been refused. When Gainas understood that
 he was coming, he went a long way to meet him, took him
 by the hand, which he afterwards put upon his eyes, and
 presented his children to him, placing them on his knees.
 However, this deputation did not put an end to the war ;
 Gainas continued in his rebellion, and was at last defeated
 by Vides³, chief of the Huns, who sent his head to Constan-
 tinople, which was carried through the city on the top of a ³ Zos. lib.
 pike, on the thirtieth of January, 401, when Vincentius and 5. p. 798.]
 Fravitta were Consuls⁴. ⁴ Chr.
 Marcel. p.
 275. Ind. 14.
 Chr. Pasch.
 p. 307.

During this war, and in the thirteenth Indiction, that is, in
 the year 400, before the month of September^h, the Bishops of
 Asia came to Constantinople on some business. There came
 also some others, Theotimus of Scythia⁵, Ammon of Thrace,
 Arabian of Galatia, all Metropolitans, and of an advanced
 age⁶. Theotimus, Bishop of Tomi⁷, and successor of St. Ve-
⁵ See bk.
 [18. ch. 7.
 note z.]
⁶ Pall. Vit.
 p. 50.
⁷ Soz. 7. 26.

^h Some time earlier in the year, since two months after it was “ in the very
 “ heat of summer.”

A. D. 400.

[¹ Cf.
Bingh.
7. 3. § 6.]

trano, was a Scythian, but educated in the monastic life, and still retaining the same habit, and the same long hair¹; living very simply, and eating as he had occasion, without any set meals. The Huns about the Danube so much admired his virtue, that they called him the god of the Romans. One day, as he was travelling in the country of the Barbarians, he met some of them who were going the same way to Tomi, where he resided. Those who were with him began to cry out, thinking they were all lost; as for him, he alighted off his horse, and prayed; the Barbarians passed without seeing him, his company, or their horses. As they harassed the Scythians by frequent incursions, he pacified them, by entertaining them with food and making them presents. This made one of the Barbarians think that he was rich; so that being desirous to take him, he prepared a cord with a slip knot, and leaning on his buckler, as was his custom in talking to an enemy, he lifted up his hand to throw the cord about him, and drag him to his own countrymen; but his hand remained stretched out in the air, neither could he recover it till St. Theotimus had 'prayed for him. Such was this holy Bishop, who is commemorated by the Church on the twentieth of April².

² Martyr.
Rom. 20.
Apr.

³ Pall. p. 50.

⁴ V. Baudr.
Geograph.

All these Bishops, together with St. John Chrysostom, being assembled in Council on Sunday at Constantinople³, to the number of two and twenty, Eusebius, Bishop of Valentianopolis, or Cilbiana in Lydia⁴, came before them, and presented a memorial against his Metropolitan, Antoninus, Bishop of Ephesus; containing seven articles of indictment: first, that he had melted down some sacred vessels, and employed the money for the use of his son; secondly, that he had taken some marble from the entrance of the Baptistery, to lay it in his own private bath; thirdly, that he had set up in his dining-hall some pillars belonging to the Church, that had long lain neglected; fourthly, that he retained in his service a man who had committed a murder, and had not punished him; fifthly, that he had sold, on his own account, some lands which Basilina, mother to the Emperor Julian, had given to the Church; sixthly, that he had taken his wife again after he had left her, and had had children by her; seventhly, that he held it as a rule and a maxim, to sell

ordinations to Bishops, proportioning his price to the A. D. 400. value of the incomes. Eusebius added: "Those who have been ordained for money are present, and likewise he who has received it; and I can prove all that I have advanced." St. Chrysostom said to him: "Brother Eusebius, it is often difficult to prove those accusations which are preferred in anger¹. Be ruled by me, do not bring an accusation in writing against our brother Antoninus; we will accommodate this affair." Eusebius grew warm, and flew into a passion against Antoninus, persisting in his accusation. Whereupon St. Chrysostom entreated Paul of Heraclea, who seemed to be Antoninus' friend, to reconcile them, and then rose up and went into the Church with the Bishops, (for it was the time of the sacrifice); and after having saluted the people, blessing them as usual, he sat down with the other Bishops. Eusebius entered unseen; and before all the Bishops, and the whole congregation, presented another memorial containing the same accusations; and conjured St. Chrysostom, with terrible adjurations, and by the life of the Emperor, to do him justice. [His words were indistinctly heard by the congregation; and the earnestness of his manner produced the impression that he was entreating the Bishop to intercede with the Emperor] to save his life. St. Chrysostom seeing his rage, and unwilling that the people should be disturbed, received the memorial; but after the Holy Scriptures had been read, he desired Pansophius, Bishop of Pisidia, to offer the Holy Sacrifice, and went out himself with the other Bishops; for he would not sacrifice with a disturbed mind, according to that precept of the Gospel²; ² Matth. 5. 23.

"If thou bring thy gift to the altar," &c.

After the people were dismissed, St. Chrysostom sat in the Baptistery with the other Bishops, and having sent for Eusebius, said to him before all who were present: "I say again; things often are advanced out of passion, which it is difficult to maintain. If you can clearly make out your accusation, we do not reject it; otherwise we do not oblige you to go on with it. Resolve, therefore, before the indictment is read; for when it has been read and heard by every body, and acts have been drawn up, you will not be at liberty, being a Bishop, to desist." Eusebius persisted,

A. D. 400. and the indictment was read; and the elder Bishops said to St. John Chrysostom: "Though there is none of these articles which is not criminal, yet that we may not lose time, let us fix upon the last, which is the most dreadful; for he who would sell the communication of the HOLY GHOST for money, would not spare the vessels, the marble, or the lands of the Church." St. John Chrysostom proceeded to the investigation, and said: "Brother Antoninus, what say you to this?" He of course denied it. Those who had

¹ Pall. p. 52. given the money were next questioned; they too denied it¹. The investigation was carried on by the examination of some evidence, and pursued with the utmost diligence, till the eighth hour, or two o'clock in the afternoon. At last they came to the witnesses, before whom the money had been delivered and received; but they were not present. St. Chrysostom, seeing the necessity of hearing these witnesses, and the difficulty of sending for them, resolved to go into Asia himself, to finish this process. But Antoninus, self-condemned by his conscience, applied to a certain person in power, for whom he acted as steward of some lands which that nobleman possessed in Asia, and desired him to put a stop to the journey of St. Chrysostom, promising, at the same time, to produce the witnesses. St. Chrysostom therefore received a message from the Emperor in these words: "It is not fitting that you, who are our Pastor, should leave us on the eve of so much disturbance, and go into Asia to look for witnesses, who may easily be brought hither." This disturbance was the rebellion of Gaiinas. St. Chrysostom was thus persuaded to stay; and Antoninus thought he had gained his cause by this respite, as he hoped in the mean time to send the witnesses out of the way, either by force or bribery. St. Chrysostom foresaw his intention, and resolved with the Council to send some of the Bishops who were present into Asia, to examine the witnesses. Three were accordingly sent, Syncretius, Metropolitan of Trajanopolis, Hesy chius, Bishop of Parium, and Palladius of Helenopolis. The acts of the Council decreed, that if either of the two parties, the accuser or the accused, within two months did not appear at Hypæpa, to maintain his right, he should be excommunicated. Hypæpa was a city of Asia, in the neighbourhood of the two

parties themselves, and of the two Bishops joined in commission with Syncretius. Hesychius, one of these two commissioners, being a friend of Antoninus, feigned sickness: Syncretius and Palladius came to Smyrna, whence they wrote to the two parties to repair to the appointed place; but they had already come to an agreement. Antoninus had bribed Eusebius, and Eusebius had sworn not to prosecute the suit. However, they presented themselves at Hypæpa for form's sake, and said that the witnesses were absent on various accounts. The judges asked Eusebius, "How long will it be before you produce them? We will wait for them." Eusebius, thinking to weary them out, for it was in the very heat of summer, bound himself to produce the witnesses within forty days, or submit to the penalties enjoined by the Canons. But instead of going to look for them, he wholly neglected the matter, and retreated to Constantinople, to lie concealed¹. The judges waited the forty days; and Eusebius¹ Pall. p. 53. not appearing, they wrote to all the Bishops of Asia, declaring him excommunicated, either as a defaulter in judgment, or as a false accuser. They waited yet another month, and then returned to Constantinople, where they met and upbraided him. He excused himself on account of sickness, and assured them that he would produce the witnesses.

In the mean time Antoninus died, and St. Chrysostom received a decree from the Clergy of Ephesus, and the neighbouring Bishops, most solemnly conjuring him, to come and reform that Church, which had long been afflicted by Arians and bad Catholics; and to arrest the cabals of those who were endeavouring by money to get possession of the vacant see¹. St. Chrysostom, seeing that the question was really the restoration of discipline throughout the whole diocese of Asia, where it had fallen into decay, as much through the want of Pastors as their ignorance, resolved to undertake the journey,

VI.
St. Chry-
sostom at
Ephesus.
A. D. 400
—401.

¹ The distracted state of Asia Minor, the country where Arianism itself, and the various heresies and schisms, which sprang from it, most prevailed, is a frequent subject of complaint with St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen. The want of Pastors, the desertion of the churches, the ambition of secular and intriguing Prelates, are among the evils they enumerate. Bas. Ep. 70, 90, 92,

243, 239, 66, al. 220, 61, 69, 70, 10, 48, and Greg. Naz. Or. 21, 2, al. 1. The latter (Or. 2. c. 81) compares the Church in his times to Chaos, when the earth was without form and void; to a night-battle, in which friend and foe are alike indistinguishable; to a sea-fight amid the tempestuous confusion of winds and waves.

A. D. 401. notwithstanding his ill health, and the severity of the winter. He left the Church of Constantinople to the care of Severian, Bishop of Gabala, in Syria, who had come to preach there, and in whom he placed full confidence¹; and took three Bishops to accompany him, Paul, Syrian², and Palladius.

¹ Socr. 6. 11.
Soz. 8. 10.
[² Κυρίως.
ap. Pall.]

On his arrival at Ephesus, the Bishops of Lydia, Asia, Phrygia, and Caria, assembled to the number of seventy, being attracted by the reputation of St. Chrysostom, with whom they (particularly the Phrygians) were desirous of being acquainted. This Council ordained Heraclides Bishop

³ Socr. 6. 11. of Ephesus³, a native of Cyprus and Deacon to St. Chrysostom, who had been a Monk at Scetis, and disciple of

⁴ Soz. 8. 6. the Monk Evagrius⁴. Eusebius of Valentinianopolis came before the Council, begging he might be admitted to communion. This some Bishops opposed, alleging that he was a

⁵ Pall. p. 54. calumniator⁵. He said to them: "This trial was begun two years ago, the non-appearance of the witnesses has been the cause of this delay. Let me produce them now; for, though Antoninus is dead, those who gave him money for their ordination are still living." The Council thought fit to enquire into the matter. They first read the proceedings that had already taken place. The witnesses came in, and six of those who had been ordained for money came in also. At first they denied the charge; but the witnesses persisted, even the Priests whom the accused thought themselves sure of; there were also among the witnesses laymen and women. They specified the bribes that had been given, the time, the place, and the quantity. At length the accused, reproached by their consciences, confessed without much reluctance. "It is true," said they, "we have given money, but we thought it was the usual fee for freeing us from municipal offices^k. Let us now remain, if possible, in the service of the Church, or else restore us what we have given, for some

^k See bk. 18. c. 32. note u and 19. c. 14. note m. These six Bishops perhaps imagined, or pretended to imagine, that the money paid at their consecration was a sort of compromise for the cession of property insisted on by the law cited in the latter note. The Council decreed that they should be ex-Priests (ἀπὸ ἱερέων), allowing them to

retain the privilege of communicating within the Altar-rails, but forbidding them to exercise any sacerdotal function. (See Tillems. xi. Chrys. 61.)

St. Chrysostom undertook to procure for them a continuation of the civil immunities, to which they had legally lost all claim by their deposition.

“of us have given even our wives’ ornaments.” St. Chrysostom said to the Council: “I hope the Emperor at my request will free them from municipal offices: pass a decree that the heirs of Antoninus restore them what they have given.” The Council decreed this restitution, and deposed these six simoniacal Bishops, permitting them only to communicate within the chancel¹. They acquiesced in this sen- [¹ θυσιαστήριον]

¹ Simony was an offence nearly excluded, by the nature of the case, from the first three centuries of Church history. For when Church preferment conveyed little worldly power or distinction, while it involved a more direct exposure to the severer attacks of persecution, few persons were likely to aspire to it from any other than the holiest motives. But when the adoption of Christianity by the State elevated ecclesiastical dignities to a high rank in the eyes of the world, they soon became the objects of secular ambition; and we find Sulpicius Severus (A. D. 400) complaining that in his time the Episcopacy was habitually sought by corrupt intrigue. (Hist. 2. c. 32 and 51.) Accordingly from this period simony is continually denounced by the Canons of successive Councils. We find, indeed, one of the Apostolical Canons, in cases of ordination for money, threatening both the ordained and ordaining parties with deposition and excommunication (Can. Apost. 28): but there appears to have been no generally established rule on the subject before the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451); for St. Basil, writing to the Bishops of his province, some of whom had been accused to him of simony (though they had hoped to evade the charge by not receiving money till *after* ordination), alludes to no existing law, but simply threatens them with excommunication on his own authority. (Ep. 53. al. 76. ad Episc.) And in the present case St. Chrysostom leaves the punishment of the simoniacal Bishops to the arbitrary decision of the Ephesian Council; which, as we have seen, not only did not excommunicate them, but did not absolutely depose them from the sacerdotal rank. Absolute deposition was, however, the punishment afterwards ruled by the Council of Chalcedon (Can. 2): and this decision was confirmed or even increased in severity by subsequent judgments of the Church. (See Bingham. 16. 6. § 28.)

The above notices are confined to the sin of bartering ordination for money, or trafficking with the gift of the HOLY GHOST, which, as being the most direct imitation of the sin of Simon Magus, was most properly designated by the term Simony. And closely akin to this was the receiving money for the administration of the Holy Sacraments, Confirmation, or the Consecration of a church; as in all these cases spiritual benefits were not “freely given, as they had been freely received,” but were repaid with a price. The name of simony had, however, a more extended application; for under it the ancients included all interference of secular motives in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, even where no direct *Spiritual* gift was expressly conferred. Thus the appointment for money of a steward to regulate the Church revenues, of a lawyer to maintain her cause in the civil courts, or a bailiff to superintend the ecclesiastical lands, was by the Council of Chalcedon (Can. 2) placed on the same footing, and visited with the same punishment as the simoniacal ordination of a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon. On the same principle the illegal assumption of any ecclesiastical dignity, as when Novatian intruded into the see of Rome, or Majorinus into that of Carthage, was also accounted simony. Even the promotion to Episcopal rank through the influence of the secular authorities fell under the same censure (Can. Apost. 29); as well as all intriguing for advancement from a smaller to a larger see; and, indeed, all such advancement is in itself absolutely and severely condemned by Hosius in the Council of Sardica. (Can. 1, 2.) All these cases imply a subservience of ecclesiastical powers to the promotion of secular ends. The civil power also recognised this principle, and lent its aid to enforce the decrees of the Church; as we find two laws of Justinian requiring an oath from both the electors and the elected,

A. D. 401. tence, and other Bishops were chosen in their places, of suitable morals and capacity, who had always lived in a state of celibacy. St. John Chrysostom delivered many churches, as he journeyed from the Novatians and Quartodecimans^{1 m}.

[¹ Socr. 6. 11.]

VII.

Gerontius of Nicomedia deposed.

² Soz. 8. 6. v. Vales. hic.

[³ Schol. Aristoph. Eccles. 1048.

“Εμπονοσα ἦν καλοῦμεν νῦν ὄνοσκειλίδα.]

He deprived also Gerontius, Bishop of Nicomedia²; he had been Deacon to St. Ambrose of Milan, and boasted he had taken in the night an Onoscelis³, the name given by the Greeks to a spectre, which they imagined had the legs of an ass. Gerontius affirmed, that he had taken this monster, had shaved his head, and put him to turn a mill; the ordinary punishment of slaves. Whether he said this out of vanity to gain admiration, or whether he was deluded by the evil spirit, St. Ambrose thought these words unbecoming a Minister of God, and ordered Gerontius to stay some time in his own lodging, to perform penance. Gerontius, who had great skill in physic, was an active and winning man, and had all the qualifications proper to make himself friends, laughed at St. Ambrose, and removed to Constantinople, where in a short time he gained the friendship of some great persons at Court, who procured for him the Bishopric of Nicomedia. He was ordained by Helladius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, in return for having obtained for his son a considerable post at Court. When St. Ambrose heard of this, he wrote to Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, to depose Gerontius, and not to tolerate the affront offered to himself and the

in the case of a Bishop's ordination, setting forth that no consideration of worldly profit or pleasure has been used to influence their choice. Just. Novell. 123. c. 1. and 137. c. 2. See Bingham. 4. 3. § 14. and 16. 6. § 23, &c.

^m These were not the original Quartodecimans of Proconsular Asia, who, under the sanction of Apostolic tradition, continued for some time to celebrate their Paschal feast on the anniversary of the *Passion*, i. e. 14th Nisan, while the Western Churches gave the same name to the festival of the *Resurrection*, which they celebrated on the succeeding Sunday. (See Christ. Aug. Heuman. Nova Sylloge. i. Diss. 4.) For though they still preserved their ancient custom in A. D. 276, yet before the Council of Nicæa they had conformed to the Western mode, (Eus. Vit. Const. 3. 19): while the Syrians and Mesopotamians (influenced perhaps by

Anatolius of Laodicæa, Tillem. iv.) had become the principal maintainers of a practice, which, though defensible in the case of the Asiatic Christians, could only be considered a direct Judaism in its new supporters. (Athan. i. pt. 2. Ep. ad Afros, § 2. and Tillem. iii. Victor. 6.) Accordingly, after the Council of Nicæa, the Quartodecimans were considered heretics; and, indeed, henceforward the Jewish rule appears rather as a practice attaching to other heretical bodies, than as constituting a distinct heresy of itself. In Phrygia, a country perhaps already imbued with Judaism (see Gal. 3 and 4), it was adopted by the Montanists (Gieseler, i. § 57. note 12) and by a branch of the Novatians under Sabbatius (see above, bk. 18. 8. note c. and 19. 35): and these latter probably are the persons here spoken of as Novatians and Quartodecimans. Bingham. 20. 5. § 3.

discipline of the Church. However desirous Nectarius may A. D. 401. have been to comply with his request, he could never succeed, by reason of the violent opposition of all the people of Nicomedia.

St. John Chrysostom deposed Gerontius, and ordained Pansophius in his place, who had been tutor to the Empress. He was a man of piety, of gentle and unruffled manners; but not acceptable to the people of Nicomedia. They frequently rose in a tumult, and related both in public and private the good deeds of Gerontius; the benefit they received from his art, the kindness and industry with which he laboured to give relief to all, without distinction, who were sick, whether rich or poor. They extolled his other good qualities, and making processions in the streets of Nicomedia and Constantinople, as in times of earthquakes, drought, and other public calamities, they sang hymns, and made supplication to God, that He would preserve to them their Bishop. At length they were constrained to give him up, notwithstanding their sobs and tears; and this deposition made St. John Chrysostom many other enemiesⁿ. In his absence,

ⁿ A brief view of the constitution of the Church at this period, will serve to illustrate this Asiatic journey of St. Chrysostom. The *Exarchs* or *Patriarchs* of the several *Dioceses*, into which the Church, adopting the terms as well as the form of the civil government, was divided, were originally considered all of the same formal rank and independence: though their respective rights, being determined by the previous customs of each province, were different in different cases. Thus in the period preceding the Council of Constantinople, we find in the East the Exarchs of Heraclea, Ephesus, and Casarea, with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, all recognised as equally independent, though in the exercise of different degrees of power. (See above, bk. 18. 7. and Gieseler, i. § 91.) The transference of the seat of empire to Constantinople not only elevated the Bishop of Byzantium to the Exarchate of Thrace, formerly enjoyed by the Bishop of Heraclea, but also conferred on him the honours of the second rank in the Church, the first being still reserved for the Bishop of Rome. (Conc. C. P. can. 3.) This latter, however, being only an honorary precedence, in-

olved no actual increase of power; but the disordered state of Asia Minor soon enabled or rather obliged him to extend his influence into the Asiatic and even into the Pontic diocese. The resort of a Metropolitan of Galatia to Constantinople (supr. 5), as well as the ineffectual attempt of Nectarius to depose Gerontius, succeeded by the more effectual interference of St. Chrysostom, mark the gradual growth of this power in the latter diocese; while the accusation of the Exarch of Ephesus before St. Chrysostom, together with his apparent submission to the authority of that tribunal, and the subsequent invitation of the Asiatic Bishops, seem to shew that it was popularly admitted in the former. It was, however, so far an act of authority unrecognised by any definite law, that it furnished Theophilus with a charge of ambition sufficiently plausible to attract the attention of the Roman clergy. (Pall. Vit. Chrys. p. 49.) And it was not till the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) that these two dioceses were formally subjected to the Bishop of Constantinople, on whom the title of Patriarch was then first conferred. (Can. 28.) See Bingham. 9. 1. and 2. 17.

A. D. 401. the Empress Eudoxia gave birth to a son, who was called, after his grandfather, Theodosius. He was born on the fourth of the ides of April, in the Consulship of Vincentius and Fravitta, that is, the tenth of April, 401¹. The birth of this prince proved favourable to St. Porphyrius, Bishop of Gaza, who was come to Constantinople in behalf of his Church.

¹ Socr. 6. 6.
Soz. 8. 4.
Marcel.
Chr. p. 275.
Ind. 14.
Chr. Pasch.
p. 307.

VIII.
St. Por-
phyrius of
Gaza at
Constan-
tinople.
² Vita S.
Porph.
Sur. i.
26. Feb.
Boll. v.

A native of Thessalonica², the son of a noble and wealthy family, he went into Egypt about the year 378, and took the habit of a Monk at Scetis. Five years after, he retired into Palestine, sold his inheritance, which he distributed to the poor, and learned to make shoes, that he might live by his labour. The Bishop of Jerusalem ordained him Priest against his will, and intrusted him with the custody of the Holy Cross. He was again ordained against his will Bishop of Gaza, about the year 396, but he continued to practise the austerities of a monastic life, feeding only upon bread and pulse, and not eating till after sun-set. His city of Gaza was full of Pagans, who had no less than eight temples, and as he converted great numbers of them, they rose up with fury against him and his flock. To secure himself from their outrages, he sent his Deacon, Marcus, to Constantinople, to beg of the Emperor the demolition of the temples, especially that of Marnas. Eutropius was then in power, and St. John Chrysostom already Bishop, consequently this happened in the year 398. Marcus obtained an order to close the temples; but the officers sent by the Emperor, to put it in execution, suffered themselves to be bribed, so that, after having thrown down the idols, and shut up the temples, they permitted the Pagans to consult in secret the idol of Marnas. The idolaters persecuting the Christians more and more, St. Porphyrius went to John, Bishop of Casarea, and begged he would relieve him of the burden of that Church, and give him leave to retire. John consoled him, and exhorted him to continue there, on which Porphyrius conjured him to accompany him to Constantinople. On arriving, they addressed themselves to St. John Chrysostom³, who joyfully received them, and recognised the Deacon, Marcus, who came with them, and who has written the life of St. Porphyrius. He recommended them to the notice of the Eunuch, Amantius,

[³ Before his journey to Ephesus.]

who had great influence with the Empress, and was a zealous A. D. 401. servant of God.

Amantius introduced them to the Empress, whom they found reposing on a bed of gold. She saluted them first, and begged their blessing, excusing herself for not rising, by reason of her approaching confinement. They related to her the persecution of the idolaters, who did not so much as leave the Christians liberty to cultivate their lands, that they might be able to pay the tribute to the Emperor. "Fathers," replied the Empress, "be not troubled; I hope God will grant me grace to persuade the Emperor to satisfy your demands. Go and rest yourselves, and pray to God for me." She then ordered some money to be brought, and gave them three handfuls, saying, "Take this, at any rate, for your expenses." They took it, and, as they went out, gave the greater part of it to the officers who attended at the doors.

The Empress proposed the matter to the Emperor, who made some difficulty about it, fearing a diminution of his revenues, if he shewed any severity to the inhabitants of Gaza. When the Bishops came again to the Empress, she gave them an account of the matter, bidding them, however, not to be discouraged. St. Porphyrius, remembering what they had been told by an old Hermit whom they had seen on their way, in the Isle of Rhodes, according to his instructions, said to the Empress: "Labour for JESUS CHRIST, and He will give you a son." The Empress blushed, but was overjoyed, and said to the Bishops: "Fathers, pray unto God, that I may have a son, according to your words; and I promise to do all you desire, and, moreover, to build a church in the centre of Gaza." A few days after, the Empress was delivered of Theodosius. The joy was great, the Baptism very solemn; and on that occasion the Empress obtained from the Emperor all that the Bishops had requested: viz. the destruction of the temples of Gaza, as well as privileges and revenues for the Churches. They stayed at Constantinople during the feast of Easter, which in that year, 401, fell on the fourteenth of April, and at their departure, the Emperor and Empress dismissed them with large presents. As soon as they arrived in Palestine, St. Porphyrius destroyed

A. D. 401. all the temples of Gaza, with the assistance of an officer, whom the Emperor had sent to execute his orders. He even ruined the temple of Marnas, and built a church in the place where it stood, to fulfil the vow of the Empress.

IX.

St. John Chrysostom returned to Constantinople, not long after Easter, having been absent about three months¹. At his return, he found that Severian, to whom he had left the care of the Church at Constantinople, was endeavouring to undermine his influence². Severian was Bishop of Gabala in Syria, and had acquired great reputation for eloquence, as had also Antiochus Bishop of Ptolemais in Phœnicia, who had a great readiness of expression, and an harmonious accent, so that some gave him the name of Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth. Severian excelled in solidity of thought, and frequent quotation of Scripture, but his manner was not so agreeable, and in speaking Greek he retained the [ἡ δασύτης] dull accent³ of the Syrians⁴. Antiochus came to Constantinople, where he preached for some time, amassed a considerable sum of money, and returned home. Severian moved by this example, composed a number of sermons, and went likewise to Constantinople, where he was well received by St. Chrysostom, whose friendship Severian did not fail to court. His eloquence soon made him known at court, he gained the esteem and affection of many of the great men, and became known even to the Emperor and Empress; for he made it his business to please his audience. He succeeded still further in the absence of St. Chrysostom, who received intimation of it from his Archdeacon Serapion, who told him that Severian by his cabals was raising disturbances in the Church of Constantinople. Serapion was an Egyptian, of a quick and irritable⁴ temper, and hated by Severian whom he too contemned. One day as Severian passed by where Serapion was sitting, the latter would not rise and pay him the respect due to his dignity⁵. Severian transported with

Attempts of Severian of Gabala.
¹ Chrys. Homil. de regres. iii. p. 411. (vii. p. 941.)
² Soer. 6. 11. Soz. 8. 10.

[⁴ ἔρομος εἰς ὕβριν, Soz. 8. 9.]

⁵ Soz. 8. 10.

¹ Of Severian's writings there are still several extant among St. Chrysostom's Works. (vi. p. 436. xii. p. 403. and Savil. vii. and vi.) Several fragments are also to be found in the Bibliotheca Patrum (xxvii. p. 127, and ix. p. 849), where a Sabellian notion respecting the incarnation of the Fulness of the God-

head is ascribed to him and refuted by St. Anastasius of Sinai, in the Viæ Dux, c. 18. Severian is also found in the catena of Zephyrus on Genesis. (Cave, Lit. Hist.) His style is characterised by Savile as harsh; by Montfaucon as prolix and trifling. See Chrys. vi. Monitum ad Hom. Sever.

rage, cried out, "If Serapion dies a Christian, CHRIST was A. D. 401.
 "not made man." Serapion exaggerated this expression, to incense St. Chrysostom against Severian; it is even said that he suppressed half of it, and represented it as though Severian had said absolutely that CHRIST was not made man, and that he produced witnesses to that effect. Matters went so far, that St. Chrysostom drove Severian from Constantinople; but the Empress Eudoxia took his part, and brought him back from Chalcedon, whither he had retired. St. Chrysostom mistrusted him and still refused to admit him to his friendship. But the Empress in the Church of the Apostles presented to him the young Theodosius, placing him on his knees, and conjuring him to receive Severian. This account we have from Socrates and Sozomen. We have the Latin translation of the orations, which St. John Chrysostom and Severian pronounced before the people of Constantinople after their reconciliation¹. St. Chrysostom spoke first, and Severian the day after, declaring he embraced the union with open arms. But it appeared by the sequel that he did not heartily and sincerely resume his friendship.

The Arians were still very numerous at Constantinople², and as they were obliged to hold their assemblies without the city, they met within the walls near the public porticoes to go out together, on the solemn days of every week, that is, on Saturday and Sunday. They sang, in two choirs, hymns in accordance with their doctrine; and after having spent the greater part of the night in this manner, they went out in the morning, and crossed the city to repair to their place of assembly. In these hymns they endeavoured to incense the Catholics, by saying; "Where are those who affirm that three things are but one power?" St. John Chrysostom fearing lest they should shake the faith of some of the simple, procured some Catholics also to sing during the night. The success did not answer his good intention. The Catholics performed their nocturnal prayers with more display than the Arians; they carried silver crosses surmounted with waxen torches, the invention of St. Chrysostom, and provided at the expense of the Empress Eudoxia. The Arians, still insolent from the power they once enjoyed, could not endure this; they fell one night upon the

¹ iii. p. 412.
 (vii. p. 947.)

X.
 Tumult of the Arians at Constantinople.

² Socr. 6. 8.
 Soz. 8. 8.

A. D. 400. Catholics with such fury, that an eunuch belonging to the Empress, called Brisco, who was singing with the rest, was wounded in the forehead with a stone, and some private persons were slain on both sides. This occasioned the Emperor to forbid the Arians to sing any more in public, thus renewing the prohibition made under the Pontificate of Nectarius, in 396, which forbade their assembling in the city to perform Litanies or prayers night or day¹. All which increased the affection of the people for St. Chrysostom, and at the same time procured him enemies.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 5. de Hæret. L. 30.

XI.

The Four Brothers at Constantinople.

² Pall. Vit. Chrys. p. 23, 24.

This was the situation of affairs when the Monks, driven out of Egypt by Theophilus, retired to Constantinople; they presented themselves to St. Chrysostom², who seeing at his feet fifty aged men, venerable by their grey hair and the austerities which were visible in their outward appearance, was so moved that he shed tears, and asked who had used them ill? "The Pope Theophilus," they replied; "if you, like the rest of the Bishops, are afraid of him, we have nothing left but to make our application to the Emperor. But if you regard your character in the Church, persuade Theophilus to suffer us to remain in Egypt; since we have committed no fault, neither against the law of God nor against him." St. Chrysostom thinking it would be easy to appease Theophilus, willingly undertook the office; but advised the Monks not to acquaint any one with the occasion of their journey till he had written to him. He lodged them in the church called Anastasia; and some pious women, among others St. Olympias, provided for their subsistence, to which they themselves contributed by their bodily labour. At the same time that they arrived at Constantinople, there came also some clerks from Theophilus, whom he had sent to gain over to his interest by bribes the officers that were to have the government of Egypt, that he might make use of their authority against such as were obnoxious to him. St. Chrysostom having sent for these ecclesiastics, asked them whether they knew the fugitive Monks? They replied sincerely, "We do; they have been greatly injured. You should not, however, my Lord, receive them to spiritual communion, lest you give offence to our Bishop, but should in other respects use them well." St. Chrysostom resolved

to do so, and did not suffer them to partake in the Mysteries; A. D. 401. allowing them only to pray in the church¹. In the mean time he wrote to Theophilus, begging him, as a favour to him, his son and brother, to receive them. Theophilus paid no regard to his entreaties; on the contrary, he sent to Constantinople the five Monks whom he had suborned to accuse them, and whom he had ordained for this purpose, the first of them Bishop, the second Priest, and the three others, Deacons. He gave them some documents which attacked the doctrine of the fugitive Monks (for there was nothing to be said against their morals); and his accusations succeeded so well in the palace, that they were pointed at as magicians.

The Monks who were accused², after having anathematized² all evil doctrines, presented petitions to St. John Chrysostom, containing several articles of the outrages committed by Theophilus, with other accusations of a more scandalous nature. St. Chrysostom exhorted them in person, and by the mediation of other Bishops, not to proceed in this manner, by reason of the ill consequences that might attend it. He likewise wrote to Theophilus as follows. "Their discontent has proceeded so far as to accuse you in writing. Let me know therefore your resolution, for I cannot persuade them to leave the court." Theophilus was so incensed that he expelled the Bishop Dioscorus from his Church. He was one of the Four Brothers, who had grown old in the service of the Church; the three others were at the head of the exiles. Theophilus wrote also to St. John Chrysostom in these terms: "You cannot be ignorant of the Canons of Nicæa, which prohibit a Bishop to try causes out of his own jurisdiction³. [³ See can. 6.] "If you are, learn it now, and receive no petition against me: for, if I am to be tried, it is by the Egyptians, and not by you, who are seventy-five days' journey distant." St. Chrysostom having read this letter, kept it by him, and exhorted the Monks of both parties, that is, the refugees, and those afterwards sent by Theophilus to accuse them, to come to an agreement. But the first were exasperated by the tyranny (as they felt it) of Theophilus, while the others alleged they had no power to come to a reconciliation without his consent. St. Chrysostom having advised them in this manner, took no more trouble about the affair.

A. D. 401.

¹ Soz. 8. 13.

Pall. p. 24.

² Ibid. p. 25.³ See can.

6.]

A. D. 401. Theophilus knew how zealous St. Epiphanius was against the errors of Origen, and had formerly treated him as an Anthropomorphite¹. But he wrote to him now, and sent him the Synodical letter of his Council of Alexandria, adding another from himself, in which he desires him to convene all the Bishops of the Island of Cyprus, and to send Synodical letters to the Bishop of Constantinople, to himself, and to such others as he should think fit, that Origen might be condemned by the whole world². "For I have been informed," he says, "that the slanderers of the true Faith, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, are gone to Constantinople to deceive others if they can, and join themselves to those who are already partners in their error. Take care therefore to notify this matter to all the Bishops of Isauria, Pamphylia, and the neighbouring provinces; send them my letter if you think it necessary, and that it may come the sooner to Constantinople, send some able man, and one of your clergy; as I myself have sent Abbots from the monasteries of Nitria, with other holy Persons, to inform every one by word of mouth of what has taken place." St. Epiphanius³ readily assembled a Synod of the Bishops of his island, where he prohibited the books of Origen. He wrote also to St. John Chrysostom exhorting him to do the like.

St. Epiphanius also sent to St. Jerome the general letter of Theophilus, against Apollinaris and Origen; words which seem to mark the second Paschal letter, exhorting him to write in Latin on the same subject, for the use of those in the West⁴. St. Jerome translated this letter of St. Epiphanius to him, and that of Theophilus to St. Epiphanius. He also translated a letter sent by Theophilus to himself, to exhort him to avoid the Origenists in Palestine⁵; and another, recommending to him the Bishop Agatho, and the Deacon Athanasius, whom he sent on the same business⁶. St. Jerome subjoined his answers, in which he highly extolled the zeal of Theophilus. In one he excuses the Bishop of Jerusalem for having received a suspected person⁷, by which it appears that he no longer accounted that Bishop an Origenist. By the other we learn that Theophilus had written to Pope Anastasius upon that subject⁸. In the mean time

XII.
Letter of
Theophilus
against the
Four Bro-
thers.

¹ Socr. 6.
10.
Soz. 8. 14.

² Ap. Hier.
Ep. 111.
al. 67.

³ Soz. 8. 14.
Socr. 6. 10.

⁴ Ap. Hier.
Ep. 63. al.
73.

⁵ Ep. 62.
al. 72.

⁶ Ep. 60.
al. 69.

⁷ Ep. 59.
al. 70.

⁸ Ep. 61.
al. 71.

St. Jerome having received Ruffinus' two books filled with invectives against him, continued to answer him in his Apology, which was divided into three books, and addressed to Pammachus and Marcellinus¹. In the first book he defends himself against the accusations of Ruffinus; in the second he refutes his Apology addressed to Pope Anastasius; in the third he answers some injurious letters of Ruffinus.

A. D. 401.

¹ Ep. 42. al. 66.

A Council was held at Carthage on the fourteenth of the calends of July, after the Consulship of Stilico, that is, the eighteenth of June 401². The Bishop Aurelius presided, and spoke thus; "My brethren, you, as well as I, are acquainted with the necessities of the Churches of Africa; it seems advisable that one among us should be appointed to go into Italy, and represent our wants to our holy brother Anastasius, Bishop of the Apostolical See, and to our holy brother Venerius, Bishop of Milan: for from these Sees proceeded the prohibition which they will see the necessity of providing against. The scarcity of clergy is so general, and many Churches so neglected, that they have not so much as even one illiterate Deacon; and we can no longer bear the daily complaints of various destitute parishes, and the ruin of a multitude of souls, for whom we shall have to give account to God. You remember that in the last Council it was decreed, that they who were baptized in infancy by the Donatists, before they were able to see their error, and became converts at years of discretion, on being better informed, might be admitted among the clergy, provided they were of unblemished character; especially in so urgent a necessity. Now there are some of the same sect, who desire to come over to us with their people, provided they may still keep their rank: but I believe we must leave this point to our brethren, that after a more mature deliberation, they may give us their opinion. We only ask their consent for the ordination of those who were baptized in infancy." We see by these words of Aurelius the great want of clergy in Africa, which partly arose from the numbers and oppression of the Donatists, and partly from the great care the Bishops exercised in their choice. This however did not prevent them from ordaining illiterate Deacons, that is, according to the language of those times,

XIII.
Council of
Carthage.² Ap. Dion.
Exig. p.147.
et Cod.
Afric. 56.

A. D. 401. men who could neither read nor write. It appears also, that there had been some Council of Italy in which Pope Anastasius, and Venerius of Milan, at the head of the other Bishops, had prohibited the ordination of converted heretics.

This Council of Carthage was not numerous; but in the same year, on the thirteenth of September, was held another at Carthage, which was general, and represented all the provinces of Africa¹; here too Aurelius presided. Letters were there read from Pope Anastasius, in which he exhorted the Bishops of Africa, in a fatherly manner, not to extenuate the artifices and outrages of the Donatists. These are, most probably, his answer to the letters of the preceding Council. This Council returns thanks to God for the charity of the Pope; but resolves however to act amicably towards the Donatists, and to use the means of persuasion as much as possible. It is decreed therefore², that "the Council shall write to the judges of Africa to ask them to assist the Catholic Church, in enquiring into all that has passed in the several places where the Maximianists have got possession of the Churches, and in obliging them to confine themselves to public records, that the truth may be known over the whole world. That some of the Catholic Bishops shall be appointed to go as deputies³, to exhort the Donatists to re-union, by shewing them how they have themselves dealt with their own schismatics, the Maximianists, whom they have condemned in a general Council; and from whom nevertheless they have received individuals without degrading them, and have approved the Baptism they have administered." They likewise ordain⁴, as in the preceding Council, that letters shall be sent to the other Bishops, especially the Pope Anastasius, to shew him "the necessity of admitting the Donatist clergy, who shall be willing to become converts, as was the practice in the beginning of the schism, without degrading them from their rank; not with any design to act in opposition to the Council beyond the sea, which prohibits the admission of the Donatist clergy except as laymen; but to except from this rule such as shall be of use for the service of the Church." This Council beyond the sea, seems to be the same with the Council of Italy, of which the former Council

¹ Dion. Exig. p. 154. Cod. Afric. 65.

² c. 67.

³ c. 69.

⁴ V. Schelstr. de Ecc. Afric. diss. 3. c. 10. § 2.

of Carthage makes mention; this, however, is only a conjecture. As to the reception of the Donatist clergy in the beginning of the schism, this may be understood of the decree of the Council of Rome, held under Pope Melchiades, which did not depose the Bishops ordained by Majorinus, when they renounced their schism¹.

Pursuant to the decrees of this Council of Carthage, St. Augustine promised by oath, and in writing, that he would receive the Donatists with all that was good in their opinions², viz. Baptism, Ordination, the profession of chastity, and the benediction of virgins. "For," he says, "we reject only their error; and we acknowledge and reverence in them the name of God, and His Sacraments. When therefore they return to the Catholic Church, they do not receive from her what they had before; but they receive from the Church what they had not, namely, charity, which makes what they already had of benefit to them." That all might better understand the scandalous proceedings³ of the Donatists, the Emperor Honorius ordered that the rescript they had obtained from the Emperor Julian, should be fixed up in public places, together with the acts relating to them. This law of Honorius is dated on the twenty-sixth of February, in the year 400. There are likewise two laws published by the same Emperor, which being both made for Africa, seem to regard the grievances caused by the Donatists; they both relate to the privileges of the clergy, and are dated, the first on the twenty-fifth of June, 399⁴, the second on the fourteenth of July, 401⁵.

The Four Brothers, and other Monks of Egypt, who had retired to Constantinople, finding that St. John Chrysostom delayed too long to do them justice, applied to the Emperor⁶; and drew up long petitions, accusing the Monks sent by Theophilus as calumniators, and charging Theophilus himself with various crimes. They presented themselves in private before the Emperor and Empress in the church of St. John, requesting that the petitions of the Monks their adversaries might be examined before the Præfects, and that Theophilus might be obliged, whether he would or no, to come and be tried by St. Chrysostom. The petition produced the desired effect; an officer called Elaphius, was sent

A. D. 401.

¹ Aug. Ep.
43. al. 162.
ad Glor.
c. 5. § 16.

² Aug. Ep.
61. al. 223.
ad Theod.

³ Cod.
Theod.
16. tit. 5.
de Hæref.
L. 37. [des-
peratio fu-
cata per-
ficiâ.]

⁴ Cod.
Theod. 16.
tit. 2. de
Episc. 34.
⁵ Ibid. 36.

XIV.
Prosecu-
tion of
the Four
Brothers.
⁶ Pall. Vit.
Chrys. p.
25.

A. D. 401. to Alexandria to fetch Theophilus; and the Præfects examined the accusation lodged against the Brothers by his deputies. These deputies proved nothing, and according to law, had forfeited their lives as calumniators. But they cast all the blame upon Theophilus, affirming that he had ensnared them, and dictated their petition. They were therefore imprisoned till the arrival of Theophilus; and were not allowed to give bail for their appearance. Some died in prison during the long delay Theophilus made in coming; the rest, after his arrival, by means of the money he distributed, received no other punishment than banishment to Proconnesus, as persons convicted of calumny.

XV.
St. Epiphanius at Constantinople.

St. Epiphanius, at the desire of Theophilus, came first to Constantinople soon after the Council of Cyprus¹, the acts of which he brought with him, which condemned the books of Origen, but not his person. The first thing he did on landing, was to go to the church of St. John at Hebdomon², where he stayed to perform divine service, and ordain a Deacon; after which he entered into Constantinople. St. John Chrysostom, to shew him the greater respect, sent all his clergy to meet him, and invited him to lodge in some of the houses belonging to the church; but he refused his offer, and would not even be present where St. Chrysostom was, so much had he been prejudiced against him. On the contrary, he convened in his private lodgings the Bishops who were then at Constantinople, shewed them what had been decreed in his Council against the works of Origen; and persuaded some of them to subscribe these acts, though the greater number refused. St. Theotimus³, Bishop of Scythia, opposed St. Epiphanius to his face. He told him that it was impious to attack the memory of a person who had been so long dead, and to condemn the judgment and reverse the decrees of the ancients. At the same time he drew out one of Origen's books, and read some passages in it, proving that his works were of use to the Church. He said moreover, that they who blamed his writings, ran the risk, without thinking of it, of rejecting the truths themselves of which they treated. St. John Chrysostom still preserved great respect for St. Epiphanius, and continued to invite him to go with him to the ecclesiastical assemblies,

¹ Socr. 6. 12.

² Soz. 8. 14.

³ Sup. c. 5.

and to lodge at his house. But St. Epiphanius refused to do either, unless John condemned the writings of Origen, and dismissed Dioscorus and his companions. But St. Chrysostom put it off, saying that nothing should be done hastily, nor any one condemned unheard. On this, St. Epiphanius, at the instigation of his enemies, resolved upon another course. Divine service¹ was to be performed the next morning in the Church of the Apostles. They therefore persuaded him to present himself before the people, and publicly to condemn the books of Origen, and Dioscorus' party as Origenists, while at the same time he upbraided the Bishop John himself as their adherent. They hoped by this means to lessen the credit of St. John Chrysostom with the people. The next day St. Epiphanius went out to put this design in execution, when, not far from the church, he met the Deacon Serapion, who had been sent by St. Chrysostom to meet him, the Bishop having received notice of the design which had been concerted the day before. Serapion declared to St. Epiphanius, that what he purposed to do, was neither just in itself, nor profitable to him. "A sedition," said he, "may ensue, and you will be in danger, as the author of the commotion." Upon this remonstrance St. Epiphanius proceeded no further.

In the mean time the young Theodosius fell sick², and the Empress, being under great apprehension for him, sent to St. Epiphanius to recommend him to his prayers. He assured the Empress that the child should live, if she would withdraw her protection from Dioscorus, and the other heretics. The Empress returned answer: "If God will take my child, He is the LORD; as for you, had you power to raise the dead, your own Archdeacon would have been yet alive." This Archdeacon was Crispion, the brother of Fusco and Salamas, two famous Monks in the reign of Valens³.

Ammonius and the other Egyptian Monks, by the advice of the Empress, repaired to St. Epiphanius. He asked them who they were? Ammonius replied: "Father, we are the Tall Brothers; but I would ask you, whether you have seen any of our disciples or writings?" He replied that he had not: and Ammonius continued: "Why, then, have you judged us heretics, without having any proof of our

A. D. 401.

[¹ *συναξίς*.][² Soz. 8. 15.][³ Soz. 6. 32.]

A. D. 401. “opinions?” “Because,” said St. Epiphanius, “you were reported to me to be so.” Ammonius replied: “We have done just the contrary; for we have frequently met with your disciples and writings, the Ancoratus¹ among the rest; and as many blamed it, and called it heretical, we defended it, and have taken up your interests, as though you had been our father. You ought not, therefore, upon a bare report, to condemn us unheard; or treat so harshly those who always speak well of you.” St. Epiphanius addressed them in kinder terms, and dismissed them.

[¹ ἀγκυρα-
τος—fur-
nishing an
anchor for
the soul.]

Soon after, he departed from Constantinople, to return to Cyprus; perhaps sorry that he had come, or perhaps warned of the approach of death. It is reported, that when on the point of embarking, he said to the Bishops who were attending him to the sea-side: “To you I leave the city, the court, and the theatre. As for me, I go my way; I am in haste, in great haste.” And, in fact, he died on his passage before he could reach Cyprus. The time of his death is not exactly known; though it is certain he governed the Church of Constantia in Cyprus thirty-six years², and lived to a very great age. His memory is honoured by the Church on the twelfth of May³. He was very learned⁴, but his criticisms are not always to be relied on. His natural kindness of disposition rendered him credulous, and laid him open to prejudice.

² Pall. p. 60.

³ Mart.
Rom.

⁴ Hier.
Script.
Eccles. iv.
pt. 2. p. 126.

XVI.
Testimony
of Posthu-
mian.

In fact, we do not find any proof that the Four Brothers maintained the errors of Origen, and we find an eye-witness, who is very favourable to them, in Posthumian of Gaul, a friend of Severus Sulpicius, who introduces him, in the narration of his Eastern travels, speaking in the following words⁵: “The seventh day we arrived, after a fair voyage, at Alexandria, where the Bishops and the Monks were engaged in a shameful contest. The dispute arose from the Bishops, who had decreed, in frequent Councils, that no one should read or have the books of Origen. He was esteemed the most learned interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, but the Bishops produced some passages in his writings which, being somewhat injudicious, his defenders did not venture to maintain, but said that heretics had maliciously inserted them, and that they ought not therefore to condemn the

⁵ Sever.
Dial. 1.
c. 6. p. 66.

“rest, since the reader could easily make the requisite distinction. The Bishops obstinately persisted, and used their authority to condemn the good and the bad together, and even the author himself, alleging that the books already received by the Church were more than sufficient, and that they ought to reject a style of reading calculated to do more injury to the ignorant than service to the instructed.”

Posthumian adds: “Both parties were heated to such a degree, that it produced a sedition; which the Bishops being unable to quiet, the Præfect, by an evil precedent, was employed to regulate the discipline of the Church. He terrified and dispersed the Monks, who fled into different countries; and proclamations, issued against them, prevented their remaining in any fixed place. What most moved me was, that Jerome, a man most Catholic in his principles, and most learned in the law of God, was thought at first to have followed Origen, though he was now the first to condemn both him and all his writings. I dare not judge lightly of any one; but the most able persons were said to be divided on this dispute. Whether it was an error, as I believe, or an heresy, as is supposed by others, it could not be suppressed by the chastisements frequently inflicted by the Bishops; nay, it had never spread so far, had not the disputation increased its growth. Alexandria was agitated with this sedition, when I arrived there. The Bishop received me with much civility, more even than I expected, and endeavoured to keep me with him. But we did not think we ought to stay in a place where our brethren had been so lately and so hatefully persecuted; for though perhaps it may seem to have been their duty to have obeyed the Bishops, yet this was not sufficient reason for the persecution, and that too by Bishops, of so great a multitude confessing the name of JESUS CHRIST.” Posthumian afterwards relates how he went to Bethlehem, and spent three months with St. Jerome, whom he commends so highly for his indefatigable labour, his profound learning, his zeal against heretics, and against the indolent or interested among the Monks and Clergy, as entirely to throw off from himself all suspicion of Origenism.

A. D. 403.

XVII.
Theophilus
at Constantinople.¹ Chrysost.
Ep. ad
Innoc. iii.
p. 516.
(vii. p. 154.)
(iv. p. 593.)
² Pall. p. 26.
Socr. 6. 15.

Theophilus of Alexandria came at length to Constantinople, in obedience to the Emperor's command; but although this was directed to him alone, he brought a great number of Bishops with him, who came from Egypt, and even from India¹. He arrived on Thursday about noon, and was immediately received with loud acclamations by the Egyptian mariners, who had come with corn to Constantinople². Having landed, he passed by the church, without entering it as was usual, and lodged without the city in one of the Emperor's houses called Placidiana. St. John Chrysostom had provided lodgings for him and all his retinue, and earnestly pressed them to come to his house, all which they refused; and Theophilus would neither see him, speak to him, pray with him, nor give him any other mark of communion. Such was his behaviour during the three weeks he stayed at Constantinople. He never came near the church, though St. Chrysostom continually pressed him to go there, to see him, or at least to let him know the reason why he had thus declared war against him, from the very moment of his entrance into the city, and thus caused so much scandal to the people. Theophilus, however, would never return him any answer.

³ Epist. ad
Innoc. ap.
Pall. p. 5.

His accusers, that is, the Monks whom he had driven out of Egypt, urged St. Chrysostom to do them justice³; and the Emperor, having sent for him, ordered him to cross the bay, on the other side of which Theophilus lodged, and hear his cause. He was accused of violence, murder, and several other crimes. But St. Chrysostom refused to take cognizance of it, partly out of regard to Theophilus, but more out of respect to the canons, which forbade Bishops to judge any cause beyond the limits of their own province, and upon which Theophilus himself insisted in the letters, which St. Chrysostom kept by him.

⁴ Pall. p. 26.

In the mean time, Theophilus laboured day and night for the means of driving St. Chrysostom from his see⁴. He found many persons at Constantinople full of resentment against him. Acacius, Bishop of Berrhæa⁵, who had arrived there some time before, being dissatisfied with the lodging prepared for him, regarded it as a slight put upon him by St. Chrysostom; and transported with rage, said to some

⁵ Ibid. p. 20.

of the clergy of St. Chrysostom: "I will dress him a dainty dish¹." He entered into a strict friendship with Severian of Gabala, Antiochus of Ptolemais, and a Syrian Abbot called Isaac, who made a practice of travelling from place to place, and calumniating the Bishops. The first thing they did was to send to Antioch, to enquire into the behaviour of St. Chrysostom in his youth; and finding nothing for their purpose, they sent to Alexandria to Theophilus, who from that time carefully sought some pretence for accusing him.

In the city of Constantinople itself, Theophilus met with several who were enemies to St. Chrysostom, namely, such of his clergy as were unwilling to submit to the discipline he would have introduced among them²; and in particular two Priests and five Deacons³; two or three persons belonging to the Emperor's court, who procured soldiers for Theophilus, to assist him in any violent measures; and three widows of the first rank, Marsa, widow of Promotus; Castricia, widow of Saturninus, both Consular men; and Eugraphia, whose husband is not known. St. Chrysostom was in the habit of reproving them⁴, because, though now grown old, they continued to adorn themselves, and wore artificial hair. The Bishops of Asia⁵, who had been deposed, were not backward in their resentment. Theophilus was very careful to foment these animosities⁶. He was profuse in distributing his money, entertained great numbers of guests, and caressed and flattered the ambition of the ecclesiastics, by promising them the highest dignities. He found two Deacons whom St. John Chrysostom had expelled the Church for their crimes; one for murder, and the other for adultery. He promised to restore them to their former station; which he accordingly did after the banishment of St. Chrysostom. On this assurance he prevailed on them to present petitions to him, which he had drawn up himself, and were false in every article except one, which was this: they accused the Bishop, John, of advising every body to take, after the Communion, some water and some pastils⁷, lest they should cast out with their spittle some part of the elements, and of doing so himself. Theophilus, having received this petition, went to the house of Eugraphia with Severian, Antiochus, Acacius, and the rest

A. D. 403.

[¹ ἐγὼ αὐτῷ ἀρτύω χύτραν]² Pall. p. 18.

Supr. 20. 38.

³ Pall. p. 14.⁴ p. 27.⁵ Socr. 6. 15.⁶ Pall. p. 26.[⁷ Apparently a bread wafer. See Ducange.]

A. D. 403. of the enemies of John. Being all assembled, they considered how they should begin to proceed against him. One of them proposed the presentation of a petition to the Emperor, to oblige St. Chrysostom to come to their assembly. This advice was put into execution, and money was not wanting to remove the difficulties that attended it. It is even said¹, that the Empress Eudoxia was personally offended with John, who, on hearing that she had incensed St. Epiphanius against him, had, following the natural heat of his temper, delivered a discourse against women in general, which the people applied to the Empress. She, being informed of it by some ill-disposed persons, had complained to the Emperor, and had urged Theophilus to assemble immediately a Council against John.

[¹ Socr. 6. 15.]

XVIII. A suburb of Chalcedon called the Oak², of which Cyrinus Council of the Oak. was Bishop, was the place chosen for holding this Council. Cyrinus was an Egyptian by birth, and an enemy of St. Chrysostom. When Theophilus with the Bishops in his retinue passed through Chalcedon in their way to Constantinople, Cyrinus expressed himself with great resentment against John, calling him impious, insolent, and inexorable, at which the other Bishops were much pleased. He was, however, unable to go with them to Constantinople, because Maruthas, Bishop of Mesopotamia, had hurt him by accidentally treading on his foot. But, as Theophilus believed Cyrinus' presence necessary in a Council where St. Chrysostom was to be accused, he resolved to hold it in his city; as he was besides apprehensive of the people of Constantinople, who were much attached to their Bishop. The place, then, where the Council assembled, was the suburb of the Oak³, where Ruffinus had built a palace, together with a church dedicated to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and a monastery⁴.

[² Socr. 6. 15.]

[³ Supr. 19. 51.]

Here Theophilus assembled thirty-six Bishops of his own province⁵, and some others, forty-five in all⁶; the chief

[⁴ Soz. 8. 17.]

[⁵ Pall. p. 28.]

[⁶ Phot. Bibl. Cod. 59.]

in fin.

^p Photius gives the number of Bishops composing the Council of the Oak at forty-five, while Palladius speaks only of thirty-six. To reconcile these statements, Fleury here supposes that there were thirty-six Egyptian Bishops, and eleven from other countries. But Palladius expressly says (as cited infr.

c. 50) that there were twenty-nine Egyptian Bishops, and seven from other provinces, making thirty-six in all; so that this explanation cannot be admitted. And in ch. 19, St. Chrysostom's deputies speak of the *whole* number of the Council as only thirty-six (though with a slight inaccuracy, which

of whom were Theophilus himself, Acacius of Berrhæa, Antiochus of Ptolemais, Severian of Gabala, Cyrinus of Chalcedon, and Paul of Heraclea, who presided in the Council; at least at the last session. The Council being assembled, Theophilus sent in an arbitrary manner for the Archdeacon of the Church of Constantinople called John, as though the see had been already vacant¹. The Archdeacon obeyed the summons, and brought over most of the clergy with him. He appeared as the chief of St. Chrysostom's accusers, and preferred twenty-nine articles against him, viz.²:

That St. Chrysostom had excommunicated him, because he had struck Eulalius, one of his servants. That a Monk, called John, had been beaten, dragged about, and laid in irons, like those who were possessed with evil spirits, by order of St. Chrysostom³. Perhaps he was one of those who had been sent by Theophilus to complain against the Four Brothers, and who had been imprisoned as calumniators. Another article is to be referred to the same matter, viz.⁴, that men who were in communion with the whole Church, had been imprisoned by his orders, and died in their confinement, and that he had disregarded them to such a degree, as not even to accompany their bodies to the grave⁵. He was further accused, of having injured the clergy, by charging them with corruption; and saying that they were ready to do any thing, and not worth three oboli; and of having composed a book against them filled with slanders⁶. This was probably his treatise against the *Subintroductæ*. It was, moreover, said, that he had summoned three Deacons before his clergy, Acacius, Edaphius, and John, and had accused them of having stolen his pallium, asking whether they had taken it for any other use⁷. St. Isidore of Pelusium, who lived about the same time, says⁸, that this ornament, which is woollen, signifies the sheep on the shoulders of the good shepherd. St. Chrysostom was further accused⁹ of having injured the

¹ Chrys. Ep. ad Inn. ap. Pall. p. 6.

² Phot. Cod. 59. Art. 1.

³ Art. 2.

⁴ Art. 19.

⁵ Art. 5.

⁶ Art. 8.

⁷ Art. 9.

⁸ Lib. 1. Ep. 136.

⁹ Art. 20.

perhaps gave rise to Fleury's mode of reconciling his statement with that of Photius, they style them *all* of one province), and claim on that ground a precedence for their own Council of forty Bishops: a plea which would have been utterly futile, had Theophilus' Council consisted of forty-five. It is

in fact a mere question of the comparative credibility of different testimony. Photius had read the acts of the Council: the author of the Dialogue ascribed to Palladius was a contemporary and companion of St. Chrysostom. (Pall. Vit. pp. 4, 49.) See Tillem. xi. S. Chrys. note 66.

A. D. 403. most holy Bishop Acacius, (meaning the Bishop of Berrhæa,) and refusing even to speak to him; and of having delivered the Priest Porphyrius into the hands of Eutropius, to be sent into banishment¹. Porphyrius was a Priest of Antioch, whose conduct gave just reason for complaint against him. St. Chrysostom was accused also of having similarly delivered up the Priest Venerius in an insulting manner²; and of having, in the Church of the Apostles, struck Memnon so violently, that the blood issued from his mouth, and having after this offered the holy Mysteries³. It was added, that he had called St. Epiphanius dotard and devil⁴. But we see by several instances that the name of devil was not so odious among the ancients as with us. It was further said, that he had entered into a conspiracy against Severian of Gabala, and stirred up the Decani against him⁵. (These were certain inferior officers belonging to the Church, who attended at funerals⁶.) That he had betrayed the Count John in a mutiny⁷. To crown all, that he was wont to be at once accuser, judge, and witness; as was evident in the affair of the Archdeacon Martyrius, and in that of Proæresius, Bishop of Lycia⁸. Such were the materials, collected with so much pains, to convict St. Chrysostom of pride, injustice, and violence.

He was likewise accused of avarice, in having sold much of the rich furniture of the church⁹; and the marble procured by Nectarius his predecessor to adorn the church Anastasia¹; of having sold in the name of Theodulus, the inheritance of Thecla², which had probably been left to the Church. "In short," said they, "no one knows what is become of the revenues of the Church³." As to ordinations, it was affirmed that he had ordained Priests and Deacons, not at the Altar⁴, and many without certificate or testimonial⁵; that he had ordained four Bishops at the same time⁶, and that he had ordained Serapion Priest, though under trial for a crime⁷; and Antonius Bishop, who had been convicted of rifling sepulchres⁸. Lastly, that he gave money to the Bishops whom he had ordained, that he might make use of them in persecuting the clergy⁹. His morals and faith were also attacked: they said that he went to, and even entered the church without praying¹, and that he dressed and un-

¹ A. D. 403.¹ Art. 21.² Art. 22.³ Art. 27.⁴ Art. 6.[δαίμονιδ-
ρως]⁵ Art. 7.⁶ Epiph.
Expos. fid.
3. § 21.[et Bingham.
3. 8. § 3.]⁷ Art. 11.⁸ Art. 26.⁹ Art. 3.¹ Art. 4.² Art. 16.³ Art. 17.⁴ Art. 13.⁵ Art. 24.⁶ Art. 14.⁷ Art. 18.⁸ Art. 10.[τυμβωρύ-
χος]⁹ Art. 29.¹ Art. 12.

dressed in his throne, and ate pastils there¹. It has been A. D. 403. observed before, that he ate something out of respect, after 1 Art. 28. having received the Communion : it appears also, that at that time they changed their robe to minister at the Altar. But perhaps it was not usual to do this in the church. It was further said, “The bath is heated for him alone, and after he “has bathed, Serapion shuts it up, that nobody else may “bathe². He eats alone, living with the freedom of a 2 Art. 23. “Cyclops³. He receives women alone, after sending every 3 Art. 25. “one else out of the room⁴.” These are the twenty-nine 4 Art. 15. articles preferred against him by the Archdeacon John, in the indictment which he delivered to the Council⁵.

He carried this last calumny so far, as openly to accuse him of seduction. St. Chrysostom offered to justify himself as to this point⁶, by an examination of his person, and the condition to which he had been reduced by the great austerities he had practised in his youth. The other accusation of his living as a Cyclops, was grounded upon his eating alone, as he really did, and seeing but little company at his own house, which his enemies compared to the savage life of the Cyclops⁶, whom the poets represented as unsociable 6 Chrys. Ep. ad Cyriac. iii. p. 669. (vii. p. 169.) (iv. p. 868.) monsters, shutting themselves up each in his own cavern. 6 Homer. Odys. 9. 112. They supposed that St. Chrysostom acted in this manner that he might indulge his appetite with less observation ; but the contrary was the case. He drank no wine⁷, because 7 Pall. p. 40. his head was hot, except in the heat of summer, when he drank wine flavoured with rose-leaves. His stomach was so

¹ The character of several of the charges brought against St. Chrysostom seems to intimate that, like St. Gregory Nazianzen, he had given offence by the simplicity of his habits. “A great capital is apt to demand that “magnificence in its Prelate at which “it murmurs. It will not respect less “than the splendid state and the show “of authority, while at the same time “it would have the severest austerity “and the strongest display of humility, “the pomp of the Pontiff with the poverty and lowliness of the Apostle. “Chrysostom carried the asceticism of “the Monk not merely into his private “chamber but into his palace and his “hall. Instead of munificent hospitality, he took his scanty meal in his “solitary chamber. His rigid economy

“endured none of the Episcopal sumptuousness with which his predecessor “Nectarius had dazzled the public “eye: he proscribed all the carpets, “all silken dresses; he sold the costly “furniture, and the rich vessels of his “residence; he was said even to have “retrenched from the church some “of its gorgeous plate, and to have “sold some rich marbles and furniture designed for the Anastasia. He “was lavish, on the other hand, in “his expenditure on the hospitals and “charitable institutions. But even the “use to which they were applied, did “not justify to the general feeling the “alienation of those ornaments from “the service of the church.” Milman, iii. p. 219.

A. D. 403. weak and irregular, that he nauseated what had been prepared for him, and desired what he had not. Sometimes he was so taken up with business relating to the Church, or studying the Scriptures, that he never thought of eating, and would thus fast till the evening. He complained much of the expense of the table, esteeming it a kind of sacrilege to spend upon voluptuaries what would otherwise be given to the poor; and he feared that the stewards might make this a pretext for raising their accounts extravagantly. Lastly, he thought that in so great a city, he ought to entertain all who were in any considerable office, or none at all. It is thus that the Bishop Palladius, his friend, speaks of this matter, but his anxiety to justify him on this point shews that his conduct was thought extraordinary; since hospitality was esteemed, according to the words of St. Paul¹, one of the peculiar duties of a Bishop.

¹ 1 Tim.
3. 2.
Tit. 1. 8.

XIX.
Bishops as-
sembled
with St.
Chrysos-
tom.

² Pall. p. 27.

While Theophilus was holding his Council at the Oak near Chalcedon, St. Chrysostom was at Constantinople with forty Bishops², who sat with him in the hall of the Bishop's palace. They were marvelling how Theophilus, who had been summoned to make answer against heavy accusations, could have so suddenly altered the resolutions of those in power, and drawn over the greater part of the clergy to his side. St. Chrysostom said to them: "Pray, my brethren; and if you love JESUS CHRIST, let no one leave his Church on my account; for, as it is written, 'I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand,'³ and I see well that I shall depart this life after having suffered many afflictions. I know the conspiracy of Satan; he can no longer endure the war I wage with him in my discourses. Remember me in your prayers; so may God have mercy upon you." At these words the whole assembly were overwhelmed with grief, and melted into tears. Some remained, and some went out after they had first kissed his head, his eyes, and his mouth.

³ 2 Tim.
4. 6.

⁴ Philip. 1.
21.

He begged them to return, and said to them, "Sit down, brethren, and do not continue to weep, and break my heart. 'To me to live is CHRIST, and to die is gain.'⁴" For it was currently reported that he was to be beheaded for the freedom and boldness of his discourses. "Remember," con-

tinued he, "what I have often told you, that this life is but A. D. 403.
 " a journey. Are we better than the Patriarchs, the Pro-
 " phets, and the Apostles, that we should be immortal in
 " this world?" One of the company said, sobbing; "We
 " weep to see ourselves orphans, the Church a widow, her
 " laws contemned, ambition triumphant, the poor forsaken,
 " and the people without any to instruct them." St. Chry-
 " sostom striking his second finger upon his left hand, as was
 " his custom when he was thinking earnestly, returned this
 " answer¹; "Be content, my brother, say no more; but as I 1 Pall. p. 28.
 " said before, do not leave your Churches. Preaching did
 " not begin with me, and it will not end with me." Euly-
 " sius, Bishop of Apamea in Bithynia, said, "If we keep our
 " Churches, they will not fail to oblige us to communicate
 " and subscribe." "Communicate," said St. Chrysostom,
 " that you may not cause a schism, but do not subscribe.
 " For my conscience upbraids me with nothing meriting my
 " deposition."

In the midst of this discourse, they were informed of the
 arrival of deputies from Theophilus. St. Chrysostom ordered
 them to be brought in, and asked them what rank they held
 in the Church? They replied that they were Bishops. They
 were two young men not long before ordained in Lybia,
 named Dioscorus and Paul: St. Chrysostom desired them to
 sit down, and to tell him the occasion of their coming. They
 replied; "We have only a letter to deliver." He ordered it
 to be read, and the deputies gave it for that purpose to a
 young man, a servant of Theophilus. It was to this purpose,
 "The Holy Council assembled at the Oak to John," (omitting
 his title of Bishop:) "We have received accusations against
 " you, by which you are charged with a multitude of crimes.
 " Come, therefore, and bring with you the Priests Serapion
 " and Tigrius, whose presence is also required." Tigrius was
 an eunuch². They also sent for the Reader, Paul. After 2 Socr. 6.15.
 Soz. 8. 17.
 this letter had been read, the Bishops assembled with St.
 Chrysostom, deputed three Bishops, namely, Lupicinus, De-
 metrius and Eulysius; and two Priests, Germanus and Se-
 verus³, ordering them to say thus to Theophilus: "Make no 3 Ep. ad
 Innoc. ap.
 Pall. p. 6.
 et p. 28.
 " schism in the Church. If in contempt of the Canons of
 " Nicæa, you are resolved to try causes out of the limits of

A. D. 403. “ your jurisdiction, do you yourself repair to this city to us, that we may first try you. For we have papers, in which you are charged in seventy articles with palpable crimes; and our Council is more numerous than yours; you are but thirty-six, and those of one province; we are forty in number, and of several provinces, among whom are seven Metropolitans. We have likewise in our hands your letter to our brother John, in which you declare that none ought
 1 Pall. p. 29. “ to try causes out of their own provinces¹.”

Upon this St. Chrysostom said to the Bishops of his party, “ Make what protestations you please: I too must return an answer to the message I have received.” Then addressing himself to the deputies of Theophilus, he gave them this answer: “ Till this moment I knew not that any one had aught to lay to my charge; but if you would have me appear before you, remove from your assembly my declared and open enemies; and I will not dispute in what place I ought to be tried, though surely it ought to be in this city. Those whom I refuse for my judges, are Theophilus, who, as I will prove, said, both at Alexandria and in Lycia, ‘ I am going to Court to depose John;’ so true a saying, that ever since his arrival he has refused either to see or communicate with me. I refuse also Acacius, on the ground of his observation, ‘ I will dress him a dainty dish.’ I need not mention Seyerian or Antiochus: God will soon take vengeance of them, and the very theatres ring with their enterprises. If it is really therefore your wish, that I should appear before you, remove these four from the number of my judges, and let them only appear as my accusers; and then will I come not before you only, but before a Council of the whole earth. And be assured that should you send me a thousand messengers, you will receive no other answer.”

Scarcely had the deputies of Theophilus gone out, when there came a notary from the Emperor, with an order to oblige John to appear for his trial, as his enemies had desired. The notary pressed him to obey: and after he had received his answer, two Priests of St. Chrysostom’s clergy, sent by Theophilus, required admittance. These were Eugenius, who was afterwards rewarded with the Bishopric of Heraclea, and the Monk Isaac. They said to him; “ The

“ Council sends to you, to come and defend yourself.” St. A. D. 403. Chrysostom replied by other Bishops; “ What manner of proceeding call you this, to refuse to send away my enemies, and to summon me by my own clerks?” The partizans of Theophilus seized these Bishops, beat one, tore off the clothes of the second, and loading the other with the irons they had prepared for St. Chrysostom, ordered him to be put on board a bark, and sent into an unknown place.

St. John Chrysostom was summoned in this manner four times, but returned no other answer¹. The Council of the Oak however continued to proceed against him. After some of the twenty-nine articles, exhibited by the Archdeacon John, had been examined, the Bishop Isaac also presented an indictment, containing eighteen more². They were much the same, only with these additions: that he had himself received a great deal of ill treatment from St. Chrysostom³; that Epiphanius had refused to communicate with St. Chrysostom, by reason of the Origenists, Ammonius, Euthymius, Eusebius, Heraclides, and Palladius⁴. He does not mention Dioscorus, the fourth of the brothers, because he was now dead. Isaac said moreover; “ He uses the Bishops very ill, and drives them out of his house⁵; he encroaches on the jurisdiction of others, by ordaining Bishops in their provinces⁶; he ordains persons without assembling the clergy, or asking their advice⁷; he has ordained foreign slaves, Bishops, who had not obtained their freedom, and were even under accusation⁸; he has received pagans, who had much injured the Christians; he keeps them in the church, and protects them⁹; he stirs up the people to sedition; even against the Council¹; he has forcibly seized on things deposited in trust². [He speaks in the church of ‘ a table filled with Furies³.’] He says in the language of poetry, ‘ I love, I am mad with love⁴.’ He ought to tell us what he means by these Furies, this love, this madness, for the Church understands not this language⁵.” These were some expressions which fell from him in the heat of his zeal, which they construed in a criminal sense. Isaac further accused him of giving too much confidence to sinners, by saying, “ If you sin again, repent again. Come to me, and I will heal you⁶.” The historian Socrates relates much

XX.
Continuation of the proceedings of the Council of the Oak.
[Socr. 6. 15.]
2 Phot. Cod. 59.

3 Art. 18.

4 Art. 2.

5 Art. 12.

6 Art. 11.

7 Art. 15.

8 Art. 17.

9 Art. 10.

1 Art. 9.

2 Art. 14.

3 Art. 4.

4 Art. 5.

5 Art. 6.

6 Art. 7.

A. D. 403. to the same purpose, as, that St. Chrysostom had the presumption to say, "If you have repented a thousand times, ¹ Socr. 6. 21. "come again!" and adds, that many of his friends reproved him for it, especially Sisinnius the Novatian Bishop. But it does not appear that St. Chrysostom spoke of public penance, which, according to the canons, could be allowed but once. Isaac lastly accused him of having uttered this blasphemy in the church; "The prayer of JESUS CHRIST had not been ² Art. 8. "heard, because He did not pray aright."

St. Chrysostom in his letter cites another accusation, which he expressly denies ³: "They have," said he, "forged several charges against me. It is said that I have admitted several persons to the Communion, who had previously taken food. If this be true, may my name be for ever blotted out of the book of Bishops, and never be written in the book of the Orthodox Faith⁴." As to his alleged endeavours to stir up the people to sedition, particularly against the Council of the Oak, this may be grounded on the sermons which he preached at Constantinople. We have one of them which begins in this manner⁵; "Terrible is the storm, but we fear not sinking, for we are founded on the Rock. Tell me, what need we fear? Is it death? 'For me to live is CHRIST, and to die is gain⁶.' Is it banish-

[⁴ See bk. 19. 2. note a.]

⁵ iii. p. 415. (viii. p. 259.) (iv. p. 842.)

⁶ Philip. 1. 21.

⁷ Ps. 24. 1.

⁸ 1 Tim. 6. 7.

"ment? 'The earth is the LORD's, and the fulness thereof⁷.' Is it confiscation? 'We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out⁸.'" He goes on to shew that the Church is invincible; that nothing can divorce him from his flock, the love of whom will accompany him wherever he goes; and at the same time he praises them for the love they shew towards him.

He afterwards proceeds to the calumnies with which they reproached him. "They say, 'Thou hast eaten, and afterwards baptized:' if this be true, may I be anathema." "However," said he, "they must needs condemn St. Paul as well, for having baptized the gaoler after supper⁹. I dare go so far as to affirm, that they must condemn our Saviour Himself, who gave the Eucharist to His disciples after supper." He hints at the same malicious aspersion in his letter to Cyriacus; and he argues thus, because in those days the Eucharist was not separated from Baptism. He goes on; "You

⁹ Acts 16. 33.

“ know, my beloved brethren, why they would depose me. It A. D. 403.
 “ is, because I have no tapestry, do not go clothed in silk,
 “ nor keep a sumptuous table. For the seed of the asp is pre-
 “ dominant; there is yet a remnant of the race of Jezebel :
 “ Court favour still combats against Elijah^r.” He afterwards
 quotes the example of St. John the Baptist, his martyrdom
 and his glory, and adds ; “ Herodias again dances for the
 “ head of John. This is a time for tears, all things are de-
 “ generating into infamy.” Then taking occasion from the
 Psalm where it is said, “ If riches increase, set not your
 “ heart upon them¹,” he extols the example of David, who ^{1 Ps. 62. 10.}
 did not suffer himself to be governed by his wife, and at the
 same time exhorts women not to give evil counsel to their
 husbands. This discourse was construed into a state crime.
 They imagined that by Jezebel² and Herodias, the Empress ^{2 Pall. p. 30.}
 was meant ; that in saying all things were degenerating into
 infamy, (in Greek *Adowia*,) he alluded to her name Eudoxia ;
 and that he opposed the wisdom of David to the weakness of
 Arcadius, who was governed by his wife. Perhaps too, by
 the seed of the asp he might mean the Empress, who was the
 daughter of Bauto, a Frank, Consul in 385, since she re-
 tained some of her father’s asperity of temper³.

³Philostorg.
11. 6.

XXI.

St. Chrysos-
tom’s con-
demnation.

In the mean time the Council of the Oak was still sitting.
 After Isaac the Bishop had propounded his eighteen articles
 of impeachment against St. Chrysostom, they examined some
 of them, and then went back to the third of John the Arch-
 deacon, relating to the alienation of the rich furniture⁴.
 Upon this article, the following witnesses were heard, viz.
 Arsacius the Archpresbyter, and the priests Atticus and
 Elpidius. Of these three the two former succeeded St. Chry-
 sostom in the Church of Constantinople. These men, with
 the Priest Acacius, made their depositions upon the fourth
 article, relating to the selling of the marbles, and when this
 examination was ended, were, together with Eudæmon and
 Onesimus, urgent to have sentence passed.

⁴ Phot.
Cod. 59.

In this Council, Paul, Bishop of Heraclea, presided, prob-
 ably as the ancient Metropolitan of Thrace ; for Byzantium,

^r ἡ χάρις τῷ ἁλίῳ συναγωνίζεσθαι—
 “ Grace is still on the side of Elijah.”
 Milman. This Sermon is by several

considered wholly or partially spurious.
 See Tillem. xi. S. Chrys. note 70.

A. D. 403. before its name was changed to Constantinople, was subordinate to Heraclea¹; he collected the votes of all the Bishops, (who were forty-five in number,) beginning with a Bishop named Gymnasium, and ending with Theophilus of Alexandria. They pronounced the deposition of St. Chrysostom, and then wrote a synodical letter to the clergy of Constantinople, and another to the Emperors. Three other petitions were likewise presented to the Council by Gerontius (of whom we have before spoken), Faustinus, and Eugnomonius, who were all Bishops, and pretended that they had been unjustly deposed by St. Chrysostom. Gerontius is no doubt the Bishop of Nicomedia, whose history I have related above². The Council afterwards received the Emperor's answer. Thus ended the twelfth sitting.

[² Supr. c. 7.]

The sole pretext for the condemnation of St. Chrysostom was contumacy, and that having been four times summoned before the Council, he had not chosen to obey³. Thus the letter or deposition sent to the Emperor began with these words⁴: "As John, accused of certain crimes, and sensible of his guilt, has refused to present himself, he has been deposed according to the laws. But as the indictments contain also an impeachment for high treason, you, in your piety, will give order that he be banished and undergo the punishment of this crime, which does not fall under our cognizance." His crime was that he had spoken against the Empress, and called her Jezebel. There can be no doubt that the Bishops dared not take cognizance of this accusation: for how unjust soever their proceedings might be in other respects, the most zealous advocates of St. Chrysostom do not blame them upon this head. The Emperor, in compliance with the demand of the Council, gave orders for banishing St. Chrysostom from the church and city of Constantinople. This order was executed the more promptly, because the holy Bishop proceeded to appeal from this Council to a more just sentence⁵. He was forced out of the church by a Count, at the head of some soldiers; and very late in the evening, followed by all his flock, was dragged through the middle of the city by one of those officers called Curiosi⁶, and hurried on board a ship, which

³ Socr. 6. 15. Soz. 8. 17.

⁴ Pall. p. 30.

⁵ Ep. ad Innoc. ap. Pall. p. 6. et p. 30.

⁶ The Curiosi, or more properly, Curagendarii, were officers dispersed

carried him to Asia in the night time. He arrived at a A. D. 403.
country house near Prænetus in Bithynia.

However, this was but one day's banishment¹, for the night following a great earthquake happened, which shock even the Emperor's chamber. The Empress begged him to recall the holy Bishop, and wrote to him herself in these words²: "I would not have your holiness imagine that I
"knew any thing of what has been done: I am innocent
"of your blood. Wicked and corrupt men have contrived
"this plot. God is witness of the tears which I offer up to
"Him in sacrifice. I call to mind. that my children were
"baptized by your hands." As soon as it was day, she despatched officers to entreat him to return with all speed to Constantinople, to put a stop to the danger there. But as it was not known whither he had retired, other messengers were despatched after the first, and more again after these, so that the Bosphorus was filled with those who were in search of him. The tumult was great at Constantinople³.
The very persons who before had opposed St. Chrysostom, now felt pity for him, and said that he had been slandered. They exclaimed against the Emperor and the Council, and perceived at length the conspiracy of Theophilus. The confusion was heightened by Severian of Gabala, who, preaching in one of the churches at Constantinople, thought this a favourable opportunity for censuring St. Chrysostom, and said, that had he been found guilty of no other crime, his haughtiness alone was sufficient reason for deposing him. "For," said he, "all other sins are forgiven to men, but God
"resisteth the proud⁴", according to the Scriptures." The
people were still more incensed by this sermon. They were unable to control themselves, either in the churches or the public squares; but advanced with loud outcries to the palace, and demanded the recall of their Bishop. The eunuch Briso, the Emperor's notary, was sent off with haste; and the holy Bishop was found at last at Prænetus. The people no sooner learned it, than they ran to meet him;

¹ Theod. 5.
^{34.} Pall. p.
^{30.}

² Chrys.
post red.
iii. p. 429.
(viii. p. 264.)
(iv. p. 488.)

³ Socr. 6. 16.
Soz. 8. 18.

⁴ Jam. 4. 6.

throughout the empire to give information to the government upon all subjects; and from being the channels of communication with the Emperor, they easily came to be regarded as the gene-

ral executors of his orders. And hence, perhaps, it is that we find a Curiosus employed to force St. Chrysostom from the city. Cod. Theod. 6. tit. 29. de Curiosis, and Comment. Gothof.

A. D. 403. so the mouth of the Propontis was, in a little time, covered with vessels; every one was eager to embark, not excepting the very women, who crowded with their children in their arms. Thus St. Chrysostom returned, as if in triumph, accompanied by more than thirty Bishops¹.

¹ Ep. ad Innoc. ap. Pall. p. 7.

² Socr. 6. 16. [Soz. 8. 18.]

However, he did not immediately return to Constantinople, but stopped at a village called Marianæ, in a house belonging to the Empress²; declining to re-enter the city till he had been cleared by a more numerous Council. But the people's impatience could not be controlled; they exclaimed against the Court, and forced the holy Bishop to re-enter. They conducted him, singing hymns composed for the occasion, and holding lighted tapers in their hands; they led him into the church, and, notwithstanding all the protestations he could make, that the sentence passed upon him ought to be revoked before he resumed his functions, they forced him to pronounce the blessing, and to ascend his throne; so eager were they to hear his instructions. He then made them an unpremeditated discourse, which is still extant³. It opens with a comparison between his Church and Sarah, and between Theophilus and the King of Egypt, who would have violated her. He applauds the affection of his people, and makes his acknowledgments to the Emperor, and particularly to the Empress. He does not omit a single circumstance of all she had done to procure his return; the letter she had written to him, the compliment she had paid him on his arrival, and her earnest prayers to the Emperor for his recall. This discourse was received with such great applause, that St. Chrysostom could not bring it to a conclusion.

³ Chrys. iii. p. 427. (viii. p. 262.) (iv. p. 488.)

XXIII.
Flight of
Theophilus.

The Council of the Oak continued still sitting, and a thirteenth session^t was held against Heraclides, whom St. Chry-

^t This narrative supposes the Council to have held thirteen sessions, and therefore to have been sitting thirteen days. During this period two Sundays must have occurred, and if we suppose the sessions to have been suspended on them, we shall obtain fifteen days for its whole duration, which is the time assigned by Tillemont. (Tom. xi. S. Chr. note 65.) Sunday did not, however, necessarily interrupt the proceedings of a Council. (Supr. ch. 5.) St. Chrysostom appears in Fleury's account to

have been cited on the first session, to which we must refer the whole narrative from ch. 18 to the beginning of ch. 20, and condemned on the twelfth; on the evening of which he was expelled from the city. The following day (which was perhaps Sunday) the Council does not appear to have been sitting. That night the earthquake happened: and the next day St. Chrysostom returned, while the Council were holding their thirteenth session, which terminated in a popular tumult: and

sostom had consecrated Bishop of Ephesus, in the room of Antoninus, and whose condemnation, consequently, affected him, though indirectly¹. The principal accuser of Heraclides was Macarius, Bishop of Magnesia; but John the Monk, and the Bishop Isaac, had likewise preferred several complaints against him². It was pretended that he had struck some persons, and then, loading them with irons, had caused them to be dragged through the middle of the city of Ephesus; and that before his advancement to the Episcopal dignity, he had been found guilty of theft at Cæsarea in Palestine. But Heraclides being absent, his friends opposed this unjust way of proceeding, while those of Theophilus' party were for maintaining it; the people took part in the quarrel, the Alexandrians and Egyptians being opposed to the citizens of Constantinople, so that, coming at last to blows, several were wounded, and some were even killed. Severian, and the other Bishops who opposed St. Chrysostom, seized with fear, fled from Constantinople, and withdrew to their respective sees. Theophilus himself was terrified, for they threatened to throw him into the sea³. So that though the Emperor, at the request of St. Chrysostom⁴, had despatched letters to all parts, in order to assemble the Bishops, and form a numerous Council, in which the latter might justify himself, yet he embarked in the beginning of winter, and in the dead of night, and, together with Isaac the Monk, fled to Alexandria. But before his departure he was reconciled to Eusebius and Euthymius, who alone survived of the Four Brothers. For Dioscorus the Bishop, and Ammonius, had died some time before. Ammonius⁵ had gone to the Oak, and while the Council was being assembled, fell sick there, and prophesied before his death⁶, that a great schism and persecution would arise, the authors of which would come to a shameful end, and then that the divisions of the Church would be healed. He was buried in a neighbouring monastery. Theophilus mourned his death with tears, and said that Ammonius was the worthiest Monk of his time, though he had been the occasion of disorders. Dioscorus was buried at Constantinople, in the church of St. Mucius; and women

A. D. 403.

¹ Socr. 6. 17.
Soz. 8. 19.² Phot. Cod.
59.³ Pall.
p. 30.]
⁴ Ep. ad
Innoc. ap.
Pall. p. 7.⁵ Soz. 8. 17.⁶ Pall. p. 62.

the night after Theophilus fled. On Photius' acts, see Tillem. xi. S. Chrys., this point, and on the genuineness of notes 67, 68.

A. D. 403. used to swear by his prayers. The holy old man, Isidore, died about the same time, i. e. about the year 403, at the age of eighty-five¹. Theophilus invited Eusebius and Euthymius to the Council of the Oak, there to give testimony of their repentance²; promising them at the same time, that he would do them no ill, and forget all that was past. For in this Council, no further question was raised on the books of Origen. Those of Theophilus' party called upon these Monks to ask pardon, pretending at the same time to intercede for them. These good Monks, confounded at the presence of so many Bishops, and accustomed to own it their own fault, even when they were ill used, were easily prevailed upon to do so. Theophilus freely received them, and admitted them to communion; and thus ended his dispute with the Monks of Scetis. But the ease with which this reconciliation had been effected, greatly increased the hatred against Theophilus, which was still further aggravated by his no longer scrupling to read Origen's books³. Being asked how he could still delight in them after having condemned them, he replied: "The books of Origen are a meadow, where I gather the "flowers, without stopping over the thorns." Theophilus, therefore, and his party, being now withdrawn, St. Chrysostom was left at peace, more than ever beloved by the people, and in discharge of all his ministerial functions. He consecrated Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, the Deacon Serapion, the first object of the hatred of his enemies.

XXIV. Theophilus, on arriving in Egypt, landed by chance at a little city called Geræ, fifty stades, or two leagues and a half, from Pelusium⁴. The Bishop of the place had lately died, and the citizens had elected for his successor Nilammon, a man of great piety, who had attained to the highest perfection of the monastic life. His dwelling was in the neighbourhood of the city, in a cell where he had shut himself up, and walled up the door with stones. On his refusing the Episcopal dignity, Theophilus went to him, and advised him to submit, and suffer himself to be consecrated by him. Nilammon made several excuses, but finding that his entreaties availed nothing with Theophilus, he said to him: "To-morrow, "my father, you shall do as you please; suffer me to-day to "set my affairs in order." Theophilus returned the next

¹ Pall. Laus. c. 1.

[² Soz. 8. 17.]

³ Socr. 6. 17.

XXIV.
St. Nilammon.
A. D. 404.
⁴ Soz. 8. 19.

day, as had been agreed, and bade him open his door. A. D. 404. Nilammon answered, "Let us first pray." "It is well said," replied Theophilus; and accordingly he did so. In this manner the day was spent. Theophilus, and those who were with him without the cell, after having waited a long time, called aloud to Nilammon, but he returned no answer. At last they removed the stones, opened the door, and found him dead. They then robed him in rich vestments, buried him at the public expense, and afterwards built a church over his grave, in which they every year celebrated the day of his death with great solemnity. The Church still commemorates him on the sixth of January^{1 u}.

In Africa a Council was held at Milevum, on the sixth of the calends of September, under the fifth Consulate of the two Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, i. e. the 27th of August, 402². Aurelius of Carthage presided, with Xantippus Primate of Numidia, and Nicetius Primate of Mauritania Sitifensis. They enacted, that, pursuant to the ancient rule, all newly elected Bishops should give place to their elders³. The occasion of this canon seems to have been the dispute between

¹ Mart.
Rom.

XXV.
First Council of
Milevum.
A. D. 402.

² Dion.
Exig. Can.
Afr. c. 85.

³ Ibid. c. 86.
et Ferrand.
Brev. c. 78.

^u According to Fleury's chronology the Council of the Oak cannot have assembled later than the beginning of May, A. D. 403. For we have fifteen days for the sessions of the Council, and the exile and return of St. Chrysostom, then two months of quiet (ch. 33), then nine or ten months of disturbance (ch. 34), terminating with Easter-day on 17th April, A. D. 404. Hence the Council of the Oak met at least eleven months and fifteen days before 17th April, A. D. 404: i. e. not later than 2nd May, A. D. 403.

To this date, however, there are two objections. First, if St. Epiphanius died 12th May on his voyage to Cyprus (ch. 15), he cannot have left Constantinople before Theophilus' arrival, who (as he stayed three weeks, ch. 17) must have arrived, according to this calculation, on 26th April. This difficulty may, however, be obviated by supposing the nine or ten months in ch. 34 to be reckoned from St. Chrysostom's return from exile, and thus to include the two months of ch. 33. This would place the first session of the Council on the 2nd of June or July (according as we adopt the longer or shorter period spe-

cified in ch. 34); and the arrival of Theophilus on 27th May or 26th June, in either case some time after St. Epiphanius' departure. The other difficulty cannot be so easily explained. For Fleury, following the account of Sozomen, relates how Theophilus took flight in the dead of night, and at the commencement of winter (ch. 23), whereas at the very latest computation, the Council must have terminated in the middle of July, and Theophilus fled the same evening. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile this with the other statements, but we can trace the probable origin of this inconsistency. For in the first place, neither Palladius nor Socrates mention this circumstance, which is derived from Sozomen alone; and secondly, Sozomen is also the only historian who relates this narrative of St. Nilammon. Now, the 6th January was celebrated as the day of St. Nilammon's death; so that Sozomen, connecting, as he does, the death of St. Nilammon with the return of Theophilus from Constantinople, was obliged to fix the latter event to the beginning of the winter.

A. D. 402. Xantippus and Victorinus, for the Primacy of Numidia. It

¹ Ep. 59. al. 217. ad Vict. appears by a letter of St. Augustine¹, that Victorinus, in quality of Primate, had wished to assemble a Council, not only of Numidia, but of Mauritania; and that Xantippus, Bishop of Tagosus, disputed the Primacy with him, as being the elder Bishop. For in Africa, the dignity of Primate depended on the length of time from the consecration, and not on the quality of the place, which was sometimes no

[² See bk. 18. 25. note h.] more than an inconsiderable town². It was likewise enacted by the Council of Milevum, that the Matricula or Register, and the Archives of Numidia, should be kept in the place of the principal see, which was at that time Tagosus; and in the civil metropolis, which was Constantina, anciently called Cirtha. And that no further difficulty might arise as to the date of the consecrations which were registered in those

³ Dion. 89. Fer. 10. archives, it was enacted by the Council³, that “hencefor-
wards, all who shall be consecrated Bishops in the provinces
“ of Africa, shall receive from those who consecrated them,
“ letters signed by them, containing the day and the Consul”
(i. e. the particular year) “of the ceremony.”

⁴ Dion. 90. It was also decreed in this Council⁴, that whoever had once performed the office of Reader in any church, should not be reclaimed to do duty in another. This canon seems to have originated in the pretensions of the Bishop Severus, who claimed one Timotheus, notwithstanding his having several times performed the office of Reader in the diocese of St. Augustine⁵. Maximin, Bishop of Bagaia, or Vagina,

⁵ Aug. Ep. 62. 63. al. 240, 241. ad Sev. who was a convert from the schism of the Donatists, offered voluntarily, for the sake of peace, to resign. The Council

⁶ Dion. Exig. c. 88. accepted his resignation⁶, and decreed that letters should be written to him and to the people of his diocese to enjoin his resignation, and the substitution of another Bishop. Castorius his brother was elected, to whom St. Augustine

⁷ Aug. Ep. 69. al. 238. and St. Alypius wrote a letter⁷, persuading him to accept the charge, and to quit all worldly hopes for the sake of God; which seems to intimate that he was now a mere layman. They gave orders that this letter should not be read to him till it had been shewn to the people of his diocese, undoubtedly from their apprehensions that he might try to escape.

In the year following a general Council of all the African provinces was held at Carthage, on the ninth of the calends of September, under the Consulate of Theodosius the Younger, and Rumoridus; i. e. the twenty-fourth of August, 403¹. Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, presided; he began by saying, that it was proper, as the deputies who had been sent across the sea were returned, that they should render an account of their commission to the Council; "And although," he added, "we yesterday examined all their proceedings with the utmost care, yet as we drew up no acts, it will be necessary that we this day ratify and confirm, by ecclesiastical acts, that which was transacted yesterday." This was, in all probability, the deputation of the Council, held on the thirteenth of September, in the year 401, to Pope Anastasius, and the Bishops beyond the sea, to retain among the clergy the converted Donatists². The answer which the deputies had brought, must have been from Pope Innocent; for Pope Anastasius died in 402, about the end of April, after having occupied for three years and a half, the Roman See³. It is said that he enacted, that those who came from beyond the sea should not be admitted among the clergy, unless they brought testimonials with them, signed by five Bishops; because there were several Manichæes at Rome in his time. St. Jerome applauds very much the virtues of this Pope⁴, and particularly his poverty, which he calls "truly rich⁵;" the Church solemnizes his memory on the twenty-seventh of April⁶. Three weeks after, Innocent was elected Pope, and held the Holy See for fifteen years. It was therefore in his time that the deputies of the Council of Carthage returned to Africa.

Before they made their public report, the letters of deputation of the Bishops who were present in this Council of the twenty-fourth of August, 403, were examined⁷. The four deputies of Africa Byzacena, and the two of Mauritania Sitifensis, presented their letters, which were read, and inserted among the acts. These last made an apology for those of Mauritania Cæsariensis, by saying that it was late before they received the *Tractatoria*, or Convocation letter; "but," added they, "they will certainly come, and we are confident that they will consent to all that shall have been

A. D. 403.

XXVI.

Council of

Carthage.

A. D. 403.

¹ Dion.

Exig. c. 90.

² Supr.

c. 13.]

Dion. c.

68.

³ Lib.

Pontiff.

[App. p.

144.]

Pagi. an.

398. c. 2.

⁴ Hier. Ep.

96. al. 16.

ad Princ.

⁵ Ep. 97.

al. 8. ad

Demetr.

⁶ Mart. Rom.⁷ Dion.

Exig. c. 90.]

A. D. 403. "transacted in this Council." There were no deputies of the province of Numidia, but only three Bishops, viz. St. Augustine, Alypius, and Possidius; for which Alypius gave the following reason, that the disorders occasioned by the new levies of soldiers prevented the Bishops from leaving their cities. These are supposed to have been deserters, against whom we find several laws enacted by Honorius, in this year 403, and particularly one¹, by which the inhabitants of the provinces are empowered to inflict summary punishment on them for any robberies they might commit, those soldiers only excepted who had been but lately enrolled, whom by the same law they are to carry back to their respective companies^x. Alypius continued, addressing himself to Aurelius: "I carried your Holiness' letter to the holy old man, Xantippus, and it was resolved that a Council should be held, in order to send hither a deputation. But afterwards hearing of the disorders occasioned by the deserters, he has excused himself by his letters." Aurelius said, "Doubtless, as soon as our brethren of Numidia shall have received the acts of this Council, they will consent to them, and put them in execution, and it is my business to acquaint them with them. As to our brethren of Tripoli, I have been informed that they had sent our brother Dulcicius as their deputy, and that he has actually embarked; so that it may well be presumed that he has been retarded by foul weather. Wherefore, if you judge it proper, we will send them also the decrees of the Council." All the Bishops approved the proposal. We have here a distinct account of the proceedings of the general Councils of Africa. The Bishop of Carthage sent his provincial letters to all the Primates, and every Primate sent his, in order to assemble the Council of his province; in which they chose a greater or less number of deputies, according to the extent of the province. Excuses were made for the absent, and the Bishop of Carthage sent them the decrees of the Council, that they might ratify them by their consent.

¹ Cod.
Theod. 7.
Tit. 18. de
Desert. 14.

^x The reason of this exception is found in Law 6 of the same Title, by which recruiting officers are held responsible for all soldiers who desert in their first year of service, and are ac-

cordingly mulcted in the value of all such deserters. "It is their business," subjoins the law, "to provide soldiers, not deserters."

These preliminaries being ended, it was resolved in the Council of Carthage¹, that each Bishop in his respective city, either by himself, or accompanied by the neighbouring Prelate, should go to the Donatist Bishop; and that the magistrates of the city, or elders of the place should be applied to. And that they might proceed uniformly, there was read in the Council the formula of the act which the Bishops were to recite before the magistrates, requiring them, by virtue of an order from the Prætorian Præfect, to notify it to the Donatists. The substance of this act was as follows²:

A. D. 403.

¹ Dion.
Exig. c. 91.

“ We, empowered by the authority of our Council, invite you charitably to make choice of persons to whom you may entrust the defence of your cause; as we, in like manner, will choose others to examine with them, at an appointed time and place, those articles which divide us in communion. If you accept these terms, the truth will appear; but if you refuse, it will be a plain indication that you distrust the merits of your cause.”

Several among the Donatists had desired these conferences; for when at any time the Catholic Bishops urged them to be converted, they answered, “ Our Bishops must be addressed: we wish earnestly for a conference, that the truth may be ascertained³.” But when afterwards, pursuant to what had been agreed upon in this Council of Carthage, the Bishops were addressed, they refused the conference with artful and reproachful expressions. Crispinus, a Donatist Bishop of Calama⁴, being legally summoned by Possidius the Catholic Bishop of the same city, at first postponed the matter till after a Council, in which he engaged to consider with his colleagues what answer he would make. A considerable time after, being again urged to the same purpose, he returned a formal answer, containing certain passages of Scripture, which were entirely foreign to the purpose, and only discovered a spirit of animosity against the Catholics; so that every one ridiculed it, especially as Possidius was young, and had not long been made a Bishop, having but lately quitted his monastery and the body of clergy immediately under St. Augustine; while Crispinus was old, and was looked upon as a man of great learning by his own party. A few days after, as Possidius was travelling, while

XXVII.

Behaviour
with regard
to the Do-
natists.

A. D. 404.

³ Aug. ix.
cont. Cresc.
³ c. 45.
§ 49.⁴ c. 46. § 50.

A. D. 404. visiting his diocese, and preaching against heresy, another Crispinus, a Priest and a relation of the Bishop, laid in ambush for him, with several armed men¹. Possidius would have fallen into it, but that being warned of his danger, he fled for safety into a house, where Crispinus immediately besieged him, throwing stones, and surrounding it with fire. The people of the house being too weak to oppose this violence, called out for mercy, and endeavoured to extinguish the fire. But Crispinus pushed on his enterprise, broke open the door, wounded the horses that were in the lower part of the house, and with blows and the most injurious treatment, forced Possidius to come down. At length Crispinus pretended to yield to the entreaties of those around him, and prevented any further harm. Possidius, however, lost his horses in this fray, and all he had with him.

¹ Ibid. c. 46. et Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 12. ap. Aug. x. p. 265.

² c. 47. When the news of this outrage came to Calama², it was expected that Crispinus the Bishop would do justice on his Priest, and, indeed, he was officially summoned to do so, but it produced no effect, and the Donatists began again to breed disturbances, which they carried so far as to make travelling unsafe. Then, at length, the Catholics had recourse to the laws, of which they had not yet chosen to avail

A. D. 404-405.

themselves. Crispinus, the Bishop, being prosecuted by the Defender of the Church³, was declared to have incurred the fine of ten pounds of gold, to which heretics were liable. But he appealed to the Proconsul, and presenting himself before him, declared that he was not a heretic³. However, in order to prove the assertion, a conference was held, at the instance of St. Augustine; the two Bishops of Calama, Possidius and Crispinus, disputed three times at Carthage, before a numerous assembly. The Proconsul pronounced Crispinus a heretic, and sentenced him to pay the fine of ten pounds of gold according to the law of Theodosius; but at the inter-

³ Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 12.]

³ The *Defensor Ecclesiæ* was a title derived from a civil office, that of the *Defensor Rerum-publicarum*, who discharged similar duties in the municipal bodies to those which the former afterwards performed for the Church. For the *Defensores Ecclesiæ* were the Proctors or Syndics employed to conduct the cause of any particular Church, or

of any single ecclesiastic, in the civil courts. They were originally selected from the clergy, but professed lawyers were substituted in the African Church, A. D. 407. The corresponding title in the Greek Church was *ἐκδικτικοί* or *ἐκκλησιάζοντες*. Bingham. 3. 11. See also Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. 170.

cession of Possidius it was remitted. He appealed to the Emperors, pretending that he was not a heretic, when a rescript, dated the eighth of December, 405, was brought, by which the Donatists were sentenced to pay that fine, as being heretics¹; the judge and his officers were likewise fined the same sum, for neglecting to exact it of Crispinus. But the Catholic Bishops, and particularly St. Augustine, again procured their exemption from it. This contributed very much to the reunion of the heretics.

Some time before, the above-mentioned Crispinus of Calama², having taken a lease³ of an estate that went by the name of Mappala, so intimidated the Catholic slaves of the place, as to compel about eighty to be rebaptized, in opposition to the laws which expressly forbade it⁴. St. Augustine upbraids him with this in a letter, in which he writes⁵: "If the inhabitants of Mappala have voluntarily gone over to your communion, let them hear both sides; let all we say be committed to paper, and after we have subscribed it, let it be translated to them in the Punic language; then, without being intimidated by you, let them be left to their own free choice. If they cannot understand what we say, how great is your presumption in having abused their ignorance! If you pretend that among those who have come over to our communion, some have been forced to it by their masters, let us do the same thing; let them give us both a hearing, and then choose as they shall think fit. If you refuse to do it, who does not see that you do not place your confidence in truth?"

At Hippo, St. Augustine addressed himself to Proculeianus⁶, a Donatist Bishop, who answered at first that he would hold a Council, in which should be considered what answer ought to be returned. When summoned a second time on this promise, he absolutely refused all amicable conference. All this appeared by the public acts. Then St. Augustine wrote a letter to the lay Donatists⁷, in which he draws up concisely the whole state of the question, and the principal facts that were useful in deciding it, and concludes in these words: "Let your Bishops answer on these several particulars, to you at least, if they are resolved not to speak to us; and reflect within yourselves, if you value your salvation, on this very

A. D. 404-5.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 39.

A. D. 402.
² Aug. ix. cont. Lit. Petil. 2. c. 83. § 184. [³ possessio emphiteutica.]
⁴ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 6. ne Sanct. Bapt.
⁵ Aug. Ep. 66. al. 173.

⁶ Ep. 88. al. 68. § 7. A. D. 404.

⁷ Ep. 76. al. 171.

A. D. 404. "circumstance of their refusal to speak to us. If the wolves "have agreed together not to answer the shepherds, what are "the sheep thinking upon when they draw so near the dens "of the wolves?" In a word, the Donatist Bishops acted every where in the same manner, and when summoned by the Catholic Bishops to an amicable conference, they always refused, alleging for their excuse, that they would not speak to sinners¹. The Circumcelliones², enraged at the great number of Donatists that St. Augustine brought over to the Church, several times waylaid him as he was going, according to his custom, to visit and instruct the Catholic parishes. They one day happened to miss him, because his guide lost himself, and, without intending it, left the right road, where the Donatists lay in wait for him. He returned God thanks for a mistake so fortunate.

¹ Ep. 105. al. 166. c. 4. § 13.
² Possid. c. 12. Aug. vi. Enchir. c. 17.

XXVIII.
Difference between St. Jerome and St. Augustine. A. D. 395.

We now come to the time when a difference arose between St. Jerome and St. Augustine, which might have broken the bond of charity between persons less virtuous. Alypius being returned from Palestine, and having spoken to St. Augustine concerning St. Jerome, whom he had seen there, St. Augustine wrote a letter to him in the most friendly terms³, urging him, in the name of all the Churches of Africa, to apply himself to the translation of the Greek interpreters of the Scripture, rather than to undertake the translation of the sacred text itself into Latin from the original Hebrew; imagining that he could not perform it better than those who had already translated it into Greek. He exhorts him only to point out those passages where the Hebrew differed from the Septuagint, as he had already done upon Job. He afterwards tells him that he cannot approve of the interpretation assigned by him to that passage in the Epistle to the Galatians where St. Paul says that he "withstood St. Peter

³ Ep. 28. al. 8. ap. Hier. 65. al. 86.

⁴ Gal. 2. 11. Fleury, 1. 33.

"to the face, because he was to be blamed⁴:" because he forbore to eat with the converted Gentiles, that he might not offend the Jews. St. Jerome said that the two Apostles had acted in this manner only from a charitable artifice⁵; that St. Peter, though perfectly sensible that the Gentiles were not unclean, had yet withdrawn himself from them, that he might not estrange the Jews from the Gospel; and that St. Paul had resisted him in public, (though well aware that

⁵ Hier. iv. in Gal. c. 2.

he was not himself mistaken,) not with a view of reproving A. D. 395. him, but of teaching the other Jews in his person, and of undeceiving them as to the necessity of legal observances. St. Augustine maintains that this interpretation overthrows the whole authority of Holy Scripture. "For, if it be "allowed," said he, "to admit the existence of pious frauds "in Holy Scripture, and to say that St. Paul in this place "spoke contrary to what he thought, and treated St. Peter "as guilty of a fault, when he really was not; there is not a "single passage which may not be eluded in the same manner. "The heretics, who condemn marriage, will say that St. Paul "only approved it in condescension to the weakness of the "primitive believers; and so in other cases."

St. Augustine wrote this letter about the year 395, while only in Priest's orders, and gave it to a friend, Profuturus, who designed to go into Palestine¹. He was just ready to set out, when he was made a Bishop, and a short time after died². This letter, therefore, did not at that time reach St. Jerome. Afterwards, St. Augustine, having sent a salutation to St. Jerome at the conclusion of a letter³, St. Jerome wrote to him in 396, by a Subdeacon, whose name was Asterius. This letter is lost; however, it furnished St. Augustine with an opportunity of writing again to St. Jerome⁴, and of making the same objection, but in stronger terms, on his interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians; for he knew that his first letter had not been delivered. He wrote this about the year 397, being at that time a Bishop; and about the same time, St. Jerome wrote a second letter to him by Præsidius, a Deacon⁵, without having received that of St. Augustine, which met with worse fortune than the first. For Paul, who had promised to deliver it, through fear of the dangers of a sea-passage, did not embark; but instead of returning the letter to St. Augustine, he distributed copies of it, so that it was dispersed up and down Rome, and in Italy, and was shewn to St. Jerome by the Deacon Sisinnius, who met with it in an island of the Adriatic. St. Jerome was hurt at it, and complained that St. Augustine had written a book against him, and sent it to Rome. As soon as this came to the ears of St. Augustine, he again wrote to him⁶, taking God to witness that he had not done it, and entreating

¹ Ep. 28. al. 8. § 1.

² Ep. 40. § 8, 71. § 2. al. 9, 10.

[³ Tillem. xiii. Aug. 116.]

A. D. 396.

⁴ Ep. 40. al. 9. A. D. 397.

⁵ Hier. Ep. 66. al. 98. ap. Aug. 39. al. 17.

⁶ Aug. Ep. 67. al. 12. A. D. 402.

A. D. 402. him to write to him. This was about the year 402. St. Jerome received this letter just as Asterius, the Subdeacon, was going to set out, to whom he entrusted the answer¹. In this he desires St. Augustine to inform him whether or no the letter, a copy of which had been brought him by Sisinnius, was really his; "lest," said he, "being offended at my answer, you should have just cause to complain of my replying, before I was certain that the letter was written by you." He sent him at the same time his Apology against Ruffinus.

St. Augustine, before he received this letter, seized an opportunity which Cyprian the Deacon gave him, and wrote again to St. Jerome in 403². He sent him the three letters which he had before written to him, by Profuturus, by Paul, and by a third person; knowing that the first never came to his hands, and being in doubt whether he had received the other two. In this fourth letter he continues to press him to correct the ancient version of the Scripture, rather than to compose a new one. St. Jerome wrote another letter to him

about the same time, before he received this³. He, in this, again answers the third, which we make the sixty-seventh of St. Augustine's letters, and complains of that which had been spread abroad in Italy, i. e. the fortieth. St. Augustine having received from Asterius the above-mentioned letter of St. Jerome, which we make the ninety-first of his letters, and the sixty-eighth of those of St. Augustine's, understood that he was offended with that letter of his which was published in Italy. He consequently wrote to him, about the

year 404, the seventy-third letter⁴, in which he takes pains to assure him that he had no reason to fear his being offended at his answer. He alludes to his dispute with Ruffinus, but with the utmost charity, saying that he was himself alarmed at that example, and that he would rather refrain from all

doctrinal discussions, than interrupt their mutual charity⁵. He sent this letter to Præsidius the Bishop, that he might despatch it to St. Jerome, sending him at the same time copies of the preceding letters, both those of St. Jerome and his own; and beseeching him, in case he was displeased with any thing he had done, to acquaint him with it⁶.

XXIX. At last, St. Jerome having received from the Deacon Cyprian

¹ Hier. Ep. 69. al. 91. ap. Aug. 68. al. 13.

² Ep. 71. al. 13. A. D. 403.

³ Hier. 71. al. 92. ap. Aug. 72. al. 14.

⁴ Aug. Ep. 73. al. 15. A. D. 404.

⁵ c. 3. § 9.

⁶ Ep. 74. al. 16. ad Præs.

the three letters of St. Augustine, viz. the twenty-eighth, fortieth, and seventy-first, answered the questions that were contained in them; the chief of which is that of the interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. This letter is the eighty-ninth in St. Jerome, and the seventy-fifth in St. Augustine¹. St. Jerome supports his opinion by the authority of Origen, and other Greek interpreters, whom he had followed in his comment². He mentions St. Chrysostom as no longer Bishop of Constantinople, which shews that the letter was written about the end of the year 404³. And finally⁴, he maintains that St. Peter could not be ignorant that, after the Gospel, mankind were no longer bound to the observation of the Law; since he himself had been the author of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem which had so decided. Besides, St. Paul observed the ceremonial law when he was afraid of offending the Jews; as when he circumcised Timothy⁵; when he caused himself to be shorn in Cenchrea⁶; and when he sacrificed in Jerusalem with four Nazarenes⁷. He therefore had nothing for which he could reproach St. Peter. To this St. Augustine [had already] answered⁸, that St. Paul had sometimes observed the Law, in order to shew that he did not reject it as evil in itself, but only as being no longer necessary to the salvation of the Gospel; and that his sole reason for reproving St. Peter was, that his conduct and behaviour made these ceremonies be regarded as necessary. St. Jerome replies⁹: "The Jews would then do well, if, after the reception of the Gospel, they should still observe the Law, offer sacrifices, practise circumcision, and keep the Sabbath. Thus we are falling into the heresy of Cerinthus and of Ebion, who have mixed together the ceremonial law and the Gospel." St. Jerome sent this letter and the foregoing, which is the seventy-second, by Cyprian the Deacon.

He afterwards wrote that which is placed ninety-sixth among his own letters, and eighty-first among those of St. Augustine¹. The bearer of this letter was Firmus; St. Jerome seems to have written it with no other view than to excuse the tartness of the former, and to assure St. Augustine of his friendship. St. Augustine having received it, answered at the same time the two preceding, viz. the seventy-second

A. D. 404.
Difference between St. Jerome and St. Augustine adjusted.

¹ Hier. Ep. 64. al. 89. ap. Aug. 75. al. 11. ² c. 3. § 4.

³ § 6. ⁴ § 8.

⁵ Acts 16. 3. ⁶ Ibid. 18. 18. ⁷ Ibid. 21. 20.

⁸ Ep. 40. al. 9. c. 4. § 5.

⁹ Hier. Ep. 64. al. 89. ap. Aug. 75. al. 11. c. 4. § 15.

¹ Hier. Ep. 75. al. 96. ap. Aug. 81. al. 18. A. D. 405.

A. D. 405. and seventy-fifth, by a long letter, which was the last that passed between them on this subject. There St. Augustine lays down this maxim¹: “The canonical Scriptures are the only books which I have learnt so deeply to revere as firmly to believe that their several authors have not been mistaken in a single particular. And if I at any time meet with any thing in them that seems contrary to truth, I believe either that it is an error of the copyist, or that the translator has not caught the sense, or that I myself have not rightly understood it. As for other authors, how distinguished soever they may be for their piety and doctrine, I do not lay it down as a law to myself, to believe what they say because they have themselves believed it; but because they have inclined me to their opinion, either by citing the canonical authors, or by producing some good reason.”

¹ Ep. 82. al. 19. ap. Hier. 76. al. 97. § 3.

² c. 2. § 15. He afterwards answers the objection St. Jerome had made²: that if St. Paul had seriously exercised the ceremonial law after his Apostleship, the Jewish converts might still exercise it; and that in approving their conduct herein, we should fall into the heresy of Ebion, and other Judaizing Christians. St. Augustine maintains that the consequences would be no less dangerous, were they to observe these ceremonies in mere pretence, as St. Jerome said St. Paul had done, than if they observed them seriously³; and that it is better to conclude that St. Paul and the other Apostles observed them sometimes, in order to abrogate them by insensible degrees, and to shew that they were not evil, but only useless; and that, though dead, they deserved an honourable burial. But he who would now dig them up, and revive their observance after the entire establishment of the Gospel, would by such a conduct seem to think them necessary, and relapse into Judaism.

³ § 16.

⁴ § 17. “I own then,” said St. Augustine⁴, “that when I said St. Paul exercised those ceremonies to shew that they had nothing pernicious in them, I ought to have added— ‘at that time only when the grace of faith began to be disclosed.’ Thus I ought to accuse my own negligence rather than your censure.” It is thought that St. Jerome yielded at last to the opinion of St. Augustine, from what he afterwards wrote⁵, viz. “that St. Peter himself was worthy

⁵ Hier. iv. pt. 2. p. 498. adv. Pel. c. 8. “of blame, according to St. Paul, to shew that no man

“should think himself blameless.” St. Augustine¹ owns A. D. 405.
 also in this letter the usefulness of St. Jerome’s translation 1 c. 5. § 34.
 from the Hebrew. These two letters of St. Jerome and
 St. Augustine, the last on this subject, are referred to the
 year 405.

During this dispute, at the beginning of the year 404, XXX.
 St. Jerome received a great affliction, in the death of St. Death of
 Paula². She died on Tuesday, the seventh of the calends of St. Paula.
 February, under the Consulship of Honorius and Aristænetus, A. D. 404.
 i. e. the twenty-sixth of January, 404. She was fifty-six years 2 Hier. Ep.
 of age, five of which she had spent in a continual course of 86. al. 27.
 piety in Rome, and twenty at Bethlehem. In her last ad Eustoch.
 moments she made the sign of the cross on her lips, and
 repeated some verses from the Psalms. The Bishops of
 Jerusalem and several other cities were present, with an
 innumerable concourse of Priests and Deacons; and the
 whole convent was full of Monks and Virgins. Her body
 was borne to the church upon the shoulders of Bishops;
 while others of the same rank carried torches and tapers,
 and others again marshalled the several companies, who sang
 psalms in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. All the Monks,
 all the Virgins, and all the inhabitants of the neighbouring
 cities flocked to her burial; the widows and the poor
 mourned for her as for their mother. She was placed in
 the middle of the church of the Grotto of Bethlehem, and
 the third day she was buried underneath, near the grotto;
 but the concourse of people continued all through the week.
 Her daughter Eustochium was inconsolable; and it was to
 soothe her grief, that St. Jerome, though himself in the
 deepest affliction, addressed to her the Life, or rather the
 Funeral Elogy, of her holy mother.

Some time before this³, St. Melania had left Palestine, after XXXI.
 having dwelt five-and-twenty years at Jerusalem, and returned St. Me-
 to Rome. The occasion of her return was this: having been lania's re-
 informed that her granddaughter Melania the younger, mar- turn to
 ried to Pinianus, intended to withdraw from the world, she Rome.
 was afraid lest she should suffer herself to be misled, and A. D. 402.
 should fall into some error contrary to the faith, or yield to 3 Pref. ad
 the corrupt manners of the age. St. Melania, therefore, Aug. Ep. 95.
 being sixty-two years of age, embarked at Cæsarea, and after Pall. Laus.
c. 118.

A. D. 402. twenty days' sail, arrived in Italy^z. From Naples, where she landed, she went to Nola, to visit St. Paulinus, who beheld with great joy, as he himself relates, the triumph of her humility¹. She was mounted on a small horse, of less value than an ass, in a miserable black dress, but attended by her children and grandchildren, who held the chief dignities in Rome, and who, with a great train, came as far as Naples to meet her. They filled the Appian way, and made it glitter with the trappings of their horses and their gilded chariots: the purple and silk they wore, set off the poverty of the holy widow, whose tattered garments they deemed themselves happy to be allowed to touch.

¹ Paulin.
Ep. 29.
al. 10. ad
Sever.

St. Paulinus received them in his little habitation, which consisted of no more than an upper room², and a gallery, which communicated with the cells of his guests. However, he found room to lodge the whole company; and whilst the young people and the virgins continued singing the praises of God in the church of St. Felix, this numerous assembly of seculars held a reverential silence. St. Paulinus read to St. Melania the life of St. Martin, written by Sulpicius Severus, well knowing how much she delighted in such histories, and he was himself charmed with the virtues of this holy widow. She presented him with a small piece of the wood of the holy Cross, which had been given her by John, Bishop of Jerusalem; and St. Paulinus one day made

[² tugurium
a terrâ
suspensum
cœnaculo.]

² An account of St. Melania the elder is given by Fleury (liv. 17. ch. 4, 6), derived principally from Pall. Laus. c. 117, 118, and Paulin. Ep. 29. al. 10. ad Sever. She was a noble Roman lady, granddaughter of Marcellinus, the Consul of A. D. 341. Her husband's name is not recorded; but she lost him and two sons in a single year, remained a widow at Rome for twenty-two years, and then, after having carefully selected a guardian for her only remaining son, sailed to Alexandria, and visited the Monks of Nitria. Her great wealth was liberally employed to relieve the confessors in the persecution which followed the death of St. Athanasius; and it is recorded of her that she fed five thousand Monks during three days. She even accompanied Isidore, Paphnutius, and the other banished Monks, to Diocæsarea, and when the governor of Palestine prohibited all intercourse with

the exiles, she brought them supplies at nightfall in the habit of a slave. Imprisoned for her temerity, but released on the disclosure of her name and rank, she established a monastery at Jerusalem for sixty virgins, over which she presided for twenty-five years, and together with Ruffinus of Aquileia, the companion of her travels, exercised a liberal and undistinguishing hospitality. Meanwhile her son Publicola, for whom throughout her religious seclusion she still retained all the anxiety of a mother, had grown up to man's estate, and after achieving distinction both in virtue and worldly honours, had married Albina, a lady of a noble family, and left her a widow with one son and a daughter, St. Melania the younger, whose reported intention of renouncing the world drew forth her grandmother from her distant solitude. See Tillemont, tom. x.

use of it, to put a stop to a fire, which seizing upon a shed full of hay threatened to burn his whole habitation to the ground¹ ^a. He afterwards gave this relic to his friend Severus, to deposit in a church which he was erecting². St. Paulinus entertained at the same time St. Nicetas³, Bishop of Dacia, the Apostle of the northern nations, i. e. the Scythians, the Bessi, the Getæ, and the Daci, of whom great numbers were converted by him; changing their barbarous manners to the meekness of the Gospel, and making holy Monks of men who before lived the life of robbers⁴. He came into Italy with the intention of visiting the holy places; he became the admiration of the Romans, and came twice to visit St. Paulinus, on his arrival, and on his return four years after. The Church honours his memory on the seventh of January⁵.

On St. Melania's arrival in Rome, she converted to the faith Apronianus, husband to Avita, her niece⁶. He ranked among the Clarissimi⁷, and was a man of great repute, but a heathen. Melania not only converted him to Christianity, but likewise persuaded him to live with his wife in a state of continence. She also instructed in the faith, Albina, her daughter-in-law, and confirmed Melania, her granddaughter, in the pious resolution she had taken of living in a state of continence with her husband Pinianus, son to Severus who had been Præfect. The younger Melania⁸ had been married, at thirteen years of age, against her will, for she longed ardently to imitate what she had been told of the virtues of her grandmother. Having borne two sons, who died in their infancy, she said to her husband: "If God had thought fit that we should lead a secular life, He would not have deprived us of our children at so tender an age;" and after a considerable time, that is, after they had been married seven years, she persuaded him to embrace a life of continence, and renounced the world at twenty years of age.

In the mean time Pope St. Innocent wrote to the Spanish Bishops, who had held the Council at Toledo in 400⁹. Hilarius, the Bishop, who had been present, went to Rome with Elpidius the Priest, and complained to the Pope that the

^a St. Paulinus himself is the authority for this miracle, which he describes at length in Poem. 10. de Nat. Fel.

A. D. 402.

¹ De Nat.

10. v. 115.

² Ep. 31.

al. 11.

³ De Nat. 9.

Poem. de

red. Nic.

Ep. 29.

al. 10.

[⁴ See

Tillem. x.

p. 621.]

⁵ Mart.

Rom.

⁶ Pall. Laus.

c. 118.

[⁷ Supr.

18, 19.

note k.]

⁸ Ibid.

c. 119.

XXXII.

Letters of

St. Inno-

cent to the

Spanish

Bishops.

A. D. 400.

⁹ Innoc.

Ep. 23. ap.

Concil. ii.

(Mans. iii.)

Supr. 20. 48.

A. D. 400. peace of the Church was disturbed in Spain, by schism, and contempt of the canons. They were heard in the assembly of Priests of the Church of Rome, and acts were drawn up. The schism took its rise from the Bishops of the Bœtican and Carthaginian provinces withdrawing from the rest because they had admitted to their communion the Bishops of Gallicia, who after having embraced the errors of Priscillian, had afterwards abjured them, and among others, Symposius and Dictynnius, who had been received at the Council of Toledo¹. The Bishops of the Bœtican provinces, notwithstanding their conversion, could not prevail with themselves to pardon either them or those who communicated with them. As to discipline, Hilarius complained of the Bishops Ruffinus and Minicius, who had consecrated Bishops out of the limits of their provinces, and without their Metropolitan, contrary to the canons of Nicæa, and without any regard to the wishes of the people². Ruffinus himself had been consecrated contrary to the canons, after having pleaded at the Bar since his Baptism^{3 b}; and the same reproach was cast on Gregory, Bishop of Merida⁴. It was therefore upon the subject of these complaints, that Pope St. Innocent wrote to the Bishops of the Council of Toledo, which had been held a little before, to exhort them to concord and the observance of the canons, particularly with respect to ordinations, on which head he gives them the same rules as are found in his other decretals.

[¹ Supr. 20. 48.]

² Nic. can. 4. Innoc. Ep. 23. c. 2.

³ c. 4.

⁴ c. 5.

XXXIII. New conspiracy against St. Chrysostom. A. D. 403. Pall. Vit. p. 30. ⁶ Socr. 6. 18. Soz. 8. 20.

Scarcely had St. Chrysostom enjoyed a calm of two months since his return⁵, when a statue was set up at Constantino-ple in honour of the Empress Eudoxia⁶. It was of solid silver, and raised on a column of porphyry, with a lofty base, in the square situated between the palace where the Senate was held, and the church of St. Sophia which was opposite this palace, and separated from it by the square, and by a street that went across it. It was erected under the Consulate of Theodosius the younger, and Rumoridus, that is, in the year

^b From this passage it seems to have been a rule in the Roman and Spanish Churches to refuse ordination to lawyers. Such was not, however, the general rule of the Catholic Church, for the Council of Sardica (Can. 10) expressly allowed

a lawyer even to be ordained Bishop, provided only he had previously gone through the subordinate offices of Reader, Deacon, and Presbyter. Bingham. 4. 4. § 6.

403, probably in the month of September, when the first A. D. 403.
 indiction began¹. At the dedication of this statue, great
 rejoicings were made, as was customary. These were very
 solemn exercises, and still tinged with superstition, as ap-
 pears by a law of Theodosius the younger, made twenty-two
 years after, to purge them from every thing that might appear
 idolatrous in them². On the erection of this statue of Eudoxia,
 the Præfect of Constantinople, who was a Manichee, and
 half heathen, encouraged the people to extraordinary rejoic-
 ings³. They celebrated it with dances and shows of farce-
 players, which drew such loud applauses and acclamations,
 that Divine Service was interrupted.

But St. Chrysostom, unable to bear these improprieties,
 spoke with his usual freedom, and blamed not only those
 who actually took part in them, but even those who had
 ordered them. The Empress was offended at it, and resolved
 once more to assemble a Council against St. Chrysostom;
 but he continued firm and resolute, and, it is said, pro-
 nounced upon this occasion a celebrated discourse, which
 began as follows; "Herodias is again furious, and again
 "demands the head of John." There is still extant a
 speech which begins with these words, and is an invective
 against women; but the general opinion is, that St. Chry-
 sostom is not the author⁴. Be this as it may, it is certain
 that a new conspiracy was formed against him. But his ene-
 mies not knowing what course to take, sent to Alexandria to
 consult Theophilus, and besought him either to return and
 take the lead, or at least to instruct them how to begin⁵.
 Theophilus dared not return to Constantinople, recollecting
 how narrowly he had escaped before; but he sent three
 Bishops thither, Paul, Pæmen, and a third who had been
 lately consecrated; and charged them with the canons of the
 Council of the Dedication at Antioch, in 341⁶.

These Bishops were no sooner arrived, but they sent to
 Syria, to Cappadocia, to Pontus, and to Phrygia, for all the
 Metropolitans, and the other Bishops, and assembled them
 at Constantinople⁷. The chief of those who met there were
 Leontius of Ancyra in Galatia, Ammonius of Laodicea in
 Pisidia, Acacius of Berrhæa, Antiochus of Ptolemais in Syria,
 Briso of Philoppopolis in Thrace⁸. These being arrived at

¹ Prosp.
 Chr. p. 643.
 Marcel.
 Chr. p. 275.

² Cod.
 Theod. 15.
 Tit. 4. de
 Imag. Imp.

³ Theoph.
 p. 68.

⁴ Chrys.
 viii. Spur. I.
 (vii. p. 545.)
 (vi. p. 28.)

⁵ Pall. Vit.
 p. 30.

⁶ Fleury,
 12. 10.

⁷ Pall. p. 31.

⁸ Socr. 6. 18.
 Soz. 8. 20.

A. D. 403. Constantinople, communicated with St. Chrysostom, that they might not imitate the others in their conduct; but the Court took offence at it. Wherefore, when the festival of Christmas was come, the Emperor did not go to church as was his usual custom, and ordered John to be told that he would not communicate with him, till he had justified himself. Theodorus of Tyana, like the rest, had come to Constantinople; but when he learnt the conspiracy which had been formed against St. Chrysostom, he went away without taking his leave, and returning back to his Church, continued to the last in the communication of St. Chrysostom, and of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, Pharetrius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, did not stir from home, but still attached himself by letters to St. Chrysostom's enemies.

XXXIV. In this second Council, which was composed of Bishops who had been seduced by the largesses of the Court, there was not the least mention made of the first accusations, (from which St. Chrysostom offered boldly to justify himself,) but not to leave him an opportunity of defending himself, they adhered to the canons of the Council of Antioch; i. e. to the fourth and to the twelfth¹. In the fourth it was declared, if a Bishop who had been deposed in a Council should presume to intrude himself into the ministry, and to officiate as before, "there shall be no hopes left him of being restored in another Council, nor shall his defence be heard." And the twelfth, "if a Bishop who has been deposed by a Council shall presume to importune the Emperor, instead of carrying his suit before a greater Council, he shall be unworthy of pardon; his defence shall not be heard, and he shall have no hope of being ever restored." St. Chrysostom's enemies pretended that he had incurred the censure of these canons, by re-entering his see without having been justified by a Council. His friends maintained that these canons had been made by the Arians against St. Athanasius; and that the fourth canon had been rejected as unjust, at Sardica, by the Romans, the Italians, the Illyrians, the Macedonians, and the Greeks.

¹ Fleury, 12, 13.

² Pall. p. 31. Then² Ammonius of Laodicea, and Acacius of Berrhæa, together with Antiochus of Ptolemais, Cyrinus of Chalcedon, and Severian of Gabala, went to the Emperor, and pro-

posed to him to send for ten Bishops of John's party, (for A. D. 403. there were more than forty of them,) to agree upon the authority of these canons. Elpidius, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, an old man, whose virtue and white hairs made him venerable, came to the palace with another Bishop, named Tranquillus; they said to the Emperor, "John was not legally deposed the first time, but only banished by a Count. He did not re-enter his see of his own accord, but by your order, carried by one of your own notaries; and as to the canons which are now exhibited, we shew that they are the work of heretics." As the enemies of St. Chrysostom continued to dispute, crying out aloud in a confused manner, and appearing in great disorder before the Emperor, Elpidius taking the opportunity of a short interval of silence, said to him, in a low tone of voice, "O Emperor, without further wearying your clemency, let us do thus; let our brethren Acacius and Antiochus subscribe those canons which they propound to us as the work of Catholics, with this declaration: 'We are of the same faith with those who enacted them;' then our dispute will be at an end." The Emperor, struck with the simplicity of this proposal, smiled and said to Antiochus, "It is impossible to hit upon a better expedient." Severian and his faction changed colour, and looked at one another in confusion. However, being urged by the necessity of the case, they promised to subscribe, and so escaped from their embarrassment; they did not, however, keep their word.

Nine or ten months were spent in these proceedings, A. D. 403-4. during which St. Chrysostom continued his assemblies with forty-two Bishops, and the people still listened to his instructions with wonderful affection¹. To this time is referred with ¹ Pall.p.32. good reason one of his homilies on the epistle to the Ephesians, in which he shews that schism is as dangerous in its consequences as heresy; and speaks strongly against those Bishops who separated from him without reason, and overturned by their attempts the order of the hierarchy². He afterwards addresses himself to the women in particular, and says to them, "If there be any who are desirous of revenging themselves upon me, I myself will suggest to them the most effectual means. Buffet me, spit in my face in public,

² Homil. 11. in Ephes. xi. p. 88. (iii. p. 818.) (v. p. 953.)

- A. D. 403-4. "cover me with blows. What! are you struck with horror
 "when I bid you buffet me, and are not you struck with
 "horror even when you tear to pieces the Body of your
 A. D. 404. "LORD?" The enemies of St. Chrysostom seeing the great
 credit he enjoyed, and fearing lest this schism should occasion
 a sedition, procured a law forbidding all the officers of the
 palace to mix in tumultuous assemblies, as they call them,
 under the penalty of the loss of their office, and confiscation
 of their property¹. This law is dated at Constantinople, the
 fourth of the calends of February, under the Consulate of
 Honorius and Aristænetus; i. e. the twenty-ninth of January,
 404.

¹ Cod.
Theod. 16.
Tit. 4. de
his qui sup.
Relig. 4.

XXXV.
St. Chry-
sostom ex-
pelled the
church.
² Pall. Vit.
p. 33.

Lent being come, Antiochus and his faction had a private
 audience with the Emperor, and gave him to understand
 that John was convicted, and that he ought to give orders
 for his banishment before Easter². The Emperor Arcadius
 not being able to refuse them, ordered St. Chrysostom to
 quit the church. He answered; "I received this church
 "from God, for the salvation of the people, and I may not
 "abandon it; but as the city is yours, if you are resolved
 "upon my going, drive me out by force, that I may have a
 "lawful excuse." Officers were therefore sent from the
 palace, but not without some feeling of shame, for this
 purpose; with orders, however, for him to continue in the
 episcopal residence. "They waited," says Palladius, "to see
 "whether Divine vengeance would display itself, that they
 "might have the means of restoring him to his church in
 "the one case, or, on the other, of renewing their ill treat-
 "ment."

On Easter Eve he was again commanded to leave the
 church^c, to which he made a suitable reply. The Emperor
 fearing both the holiness of the day, and the risk of a
 tumult in the city, sent for Acacius and Antiochus, and
 asked them: "What must be done? Take care," he added,
 "that you have not given me ill advice." They boldly
 answered; "On our heads, my Liege, be the deposition of
 "John."

^c i. e. the Bishop's lodgings (Tillem.
xi. S. Chrys. 87), to which he had been
previously confined, and which were

probably a part of the buildings at-
tached to the church. See bk. 19. ch.
21. note d.

The forty Bishops who had adhered to him, presented themselves in the churches before the Emperor and the Empress, beseeching them with tears to spare the Church of CHRIST, and to restore its Bishop; particularly on account of Easter, and of those who were to be baptized, all of them already instructed in the faith. They were not heard, but Paul of Cratæa said boldly to the Empress; "Eudoxia, fear God, bethink you of your children, and do not profane the festival of CHRIST with the effusion of blood." After this the Bishops withdrew, and spent each of them the holy eve in his respective habitation, in the deepest affliction. Such of the Priests of Constantinople¹ as had continued faithful to St. Chrysostom, assembled the people in the public bath called Thermæ Constantinianæ, and there celebrated the Eve of Easter in the usual manner, reading the Holy Scriptures, and baptizing the catechumens^d.

When this came to the ears of Antiochus, Acacius, and Severian, they desired that a stop might be put to it. The Master of the Offices² said to them: "It is now night, and the concourse of people is great, so that some disorder may happen." Acacius replied, "The churches are abandoned, and we are afraid of the Emperor's happening to visit them, and finding them empty, and thus perceiving the affection the people have for John. He might then look upon us as acting from envy; particularly as we have told him

A. D. 404.

Socr. 6. 18.

^[2] See bk. 18. c. 23. note 1.]

^d Easter Eve was a day of peculiar solemnity in the ancient Church. St. Chrysostom calls it the Great Sabbath; Eusebius speaks of the night preceding Easter as the Sacred and the Mystic night-watch (*διανυκτέρευσις*); and relates that on that night Constantine illuminated the city with lamps and waxen tapers, turning the night into day. (De Vit. Const. 4. 22. See also St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 18, 45. al. 19, 42.) It was the only Saturday which the Eastern Church allowed to be kept as a fast; and we find particular directions for its observance in the Apostolical Constitutions. (Lib. 5. c. 17, 18.) It is there ordered that one unbroken fast is, if possible, to be maintained throughout Good Friday and Easter Eve; but should any one prove unequal in strength to this continued exertion, the fast of Easter Eve is at any rate to be preserved: and while

the fasts of the other days of Passion-week were allowed to terminate with the evening, or even with three o'clock in the afternoon, this alone was to be prolonged to the cock-crowing on Easter morning. The night was to be spent by the whole people watching in the church, engaged in prayer, and supplication, and in hearing the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms: the catechumens were to be baptized, and the Gospel read in fear and trembling, the clergy speaking to the people the words of salvation.

St. Jerome assigns as a reason for this solemn night-watch, that the second Advent of our LORD was looked for at midnight before the Paschal Feast, the same hour in which He smote the Egyptian first-born; and hence all Christian people were kept till midnight was over in readiness to receive Him. Hier. iv. in Matth. 25. 6.

A. D. 404. "that no one willingly follows this man, from his aversion
 "to all society." The Master of the Offices, after having
 entered his protest and warned them of the probable conse-
 quences, gave them a man named Lucius, who was looked
 upon as a pagan, captain of a band of soldiers, with orders
 to use gentle methods in inviting the people to come to church¹.
¹ Pall.p.34. He went, but meeting with no success, returned to Acacius
 and his party, and represented to them the ardour and the
 numbers of the people. They earnestly besought him to
 return, and to their prayers added gold and promises; they
 recommended him to use gentle means at first, or, if that
 would not do, to disperse the assembly by force.

XXXVI.
 Outrages
 committed
 on Easter
 Eve.

Lucius therefore returned, accompanied by some clergy of
 Acacius's party, at the second watch of the night, i. e. after
 nine o'clock; for it was the custom at Constantinople to
 watch that night till the first crowing of the cock. He was
 followed by four hundred Thracian soldiers, of the new levies,
 and of more than common insolence, with their swords drawn;
 they rushed suddenly on the people, and dispersed the multi-
 tude with the flashing of their swords. Lucius marched on,
 even to the consecrated water, to prevent the administration
 of Baptism; and thrust aside the Deacon so violently, that he
 spilt the symbols, that is, the sacred chrism. He struck the
 Priests upon the head with sticks, without the least regard
 to their advanced age, so that the sacred laver was soiled
 with blood². The women, who had laid aside their garments
 to receive Baptism, fled with the men in the utmost confusion,
 to save their lives and their honour, without having time to
 recover their clothes; several of them were even wounded.
² Chrys. Ep. ad Innoc. ap. Pall. p. 8.
³ Soz. 8.21. Their cries, and those of the children, were heard at a dis-
 tance³. The Priests and Deacons were driven out in their
 sacred vestments. Here fled with cries a man wounded in
 the hand; there a soldier dragged along a virgin, tearing off
 her clothes; the sacred vessels were plundered; the Altar was
 surrounded with armed men; the soldiers, some of whom
 had not been baptized, advanced to the place where the
 holy Mysteries were deposited, and saw every thing exposed^e.

^e It was a rule very generally re-
 ceived towards the end of the second
 century, to conceal both the doctrinal

and ritual mysteries of the Church, not
 only from the heathen, but also from
 the catechumens. The administration

In this confusion even the precious Blood of CHRIST was spilt upon their clothes. Several of the Priests and Deacons were seized and thrown into prison; the most respectable of the laity were driven from the city. Several edicts were set up, severely threatening all those who should not leave the communion of John. This happened on Easter Eve, the sixteenth of April, 404. A. D. 404.

The next day, when the Emperor went out into the country for exercise, he saw not far from Pempton, (a place so called because it was five miles from Constantinople,) a great number of people clothed in white, and when he enquired of his guards who they were, they answered, "Heretics." They were, really, Catholics, who having been driven away from the bath where they had met together, and taken a resolution not to enter the church with the enemies of their Bishop, had assembled in the open field, and had among them nearly three thousand newly baptized, who, as usual, were dressed in white. The enemies of St. Chrysostom taking advantage of this opportunity, despatched the most cruel of the Emperor's train, to disperse this multitude and seize their teachers. So numerous a body of people might easily have defended themselves, but they had been too well instructed to attempt it. A few clerks were therefore seized, and several of the laity, among whom were some women of distinction¹. The veils were torn away from some, ¹ Pall. p. 35. the earrings and even the ears from others. One of the most beautiful and wealthy among them assumed the dress of a slave, and fled to the city to save her honour. The

of Baptism and Confirmation, Ordination, and the Liturgical service (for catechumens were only admitted during the sermon), were among the rites thus concealed; and the sacred elements of the Eucharist were guarded with especial care. In the Eastern churches richly embroidered curtains or light doors protected the Altar from the public gaze (Milman, iii. p. 424), so that the soldiers of Lucius must have broken through an actual and sensible, as well as an artificial barrier. The same idea, perhaps, led to the choice of night for Baptism. (Ibid. p. 427.) The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and indeed the Creed generally, was only imparted to catechumens a few days

before their Baptism: when the Lord's Prayer was taught them also for the first time, for it was held that no unbaptized person could use the words, "Our Father."

The reason assigned for this concealment, which was grounded on the precept in Matth. 7. 6, was, that no temptation might be offered to the ignorant to deride either the simplicity of the Christian rites, or the mysteriousness of the Christian doctrines; while the same practice served also to invest the hidden things themselves with an additional awfulness, and inflame by the excitement of curiosity, the desires of the uninitiated. See Bingham. 10. 5.

A. D. 404. prisons of the several magistrates were filled; there hymns were sung, there the holy Mysteries were offered, so that they became so many churches; while the churches resounded with scourges, tortures, and dreadful oaths, to enforce anathemas against John. But the more his adversaries exerted themselves, the more numerous were the assemblies of those who loved him. They were held sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; but their chief resort was in a piece of ground which Constantine the Great had enclosed with rails for horse-races, before he had built the city¹.

[¹ Soz. 8. 21.]

About the same time a man possessed with an evil spirit, or supposed to be so, was found with a dagger upon him, with which it was pretended he designed to assassinate St. Chrysostom; the people carried him before the Præfect, as one who had been bribed with money to perpetrate this action. But St. Chrysostom sent some Bishops of his friends, who set him at liberty, and prevented his being punished. After this, a servant of Elpidius the Priest, St. Chrysostom's inveterate enemy, having received fifty pence of gold² as a reward for killing him, took up three daggers, and ran to the episcopal residence³. He was met by a man who knew him, and stopping him, asked where he was going. He made no answer, but stabbed him with a dagger, and struck a second in the same manner, who cried out when he saw the first wounded. In this manner he treated a third, and a fourth, and so on to seven, four of whom died upon the spot. The people having at last taken the murderer, the Præfect seized him, and to quiet them, promised to do justice on him⁴, but he nevertheless allowed him to remain unpunished. From that time the people kept guard night and day before the episcopal residence, for the security of St. Chrysostom⁵.

[⁵ Ibid. 8. 22.]

XXXVII.
St. Chrysostom
driven out
of Constantinople.

⁶ Pall. p. 35.

Five days after Whitsuntide⁶ which, in the year 404, fell on the fifth of June, Acacius, Severian, Antiochus, and Cyrinus, went to the Emperor, and said to him: "You may do your pleasure; but we have said to you, on our heads be the deposition of John; you ought not to ruin us all for the preservation of a single individual." The Emperor sent Patricius the notary, to give orders to St. Chrysostom to recommend himself to God, and leave the church. After so express a command, St. Chrysostom came down from the

episcopal residence, with the Bishops his friends, and said to them, "Come, let us pray, and bid farewell to the angel of this church." Immediately a person of great power, and one that feared God, and sided with the better party, gave him the following information¹: "Lucius, to whose insolent behaviour you are no stranger, lies now ready in a public bath, with the soldiers under his command, to carry you off by force, in case you resist, or hesitate to obey. The city is in great confusion; go therefore out of it as speedily and as privately as possible, for fear the people should come to blows with the soldiers." On this St. Chrysostom, (too much affected to take leave of all,) bade farewell to several of the Bishops, saluting them with a kiss accompanied with tears, and said to the others who were in the sanctuary, "Stay here; I am going to take some rest."

Accordingly he went into the Baptistery and called Olympias, (who never left the church,) with Pentadia and Procula, Deaconesses, and Silvia, widow of Nebridius, and daughter of Gildo: "Come hither," said he to them, "my daughters, and hear me. My end is at hand; I have finished my course, and perchance you will see my face no more. All I ask of you, is, not to let your affection for the Church wax cold; and should any one be ordained involuntarily, without any solicitation on his part, and with the consent of all, to bow the head before him, as you have before me; for the Church cannot be without a Bishop. And as you hope for the mercy of God, remember me in your prayers." They threw themselves at his feet dissolved in tears. He signed to one of the most prudent of his Priests, and said to him; "Remove them hence, lest they disturb the people." They became more tranquil; and he went out on the side facing the east, while at the same time some persons, by his order, got ready his horse on the west side before the great gate of the church, in order to mislead the people who were expecting him there. He embarked, and landed in Bithynia. His mother, who was still living, nobly exhorted him to withdraw, rather than do any thing that might be unworthy of him².

As he was going, there suddenly appeared a great flame in the church, from the pulpit where he used to sit, and from

A. D. 404.

¹ Pall. p. 36.

² Ep. Const. ad matrem. ap. Chrys. iii. p. 731. (vii. p. 205.) (iv. p. 946.)

- A. D. 404. which he preached. The fire ascended to the roof, and rushed from the inside to the outside of the church, so that it was burnt to the ground, together with the adjoining buildings, except a small vestry, where the holy vessels were deposited; which seemed to have been miraculously preserved, that the enemies of St. Chrysostom might not accuse him of
- ¹ Pall. p. 37. having carried them off¹. From the church, the fire being driven by a violent north wind, crossed the square without hurting the people; but rushing over like a bridge, seized on the palace where the senate used to assemble, situated to the south of the church. This palace took fire, not on that side which lay towards the church, but on that where the Emperor's palace stood, which was contiguous to that of the senate; and after burning three hours, from the sixth to the ninth hour, it was entirely consumed. In this conflagration, which began the night before, not a soul lost his life, nor even a beast. The Catholics looked upon it as a miracle, and an effect of the Divine vengeance²; some accused the schismatics as the authors of it, and said that they intended to burn both the church and the people who were in it. The schismatics, and after them the pagans, accused the Catholics of it, and affirmed that they had purposely set fire to the church that there might be no Bishop after John; however, the author of this conflagration could never be discovered. It happened on Monday, the twentieth of June, under the Consulate of Honorius and Aristænetus, and therefore in the year 404³.
- ² Socr. 6. 18. and an effect of the Divine vengeance²; some accused the schismatics as the authors of it, and said that they intended to burn both the church and the people who were in it. The schismatics, and after them the pagans, accused the Catholics of it, and affirmed that they had purposely set fire to the church that there might be no Bishop after John; however, the author of this conflagration could never be discovered. It happened on Monday, the twentieth of June, under the Consulate of Honorius and Aristænetus, and therefore in the year 404³.
- ³ Marcell. Chr. p. 276. In the mean time the soldiers of the Præfect detained St. Chrysostom prisoner in Bithynia, together with two Bishops, Cyriacus of Emesa, and Eulysius of Bostra, threatening to punish them for having set fire to the church⁴. Afterwards, Cyriacus and Eulysius having been brought back to Constantinople, with the other clergy, were found innocent, and let out of prison, but were, however, sent into banishment⁵. St. Chrysostom being detained in this manner, demanded of his persecutors that they would at least give him a hearing, as to the charge of setting fire to the church. But they refused to hear him on this point, as well as on all the rest, and sent him under a strong guard to Cucusus in Armenia.
- ⁴ Pall. p. 37.
- ⁵ Pall. p. 77.
- ¹ Zos. 5. p. 801.

At Constantinople the Præfect, a pagan and an enemy to the Christians, made several of St. Chrysostom's friends undergo the most cruel torture, under pretence that they were guilty of setting fire to the church. To discover the guilty person, they put to the rack Eutropius, a Reader and Chanter, who had preserved an inviolable chastity, was young, and of a delicate constitution¹. They tortured him with fire, and beat him with thongs of raw leather, and sticks. They lacerated with iron hooks, his sides, his cheeks, and his forehead, and even tore away his eyebrows. At last they thrust lighted torches against his sides, where they had torn off the flesh so as to lay bare the bones; and he expired on the rack, without, however, having made any confession. The ecclesiastics who had sought his death, buried him in the dead of the night; and a vision of persons singing bore testimony to his holiness. Tigrius the Priest was also stripped, scourged, and had his hands and feet, which were tied down, stretched with so much violence, that the joints were dislocated. He was a Barbarian by birth, an eunuch, and slave to a great man, who rewarded his services with liberty; and he was at last raised to the sacerdotal dignity. His manners were very gentle, and he was peculiarly skilful in administering comfort and relief to the poor and strangers. Having undergone this torture, he was banished to Mesopotamia. The Church commemorates these two martyrs on the twelfth of January².

The schismatics did not suffer the see of Constantinople to be long vacant, for seven days after St. Chrysostom's departure, on Monday, the twenty-seventh of June, of the same year 404, they put in his room Arsacius the Priest, who was eighty years of age, and one of his most inveterate enemies³. He was brother to Nectarius the Bishop⁴, and might have been made Bishop of Tarsus, his native place, but he refused it; on which Nectarius told him reproachfully, that he was waiting for his death to succeed him, and made him take an oath never to suffer himself to be raised to the episcopal dignity; which, however, he now violated. He had neither powers of action, nor fluency of expression, which was the more noticed in the successor of St. Chrysostom. His party boasted of the sweetness of his temper, and imputed to those who falsely

A. D. 404.
XXXVIII.
Martyrdom
of St. Eutropius and
St. Tigrius.

¹ Soz. 8. 24.
Pall. p. 78.

² Mart.
Rom.
XXXIX.
Arsacius,
Bishop of
Constantinople.

³ Chr.
Pasch.
p. 307.
Soz. 6. 19.
Soz. 8. 23.
⁴ Supr.
18. 5.
Pall. p. 38.

A. D. 404. pleaded his authority, the outrages committed under his Pontificate. For the Catholics, who always looked upon St. Chrysostom as their true Pastor, would not join in communion with Arsacius¹; and St. Chrysostom himself considered him as an usurper². The Catholics, therefore, at Constantinople (who were called Joannites) continued to hold their assemblies apart, which drew down on them a violent persecution, for which, the setting fire to the church and the senate house was made the first pretext. They did not venture to assemble in public, nor appear in the square, or in the baths; some were not safe even in their houses, and a great many went into a voluntary banishment. Some holy women are particularly noticed, who distinguished themselves by their affection for their Bishop.

XL.
St. Olympias.

Among these, St. Olympias was the most illustrious, who was a woman of very noble birth, and immensely rich. Being an orphan and very young, she was married to Nebridius, who had been Præfect of Constantinople; and she lost her husband after they had been married twenty months³. Besides her noble birth and her rich possessions, she was likewise distinguished by the sciences with which she had cultivated her mind, and by her exquisite beauty; but with all these advantages she could never be induced to marry again. Her fame coming to the ears of Theodosius, he wished her to marry Elpidius, a Spaniard, and a relation of his own, and did his utmost to persuade her⁴. But she answered: "If God had thought it fitting for me to live with a husband, He would not have deprived me of the first; but He has not judged me a proper person to engage in those ties." The Emperor, irritated at her refusal, commanded the Præfect of Constantinople to administer her wealth till she was thirty years of age. The Præfect, at the instigation of Elpidius, and taking advantage of the Emperor's command, would neither suffer her to see the Bishops, nor to attend the church; hoping that this usage would at last induce her to marry. But she still answered the Emperor as follows: "You have displayed a kindness to me worthy of an Emperor and a Bishop, by relieving me of this heavy burden, with which I was oppressed. You will do still better in giving orders to have it distributed among the poor, and the

³ Pall. Vit. p. 64.
Pall. Laus. c. 144.

⁴ Pall. Vit. p. 65.

“ churches ; for I have long since been afraid lest I should
 “ grow vain by this distribution, and give my mind to
 “ transitory possessions, to the prejudice of the true riches.”
 The Emperor, touched with this answer, and being informed
 of the life she led, on his return from the war with Maximus,
 gave orders that her possessions should be restored to her,
 with free liberty to dispose of them as she should think
 proper.

She never ate any thing that had life, nor went habitually
 to the bath ; and when at any time she was forced to it for
 her health, being subject to a weakness in the stomach, she
 always went into the water in her tunic. She was used to
 frequent watchings, and was clothed in the meanest garments ;
 her humility was extreme, her tears incessant, and her charity
 without bounds¹. She adorned the churches with sacred
 vessels ; was beneficent towards monasteries, hospitals, pri-
 soners ; and exiles ; her alms were extended to all parts of the
 earth, they were distributed in cities, in the country, in the
 islands, and the deserts. She ransomed several thousand
 slaves ; she instructed the unbelievers among the women ; she
 visited the sick, assisted the aged, the widows, orphans, and
 virgins ; in a word, she applied herself to every good work.
 She was united in friendship with several holy Bishops²,
 as St. Amphilochius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Peter of
 Sebaste, brother to St. Basil ; St. Epiphanius ; St. Optimus,
 Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, whose eyes she closed ; for he died
 at Constantinople. She rendered great service to Antiochus,
 to Acacius, and Severian, who afterwards became her perse-
 cutors. Nectarius used to consult her in affairs relating to
 the Church ; but St. Chrysostom was joined to her in a closer
 friendship than all the rest. She relieved him of the care of
 providing for his necessities, for he took nothing from the
 revenue of the Church, but daily received from her his sub-
 sistence, that he might devote himself entirely to his sacred
 duties.

Such was St. Olympias, the chief object of the hatred of
 the schismatics, which arose not alone from the friendship
 she bore St. Chrysostom, but also from the assistance she had
 rendered to the Four Brothers, and the other Monks whom
 Theophilus persecuted³. The Præfect of Constantinople³

A. D. 404.

¹ Pall. Laus.
 c. 144.
 Chrys. Ep. 2.
 ad Olymp.
 iii. p. 539.
 (vii. p. 59.)
 (iv. p. 703.)

² Pall. Vit.
 p. 65.

³ Ibid. p. 60.

A. D. 404. having summoned her before his tribunal¹, asked her why she had set fire to the church? "I have not led such a life," she answered, "as to merit even the suspicion of it, since I have employed the great wealth I once enjoyed, in restoring the temples of God." "I know your life," said the Præfect. "Do you therefore become my accuser," she replied, "and let another be our judge." The Præfect, as there were no proofs against her, changed his tone, and said, by way of advice to her and to some other women, that they were very foolish to refuse the communion of the Bishop, when by joining it they would be extricated from their troubles. The rest yielded through fear, but Olympias said: "It is altogether unjust, after I have been arrested before so numerous an assemblage on a calumnious accusation, to put me under the obligation of defending myself on another information. Let counsel be allowed me on the first indictment; for do what you can, you shall never prevail upon me to enter into that communion from which religion holds me back." The Præfect suffered her to go away, as though to instruct her counsel; but having summoned her again on a subsequent day, he sentenced her to pay a large sum of gold. But neither could all this prevail with her to submit, but leaving Constantinople, she went and lived at Cyzicus.

XLI.
Other holy
women
persecuted.
² Soz. 8. 23.

St. Nicarete also withdrew from Constantinople on this occasion². She was a virgin of one of the most illustrious families in Nicomedia, who practised every virtue, and especially humility, joined, however, with the utmost resolution; insomuch that she uttered no complaint when unjustly deprived of her vast possessions; and contrived by her economy, with the little they left her, to maintain herself and her household to old age, and to give alms with liberality. She prepared all kinds of medicines for the poor, healed those whom the physicians had been unable to relieve, and performed several cures that appeared miraculous. She took the utmost care to conceal herself; would never suffer herself to be raised to the office of Deaconess^f, notwithstanding every

^f The order of Deaconesses is traced to Apostolic times, when Phœbe was Deaconess (*διάκονος*) of the Church at Cenchrea. (Rom. 16. 1.) Their office is thus described by St. Epiphanius

(Expos. Fid. Hær. 79. Collyr. c. 3):
"There is an order of Deaconesses in the Church, but their business is not to perform any sacerdotal function, but only to be a decent help to their

persuasion of St. Chrysostom, nor accept the superintendency over the ecclesiastical virgins, i. e. of those who were not shut up in monasteries, but dwelt with their relations, and of whom the Church had the list¹. St. Nicarete is commemorated on the twenty-seventh of December².

Pentadia, widow of the Consul Timasius³, and a Deaconess, was also carried to the public square before the tribunal, and thence led to prison, under the same calumnious accusation of the fire; however, she made a spirited defence⁴. She also wished to withdraw from Constantinople, but St. Chrysostom, when he heard of it, exhorted her to remain, that she might encourage and assist those who laboured under persecution. Several other holy women felt also the effects of this persecution; such as Procula or Amprocla⁵, a Deaconess, Bassiana⁶, Chalcidia, Asyncritia⁷, all whom are known by St. Chrysostom's letters.

They were at last obliged to discontinue their informations relating to the fire, as appears by a law, dated from Constantinople the twenty-ninth of August, 404, directed to Studius the Præfect⁸. The purport of this law is, that, since the incendiaries could not be discovered, "the clergy shall be released from prison, put on ship-board, and sent home to their respective countries: that all those houses in which foreign Bishops or clergy shall be received [i. e. after the publication of this edict], shall be confiscated; as also those in which the clergy belonging to the city may have held private assemblies." A few days after, i. e. on the eleventh of September, it was enacted⁹ that no masters should suffer their slaves to be present at those meetings, under the penalty of three pounds of gold for each slave; and that the several

own sex at the time of their Baptism, and in affliction, sickness, or the like; "for," he adds, "Holy Scripture allows not a woman to speak in the church (1 Cor. 14. 34), or to usurp authority over the man." (1 Tim. 2. 12.) And besides the services to the Church, their great use in the conversion of heathen women in the earlier times is sufficiently obvious. (Neander, Church Hist., vol. i. p. 191. Engl. translation.) The rules about them were various, some Churches requiring that they should be widows, and others that they should be above sixty years of age: but the instances of

St. Nicarete and St. Olympias (Soz. 8. 9.) shew that neither of these rules were uniformly observed at Constantinople. The order continued in that city till the latter end of the twelfth century, though many other of the Greek Churches laid it aside earlier, and it ceased in the West about the tenth or eleventh century. Bingham. 2. 22.

§ The object of this law is to remove the confusion and disorder occasioned by the great influx of foreign clergy of both parties, attracted to Constantinople by the proceedings against St. Chrysostom.

A. D. 404.

¹ Vid. Vales.

hic ad Soz.

² Mart.

Rom.

³ A. D.

389.]

⁴ Chrys.

Ep. 94, 104.

al. 180, 182.

⁵ Chrys.

Ep. 191, 103.

al. 18, 19.

⁶ Ep. 43.

al. 44.

⁷ Ep. 60.

al. 217, et

40, 77, 99,

106. al.

33, &c.

⁸ Cod. Th.

16. tit. 2.

de Episc.

37.

⁹ Cod.

Theod. 16.

Tit. 4. de

his qui sup.

Rel. 5.

A. D. 404. companies of tradesmen should be responsible for their several members, liable to the penalty of fifty pounds of gold. This law is addressed to the same Studius, Præfect of Constantinople ^b.

XLII.
Journey of
St. Chry-
sostom.

St. Chrysostom was at Nicæa, and whilst he waited for the order which was to fix the place of his banishment, he toiled with assiduity to convert the pagans in Phœnicia. At Nicæa he met with a recluse, whom he persuaded to go and labour in this good work, and directed him to Constantius the Priest, who was at the head of it, to whom he wrote at his departure ¹. He exhorts him not to despond in the present unfavourable aspect of affairs; but to devote all his care to the several Churches of Phœnicia, Arabia, and the East, and to write to him very often. He also urges him to encourage the rest to meet with vigour the troubles of the Church, and particularly of the Asiatic branch of it.

¹ Ep. 221.
al. 145.

It had been at first resolved, that St. Chrysostom should be banished to Sebaste in Armenia ²; but orders were at last sent to him to retire to Cucusus, a little city of the same province, on the borders of Cilicia, continually exposed to the incursions of the Isaurians ³, who inhabiting the inaccessible heights of Mount Taurus, descended from them, to lay waste the open country; too weak to attack a fortified place, too strong to be easily crushed ¹. St. Chrysostom left Nicæa on the fourth of the month Panemus, or July ⁴, in the year 404,

² Ibid. et
Ep. 121.
al. 29.
ad Arab.
et Ep. 125.
al. 143.
ad Cyr.
in fin.
³ Zos. 5.

⁴ Marcell.
Chr. p. 275.
Ep. 221.
al. 145.
ad Const.

^b The period of St. Chrysostom's Patriarchate is considered by Milman as the great crisis in the struggle between the ecclesiastical and civil power in the East, which terminated in the total subjection of the former. "The remarkable part," he writes, "in the whole of this persecution of Chrysostom is, that it arose not out of difference of doctrine, or polemic hostility. — His persecution — was a struggle for power between the temporal and ecclesiastical supremacy; but the passions and the personal animosities of ecclesiastics, the ambition and perhaps the jealousy of the Alexandrian Patriarch, as to jurisdiction, lent themselves to the degradation of the episcopal authority in Constantinople, from which it never rose." Vol. iii. p. 238.

¹ The Isaurians were a race of sa-

vages, who for two hundred and thirty years maintained an independence in the heights of Mount Taurus, so formidable to the neighbouring provinces, as to require to be kept in check by the continual presence of an armed force. During the reign of Arcadius they carried their predatory inroads as far as the borders of Persia on the East, and to Cyprus, Lycia, and even Thrace on the West, exercising on their captives even more than the usual cruelties of Barbarians. (Philost. 11. 8.) The elevation of their countryman Tarcalissæus or Zeno, son-in-law and successor to Leo of Thrace, to the throne of the East, gave them a short-lived and perilous importance, which ultimately terminated in their complete destruction under the reign of his successor Anastasius. Gibbon, ch. 10. (in fin.) 39, 40.

conducted by a band of Prætorian soldiers, commanded by Theodorus¹. These men treated him with the utmost kindness, and attended upon him as though they had been his servants. In the several places through which he passed, the people crowded to see him, shedding tears, and uttering the most lamentable cries². When he came into Cappadocia and Cilicia, near Mount Taurus, the Monks and Virgins ran in crowds to meet him, weeping, and saying³, "It had been better for the sun to have withdrawn his beams, than for John's lips to be closed in silence."

A. D. 404.
¹ Ep. 115.
 al. 120.
 ad Theoph.

² Ep. ad
 Olymp. 9,
 10. al. 7, 8.

³ Ep. 125.
 al. 143.
 ad Cyr.

He was well in health at his setting out, but was seized with a fever on his journey, notwithstanding which he was obliged to go on day and night. The weather was extremely hot; he could get no sleep; he was in want of every necessary, and uneasy about the future. He was quite spent when he reached Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he had a short time to take breath. He here met with fresh water, good bread, a tolerable bath, and was allowed to rest some time in bed. This he himself notices in a letter to Theodora⁴, to whom he complains that among so many powerful friends none could obtain for him what was granted to the greatest criminals, viz. a change from his present place of banishment to one more supportable.

⁴ Ep. 120.
 al. 114.

The little tranquillity he enjoyed at Cæsarea, was soon interrupted by the malice of the Bishop Pharetrius⁵. While St. Chrysostom was pursuing his journey, he had sent to him to declare how impatient he was to embrace him, and to shew him every mark of affection. St. Chrysostom, who knew that Pharetrius had by letter subscribed to his condemnation⁶, expected no good from him, but concealed his thoughts from those who brought him these compliments. He arrived at Cæsarea in the height of a violent intermitting fever, quite worn out with the fatigue of the journey. He immediately sent for some physicians, who came to him, and at the same time the whole body of the clergy, the people, the Monks and Nuns; every one was eager to attend upon and relieve him. He was taken care of, and visited every day by all persons of the greatest distinction in the city, by the magistrates and the sophists. This raised the jealousy of Pharetrius, who kept at home waiting for St. Chrysostom's

XLIII.
 St. Chry-
 sostom ill-
 used at
 Cæsarea.

⁵ Ep. ad
 Olymp. 14.
 al. 13.

[⁶ Supr.
 34.]

A. D. 404. departure. The latter finding his sickness abate, thought of pursuing his journey towards Cucusus.

In the mean time news was suddenly brought, that a countless multitude of Isaurians were laying waste the territory of Cæsarea, after having set fire to a large market town. Immediately the Tribune put himself at the head of what soldiers he had, and marched out, fearful of an attack on the city itself. The inhabitants were in the utmost terror, so that all, not excepting the old men, ran to guard the walls. In this general alarm, a troop of Monks came at day-break, surrounded the house in which St. Chrysostom was lying, and threatened to set it on fire unless he departed. They were so furious that the guards themselves were terrified; for they went so far as to threaten them, and boasted of having before this beaten Prætorian soldiers. The guards then had recourse to St. Chrysostom, and conjuring him to leave the place, said to him, "Deliver us from these wild "beasts, though we fall in consequence into the hands of the "Isaurians." The governor, hearing of the tumult, came himself to the house; but the Monks paid no regard to his remonstrances, and he felt himself too weak to make head against them. In this embarrassment he sent to Pharetrius, begging a respite of a few days, as well because of St. Chrysostom's illness as for the danger with which they were threatened by the Isaurians. But all his entreaties were ineffectual, for the Monks returned the next day with greater fury than before; and not one of the Priests of the city dared to stir, knowing that this outrage was committed by order of Pharetrius, but hid themselves for shame, and never went to St. Chrysostom when he sent for them^k.

At last he resolved to depart, and accordingly mounted a litter at mid-day, and with the fever upon him, in the presence of all the people, who groaned and murmured against the author of this cruelty. When he was out of the city,

^k "As they [the Monks] despised learning, and founded their notions of orthodoxy on an obscure feeling of what was, and what was not consistent with true piety, it could not of course be difficult for the designing to excite their fanaticism for almost any view whatever;" so that "the rude mass of the Monks were as readily excited

"against a Chrysostom at the point of death, as against idolaters and "Arians." Gieseler, vol. i. § 93. But in a general estimate of their character, the services which they frequently rendered the Church against heretics ought not to be forgotten. See Soz. 6. 27. and St. Athan. Life of St. Antony.

some of the clergy came privately to accompany him; and while some said, "You are exposing him to certain death," one of those for whom he had the greatest affection said to him, "Go, I entreat you; expose yourself to the Isaurians; only get out of this place." Seleucia, widow of the celebrated Ruffinus, desired St. Chrysostom to retire to a house she had five miles from the city; she sent several persons with him, and he accepted the offer. When Pharetrius heard this, he threatened Seleucia severely; but she, without giving the least notice of this to St. Chrysostom, gave orders to her steward to provide him with every kind of comfort; and should any Monks offer him violence, to assemble the peasants from her other estates, and repulse them. She entreated St. Chrysostom to shelter himself in her house, which had a castle attached to it, and could not easily be taken. But this, not knowing what might ensue, he declined.

In the mean time Pharetrius pressed her so determinedly, that, unable to resist him, and yet ashamed to own her weakness, she sent word at midnight that the Barbarians were coming. Evethius, the Priest, came and awoke St. Chrysostom, and cried out to him, "Arise, I entreat you, the Barbarians are close upon us." "What can we do?" said the Bishop; "We cannot fly for safety into the city; for that would be still worse." "Let us go out, at any rate," said the Priest; and accordingly they set out upon their journey in a night without a moon, and very dark. The Bishop had several torches lighted, but Evethius had them put out, fearing that the light might bring the Barbarians upon them. As the road was rugged, stony, and up-hill, one of the mules of the litter fell down and overturned it. St. Chrysostom came out of it, and Evethius alighting from his horse, helped him as well as he could to creep along, tormented as he was with the fever, and under the greatest apprehensions from the Barbarians. In this manner he quitted Cæsarea of Cappadocia.

At last he reached Cucusus after seventy days' journey¹, for thirty of which he had been afflicted with a violent fever². So that, as he set out in the beginning of July, he arrived there about the middle of September of the same year, 404. Besides this fever, he had violent pains in his stomach, and

XLIV.
St. Chrysostom arrives at Cucusus.
¹ Ep. 234.
al. 48.
ad Bris.
² Ep. ad Olymp. 13. al. 12.

A. D. 404. laboured under a continued weariness from the ruggedness of the way, and his fear of the Isaurians. He now felt himself freed from all his evils; and this place, though desert, and situated at the extremity of the empire¹, was agreeable to him, from the ease and relief he found there². A man of rank in that place, named Dioscorus, sent one of his servants as far as Cæsarea, to offer him his house; and St. Chrysostom accepted his proposal in preference to several others who made him the same offer. Upon his arrival at Cucusus, Dioscorus withdrew into the country, that he might leave him the free disposal of his house; having first taken care to have it well provided against the inclemencies of the winter, which the holy Bishop, being a native of Antioch, dreaded exceedingly. Through the care of Dioscorus he met with every convenience and every attention in it. The agents and stewards of several other persons came to him continually with the offer of every kind of relief, in obedience to the orders they had received from their respective masters. The very day of his own arrival, Sabiniana, the Deaconess, arrived there also; she had undertaken this long journey, notwithstanding her advanced age, that she might not be separated from him; ready even to follow him into Scythia, his rumoured final destination. She was received in a most affectionate manner by all the clergy of Cucusus. St. Chrysostom found Constantius the Priest there, who had waited for him a long time, having come thither by his own permission, without which he would not have presumed to undertake this journey; but he did not venture to appear in public, so violent was the persecution raised against him.

Adelphius, Bishop of Cucusus, received St. Chrysostom with so much kindness and respect, as even to offer to resign to him his throne, but the Saint was too well acquainted with the laws of the Church to accept it³. He took great pleasure in this Bishop's conversation, which he even found very profitable to him⁴. These several considerations, joined to the tranquillity he enjoyed in this solitude, made him desirous of remaining there; and as St. Olympias was using her endeavours to get the place of his banishment changed, he wrote to her to discontinue her solicitations⁵, since the journey would be more painful to him than the banishment itself;

¹ Ep. 234, 235. al. 48, 185.

² Ep. ad Olymp. 13. al. 12.

³ Ep. 125. al. 143. ad Cyr. in fin.

⁴ Ep. 237. Const. ad Matr. iii. p. 732. (vii. p. 206.) (iv. p. 947.)

⁵ Ep. ad Olymp. 13. al. 12.

unless it were to get him nearer to Constantinople, as at A. D. 404. Cyzicus, or some place nearer than Nicomedia. He wrote in the same manner to Pænius, one of his most influential friends at Constantinople¹. He continued a year at Cucusus, and during the leisure he there enjoyed, wrote two treatises for the consolation of himself and others². The subject of the first is, that no one can hurt us but ourselves³; the second is, against those who took offence at this persecution⁴. He likewise wrote a great number of letters, and all those that are now extant belong to his banishment.

Those he wrote to St. Olympias, as being the most important, are placed first in order. They are seventeen in number, several of which are very long, as she had desired they might be. They were written to mitigate her extreme affliction on account of his absence, and the unhappy state of the Church. He exhorts her to patience; he encourages her from the recollection of her virtues, and the good works she had so long practised⁵. He furnishes her with remedies against despondency, which he represents to her as the greatest of evils⁶. He frequently discovers the firm hopes he entertained of his return. In one of his letters he congratulates her upon her sufferings at the time of the fire at Constantinople, and on her voluntary banishment⁷; and in another he speaks of those who were dead in prison, or had sunk under the torture⁸.

In relating to her all he had suffered at Cæsarea in Capadocia, he strictly charges her not to mention it, and to prevent its being spoken of⁹. He puts Pænius under the same restriction, to whom he writes in the following words¹: “The treatment I have received from Pharetrius is distressing and insupportable. However, since those Priests have had no intercourse with our adversaries, as you tell me, and are resolved not to join in communion with them, but to continue on our side, take no notice of it to them, since it would be impossible to make the least excuse for the ill treatment I have met with from Pharetrius. The whole body of his clergy have been pained at it, and discovered great affection for me. So that for fear of embittering the minds of these men, and alienating them from us” (i. e. the Priests who were at Constantinople,) “when you shall have

¹ Ep. 193. al. 174.

² Pall. Vit.

p. 38.

[³ Chrys. iii. p. 444.

(vii. p. 36.)

(iv. p. 498.)

[⁴ Ib. iii.

p. 465.

(vii. p. 1.)

(v. p. 756.)]

XLV.

St. Chry-

sostom's

Epistles.

⁵ Ep. ad Olymp. 2.

⁶ Ibid. 3.

⁷ Ibid. 7. al. 6.

⁸ Ibid. 17.

⁹ Ep. 14.

al. 13.

¹ Ep. 204.

al. 176.

A. D. 404. "been informed of every circumstance by the Prætorian soldiers, do not mention it. Behave with the utmost gentleness towards those Priests, (I know, indeed, your discretion,) and tell them that I have myself heard that he has been extremely sorry for what has passed, and that he would do all in his power to repair the injury he has done."

In the same letter he praises Pænius for his zeal in supporting so earnestly at Constantinople those who still continued in communion with himself. "You extend," adds he, "your care to all parts of the world; to Palestine, to Phœnicia, and Cilicia, and indeed you ought to pay particular attention to those countries. For the Bishops of Palestine and of Phœnicia, I have been certainly informed, have not received the person our adversaries sent to them, nor even condescended to answer him, but the Bishops of Ægæ and Tarsus are for them. The Bishop of Gabala¹ told one of our friends, that those of Constantinople are endeavouring to draw them into their party, but that they have hitherto stood firm. Look therefore to this affair, and write about it to your kinsman the Bishop Theodorus."

[¹ Castabala. Ed. Bened.]

² Ep. 14. al. 13.

In the foregoing letter to Olympias², he says that "the Bishop Heraclides may, if he will, tender his resignation, and so get clear off, for there is nothing else to do." This, doubtless, was Heraclides of Ephesus, whom the enemies of St. Chrysostom kept confined four years at Nicomedia³. He continues; "Do all the good offices possible to the Bishop Maruthas, and do your utmost to draw him out of the gulf. For I stand in great need of him for the affairs of Persia. Ascertain from him, if possible, what he has done there, and what brings him to Constantinople; and let me know; as also whether you have delivered my two letters to him. If he write to me, I will answer him; if not, let him tell you whether he has done any thing more in that country, and if he proposes to do any more good there on his return. It is on this account that I wished to see him."

³ Pall. Vit. p. 77.

⁴ Supr. 18.

The gulf out of which St. Chrysostom would draw Maruthas, appears to be his correspondence with his enemies; for he was with them at Chalcedon, and at the Council of the Oak⁴; but in other respects he was a prelate of eminent merit, and

the Church honours him amongst the Holy Martyrs, on the A. D. 404. fourth of December¹.

St. Chrysostom proceeds thus in his letter to Olympias¹: ^{1 Ep. 14. al. 13.}
 "Give particular attention to what I am now going to say.
 "The Marsian and Gothic Monks, among whom the Bishop
 "Serapion used to conceal himself, have informed me that
 "Moduarius the Deacon has come to them with tidings
 "that Unilas, that great Bishop whom I ordained some time
 "ago, and sent into Gothia, is dead, after a series of noble
 "actions; and that he is also the bearer of letters from the
 "King of the Goths, desiring a Bishop to be sent him.
 "Therefore, as I see no better remedy for the destruction
 "with which we are threatened, than delay; persuade them
 "to defer their departure on account of the winter: nor
 "indeed is it possible for them now to go towards the Bos-
 "phorus, or those parts. For there are two things which
 "would give me much uneasiness; either the ordination of
 "the Bishop by men who have been guilty of so much evil,
 "or, indeed, that there should be a Bishop ordained at all.
 "You know yourself, that they would not send a good Bishop,
 "and the consequences are plain: therefore use your utmost
 "endeavours to delay the whole proceeding, but without
 "noise. If it were possible for Moduarius to come to me
 "privately, it would be a great point; but if not, we must
 "do what we can."

The following was the occasion of the conversions which XLVI.
 St. Maruthas made in Persia². He was sent on one of those St. Maru-
 embassies which were then so common between the two thas in
Persia.

² Socr. 7. 8.
 A. D. 412.

¹ St. Maruthas is said to have been sent by Theodosius I. on an embassy to the Persian king to recover the relics of several martyrs. He succeeded in the object of his mission, and deposited them in a city which he built under the Emperor's auspices on the confines of Persia and Sophene, or Sopharene, a province of Mesopotamia. To this he gave the name of Martyropolis, and became himself its first Bishop. We find him at Constantinople just before the Council of the Oak; and he appears from this letter to have returned immediately on its termination to Persia, and to have visited Constantinople again, after the commencement of St. Chrysostom's second exile.

Though found among his avowed and open enemies, St. Chrysostom had nevertheless, in his anxiety for the success of his Persian labours, written him two letters; and though he had obtained no reply to these, he again endeavours on this occasion to open a correspondence with him. The narrative in the succeeding chapter refers to a subsequent period, the first of the two embassies there mentioned being placed by Socrates about the accession of St. Cyril to the see of Alexandria, i. e. about A. D. 412: and the second was shortly before the death of Isdegerdes, which took place A. D. 420. See Tillem. xi. S. Chrys. 106.

A. D. 412. nations. The King of Persia saw the piety of Maruthas, paid him great honour, and listened to him as to a person truly beloved of God. The Magi, who were in high authority with the King, were alarmed, fearing he might convert the King to Christianity; and their fears were increased because he had delivered him from a pain in the head, which had tormented him a long while, and which they had been unable to cure. For this reason they concealed a man under ground, at the place where burned a perpetual fire, which the Persians worshipped; and when the King came to pray, as usual, they instructed this man to cry out aloud, that the King should be driven from the place, because he had done impiously in looking upon the Priest of the Christians as a friend of God. Isdegerdes (for this was the King's name) hearing these words, was anxious to dismiss Maruthas notwithstanding the respect he had for him. Maruthas, however, gave himself to prayer, and discovered by revelation the imposture of the Magi. He then said to the King: "Suffer not yourself, O King, to be imposed on, but when you again hear that voice, give orders to search under ground, and you will find out the cheat; for it is not the fire that speaks." The King believed him, and returning to the place where the perpetual fire burned, and again hearing the same voice, caused the earth to be dug up, and discovered the man who spoke. So highly incensed was he at the discovery, that he ordered the tenth part of the Magi to be put to death, and told Maruthas to build churches wherever he pleased.

From that time Christianity began to spread amongst the Persians. Maruthas returned to Constantinople, and was soon after sent back on another embassy¹; the Magi looked for other means to prevent the King from receiving him. They artfully diffused a nauseous odour in a place where the King used to pass, and accused the Christians with being the cause of it. But the King, who already suspected the Magi, made a strict enquiry after the real authors, and discovered that this also was the work of the Magi. He punished several of them in consequence, and shewed more honour than ever to Maruthas, favoured the Romans, and embraced their friendship. He was himself almost converted to Christianity, on the sight of another miracle; for his son being tormented

¹ A. D. 420.

with an evil spirit, Maruthas and the Bishop of Persia, whose name was Abda or Ablaat, delivered him, by their prayers and fasting. A. D. 420.

St. Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, died about the time of St. Chrysostom's banishment¹, without having consented to his condemnation². He had held that see twenty-three years. The people were all inclined to choose, for his successor, the Priest Constantius, who had served in that Church from his infancy. He first attended the Bishop as a kind of secretary; and discharged his duty free from any reproach of self-interestedness. Afterwards he was made Reader, then Deacon; and he lived in perfect purity of life, preserving the state of celibacy. He led an ascetic life, and often abstained from eating till the evening, that he might administer consolation to the afflicted. He was quick to understand, slow to punish; meditative, thoughtful, and charitable; just in judgment, patient under injuries, and persuasive; his countenance was grave, his eye severe, and his step quick. His face wore a smile even in sickness. Such was the character of the Priest Constantius, the friend of St. Chrysostom, to whom this Saint wrote several letters, and who came to meet him at Cucusus.

There was in the same Church of Antioch a person named Porphyrius³, who had long exercised the functions of a Deacon, and afterwards of a Priest, without ever having rendered a single spiritual service to the Church. He was ever opposed to the good Bishops of the neighbourhood, and as he was a native of Constantinople, he had great interest with the magistrates^m, and managed so well by his intrigues, as to prevent the ordination of proper men, and compelled the Bishops, almost against their wills, to ordain unworthy persons. His morals were corrupt, and he was accused of the most abominable debaucheries. He was attended by charioteers of the Circus, and dancers who ate at his table. It appeared by several informations which were laid before the magistrates, that he was the friend and protector of certain enchanters. It was this Porphyrius who was the subject

XLVII.
Death of
St. Flavian.
Porphyrius
Bishop.
A. D. 404.
¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 57.
² Socr. 7. 9.
³ Soz. 8. 24.

³ Pall. Vit.
p. 56.

^m The expression in Palladius, "ἄνευ μεγίστης ἀντιπόλεως, κ. τ. λ." may mean nothing more than that Porphyrius was a native of *Antioch*, the metropolitan

city, and gained over the authorities there; and this is the sense in which it is understood by Tillemont, tom. xi. Const. p. 408.

A. D. 404. of one of the articles of accusation against St. Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, because he would have persuaded Eutropius to banish him¹. After the death of Flavian, he resolved to be made Bishop of Antioch, and began by removing Constantius². He wrote to the Bishops, who had interest at Court, and obtained an order from the Emperor, for his banishment to the Oasis as a seditious person. Constantius, however, having received notice of this, made his escape to Cyprus, by the help of some of his friends. Porphyrius arrested two other Priests, Cyriacus and Diophantus, who were likewise friends of St. Chrysostom, and he kept concealed, for the execution of his design, the Bishops Acacius, Severian, and Antiochus. He chose his time when the people of Antioch were gone to the town of Daphne to some games which occurred every four years, in imitation of those at Olympia. He entered the church with his three Bishops and some clergy, ordered the doors to be shut, and was ordained in private, with such great precipitation, that they did not even finish the prayers, for fear of being discovered; after which, Severian and his friends retired by the mountains.

When the people returned to the city, they were informed of Porphyrius' ordination. They kept quiet that night, but the next day ran in a body with fire and faggots, to burn Porphyrius in his house. He applied to Count Valentinus, and having bribed him with considerable presents, persuaded him to lead to his assistance the forces destined to march against the Isaurians. They fell upon the people, who were gone out of the city to pray in an uncultivated field, and the cross which they bore on their shoulders was trampled under foot. In the mean while the Isaurians pillaged Rosus and Seleucia. Soon after Porphyrius sent a despatch to Court, and obtained the place of Captain of the Watch³ at Antioch, for a corrupt and cruel old man, who helped him to oppress the people. And thus he compelled them to assemble with him in his church in outward form, though they cursed him inwardly in their hearts. But the most considerable among the clergy would not come near the walls of the church, but held private meetings with the ladies who were most distinguished by their rank and fortune. This division spread throughout Syria

[³ *νικητὴ-
παρχος*]

and Egypt, and was the cause of a law¹, dated the eighteenth of November, in the same year 404, directed to Eutychian, Prætorian Præfect, commanding the governors of provinces to prohibit the unlawful meeting of the Catholics, who despised the holy churches to assemble in other places; and directing that those who should absent themselves from the communion of the most venerable Bishops Arsacius, Theophilus, and Porphyrius, should be forthwith expelled the Church. It is believed that Porphyrius had earnestly solicited this law; and he was accused of melting down the holy vessels after his ordination, to make presents to the magistrates who protected him².

There happened several accidents which were looked upon as Divine judgments for the persecution excited against St. Chrysostom³. On Friday the thirtieth of September, in the same year 404, at two o'clock in the afternoon, there fell at Constantinople, and in the neighbourhood, hail-stones as large as walnuts; and on the Thursday following, the sixth of October, the Empress Eudoxia died, after being prematurely delivered of a dead child⁴. Cyrinus, Bishop of Chalcedon, who was always censuring St. Chrysostom, died of the hurt which he received by St. Maruthas' treading accidentally on his foot; his leg was cut several times for it, but the disease attacked the other leg, and then spread over his body, till at last it proved incurable. Others perished by different deaths, or were afflicted with horrid distempers. One man fell down a flight of steps, and was killed⁵; another was tormented with the gout in his feet; another died suddenly, leaving behind him an intolerable stench⁶. Another had his entrails consumed by a slow fever, attended with the pains of a continual cholic, and an insupportable external irritation; another had his feet swelled with the dropsy; another was seized with the gout in the four fingers with which he had subscribed; the loins of another became swollen, and the adjacent parts corrupted with an infection which produced worms: others were troubled with midnight fancies of mad dogs, and Barbarians sword in hand, making hideous cries. Another falling from his horse, broke his right leg, and immediately died. Another lost his speech, and remained eight months in bed, without being able even

A. D. 404.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 4. de his qui sup. Rel. 6.

² Pall. Vit. p. 57.

³ XLVIII.

Punishment of the Schismatics.

⁴ Chr. Pasch. p. 307. Socr. 6. 19. Soz. 8. 27.

⁵ Chr. Prosp. p. 643. Marcel. p. 276. Eunap. ap. Phot. Cod. 77.

⁶ Pal. Vit. p. 88.

⁶ Ibid. p. 62.

A. D. 404. to raise his hand to his mouth. Another, whose tongue swelled to such a degree that it filled his whole mouth, wrote his confession on a tablet.

St. Nilus, an illustrious solitary of those days, declared how strongly he disapproved of the persecution of St. Chrysostom, in two letters which he wrote to the Emperor Arcadius; in the first of which he expresses himself in this manner¹.

¹ Nili lib. 2. Ep. 265.

“How can you hope to see Constantinople delivered from frequent earthquakes, and fire from heaven, whilst so many crimes are there committed, and whilst vice reigns there with such impunity? After having banished the pillar of the Church, the light of truth, the trumpet of CHRIST, the holy Bishop John; how do you expect that I can grant my prayers to a city stricken with the wrath of God, Whose thunder is every moment ready to fall upon it; I, who am wasted with grief, whose mind is distracted, and whose heart is wounded, for the excess of wickedness which is now committed in Byzantium?” In the other letter he says²; “You had no just reason to banish John, the great light of the world, the Bishop of Byzantium; and you gave credit too easily to those senseless Bishops. Do penance, therefore³, for having deprived the Church of his so pure and so holy instructions.” In two other letters besides he expresses his esteem for this holy doctor⁴.

² Lib. 3. Ep. 279.

[³ μὴ ἀναλ-
γήτως διά-
κεισο]

⁴ Lib. 2. Ep. 293, 294.

St. Nilus, who wrote in so bold a manner to the Emperor, was himself of Constantinople, and one of the first nobility there⁵. He had been Præfect of Constantinople, and was possessed of great riches. After having had two sons, he thought they were sufficient to continue his posterity, and take care of him in his old age. He parted from his wife, though she with difficulty agreed to it; and leaving his youngest son with her, he himself took the other, and withdrew into solitude. He went into Arabia, as far as the desert of Mount Sinai, and lived there many years in peace, with some Monks of great holiness. They lived in caves or cells, which they built for themselves, at some distance from each other. The greatest part of them abstained from bread, and only ate wild fruit and green herbs. Some of them ate

⁵ Niceph. 14. 54. Nili Narr. 2. p. 13, &c. Boll. i. 13. Jan.

ⁿ St. Nilus had been a disciple of St. Chrysostom. (Niceph. 14. c. 30, 53.) A further account of him will be found in bk. 22. ch. 22.

but once a week. They had a Priest amongst them, and assembled in the church every Sunday, to receive the Communion, and confer on spiritual matters. Charity and humility united them in perfect union. A. D. 404.

In the mean while measures were in progress at Rome for the restoration of St. Chrysostom¹. The first who brought news of this disorder, was a Reader of Alexandria, who came with letters from Theophilus, signifying that John had been deposed. The Pope Innocent, having read them, was surprised at the haughtiness of Theophilus, who wrote only from himself, without explaining the reasons of the deposition, or naming his coadjutors in the business; he knew not what to think, and as the whole affair bore an appearance of unsoundness, he returned no answer. On this a Deacon of the Church of Constantinople, named Eusebius, being at that time in Rome on some ecclesiastical business, went to the Pope, and presented a memorial, earnestly conjuring him to wait a little while, and he would have a discovery of the whole plot. Accordingly, three days after, there arrived at Rome four Bishops in the interest of St. Chrysostom, Pansophius of Pisidia, Pappus of Syria, Demetrius of Galatia, and Eugenius of Phrygia, who delivered three letters; one from St. Chrysostom, the second from the forty Bishops of his communion, and the third from his clergy. They all three agreed with each other, and gave a particular account of the disorder which had happened.

St. Chrysostom's letter, according to the inscription, is directed only to Pope Innocent; but as he proceeds, he speaks as if to several persons, supposing, without doubt, that it would be read, as was usual, in a Council; and at the conclusion is intimated, that the same communication had been made to Venerius, Bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius of Aquileia². St. Chrysostom says at the beginning, that, with the four Bishops already named, he had also sent two Deacons, Paul and Cyriacus. He gives a full account of the whole affair; the complaints made to the Emperor against Theophilus of Alexandria, his arrival at Constantinople, his estrangement from St. Chrysostom. "Instead of justifying "himself," he proceeds, "he summoned me to appear before "his Council, where, knowing that I had no justice to expect,

XLIX.
St. Chrysostom complains to the Pope.
¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 4.

² Pall. Vit.
p. 9.

A. D. 404. " I refused to appear, and represented that he had no jurisdiction over me. Still he proceeded against me, and I was driven by force from Constantinople. The Emperor recalled me, and I returned, accompanied by thirty Bishops. Theophilus took flight. I desired the Emperor to assemble a Council, to take cognizance of what had passed. But I could not obtain it: on the contrary, I have been expelled a second time." Here he relates the violence committed on Easter Eve, and represents the consequences of this injustice, and the division which it occasioned throughout the East. " I therefore beseech you," he says in conclusion, " to send letters, declaring null and void whatever has been done against me, and granting me still your communion, as you have done hitherto; since I have been condemned without a hearing, and am ready to justify myself before a fair tribunal."

L.
Divers deputations
to Rome.
¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 9.

The Pope accordingly wrote letters in answer to these, in which he granted his communion equally to both parties¹. He at the same time rejected the mock judgment of Theophilus, and said that he ought to call another Council free from all suspicion, composed of Eastern and Western Bishops, excluding from the judges first the friends, and then the enemies of St. Chrysostom. A few days after², one of Theophilus' Priests, named Peter, with Martyrius, a Deacon of Constantinople, came to Rome, and delivered letters from Theophilus to the Pope, with some other papers, by which it appeared that John had been condemned by thirty-six Bishops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians³. These were the acts of the Council of the Oak. The Pope Innocent, having read them, and seeing that the articles of accusation against John were inconsiderable, and that he was not himself present at the Council, continued to censure Theophilus for having pronounced so severe a judgment against an absent person, and answered him in these words: " My brother Theophilus, we retain you in our communion, both you and our brother John, as we have already declared in our former letters, and we shall say the same whenever you write to us. Unless your mock trial be succeeded by a legitimate examination, we cannot possibly, without some reason, reject the communion of John. Therefore, if you are satisfied

[³ Supr. 18.
note p.]

² Ibid. p. 10.

“ with the fairness of your judgment, appear at a Council A. D. 404.
 “ which, by God’s assistance, shall be held, and there unfold
 “ your accusations according to the Nicene canons; for the
 “ Church of Rome acknowledges no other.” By this he
 intended to mark his disavowal of those of Antioch. The
 Pope having thus dismissed the deputies of Theophilus,
 offered prayers, accompanied with fasting, to implore of God
 the restoration of union to the Church.

Not long after, there arrived at Rome a Priest of Constantinople, named Theotecnus, who delivered letters to the Pope from a Council of about twenty-five Bishops of St. Chrysostom’s party; giving an account how he had been expelled Constantinople by force of arms, and sent in exile to Cucusus, and of the burning of the church. The Pope gave letters of communion to Theotecnus, also for John and those of his communion, exhorting him with tears to bear all things patiently, as he was unable at that time to assist him, from the opposition of certain powerful persons. Soon after came a man of mean and unprepossessing appearance, but full of art, whose name was Paternus. He called himself a Priest of the Church of Constantinople, and appeared from his manner of speaking to be highly incensed against St. Chrysostom. He delivered letters from Acacius, Paulus, Antiochus, Cyrinus, Severian, and a few others, accusing John of having burned the church of Constantinople. But the clergy of Rome judged this accusation to be false, because John, in the [above-mentioned] Council¹ of the Bishops of his party, was not even defended against that charge; and the Pope thought these letters unworthy of an answer. [¹ ἐν ἐπιση-
μασιν συνόδῳ]

A few days after², Cyriacus, Bishop of Synnada in Phrygia, ² Pall. Vit. p. 11. arrived at Rome, alleging that he had been forced to fly from his diocese by reason of an edict which ordained that whosoever would not communicate with Theophilus, Arsacius, and Porphyrius, should be deposed from their Bishoprics, and their estates forfeited. This was the law made on the eighteenth of November, 404, which has been already mentioned³. In the mean while St. Chrysostom having written several letters to Cyriacus from his place of banishment, and not hearing from him, was complaining of his silence⁴, but he afterwards wrote him a consolatory letter⁵. After Cyriacus, came Euly-

³ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 4. de his qui sup. Rel. 6.
⁴ Chrys. Ep. 202. al. 144.
⁵ Ep. 125. al. 143.

A. D. 404. sius, Bishop of Apamea in Bithynia, who brought letters from fifteen Bishops of the Council of John, and from the holy old man, Anysius of Thessalonica. The fifteen Bishops represented the desolation of Constantinople. Anysius appealed to the judgment of the Church of Rome, and the account of Eulysius was in accordance with that of Cyriacus. A month after, Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, arrived at Rome, without any letters, saying that he too had yielded to the fury of the magistrates, and shewing the copy of an edict which declared that if any one should conceal a Bishop or clerk, or receive in his house any person in communion with John, his house should be confiscated. This is the law of the twenty-eighth of August, 404¹. After Palladius, there came to Rome Germanus and Cassian², who both had passed their youth in the exercise of a monastic life, and visited together the monasteries of Egypt. They had, since that, attached themselves to St. Chrysostom, who had conferred the order of Priest on Germanus, and that of Deacon on Cassian; they described the violence their Church was suffering, and shewed, for the justification of St. Chrysostom, an inventory of the valuables not only in gold and silver, but also in vestments, which they had delivered up in the presence of Studius, Præfect of Constantinople, Eutychian, Prætorian Præfect, John, Count of the Treasures, Eustathius, Quæstor, and of the Tabularii or Secretaries.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. 37.
² Pall. Vit. p. 11. Supr. 20. 3.

³ Soz. 8. 26. In the mean time the Pope Innocent³ wrote a consolatory letter to St. John Chrysostom, by Cyriacus the Deacon, exhorting him to suffer patiently, comforted by the testimony of a good conscience. He wrote likewise to the clergy of Constantinople who paid obedience to John; (for there were some who acknowledged Arsacius;) this was in answer to the letters they had sent him by Germanus and Cassian, and he tells them at the same time that the Bishops Demetrius, Cyriacus, Eulysius, and Palladius, were already arrived in Rome. In this letter Pope Innocent laments the sufferings of the Church of Constantinople, and particularly the intrusion of one Bishop into the place of another, who was yet living and innocent, in contempt of the canons, declaring that he acknowledges no others than those of Nicæa, and that those composed by heretics ought to be rejected, conformably to

the Council of Sardica, however reasonable they might be in other respects. To remedy all these evils, he says that a general Council is necessary, and that he had declared long before that one ought to be convened. In the mean time he exhorts them to patience, and confidence in God.

In the same year, 404, he wrote a decretal letter to St. Victricius, Bishop of Rouen¹, in answer to a request which he had made to send him the rules observed by the Church of Rome on various points of discipline. Pope Innocent's answer was not calculated to introduce any innovation, but only to preserve the ancient traditions. His decretal contains [thirteen] articles not unlike those of the decretals of Pope Siricius to Himerius², most of them relating to ordinations, and the continence of the clergy. He declares that marriage contracted before Baptism makes him who contracts another after Baptism guilty of bigamy; because marriage is not, like sin³, effaced by Baptism. He says that a woman who, during the life of her husband, has been married to another, cannot be admitted to penance till after the death of one of them; and that the same ought to be observed in the case of a veiled virgin, who shall marry in violation of her vows⁴. That is, in these cases the Church delivered up the guilty to the mercy of God, and would not admit them to the Sacraments. The decretal is dated on the fifteenth of the calends of March, under the Consulship of Honorius and Aristænetus, that is, on the fifteenth of February, 404.

The Pope was personally acquainted with St. Victricius, who had been at Rome, and St. Paulinus hoped that he would have come to visit him at Nola⁵. He had formerly seen him with St. Martin at Vienna, and entertained particular esteem for him. St. Paulinus being disappointed of that pleasure, and having only received a letter from him, sent him an answer⁶, in which he especially praises him for his apostolical poverty. Some time afterwards, going to Rome, as usual, to the feast of the Apostles⁷, he there found Paschasius, a Deacon of the clergy of Rouen, a disciple of St. Victricius, and a companion of his travels; and notwithstanding Paschasius' impatience to return into Gaul, St. Paulinus took him with him to Nola, and detained him there some time. From him he learnt the early life of St. Victricius⁸,

A. D. 404.

LI.
St. Victricius and other Bishops of Gaul.¹ Innoc. Ep. 2. ap. Concil. ii. (Mans. iii.)² Supr. 18. 34.³ c. 5, 6.⁴ c. 12.⁵ Paulin. Ep. 37, 18. al. 27, 28.⁶ Ep. 37. al. 27.⁷ Ep. 18. al. 28.]⁸ Fleury, 15. 31.

A. D. 404. his conversion to the faith, his confession, and the great things which he had done during his Episcopate, in carrying the light of the Gospel on the borders of the ocean to the Morini and Nervii, who were still Barbarians, and possessed nearly the modern territory of Flanders and Hainault. St. Victricius had built churches in all those parts, in which the praises of God were sung, and instituted monasteries and companies of virgins, and of widows. He is counted to be the eighth Bishop of Rouen, and the Church honours his memory on the seventh of August¹.

¹ Mart.
Rom.

The letters of St. Paulinus make us acquainted with several other Bishops of Gaul, who were illustrious for their sanctity. St. Delphinus of Bourdeaux, and St. Alethius his successor, St. Exuperius of Toulouse, St. Simplicius of Vienne, St. Diogenian of Albi, St. Dynamius of Angoulême, St. Venerandus of Clermont, St. Pelagius of Perigueux². St. Paulinus wrote most to Sulpicius Severus, who is famous for his writings. He was, like himself, of Aquitaine, and is supposed to have been a native of Agen³. He embraced the Christian religion in the prime of his age, being married, rich, and in great renown for his eloquence⁴. He was a disciple of St. Martin of Tours, whose life he wrote whilst he was still living, and after his death added various particulars in his dialogues and letters. His most elaborate work is the Sacred History, divided into two books, which contain a sketch of the course of religion, from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the year A. D. 400⁵. He was in Priest's orders, and must not be confounded with the Bishops of the same name.

² Greg.
Turon.
Hist. Franc.
2. 13.

³ Gennad.
20.

⁴ Paulin.
Ep. 5. al. 1.

⁵ Pagi.
an. 395.
c. 20.

LII.
Council of
Turin.

⁶ Concl. ii.
p. 1155.
(Mans. iii.
p. 859.)

About this time there was a Council held at Turin, at the request of the Bishops of Gaul, of which we have a synodical epistle extant, containing eight articles⁶. The first relates to Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, who claimed the right of presidency and of consecrating Bishops in the province of Narbonensis Secunda, on the ground that either the Churches properly belonged to his diocese, or that he had ordained their Bishops. The Bishops of the country maintained, on the contrary, that a Bishop of another province had no right

⁶ This Council is placed by Baronius and Severinus Binius in A. D. 397; by Sirmond, after A. D. 400.

to preside over them; and Marseilles certainly was in the province of Vienne¹. The Council decreed, for the preservation of peace, that Proculus should have the primacy which he claimed, not as a right of the see, but as a personal privilege, accorded to his age and merit; and that, accordingly, during his lifetime, he should preside over all those Bishops whose Churches confessedly belonged to his diocese, or who had themselves been chosen out of his disciples; so that they should honour him as their father, and he treat them as his children. Proculus had been Bishop a long time; in the year 381, he was present at the Council of Aquileia as deputy from the Gauls², and St. Jerome bears testimony to his faith and virtue³, though the words of the Council of Turin seem to hint at his being somewhat too jealous of his authority.

The Bishops of Arles and Vienne were in dispute about the primacy⁴. Vienne was the ancient metropolis; but Arles, since the reign of Constantine, who had given his name to it, with large privileges, was looked upon as the second city of Gaul, the first being Treves⁵. The Council of Turin decreed, that of those two Bishops, the one who could prove his city to be the metropolis should have the power of ordination; granting them, nevertheless, for the preservation of peace, the liberty of having, each in his respective province, a right over the Bishops of the neighbouring towns, and of visiting their Churches as metropolitan.

Felix, Bishop of Treves, having been ordained by the Ithacians, remained in their communion, which was rejected by the more holy Bishops, after the example of St. Martin and St. Ambrose⁶. The Bishops of Gaul, who communicated with Felix, sent a deputation to the Council of Turin⁷; but the Council declared they would not receive them, unless they renounced the communion of Felix, in accordance with the letters of St. Ambrose and of St. Siricius, the Pope, which were read in the presence of the deputies, but which are now lost. It was decreed in the same Council, that Bishops who had made an unlawful ordination should for ever be deprived of the right of ordaining⁸. The other decrees of the Council of Turin relate only to private matters, or to the confirmation of the ancient canons. We are informed from other sources⁹,

A. D. 404.

¹ Not. Sirm. Concil. ii. p. 1810. (Mans. iii. p. 864.)² Supr. 18. ³ Hier. Ep. 95. al. 4.⁴ Concil. c. 2.⁵ Not. Sirm. p. 1810. (Mans. p. 864.)⁶ Supr. 18. c. 57, 59. ⁷ Concil. c. 6.⁸ c. 3.⁹ Zos. Ep. 6. ad Afr. ap. Concil. ii. (Mans. iv.)

A. D. 404. that Lazarus, since ordained Bishop by Proculus, was condemned by that Council as a calumniator, for having falsely accused the Bishop Bricius, who is thought to be the successor of St. Martin in the see of Tours.

LIII.
Council of
Carthage.

¹ Dion.
Exig. Can.
Afr. 93.

There was likewise a Council at Carthage, under the sixth Consulship of Honorius, on the sixth of the calends of July, that is to say, on the twenty-sixth of June, 404¹, where it was resolved to implore the assistance of the Emperor against the violences of the Donatists. Some of the oldest amongst the Bishops, who had seen by experience how useful the laws against the heretics had proved in forwarding their conversion, wished a request to be made to the Emperor that he would absolutely prohibit Donatism, by attaching a penalty to those who should profess that heresy². The other Bishops, amongst whom was St. Augustine, proposed only to desire that their outrages might be suppressed, that the law of Theodosius, which imposed a fine of ten pounds of gold upon all heretics in general, should be applied to the Donatists in particular, who disclaimed the imputation of heresy; and that not all of them should be subject to this penalty, but only those who should be prosecuted by the Catholics, by reason of their outrages.

² Aug. Ep.
185. al. 50.
ad Bonif.
c. 7. § 25.
et Ep. 93.
al. 48.
ad Vinc.
c. 5. § 17.

The more lenient counsel was adopted, and the Bishops Theasius and Evodius were deputed to the Emperor with the following instructions³. They shall represent, that according to the Council of the foregoing year, the Prelates of the Donatists have been summoned by the municipal officers to come to an amicable conference. But that, distrusting their cause, they have scarcely dared to make any answer, and have committed excessive outrages, putting to death several Bishops and clergy, not to mention laymen; that they have also invaded the churches, and taken possession of some of them. "It now remains for the Emperors to provide for the safety of the Catholic Church, and prevent those headstrong men from terrifying the weak people whom they cannot seduce. The furious proceedings of the Circumcelliones, so often condemned by the laws, are notorious; and we think it lawful for us to ask for assistance against them, as even St. Paul availed himself of military aid against the conspiracy of factious men⁴. We therefore request, that

³ Dion.
Exig. Can.
Afr. 93.

⁴ Acts 23.
17, 23.

“ the magistrates of towns, and proprietors of neighbouring lands, may render true assistance to the Catholic Churches : that the law of the Emperor Theodosius¹, concerning the ten pounds of gold laid upon all heretics giving or receiving ordination, and on the proprietors of the places where they meet, should be confirmed and executed on those who assail the Catholics, and are prosecuted by them. We likewise pray, that the law which forbids heretics to give or receive, by gift or testament², should be put in execution against those who shall remain Donatists; but not against those who shall sincerely repent before they are legally prosecuted.”

A. D. 404.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 21.

² Ibid. l. 7. Supr. 18. 9.

It was moreover resolved, that letters should be written in the name of the Council to the Emperors, and to the great officers, to inform them that the deputies were sent to Court by the consent of all; but that it should suffice for those letters to be subscribed by Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, to avoid delay. That they should likewise write to the judges of Africa, that, until the deputies should return, they might give assistance to the Catholic Church, by means of the officers of the cities, and proprietors of lands. And lastly, that letters should be written to the Bishop of Rome, or to the Bishops of the places wherever the Emperor might be staying, to commend the deputies to their care.

It was probably during the time that St. Augustine resided at Carthage, on account of this Council, that he wrote his two letters concerning the affair of the Priest Boniface³. This Priest had laid an abominable crime to the charge of Spes, a young man living in St. Augustine's monastery. Spes, on the other hand, had retorted the crime upon Boniface, saying that he had himself solicited him to it. As there was no proof on either side, St. Augustine was a long while perplexed with this affair, and could not convict either of them, though he had a better opinion of the Priest, and gave most credit to what he said. He consequently resolved to leave them both to the judgment of God, till Spes, whom he suspected, should give him some grounds for expelling him from his monastery. But in the mean time Spes earnestly solicited him to promote him to Holy Orders, or to give him letters that he might be ordained elsewhere;

LIV. Affair of Spes and Boniface. ³ Aug. Ep. 78. al. 137. § 2, &c.

A. D. 404. to this, however, St. Augustine would not consent, by reason of the suspicion under which he lay.

On this, Spes began to demand the more urgently, that if he was refused ordination, the Priest Boniface ought likewise to be degraded. To this Boniface was willing to consent, rather than to cause a scandal, by publishing an affair from which he could not justify himself before mankind. But St. Augustine found a middle course, which was to make them both agree to repair to Nola, to visit the tomb of St. Felix; which agreement was reduced to writing. St. Augustine was assured that God would oblige the guilty person to confess his crime. He had witnessed a miracle of that kind at Milan, in the case of a thief, who, going to the tomb of a saint to make a false oath, was forced to own the robbery. The tomb of St. Felix was famous for the number of miracles which were performed there; and St. Augustine was sure of being better informed of what should pass there than elsewhere, by means of his friend St. Paulinus who was living there. Boniface and Spes were to repair thither privately and unknown. Boniface did not so much as take letters with him, to shew that he was a Priest, that he might be treated in the same manner as his adversary.

St. Augustine desired to conceal this affair from the Church, being apprehensive of the scandal it would occasion. Nevertheless it got abroad, and a demand was made that the name of Boniface should be struck off the catalogue of Priests. St. Augustine wrote first to Felix and Hilarinus, two of the chief persons amongst the Catholics of Hippo, telling them that he could not blot out the name of Boniface from among the Priests, because he had not convicted him of any crime, and was himself persuaded of his innocence¹; that the cause was then depending on the judgment of God, and that any such previous decision would be an insult to Him: just as in secular judgments, inferior judges dare not attempt any thing to the prejudice of an appeal. He then wrote to his clergy and people, a letter full of tenderness and charity², to support them under this scandal; in which he consents (according to their request) to erase the name of Boniface from the book which was read in the church, that they might give no occasion to the unbelievers³. He says in this letter,

¹ Ep. 77.
al. 136.

² Ep. 78.
al. 137.

³ § 4.
[2 Cor. 11.
12.]

that¹, “though God be every where present, and ought to
 “be worshipped in spirit and truth, yet it is not for us to
 “sound the depth of His counsels, or enquire why He works
 “miracles more in one place than in another.” Then he
 reprimands his people for upbraiding the Donatists with the
 fall of two Deacons who had come over from them². “We
 “ought not,” he says, “to upbraid them with any thing,
 “except because they are not Catholics, that we may not
 “imitate the accusations, for the most part false, which they
 “spread against the Church.” He takes God to witness³,
 that as he had never found better churchmen than those who
 had profited in the monasteries, so he had never found worse
 than those who had fallen in them.

At the end of this year, St. Augustine convinced Felix the
 Manichee, in a public conference. He was one of their
 elect, and of their doctors, and came to Hippo to spread his
 error⁴. Though unskilled in literature, he had more cun-
 ning than Fortunatus, with whom St. Augustine had dis-
 puted in the year 392⁵. After the first conference, in which
 Felix boasted that he would maintain the truth of the writ-
 ings of Manes, a second conference was agreed on, which
 was held publicly in the church of Hippo, and of which we
 have the acts written by the hands of public notaries, dated
 the seventh of the ides of December, under the sixth Con-
 sulship of Honorius; that is to say, on the seventh of De-
 cember, 404.

St. Augustine took into his hand the letter of Manes,
 which the Manichees call the Letter of the Foundation⁶.
 Felix acknowledged it, and read the beginning himself,
 where Manes called himself an Apostle of JESUS CHRIST.
 Then St. Augustine said to Felix, “Prove to us how this
 “Manes is an Apostle, for we do not find him in the Gospel.
 “We know him who was ordained in the room of Judas, viz.
 “St. Matthias; and him who was afterwards called from
 “heaven by the voice of the LORD.” Felix replied⁷; “Can
 “your Holiness prove how CHRIST hath fulfilled His promise
 “to send the HOLY GHOST?” St. Augustine read that pro-
 mise in the Gospel of St. Luke⁸, parallel to that in St. John⁹,
 which Felix had quoted. Then he read the beginning of the
 Acts of the Apostles, and the descent of the HOLY GHOST.

A. D. 404.

§ 3.

§ 8.

§ 9.

LV.
Conference
between
St. Augus-
tine and
Felix.⁴ Aug.
Retr. 2. 8.Possid.
Vit. 16.[Tillem.
xiii. S. Aug.
154.]⁵ Supr. 19.
39.⁶ Aug. viii.
de Act.
cum Fel.
I. c. 1.⁷ c. 2.⁸ Luke 24.
36, &c.
⁹ John 16.
13.

A. D. 404. Felix said¹, "Since you say that the Apostles received the
¹ Aug. viii. "HOLY GHOST, give me one of them who may either teach me
 de Act. "what Manes hath taught me, or else demolish his doctrine."
 cum Fel. St. Augustine replied²; "The Apostles were taken from the
 1. c. 6. "world before the errors of Manes were invented. There-
 2 c. 7. "fore it is that we do not find among their writings any
 "which dispute against him by name: nevertheless I will
 "read to you what the Apostle St. Paul hath foretold of
 "your sect;" and having turned to the Epistle to Timothy,
 he read that place where it is said, that³ "in the latter times
³ 1 Tim. "some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing
 4. 1. "spirits, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain
 "from meats, which God hath created to be received with
 "thanksgiving." Then he urged Felix to declare whether
 he believed that all meats, proper for the nourishment of
 man, were pure, and that marriage was lawful.

⁴ c. 9. Felix, instead of answering St. Augustine, said⁴, "You say
 that the HOLY GHOST is come in Paul. Notwithstanding,
⁵ 1 Cor. "he saith in another epistle⁵, that our knowledge is imper-
 13. 9. "fect, and that when perfection shall come, our knowledge
 "will be destroyed. Manes is come, and hath taught us the
 "beginning, the middle, and the end: he has instructed us
 "in the creation of the world, the causes of day and night,
 "the courses of the sun and moon; and as we have not
 "found these things in Paul, nor yet in the writings of the
 "other Apostles, we believe him to be the Paraclete." "We
⁶ c. 10. "do not read in the Gospel," replied St. Augustine⁶, "that
 "CHRIST hath said, 'I send you the Paraclete to instruct
 "you concerning the course of the sun and moon.' His
 "design was to make Christians, not mathematicians. It
 "is enough for men to know so much of those things as is
 "needful for the use of life, and this they are taught in the
 "schools. If not, I ask you, how many stars there are? and
 "you are bound to answer me, since you pretend that the
 "HOLY GHOST hath taught you matters of this nature. But
 "in the mean time, I will explain to you what St. Paul
 "saith concerning the imperfection of our knowledge. He
 "speaks of the state of this life, and to prove that he does
 "so, see what he saith: 'For now we see through a glass
 "darkly, but then face to face⁷.' Tell me, since you pre-

⁷ 1 Cor.
 13. 12.

“tend that the Apostle here spoke of the time of Manes, A. D. 404.
 “do you now see God face to face?”

Felix said¹, “I have not strength to resist your power, for ^{1 c. 12.}
 “the dignity of a Bishop is great, nor can I resist the laws
 “of the Emperors; and I have already desired you to teach me
 “briefly what is the Truth.” St. Augustine having recapitulated
 in few words all that had been hitherto said, and shewn that Felix
 was unable to answer him, added, “You have said that you fear
 the authority of a Bishop, though you see with what mildness we
 dispute: these people do you no violence, nor give you any cause
 to fear; they listen quietly, as becomes Christians. You have said
 that you fear the laws of the Emperors: a man who was filled with
 the HOLY GHOST, would feel no such fear as this in maintaining
 the true Faith.” Felix replied, “The Apostles themselves have
 feared.” “It is true,” said St. Augustine, “they feared so far as
 to conceal themselves, not so far as to deny their faith when they
 were apprehended. Yesterday you gave a petition to the Curator²
 of the city, declaring <sup>[² or Mayor. See Hoff-
 man.]</sup> publicly that you would be burnt with your books, if any
 thing false were found in them; so confidently did you appeal
 to the laws: and to-day you cowardly fly from the truth.”

Then Felix desired that they would bring him the writings of
 Manes, the five authors whom he had mentioned the day before,
 and particularly the book which was called the Treasure³. St.
 Augustine insisted, that it was sufficient to ^{3 c. 14.} examine
 the Epistle of the Foundation^p, which was one of those five books;
 and continuing to read it, he came to these words⁴: “His kingdoms
 are founded on a bright and happy ^{4 c. 17.} earth, in such sort
 that they can never be removed or shaken.” St. Augustine asked
 him, “If God had created

^p None of the books of the Manichees have come down to us entire. Of the Epistle of the Foundation (a work of Manes himself, written probably in Greek or Syriac, the title of which seems to confirm the conjecture of Tillemont, tom. xiii. S. Aug. 112, that it contained all the articles of his creed), the commencement has been preserved in the translation of St. Augustine, who has written a treatise ex-

pressly against this work (Aug. tom. viii.), in which he first quotes the text of his adversary entire, and then refutes it. He has however stopped at the place where Manes begins to unfold his system of the Two Principles, and the Origin of Things, though he had prepared his notes for the whole. (Retr. 2. 2.) See Beausobre's “Histoire Critique du Manicheisme,” Part 2. Dis. Prel. § 1, 2.

A. D. 404. "that earth, if He had begotten it, or if it was coeternal
¹ Aug. viii. "with Him?" After several evasions, Felix said¹ that this
 de Act. earth was neither created nor begotten, but coeternal with
 cum Fel. God; and that there were three things of the same sub-
 1. c. 18. stance, the Father unbegotten, the Earth unbegotten, and
 the Air unbegotten. Then St. Augustine read these words²:

* c. 19.

"But the Father of the most blessed light, knowing that
 "there would arise from darkness a great destruction to
 "threaten His holy Æons, unless He opposed to it an excel-
 "lent power, to overcome the nation of darkness, and by
 "its ruin secure an everlasting peace to the inhabitants of
 "light"—On this St. Augustine said, "How could this na-
 "tion of darkness hurt God, whose kingdoms, he has said a
 "little before, were built upon so solid a foundation, that
 "they could neither be removed nor shaken?" Felix replied,
 "If there be nothing opposed to God, why was CHRIST sent
 "to deliver us from the bonds of death? Why are we bap-
 "tized? Of what use is the Eucharist, and Christianity?"
 St. Augustine said, "CHRIST came to deliver us from our
 "sins, because we are not begotten of the substance of God,
 "but created by His Word. For there is a great differ-
 "ence between what is born of the substance of God, and
 "what He has created. All that He has created is subject
 "to change; but God is not subject to change, because the
 "work cannot be equal to the workman. But you, who
 "have just said that the Father who hath begotten children
 "of light, and the air, and the earth, and the children them-
 "selves, are all but one substance, and that every thing is
 "equal, you must needs tell me how that nation of darkness
 "could in any way hurt that incorruptible substance."

³ c. 20.

Felix replied³, "I require time to answer you." "How
 "long?" said St. Augustine: "Till to-morrow?" Felix an-
 "swered, "Give me three days; that is, to-day, to-morrow,
 "and the day after, or till the day after Sunday, which will
 "be the eve of the ides of December." St. Augustine granted
 him the time he desired. "But," continued he, "if you
 "are not able to answer on the day appointed, what will
 "be the result?" "I shall be vanquished," replied Felix.
 "What if you should take flight?" said St. Augustine.
 Felix answered, "I shall be guilty towards this city, and

“every other, as well as towards my own laws.” St. Augustine said to him, “Say rather, If I do so, may I be declared to have anathematized Manes.” “I cannot say that,” replied Felix. Then St. Augustine said, “Tell us plainly that you intend to fly. No one will detain you.” Felix engaged not to fly, and committed himself to the custody of one of those present, whose name was Boniface. Thus ended the first day of the conference.

On the day appointed, which was the twelfth of December, 404, they met again in the church¹. St. Augustine having described the state of the question, Felix said that he had not been able to prepare himself, because his books had not been returned him. St. Augustine replied, “Did you require so much time to find out this evasion? You desired a delay, but you did not ask for your books.” Felix answered, “I demand them now: let them be given me, and I will meet you in two days; and if I am overcome, I will submit to what you please.” St. Augustine said, “It is plain to all that you have no answer to make. But since you require your books which are kept under the public seal, take them; tell us which you choose should be produced, that you may look at it now, and then make answer.” Felix kept to the Epistle of the Foundation; and St. Augustine repeated his objection, and said, “If you worship an incorruptible God, in what could that adverse nation which you have framed in your imagination, be hurtful to Him? If nothing could hurt Him, He had no reason for mixing a part of Himself with the nature of the demons.” Felix, to justify Manes², attempted to prove^{2 c. 2.} by the Gospel and St. Paul, that there were two natures, one good and the other evil. To which St. Augustine replied³,^{3 c. 3.} that “whatever subsists naturally, whether visible or invisible, is the work of God, and that the origin of evil is free will;” which he proved not only by the Holy Scriptures⁴, but even^{4 c. 4.} by the books of the Manichees, by the “Treasure^{5 q.}” and by^{5 c. 5.}

LVI.
Second
meeting.
[¹ Aug.
viii. de
Act. cum
Fel. 2. c. 1.

¹ Of the “Treasure,” or the “Treasure of Life,” a title perhaps intended to imply that the treasure hid in the field (Matth. 13. 44.) had been discovered by the author, no notice has come down to us. It was attributed either to Manes himself, or to Sey-

thian, an Arabian philosopher and professing Christian, contemporary with Manes, who spent most of his life in Palestine, and perhaps visited Alexandria. Beausobre, Part 1. liv. 1. ch. 2, and liv. 2. ch. 4. § 6.

A. D. 404. the false "Acts of the Apostles" of Leucius¹; and concluded
¹ Aug. viii. by saying², "The God whom you feign, and who subsists
 de Act. "only in your imagination, mixes a part of himself unhap-
 cum Fel. "pily, purifies it shamefully, and condemns it cruelly." He
² c. 6. "pily, purifies it shamefully, and condemns it cruelly." He
³ c. 7. shewed, as he had done in the conference with Fortunatus³,
³ Supr. 19. that according to the Manichees, there would be no sin and
 c. 39, 40. no justice in punishing⁴; and that we ought carefully to dis-
⁴ c. 8. tinguish what is of God; as proceeding from His substance,
 that is to say, His Son; and what He hath created from
⁵ c. 15, &c. nothing, like His works⁵.

At last, after having often repeated the same things, Felix
⁶ c. 22. said, "Tell me what you would have me do⁶." St. August-
 tine replied, "Anathematize Manes, the author of these hor-
 rible blasphemies. But do it not against your will, for no
 "one compels you." Felix said, "Do you condemn him first,
 "that I may condemn him after you." St. Augustine replied,
 "I will do it in writing, and would have you do the same."
 Felix said, "Condemn also the spirit that hath thus spoken
 "by Manes." St. Augustine took a paper, and wrote these
 "words: "I, Augustine, Bishop of the Catholic Church,
 "have already anathematized Manes and his doctrine, and
 "the spirit which hath uttered through him such execrable
 "blasphemies, because it was a seducing spirit, not a spirit
 "of truth, but of abominable error; and I do now again
 "anathematize the said Manes and his spirit of error." He
 then gave the paper to Felix, who likewise wrote these
 words on it: "I Felix, who did believe in Manes, do
 "now anathematize him, and his doctrine, and the seduc-
 "ing spirit which was in him, and said that God had mixed
 "a part of Himself with the nation of darkness; that He
 "wrought a shameful deliverance of this part, by trans-

^r Leucius, the reputed author of many apocryphal writings, including gospels bearing the names of St. Peter and Nicodemus, together with an Apocalypse ascribed to St. Stephen, is maintained by M. Beausobre to have lived in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, and consequently more than a century before the birth of Manes in A. D. 240. His opinions, however, resembled those of the latter, and the Manichees availed themselves

of his "Acts," or "Voyages (*περιόδοι*) of the Apostles." Photius has left us a criticism on this work, which he strongly condemns (Phot. Bibl. Cod. 114); and several fragments of it are preserved in the acts of the second Council of Nicæa (A. D. 787), in one of which St. John is represented as condemning a portrait of himself procured by one Lycomedes. (Act. 5. Lab. vii. Mans. xiii. p. 167.) See Beausobre, Part 2. liv. 2. ch. 2—5.

“forming His virtues into females against male demons, A. D. 404.
 “and into males against female demons; and finally at-
 “tached the remnants of this part of Himself to an eternal
 “world of darkness. All this I do anathematize, with the
 “other blasphemies of Manes.” Then St. Augustine and
 Felix subscribed the Acts.

Some time after St. Augustine wrote against the Manichees
 a Treatise on the Nature of Good¹, shewing that God is the
 sovereign good, and an unchangeable nature, while all other
 natures, whether spiritual or corporeal, proceed from Him;
 that all, with respect to nature, are good; what is evil, and
 whence it cometh: how the Manichees, according to their
 fictions, intermixed evil with the nature of good, and good
 with the nature of evil. He quotes two passages of Manes,
 one out of the seventh book of his work called the Treasure,
 and the other out of the Epistle of the Foundation², where
 the source of those abominations of which the Manichees
 were accused, and sometimes convicted, may be plainly seen.
 For they believed that parts of the substance of light were
 mixed by generation with parts of the substance of dark-
 ness; and that they were separated from them when their
 elect ate those bodies wherein this mixture existed³. A
 Manichee, named Secundinus⁴, whom St. Augustine did not
 even know by sight, wrote to him as to a friend, and with
 demonstrations of respect; complaining of his attacking the
 doctrine of Manes in his writings, and exhorting him to
 acknowledge the truth. For he supposed that St. Augustine
 had renounced Manicheism only out of fear, and for the
 sake of temporal honours. St. Augustine answered him
 in a small treatise⁵, which he esteemed far the best of all
 which he had written against that heresy. In it he gives
 the reasons why he renounced it, and draws proofs even
 from Secundinus' letter, to refute it. To his argument of
 the small number of Manichees, he replies, that although
 the greatest number be wicked, yet great crimes are rare.
 Therefore, he says, “See whether it be not the horror of
 “your impiety which makes that smallness of number you
 “boast of.”

About the same time St. Augustine wrote a work⁶, which
 is lost, against a Catholic named Hilarus, who had been Tri-
LVII. Other works against the Manichees. ¹ Aug. Retr. 2. 9. ² Aug. viii. de Nat. Bon. 44, 46. ³ Supr. 19. [8. note t.] ⁴ Retr. 2. 10. ⁵ Aug. viii. cont. Sec. Man. ⁶ Retr. 2. 11.

A. D. 404. bune, and who, being incensed against the clergy, exclaimed loudly against the custom, which had then begun to be adopted at Carthage, of singing psalms at the Altar, either before the offering, or during the time of Communion¹: at present, Anthems only are sung.

[¹ See
Bingh. 15.
5. § 10.]

END OF THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND BOOK.

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| <p>I. The Occupations of St. Chrysostom at Cucusus.</p> <p>II. His sufferings.</p> <p>III. Deputation for him from the West.</p> <p>IV. Decretal to St. Exuperius.</p> <p>V. Vigilantius and his Errors.</p> <p>VI. Treatise of St. Jerome against Vigilantius.</p> <p>VII. Outrages of the Donatists.</p> <p>VIII. Laws against them.</p> <p>IX. Death of Arsacius. Atticus Bishop of Constantinople.</p> <p>X. Violence against the Deputies of the West.</p> <p>XI. The Eastern Bishops ill used.</p> <p>XII. Letters of St. Chrysostom to Rome, &c.</p> <p>XIII. His Death.</p> <p>XIV. The Council of Carthage.</p> <p>XV. Laws of Honorius for the Church.</p> <p>XVI. The Barbarians in Gaul.</p> <p>XVII. The Sedition of Calama.</p> <p>XVIII. Laws for the Church.</p> <p>XIX. Rome besieged by Alaric.</p> <p>XX. Attalus Emperor.</p> <p>XXI. Rome taken and plundered.</p> <p>XXII. The Romans dispersed.</p> <p>XXIII. Tumult at Hippo for Pinianus.</p> <p>XXIV. Letters of St. Augustine upon the Oath of Pinianus.</p> <p>XXV. Disinterestedness of St. Augustine.</p> <p>XXVI. Law against the Donatists.</p> | <p>XXVII. Heretics prosecuted in the East.</p> <p>XXVIII. Preliminaries of the Conference at Carthage.</p> <p>XXIX. Proposals of the Catholics.</p> <p>XXX. Sermons of St. Augustine.</p> <p>XXXI. Acts of Delegation.</p> <p>XXXII. First Day of the Conference.</p> <p>XXXIII. Cavils of the Donatists.</p> <p>XXXIV. Verification of the Subscriptions.</p> <p>XXXV. Number of Bishops.</p> <p>XXXVI. Second Day.</p> <p>XXXVII. Third Day.</p> <p>XXXVIII. Question of the Church.</p> <p>XXXIX. Cause of Cecilian.</p> <p>XL. Conclusion of the Conference.</p> <p>XLI. Ordination of Synesius.</p> <p>XLII. Letter to Theophilus, concerning a friend of St. Chrysostom's.</p> <p>XLIII. Affairs of Paul of Erythrum.</p> <p>XLIV. Other affairs of Cyrenaica.</p> <p>XLV. Excommunication of Andronicus.</p> <p>XLVI. Death of Theophilus. St. Cyril Bishop of Alexandria.</p> <p>XLVII. St. Augustine intercedes for the Donatists.</p> <p>XLVIII. His Employments.</p> <p>XLIX. Council of Cirthea.</p> <p>L. Political Letter to Marcellinus.</p> <p>LI. Letter to Volusian.</p> <p>LII. Letter to Macedonius.</p> |
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXII.

A. D. 404.

I.
The occupations of St. Chrysostom at Cucusus.

¹ Soz. 8. 27.

Pall. Vit. p. 38.

THE banishment of St. Chrysostom only rendered him more illustrious by the virtues he practised¹. Being supplied with large sums of money by his friends, and particularly by St. Olympias, he redeemed many captives from the Isaurians, and sent them to their homes. He assisted the poor in their wants, particularly in the time of a famine, which happened there during his exile. He instructed and comforted those who were not in want of money, so that he gained the affection not only of the people of Armenia, among whom he lived, but also of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. Several persons came to visit him from Antioch, and other parts of Syria and Cilicia. He often refused money that was sent him, as appears by a letter to a lady named Carteria²; and by another to a man of rank, named Diogenes³. He declines their liberality, declaring that he had no want of money, and that he would freely ask when he felt the need of it. Nevertheless, after he had written this last letter, he was so earnestly solicited by Aphraates, who had apparently been sent by Diogenes, that he yielded; but only on this condition, that it should be employed for the relief of the Churches of Phœnicia, where Aphraates himself was going to labour.

² Chrys. Ep. 232. al. 132.

³ Ep. 50, 51. al. 57, 58.

⁴ Supr. 21. 42.

For St. Chrysostom, during his banishment, never ceased to take care of those infant Churches⁴; and being informed that the persecution was revived against them, and that the pagans in their fury had killed or wounded several of the Monks, he wrote a most pressing letter to Rufinus the Priest, to hasten thither, being persuaded that his presence would be sufficient to put an end to all those disorders⁵. He begs him to write constantly to him, even on his journey; and promises him every possible assistance, both from himself and others: by writing unceasingly even, if necessary, to Constantinople. Then he adds: "As to the relics of the

⁵ Ep. 126. al. 191.

“holy Martyrs, take no thought about them; for I have just sent the Priest Terentius to the most pious Otreïus, Bishop of Arabissus¹, who has a quantity of them undoubtedly genuine²; which in a few days I will send to you in Phœnicia. Be diligent to finish before winter the churches which are not yet roofed.” These last words lead us to infer that these relics were designed for the consecration of the Altars of these new churches³. He wrote in the same way to the Priest Gerontius⁴, urging him to repair thither with speed; assuring him that he should stand in need of nothing, either for the buildings, or for the necessities of the brethren, for that he had charged the Priest Constantius to supply him. He prays likewise the Priest Nicolaus⁵ to hasten the departure of Gerontius, and to send with him the Priest John, in order to strengthen that falling Church, by the help of so many good labourers. The Priest John accordingly went on that mission; and St. Chrysostom wrote to Symeon and Maris, Priests and Monks of Apamea, entreating them to supply him with more good workmen to attend him into Phœnicia⁶.

He wrote also to the Priests and Monks who were labouring in the instruction of the pagans of Phœnicia⁷; and lest the persecutions should dishearten them, and induce them to leave the country, he promises that they shall want nothing, either in food or raiment. “Let none then terrify you,” he adds: “for we have reason to hope for better things, as you will see by the copies of the letters from the venerable Priest Constantius.” He represents to them the courage of the Apostles, and particularly of St. Paul, who preached even whilst imprisoned and in fetters, and converted the gaoler⁸; and exhorts them to continue firm and immoveable; saying, that he sends the Priest John to comfort them, and bid them write to him, and acquaint him with all their wants. His care was the same for the Churches of Gothia^a;

A. D. 404.

[¹ a town of Armenia near Cucusus.][² ἀναμφισβήτητα.][³ Supr. 20. [3. note o.][⁴ Ep. 54. al. 55.][⁵ Ep. 53. al. 169.][⁶ Ep. 55. al. 204.][⁷ Ep. 123. al. 186.][⁸ Acts 16. 25.]

^a This Gothia was probably not the country of the *Visigoths*, who crossed the Danube in the reign of the Emperor Valens, and received from him and their Bishop Ulfilas the Arian heresy, but that of the *Ostrogoths*, who remained in the eastern part of Scythia about the mouth of the Don. (See

Jornandes de rebus Geticis, p. 95. ed. Lindenbrogii.) Hence the passage to them from Constantinople was by the [Cimmerian] Bosphorus. (Supr. 21. 45. So Tillemont, xi. S. Chrys. 54.) They were perhaps, as Tillemont conjectures, included among the Nomades mentioned in bk. 20. 41.

A. D. 404. and he wrote to the Deacon Theodulus about them, in the following terms¹. “However great the storm, however urgent
¹ Ep. 206. al. 213. “the endeavours of those who strive to ruin the Church of
 “Gothia, fail not, yourselves, to do your part; though you
 “gain nothing else by it (which however I do not believe)
 “the reward of your good will is always laid up for you with
 “God. Therefore, dear brother, be not discouraged in your
 “care and labour. Above all things pray, and continue
 “daily to beg with fervency of God, that He may restore
 “peace to His Church. Meanwhile use all your endeavours,
 “as I wrote to you before, to gain time in this affair.” He
 undoubtedly means the ordination of the Bishop, about which
² Supr. 21. al. 45. he had written to St. Olympias². He likewise wrote about
 the same to the Gothic Monks, who were in the monastery
 of Promotus at Constantinople³.

St. Chrysostom was informed that two Priests, whom he had left at Constantinople, Sallustius and Theophilus, were not zealous enough in encouraging the people who continued faithful to him, and were remiss in their attendance at their meetings for Divine Service; that Sallustius had preached but five times in the interval between his departure and October, and Theophilus not at all. He was extremely grieved at this, and wrote to them both in very strong terms⁴; as also to Theodorus⁵, a friend of Sallustius, and one of the Præfect’s officers, probably the same who had conducted him to Cucusus. “If it be a calumny,” said he to them, “justify
⁴ Ep. 203. al. 198. ad Sall. Ep. 119, 212. al. 119, 121. ad Theoph. ⁵ Ep. 210. al. 113. “yourselves; if the truth, reform. Consider what judgment
 “such negligence may draw down upon you from God. These
 “times of calamity are the times for laying up spiritual
 “riches.” “And fear not,” he says to Theophilus, “to give
 “me an account of your good works, since in so doing you
 “only obey my commands.”

II. The winter, always severe in Armenia, proved more than
 usually so in the year 404; and St. Chrysostom, a native of
 Antioch, (where also he had spent the greatest part of his
 life,) and now for a long time past an invalid, was extremely
 distressed by it. The following is what he wrote to St. Olympias at the beginning of the year 405⁶. “I write to you on
⁶ Ep. ad Olymp. 6. al. 5. “my deliverance from the gates of death. Therefore I am
 “rejoiced that those who came from you did not arrive

“ sooner ; for had they found me in the extremity of my A. D. 405.
 “ illness, I could not easily have deceived you, by sending
 “ you good tidings. The winter, more severe than usual, has
 “ increased my stomach complaint ; and I have passed these
 “ two last months in a condition worse than death, since I
 “ had only so much life as left me sensible of my sufferings.
 “ All was night alike to me, the day, the morning, and the
 “ noon. I passed whole days in bed, and tried in vain a
 “ thousand inventions to protect myself from the cold. It
 “ was to no purpose that I kept fires burning, endured the
 “ smokes, shut myself in my chamber without daring to stir
 “ out, and loaded myself with a hundred coverings : all the
 “ while I suffered excruciating torments, continual sickness,
 “ head-ache, loss of appetite, and inability to sleep through
 “ those long and tedious nights. But not to pain you any
 “ longer ; I am now recovered : the spring no sooner arrived,
 “ and the weather grew a little milder, than all my ailments
 “ left me of themselves. I am still, however, obliged to ob-
 “ serve a strict regimen in my diet, and to eat but little, that
 “ my digestion may be easier.”

And in another letter to the same¹ : “ Since you desire to
 “ hear from me, I write to tell you that I am recovered from
 “ my great illness, though I yet feel some effects of it ; I have
 “ good physicians, but we are in want here of remedies, and
 “ other things necessary to restore a wasted body. We even
 “ now foresee a famine and plague : and to increase our mis-
 “ fortunes, the continual incursions of robbers make our
 “ roads impassable. Therefore I pray you not to send any
 “ one here : for I fear it might be the cause of their being
 “ murdered, which, as you well know, would exceedingly
 “ afflict me.” He wrote in the same manner to a Deacon
 “ whose name was Theodotus². “ It was no slight comfort to
 “ me in this solitude, to be able constantly to write to
 “ you : but the incursions of the Isaurians have deprived me
 “ even of this ; for they have begun to appear again with
 “ the spring ; they are spread over the country, and have
 “ made all the roads impassable. They have already taken
 “ some ladies of rank, and murdered several men.” Then
 “ he continues ; “ After having suffered very much during the
 “ winter, I am now somewhat better, though still uneasy

¹ Ep. ad
 Olymp. 15.
 al. 14.

² Ep. 140.
 al. 107.

A. D. 405. "from the unusual severity of the weather: for we are still
 "in the depth of winter; but I hope that the fair weather
 "of summer will disperse the remains of my illness. For
 "nothing is more injurious to my health than cold, and
 "nothing does me more good than warmth." In another
 letter to the same Theodotus¹, he says, "I dare not at this
 "time invite you to Armenia, so great are our calamities.
 "Wherever we go, we see torrents of blood, multitudes of
 "dead bodies, houses demolished, and towns destroyed. We
 "thought we should be safe in this fortress, where we are
 "confined as in a gloomy prison; but we can enjoy no peace
 "even here." "For," he says, in another letter², "the
 "Isaurians attack these places also."

¹ Ep. 68.
al. 104.

² Ep. 131.
al. 67. ad
Elpid.

³ Ep. 69.
al. 170. ad
Nicol.

⁴ Ep. 127.
al. 183.

This was the fortress of Arabissus, as appears by the same
 letter, and by another³, in which he says: "Having found
 "some intermission, we have taken refuge in Arabissus,
 "where the fortress seemed more secure than any other;
 "for we do not reside in the town. But death is daily at
 "our gates, for the Isaurians devastate the whole country
 "with fire and sword. We fear a famine, from the multi-
 "tude of people blocked up in so close a place." And in
 another letter to Polybius he writes⁴: "The fear of the
 "Isaurians makes every one seek safety in flight: the towns
 "are nothing but walls and roofs; the ravines and forests
 "are become cities. The inhabitants of Armenia are like
 "the lions and leopards, who find their safety only in the
 "deserts. We daily change our habitations, like the No-
 "mades and Scythians; and often little children, hastily
 "removed by night in the excessively cold weather, are left
 "dead in the snow."

⁵ Ep. 61,
141. al. 102,
108. ad
Theod. ex
Cons. et
136, 102.
al. 105, 111.
ad Theod.
Lect.

These continual alarms obliged him to send back a young
 Reader, named Theodotus⁵, whom he had taken with him to
 instruct and form in piety; another additional reason being
 an affection of Theodotus' eyes, to which very hot or very
 cold weather was equally injurious. He therefore sent him
 back to his father, a man of Consular rank, and also named
 Theodotus, and with him the presents also which his father
 had made him. He commended the young Reader to the
 Deacon Theodotus as his spiritual guide, and wrote to him
 himself, consoling him, and exhorting him to pay great at-

tention to his eyes, and to apply himself as much as possible to read the Holy Scriptures. "Study their letter," he says, "unceasingly, and some day I will explain to you their sense." After St. Chrysostom had been a year at Cucusus, his enemies procured his removal to Arabissus¹, that is to say, from the end of the year 405, he apparently had not the liberty, as before, of going from the one place to the other. These towns were, however, near each other, Arabissus lying more to the north.

In the mean while his friends at Rome were not idle. Demetrius, Bishop of Pesinus, went there a second time, after having travelled over the East, and published the communion of the Roman Church with St. Chrysostom, by shewing the letters of Pope Innocent². Demetrius brought with him letters from the Bishops of Caria, by which it appeared that they adhered to the communion of St. Chrysostom, and from the Priests of Antioch, who likewise followed the example of Rome, complaining of the ordination of Porphyrius as irregular. Soon after, there arrived at Rome the Priest Domitian, Steward of the Church of Constantinople³, and a Priest of Nisibis, named Vallagas or Vologeses, who represented the grievances of the Churches of Mesopotamia^b. These two Priests brought with them to Rome the Acts of Optatus, Præfect of Constantinople; from which it appeared that several ladies of rank, of Consular families, and Deaconesses of the Church of Constantinople, as, for instance, Olympias and Pentadia, had been summoned publicly to appear before the Præfect, to be compelled to communicate with Arsacius, or pay into the treasury two hundred pounds of gold. There were at the same time at Rome, several ascetics and virgins, who shewed the marks of laceration of their sides and stripes on their shoulders.

Pope Innocent was moved at these grievances, and wrote to the Emperor Honorius, giving him in detail the contents of the letters which he had received. The Emperor gave orders that a Council should be assembled, and that he should be made acquainted with the result of its delibera-

^b They were probably suffering under the violent measures employed to induce them to recognise Porphyrius, and separate from the communion of St. Chrysostom. Tillemont, xi. S. Chrys. 117.

A. D. 405.

¹ Pall. Vit. p. 38.

III. Deputation for St. Chrysostom from the West. ² Pall. Vit. p. 11.

³ Supr. 20. 6. note p.

A. D. 405.

¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 12.

tions¹. Accordingly the Bishops of Italy met, and prayed the Emperor Honorius to write to his brother the Emperor Arcadius, to summon a Council at Thessalonica, that the Bishops of the East and West might conveniently repair thither, and form a Council perfect, not so much by the number, as by the quality of their votes, and then proceed to give a definitive judgment. Honorius having received this advice, wrote to the Pope to send five Bishops, with two Priests and a Deacon from Rome, to carry a letter which he wrote to his brother Arcadius in the following terms.

“This is the third time I have written to your clemency, praying you to repair what has been done by cabal against John, Bishop of Constantinople: but it seems my letters have had no effect. I therefore write to you again by these Bishops and Priests, having greatly at heart the peace of the Church, on which depends that of our empire; and pray you to give orders that the Bishops of the East may meet at Thessalonica; for those of our empire of the West have chosen men proof against malice or imposture, and have sent five Bishops, two Priests, and a Deacon, from the great Roman Church. Receive them with all honour; that in case they should be convinced that the Bishop John was justly expelled, they may either persuade me to renounce his communion, or you to renounce that of the Easterns², should they be convicted of having acted in a spirit of malice. As to the opinions of the Westerns, in respect to Bishop John, you will see them by these two letters, which I have chosen out of all that were sent to me, as expressing the spirit of all the others, viz. one of the Bishop of Rome, and the other of the Bishop of Aquileia. But above all things I entreat you to secure the presence of Theophilus of Alexandria at the Council, though it be even against his own inclination; for he is accused of being the chief author of all these evils.”

[² V. Ed.
Bened.]

Although the letter speaks of five Bishops, only four are mentioned as being sent on this deputation, viz. Æmilius, Bishop of Beneventum, Gaudentius of Brescia, and Cythegius and Marian, whose sees are not known. They were attended by the Priests Valentinian and Boniface, and carried letters from the Emperor Honorius, from Pope Innocent, Chromatius

of Aquileia, Venerius of Milan, and other Bishops of Italy, with an instruction¹ giving notice of a Council of the whole West. They set out for Constantinople in carriages provided by the Emperor; and were accompanied by four Eastern Bishops, who returned with them, viz. Cyriacus, Demetrius, Palladius, and Eulysius. The instruction of the deputies set forth that John ought not to appear in judgment till he had been restored to his Church and to communion, that he might have no reason for refusing to enter into the Council.

About the same time, St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, having asked the advice of Pope St. Innocent concerning various points of discipline, received in answer a decretal letter². As to the continence of clergy, St. Innocent refers him³ to the decretal of St. Siricius written twenty years before⁴, and determines that the Deacons and Priests who through ignorance of that ordinance had lived with their wives, should keep their rank, on condition that they should for the time to come live in continence, and be incapable of promotion to any higher dignity: but that they who were aware of that decretal should be deposed⁵. As to those persons who since their Baptism had lived in a state of intemperance, and desired the Communion at the hour of death, St. Innocent says⁶ that the ancient discipline was more severe, and that the Church granted them only penance, and not the Communion⁷; that is to say, that there was a penance laid on them, after which they were left to the mercy of God, without receiving absolution. But at present, writes St. Innocent, both are granted to them. He assigns a reason for this mitigation. At a time when persecutions were frequent, the Church was afraid that if restoration to communion were easy, and reconciliation sure, there would be no sufficient motive to deter from lapsing; but since the Church is in peace, she has shewn a greater regard to Divine Mercy, and has been unwilling to imitate the hard-heartedness of the Novatians⁸. It is worth observing, that discipline was more severe in the time of persecution; as well as the general principle, that it may vary according to circumstances^c.

A. D. 405.
[¹ ἰπομνη-
στικόν,
commoni-
torium.]

IV.
Decretal to
St. Exu-
perius.

² Innoc.
Ep. 3.
Concil. ii.
(Mans. iii.)
³ c. 1.
⁴ Supr. 18.
c. 34, 35.

[⁵ Supr. 19,
22. note h.]

⁶ Innoc.
Ep. 3. c. 7.

⁷ Fleury, 7.
3. Cyr.
Ep. 52.
ad Anton.

[⁸ Supr. 19.
23. and
18. 8.
note d.]

^c Every actual and open breach of the commandments of the Decalogue (a list of which may be found in Bingh.

bk. 16.) was visited with public penance; while the lesser sins of daily life were supposed to be cleansed by a daily and

A. D. 405. A question had arisen, whether Christians after their Baptism could put criminal judgments in execution, or even present petitions to demand any punishments which implied bloodshed¹. St. Innocent replies, that since the public authority, which bears the sword for the vengeance of crimes, is established by God, it is lawful for Christians to implore it, and even to put it in execution. St. Ambrose, when consulted upon this head, had returned the same answer². St. Innocent declares³ that such persons as shall, after a divorce, contract a new marriage, are adulterers; and that those whom they shall marry are guilty of the same crime; so that both ought to be excluded from the communion of the faithful. This was written because divorces were then tolerated by the civil laws. He observes that men did not do penance for adultery so frequently as women⁴; not but that the Christian religion condemned that crime as much in the one as in the other; but because women did not so often accuse their husbands, and because the Church could only punish known sins. At the end of his decretal⁵, he sets down a catalogue of the Sacred Books, such as we have them to this day, and mentions some others as Apocryphal, and condemned^d. This decretal

¹ Innoc. Ep. 3. c. 3, 5.

² Supr. 18. 57. c. 6.

⁴ c. 4.

⁵ c. 7.

private repentance. (Ambros. de Pœnit. 2. 10.) Public penance was allowed but once (Bingh. 18. 4. § 1), and even sometimes absolutely refused to great criminals in the early Church (Cypr. Ep. 52. ad Anton. p. 72); and even when penance was granted to the conscience-stricken sinner, demanding it for the first time at the point of death, the Communion was still refused, i. e. the Church did not venture to pronounce him absolved. Many instances of this occur in the canons of the Council of Eliberis, A. D. 305 (Mans. ii.), and one in that of Sardica, A. D. 347. (Can. 2. Mans. iii. Lab. ii.) Thus the *practice* of the Church in some cases agreed with that of the Novatians; their difference was in *principle*, the Church claiming, what the Novatians refused to grant, a discretionary power of absolving those who fell into grievous sin after Baptism, so that she accorded or withheld her pardon, as the circumstances of the time seemed to demand. (Cypr. Ep. 52. ad Anton. p. 72.) Hence the rigour, so useful in times of persecution, was gradually abated in the

more peaceful seasons that followed: and at all times great liberty was allowed to Bishops in dispensing with the general rules. (Socr. 6. 21.) See Bingh. bk. 18. For the practice of the Church in death-bed repentance, see Bishop Jeremy Taylor on Repentance (vol. viii. pp. 477, 516), and also for the whole question of ecclesiastical absolution, in vol. ix. p. 252, &c.

^d St. Innocent includes in the canon of Scripture the books of Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Tobias, Judith, the two books of Esdras, and the two books of Maccabees; agreeing in this with the Council of Carthage, A. D. 397. (Supr. 20. 26.) This latter is the earliest instance on record of the admission of these books into the Canonical Scriptures. The Jews, to whom the oracles of God were first committed, accurately distinguished between the Divine writings (τὰ θεῖα) of the Prophets down to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus (A. D. 425), and the fallible, though genuine, productions of their later writers. (Joseph. contr. Ap. 1. 8.) The early Christians, though in general they

letter is dated on the tenth of the calends of March, under the Consulship of Stilico and Anthemius, that is to say, on the twentieth of February, 405.

St. Exuperius, to whom this decretal was directed, was one of the most illustrious Bishops of Gaul. It is supposed that he is the person whom St. Paulinus calls a Priest of the Church of Bourdeaux¹. St. Jerome commends his charity, saying, that, though a Bishop, he fasted himself that he might feed others². "No man is richer," he says, "than he, who

¹ Paulin. Ep. 12. al. 21. ad Amand. in fin. ² Hier. Ep. 95. al. 4. ad Rust. in fin.

held several other books in a degree of reverence closely approximating to that with which they regarded the canonical writings, yet, whenever they were compelled to use more definite language, adhered strictly to the Jewish canon. In the Eastern Church, Melito, Bishop of Sardes, A. D. 160 (ap. Euseb. 4. 26), Origen, A. D. 220 (Ibid. 6. 25), the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 320 or 364 (can. 60), (whose canons were confirmed at Chalcedon by the voice of the Catholic Church), St. Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 360 (Catech. 4), St. Athanasius (Fest. Ep.), St. Gregory Nazianzen (Poem. 1. 12), St. Jerome (Præf. ad Samuel, tom. i. p. 318): and in the West, St. Hilary, A. D. 350 (Prol. in Psalm.), and Rufinus, A. D. 398 (in Symb. Apost.), have given lists of the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, which, though not always agreeing with our present division, (for Nehemiah, and sometimes Esther [?] are included in the two books of Ezra, while Baruch (Jer. 36. 4. and 43. 6) and the Epistle (Ibid. 29) are disjoined from the book of Jeremiah), yet exactly correspond in substance to the canon set forth by our own Church in the sixth Article. But besides the *canonical* Scriptures, the early Christians recognised a second class of *ecclesiastical* writings (Ruffin. in Symb. Apost.), which, though varying in different Churches, sometimes included not only the books now called Apocryphal, but also the Shepherd of Hermas, the Doctrine or Constitutions of the Apostles, and the Epistle of Clement (Ath. Fest. Ep.), and which, though confessedly, in the technical sense of the word, uninspired, were yet held in great esteem, and appointed to be read in the churches. And these the ancient writers repeatedly quote under the title of Divine or Holy Scriptures: while the term *Apocryphal* seems to have

been generally confined to forged and heretical writings, in which sense St. Innocent here employs it. While the Council of Carthage, in A. D. 397, included for the first time the above-mentioned six of the ecclesiastical books under the title of canonical Scriptures, they also explained the meaning they attached to this term, by ordering that nothing else *be read in the church* (can. 47); and this explanation is confirmed by the judgment of a later African Bishop, Junilius, A. D. 543. (de part. Div. Leg. 1. c. 3 and 7.) This decretal of St. Innocent, which is the next evidence in favour of the canonical character of these books, is succeeded by another of Pope Gelasius and seventy Bishops in Council, A. D. 494 (Concil. Mans. viii. p. 145. Lab. iv. p. 1260), the authenticity of both of which is, however, disputed, and which, if authentic, may mean no more by the term than the Council of Carthage did. The next witness, after an interval of nine centuries, filled with testimonies to the original canon from both Greek and Latin writers, is found in an article of doubtful authenticity contained in a decree of Eugenius IV. at the Council of Florence, A. D. 1439, at the same time that Felix V. was holding another Council at Basle. From this we come to the Council of Trent, which declared (Sess. 4. A. D. 1546) that it received these six ecclesiastical books, as also the book of Baruch, with equal veneration, "as proceeding from the mouth of CHRIST, or dictated by the HOLY GHOST;" and added, "If any refuse to admit them for sacred and canonical, let him be anathema." See Bingham. 14. 3. § 16; Bishop Beveridge on Art. 6; Du Pin's History of the Canon, c. 1; and for a full detail of the historical evidence, Bishop Cosin's Scholastical History of the Canon.

A. D. 405. "carries the Body of the LORD in a wicker basket, and His Blood in a glass;" alluding to his having sold the sacred vessels for the maintenance of the poor^e. He extols him for having purged the Church of simony, and ascribes to his merits the preservation of the city of Toulouse, in the midst of the devastations of the Barbarians¹. About that time, St. Exuperius sent the Monk Sisinnius into the East with a sum of money for the relief of the Monks of Palestine and Egypt. Sisinnius delivered letters to St. Jerome from St. Exuperius, from the Monks Minervius and Alexander, and other pious persons, proposing questions to him relating to the Holy Scriptures². On this occasion, St. Jerome sent to St. Exuperius his commentary upon the Prophet Zachariah, which he composed at the same time, under the Consulate of Arcadius and Anicius Probus, in the year 406³. He sent his commentary upon Malachi to Minervius and Alexander, with a long epistle on the last Judgment and the Resurrection.

¹ Ep. 91. al. 11. ad Ager. p. 748.

² Ep. 9. al. 152. ad Min. tom. iv. pars 1. A. D. 406. ³ Præf. in Lib. 1, 2. Zach. et in Lib. 3. Amos. tom. iii.

V.

Vigilantius, and his errors.

⁴ Hier. iv. p. 281. in Vigil. Gennad. de Script. 36.

⁵ Paulin. Ep. 5. al. 1. ad Sev. c. 11. Supr. 19. 56. Hier. Ep. 49. al. 13. ad Paul. in fin.

⁶ In Vigil. p. 286.

⁷ Ep. 36, 37. al. 75, 53.

By the same Monk Sisinnius, St. Jerome sent into Gaul his treatise against Vigilantius to the Priests Riparius and Desiderius, who had desired it of him⁴. Vigilantius was a Gaul, of the town of Convenæ, now Comminges. He went into Spain, sold wine there, and then was made Priest of the Church of Barcelona. Here it was, probably, that he became acquainted with St. Paulinus, who speaks of him in his letters as a friend, and commended him to St. Jerome when he went into Palestine⁵. For Vigilantius made that voyage, and resided some time at Jerusalem; where he was at the time of the earthquake, which happened in the year 394⁶. Thence he travelled into Egypt and other countries, where he began to teach his errors⁷; he even attacked St. Jerome, accusing him of Origenism, because he had seen him read the works of Origen. St. Jerome wrote to him on this subject about

^e Though the sacred vessels of the Church were esteemed devoted to God, and therefore in general not to be diverted to any other purpose, yet it was always usual to dispose of them to meet the exigencies of any extraordinary case of charity. St. Ambrose (de Offic. 2. 28) and St. Augustine (Possid. Vit. 2^d) both melted down the plate of their

respective churches for the redemption of captives: St. Cyril of Jerusalem sold the church ornaments to supply the poor in a famine (Soz. 4. 25); and some of the accusations in the Council of the Oak (supr. 21. 18) seem to indicate a similar conduct in St. Chrysostom.

the year 397, shewing him that he read those books only to profit by what was good in them; and exhorts Vigilantius to get more learning, or be silent¹. A. D. 406.

About seven years after, i. e. about the year 404², the Priest Riparius wrote to St. Jerome, to acquaint him that Vigilantius had begun again to teach, and that he spoke against the relics of Martyrs and vigils in the church. To which St. Jerome answered in few words, adding, that if the book of Vigilantius were sent him, he would answer it more at large³. Accordingly it was sent to him. The Monk Sisinnius, sent by St. Exuperius, was likewise entrusted by the Priests Riparius and Desiderius with the work of Vigilantius⁴. St. Jerome read it, and answered it with great vehemence in a treatise, which he dictated in a single night; because Sisinnius was in haste to set out for Egypt⁵.

St. Jerome there refutes all the errors of Vigilantius, whom he calls the successor of the heretic Jovinian, because he blamed the profession of continence. He condemned the reverence that was paid to the relics of Martyrs, and called those who honoured them Cinerarii⁶ and Idolaters. He called the custom of lighting wax tapers in full daylight in their honour, a pagan superstition; and maintained that after death we could not pray for one another, insisting upon a passage of the apocryphal book of Esdras⁷. He said that the miracles wrought at the sepulchres of the Martyrs benefited none but unbelievers⁸. He condemned the public vigils in the churches, excepting only on Easter Eve; and wished that Hallelujah should be sung upon that feast only⁹.

¹ Vigilantius did not deny the fact of the miracles wrought at the Martyrs' tombs, but only complained of the objects to which they were directed.

² The singing of Hallelujah (Praise the LORD) being held to be representative of the future occupation of the Saints in heaven (Rev. 19), was in many places reserved for high festivals. Thus the Roman Church allowed it to be sung on Easter-Day alone; the African Church only on Sundays, and during the festal season between Easter and Whit-Sunday (supr. 20. 45): but the Spanish Church forbade the use of it only on fast-days, and during Lent. See Bingham, 14. 2. § 4. It was retained in the first Prayer Book of Ed-

ward VI., where it was appointed to be used immediately after the versicles—"V. Praise ye the LORD. R. The LORD'S Name be praised"—from Easter to Trinity Sunday. It was however omitted in the later revisions, probably because the sense was considered to be expressed in the foregoing versicles. Wheatley, 3. 7.

We are not told the reason of Vigilantius for wishing to confine the use of the word to Easter; nor does St. Jerome answer this point. Perhaps it was merely personal opposition to St. Jerome, if it is true that the latter introduced the custom of singing it during other seasons at Rome. Tillemont xiii. S. Jerome, 24. and note 6.

¹ Ep. 36. al. 75.

² In Vigil. p. 285.

³ Ep. 37. al. 53. ad Rip.

⁴ Hier. iv. p. 282. in Vigil.

[⁵ Ibid. in fin.]

[⁶ i. e. Ash-worship-pers]

⁷ 2 Esd. 7. 45.

A. D. 406. He blamed the custom of sending alms to Jerusalem, and of selling our goods to be distributed amongst the poor, saying that it was better to keep our possessions, and only distribute the income. He condemned in general the monastic life, saying that it rendered a man useless to his neighbour. These were the errors of Vigilantius; and there were even Bishops who followed them, especially in the point of continence, on the ground of its proving a cause of licentiousness. They would only admit married persons to Deacons' orders; and this probably was the occasion of the correspondence of the Bishops of Spain with Pope St. Siricius, and of the Bishops of Gaul with Pope St. Innocent.

VI.
Treatise of
St. Jerome
against Vi-
gilantius.

[¹ Supr. 19.
31. note k.]

[² Supr. 20.
13. note o.]

[³ Theod.
Lect. 2.61.]

St. Jerome answers, on this last head: "What shall we say to the Churches of the East, of Egypt, and of the Apostolical See, which ordain clergy such as are virgins, or observe continence, or if they have wives, cease to be their husbands?" As to the honour paid to Martyrs¹, he replies, "That no man ever worshipped them, or believed that men were gods." But he adds, "He complains that the relics of Martyrs are covered with precious silks, instead of being cast away on the dunghill². Are we therefore sacrilegious when we enter into the churches of the Apostles? Did the Emperor Constantius commit a sacrilege when he transported to Constantinople the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy³, in the presence of which the evil spirits cried aloud? Must we say that the Emperor Arcadius was guilty of sacrilege for having, after so long an interval, transported the bones of the ever-blessed Samuel from Judea to Thrace? All the Bishops must be thought not merely sacrilegious, but even mad, for having carried worthless ashes in golden vessels and rich silks. The people of all Churches were senseless, for going to meet the holy relics, and receiving the Prophet with as great joy as if they had seen him present and living; so that during the whole way from Palestine to Chalcedon they continually flocked to meet them, and with one voice praised CHRIST. Was it Samuel, or was it not rather CHRIST they worshipped, Whose Levite and Prophet Samuel had been?" The relics of the Prophet Samuel were carried to Constantinople in the time of the Bishop Atticus, and in the month

Artemisius, on the fourteenth of the calends of June, under the Consulate of Arcadius and Probus; that is, on the nineteenth of May, in the year 406¹. The Emperor Arcadius walked before them, attended by Anthemius, the Prætorian Præfect (who had been Consul the year before), and by Æmilianus, the Præfect of the city, and the whole Senate. The relics were deposited for a time in the great church; and afterwards placed in a church which was built in honour of the Prophet near the Hebdomon².

To shew that the saints pray for us³, St. Jerome says, "If Apostles and Martyrs, while still living on earth, can pray for other men, how much more after their victories? Have they less power now that they are with CHRIST?" Then he continues: "We do not light up tapers at noon-day; that is a calumny. If any laymen or women have done this through ignorance or simplicity, what harm can that do you⁴? They receive their reward according to their faith; like the woman who poured precious ointment on the head of CHRIST, though He had no need of it. Setting relics apart, in all the Churches of the East, when the Gospel is read, tapers are lighted as a sign of joy⁵. Does the Bishop of Rome therefore do evil, when over the venerable bones, according to us; or according to you, the worthless dust of Peter and Paul, dead men, he offers up sacrifices unto God, and makes Altars of their tombs⁶?"

"Are then, not the Bishop of one city only, but all the Bishops in the world in error?" He accuses Eunomius of being the author of this heresy.

Concerning the vigils in the churches, he says that there is no reason to abolish them because they give occasion to some disorders between young people and wretched women.

¹ St. Jerome is the only author who mentions this practice, which probably contained an allusion to Ps. 119. 105. (Bingh. 14. 3. § 11.) St. Paulinus speaks of lights burning upon the Altar night and day (S. Fel. Natal. 3. ver. 100.) Other occasions on which they were used were at Baptism, as a type of those lamps with which virgin souls shall go forth to meet the Bridegroom. (S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. in Sanct. Bapt. c. 46); or as a symbol of the illumina-

tion (*φωτισμός*) conferred in that Sacrament, and in allusion to Matth. 5. 16 (Bingh. 12. 4. § 4); and at funerals (though the Christians always buried their dead by day), (Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 18. de Sep. viol. 5, and Comment. Gothof.), a train of torch-bearers formed a triumphal escort to attend the victorious champions to their rest. (S. Chrys. xii. in Hebr. Homil. 4. c. 5. *τί βούλονται αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ φαιδραὶ; οὐχ ὡς ἀθλητὰς αὐτοὺς προπέμπομεν;*)

A. D. 406.

¹ Chr. Pasch. p. 308.² Theod. Lect. 2. 63. [³ Supr. 19. 31. note i.][⁴ Supr. 19. 41. note b.][⁵ Supr. 20. 13. note o.]

A. D. 406. "Otherwise," says he, "we must abolish also the vigil of "Easter?" He insists on the miracles which were commonly wrought at the tombs of Martyrs; and adds, "When "I have been agitated with anger, with any evil thoughts, "or with nocturnal illusions, I have not dared to enter into "the churches of the Martyrs. You will, perhaps, laugh at "this, as a superstition fit only for simple women." He then justifies the custom observed from the time of the Apostles among Christians, and even among the Jews, of sending alms to their brethren in Palestine. Lastly, he defends the profession of a monastic life, saying that there is no reason to fear that the race of men should be destroyed because there are virgins. "The duty of a Monk," he says, "is not to teach, but to mourn for himself or for the world, "and to wait in fear the coming of the Lord. He flies "temptation, because he mistrusts his own weakness; and "has no hopes of victory, but in flight." Such was the answer of St. Jerome against Vigilantius, whose heresy had apparently no continuance; nor do we find that there was any need of a Council to condemn it: so entirely was it opposed to the tradition of the universal Church¹.

VII.

Outrages of
the Dona-
tists.

A. D. 404.

¹ Supr. 21.

53.

² Aug. Ep.

185. al. 50.

ad Bonif.

c. 7. § 26.

³ Aug. iii.

cont. Cresc.

c. 43. § 47.

The deputies of the Council of Carthage, which was held on the twenty-sixth of June, 404¹, arrived at the Court of the Emperor Honorius, to beg his protection against the Donatists; but they found that he had already granted them more even than they required². For he had published a law, condemning all the Donatists to a pecuniary fine, and their Bishops and Ministers to banishment. The violences which they had committed against the Catholics were the cause of this law. Servus, Bishop of Thubursica³, sued them at law for the restitution of a place which they had usurped; and the agents of the parties were expecting the judgment of the Proconsul, when the Donatists came suddenly in arms to the city of Servus, who with difficulty saved his life by flight: but they seized his father, a Priest advanced in years, and treated him so barbarously, that he died a few days after. They had likewise usurped the church of a place called Calviana; and when Maximian, the Catholic Bishop of

¹ It was finally crushed by the an. 406. c. 52.)
Vandal invasion. (Infr. 16. Baron.

Bagaiā, obtained the restitution of it at law, they came and A. D. 404. attacked him in that very church, whilst he was at the Altar, under which he took refuge from their fury; but, as it was only made of wood^k, they broke it down, and with the fragments of that Altar, as well as with sticks and other weapons, they beat him so unmercifully, that the place was covered with his blood, which flowed most profusely from a wound given him with a dagger in the groin. But as they were dragging him on his face half-naked and half-dead, the dust covered the wound and stanchèd the bleeding. At last they left him, and the Catholics took him up, and were carrying him away for dead, singing Psalms, when the Donatists returned more furious than before, and took Maximian from the Catholics, whom they used very ill, and put to flight, without much difficulty, from their superiority in numbers. Having thus retaken Maximian, they again beat him, and at last, thinking they had killed him, threw him down in the night from the top of a tower. He fell on a heap of manure reduced by decomposition to dust, and there lay senseless and ready to expire; when a poor man, who was passing by, perceived him and was startled at the sight. He called to his wife, who was at some little distance with a lantern in her hand. He recognised the Bishop, and with the help of his wife carried him to his house, either out of compassion, or in hopes of making some little profit by delivering him to the Catholics, either dead or alive.

Maximian, thus preserved, was so carefully attended, that he recovered, and went to Italy to the Court of the Emperor Honorius, where he found Servus of Thubursica, and several others, who had suffered similar violence from the Donatists,

^k The Eucharist in the early Church was commonly celebrated on tables of wood. Stone Altars probably began to be erected about the time of Constantine, as St. Gregory Nyssen speaks of them (de Sanct. Christ. Bapt. tom. iii. p. 369): and the Council of Epone, in A. D. 517, ordained that none but stone Altars should be consecrated (can. 26. Mans. viii.), Bingham. 8. 6. § 15. Even the wooden Table was however generally called an Altar (Ibid. § 12): and the word Table, according to Wheatley, was introduced into our Rubrics in consequence of an Order from K. Edward VI.

in Council, requiring the Altars to be taken down, and Tables to be set up in their place. (Cardwell's Doc. An. i. p. 89.) After the third century "both names" (viz. Altar and Table) "came to be promiscuously used; the one having respect to the *oblation* of the Eucharist, the other to the *participation*." Wheatley, 6. 1. § 3. The Fathers, however, seldom call it Table without adding some distinctive epithet, such as "The Lord's Table," the "Mystical," "Holy," or "Tremendous Table." See the references in Bingham. 8. 6. § 14.

A. D. 404. and expected no safety in returning home. Every one was particularly moved at this adventure of Maximian. They believed him to be dead; and, indeed, the number of scars with which his body was covered, shewed that it was not without reason. The tidings of this barbarity had crossed the sea, and all who heard of it were seized with horror and indignation against the Circumcelliones and all the Donatists.

VIII. Hereupon the Emperor Honorius issued an edict, dated at Ravenna, his ordinary residence, on the eve of the Ides of February, under the Consulate of Stilico and Anthemius, that is, on the twelfth of February, 405¹. It is expressed in the following terms: "We will hear no more of Manichees
" or Donatists, who, we are informed, cease not from their
" madness: there shall be but one religion, the Catholic; if
" any dare to practise unlawful ceremonies, he shall not
" escape the punishments ordained by so many former con-
" stitutions, and by the law which we have lately issued.
" And if any multitude be assembled, the author of the dis-
" turbance shall be punished most severely." This law was called the Edict of Union, because it tended to reunite all people to the Catholic religion. On the same day was published an important law², directed to Adrian, Prætorian Præfect of Italy, whose jurisdiction extended to Africa; forbidding to rebaptize, under penalty of the confiscation of all the effects of those who should transgress, and of the place where that sacrilege should be committed; as likewise a fine of twenty pounds in gold, to be laid on the judges who should neglect to put this law in execution. A short time after, that is, on the fifth of March in the same year, a particular rescript was sent to Diotimus, Proconsul of Africa³, ordering him to cause the Edict of Union, of the twelfth of February, to be published in his province.

The deputies of the Council of Carthage, when they arrived at the Court of Honorius, found affairs in this condition, and had nothing more to ask. On these laws being transmitted to Africa, several of the Donatists were reunited⁴; chiefly those who had long wished to become Catholics, and only waited for an opportunity of sheltering themselves from the fury of the more violent, or from the indignation of their relations; others had been prevented from joining the Church

VIII.

Laws
against the
Donatists.
A. D. 405.

¹ Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 5.
de Hær. 38.

² Ibid.
Tit. 6.
de Sanct.
Bapt. iter.
4, 5.

³ Ibid.
Tit. 11.
de Rcl. 2.

⁴ Aug. Ep.
93. al. 48.
ad Vinc.
c. 5. § 18.
et Ep. 185.
al. 50.
ad Bonif.
c. 7. § 29.

by the calumnies which they had always heard, and into the truth of which they never would have enquired, had they not been forced to it. Many had continued in their error, only in imitation of their fathers, and had never examined into the origin of their heresy, but as soon as they began seriously to consider it, finding nothing in it that deserved the endurance of such great losses, they became Catholics without difficulty. The authority of these persuaded several others, who were themselves unable to understand the difference between the errors of the Donatists and Catholic truth. So the people returning in multitudes¹ into the bosom of the Church, and being joyfully readmitted, there remained none but the most obstinate; and of these some entered into the communion of the Catholic Church out of dissimulation, and in time, by custom and good instruction, were really converted.

A. D. 405.

¹ Ibid.
§ 30.

In the mean while, during the same year, 405, on the tenth of the calends of September, that is, the twenty-third of August, there was a Council held at Carthage², in which it was resolved that letters should be written to the judges of all the provinces of Africa, to be strict in the execution of the Edict of Union, which had hitherto been only executed at Carthage; and that two Clerks of the Church of Carthage should be sent to Court, in the name of all Africa, with letters from the Bishops, to return thanks to the Emperor for the extinction³ of the Donatists. Letters from Pope St. Innocent were also read in this Council, desiring the Bishops not to cross the seas on any slight occasion. This passed into a decree in a Council held at the end of the same year, 405, on the eighth of December. There was another rescript from the Emperor to Diotimus, Proconsul of Africa, enjoining the execution of the penalties laid on the Donatists⁴. This probably was the effect of the Council's deputation that year.

² Cod. Can.
Afr. c. 93.[³exclusio]⁴ Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 5.
de Hæret.
39.

Soon after⁵, St. Augustine wrote against a grammarian and lay Donatist, named Cresconius, who having found the writing of St. Augustine against the first part of Petilian's letter, had written a reply to it, directed to St. Augustine himself. St. Augustine answered him in three books, and then seeing that the single argument of the schism between

⁵ Retr. 2.
26.

A. D. 405. Maximianus and Primianus was a sufficient reply to all, he added a fourth book. He begins by justifying eloquence and dialectics, in opposition to the calumnies of Cresconius, who pretended that Christians ought not to use them. St. Augustine shews that they are no wise dangerous to those who act in the defence of truth; and that it is lawful to reprove those who commit errors, nay, to attack them, even with vehemence, if charity requires it; all which he proves by the examples of the Apostles, and of CHRIST Himself.

IX.

Death of
Arsacius.
Atticus,
Bishop of
Constantinople.

¹ Pall. Vit.

p. 38.

Socr. 6. 16.

Supr. 21. 39.

A. D. 406.

The aged Arsacius held the see of Constantinople not above sixteen months; and died at the age of eighty-one, on the eleventh of November, under the Consulate of Stilico and Anthemius, that is to say, in the year 405¹. His Bishopric remained some time vacant, through the ambitious intrigues of those who aspired to it. At last, in the following year, 406, under the sixth Consulate of Arcadius and Anicius Probus, Atticus the Priest was elected Bishop of Constantinople four months after the death of Arsacius, that is to say, about the tenth of March². Atticus was of Sebaste in Armenia; in his youth he had led a monastic life, under the care of the disciples of Eustathius of Sebaste¹, who were of the Macedonian heresy; but when he arrived at manhood, he returned to the Catholic Church. He was master of more natural good sense than learning, and had great skill in the management of affairs, either in forming an intrigue, or in escaping from one. By his winning manners he gained the friendship of many. For he was of an agreeable conversation, and knew how to suit himself to every man's humour.

² Soz. 8. 27.

¹ Eustathius, a native of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, had studied at Alexandria under Arius himself, and received ordination from Eulalius, the Arian successor of Eustathius of Antioch, by whom, however, he was afterwards deposed and excommunicated. On this he retired to Cæsarea, where he was readmitted to his rank by the Bishop Hermogenes, after which he led an ascetic life for some years with the Priest Aeriis, afterwards an heresiarch. In the year A. D. 355, he obtained the Bishopric of Sebaste in Armenia, from which he was again deposed by the Council at Melitene, A. D. 372. Originally a Semi-Arian, he signed successively the creeds of Ancyra, Ari-

minium, and Nicæa, but ultimately adopted the Macedonian heresy. His manners were dignified and winning, and his conduct regular; while his reputation as an ascetic was so great that some ascribed to him the origin of the monastic rule. But he is most known for his connection with St. Basil, who was much attached to him, and long defended him against those who taxed him with heresy, even so far as to draw down the same accusation upon himself; till Eustathius voluntarily broke off their friendship, openly connected himself with the Arians, and became a source of great trouble to St. Basil, by creating schisms in his diocese of Pontus. Tillemont ix. S. Basil. 35, &c.

His sermons were indifferent, so that no one took the trouble A. D. 406.
to take them down in writing. And though he passed for an illiterate person, yet, when he had any leisure, he used to study the best profane authors, and speak of them so judiciously, that the learned were surprized at him.

Atticus had been the principal actor in the conspiracy against St. John Chrysostom; and as he found that neither the Bishops of the East, nor the people of Constantinople would communicate with him, in order to compel them to it, he obtained rescripts of the Emperor. That against the Bishops declared that "if any of the Bishops would not communicate with Theophilus, Porphyrius, and Atticus, they should be expelled the Church, and deprived of their property." Those who were rich, and who cared for their estates, communicated with Atticus out of policy: and those who were poor, and weak in the faith, suffered themselves to be seduced by bribes. But there were others, who nobly disregarded their riches, their country, and all temporal advantages, and fled to escape the persecution. Several of them repaired to Rome, and others retired to the mountains or into monasteries. The edict against the laity ordained "that whosoever was invested with any dignity, should be dispossessed of it; that officers and military men should be broken, and the rest of the people and tradesmen condemned to pay a large fine, and banished." Notwithstanding these menaces, the people who were faithful to St. Chrysostom, rather than communicate with Atticus, used to pray in the open air, exposed to many inconveniences.

In the mean while the deputies from the Pope, and the other Italian Bishops, were on their way to Constantinople. They designed first to go to Thessalonica, having letters for the Bishop Anysius, who, with the other Bishops of Macedonia, zealously adhered to the good cause, as appears by the letters of St. Chrysostom¹. But as they were sailing along the coast of Greece, intending to put in to Athens, they were arrested by a military tribune, who committed them to the guard of a centurion, and would not suffer them to approach Thessalonica, but put them on board two ships. A strong southerly wind rising, they passed over the Ægean sea and the Straits of the Hellespont in three days, without eating

X.
Violence
against the
deputies of
the West.

¹ Supr. 3.
Pall. p. 13.
Chrys. Ep.
162, 163.
al. 26, 27.
ad Anys.

A. D. 406. any thing during that time. On the third day, at the twelfth hour, that is to say, at the beginning of night, they arrived within sight of Constantinople, near the country house of Victor. There they were arrested by the guard of the port, without knowing by whose order; and then sent back and confined in a maritime fortress of Thrace, called Athyra, where they were very ill used; the Romans being put into one room by themselves, and Cyriacus and the other Greeks separately in different rooms, without even allowing them a single servant to attend on them.

After this they were asked for the letters which they had brought with them. But they replied, "How can we, who are sent on a deputation, deliver to any other but the Emperor himself the letters of the Emperor, his brother, and of the Bishops?" and so persisted in refusing to give up the letters, though urged to it by Patricius the Notary, and several others afterwards. At last there came a Tribune, named Valerian, a native of Cappadocia, who forced the letters out of the hands of the Bishop Marian with such violence that he broke his thumb. These were the Emperor's letters, all sealed up, together with the others. The next day there came persons from the Court, or from Atticus, but which they could not tell, who offered them three thousand pieces of silver, and entreated them to communicate with Atticus, without taking any notice of the affair of John. But the deputies continued in their resolution, and only prayed to God that, since they could do nothing to promote peace, they might at least return to their Churches without danger. God had warned them of this by various revelations: and among the rest, by one to Paul, a Deacon of the Bishop Æmilius, a man both meek and wise. For as he was in the ship, the Apostle St. Paul appeared to him, and said, "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, because the days are evil¹." The same Valerian immediately took them out of the castle of Athyra, and put them on board an old decayed vessel, with twenty soldiers out of different companies; and it was even reported that he had given a sum of money to the master of the vessel to make away with them. Having sailed several furlongs, and almost suffered shipwreck, they reached Lampsacus; where, having

¹ Eph. 5. 15.

gone on board another ship, they arrived on the twentieth day at Otranto in Calabria, without having been able to learn where St. Chrysostom was, or what had become of Cyriacus and the other Eastern Bishops who were deputed with them. A. D. 406.

At first a report was spread that the other Bishops had been drowned¹; but afterwards it appeared that they had been banished into Barbarian countries, where they were guarded by public slaves. Cyriacus of Emesa was sent to Palmyra, a castle of Persia, eighty miles beyond Emesa; Eulysius of Bostra in Arabia was sent three days' journey further to a castle called Misphas, near the Saracens; Palladius to Syene, in the neighbourhood of the Blemmyans or Ethiopians; and Demetrius to the Oasis, near Mazica. The Prætorian soldiers who conducted the Bishops², took the money from them, which was designed for the expenses of their journey, and divided it among themselves; and having mounted them upon poor lean asses, they made their days' journeys of twice the usual length, coming in late at night, and setting out before day-break: so that their stomachs could hardly keep the little food which they used to take. They daily abused them with obscene and insolent expressions, and even took Palladius' servant from him, and compelled him to fling away his writing-case. They would not suffer them to approach the churches, but lodged them either in inns filled with abandoned women, or in synagogues of Samaritans and Jews. When they were worn out with this treatment, one of them said, "Why are we afflicted at these lodgings? Does it rest with us to choose or shun these indecencies? See you not that God is glorified in all this? How many of these miserable women who had forgotten God, or had never known Him, have been roused to think of Him and fear Him! St. Paul who has suffered all these things, hath said, 'For we are unto God a sweet savour of ³ CHRIST, and are made a spectacle unto the world, and to ⁴ Angels, and to men ⁴.'" XI.
The Eastern
Bishops
ill used.
¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 77.

² Ibid.
p. 78.

³ 2 Cor.
2. 15.
⁴ 1 Cor. 4. 9.

The Bishops who were of the communion of Theophilus, and happened to be on the road where these deputies passed, not satisfied with denying them all kind of hospitality, gave money to the Prætorian soldiers to drive them as speedily as

A. D. 406. possible out of their cities. Those who behaved in this way, were chiefly the Bishops of Tarsus and of Antioch, the Bishop of Ancyra in particular, and the Bishop of Pelusium. They excited the cruelty of their guards by threats and presents, that they might not suffer them to go even to the houses of those laymen who desired to receive them. But on the other hand, the Bishops of Cappadocia Secunda expressed by their tears the compassion which they felt for the exiles; particularly Theodorus of Tyana, Bosphorus of Colonia, who had been Bishop forty-eight years, and Serapion of Ostracina, who had held his see forty-five. This Bosphorus is the same

¹ Supr. 18. 1. who was at the general Council of Constantinople, in 381 ¹;

² Supr. 21. 23. so well known by his friendship with St. Basil. Serapion ², who had been one of the most faithful disciples of St. Chrysostom, and had been by him ordained Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, concealed himself a long time in a monastery of

³ Supr. 21. 45. Chrys. Ep. ad Olymp. 14. al. 13. Pall. p. 77. Goths, probably in that of Promotus at Constantinople ³. He was loaded with numberless calumnies, brought before the judges, scourged, and put to the torture, even to the loss of his teeth, and at last banished into Egypt, his native country. A holy old man, named Hilarius, who had not eaten bread for eighteen years, was banished to the farthest parts of Pontus; after having been scourged, not by command of the judge, but of the clergy. Brisso, brother to Palladius, left his church of his own accord, and retired to a small estate which he had in the country; where he was tilling the ground with his own hands when Palladius wrote the Dialogue in which he describes this persecution ^m. Elpidius, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, had shut himself up in an upper room with Pappus, passing his days in prayer; and had not for three years come down the stairs. Heraclides, Bishop of Ephesus, had been a prisoner four years in Nicomedia; the Bishop Silvanus was at Troas, where he lived upon his fishing; others had retired to various places; and of many nothing

^m The author of the Dialogue on the Life of St. Chrysostom is not the same person with the Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, and author of the Historia Lausiaca, whose name has so frequently occurred in the course of this narrative, but his predecessor in the same see, from which he was translated to Aspona

in Galatia. His visit to Rome, and conversation there with Theodorus the Deacon, which forms the substance of the Dialogue, is placed in A. D. 408. (See Bigotius' Preface to the Dialogue, ap. Chrys. xiii.) Brisso is the brother of the younger Palladius.

whatever was known. Some communicated with Atticus, and A. D. 406. were translated to the Churches of Thrace.

As for the Priests, some were sent into Arabia and into Palestine; Tigrius, the Confessor¹, into Mesopotamia; Philip¹ died soon after in exile in Pontus; Theophilus was in Paphlagonia; John, the son of Æthrius, built a monastery at Cæsarea. As they were conveying Stephen into Arabia, the Isaurians took him by force from his guards, and left him at liberty on Mount Taurus. Sallustius was in Crete; Philip, a Monk, and Priest of the schools², in Campania; Sophronius, the Deacon and ascetic, was a prisoner in the Thebaid. The Deacon Paul, Assistant to the Steward³, was in Africa; another Paul, Deacon of the Anastasia, at Jerusalem; Heliadius, Priest of the Palaceⁿ, had retired to a small estate which he had in Bithynia. Many were concealed in Constantinople, and others were gone into their native countries. Stephen, the Monk, who had carried the letters to Rome, was for that reason taken at Constantinople, beaten, and kept ten months in prison. They proposed to him that he should acknowledge the communion of Atticus; and when he refused, they lacerated his sides and breast in a cruel manner. However, he recovered, and was sent ten months after into exile to Pelusium. A provincial soldier of one of the companies which belonged to the Emperor's guard being informed against as an adherent of St. Chrysostom, was beaten and unmercifully lacerated, and then banished to Petra in Arabia.

St. Chrysostom having received tidings in his exile, of what was passing in the West, and how the Pope and the other Bishops were using their interest to restore him, wrote several letters of thanks to them. He wrote particularly to Venerius of Milan⁴, Chromatius of Aquileia⁵, St. Gaudentius of Brescia⁶, Aurelius of Carthage⁷, Hesychius of Salona⁸, and in general, to the Bishops who had come from the West⁹, and to the Priests of Rome who had accompanied them¹. He wrote different letters to them, as he could find a Priest to carry them; and in those letters he commends their charity, which had induced them to undertake so long and fatiguing a voyage; he thanks them, and exhorts them to maintain his

¹ Supr. 21.
38.

² i. e. the troops of the palace. See Hoff. Schola.]
³ Bingham. 3. 12.]

XII.

Letters of St. Chrysostom to Rome, &c.

⁴ Ep. 182. al. 46.

⁵ Ep. 155. al. 224.

⁶ Ep. 184. al. 50.

⁷ Ep. 149. al. 37.

⁸ Ep. 183. al. 95.

⁹ Ep. 157, &c. al. 75, &c.

¹ Ep. 161. al. 187.

ⁿ Tillemont supposes the Priest of the Palace to have performed the duties of First Chaplain and Grand Almoner. Tillem. xi. S. Chrys. 51.

A. D. 406. cause with vigour, as being that of the Church : but he knew not all they had to undergo. He wrote likewise to Eulogius of Cæsarea, implying in his letter that all the Bishops of Palestine followed his steps in the defence of the Church¹; and to John of Jerusalem, commending his piety and his courage². Lastly, he wrote a second letter to Pope Innocent; in which he speaks of the present time as the third year of his banishment, that is, the year 406³. He pleads in excuse (as he does also to the other Bishops) for his long silence, the great distance, and the difficulty of corresponding occasioned by the incursions of the Isaurians. He adds, that he seizes the opportunity offered by the Priest John, and the Deacon Paul. In the remaining part of his letter he repeats his thanks, and exhorts him to continue his assistance to him, and not to be discouraged at the little success he had met with. He likewise wrote to three of the most illustrious Roman ladies, viz. Proba⁴, Juliana⁵, and Italica⁶. Proba-Faltonia was the widow of the famous Anicius Probus, and Juliana his daughter-in-law the widow of Olybrius and mother of Demetrias⁷. St. Chrysostom commends the Priest John and the Deacon Paul to Proba; whom he also recommends to the Bishops of the West⁸, as men every where persecuted, who could find no shelter. He says to Italica, that women may engage as well as men in the battles fought in the cause of God, and of His Church.

He wrote also to St. Olympias while he was at Arabissus, probably in the spring of the year 406⁹. "Do not be uneasy," he says, "at the severity of the winter, my stomach complaint, or the incursions of the Isaurians. The winter has been as might be expected in Armenia; but it has not been very troublesome to me, by reason of the precautions which I have taken. I have kept continual fires, and carefully closed the chamber I live in on all sides; covering myself warmly, and not going abroad. This is, it must be confessed, irksome, but I am willing to bear it, because I find myself the better for it; for while I keep my room, the cold has no great effect on me; but whenever I am forced to go out, and be exposed to the air, even a little, I suffer from it not a little." He afterwards says, "Do not be concerned at my passing the winter in this

¹ Ep. 87. al. 91.

² Ep. 88. al. 126.

³ Chrys. iii. p. 521. (vii. p. 158.) (iv. p. 598.)

⁴ Ep. 168. al. 188.

⁵ Ep. 169. al. 125.

⁶ Ep. 170. al. 124.

⁷ Supr. 19. 60.

⁸ Ep. 148. al. 84.

⁹ Ep. ad Olymp. 4. al. 16.

“ place, for I am in much better health than I was last year ; A. D. 406.
 “ and you yourself would have been less indisposed, had you
 “ taken proper care of your health.” He enlarges on this
 subject, and on the value which people ought to set upon
 health ; and then continues, “ If our separation afflict you,
 “ expect to see an end to it. I do not say this merely to
 “ comfort you, but I know it will surely be so ; otherwise
 “ I should have died long since with what I have suffered.
 “ As it is, I bear myself so well with so weak a body, that
 “ the Armenians themselves are surpris'd at it : for neither
 “ the rigour of the air, nor the solitude, nor the want of pro-
 “ visions, and servants to attend me ; nor the ignorance of
 “ physicians, nor the absence of baths, which I have been
 “ accustomed to use continually ; nor the chamber in which
 “ I am daily shut up as in a prison, without taking my usual
 “ exercise ; nor being perpetually over the fire and in the
 “ smoke, and being continually in a state of siege and alarm ;
 “ none of these things has been able to overwhelm me ; nay,
 “ I am even better in health here than at Constantinople,
 “ owing to the care I have taken of myself.”

The enemies of St. Chrysostom being informed of the great
 good he did by his conversion of the infidels in that neigh-
 bourhood, and how celebrated his virtues were at Antioch,
 resolved to remove him to a more distant place¹. For Severian
 of Gabala, Porphyrius of Antioch, and several other Bishops
 of Syria were still afraid of him, though he was in banish-
 ment, and they were enjoying the riches of the Church, and
 disposing of the secular power. Therefore having sent to
 Court, they obtained of the Emperor Arcadius a more severe
 rescript, to have him speedily removed to Pityus, a desert
 place in the country of the Tzani on the borders of the
 Euxine sea. The journey was long, and St. Chrysostom was
 three months on the road ; though the two soldiers of the
 Prætorian Præfect, who conducted the holy Bishop, hurried
 him on extremely, saying that such were their orders. One
 of them, not so self-interested as the other, shewed him some
 humanity, as it were by stealth, but the other was so brutal,
 as even to be offended at the kindnesses offer'd him to en-
 gage him to spare the holy Bishop. He would make him set
 out in the heaviest rain, so that he was drenched to the skin ;

XIII.
 Death of
 St. Chry-
 sostom.

¹ Pall. Vit.
 p. 39.

A. D. 407.

A. D. 407. and made a jest of the most scorching heat of the sun, knowing how painful it was to the Saint, whose head was bald; nor would he suffer him to stop for a moment in any city or town where there were baths, that he might not be indulged with that relief.

On arriving at Comana, they went through without stopping, and rested at a church about five or six miles from the town, and dedicated to St. Basiliscus, Bishop of Comana, who had suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, with St. Lucian of Antioch, under Maximinus Daia^o. As they were lodged in the buildings which belonged to that church, St. Basiliscus appeared to St. Chrysostom in the night, and said to him¹, "Be of good comfort, brother John; to-morrow we shall be together." It is even reported that he had foretold this to the Priest who lived there, saying to him, "Prepare the place for my brother John; for he cometh." St. Chrysostom, in full reliance on this revelation, prayed his guard on the next day to wait there till the fifth hour, that is, till eleven o'clock in the morning: but he was refused. They set out, and were gone about thirty stades, or more than three miles, when St. Chrysostom was taken so extremely ill that they were obliged to return to the church which they had left. On arriving there, he changed his garments and clothed himself in white from head to foot, not having yet broken his fast. After which he distributed the few things he had left, amongst those who were then present; and having received the Communion of the Sacred Symbols of our Saviour, that is, the Eucharist, he made his last prayer in the hearing of all who were present, and added, according to his usual

¹ Pall. Vit.
p. 40.

^o Maximin Daia, the son of Daia or Daza, sister of Galerius, on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, was raised by his uncle to the rank of Cæsar, and intrusted with the command of Syria, and Egypt. On the elevation of Licinius to the dignity of Augustus, Maximin extorted an acknowledgment of the same title for himself, and the death of Galerius extended his empire over all the provinces of the East. In the contest between Constantine and Maxentius he was the secret ally of the latter, and on its termination led an army towards Europe to avenge his death. He was,

however, met and conquered by Licinius near Heraclea; and the defeated Emperor died within three or four months after at Tarsus. (Gibbon, ch. 14.) Maximin had fully imbibed the persecuting spirit of his uncle, and though he acquiesced for about six months in the edict of toleration issued by the dying Galerius, he organized a more systematic opposition to Christianity than had hitherto been attempted, and the Asiatic Christians were only delivered from a second persecution by the Western war which terminated in his death. (Ibid. 16.)

custom, these words: "Glory to God for all things." Then A. D. 407. he pronounced his last Amen, and stretching out his feet, yielded up his spirit. There was at his funeral such a vast concourse of virgins and Monks of Syria, Cilicia, Pontus, and Armenia, that many thought they had appointed the meeting. The feast was observed as for a Martyr, and his body was interred near that of St. Basiliscus in the same church¹.

¹ Soz. 8. 28.

He died and was buried on the fourteenth of September², or the eighteenth of the calends of October, under the seventh Consulate of Honorius, and the second of Theodosius, that is to say, in the year 407. He was about sixty years old³, and had governed the Church of Constantinople six years to the time of his banishment, and in all nine years and eight months. His death did not put an end to the division of the Eastern and Western Churches; and whilst the Eastern Bishops refused to re-establish his memory, the Church of Rome⁴, followed by the whole West, continued steadfast in the resolution it had taken, not to communicate with the Bishops of the East, and particularly Theophilus of Alexandria, till there should be a general Council assembled, to put an end to the calamities of the Church.

² Socr. 6. 21. et Vales. ibi.

³ See Pag. an. 407. c. 3. and Tillem. xi. S. Chrys. 131.]

⁴ Pall. Vit. p. 84.

This was probably the reason of a canon⁵ of the general Council of Africa, held at Carthage in the same year, 407, on the sixteenth day of June⁶, where it was resolved to write to Pope Innocent for the restoration of peace between the Churches of Rome and Alexandria⁷. Aurelius presided in this Council, and the first thing they did was to repeal the decree of the Council of Hippo, probably that of the year 393, by which it was agreed that the general Council of Africa should meet every year. In this Council it was determined, that, not to fatigue the Bishops without occasion, it should meet only when the common interest of all Africa required it, and in the place which should be thought most convenient, and that all private causes should be judged in their respective provinces⁸. Concerning appeals⁹, it was ordered that the appellant should choose, with the consent of his adversary, judges from whom there should be no further appeal¹; that whosoever should petition the Emperor to be judged by laymen, should be dispossessed of his dignity:

XIV. Council of Carthage.

⁵ Cod. can. Afr. 95. Concil. Afr. 62.

⁶ Idibus Junii, i. e. 13th.]

⁷ c. 101.

⁸ c. 95.

⁹ i. e. from these judgments]

¹ c. 96.

A. D. 407. though it was made lawful for any one to pray the Emperor
¹ c. 104. that he might be judged by the Bishops¹. Vincentius and
² c. 97. Fortunatian were deputed to the Emperor², with orders to
 desire of him, in the name of all the provinces of Africa,
 that he would grant them Defenders from the Scholastici,
 that is, lawyers in practice; and admit them to the cabinets
 of the judges³, whenever it should be required for the affairs
 of the Church. It was likewise resolved to ask for a law to
³ c. 102. prevent marriages after a divorce³; and it was ordered⁴ that
⁴ c. 106. any person intending to go to the Court, should have it
 mentioned in the formal letter⁵ which he was to deliver to
 the Church of Rome, that there he might receive another
 similar letter to carry with him to Court; that, if during his
 residence at Rome any affair of moment should call him to
 the Court, he should represent the case to the Pope, and
 obtain letters from him. This was at the time when the
 Emperors of the West used commonly to reside at Ravenna,
 or some other place, but seldom at Rome.

[⁵ Bingh.
 2. 4. § 5.]

It was decreed that the creation of new Bishoprics should
 only be by the Council of the province, and with con-
⁶ c. 98. sent of the Diocesan Bishop⁶. It was agreed⁷ that the
⁷ c. 99. whole Churches of the Donatists, who were converted, might
 keep their Bishops, without consulting the Council; unless
 they should prefer, after the death of their own Bishop,
 to unite themselves to some other Diocese. But only those
 Donatists were allowed this privilege who had been converted
 before the Edict of Union, that is, the law of the twelfth of
⁸ c. 103. February, 405. It was also forbidden⁸ to read any preface, or
 other prayers, at the Altar, but such as should be collected
 by men of the best capacity, and approved by the Council⁹.

The Emperor Honorius granted to the deputies of the
 Churches of Africa all that they desired, relating to the

XV.
 Laws of
 Honorius
 for the
 Church.

^p The provincial judges sate in court
 within their *secretaria* or cabinets, se-
 cluded by curtains from the public
 gaze, while the criminals and litigants
 waited their turn without. Within these
 all causes were heard, and the officials
 of the court were accustomed to sell
 the entry at a high price. (Cod. Theod.
 1. Tit. 7. de off. Rect. prov. 1. et Gothof.
 Com.) Honorius at once granted that
 the Defenders should be chosen from
 the lawyers; and two years after se-

cured to them the right of immediate
 admission on all occasions to the secre-
 taria. (Cod. Theod. 2. Tit. 4. de Denunc.
 7. et Com.)

^q This canon alludes to the practice,
 peculiar to the Western Churches, of
 using *Collects* varying with each ce-
 lebration of the same Liturgy. The
 Eastern Churches employ several dis-
 tinct liturgies for the several seasons of
 the year. Palmer's Or. Lit. i. p. 308,
 &c. See Bingh. 15. 1. § 4.

Defenders; as appears by the law directed to Porphyrius, A. D. 407. Proconsul of Africa, and given at Rome on the seventeenth of the calends of December, under his own seventh Consulate, and the second of Theodosius; that is, on the fifteenth of November, 407¹. This decree confirms the privileges granted to the Churches and clergy by previous laws; and orders, that the favours obtained by the Churches from the Emperor, should be notified by the judges, and put in execution by means of lawyers. The deputies of the Council of Africa were likewise commissioned to solicit the Emperor against the Donatists²; and accordingly that same law³, or another with the same date and the same address, ordains, that all heretics (and the Donatists and Manichees are mentioned by name), who shall be sincerely converted shall be exempt from all the penalties of the laws issued against them, which they may have incurred. The Donatists and Manichees are mentioned, as the two sects most prevalent in Africa. On the eighth of the calends of March, 407, or the twenty-second of February, Honorius made another law⁴, directed to Senator, Prætorian Præfect, by which rigorous punishments were enacted against the Manichees and Priscillianists, viz. the confiscation of their estates, an incapacity of either making or receiving donations, enquiry even after death⁵, and a penalty on such persons as should conceal their assemblies. In the same year 407, and on the fifteenth of November, the same date as the preceding laws, a law was made and directed to Curtius, Prætorian Præfect of Italy⁶, confirming the former laws against the pagans; ordering the revenues of the temples to be taken away, the idols and altars to be destroyed, the temples converted to some other use, and all profane solemnities prohibited. This law was published at Carthage, in the following year 408, on the fifth day of June⁶; however, four years before, Honorius, under his sixth Consulate, in the year 404, permitted the pagans at that time to celebrate the secular games, and tolerated the entertainments of gladiators even at Rome⁷.

¹ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. 38.

² Cod. can. Afr. 106.

³ Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 41.

⁴ Ibid. l. 40.

⁵ Ibid. Tit. 10. de Pag. 19.

⁶ Sirm. App. Cod. Theod. 12.

⁷ Claud. de Sext. Cons. Prud. in Sym. lib. 2.

The law of the fifteenth of November 407, was a consequence of the defeat of Rhadagaisus. He was a pagan, and

¹ In order that their property might be confiscated and their wills invalid.

A. D. 407. a Scythian by birth¹, who in the preceding year, 406², had entered Italy with an army of above two hundred thousand
¹ Oros. 7.37. ² Marcel. Chr. p. 276. Goths, and threatened Rome. The pagans assembled together, saying openly, that this enemy had the gods on his side, and that the city would perish because it had forsaken them. With loud complaints they demanded the re-establishment of sacrifices. The whole city resounded with blasphemies against the name of CHRIST, as being the curse of the times. In the mean while, there came troops of Huns and Goths to the relief of the Romans; the army of Rhadagaisus melted away, and perished miserably in the Apennines. Rhadagaisus himself was taken and killed, and the Christians looked upon this victory as an effect of the Divine protection³.

³ Aug. vii. de Civ. Dei 5. 23. et Serm. 105. al. 29. de verb. Dom. c. 10. § 13. A. D. 408. ⁴ Oros. 7.37. Zos. 5. p. 811. Marcell. Chr. p. 277.

They ascribed to the same cause, the death of the Count Stilico, who assumed to himself all the power in the West, under the weak Emperor Honorius⁴. Stilico was accused of having called in the Barbarians, who were beginning to ravage the empire, and of having a design to dethrone the Emperor Honorius, his son-in-law, in order to usurp the crown for his own son Eucherius, who was himself a pagan, and endeavoured to draw the pagans into his interest, by promising them to restore the temples and destroy the churches. This conspiracy being discovered, Stilico was put to death on the tenth of the calends of September, under the Consulate of Bassus and Philippus; that is, on the twenty-third of August, in the year 408; and his son Eucherius soon after underwent the same fate.

XVI. The Barbarians in Gaul. A. D. 406. ⁵ Ruinart. Hist. Persec. Vandal. pars 2. c. 1. n. 2. ⁶ Hier. Ep. 91. al. 11. ad Ager.

And indeed, even in the year 406, the Vandals and the Alani had passed over the Rhine, and entered into Gaul⁵. The Quadi, the Sarmatæ, the Gipedes, the Heruli, the Saxons, and Germans, assisted them in ravaging all the country between the Rhine, the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees⁶. Mayence was taken and destroyed, and many thousands of persons were massacred in the church. Worms was destroyed after a long siege; Rheims, Amiens, Arras, Terouanne, Tournay, Spire, Argentina or Strasburg, became German towns. Aquitaine and Novem-populania⁷, the provinces of Lyons and Narbonne, were all laid waste, except a few towns. This is the account given us by St. Jerome,

[⁷ or Gascoyne: Baudr.]

who is particularly distressed for the city of Toulouse. He likewise complains¹ of the treatment offered to ladies of rank, and virgins consecrated to God, who were exposed as a diversion for the Barbarians. They seized the Bishops, murdered the Priests and clergy, pulled down the churches, tied their horses to the Altars, and disinterred the relics of the Saints. "I have seen," says the Priest Salvianus², "in the cities, the dead bodies of both sexes without covering, mangled by dogs and birds, and spreading infection among those who were still alive."

These Barbarians being still pagans, made a great number of Martyrs. The Church commemorates, on the fourteenth of December, St. Nicasius, Archbishop of Rheims, with his sister the virgin Eutropia³, Florentius the Deacon, and Jucundus the Reader, who were put to death at the door of the church by the Vandals⁴. It is supposed that St. Diogenes of Arras suffered martyrdom about the same time. Treves was plundered four times, and Valentinus the Bishop slain⁵. Antidius, Bishop of Besançon, is commemorated in that city, on the seventeenth of June, as having suffered martyrdom by the Vandals⁶. At Semont, in Burgundy, St. Florentinus, and St. Hilarius, Martyrs, are commemorated on the twenty-seventh of September⁷; and at Auxerre, St. Fraternus, Bishop, who suffered martyrdom on the same day that he was consecrated. At Langres, St. Desiderius, Bishop⁸, with St. Valerius his Archdeacon, and St. Prudentius; besides many other Martyrs, in different places of Gaul.

After the death of Stilico, the supreme authority fell into the hands of Olympius, a most zealous Christian. He was made Master of the Offices; and St. Augustine, who was one of his friends, wrote to him soon after on the interests of the Church⁹. For as soon as the pagans and heretics of Africa were informed of the death of Stilico, they pretended that he was the author of the laws which had been lately published against them, and that the Emperor had no part in the matter¹. By these reports they incensed the people against the Catholics, so that many Bishops fled over to Italy, to implore the protection of the Court. St. Augustine therefore entreats Olympius to join with these Bishops for the suppression of the disorders which were committed in Africa;

A. D. 406.

¹ Ep. 35. al. 3. ad Heliod.² De Gub. 6. ap. Bibl. PP. viii. p. 367. E.³ Mart. Rom.⁴ Ruinart. pars 2. c. 1. n. 6.]⁵ Ibid. n. 7.]⁶ Ibid. n. 8.]⁷ Mart. Rom.⁸ Mart. Rom. Mai. 23.

A. D. 408.

⁹ Ep. 97. al. 129.¹ § 2.

A. D. 408. and in the mean while to lose no time in certifying the province of the affection the Emperor entertained for the Church. It is thought that those Bishops, of whom St. Augustine speaks, were Restitutus and Florentius, who were deputed by a Council held at Carthage, on the thirteenth of October, in this same year 408¹, against the pagans and heretics, "at the time" (says the abstract of the Council) "when Severus and Macarius were put to death; and that the Bishops Evodius, Theasius, and Victor, were cruelly treated upon their account."

¹ Cod. can. Afr. 106. Concil. Afr. 73.

In the same year, on the sixteenth of the calends of July, or the sixteenth of June, there had been already a Council held at Carthage, in which the Bishop Fortunatian had been deputed against the pagans and the heretics². But there is reason to believe that the death of Stilico having increased their insolence, the Catholic Bishops were obliged again to meet, and to send another deputation four months after. The subject of the first deputation was perhaps the massacre of Calama.

² Ibid.

XVII. Seditio of Calama.

³ Aug. Ep. 91. al. 202. ad Nect. § 8.

⁴ Supr. 15. Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 10. de Pag. 19. [Cf. Gothof. et Sirm.]

[⁵ Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. 171.]

For on the first of June, 408³, the pagans of that town celebrated one of their festivals with so much insolence, that they went dancing through the street in a crowd before the church, a thing which was never done even in the time of Julian; and when the clergy endeavoured to put a stop to it, they threw stones against the church. About eight days after, the Bishop having declared anew to the officers of the town the laws which had been lately published against the idolaters, (though they were already sufficiently well known,) that in particular of the [fifteenth] of November, 407⁴, was preparing to put that law in execution, when the church was a second time assaulted with stones. The Christians, on the next day, in order to intimidate the seditious, having demanded the insertion of what they had to say in the public acts, were refused⁵. On the same day there was a hail storm, which seemed to have been sent on purpose to terrify the pagans: but as soon as it had ceased, they returned a third time to the assault with stones, and at last set fire to the church. One Christian, who happened to fall in their way, was killed; the others ran away to hide themselves wherever they could. The Bishop, with much difficulty, made his escape, and con-

cealed himself in a place whence he could hear the cries of those who were in search of him to put him to death, reproaching one another for having done so much evil to no purpose, since they had been unable to find him. All this went on from the tenth hour, that is, four o'clock in the afternoon, till very late at night, without any manner of hindrance from those who could have used their authority on this occasion.

Soon after St. Augustine repaired to Calama¹, to comfort and pacify the Christians: the pagans themselves desired to see him, and he warned them what they ought to do to extricate themselves from their present embarrassment, and exhorted them to seek eternal salvation. But as they were still in fear, they persuaded Nectarius to write to him, who was a venerable old man among them, and a person of learning. He represents to St. Augustine², that the love of his country engages him to undertake this part, and that the duty of Bishops is always to do good; a remarkable testimony from a pagan. He prays him at least to distinguish the innocent from the guilty; offering, for the rest, to repair all the damage that had been done, and begging only exemption from the penalty. St. Augustine commends his love for his country³, and shews him⁴ that nothing can more effectually hold together human society, and render a city flourishing, than the Christian religion, which teaches frugality, temperance, conjugal fidelity, and good morals: and that nothing is more contrary to civil society, than the corruption of morals, which ever attends idolatry, through the example of the false deities. Then coming to the sedition of Calama, he agrees with him as to the lenity which becomes a Bishop⁵.⁵ § 7.

“We endeavour,” he says, “to prevent any one from suffering punishments too severe, not only from ourselves, but even, as far as our intercession can avail, from others.” He insists that it is necessary to make an example on this occasion: yet nevertheless he consents to grant to the guilty their lives and safety, and sufficient to support them; but not enough to do evil. Thus all the punishment of so monstrous a crime was reduced to the loss of only a part of their wealth. “As to the losses⁶,” says he, “which the Christians have suffered, they bear them with patience, or

A. D. 408.

¹ Aug. Ep. 91. al. 202. § 10.² Aug. Ep. 90. al. 201.³ Ep. 91. al. 202. ⁴ § 3.⁵ § 7.⁶ § 10.

A. D. 408. "are relieved by other Christians. We seek nothing but the
 "salvation of souls, and that even at the expense of our
 "lives." Nectarius was, after this, silent for about eight
 months¹: perhaps in hopes that the death of Stilico would
 restore the condition of the pagans. But at last he returned
 to the charge, and loading St. Augustine with praises, and
 holding out some hopes of his own conversion, insisted
 throughout upon a full pardon for all the inhabitants of
 Calama². St. Augustine remained firm to his resolution
 that the guilty should be punished: yet at the same time
 he shews the clemency of the Church by the nature of the
 penalty³. "We do not intend," he says, "that they shall
 "lose their lives, nor that they shall suffer torments, or any
 "punishment; neither do we propose to reduce them to
 "such a state of poverty as to leave them without neces-
 "saries: we only want to dispossess them of those riches
 "which supply them with the means of evil, (as, for instance,
 "with silver idols,) and which are the cause of their having
 "set fire to the church, and exposed the substance of the
 "poor to be plundered by the multitude, with the effusion of
 "innocent blood." Then he continues⁴, "Consent, at least,
 "that they who think of nothing but burning and plundering
 "our absolute necessities may be kept in fear of losing their
 "own superfluous wealth; and that we may do so much good
 "to our enemies, as to spare them the commission of those
 "crimes which are injurious to them, by the fear of losing
 "those things whose loss is not injurious." It appears by
 this letter⁵ that Possidius, Bishop of Calama, crossed over
 into Italy, after the violence committed against his church,
 in order, we may believe, to join the deputies of the two
 Councils of the year 408 and demand justice.

XVIII.
 Laws for
 the Church.

These deputies of Africa obtained whatever they desired at
 the Court of Honorius; as appears by several decrees dated
 towards the latter end of the year 408, under the Consulate
 of Bassus and Philippus, which confirm all the former laws
 against the Donatists, Manichees, Priscillianists, the Pagans,
 and the Cœlicolæ, ordering that they should be put in exe-
 cution⁶, and expressly forbidding their meetings⁷. It was
 likewise declared that no enemies of the Catholic religion
 should exercise any employment in the palace⁸. The Cœli-

⁶ Cod. Th.
 16. Tit. 5.
 de Hær. 43.
⁷ Ibid. l. 45.
⁸ Ibid. l. 42.

colæ, or Worshippers of the Heavens, who are here mentioned, professed a new heresy, which derived its notions (as is supposed) from Judaism and Paganism; at least the name of it was new. They erred in regard to Baptism, after the manner of the Donatists, and they were chiefly known in Africa. In the following year, 409, there was published a decree of Honorius, ordering them to be punished as heretics and apostates¹. As to the Jews, there was a law against them, made by Theodosius on the twenty-ninth of May, in the year 408², which commanded the governors of provinces not to suffer them to burn a cross, on the feast which they used to celebrate in commemoration of their deliverance by Esther, under pretence of burning the figure of Haman and his gallows, because they did it in contempt of the Christian religion.

The Emperor Theodosius began to reign after the death of his father Arcadius, which happened on the first of May, under the Consulate of Bassus and Philippus, in the year 408³. Arcadius had reigned thirteen years from the death of his father Theodosius, and died thirty-one years old. He was a weak prince, always governed by his wife and his eunuchs. His son Theodosius, who was but eight years old, and bore already the title of Augustus, reigned in the East under the administration of Anthemius, the most prudent man of his time, and a friend of St. Aphraates⁴ and St. Chrysostom, who wrote to him on his Consulate in the year 405⁵. Theodosius the Younger, for he was known under that name, had three sisters, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina, who all three continued virgins. Pulcheria henceforth took charge of their education, as also of that of the Emperor her brother, though she was but two years older⁶; but her wisdom and virtue far exceeded her years.

We find two other laws of Honorius in the year 409, which breathe the spirit of religion: the first is in favour of prisoners⁷, directing the judges to take them out of prison every Sunday, and enquire if they have all necessaries given to them, that they might be supplied with proper subsistence if they lacked it, and conveyed to the baths under a strong guard; the Bishops are recommended to see this law put in execution. The other law commands all Christians of the

A. D. 408.

¹ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 8. de Jud. 19. et Gothof. ibi.

² Ibid. l. 18.

³ Socr. 6. 1. Soz. 9. 1. Marc. Chr. p. 277.

⁴ Theod. iii. Philot. c. 8. ⁵ Chrys. Ep. 147. al. 23.

[⁶ fifteen years old, according to Soz. 9. 1. & Theoph. p. 69.]

⁷ Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 3. de cust. reor. 7. et Cod. Just. 1. Tit. 4. de Episc. aud. 9.

A. D. 408. neighbourhood to take care that the Roman captives, who are returning home, should not be detained nor molested¹.

¹ Cod. Th.
5. Tit. 5.
de Postlim.
2. et Cod.
Just. 1.
Tit. 4.
de Episc.
aud. 11.
² Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 5.
de Hæc. 44.
³ Ep. 100.
al. 127.

The law of Honorius against the Donatists and Jews or Coelicolæ, was directed in particular to Donatus, Proconsul of Africa²: and St. Augustine, who was a personal friend of his, wrote to him on the subject, entreating him earnestly to spare their lives³. "Observe," said he, "that ecclesiastics are the only persons who take the trouble to lay the affairs of the Church before you. If you therefore punish the guilty with death, you take from us all freedom of complaining; so that when they become sensible of this they will assail us with greater assurance, seeing us reduced to the necessity of letting our own lives be taken, rather than exposing their lives to destruction by subjecting them to your judgment." He concludes in these words: "How-ever great the evil from which we would separate them, and the good to which we would unite them, it is a labour more wearisome than profitable to compel men by force, instead of winning them by instruction."

XIX.
Rome be-
sieged by
Alaric.
A. D. 409.
⁴ Zos. 5.
p. 812.
Soz. 7. 10.
Soz. 9. 6.

[⁵ Supr. 19.
33.]

After the death of Stilico, the Goths, who served in the Roman armies, were harshly treated, on suspicion of collusion with him. Their wives and children were put to death in several cities, and their estates plundered⁴. Incensed at this violation of their alliance, they all joined under Alaric, the most powerful of their chiefs, who had served under the great Theodosius against the usurper Eugenius⁵, and been invested with Roman dignities. He still endeavoured to make peace with Honorius; but not being able to obtain it, marched towards Rome. It is reported that on this march he met a holy Monk who would have dissuaded him from his purpose, representing to him all the calamities of which he was about to become the cause; and that Alaric replied, "I am not going thither of myself; but there is one who urges and torments me daily, saying, 'Go, plunder Rome.'" As soon as he was arrived he besieged it so closely, even on the side towards the sea, that no provisions could come in, and famine and plague began to devastate it. Many slaves, chiefly Barbarians, went over to Alaric. In this extremity the pagan senators thought it necessary to sacrifice in the Capitol, and in the other temples. For some Tuscan

Haruspices, whom Pompeianus, Præfect of Rome, had sent for, promised to drive away the Barbarians, by means of thunder and lightning; boasting that they had already done the same at Narnia, a town of Tuscany, which Alaric had not taken in his march towards Rome. Zosimus says¹, that for ¹ p. 816. greater security, Pope Innocent was informed of their intention to offer sacrifices at Rome; and that preferring the safety of the city to his own opinion, he gave them leave to sacrifice in private. They may believe it who will, on the testimony of this pagan, but what he further relates seems more likely. The Tuscans having insisted that those ceremonies would be of no service to the city, unless they were performed in public, the Senate went up to the Capitol, and began there and in the public places to perform what they had resolved: but no one dared take part in it. The Tuscans were left to themselves, and the means of pacifying Alaric were taken into consideration.

Accordingly a treaty was entered into with him², by which ² Zos. 5. it was agreed to give him five thousand pounds' weight of ^{p. 817.} gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand tunics of silk, three thousand skins dyed in scarlet, and three thousand pounds of pepper. To make up this quantity of gold and silver, as there was no public treasury, they laid a tax on private individuals, and as these were unable to make it up, they were obliged to make use of the ornaments of the idols, and even the idols themselves which were made of gold and silver: a proceeding lamented by Zosimus as an act of impiety, which filled up the ill fortune of Rome. Among others they melted down an image of Virtue: after which, he says, whatever yet remained of valour and virtue amongst the Romans vanished away, as had been foretold by those who were skilled in divine matters. In consideration of these presents, Alaric raised the siege, and the Romans promised to obtain peace between the Emperor and him. This happened in the year 409, under the eighth Consulate of Honorius and the third of Theodosius³.

Pope Innocent accordingly went on a deputation to the Emperor, who was then at Ravenna⁴. And there has been with some reason ascribed to this deputation a law against mathematicians or astrologers⁵, under which name were

³ Zos. 5.
p. 818.

⁴ Soz. 9. 7.

⁵ Cod. Th.

9. Tit. 16.

de Math. 12.

et Cod.

Just. 1.

Tit. 4.

de Episc.

aud. 10.

A. D. 409. often understood the soothsayers and other diviners. By this law they are commanded to burn their books in the presence of the Bishops, and to abjure their errors, or to go out of Rome, as also out of all other cities, under pain of transportation. It was published on the twenty-fifth of January, in the year 409. Alaric marched as far as Rimini to approach the Emperor, who sent Jovius, Præfect of Italy, to treat with him. But he, by his imprudent negotiation, broke the peace which he might have made upon advantageous conditions.

XX.
Attalus,
Emperor.

[¹ Soz.
9. 8.]
[² Zos. 5.
p. 828.]

Alaric therefore, returning to Rome, besieged it a second time; and having made himself master of the port, he obliged the Romans to salute Attalus, the Præfect of the city, Emperor¹. He favoured the pagans, and placed implicit reliance on the promises of the diviners², so that contrary to the advice of Alaric, he sent a man named Constans into Africa, without giving him the forces necessary to make him master of that country: while he himself marched towards Ravenna on expectations equally ill-founded. Honorius, terrified at his approach, sent his chief officers with proposals to acknowledge him for his colleague: but Attalus refused his offer, and ordered him to choose an island or some other place to retire to. Honorius had his ships already prepared to effect a flight to his nephew Theodosius, when an unexpected succour arrived from the East, while at the same time news was brought to Attalus that Constans had been defeated by Heraclian, who governed Africa for Honorius; and that Heraclian had so well guarded the seaports, that no provisions could come to Rome, which was consequently afflicted with famine. Attalus returned to Rome, and continued to behave so ill, that Alaric, by agreement with Honorius, deposed him from the empire before he had yet held it a full year³. The pagans and Arians were much afflicted at his deposition⁴. The former observing his behaviour, and knowing how he had been educated, were in hopes that he would have openly declared himself a pagan, and restored the temples, the feasts, and sacrifices: while the latter were in hopes that he would have made them masters of the churches, as in the reigns of Constantius and Valens, because he had been baptized by Sigisarius, Bishop of the

[³ Zos.
p. 830.]

⁴ Soz. 9. 9.

Goths, which had procured for him the attachment of Alaric and the whole nation. He had declared Consul for the year 410 a pagan, called Tertullus, whose name was struck out of the Fasti¹.

¹ Oros. 7. 42.

In the mean time Alaric advanced towards the Alps within sixty stades, or eight miles of Ravenna, and had entered into a treaty with Honorius; when Sarus, another chief of the Barbarians, and in alliance with the Romans, began to fear that their union with the Goths might be prejudicial to him, because he had given some cause of suspicion to Alaric². He therefore made an open attack upon his troops with three hundred men under his command, surprised them, and killed several. Alaric, provoked and alarmed at this action, returned to Rome, besieged it a third time, and took it by treachery, on the ninth of the calends of September, in the year 1164 of its foundation³, under the sole Consulate of Varanes⁴; that is, the twenty-fourth of August, 410. He gave it up to be plundered; giving orders, however, out of respect to the Apostle St. Peter, that his church of the Vatican should be preserved as a secure asylum; an order which prevented the total destruction of Rome. For that church, being very large, and having buildings belonging to it which occupied a great space of ground, such a vast number of persons retired thither, as served to re-people the city.

XXI.

Rome taken and plundered. A. D. 410.

² Soz. 9. 9.]

³ S. Paul. Diac. Hist. Misc. 13. 27.
⁴ Prosp. Chr. p. 646. Marcell. Chr. p. 277.

In this devastation several palaces and several public buildings were destroyed by fire, a great number of persons killed, many women dishonoured, and among them even virgins consecrated to God. A married woman⁵, exceedingly beautiful, and a Catholic, fell into the hands of a young Arian Goth, who, finding that she did her utmost to resist him, drew his sword to frighten her, and rased her skin, so that the blood ran all over her neck. She boldly presented her head to his sword; and the Barbarian, moved by her virtue, conveyed her himself to the church of St. Peter, and committing her to the care of the guards, gave them six pieces of gold for her subsistence, that she might be restored to her husband.

⁵ Soz. 9. 10.

Another of the chief Goths⁶, a Christian, found in a house belonging to one of the churches, a virgin consecrated to

⁶ Oros. 7. 39.

A. D. 410. God, and advanced in years; he asked her with an appearance of respect, for her gold and silver; to which she replied with resolution, that she had a great quantity of both, and would shew it to him. She accordingly produced such a quantity of treasure, that the Barbarian was astonished at the number, weight, and beauty of so many different vessels, of which he did not even know the names. "These are," said she to him, "the vessels of the Apostle St. Peter; take them if you dare, you shall answer for them: as I cannot defend, I dare not keep them." The Barbarian, inspired with awe, sent word to Alaric, who immediately ordered all the vessels to be conveyed, just as they were, to the Basilica of St. Peter; and likewise that the sacred virgin should be escorted thither under a safeguard, together with all the Christians who chose to attend her. This house being at some distance from the church of St. Peter, they were obliged to pass through the whole city; which made this transportation of the sacred vessels a magnificent spectacle and procession. They were carried one by one in open sight upon the heads of men, and on each side was a file of soldiers, with drawn swords; the Romans and Barbarians singing hymns together in the praise of God. The Christians flocked to them from all parts; several pagans feigned to be Christians on this occasion, and the more the Romans crowded together to save themselves, the more jealously the Barbarians closed around to defend them.

The Barbarians entered the house of St. Marcella, and required her to deliver up her gold and hidden riches¹. She told them that she possessed no riches; and as a proof of what she said, shewed them the meanness of her clothes. They would not believe her, and seconded their demand with blows of whips and sticks: she threw herself at their feet, begging them with tears not to take her daughter Principia from her, for whom she dreaded that insult from which she herself was protected by her age. The Barbarians were moved, and conducted them both to the church of St. Paul: for Alaric had given orders that this church should likewise be a sanctuary as well as that of St. Peter. St. Marcella returned thanks to God for having saved the honour of her daughter, and for having preserved herself from plunder, by

¹ Hier. Ep. 96. al. 16. ad Princ. [Supr. 18. 20.]

a voluntary poverty. She died a few days after in the arms of her daughter, and the illustrious Pammachus died also about the same time¹. A Deacon named Dionysius, who understood physic, and practised it gratuitously, was carried away by the Goths. But he shewed himself so worthy of their love and reverence, that they treated him as their master².

A vast number of Christians went out of Rome on this occasion³; and it was looked upon as an effect of Divine Providence, that Pope St. Innocent had gone out of it some time before, on his deputation to the Emperor Honorius; for he was then still at Ravenna⁴. The Barbarians permitted those who wished to retire, to carry their goods with them, and even granted them safeguard, in consideration of some trifling reward⁵. The sack of Rome lasted only three days⁶, and Alaric went out of that city on the sixth day⁷ after he had entered it, without leaving any garrison. He marched into Campania, where his troops plundered Nola; and on this occasion St. Paulinus made this prayer: "LORD, let me not suffer torture either for gold or silver, since Thou knowest where are all my riches." He had in truth given all to the poor. Alaric having devastated all that part of Italy, died in the year following at Cosanza, as he was preparing to cross over into Sicily⁸.

Of those who made their escape out of Rome during this desolation, several retired into the neighbouring islands of Tuscany⁹, some into Sicily and Africa, others into Egypt, to the East, and Palestine. St. Jerome received many of them at Bethlehem; and this charitable employment, together with the grief he felt for so great a calamity, interrupted his studies, allowing him no leisure to write but in the night-time; when his sight, weakened by his great age, was still further wearied by the Hebrew letters. After the Commentary upon Isaiah, which he had written at the request of Eustochium, she had again engaged him to make the one upon Ezekiel, and afterwards that on Jeremiah. He was first deeply concerned to hear of the two sieges of Rome, which so closely succeeded each other; and of the famine which raged so violently that even human flesh was eaten¹. His grief was overwhelming at the news of its capture,

A. D. 410.

[¹ Hier. iii. Præf. Lib. 1. in Ezech.]

² Epitaph. ap. Bar. an. 410.

§ 41.

³ Hier. iii. Præf. Lib. 3. et 7. in Ezech.

⁴ Oros. 7. 39.

⁵ Ibid. 41.

⁶ Ibid. 39.

⁷ Marcell. Chr. p. 277.

⁸ Paul. Diac. Hist. Misc. 13. 28.

XXII.

The Romans dispersed.

⁹ Rufin.

Itin. 1. v.

325.

Hier. iii.

Præf. Lib.

1, 3, 7. in

Ezech.

¹ Ep. 96.

al. 16. ad

Princ.

A. D. 410.

and of the death of Pammachus and Marcella; but when he saw so many noble fugitives of both sexes, reduced at once from the possession of boundless wealth to beggary, and now seeking food and shelter; naked, wounded, and still exposed to the insults of those who thought them loaded with gold: all these miseries forced torrents of tears from his eyes, whilst he strove to find means to assist them. He looked upon the end of the world to be near, and saw in this terrible event the hand of God, and the fulfilment of the prophecies¹. For he had often said that Rome, still adhering to idolatry and abounding with crimes, was the Babylon, and the Harlot of the Apocalypse²; and that the "falling away" predicted by St. Paul³, before the coming of Antichrist, was the fall of the Roman empire; which the Apostle did not choose to express more openly, that he might not bring on a persecution⁴.

¹ Præf. Lib. 8. in Ezech.

² Ep. 44. al. 17. p. 551. in Isai. 47. in Jovin. 2. in fin. tom. iv. pars 2. p. 228.

³ 2 Thess. 2. 3.

⁴ Ep. 8. al. 15. ad Alg. quæst. 11. tom. iv. pars 1. p. 209.

At the same time the Barbarians were making great devastations in the East, in Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. St. Jerome says that it was with much difficulty that he himself escaped their hands. St. Nilus relates in the following manner, the disorders which were committed in the desert of Sinai by the Arabs, who lived only upon hunting and plunder⁵. He was come down from the mountain with his son to visit, according to custom, the Monks who lived at the Bush; that is, as it appears, the place where Moses saw the burning-bush. On the fourteenth of January, very early in the morning, as the Monks had just finished their service, the Barbarians assailed them with shouts, and seized all the provisions which they had laid up for the winter, being a quantity of wild fruits dried⁶; they even loaded the Monks themselves with them, after having turned them out of the church; then stripped the eldest of them, and made them stand naked in a row in order to cut their throats. They began with Theodulus the Priest, whose head they cut off. He offered no resistance, but only made the sign of the cross, and said, "Blessed be God." Then they killed an old man who lived with him, and a youth who served them; after which they made a sign with their hand to the others to fly⁷. St. Nilus could not make up his mind to forsake his son, whom they were carrying away captive: but

⁵ Nili Narr. 3. p. 27. et ap. Boll. i. Jan. 14.

[⁶ Nar. 4. p. 46.]

⁷ Narr. 4. p. 50.

his son made signs to him, as well as he could, with his eyes, A. D. 410. to secure his safety by flight with the rest. He therefore retired to the mountain, turning back his eyes as much as possible upon his son, who also, though only by stealth, returned his glances.

The Monks having reached the top of the hill, began to talk among themselves of this disaster, when there came up to them a slave belonging to Magado, a Senator of Pharan, the nearest town to this desert¹. This slave came from the camp of the Barbarians, still full of fear and out of breath. The Monks asked him how he had made his escape; to which he answered, addressing himself to St. Nilus, "The Barbarians conversing over their supper, said, that on the next morning they would sacrifice your son and me to the star they worship." (This was the star of Venus².) "They set up an altar, and placed the wood on it before we knew their design, as we did not understand their language: but one of the captives who knew it, told me privately what they said. I acquainted your son with it, and told him that, if he did not fly, we should not be alive on the morrow. He feared to be discovered, and chose rather to remain there, and resign himself to Providence. As to myself, when I saw all these Barbarians full of wine, and asleep, I crept along the ground under favour of the night; and when I got a little distance from their camp, I ran with all my speed." He then related to them several cruelties of the Arabians, and, among others, the death of a young solitary, who chose rather to lose his life than to obey them by discovering the rest of the Monks, or by exposing himself naked in their presence.

The news of this incursion having reached Pharan, the Council of that city resolved not to let it pass in silence, and gave notice of their intention to the chief of the Barbarians³. In the mean time the Monks buried their brethren, whom they found at the end of five days, their bodies still entire, without taint or deformity, and untouched by any wild beast. Their names were set down, that they might be honoured as Martyrs⁴; and the Church to this day commemorates them on the fourteenth of January⁵. The Monks then went to Pharan to learn the answer of the Arabian chief⁶. As they

¹ Narr. 5.
p. 60.

² the morning star,
τὸ πρωΐνον
ἄστρον.
p. 28.]

³ Narr. 6.
p. 87.

⁴ p. 60.
⁵ Mart.
Rom.
⁶ p. 90.

A. D. 410. were entering the town, they fell in with the messengers who had been sent, and were now returning with letters from him; in which he made answer that whoever had suffered any loss might come to him, and that he would do them justice; for he was unwilling to break off his friendly intercourse with the Romans, in consequence of the advantage he derived from it. Ambassadors were therefore sent from Pharan, to renew the peace; and they were attended by the relations of the captives, among whom was St. Nilus. After travelling twelve days, they arrived at the camp of the Arab chief whom they call the Ammanes, or Iman, who gave them audience, and returned them a favourable answer¹.

¹ Nili
Narr. 6.
p. 97.

² p. 101.

³ p. 104.

⁴ Narr. 7.
p. 110.

⁵ p. 117.

[⁶ μεταρ-
φαγεῖν,
to eat
things of-
fered to
idols.]

They assured St. Nilus that his son was living, and a slave in the town of Eluza². He departed in search of him, and was informed on the road that the Bishop of that place had bought his son, and had ordained him; and that in a little time he had acquired considerable regard. St. Nilus being arrived there, saw his son first³, and fainted away; his son embraced him and brought him to himself, and then related his adventure to him in the following manner⁴: “When the “slave of Magado made his escape, every thing was ready “for our sacrifice; the altar, knife, cup, libations, and in- “cense: they had resolved to sacrifice us on the next morn- “ing at break of day. I had prostrated myself with my face “to the earth, and, with all the attention that is caused by “eminent dangers, was praying in a low voice: ‘O LORD,’ I “said, ‘suffer not my blood to be offered up to evil spirits, “‘or my body to be the victim of the demon of impurity; “‘restore me to my father, who places his hope in Thee.’ “I was still praying, when the Barbarians awoke, and were “troubled at finding that the hour of the sacrifice was now “passed, for the sun was risen⁵. They asked me what was “become of the other captive. I said I did not know; and “they remained quiet, without shewing any signs of anger. “I then began to take courage, and God gave me strength “to resist them when they would have compelled me to eat “impure food⁶, and indulge in lewdness. As soon as we “were come to an inhabited country, they exposed me for “sale; and as the people offered only two gold pence for

“ me, after having carried me backwards and forwards A. D. 410.
 “ several times, they at last placed me at the entrance of
 “ the town, naked, with a sword hanging from my neck, to
 “ shew that if no one would buy me they would cut off my
 “ head. I stretched out my hands to those who came by,
 “ and entreated them to give the Barbarians what they de-
 “ manded for me, promising to return it to them, and to
 “ serve them besides. So out of compassion I was at last
 “ purchased.”

The Bishop of Eluza treated both father and son with a great deal of kindness, and kept them some time with him, that they might take some rest after their fatigues¹. He even p. 123. insisted on rewarding the virtue of St. Nilus, by ordaining him a Priest, notwithstanding all his opposition; and when they departed he supplied them with all that was necessary for their journey, which was a long one. We know nothing of the remainder of the life of St. Nilus. He was then fifty years old, and it is believed that he lived forty years longer, to the reign of the Emperor Marcian². There remain of his 2V. Chronol. Suar.p. 692. writings several religious treatises, and a thousand and sixty-one letters, most of them short, and in a spirited and concise style.

He speaks in the following manner of the Eucharist³: 3 Lib. 1. Ep. 44. ad Phil.
 “ After the dread-inspiring invocations³, and the descent of
 “ the adorable and life-giving Spirit, that which is on the
 “ Holy Table is no longer simple bread and common wine,
 “ but the precious Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST our
 “ God, which purifieth from all stain those who receive it
 “ with great fear and strong desire.” And in another place
 he says⁴, that “ St. Chrysostom hath often seen the angels in 4 Lib. 2. Ep. 294. ad Anast.

³ In the consecration of the Eucharist, the ancient Greek, African, and Gallican Churches used an Invocation (*ἐπίκλησις*) of the HOLY GHOST; while the Roman and Italian employed only a simple prayer of consecration: both however agreeing in a commemoration of our Saviour's words and deeds at the last supper. (Palmer, Orig. Lit. ii. p. 136, 141.) Bellarmine, however, contends that a commemoration of the institution by the mere pronunciation of the words, “ Hoc est enim Corpus Meum, Hic est enim calix Sanguinis,” is alone necessarily required, and absolutely

sufficient for the consecration of the elements. (de Sac. Euch. 4. 12.) Bingham, on the other hand, supports the necessity of prayer as well, from the universal practice of antiquity. (15. 3. § 12.) The Anglican Church uses prayer, without the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, in the words, “ Hear us, O Merciful Father, &c.,” and subjoins a commemoration of the institution; though “ in the rubric, after the form of administration, the Church seems to suppose that the consecration is made by the words of institution.” Wheatley, 6. 22. § 2.

A. D. 410. "the church, especially during the time of the bloodless "Sacrifice:" that "as soon as the Priest began the oblation, "they surrounded the Altar with profound respect, till
 [1 τὸ φρικτὸν μυστήριον.] "the consummation of the awful mystery¹: then spreading "themselves throughout the whole church, they assisted "the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in distributing the precious Body and Blood.^t" In another letter² he reprimands a Priest who was too severe, and reckoned for nothing the public confession of a penitent, unless it was attended with many austerities. "You pay attention," he writes, "to one "part only of the Scriptures, which declares the wrath of "God, and not to His mercy, which is spread through almost "the whole of them. It is very beneficial to those who are "able, to give proofs of their repentance by works, such as "fasting, watching, sackcloth and ashes, and abundant alms. "But we must not reject the bare confession of those who "have not the strength or means to perform those works. "It is sufficient to be convinced that the repentance is sincere." The shorter works of St. Nilus all treat of the ascetic life, that is to say, of Christian perfection. In the first, he severely condemns the laxity which was beginning to creep in amongst the Monks^u; but the most celebrated of these treatises is that on the eight capital vices^x.

But to return to the incursions of the Barbarians; those which they made in Egypt obliged the Monks of Scetis to abandon their solitude; which caused St. Arsenius to say, with tears³, "the world hath lost Rome, and the Monks have "lost Scetis." There were likewise some Monks killed in

³ Rosw. Lib. 5. Libel. 2. de quiet. 6.

^t St. Chrysostom, he says, related this in private to his true spiritual friends (τοῖς ἡσιότοις τῶν πνευματικῶν φίλων).

^u St. Nilus complains of the Monks engaging in secular business, and shameful trades (πορισμοὶ ἐπονείδιστοι, c. 6); of their possessing land and cattle, and even giving up their whole time to gainful arts (c. 7); while some, unable to endure the strict discipline of the monastery, wander through the cities, and attach themselves to the rich, performing all the services of a parasite (c. 8); or beg at the doors, or even steal, so as to bring the monastic life into general disrepute (c. 9).

The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451.) notices the secularity of some of the Monks, and forbids them to take any part in secular business, except they be legally obliged to undertake the guardianship of minors; orders them not to leave their monasteries without permission from the Bishop of the diocese, and forbids them to hold any civil or military rank. (can. 3, 4, 7. Mans. vii.)

^x These eight capital vices (πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας) are: gluttony, fornication, avarice, anger, dejection (λύπη, explained by κατῆφεια ψυχῆς), sloth (ἀκηδία), vainglory (κενοδοξία), pride (ὑπερηφανία).

those solitudes of Egypt, as St. Augustine relates in deploring the general calamities of those days, and the devastations of the Barbarians in Italy, Gaul, and Spain¹. He wrote¹ about it to a Priest, named Victorian; telling him how he ought to answer the pagans, who were scandalized at these disasters, with what spirit he ought himself to undergo them, and how he might even reap benefit from them by the example of the Saints.

Among those who crossed over into Africa in their flight from Alaric, the most illustrious were Proba, with Juliana her daughter-in-law, and Demetrius her grand-daughter²; and of another family, Albina, Pinianus her son-in-law, and Melania the younger, her daughter³. St. Augustine some time after, wrote a long letter to Proba, instructing her how to live like a widow indeed, in the midst of her family and her riches; and treating particularly of prayer⁴. Albina and her family, foreseeing the ruin of Rome, had sold their estates, and had quitted it some time before it was besieged: Melania the elder, the step-mother of Albina, and her son Publicola came out of Rome with them: Ruffinus of Aquileia likewise accompanied them, and passed over with them into Sicily, where he translated the homilies of Origen upon Numbers, at the time when the Goths were burning the town of Rhegium⁵. Ruffinus died soon after in Sicily⁶: Albina, with her daughter Melania, and Pinianus her son-in-law, went over into Africa, and arrived at Carthage, whence they proceeded to Thagaste, in order to visit the Bishop Alypius⁷. Melania the elder returned to Jerusalem, with her grandson Publicola, and died forty days after her arrival. St. Augustine could not go to Thagaste, though he had the utmost desire to do so, that he might see Albina, Pinianus, and the young Melania, being obliged to reside at Hippo for the safety of his people: had it not been for that, the rains and severity of the winter, which even in Africa he felt most painfully, would not have prevented him⁸.

Some time after, they came to visit him at Hippo; and as they were in the church, the people laid hands on Pinianus, demanding with loud cries that St. Augustine would ordain him Priest of their Church⁹. St. Augustine replied that he would not do it unless Pinianus himself consented. The

A. D. 410.

¹ Ep. 111. al. 122.² Hier. Ep. 97. al. 8. Supr. 19. 60. ³ Pall. Laus. 118.⁴ Ep. 130. al. 121.⁵ Præf. ad Urs. ap. Vales. ad Euseb. 6. 38.⁶ Hier. iii. Præf. 1. in Ezech.⁷ Vita Mel. ap. Sur. i. Jan. 31.⁸ Ep. 124. 227. ad Alb.

XXIII. Tumult at Hippo for Pinianus. A. D. 411.

⁹ Ep. 126. al. 225. ad Alb. § 1.

A. D. 411. people continued to cry out louder than before. Pinianus and his wife Melania, with whom he had for a long time lived in continence, imputed interested motives to the people of Hippo, as if they had acted in this manner only to procure to the Church and to the poor of Hippo those riches which he distributed with such profusion.

St. Augustine seeing this disorder, advanced towards the people, and said to them: "If you claim to have him for Priest, contrary to the word which I have pledged, you will not have me for Bishop:" after which he left the crowd and returned to his seat. This answer surprised the people, and checked them a little; but soon after they began to be still more turbulent, thinking to compel St. Augustine to revoke his word, or cause Pinianus to be ordained by another Bishop. St. Augustine said to those who could hear him, that is, to the most considerable persons of the city who had ascended to the chancel¹, "I cannot forfeit my word, and Pinianus cannot be ordained by another Bishop, in a church committed to my care, without my consent: if I permitted this, I should no less forfeit my word. And if you cause him to be ordained against his will, all that you will gain by it is, that he will leave you after his ordination." Notwithstanding, the multitude who were standing before the steps of the chancel, persisted in their resolution, with violent uproar, and were incensed against St. Alypius, who was present, as though he designed to keep Pinianus for his own church at Thagaste, in order to have the advantage of his riches. St. Augustine was afraid that matters might become worse², and that among the crowd there might be some abandoned people, who would take the opportunity of this tumult, to commit violence, in hopes of plunder, and he knew not what course to pursue. He wished to leave the church, fearing that it might be profaned: and he was equally afraid that, if he did retire, that disaster would happen the sooner, from the people being still more irritated and less under the influence of respect for him. Besides, he feared that in passing through the crowd with Alypius, some might have the assurance to lay hands on the latter, who would thus seem to have been abandoned by him to the fury of the people.

[¹ absis.]

² § 2.

While St. Augustine was thus perplexed¹, Pinianus sent to A. D. 411. him to let him know that he wished to swear to the people^{1 § 3.} that if he were ordained against his inclination he would absolutely depart from Africa. He thought that the people would cease to insist on a claim which would have no other effect but that of expelling him, for they well knew that he would not forswear himself: but St. Augustine, who feared lest that oath should only incense the people more, said nothing of it, and went immediately to Pinianus, who had desired to see him. As he was on his way, he received another message from Pinianus, to let him know that he would remain there if they would not compel him to enter into holy orders against his inclination. St. Augustine began to draw breath a little, and without making him any reply, went up to St. Alypius, and told him what Pinianus had said. St. Alypius, fearing he should offend Pinianus' family, answered, "Do not consult me at all on the matter." Then St. Augustine turning back to the people, and having obtained silence, told them what Pinianus had promised to swear. As they were bent upon ordaining him Priest, his promise did not satisfy them: but after a little consultation amongst themselves, they required that he should add to his promise that if he ever did enter into orders, it should only be in the church of Hippo. St. Augustine proposed this to Pinianus, he agreed to it without hesitation, and said so to the people, who were satisfied, and required him to take the promised oath.

St. Augustine returned to Pinianus², who was watched by^{2 § 4.} the people in a separate place, and found him perplexed about the choice of the words of the oath: because circumstances might absolutely oblige him to depart from Africa, as for instance, incursions of enemies. St. Melania, his wife, desired that an unhealthy state of the air might be also a valid excuse. St. Augustine was afraid that any proviso would be suspected by the people. However, it was agreed that a trial should be made. The Deacon repeated Pinianus' words aloud; and the people seemed satisfied: but as soon as they heard him mention "necessities that might intervene," they cried out again, and renewed their clamours, supposing that an evasion was intended. Accordingly, he

A. D. 411. struck out the clause of "necessities," and the people were again satisfied. Then Pinianus came forward himself¹, and confirmed what the Deacon had repeated in his name, and the oath which had been read to them. They desired him to subscribe it, and he did so. Some of the principal persons among them desired that the Bishops also should subscribe to the oath, and St. Augustine was beginning to write, when St. Melania opposed it. St. Augustine was surprised that she should have thought of this so late, as though he, by not subscribing to it, could make the oath void. However, he left his subscription unfinished, and no one pressed him to complete it. On the next day Pinianus departed from Hippo², and returned to Thagaste, which produced some emotion amongst the people: but they were again pacified on being assured of his intention to return to Hippo.

XXIV.
Letters of
St. Au-
gustine
upon the
oath of
Pinianus.

³ Ep. 125.
al. 224.

⁴ § 2.

⁵ § 3.

⁶ § 4.

Meanwhile Albina, his mother-in-law, who apparently was not at Hippo at the time of this tumult, complained of the violence done to him, insisting that they only aimed at his riches; and that the oath which he had given on compulsion, and in fear of death, could not bind him. St. Augustine wrote on this affair to Alypius³, entreating him to cure Albina and her children (that is, Pinianus her son-in-law, and her daughter Melania) of this suspicion. "For," says he⁴, "though they complain only of the people, it is plain that those suspicions fall also on the clergy, and chiefly on the Bishops, who are considered as the masters of the Church's goods: nor ought we to be satisfied with the testimony of our own conscience only: but if we have any spark of charity, we ought to be careful of doing well, not only before God, but also before man." As Pinianus doubted whether he was bound by that oath, which he had made only to escape the violence of the people of Hippo, St. Augustine lays down these maxims concerning oaths⁵: "A servant of God ought rather to expose himself to certain death, than promise with an oath to do an unlawful action, because he could not fulfil his oath without committing a crime; but he who has promised a lawful thing, through the fear of an uncertain evil, as did Pinianus, ought rather to fulfil his promise, than be guilty of a certain perjury. An oath ought to be observed⁶, not

“ according to the letter of the words in which it is con- A. D. 411.
 “ ceived, but according to the sense in which he who gives
 “ the oath believes it to be understood by him to whom it is
 “ given. So the absence of Pinianus was not contrary to his
 “ oath, so long as he had an intention to return.”

St. Augustine wrote likewise to Albina¹, not to complain ^{1 Ep. 126.}
 of the suspicion which she had formed against him, but to ^{al. 225.}
 justify himself and comfort her. He gives her a particular
 account of what had passed at Hippo relating to Pinianus;
 and then shews her that she ought not to suspect the people
 of Hippo of wishing to detain him with a view to their own
 interest². “ It is not your money,” he says, “ that has² § 7.
 “ tempted them, but your contempt for money. What they
 “ approved in me was, that they knew I had forsaken some
 “ small paternal estates for the service of God, nor did they
 “ grudge them to the Church of Thagaste where I was born;
 “ but as that Church had not engaged me among its clergy,
 “ they made me take orders with them when they had the
 “ means of doing it. With how much more reason were
 “ they delighted to see in our beloved Pinianus a contempt
 “ of such great riches and such high expectations? Many
 “ observe, that far from having forsaken riches, I have
 “ acquired them: my estate would hardly have made the
 “ twentieth part of the wealth of this Church. But Pinianus,
 “ though he were made Bishop of any Church whatever,
 “ particularly in Africa, must ever be poor in comparison
 “ with the wealth which he now possesses. The suspicion of
 “ interest³ can therefore fall only on the clergy, and the³ § 8.
 “ Bishops in particular, for we are the persons who are
 “ looked upon as the treasurers of the Church. But God is
 “ my witness⁴, that so far from being fond (as is believed) of⁴ § 9.
 “ this office, it is a burden to me; and that I only submit to
 “ it from the fear of God, and the charity which I owe to my
 “ brethren. Willingly would I lay it down, were it con-
 “ sistent with my duty to do so.” He adds, speaking of the
 Apostles⁵: “ We cannot work with our hands for subsistence,⁵ § 10.
 “ as they did: and if we could, our numerous occupations,
 “ with which I believe they were not then charged, would
 “ not permit us to do it.” He then⁶ treats of the nature of⁶ § 11, &c.
 an oath given on compulsion, as he had already done in his

A. D. 411. letter to Alypius, leaving no room to doubt that it ought to be fulfilled, and in the sense in which they to whom it was made understood it.

XXV.
Disinter-
estedness
of St. Au-
gustine.
A. D. 406.

St. Augustine had given another instance of disinterestedness in an affair which, as is thought, happened some years previously. The inhabitants of Thiava having renounced the schism of the Donatists, wanted a Priest to govern them. Honoratus, who was the person appointed, had belonged to the monastery of Thagaste. It was the custom for those who entered into a monastery, first to dispose of their property, for the good of the poor or of the monastery itself. If any one desired to be admitted before he was able to dispose of his property, it was customary to receive him, if he appeared sincerely resolved to do so as soon as it became possible. Honoratus was in this case, and was still in possession of his wealth, when he was ordained Priest of the Church of Thiava, and the question arose to whom this property ought to belong. The people of Thiava claimed it, according to the acknowledged rule of that time, that the estates of clergy belonged to the Church where they were ordained¹. Alypius, Bishop of Thagaste, maintained that the property of Honoratus ought to fall to the monastery of Thagaste; and was afraid that if it should fall to the Church of Thiava, on the ground of its still belonging to Honoratus, this precedent might furnish an excuse to those who should enter into monasteries to defer giving up their estates. St. Augustine was of opinion that the estate of Honoratus ought to be given to the Church of Thiava. St. Alypius then proposed to divide it, keeping one half for the monastery of Thagaste, and leaving the other to the Church of Thiava, on condition that St. Augustine should at some future period make up the value of the other half to the monastery of Thagaste; and to this St. Augustine assented².

¹ Aug. Ep. 83. al. 239. § 4.

² According to Tillemont (xiii. 92) St. Augustine was to make up to *both* parties the half they lost by this partition.

Though not an uncommon practice for a person to give up his estates on receiving ordination, as in the case of St. Augustine himself (supr. 24), and though this narrative, as well as that of

Pinianus (supr. 23), speaks of it as an acknowledged rule in the African Church, yet there was no generally admitted law at this period obliging the clergy to part with their temporal possessions. (Bingh. 7. 2. § 9.) By a law of Theodosius the Younger, in A. D. 434, the property of any Clerk or Monk dying intestate, and without heirs-at-

Soon after, St. Augustine, having re-considered the matter A. D. 406. more at leisure, wrote to St. Alypius¹ to tell him that he dis-¹ Ep. 83. approved of that partition: "For if," he writes, "we should al. 239.
"take away the whole, they would believe that we had
"thought it just; but if we enter into a composition, it will
"seem that we only regard the money; besides, the same
"inconvenience as before will result, for those whom we wish
"to convert² will keep one half of their property when they ² i. e. to
"enter into a monastery." He ends therefore by proposing the mo-
to leave the whole estate of Honoratus to the Church of nastic life:
Thiava, according to the general rule, that so they might ³ Du Cange
avoid the scandal and suspicion of avarice, having chiefly in in Con-
view the new converts. "I have related this affair," he says, vertere.]
"to our brother the Bishop Samsucius, who was extremely
"shocked to hear our opinion, for no other reason than the
"flagrant indecency of the transaction, unworthy, not of us
"only, but of any man." St. Augustine, however, still con-
sents to give to the monastery of Thagaste that half which
he had promised.

About the same time a friend of St. Augustine, named Con-
stantine, gave him, when they were in the country together, a
book written by Petilianus, a Donatist Bishop, entreating him
earnestly to answer it³. The title was, "Of the only Baptism;" ³ Retr. 2. 34.
and the subject of it, to shew that true Baptism was possessed
by them alone. St. Augustine refuted this book by another
bearing the same title⁴; in which he only repeated what he ⁴ Aug. ix.
had already said in his other works upon this subject. De Un.Bap.

The Donatists had obtained a law which granted them the ^{XXVI.}
exercise of their religion; and which, according to the opinion ^{Law against}
of some, was granted to them by Honorius, at the time when ^{the Dona-}
fears were entertained in Africa of Constans, whom the tyrant ^{tists.}
Attalus had sent thither⁵; that is, about the middle of the ^{A. D. 409.}
year 409. Encouraged by this law, the Donatists committed ⁵ Supr. 20.
intolerable outrages. They plundered houses, wasted the
fruits, spilled the wines and other liquors, and set fire to the
buildings⁶. When they seized any of the Catholic clergy, ⁶ Aug. Ep.
not contented with inflicting the most fearful wounds, they ^{111. al. 122.}
^{ad Vict.}

law, falls to his church or monastery;
so that even after this time the clergy
might not only possess property, but

even dispose of it at their pleasure.
Cod. Th. 5. Tit. 3. de Bon. Cler. 1.

A. D. 409. would even put lime and vinegar into their eyes. St. Augustine was told on one occasion, that in one place they had rebaptized no less than forty-eight persons, through the terror which these cruelties inspired. One of their Priests¹, named Restitutus, at Victoria, in the district of Hippo, who had voluntarily embraced the Catholic religion before the laws were published against them, was by the Donatist clergy, and their Circumcelliones, carried off from his own house at noon-day, and conveyed to an adjacent town; and there, in the presence of the people, who dared not resist, he was beaten at their pleasure, rolled in a muddy pond, and dressed, out of derision, in a mat of reeds. After having made sport with him as long as they thought fit, they carried him to a place which no Catholic dared to approach; where they kept him twelve days, and only sent him back at last on compulsion: but they killed him some time after; and cut off a finger and tore out an eye of another Priest, whose name was Innocent².

¹ Aug. Ep. 88. al. 68. ad Jan. § 6. Cont. Cresc. 3. c. 48. § 53. Ep. 105. al. 166. ad Don. c. 2. § 3.

² Ep. 133. al. 159. ad Marcel. § 1. A. D. 410.

³ Cod. can. Afr. 107.

⁴ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 51.

To procure a remedy for these disorders, the Catholic Bishops appointed a meeting at Carthage, on the eighteenth of the calends of July, after the eighth Consulate of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius: that is, on the fourteenth of June, in the year 410³. It was there resolved to send as deputies to the Emperor, the Bishops Florentius, Possidius, Præsidius, and Benenatus, to beg him to revoke this liberty of toleration which the Donatists abused. Accordingly, their request was granted, as there was nothing now for Honorius to fear in Africa, after the defeat of Constans, and the deposition of Attalus. Honorius therefore published a law, which was dated the eighth of the calends of September, under the Consulate of Varanes⁴; that is, the twenty-fifth of August, 410, the day after Rome was taken by the Goths. This law declares, that without any regard being paid to the former one which the heretics had surreptitiously obtained, they should be forbidden to meet in public, on pain of banishment and death. It was not usual to threaten the heretics with such severe punishments; but the fury of the Donatists required it. This law is directed to the Count Heraclian, who had so successfully defended Africa.

The deputies of the Council of Carthage obtained likewise

of the Emperor Honorius, a rescript to compel the Donatists to come to a public conference¹. This was the means which the Catholic Bishops, particularly St. Augustine, judged the most effectual to undeceive the people. They could do nothing with the Donatist Bishops, who refused to confer with them, though they had been so often invited: and the people no longer remembered what had been done against the Donatists under Constantine, about a hundred years before². The Emperor Honorius' rescript was directed to Flavius Marcellinus, Tribune and Notary³, a title of considerable dignity at that time². He was a pious man, and a friend of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, as appears by their letters⁴. The rescript commanded the Donatist Bishops to meet within four months at Carthage, in order that such Bishops as should be appointed on both sides might confer together, and that if the Donatists refused to meet, after being summoned three times, their churches should be taken from them: Marcellinus was appointed judge of the conference, to see this order, as well as the other laws issued for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, put into execution: and the Emperor gave him power to choose from among the officers of the Proconsul, the Vicar of the Prætorian Præfect², and all the other judges, such persons as might be necessary for the performance of his commission. This rescript is dated at

A. D. 410.

¹ Possid. Vit. 13. Aug. x. cont. Jul. 3. c. 1. § 5.

[² Supr. 19. 53. note 1.]

³ Coll. 1. 4. ap. Conc. ii. (Mans. iv.)

⁴ Hier. Ep. 78. al. 82. Aug. Ep. 136. al. 48. &c.

² The Notaries, holding the first rank among the Spectabiles, or dignitaries of the second grade, were secretaries to the Emperor's Privy Council, and as such, were often charged with the execution of the Imperial *Mandates*, or extraordinary commissions, in which case they frequently, as in the present instance, enjoyed the additional title of Tribune. Cod. Th. 1. Tit. 3. de Mand. Princ. 1, and 6. Tit. 10. de Prim. et Not. 1, and Com. Gothof.

³ The political distribution of the Empire made by Constantine is thus given by Gieseler, i. § 91. note 4:—
“ I. PRÆFECTURA ORIENTIS, 1. *Dicēsis Orientis* (Antioch), 2. *Ægypti* (Alexandria), 3. *Asiæ* (Ephesus), 4. *Ponti* (Cæsarea Cappad.), 5. *Thraciæ* (Heraclea, then Constantinople).
“ II. PRÆF. ILLYRICI ORIENTALIS, from A. D. 379 separated from the West, together with the Hypst. Thessalonica, 1. *Dicē. Macedonia*,

“ 2. *Daciæ*. III. PRÆF. ITALIÆ, “ 1. *Dicē. Romæ* (Rome), 2. *Italiæ* (Mediolanum), 3. *Illyrici occidentalis* (Sirmium), 4. *Africæ* (Carthage).
“ IV. PRÆF. GALLIARUM, 1. *Dicē. Galliæ* (Augusta Trevirorum), 2. *Hispaniæ*, 3. *Britanniæ*. Over the Præfectures were placed Præfecti Prætorio; over the Dioceses, or Vicariates, “ Vicarii” (except the *Count* of the East, and the *Augustal Præfect* of Egypt, *Notitia Imp. Or.* 104, 117); “ over the “ Provinces,” (or subdivisions of the Dioceses), “ Rectores with different “ titles, Consulares, Correctores, usually “ Præsides.” The diocese of Africa was divided into six provinces; five of which (viz. Byzacena and Numidia, governed by Consulares; and Tripolis, and the two Mauritaniæ, governed by Præsides) were subject to the authority of the Vicar, from which the Proconsular province of Carthage or Africa Proper was exempt. *Notitia Imp. Occ.* 65, 47.

A. D. 410. Ravenna, on the day before the ides of October, under the Consulate of Varanes; that is, on the fourteenth of October, in the year 410.

XXVII. The heretics were likewise prosecuted in the East. In this same year, 410, on the twenty-first of February, or the ninth of the calends of March, under the Consulate of Varanes, there was a law directed to Anthemius, Prætorian Præfect of the East, which declares that the Montanists and Priscillianists shall not be admitted to take the military oath; without being, however, exempted on that account from municipal offices, and the other employments to which they may be liable by their birth¹. These Priscillianists were not

¹ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 8.

[² Supr. 18. 8. note f.]

³ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 49. 50.

the followers of Priscillian, but of Priscilla, a false Prophetess of Montanus². On the first day of the following March, there was another law against the Eunomians³, forbidding them to make or receive donations by any deed of gift or will, and declaring that all things disposed of in that manner shall be confiscated, and enacting that no private person shall be able to obtain a grant of such confiscated property from the Emperor. The reason of this was, that there were Catholics who prosecuted the heretics less out of zeal than interest, in order to profit by their spoils, a proceeding condemned by the holy Bishops⁴.

⁴ Synes. Ep. 5.

About this time the Bishop of Synnada in Phrygia, whose name was Theodosius, violently prosecuted the heretics of that country, which contained a great number of Macedonians⁵. He expelled them not only from the city, but even from the country. "In doing which," says Socrates, "he did not follow the custom of the Catholic Church, which "was not wont to persecute." That is to say, his prosecutions were too violent. Nor did he, indeed, act in this manner out of zeal to the faith; but through avarice, and in order to acquire riches at the expense of the heretics. He therefore put every art in practice against the Macedonians: he prosecuted them at law, and he armed his clergy. His enmity was chiefly directed against their Bishop, whose name was Agapetus. And finding that the magistrates of the province were not as severe in their punishment as he desired, he repaired to Constantinople to demand an order from the Prætorian Præfect. While he was absent, Agapetus, in

⁵ Socr. 7. 3.

despair, embraced the right side; and, having conferred with his clergy, he called together his people, and persuaded them to embrace the Catholic faith. After which he went with them to the church, and having performed service¹, assumed the seat which Theodosius had been used to occupy.

A. D. 410.
[¹ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσας]

Thus having re-united the people of both communions, he, henceforth, preached the consubstantiality of the Word, and took possession of the churches which depended upon Synnada. Theodosius returned soon after with orders from the Præfect, and not knowing what had passed, went directly to the church, but was driven out by general consent. On this he returned to Constantinople, to complain to the Bishop Atticus of being unlawfully expelled. But Atticus, seeing that the affair had taken a turn which would be beneficial to the Church, endeavoured to console Theodosius, and advised him to be patient, to be satisfied with the tranquillity of a private life, and to prefer the public good to his private interest. He then wrote to Agapetus, telling him that he might keep possession of the Bishopric, without any apprehensions from the discontent of Theodosius.

The Tribune Marcellinus, on arriving at Carthage, issued a proclamation, giving notice to the Bishops, both Catholics and Donatists, that they were summoned to meet in that city within the space of four months, that is, on the first of June, in order to hold a Council². He charges all officers of cities to give notice of this to the Bishops, and to acquaint them with the Emperor's rescript and the proclamation. He declares that although he has no directions from the Emperor, the churches which had been taken from the Donatists according to the laws, shall be restored to those Donatist Bishops who would promise to attend this Council; he also gives them the liberty of choosing another judge, to be, with him, an arbitrator in this dispute. Finally, he protests to them, with an oath, that he will do them no injustice; that they shall suffer no sort of ill-treatment; and shall have full liberty to return to their respective countries. In the mean time he forbids the carrying on of all prosecutions in virtue of the former laws. This edict was published on the fourteenth of the calends of March, that is, on the sixteenth of February, in the year 411. So that the four months, accord-

XXVIII.
Preliminaries of the Conference at Carthage.
A. D. 411.
² Coll. 1. 5.
ap. Conc. ii. (Mans. iv.)
Aug. ix. Brevic.
Coll. 1. c. 2.

A. D. 411. ing to the rigour of the law, expired on the sixteenth of May; but, by an act of favour, he was willing to delay the Council till the first of June^{1 b}.

¹ Brevic. Coll. I. c. 8.

The Donatist Bishops repaired to Carthage in as great a number as possible, to shew that the Catholics were wrong in upbraiding them with the smallness of their number. The letter which each of their Primates sent to his province, according to custom, and which was called *Tractoria*, directed, that a stop being put to all business, the Bishops should immediately meet at Carthage, so as not to lose the greatest advantage to their cause². And, in fact, they all repaired thither,

² Aug. ix. post Coll. c. 24. § 41.

except those who were either kept at home or arrested on the road by sickness or extreme old age; and they mustered about two hundred and seventy. They entered the city of Carthage on the eighteenth of May³, in a body, and in procession; so that they drew on themselves the eyes of the whole city. The Catholic Bishops entered without a procession, or any thing to attract public notice⁴; but their

³ Coll. I. 25, 14, 29.

⁴ Aug. Brev. 1. 11.

number amounted to two hundred and eighty-six.

As soon as they were all arrived, Marcellinus published a second order⁵, in which he directed the Bishops to choose seven on each side for the conference, and seven more for their counsel, in case of their being required; but on con-

⁵ Coll. I. 10.

^b The edict itself bears no date; but it appears both from St. Augustine (*Brev. Coll. 1. 8*), and from the Acts of the Conference (*Coll. 1. 27*), that the period of four months from its promulgation terminated on the 19th May (*xiv Kal. Jun.*) Hence the edict itself would seem to have been dated the 19th Jan. (*xiv Kal. Feb.*); but Baronius has inferred, apparently by reckoning *three* months instead of *four*, (i. e. from *xiv Kal. Jun.* to *xiv Kal. Mart.*), that it was dated Feb. 16 (*an. 411. § 3*); and Fleury seems to have copied his conclusion, and thence inferred that the four months expired on May 16 (*xviii Kal. Jun.*), instead of May 19 (*xiv Kal. Jun.*), by reckoning three months instead of four, and adopting the modern instead of the ancient mode of computation; thus arriving at a conclusion at variance with his own subsequent narrative (*infr. 33*), in which the Donatists represent the four months as expiring May 19.

There is, however, a further difficulty about this date, since the edict declares the 1st June (*Kal. Jun.*) to be "sine dubio" included within the four months; a statement manifestly false in a document dated Jan. 19. Nor can we suppose an error in the text, by which "XIV" has dropped out before "Kal. Jun.," as the present reading is confirmed by St. Augustine (*Brev. Coll. 1, 2, 3*); so that we seem to be reduced to the alternative of supposing either that Marcellinus, or rather his secretaries, made an erroneous calculation in the original edict (the apparent improbability of which is somewhat lessened by the fact that a similar case of inaccuracy actually occurred in the course of the conference, *Aug. Brev. 3. c. 17. § 32*); or, as Tillemont suggests, that there was an error in the date of the copy forwarded to the Donatists, and also in that produced by the Registrar in the Conference. See Tillem. xiii. 195, and note 48.

dition that these last should remain silent whilst the first were speaking. "The place of conference," he adds, "shall be the *Thermæ Gargilianæ*. To prevent confusion, none of the people, nor even any other Bishop, shall be admitted. But before the day of conference, all the Bishops of either party shall promise by their letters, with their subscriptions, to ratify whatever shall be transacted by their seven deputies. The Bishops shall admonish the people, in their sermons, to preserve peace and quiet. I shall publish my sentence," continued Marcellinus, "and expose it to the judgment of all the people of Carthage: I shall likewise publish all the Acts of the conference; in which for greater security I will myself subscribe first to all my sayings, and all the deputed Bishops shall also subscribe to theirs, in order that no person may deny what he may have said. For the writing of the Acts, besides the officers of my commission, there shall be four ecclesiastical notaries on each side, who shall succeed each other by turns, and, for still greater security, there shall be four Bishops appointed on each side to observe the writers and notaries; in order that the writers by turns may cause fair copies to be written of what has been set down in notes, without interrupting the conference; and that the seven deputed Bishops may subscribe to the same. After the first day of the conference, I shall allow one day to transcribe the Acts, and to subscribe to them; in order that the conference may begin again on the third day, if necessary. But till the whole is finished, the written and subscribed papers shall remain under my seal, and those of the eight superintending Bishops. The Maximianists shall not be admitted at the conference. The Bishops of either party shall declare to me in writing, before the day of the opening of the Council, that they agree to every part of this order; and it shall be sufficient that those letters be subscribed by their Primates." Thus there were only thirty-six Bishops to be admitted to the conference; eighteen on each side; seven to dispute, seven for their counsel, and four to superintend and keep the Acts¹.

A. D. 411.

The Maximianists, who were condemned by the other Donatists at the Council of Bagaïa, in the year 394², had presented a memorial to be admitted at the conference; but the

¹ Aug. Brev. c. 4.

² Supr. 19. 54.

A. D. 411. Catholics would not honour them by granting this request¹, knowing that their design was only to find some consolation for the smallness of their number, in the glory of this dispute; and that, without the least hopes of victory, they only desired the reputation of taking part in that conference, as a means of raising themselves in the eyes of the other Donatists, who despised them.

¹ Aug. x.
cont. Jul. 3.
c. 1. § 5.

In execution of the order of Marcellinus, the Donatists gave in their declaration, dated on the eighth of the calends of June, that is, on the twenty-fifth of May, and subscribed by their two Primates, Januarian, Bishop of Casæ-Nigræ,² and Primianus, Bishop of Carthage². They declare that they entered Carthage on the eighteenth of May, and that they had obeyed the first edict of Marcellinus so punctually, that neither old age nor distance had prevented any of them from coming; and that those Bishops only were absent who were detained by sickness. After this they desire to be all admitted at the conference, in order to convict their adversaries of falsehood, who upbraid them with the smallness of their numbers.

XXIX.
Proposals
of the
Catholics.

³ Coll. 1. 16.
ap. Aug.
Ep. 128.

The Catholic Bishops likewise satisfied the order of Marcellinus, by a letter written in the name of all, and subscribed by Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, and Silvanus, Bishop of Summa and Primate of Numidia³. They declare that they agree entirely in his order: and indeed it is probable that all he did was in concert with them. They promise likewise to exhort the people to be quiet, and not to approach the place where the conference was to be held. They say besides; "If those with whom we are to dispute, can convince us that the Church hath remained in the party of Donatus only, we will yield the honour of the Episcopacy, and submit to them for our guides. But if we shew them that the Church, spread abroad throughout the universe, cannot have been destroyed by the sins of any chance individuals; we agree, that if they will be re-united to us, they shall still retain the honour of the Episcopacy. And in order that the world may see that we do not abhor in them their Sacraments, but their errors, each of us shall preside in turn in the churches which shall thus be provided with two Bishops, the other meanwhile sitting by him

“ like a foreign Bishop. Thus the Catholic Bishop may pre- A. D. 411.
 “ side in one church, while the converted Donatist rules in
 “ the adjoining one; and when either of the two Bishops in
 “ any place shall be dead, there shall then be but one at a
 “ time, according to the ancient custom. Nor will this be
 “ an innovation; for this method has been practised from
 “ the first, in the case of those who have been reunited on
 “ forsaking schism. If the Christian people cannot suffer
 “ two Bishops together, contrary to custom, let both with-
 “ draw. It will be enough for ourselves to be conscious that
 “ we are Christians, faithful and obedient; it is for the sake
 “ of the people that we are raised to the episcopal dignity;
 “ let us then employ it in such a manner as may promote
 “ the peace of the people. We write this to you, to the end
 “ that you may make it public to the world.”

As St. Augustine and some of his brethren were discours-
 ing together upon this subject¹, (viz. that a man ought to
 continue in, or relinquish the episcopal function, according
 as it may be more or less advantageous to the peace of
 CHRIST,) in considering the temper and character of their
 several colleagues, they concluded that there were but very
 few of them who would make such a sacrifice to God. They
 said, “ This man will do it, that other will not; such an one
 “ will acquiesce, such an other will refuse.” When however
 this proposal was brought forward in the Council, which con-
 sisted of nearly three hundred Bishops, it proved so agreeable
 to all, and was received with so much zeal, that they all ap-
 peared ready to quit the Episcopate for the sake of healing
 the divisions of the Church. There were but two in the
 whole assembly whom this proposal displeased; the one, a
 very old man, who went so far as to express himself freely
 enough, while the other only betrayed his dislike by his
 looks. But the old man, overcome by the reproaches of the
 rest of the assembly, changed his opinion, and the other
 changed his looks.

Marcellinus published the declaration of the Donatists,
 and the letter of the Catholics, together with his own injunc-
 tions, in order that all the people might form a judgment of
 them²; and the Catholics wrote another letter to him, by
 way of answer to the declaration of the Donatists³. In this

¹ Aug. ix.
 de Gest.
 Emer. § 6.

² Coll. i. 17.
³ Ibid. 18.
 ap. Aug.
 Ep. 129.

A. D. 411. they declare their uneasiness that the Donatists were desirous of being all present at the conference; "unless," say they, "it be in order to surprise us agreeably, by uniting themselves all at once. For as to their pretence that it is in order to shew how numerous they are, and convict their adversaries of untruth; if some among us have sometimes said that they were few, they might very justly have said it of those places where our numbers are, in fact, far greater, particularly in the proconsular province; though even in the other provinces of Africa, the Consular Numidia excepted, their number is much smaller than ours. At the least we may truly say that their number is very small when compared with all the nations which compose the Catholic communion. If, however, they wish now to display their numbers, might not that have been done with greater regularity, and less confusion, by their signatures? To what purpose then do they insist on being all present at the conference? What disorders will they occasion if they speak, and how useless their presence if they do not! though they should make no clamour, yet the bare murmur of so great a concourse would be sufficient of itself to put a stop to the conference. Fearing, therefore, lest their design should be to raise a tumult, we consent that all of them be present, but upon condition that on our side there shall be only that number which you have judged to be sufficient; so that if any disorder should arise, the blame of it may be cast on those only who will have brought together an useless multitude for an affair which can be transacted only by a few. But if it is for a reunion, that the presence of a multitude is held necessary, we will all appear there whenever they shall judge proper."

XXX.
Sermons
of St. Au-
gustine.

In the mean time the orthodox Bishops did not fail to exhort the people to remain quiet, in accordance with Marcellinus' request and their own promise. There are still extant two sermons of St. Augustine's, preached at Carthage on this occasion, a few days before the conference. In the first¹, he lays down the advantages of peace, and the ease with which it might be obtained, since they have nothing else to do than to desire it²; and the necessity of gentle means in reclaiming the Donatists³. "Let no one," said he, "enter into

¹ Aug. v.
Serm. 357.
al. 35. ap.
Sirm.

² § 1.

³ § 4.

“ disputes ; let no one take upon him even to defend his A. D. 411.
 “ faith, for fear of giving them the occasion they are seeking.
 “ If you hear injurious language, bear with it, take no notice,
 “ pass it over. Remember that it is a sick person whom it
 “ is your duty to cure. ‘But,’ you will say, ‘I cannot en-
 “ dure that he should blaspheme the Church.’ The Church
 “ entreats you to endure it. ‘He slanders my Bishop, he
 “ loads him with calumny, and can I be silent?’ Let him
 “ speak on and be you silent ; endure without approving.
 “ It is an actual service to your Bishop, not to defend his
 “ cause at this juncture. ‘What must I do then?’ Give
 “ yourself to prayer ; speak not against him who quarrels
 “ with you, but speak to God for him. Say calmly to this
 “ enemy of concord, to this wrangler, ‘Say what you will,
 “ ‘hate me as you will, you are still my brother.’ Speak to
 “ them with zeal, but at the same time with gentleness¹ ; ¹ § 5.
 “ and join with us in the prayers we address to Heaven in
 “ these ordinary fasts, which we keep according to custom
 “ after Pentecost, but which, even were there no such cus-
 “ tom, we should not fail on this occasion to observe. To
 “ these let us add abundant alms-giving ; let us practise
 “ hospitality ; lo, here is the season and the opportunity for
 “ it.” And indeed this confluence of Bishops attracted to
 Carthage a great concourse of persons who stood in need
 of entertainment. As to the ordinary fast mentioned by
 St. Augustine, it was that of the Four Seasons, or Ember-
 days of Pentecost, which fell this year (A. D. 411) on the
 fourteenth of May, as Easter-Sunday fell on the twenty-
 sixth of March ; so that the fast of the Four Seasons began
 on Wednesday the seventeenth of May, and ended on Satur-
 day the twentieth.

In the second sermon² St. Augustine declares that the ² Serm. 358.
 Catholic Bishops are ready to receive the Donatist Bishops al. 36. ap.
 to their thrones³, as they had already declared in their letters. Sirm.
 He then adds⁴ ; “Let none of you, my brethren, run to ³ § 2.
 “ the place of conference. Nay ! avoid, if you can possibly ⁴ § 6.
 “ help it, even going by that place, for fear of giving an
 “ occasion for strife and contention to those who seek it.
 “ Those who do not fear God, and who slight our admoni-
 “ tion, ought at least to dread the severity of the secular

A. D. 411. " power : and you have seen the published injunction of
 [i. c. Mar- " this illustrious person¹. You will say to me, What is to
 cellinus, " be our business? We will allot you perhaps the most
 more cor- " effectual part. We will dispute for you, do you pray for
 rectly, "re- " us ; enforce your prayers as we have already said, by fast-
 spectable," " ing and alms. Perchance you will do us more service than
 as below.] " we shall do you."

XXXI. On the thirtieth of May all the Catholics met together in
 Acts of Council, in the church of Carthage, having at their head the
 Delegation. two Primates, Aurelius and Silvanus, and there drew up an
 Act of Delegation, to commission some among themselves to

undertake the cause of the Church, against the Donatists².
 The orthodox Bishops gave a summary of the whole argu-
 ment in this Act, as they had already done in their second
 letter. They distinguished the matter of right, and the cause
 of the Church, from the cause of Cecilianus and the question
 of fact ; and shewed first that the Catholic Church is spread
 throughout the whole world, according to the promises of
 God ; that the toleration of evil persons in the Church,
 whether from ignorance, or for the preservation of peace, can
 do no harm to the good, who bear with them without con-
 senting to their evil ; and secondly, that Cecilianus and Felix
 of Aptunga who ordained him, had been fully cleared of the
 accusations brought against them : and lastly, that the con-
 duct of the Donatists, with regard to the Maximianists, fur-
 nished a refutation to every objection they brought against
 the Catholics, whether relating to Baptism, to persecution,
 or communicating with the wicked. The Catholic Bishops
 judged it proper thus to explain their whole cause, both in
 their letter and their Act of Delegation³, because it was cur-
 rently reported that the Donatists intended to make use of
 exceptions and quibbles, the rejection of which might furnish
 them with a pretext for breaking up the conference ; and in
 that case the Catholics wished it to appear in the standing
 records, that the cause of the Church had been at least set
 forth concisely, as also that the Donatists had refused to
 enter upon the conference, that it might not be heard in
 detail. At the conclusion of the Act of Delegation, the names
 of the eighteen deputies are inserted ; seven for the conference,
 viz. Aurelius, Alypius, Augustine, Vincentius, Fortunatus,

² Coll. 1. 55.
 ap. Concil.
 ii. (Mans.
 iv.)

³ Aug. ix.
 Brev. Coll.
 1. 10.

Fortunatian, and Possidius; seven for the Council, viz. Novatus, Florentius, Maurentius, Priscus, Serenian, Boniface, and Scillatius; four to superintend the records, viz. Deuterius, Leo, Asterius, and Restitutus. The Donatists¹ had also on the twenty-fifth of May put into the hands of their deputies their Act of Delegation, which contained no more than these few words: "Into your hands we commit the cause of the Church, and constitute you the defenders of it, against the traditors, by whom we are persecuted, and who by their petitions have summoned us to appear before the respectable² Marcellinus. We shall all acquiesce in what you do for the state of the Holy Church, as we hereby declare by our subscriptions."

A. D. 411.

¹ Coll. 1. 148.² spectabilis: V. Supr. 18. 19. note k.]

These preliminaries being ended, and the appointed day having arrived, i. e. the first of June, 411, they met in the Thermæ Gargilianæ³, situated in the middle of the city of Carthage, in a cool, light, and spacious hall. Marcellinus went first into it, attended with twenty officers, viz. Sebastian, Maximian, and Peter, Protectores domestici, or Emperor's guards⁴; Ursus, Petronius, and Libosus, Ducenarii; Boniface, Evasus, and Filetus, Apparitors; two scribes, four Exceptores, or writers, and some others whose offices are less known to us^c. Besides these twenty laymen, there were four ecclesiastical Notaries, or writers in short hand, of whom two were Catholics, and the other two Donatists. Then Ursus, one of the Ducenarii, addressing Marcellinus, said; "It is now a long time since your highness despatched us to all the provinces of Africa, to convene within four months' time the Bishops, as well Catholics as Donatists. The time is expired, and they are all here present; namely, from the Proconsular province, the Byzacene and Numidian, from Mauritania Sitifensis and Cæsariensis and the province of Tripoli. If you command it therefore, they shall enter." Marcellinus gave orders for their coming in⁵. On this all the Donatist Bishops entered; but on the part of the Catho-

XXXII. First day of the conference.

³ Coll. 1. 1.⁴ Notitia Imp. Or. 89.]⁵ c. 2.

^c The *Ducenarii* formed the highest of the five grades in the *School of the Agentes in rebus*. They, as well as the next inferior grade of *Centenarii*, were sent into the provinces as magistrates, where they enjoyed the title of *Principes*, and afterwards aspired to the

ranks of Vicar and Proconsul. *Notitia Imp. Or.* 66.

The *Apparitores* were the officials in immediate attendance on the magistrates (*Ibid.* 9); the *Exceptores* were the persons who wrote the public Acts. *Ibid.* 19.

A. D. 411. lies, only the eighteen deputies. Marcellinus made a short speech, in which he acknowledged the cause to be above his merit, and that he himself ought rather to be judged by the Bishops, than sit in judgment upon them¹. He then ordered the Emperor's rescript to be read, containing his commission², and the two injunctions which he had issued in consequence³. As in the first injunction he offered to receive a coadjutor, Petilianus, a Donatist Bishop, said⁴, "We do not agree to the nomination of a second judge, for neither was the first appointed by our desire." And after the second injunction had been read, he said⁵, "In the first place, I require, that he who has caused me to be summoned, who has drawn me from my home, and made me undergo the fatigue of a journey, should state his demands; that so I may know whether I ought to make any answer, and what it will be proper for me to say." Marcellinus replied⁶; "It will be better to do this in its proper place," and ordered the reading of the Acts to be continued. The declaration which the Donatists had drawn up was then read, and the two letters written by the Catholics, of which the second was an answer to the declaration; and those several instruments were inserted in the verbal process⁷.

⁷ c. 14, 16, 18.

Marcellinus then asked whether the Donatists had selected their deputies against the Catholics⁸? The Donatists answered that the Catholics had already pleaded the cause before the qualifications of the disputants had been arranged⁹. This they urged on account of the second letter of the Catholics, in which the whole argument was summarily drawn up. They therefore demanded that the time, the Act of Delegation, the persons of the disputants, and the nature of the cause, should be first discussed, before they entered upon the main business. Marcellinus answered that the cause was still untried and entire; and again demanded whether they had obeyed his injunction, by selecting the number of the deputies by whom the whole affair was to be managed.

XXXIII.
Cavils of
the Do-
natists.
[⁸ Supr. 28.
note b.]

But the Donatists began to debate upon the time, and said that the cause could not then be heard, because the day on which it was to have been tried was passed¹. For the four months expressed in the Commissioner's first injunction,

expired on the nineteenth of May, and the Emperor had A. D. 411. given orders that the cause should be heard within the term of four months; whence the Donatists concluded that the time was passed, and required that the Catholics should be condemned for not appearing, notwithstanding their being upon the spot, and their having never been summoned to proceed sooner. Marcellinus answered that both parties had agreed upon the first of June, and that the Emperor, in case they had not made their appearance, had empowered him to grant two months longer. But as he had said that an exception founded upon time suited better a secular tribunal than an episcopal sentence¹, the Donatists took occasion¹ thence to say that they ought not to be tried by secular laws, but only by the Holy Scriptures. Upon this, the Commissioner asked both parties their opinion on this point. The Catholics besought him to have their Act of Delegation read, assuring him that in it he would find they had treated this affair by the Holy Scriptures, and not according to the formalities of secular law. The Donatists opposed the reading of it, and cavilled some time upon this point; but the Catholics prevailed, and the Act was read. When they had proceeded no further in it than the date, Adeodatus, the Donatist Bishop of Milevum, interrupted them, and cried out², "Let it be read without prejudice to our rights." Marcellinus said, "I have already declared several times, that no prejudice shall ensue from reading the several instruments." And, indeed, the Donatists had already made several protests of the same nature. The whole Act was accordingly read, and also the signatures of the Bishops, to the number of two hundred and sixty-six, who had subscribed it in presence of the Commissioner³.

¹ Brev. Coll. 1. 9.

² Coll. 1. 54.

³ c. 55—58.

Upon this a contest arose that lasted for some time⁴. The Donatists demanded that all those who had subscribed the Act of Delegation should present themselves, asserting that the Catholics might have overreached the Commissioner, by presenting to him persons who were not Bishops; and also, that they had added several new Bishops, besides those of the ancient sees, in order to increase their number. The Catholics maintained that their brethren ought not to make their appearance, being afraid that the Donatists wished, by

⁴ Brev. Coll. 1. 11.

A. D. 411. the introduction of so large a crowd, to raise a tumult, and so break off the conference. For it was manifest enough by their evasions, that they wished there should be none. And it was thought that the only reason which had hitherto restrained them, was, that, as the number was on their side, they only could have been charged with being the cause of it. However, the Catholics acquiesced, and consented that all those who had signed their Act of Delegation should be admitted; and it was found that the Donatists did not believe so many of them were come from Carthage, from their having entered it without display, and with little noise.

XXXIV.
Verifica-
tion of the
subscrip-
tions.

Upon which the Catholic Bishops who had subscribed the Act were called in; as they were named, they came forward, and were recognised by the Donatist Bishops of either the same place or the neighbourhood; by which means those places also were ascertained in which there were no Donatists¹. All the Catholics who had subscribed presented themselves, each of whom went out as soon as he had been recognised, the eighteen deputies excepted. When Victorian, the Catholic Bishop of Mustita, was summoned, he said², "Here; I have against me Felician of Mustita, and Donatus of Tura." Then Alypius said, "Observe the name of Felician. Is he in communion with Primianus?" The reason of this question was, that this Felician had been condemned as a Maximianist by the main body of the Donatists, of whom Primianus was the chief³. Petilianus, embarrassed at this question, said to Alypius, "Who gave you this commission? In whose name do you ask it? Will you act for those who are without^d?" Alypius said, "Let him answer my question." Petilianus said, "That involves the main question." Marcellinus said⁴, "Let us go on with what we have begun; this affair, if it be judged proper, shall be examined afterwards." They continued, therefore, to verify the subscriptions.

In the mean time Hilarius, the Exceptor, said⁵, "We have filled our tablets; give orders for other writers to take our places, and let superintendents be given us." These tablets were flat pieces of wood waxed over, on which they made

^d "Qui foris sunt," i. e. heretics. (Du Cange in Foris.) The Maximianists are here intended by it, whose

cause Petilianus insinuates St. Alypius is pleading.

notes. Vitalis, Notary to the Catholic Church, made the same request. Marcellinus gave orders that superintendents should be given them. On the orthodox side there were given them the Bishops Deuterius and Restitutus, two of the four who had been appointed for this office; and on that of the Donatists, Victor and Marinian. The superintendents sealed up the tablets that they might not be opened, for the purpose of transcription, except in their presence. The verification of the subscriptions was then continued.

This being ended, Marcellinus, the Commissioner, again desired the Bishops to sit down¹, as he had done once before; ^{1 c. 144.} declaring how uneasy he was to see them standing, while he himself was seated. Petilianus thanked him with many compliments, but declared that they would continue standing, as before their judge. Then was read the Donatists' Act of Delegation, with the subscriptions; and, at the demand of the Catholics, they were all verified, by making the Donatist Bishops come forward, in the order they were named. The first was Januarian, Bishop of Casæ-Nigræ, who declared that he had no adversary, i. e. no Catholic Bishop of the same place. Afterwards Primianus of Carthage, who was himself one of the deputed Bishops. The third was Felix, Bishop of Rome^e: on this Aurelius, the Catholic Bishop of Carthage, said, "Let him call himself Bishop of Rome, but without prejudice to the rights of the absent Bishop," i. e. of Pope Innocent. Petilianus, the Donatist Bishop, said, "No one is ignorant of the reason that has brought him hither. You yourself know very well that all the nobility of Rome are here;" meaning that Felix was come thither, like many other Romans, after the invasion of Alaric. Aurelius said, "We might also have brought forward Bishops from beyond the sea, and have added their names to our Act of Delegation." Marcellinus said, "Though it be my business to

^e The Donatists had established a regular succession of Bishops at Rome; not, however, in consequence of any converts they had made from the Roman Church, but at the request of certain Africans of their party, who had settled at Rome. (Supr. 19. 18.) Victor of Garbia was accordingly sent thither; and he was succeeded by Boniface, Encolpius, Macrobius, Lucian, and

Claudian (Optat. de Sch. Don. lib. 2), the last of whom was banished from Rome by Gratian. With the inconsiderable exception of a Bishop in Spain, appointed for the sole benefit of a wealthy lady, Rome was the only place beyond the limits of Africa in which the Donatists had obtained a footing. Tillem. vi. Donat. 36, 62.

A. D. 411. "take cognizance of this affair only between the Bishops of Africa, I, nevertheless, allow him over and above, saving the rights of the Bishop of Rome."

¹ c. 164. After that ten had acknowledged their subscriptions¹, Marcellinus, to shorten the matter, was desirous that they should testify for those of all the rest; but the Donatists preferred that all should make their appearance one after another,

² c. 165, &c. alleging for their reason, that their number was questioned².

Among these subscriptions there happened to be one of a Priest who had subscribed for his Bishop³. Petilianus said, "He is blind;" Alypius said, "Let them tell us whether he be present:" Primianus said, "Let us speak the truth; he is blind and could not come, and has therefore sent his Priest." Alypius said, "Let it be noted, that they wish to insert the names of the absent; we might as justly write down the names of all such Catholic Bishops as have been prevented from coming, either by sickness, or any other cause." In this manner several were found absent, for

⁴ c. 195, 208, 209. whom others had subscribed in order to increase the number⁴. Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Cessita in Mauritania, on being called, did not appear⁵.

⁵ c. 206. Petilianus said, "He died on the

⁶ c. 207. way⁶." Fortunatian, one of the Catholic deputies, said, "How then did he subscribe?" Petilianus said, "Another was meant, not he." The Catholics supposed that they

⁷ Aug. Brev. 1. c. 14. meant another had subscribed for him⁷; but the subscription declared that he had subscribed with his own hand, though in sickness at Carthage; and [Petilianus said in explanation that] he had died on his return home. The Catholics demanded that the words of Petilianus might be read over again, as they did not agree with that answer. Marcellinus required that they should attest as in God's presence, whether or no he had been really present in Carthage, according to the tenor of the Act of Delegation; and Emeritus was at last obliged to say, "What if another did sign for him?" In this manner the falsehood was detected.

XXXV. Number of Bishops. After the verification of the several subscriptions, Marcellinus commanded his officers to take the number of Bishops on each side⁸. Of the Donatists there were found two hundred and seventy-nine, including the absent for whom others had subscribed, and even him that was dead. Of the

⁸ Coll. 1. c. 213.

Catholics there were found two hundred and sixty-six who had subscribed, and twenty more who signified their approbation of the Act of Delegation by word of mouth, in all two hundred and eighty-six Bishops. Alypius declared¹ that one hundred and twenty had been hindered from coming, either from sickness, their advanced age, or some necessary business. Upon this Petilianus said, "Let it be written down that a much greater number of our Bishops are absent, and that we have vacant sees, for the filling up of which Bishops ought to be ordained." This remonstrance contradicted the declaration which the Donatists had given in before the conference², in which it was mentioned that none but the sick had stayed behind. Fortunatian declared that the Catholics had also sixty-four vacant sees. So that it appears that the Catholic Church had at that time, in Africa, four hundred and seventy Episcopal sees, although there were some besides filled up by Donatists only. From which we may form an idea of the number of Bishops in all the other parts of the world.

After this, all those whose presence was not required withdrew³; and there remained only the Count Marcellinus and his officers, together with the thirty-six deputed Bishops, eighteen on each side. Then Marcellinus asking what hour it was, an officer answered, "The eleventh hour⁴;" that is to say, that there remained but one hour of day. By the mutual consent, therefore, of both parties, the conference was suspended till the day after the morrow⁵, i. e. to the third of June, that a day might be allowed for transcribing the records. Thus ended the first day.

The day appointed being come, which was the third of June, there met in the same place the Commissioner and his officers, and the deputies of both parties⁶. The Commissioner again desired them to sit down, which the Catholic Bishops did; but the Donatists continued standing, saying that the Divine law forbade them to sit down with such adversaries. Marcellinus then declared to them that he himself would also continue standing, on which the Catholic Bishops rose, and he ordered his seat to be taken away. After this he caused a petition to be read, which the Donatists had presented the day before, in which they desired that leave

A. D. 411.

¹ c. 217.² Supr. 28.
Aug. Brev.
i. c. 14.³ Coll. 1.
c. 218.⁴ c. 219.⁵ c. 221.XXXVI.
Second
day.⁶ Coll. 2.
Aug.
Brev. 2.

A. D. 411. might be granted them to inspect the Act of Delegation which the Catholics had drawn up, in order that they might come prepared to the conference; because the writers had not been able to transcribe the records. At the bottom of this petition the Commissioner's injunction was written, by which their demand was granted.

He then demanded whether they agreed to subscribe all their words, as he had signified in his second injunction¹. The Catholics answered that they had declared their agreement by their letters; but the Donatists said that it was a new and unheard of thing; on which the Catholics demanded that their refusal might be recorded in the Acts. Marcellinus then asked whether the Donatists were satisfied with those persons who were appointed superintendents of the records. They demanded to be allowed to view the transcript of the Acts, before they were obliged to make their answer. On this there arose a long debate. The Commissioner caused to be read from the records or acts of the first day the consent, which they had themselves given, to discuss the question on this day. But as the records were not yet transcribed, they were read from the waxed tablets, in which they had at first been taken down in notes. To this the Donatists answered, that they did not understand the notes. Marcellinus, not to leave them any pretext for suspecting the fidelity of his officers, caused the tablets of the ecclesiastical notaries to be fetched. They were brought thither wrapped up in a linen cloth², together with a roll of parchment on which they had begun to transcribe them. The linen cloth was sealed up; the Catholic and Donatist superintendents acknowledged their seals, and notwithstanding all the opposition of the Donatists, the passage in question was read. It was even a Donatist notary belonging to the Church of Sitifi that read it, and the words were found to be the same with those which had been read by the civil officer.

It was represented to them that in their petition of the preceding day they had demanded the Catholics' Act of Delegation for the very purpose of supplying the want of the records, which could not yet be transcribed. "You are therefore in the wrong," said the Catholics, "in demanding

¹ Coll. 2.
c. 13, &c.

² c. 53.

“those records to-day.” However, they persisted in demanding them. They even returned to their old cavil, saying that the time appointed for the conference was expired, since it ended on the nineteenth of May¹; and, as they had spread this report among the people, the Catholics represented that the Donatists had themselves carried on their proceedings subsequently to the conclusion of that period, having drawn up their Act of Delegation on the twenty-fifth of May². At length their obstinacy prevailed; and that the Acts might not be swelled with endless disputes, the adjournment was granted them³. Marcellinus asked the writers how long they would require to transcribe the records⁴; they answered, to the seventh before the ides. The conference, therefore, was deferred to the day after, viz. the sixth before the ides, i. e. to the eighth of the same month of June; and both sides promised to be ready on that day⁵.

A. D. 411.

[¹ Supr. 28. note b.]² c. 50.[³ at St. Augustine's intercession. c. 56.]
⁴ c. 64.⁵ c. 67.

The third and last day of the conference was the eighth of June, 411⁶. The disputants having entered, the first question the Commissioner asked was, whether copies of the Acts of the two previous days had been received? It was found that they had been delivered a day sooner than had been agreed upon, i. e. the sixth of June, instead of the seventh. They had been put that day into the hands of the Donatists, at nine in the morning; and into those of the Catholics, at eleven; each in their respective churches, as appeared by their written acknowledgments⁷.

XXXVII.
Third day.
⁶ Coll. 3.
Aug.
Brev. 3.⁷ Coll. 3.
c. 4, 5.

One would have thought that they must at last have come to the main point in question; but the Donatists wrangled a long time on the respective positions of the disputants⁸, pretending that the Catholics were plaintiffs, whereas the Catholics asserted on the contrary that the sole occasion of their being there, was to defend the Church against their calumnies. To satisfy them, the Commissioner caused the Emperor's rescript, containing his commission, to be read again, from which it appeared that it was the Catholics who had desired the conference; this they owned, but asserted at the same time, that they had demanded it for no other purpose than to defend the Church. The Donatists demanded that the petition, on which the rescript had been granted, might be read; but the Commissioner represented that it

⁸ Aug.
Brev. 3.
c. 2.

A. D. 411. was not customary to insert the petitions along with rescripts of this description. They then confined their demands to requiring a sight of the mandate¹ in virtue of which the Catholic deputies had obtained this rescript; when the Catholics, perceiving that they insisted on those demands only to trifle away the time, and avoid coming to the main business, resolutely maintained that the mandate ought not to be produced, and pressed them to come to the main point. The Commissioner himself said that that only was the purport of his commission, and also urged them to begin to confer on the real question. The Donatists cavilled also about the word Catholic², pretending that that title belonged to them, and that it did not derive its etymology from the Church's being spread over all nations, but because it comprehends all the sacraments^f. The Commissioner declared that he named those Catholics whom the Emperor had so named in his commission, and that no prejudice should ensue to the disputants from those titles. The Catholics maintained that the Donatists had first desired the conference³; and in order to prove it, they demanded that certain Acts might be read, which had been drawn up before the Prætorian Præfect. But scarcely was the date read, which was the third before the calends of February, under the Consulate of Arcadius and Probus, i. e. the thirtieth of January, 406⁴: scarcely had this date been read before the Donatists inter-

[¹ i. e. from the Council of 14th June to the deputies. Supr. 26.]

² Aug. Brev. 3. c. 3.

³ c. 4.

⁴ Coll. 3. c. 141.

^f Catholic, as an appellation of the Church, appears almost in Apostolic times (Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. 8); and it seems originally to have been intended to designate the Universal Church, as distinguished from the Churches in particular places. (Euseb. 4. 15. ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν ταῖς τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις.) From this it came, by a natural transition, to signify the orthodox Church in opposition to the heretical or schismatical bodies in any particular place, since the former only could claim to be a part of the Universal Church, while the latter were confined within local limits. (Pacian. Ep. 1. ad Symp. ap. Bibl. PP. iv.) But Universality or Catholicism, being thus observed to be a necessary attribute of the true Church, gradually passed from a fact into a doctrine; and after the general application of the

word, other attributes, undoubtedly belonging to the Church, and capable of being signified by the word, though not originally intended by it, were allowed to be considered as actually conveyed under it. These secondary meanings (and among them that insisted on by the Donatists as its *sole* meaning) are enumerated by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (Catech. 18. c. 23), and thus stated by Bishop Pearson. (Expos. Creed, Art. 9.) "This Catholicism of the Church consisteth generally in universality, as embracing all sorts of persons, as to be disseminated through all nations, as comprehending all ages, as containing all necessary and saving truths, as obliging all conditions of men to all kind of obedience, as curing all diseases, and planting all graces, in the souls of men."

rupted, returning again to their former evasions, and adding A. D. 411. that they had Acts of a more ancient standing than those were, which ought to be read first. The Catholics replied that if the antiquity of the records was the point in question, they ought then to begin with those which proved the Donatists to have been the aggressors, by carrying before the Emperor Constantine their accusations against Cæcilianus, by the assistance of Anulinus the Proconsul. The Donatists for a long time hindered the reading of them, reiterating the same evasions. Twice did the complaint escape them that they had been insensibly brought to argue upon the main point; as if the conference had met for any other purpose¹. They returned again to the demand that the Catholics should take their choice, to employ either only the Holy Scriptures, or only the public Acts against them²; to which the Catholics replied; "If you will debate only on the general question of the Church, and give over the reproaches which you cast on Cæcilianus, and other persons whom you call by the name of Traditors, we will willingly confine ourselves to proofs drawn from Scripture. But it is impossible for either you or us to prove, any otherwise than by judiciary acts, facts that relate to particular individuals." At length the Commissioner's patience prevailed over their obstinacy; the report of Anulinus the Proconsul to the Emperor Constantine was read; and so they were led to enter upon business, and discuss the main point, by means of a trick which the Donatists had employed to avoid coming to it, viz. by their demand that it might be determined which party appeared as plaintiff.

¹ c. 151, 193.
Aug. post
Coll. c. 25.
§ 43.

² Aug.
Brev. 3.
c. 6.

When they had done reading, the Donatists caused a letter to be read, written by them since the first conference, by way of answer to the Catholics' Act of Delegation. Romulus the Exceptor having begun to read it, Emeritus interrupted him, saying³, "He does not read; he does not mark the sense." St. Augustine said, "Let them read themselves; let us allow them what they would not allow us." Habetdeus, one of their Bishops, read this letter⁴, in which the dispute relating to the Church was handled, and which contained several passages from Scripture, intended to shew that the Church is pure, without any admixture of wicked men; and that

XXXVIII.
Question
of the
Church.

³ Aug.
Brev. 3.
c. 8.
Coll. 3.
c. 255.

⁴ c. 258.

A. D. 411. Baptism administered out of the Church is not valid. They concluded with reproaching the Catholics with the persecution which they pretended they had suffered at their hands for a whole century.

The Catholics heard this letter read patiently, and without interruption, and St. Augustine began to answer it¹, but the Donatists interrupted him so often, and with so much clamour, that the Commissioner was obliged to interpose his authority². St. Augustine then shewed³ that as the passages quoted on both sides were of equal authority, they ought to be reconciled by means of some distinction, since the Word of God cannot contradict Itself. There must be a distinction made between the two states of the Church, viz. that of this present life, in which it is composed of good and bad together; and that of the life to come, when it will be without any alloy or evil, and its children no longer subject to sin or death. He shewed also after what manner we are obliged in this world to separate ourselves from the wicked⁴; namely, with the heart, by not partaking with them in their sins; but not always by an outward separation. He there answered the affected scruple of the Donatists, who had refused to sit during the conference, under pretence that it is written, "I have not sat with vain persons," and had nevertheless made no scruple to go in with the Catholics, although the Scripture adds, "neither will I go in with dissemblers⁵." And as by this distinction the Donatists pretended that two Churches were recognised, St. Augustine shewed that it only implied two different states of the same Church⁶.

After the question of right had been thus debated, the Count Marcellinus wished them to come to the question of fact, and the original cause of the schism⁷. The Catholics demanded that certain instruments, which they presented, might be read; but the Donatists opposed it with all their might, by various evasions. At last the cause of Cæcilianus was heard⁸; the two reports of Anulinus to the Emperor Constantine were read⁹, and afterwards the letters of Constantine to the Bishops, by which they were appointed to take cognizance of the accusation brought against Cæcilianus. They likewise read the sentence which had been pronounced by Pope Melchiades, and other Bishops of Gaul and

¹ c. 261.

² c. 271, 273.

³ Aug. Brev. 3. c. 9. § 16.

⁴ § 18.

⁵ Ps. 26. 4.

⁶ c. 10.

XXXIX.
Cause of Cæcilianus.

⁷ Aug. Brev. 3. c. 11.

⁸ c. 12.

⁹ Fleury, 10. 10.

Italy assembled at Rome¹; but after the Acts of the first day of this Council had been read, the Donatists managed so well that they superseded the reading of the second day's transactions, in order to have some of their own instruments read. Accordingly they read certain letters of Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, Cæcilianus' predecessor, and of Secundus of Tigisi, Primate of Numidia²; by which they pretended to prove that Mensurius had delivered up the Scriptures under the persecution of Dioclesian; the letters, however, did not prove any such thing. They afterwards read the Acts of their Council, consisting of seventy Bishops, held at Carthage against Cæcilianus, in which they had condemned him in his absence, as one who had been ordained by the Traditors³.

A. D. 411.

¹ Fleury, 10, 11.² Aug. Brev. 3. c. 15.³ c. 14. Fleury, 9. 34.⁴ c. 15. Fleury, 9. 13.

The Catholics on their side produced the Council of Cirta⁴, in which the above-named Secundus of Tigisi had sat as president, held under the persecution on the fourth of March, 305. Against this Council the Donatists made several objections; in the first place against the date, pretending that Councils ought not to have any at all. To which it was answered that the Councils of the Catholics had been always dated with the day and the year. They afterwards asserted that this was a pretended Council, since it was impossible that any Council could have been held during a persecution⁵. But it was proved to them, by the Acts of the Martyrs, that the faithful did at those times hold Collects, or assemblies for Divine Service; and consequently, that twelve Bishops might easily have met together in a private house. Now it was proved by this Council, that Secundus and several others, who had condemned Cæcilianus, were themselves Traditors.

⁵ c. 17. § 32.

However, as the Donatists were for making the most of their Council of Carthage, the Catholics answered⁶ that no more prejudice ought to ensue thence to Cæcilianus, than Primianus, their own Bishop, who was then present at the conference, had incurred from the Council of the Maximianists⁷; in which Primianus had been condemned while absent by Maximian's party, in the same manner as Cæcilianus had been before condemned, while absent, by the partisans of Majorinus. Upon this the Donatists, pushed home by this example, and by the force of truth, said; "One affair, or one

⁶ c. 16.⁷ Supr. 19. 54.

A. D. 411. " person does not infer any prejudice to the rights of another
 [1 nec " affair, or another person¹;" which was the very answer the
 causam Catholics had been accustomed to make to them, in order to
 causæ, nec personam shew that although the crimes alleged against Cæcilianus
 præjudi- care per- had been proved, yet this would have in no way affected his
 sonæ] successors, and the other Bishops of Africa; and much less
 the universal Church.

The reading of the Acts of the Council of Rome, in which
² c. 17. Cæcilianus had been acquitted, was completed²; and the
 Commissioner urged the Donatists to raise any objections to
³ c. 18. this Council, if they were able to do so³. They said that
 Pope Melchiades, who had presided in it, was himself a
 Traditor; and to prove it, caused several Acts of very great
 length to be read, which nevertheless proved nothing. After-
⁴ c. 19. wards was read the sentence of the Emperor Constantine⁴,
 i. e. his letter to Eumalius, Vicar of Africa⁵, in which he bore
⁵ Fleury, testimony that he had found Cæcilianus innocent, and the
 10. 19. Donatists slanderers. Marcellinus urged the Donatists to
 answer this letter of Constantine; and they read a passage
⁶ c. 20. from Optatus, which by itself proved nothing⁶; but on read-
 ing the whole page, it was found that he said the very
 reverse of what they pretended, viz. that Cæcilianus had
 been pronounced innocent, which drew a laugh from all
 present, who had observed how urgent they had been to
 have that passage read⁷. They also caused other pieces to be
 read, from which the Catholics, rather than themselves, derived
⁷ Aug. advantage⁸; and at last, one which furnished them with an
 post Coll. opportunity to demand the reading of the Acts which con-
 c. 31. § 54.] tained the justification of Felix of Aptunga, who had assisted
⁸ c. 21, 22, 23. in the ordination of Cæcilianus⁹.

The Donatists having nothing to allege in opposition to
 these Acts, repeated over and over again their empty eva-
 sions¹; when at length Marcellinus the Tribune, said, " If
¹ Aug. " you have nothing to say against them, be pleased to with-
 Brev. 3. " draw, in order that the sentence passed on all these heads
 c. 25. " may be drawn up;" upon which they all withdrew. Mar-
 cellinus drew up the sentence, and having commanded both
 parties to be called in, caused it to be read to them. It
² Aug. post was now night, and this conference was concluded by torch-
 Coll. c. 12. light², although it began at day-break³, and took place on
³ Coll. 3. c. 279.

the eighth of June. And indeed the Acts were of very great length, and contained five hundred and eighty-five articles. Of these, two hundred and eighty-one are still extant, reaching as far as the place where St. Augustine began to handle the general cause of the Church. The rest, in which several curious and important Acts were contained, are lost. However, St. Augustine has preserved the substance of them; and we have the complete list of the articles, drawn up by an officer named Marcellus, at the request of Severian and Julian¹.

The sentence passed by Marcellinus the Tribune was not published before the twenty-sixth of June². He therein declares³ that as no one ought to be condemned for the faults committed by another, the crimes of Cæcilianus, even had they been proved, could not have affected the universal Church; that it was proved that Donatus was the author of the schism, and that Cæcilianus and Felix of Aptunga, who ordained him, had been fully justified. After this declaration he enjoins all magistrates, all proprietors of lands, and tenants, to put a stop to the assemblies of the Donatists in the cities and in all other places; and orders that these latter shall deliver up to the Catholics the several churches he had allowed them to make use of during the term of his commission: that all such Donatists as shall refuse to join in communion with the Church, shall be subject to all the penalties of the laws; and for the better execution of this edict, that all their Bishops shall immediately go back to their respective dwellings. And lastly, that all lands, where any Circumcelliones shall be received, shall be confiscated^g.

¹ Præf. Marcell.

² Mans. iv. p. 265.]
³ Coll. 3. in fin.]

^g "This meeting, called by Marcellinus, is improperly denominated a conference, or a free discussion; for the Donatists and Catholics did not enter into a disputation, in which each party endeavoured to vanquish the other by arguments. It was truly and properly a legal trial, in which Marcellinus, as the judge of this ecclesiastical cause appointed by the Emperor, after a three days' hearing of the parties, pronounced sentence authoritatively." Mosheim, Cent. 5. pt. 2. 5. § 2. note 8. The instructions of Marcellinus in the imperial mandate were, "to preserve the

"rule of antiquity, and the laws of the preceding and present Emperors;" and we find him actually deciding on two questions: 1, Whether the alleged crimes of Cæcilianus and his ordainers excluded all who communicated with him from the Church: 2, Whether these allegations were true. The latter was manifestly a question of fact and law, and might be properly decided by a layman: the discussion of the former, though a theological question, was perhaps rendered unavoidable by the very anxiety of the Catholic Bishops to distinguish it from the other. But the original interference of Constantine,

A. D. 411. The Acts of the conference were made public, and were read through once a year at the church at Carthage, at Thagaste, at Constantina, at Hippo, and several other places¹; and this was done during the time of Lent, a season when the fast afforded the people more leisure to hear it read. However, very few had patience enough to read them in private, by reason of their length, and the quibbles with which the Donatists had studiously embarrassed them. This obliged St. Augustine to make an abridgment of them, which comprises the substance of the whole; and he also added numbers, to facilitate a reference to the Acts themselves².

The Donatists appealed from the sentence of Marcellinus, on the ground that it had been pronounced at night³, and that the Catholics had bribed him⁴; which latter charge was advanced at random, without the least proof. In the subscriptions to their sayings of the third day, they added, "without prejudice to the appeal⁵." They likewise affirmed that Marcellinus had not suffered them to speak all they wished; and that he had kept them shut up in the place where the conference was held, as in a prison⁶. But St. Augustine refuted these slanders in a treatise he wrote afterwards, and inscribed to the laity of the Donatists⁷, in which he brought forward all the advantages which the Catholics had gained by the conference; the efforts the Donatists had made to prevent its being held; the evasions they had employed to avoid entering on the main question; the complaints they had twice repeated, that they had been forced to enter on it against their will; and lastly, the important sentiment which had escaped them, that one affair or one person does not in any way prejudice or affect another.

In the mean time the Tribune Marcellinus having made his report to the Emperor Honorius of all that had passed in the conference, and the Donatists having also made an appeal to him, a law was issued at Ravenna⁸, on the third before the calends of February, under the ninth Consulate of Ho-

¹ Aug. ix. Gesf. Emer. § 4.

² Aug. Retr. 2. 39. Brev. Coll. Pref. Ep. 139. al. 158. ad Marc. § 3.

³ Aug. post Coll. c. 12. [⁴ Ibid. c. 11. et

Ep. 141. al. 152. § 1.]

⁵ Coll. 3. c. 238, 245, 249, &c.]

⁶ Possid. Vit. 14.

⁷ Aug. ix. post Coll.

⁸ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 52. A. D. 412.

the criminal outrages of the Circumcelliones, and the succession of imperial laws which they elicited, had given the whole schism the appearance of a civil matter: nor were the distinct offices of the Church and Catholic State in the

reign of Honorius so clearly defined, as after the admission of schismatics or heretics into governments had rendered them actually distinct from, or even hostile to, the Church. For instances of the civil interference, see Gieseler, i. § 90.

norius, and the fifth of Theodosius, i. e. the thirtieth of A. D. 412. January, 412, which, annulling all the rescripts that the Donatists might have obtained, and confirming all the ancient laws against them, condemns all freemen among them to large fines, in proportion to their several conditions, from persons of the highest quality down to the common people; and the slaves to corporal punishment: and enacts further, that their clergy shall be banished from Africa, and that all the churches shall be restored to the Catholics. This conference was the death-blow to the schism of the Donatists; and from that time they returned in crowds into the bosom of the Church, that is to say, the Bishops with their whole flocks¹.

In the Eastern part of Africa, that is, in the province of Cyrene, there was at that time an illustrious Bishop, Synesius the philosopher. He was sprung from the chief nobility of the country, descended from the Lacedæmonians, who had founded the colony; and traced back his genealogy to Eurysthenes, the first king of Sparta of the Dorian race². Synesius studied philosophy at Alexandria under the learned Hypatia³, daughter of Theon the mathematician. He had also married at Alexandria, and had children there. He was deputed in the name of his native place, Cyrene, to the Emperor Arcadius, about the year 397, and spoke to him with greater freedom than any Greek had done before: for he censured the luxury of the Court of Constantinople, and the excessive influence of the Goths, who managed every thing in the administration⁴. On his return home, he resumed his books and the chase, which formed the whole employment of his life; for he divided it between study and recreation, in order to improve his mind, and preserve his health by bodily exercises.

In this manner he led a philosophical life, declining as much as possible the cares of public or private business, when the people of Ptolemais, the metropolis of the Cyrenaic province, demanded him for their Bishop of Theophilus of Alexandria, whose jurisdiction extended here, as well as over Egypt: for although Synesius was not yet baptized, he was nevertheless as much the admiration of the Christians as of the pagans⁵. Synesius, alarmed at this news, wrote to

¹ Possid. Vit. 13. XLI. Ordination of Synesius. A. D. 410.

² Syn. Ep. 57. p. 197.

³ V. Infr. 23. 25.]

⁴ De Reg. p. 16, &c.

⁵ Evagr. Hist. 1. 15.

A. D. 410. his brother, Euoptius, who was at Alexandria, in these terms¹ :
 Ep. 105. "Senseless should I be, did I not acknowledge the kindness
 "of the inhabitants of Ptolemais, who esteem me more highly
 "than I do myself. But I am not to consider their desire
 "of making me a great present, I must see whether it
 "becomes me to accept it." He then goes on : "A Bishop
 "ought to be a heavenly person ; the eyes of all are upon
 "him ; and he can be of little use to others, unless he
 "observes a serious frame of mind himself, and is averse to
 "every kind of pleasure. He ought to be of a communi-
 "cative temper in the things of God, and always ready to
 "instruct. He ought alone to do as much business as all
 "the rest together, unless he is willing to load himself with
 "a multitude of reproaches. A great soul is therefore re-
 "quired to support such a burden." He then represents
 how far he feels himself removed from such a state of per-
 fection, and the innocence of life necessary in a Bishop,
 before he can purify others. He then adds the following
 protest, beseeching his brother to make it public, that it may
 serve as his justification before God and before men, and
 particularly before Theophilus.

"I have a wife whom I have received from God, and the
 "sacred hand of Theophilus. Now I declare that I am not
 "willing to separate myself from her, or to approach her in
 "secret like an adulterer ; but my wish is, that I may have
 "numerous and virtuous children by her. This is one of
 "those circumstances of which he who has the power to
 "ordain me ought not to be ignorant ; and he may likewise
 "learn the same from Paul and Dionysius, whom the people
 "have deputed upon this affair." This declaration of
 Synesius shews how regular a rule it was for Bishops to live
 in a state of continence, since he mentions his wife as the
 first obstacle to his ordination. To these he subjoins others,
 relating to doctrine. "It is," says he, "very difficult, not to
 "say impossible, to rase those truths from the mind which it
 "has imbibed by strict demonstration ; and you are sensible
 "that there are several of these in philosophy, which clash
 "with this so celebrated doctrine²," meaning the Christian.
 "And, indeed, I shall never be brought to believe that the
 "soul was produced after the body. I will never say that

[² τοῖς
 θρυλλου-
 μένοις
 δόγμασιν]

“ the world will one day be destroyed, either wholly or in part. I believe that the resurrection, so frequently mentioned, is a hidden mystery ; and I am very far from giving in to the opinions of the vulgar.” He afterwards mentions how difficult it would be for him to leave the sport of hunting ; but at last he submits, and refers the whole to the judgment of Theophilus. A. D. 410.

This protest of Synesius has made some historians affirm that he was baptized and ordained Bishop, though he did not believe in the resurrection¹. But he does not make any such assertion. It seems only that he understood some mystery couched under it ; perhaps the metempsychosis of the Platonists, or the resurrection in another flesh of the Origenists². But be that as it may, we must believe that Theophilus and the Bishops of Egypt were well assured of his docility and his faith, with respect to the most essential points, before they laid their hands upon him ; and that his extraordinary merit, together with the necessity of time and place, had obliged them to dispense a little with the rigour of the rules. He was ordained Bishop about the year 410, though with the utmost reluctance on his side³ ; and in a letter, written immediately after to his Priests, he declares that he had done his utmost to avoid the office, and that, had he been left to his own choice, he would rather have died. He rests all his hopes in God, to Whom nothing is impossible, and desires their prayers, and those of the whole people. He says, moreover, in another place, that prostrate and on his knees, he had frequently besought God to give him death, rather than the Episcopate, and calls upon God Himself as a witness to this assertion. He had now been Bishop seven months, and could not yet prevail with himself to reside among his flock, but would first see whether or no that office was compatible with philosophy ; firmly resolved, in case they could not be reconciled, to leave his country, and retire into Greece ; for he foresaw, that after having refused the Episcopate, it would be impossible for him to continue where he was, without drawing upon himself the curses of all the people ; it is thus he speaks to his friend Olympius⁴.

In the first year of his Episcopate, he consulted Theophilus of Alexandria concerning Alexander, Bishop of Basinopolis

¹ Evagr. 1. 15. Phot. Cod. 16. Niceph. 14. 55.

² V. Holsten. Diss. ap. Vales. in Evagr. p. 612. [See Bingham. 4. 3. § 3.]

³ Ep. 11. ad Presb. 95. ad Olymp. 57. adv. Andr. p. 194. D. V. Petav. not. init. [?]

⁴ Ep. 95.

XLII
Letter to
Theophilus

A. D. 410.

concerning
a friend of
St. Chry-
sostom.

¹ Ep. 66.

in Bithynia¹. "Alexander," says he, "a Cyrenæan of senatorial rank, devoted himself to a monastic life, while yet very young; and making progress in it as he advanced in years, he was made a Deacon, and afterwards a Priest. Some business obliged him to go to Court, and he was recommended to John of happy memory. (Suffer me so to speak of him, since he is dead, and all disputes ought to end with this life.)" These words of Synesius are remarkable, since it is of St. Chrysostom that he speaks, to Theophilus, his great enemy. He goes on: "Alexander, having been recommended to him before the division of the Churches, was ordained by his hands Bishop of Basinopolis in Bithynia; and when the division broke out, he continued in friendship with the man who had ordained him, and adhered to his party. You know better than any man the circumstances of this affair, and I have seen a very prudent letter written to the blessed Atticus, in which, if I mistake not, you endeavour to prevail with him to receive the adherents of that party.

"This is only what Alexander has in common with all of them; here follows what is peculiar to himself. This is now the third year since the amnesty and reconciliation; however, instead of going immediately to Bithynia, and resuming the possession of his see, he resides among us, contented with a private character. As for myself, I have not been brought up in the practice and study of the holy laws, and have as yet been able to learn but little; since I have not yet been Bishop a year. But observing that certain old men, for fear of disobeying some canon, treated him very hardly, I have neither censured nor imitated them. To tell you, then, how I have acted; I have not received him in the church, nor admitted him to the communion of the Holy Table; but at my own home have honoured him as a man of a spotless character, using him as I am wont to do those of the country." He concludes with beseeching Theophilus to answer him with the authority of the Evangelical succession, i. e. of the see of the Evangelist St. Mark, and to tell him plainly whether he ought to consider Alexander as a Bishop.

We do not know the meaning of this amnesty, and this

reconciliation of Theophilus with the adherents of St. Chrysostom; but it is certain from other sources, that Theophilus published a cruel edict against him; and in order to spread it in the West, had employed St. Jerome to translate it into Latin¹. There is still extant a fragment, or rather¹ extract of it, which contains nothing but injurious reproaches, and serves only to discover the rage of Theophilus. He could never be prevailed on to insert St. Chrysostom's name in the sacred Diptychs², i. e. in the register in which were written the names of those Bishops who had died in the communion of the Church, to be repeated during the Holy Sacrifice^h; and this refusal caused a great division in the Church for about twenty years, as has been already observed³.

Theophilus, knowing the abilities of Synesius, used to give him from time to time commissions to regulate matters in Pentapolis; and Synesius considered the orders which were sent him from the see of Alexandria as so many Divine oracles⁴. He went, therefore, to visit the towns of Palæbisca and Hydrax, bordering on the desert of Libya, notwithstanding that in those places there were enemies in arms, and that it was not safe travelling there. These towns usually formed part of the diocese of Erythrum, but in St. Athanasius' time they had obtained a Bishop of their own, named Siderius⁵, who, however, had no successor. Theophilus was desirous of appointing them one, to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of Paul, Bishop of Erythrum. Synesius, on arriving at the place, assembled the people; gave them the letters which Theophilus had directed to them; read to them those which had been written to himself, and urged them to elect a Bishop; but so great was their affection for Paul, that he could not prevail on them to acquiesce. He even employed authority, ordering the officers of the Church to seize those who distinguished themselves in the crowd, and made the

A. D. 410.

¹ Facund. lib. 6.

p. 258, &c.

² Theod. Hist. 5. c. 34, 35.³ Supr. 13.

XLIII. Affair of Paul of Erythrum.

⁴ Synes. Ep. 67. ad Theoph.⁵ Fleury, 16. 23.

^a The Diptychs were *folded* tablets, containing a list of those persons whose names were to be rehearsed in the Communion Service. They were of three kinds; the first comprising the names of Bishops only, the second those of living benefactors, and the third those of the deceased in Catholic communion. St. Chrysostom's name

was afterwards inserted by Atticus apparently in this last description of diptychs. (Infr. 23. 27.) To erase a name from the diptychs was held to be equivalent to excommunication after death, and to restore it was the same thing as pronouncing absolution. Bingham. 15. 3. § 18. and 16. 3. § 12.

A. D. 410. most noise; these he caused to be arrested as seditious persons influenced by bribes, and drove them out of the church. He attempted several times to calm the people; and with all his eloquence represented to them the dignity of the see of Alexandria; and that the honour which they should either pay, or refuse to it, would be paid, or refused to God Himself.

The people named Theophilus with the highest tokens of respect, and falling prostrate as if he had himself been present, besought him with the most piteous cries not to deprive them of their pastor. The women lifting up their hands, and holding out their children, closed their eyes, that they might not see the episcopal seat without its ordinary pastor. Synesius felt himself moved, and fearing lest he should be prevailed upon to act contrary to his commission, broke up the assembly, and postponed it till the fourth day; having first pronounced most solemn curses against all those who for money, party-spirit, or any other cause, should dare to speak against the obedience due to the Church.

The day appointed being come, the people were as ardent as they had been before. They did not stay till they were asked; nothing was heard but cries and a confused mixture of voices. But the Deacons¹ having made them keep silence, their noise ended in tears and lamentable groans, from men, women, and children. Here some demanded their father, others their brother, and others again their son; for Paul, the Bishop, was still young. As Synesius was going to speak, a written paper was held up in the crowd, and Synesius was desired to have it read. It contained an earnest entreaty directed to himself, imploring him not to force the people any longer against their inclinations; and to suspend all proceedings till they had sent to Theophilus a resolution² on that subject, with a deputy; and the people even besought Synesius to write himself in their favour. He was informed on the spot, both by the Priests and the people, of the several circumstances relating to the ordination of Siderius; and how after his decease Palæbisca and Hydrax had again returned to the jurisdiction of Erythrum, as before. They even affirmed that Paul had been ordained Bishop of these places by a decree of Theophilus. They did not, indeed,

[¹ ἱεροκήρυκες]

[² ψήφισμα]

make this appear by the written document, but they called several Bishops of the province to prove the truth of their assertion. Synesius, before he returned to Ptolemais, gave Theophilus an account of all his proceedings; and, with entire deference, submitted the whole to his judgment. However, he lets him see his own opinion, that some regard ought to be paid to the uncommon affection which the people felt towards Paul, and that no other Bishop should be set over them. A. D. 410.

In the same town of Hydrax was a rising ground, occupied by the ruins of an ancient fortress, and situated on the boundary line dividing the dioceses¹ of Erythrum and Dardanus². Paul, Bishop of Erythrum, claimed this place as subject to his jurisdiction, because he had there consecrated a church, which had been raised on the ruins of one more ancient. Dioscorus, Bishop of Dardanus, asserted that this place had, from time immemorial, been under his jurisdiction; that it was true, people had been forced by necessity to pray there, by reason of an incursion of the enemy, but that it was no more consecrated ground upon that account than the hills and valleys were, in which it was customary to pray on similar occasions. When Synesius, by order of Theophilus, had also taken cognizance of this affair, he saw clearly that the place belonged of right to Dioscorus; that the place pretended to be consecrated was a little house, the keys of which having been carried away by Dioscorus, Paul had caused it to be opened, and had brought into it a table which he had consecrated in a clandestine manner. This action appeared to Synesius most unbecoming; for in it the ceremonies of religion had been employed to usurp another's right. "For my part," says he, "I account nothing to be either holy or sacred, but what is done in justice and holiness, for which reason I did not pay the least regard to his pretended consecration. God draws near to those who act without passion, and in such a frame of mind as is suitable to His nature. But when anger is the principle of action, how can the HOLY GHOST enter there, Whom the passions drive far away even from the soul in which He has already taken up His abode?" At length the Bishop Paul owned his fault, and the Bishop Dioscorus consented to

¹ i. e. in the modern sense]
² Ep. 67. ad Theoph. p. 211.

A. D. 410. an accommodation, by selling him the place in question, on reasonable conditions.

XLIV. One Jason, a Priest, having attacked another Priest, named Other
affairs of
Cyrenaica. Lamponianus, with opprobrious language, was struck by the latter; who, having been accused by Jason, confessed his fault, and was thereupon, by way of penance, separated from the assemblies of the Church¹. He testified his repentance by his tears, and the people interceded to procure his pardon. But Synesius kept firm to what he had enjoined, and referred the authority of absolving him to the Pontifical See; i. e. to Theophilus. However, he gave leave to all such Priests as should be present, to administer the Communion to Lamponianus, in case his life were in danger. "For," said he, "no one shall die bound, if I can possibly help it. But in case he recover his health, he shall be subject to the same penalties; and shall wait for the token of pardon from your goodness." We here see an instance of the power of Absolution reserved to the superior, even by a Metropolitan who had himself inflicted the punishment².

[² V. Supr.
19. 22, 23.
and Bingham.
19. 3.]

³ p. 216.

⁴ V. Du
Cange
of Petav.
hic. [?]
[Bingh. 6.
4. § 5.]

Synesius complains likewise to Theophilus, that certain Bishops accused others of having acted contrary to law, not with a design of getting them condemned, but only with a view of procuring an unjust profit to the governors, before whom those prosecutions were preferred in consequence³. "I do not name them to you," said he, "and I entreat you not to name them in your answer, that I may not incur the hatred of my brethren." He likewise complains of certain vagrants, or absent Bishops, whom he calls by the Latin word *vacantivi*⁴. These, quitting voluntarily the sees to which they had been promoted, rambled up and down in search of episcopal honour, stopping in those places where most honour was shewn them. Synesius advises that these deserters should be suspended from all ecclesiastical functions; and that, till such time as they returned to their own church, they should not be invited in other churches to the place of honour, or even admitted within the chancel, but when they came to church they should be left to sit among the common people. "This treatment," says he, "may perhaps induce them to return to their respective churches, in order that they may find there the honour which they are hunting

“after, rather than not meet with it at all.” We here see A. D. 410.
 an instance of the lay-communion to which the clergy were
 degraded by way of punishment¹.

Certain Eunomians, having one Quintianus at their head,
 endeavoured to infect the diocese of Ptolemais with their
 errors, and to hold clandestine assemblies there². Synesius 2 Ep. 5.
ad Presb.
 gave notice of it to his Priests, with orders to prevent them,
 and drive them away: after which he adds, “Let right deeds
 “be rightly done³; let us lay aside every kind of jealousy [1 τὸ ἰσθ.
 “that may flow from a principle of interest; and let us 17. 2.]
 “undertake all things for God. Virtue and vice must not [3 τὰ καλὰ
 “have the same motive.” And afterwards, “God has not καλῶς
 “made virtue imperfect; she has no need of the assistance γενέσθω]
 “of vice. He will not lack worthy soldiers for His Church,
 “who, after having served Him without recompense here,
 “shall be fully recompensed in heaven.” In this manner he
 exhorted his Priests, that their zeal against the heretics
 might be free from any mean alloy; and that they might not
 prosecute them for the sake of their spoils, or to procure for
 themselves the oblations of the people, but wholly for the
 good of religion.

Andronicus of Berenice, a city of Pentapolis, having, by XLV.
 money, got the government of his country into his hands, Excommu-
nication of
Androni-
cus.
 acted the part of a tyrant, and committed many crimes both A. D. 411.
 against God and men⁴. He took for his assistant one Thoas, 4 Ep. 58.
ad Episc.
 whom, from a gaoler, he had made receiver of certain duties⁵. [5 Ep. 79.
ad Anast.]
 The square echoed with groans, and a gallery of the palace,
 where justice used to be administered, was become a place of
 punishment. He invented new instruments of torture, to
 squeeze the feet, or the fingers, the nose, the ears, and the
 lips. The people in their distress had recourse to Synesius,
 who first admonished Andronicus, but to no purpose, and
 afterwards made use of reproaches, which served only to exas-
 perate him; insomuch that Andronicus, as a further instance
 of his contempt, caused his orders to be set up on the church
 doors, with terrible menaces against the Priests. At last,
 when the Bishop strove to rescue out of his hands a noble-
 man, whom he had put to the torture without cause, he said;
 “It is in vain that you hope in the Church; no one shall
 “deliver himself out of the hands of Andronicus, though he

A. D. 411. "were to take hold of the feet of JESUS CHRIST Himself." He repeated this blasphemy thrice, though he made profession of Christianity.

After this, Synesius considered him as an incorrigible person, and a corrupt member, which ought to be cut off from the society of the faithful. Accordingly he assembled his clergy of Ptolemais, and drew up a sentence of excommunication in these words¹: "Be every temple of God shut
"against Andronicus, against his followers, and against
"Thoas: let them be shut out of every holy place, and its
"inclosure; the devil has no part in Paradise, and even if
"he enters there unperceived, must be driven out. I ex-
"hort all, both private persons and magistrates, never to sit
"at the same table, or under the same roof with them; and
"particularly the Priests, not to converse with them while
"living, nor to assist at their funerals when dead. If any one
"despise this Church because of its smallness, and receive
"those whom she has excommunicated, not thinking them-
"selves bound to obey her because of her poverty; let him
"know that he dismembers the Church which JESUS CHRIST
"wishes to be One. And such an one, whether he be Dea-
"con, Priest, or Bishop, shall be ranked by us in the lot of
"Andronicus; we will not touch his hand, nor eat with him,
"much less will we communicate in the Holy Mysteries with
"those who shall join in communion with Andronicus and
"Thoas."

To this Act a letter was joined, directed to all the Bishops in the name of the Church of Ptolemais, containing the crimes of Andronicus, and the reason of his excommunication; which began with declaring that he ought neither to be accounted or called a Christian, but ought to be driven out of every church with his whole family, as one accursed of God. The excommunication was likewise read in the assembly of the people of Ptolemais; but first Synesius made a speech², in which, after having represented with how much reluctance he had assumed the episcopal dignity, the hardships he suffered in it, and particularly the crimes of Andronicus, he exhorts his people to elect another Bishop. But the whole assembly, at these words, expressed their disapprobation aloud; and Synesius seeing that he could not

¹ Ep. 58.
P. 203.

² Ep. 57.
adv. Andr.

prevail upon them to agree to his resignation, put off that matter to another time. In this speech he has the following remarkable words, concerning the distinction of the two kinds of government, the spiritual and the temporal¹. A. D. 411.
1 p. 198.

“ I was desirous of shewing you by experience, that to unite the political power with the Priesthood, is to weave together two incompatible substances. In ancient times there were Priests who were also judges². The Egyptians² and Hebrews were, for a long series of years, governed by Priests. But, as I think, when this Divine work came to be conducted on human maxims, God separated these kinds of life; the one He has declared sacred, and the other political; the one set of persons He has annexed to matter, the other to Himself; it is their duty to apply themselves to business, and ours to devote ourselves to prayer. Why are you for joining what God has put asunder, and for laying a burden upon our shoulders for which we are altogether unfit? Do you need protection? address yourselves to him who is entrusted with the execution of the laws; do you want the assistance of Heaven? go to the Bishop. The object of true Priesthood is contemplation, which is altogether inconsistent with action and the hurry of business.” And afterwards; “ I do not condemn those Bishops who apply themselves to secular business; but knowing that I am scarce sufficient for one of those capacities, I admire those who are capable of both.” Ep. 121.

Andronicus, terrified at the excommunication which had been pronounced against him, testified his submission, and promised to repent³. Every one entreated Synesius to receive him; he alone was of the contrary opinion, firmly persuaded that it was all hypocrisy. He expected when he would throw off the mask, and foretold that at the first opportunity that offered, he would return to his natural temper. Nevertheless he yielded to the opinion of the greater number, and of the more experienced Bishops; for he was yet but in the first year of his ordination. He therefore deferred sending to the Bishops the letter which he had written against him; and re-admitted him upon condition that he should use his equals⁴ with more humanity, and suffer himself to be governed Ep. 72.
ad Episc.
[⁴ δημο-
ταίμοι]

A. D. 411. by the dictates of reason. Nevertheless, he did not refrain from acting with still greater cruelty than before, and adding fresh reasons for his excommunication, which was still only suspended; and Synesius gave notice of it to the Bishops, that they might interdict him from entering their churches. However, as Andronicus afterwards fell into disgrace, and was ill treated in his turn, Synesius followed, as he himself observes, the spirit of the Church, in raising up those who are fallen, and casting down those who are exalted¹. He therefore interceded in his favour, even so as to weary those in authority; he delivered him from the fatal tribunal by which he had been condemned, alleviated the rigours of his disgrace in every other particular, and even recommended him to the Bishop Theophilus; all which must have happened shortly after his excommunication.

¹ Ep. 89.
ad Theoph.

XLVI.
Death of
Theophi-
lus. St.
Cyril Bi-
shop of
Alexan-
dria.

A. D. 412.

² Socr. 7. 7.

³ Supr. 18.

36.

⁴ Rosw. lib.

5. libel. 3.

de Com-

punct. § 5.

⁵ Gennad.

Script. 34.

⁶ Supr. 20.

50.

⁷ Supr. 21. 2.

⁸ Synes.

Ep. 9.

ap. Balsam.

et ap. Conc.

ii. p. 1797.

(iii. p. 1253.)

⁹ Cass.

Coll. 10. 2.

For Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, fell into a lethargy, and died on the fifteenth of October, under the ninth Consulate of Honorius, and the fifth of Theodosius, i. e. in the year 412², after having held that see twenty-seven years, from the year 385³. It is said that in his dying moments he uttered the following words; "Happy art thou, O Abbot Arsenius, in having always had this hour before thine eyes⁴!" He left several writings behind him⁵; viz. a long treatise against Origen, in which he censured not only almost all his words but even his person, affirming that he had already been condemned by the ancients⁶. He likewise drew up a very long treatise against the Anthropomorphites, in which he proved from Scripture that God is incorporeal. Besides the Paschal letters which he sent every year⁷, there are still extant some canonical epistles by him. In the first place, an injunction relating to the Eve of the Epiphany, which fell on Sunday⁸. On this feast the Egyptians used to celebrate the Baptism and Nativity of CHRIST at the same time⁹¹, and fasted on the Eve; but as it is not incarnation: 2. The adoration of the Magi: 3. The visible descent of the Holy Ghost at His Baptism: 4. The first miracle at Cana. The Western Church, however, celebrated the Nativity of our LORD on the twenty-fifth of December: and this practice, being introduced into the East about the

¹ It was a custom of the Eastern Church (though apparently not earlier than the middle of the third century; see Orig. cont. Cels. 8. § 22, and Clem. Al. Strom. I. c. 21. p. 407.) to celebrate on the same day, the sixth of January, the Manifestation of our LORD (*τὰ ἐπιφάνια*) in four several respects; 1. The

allowed to fast on Sunday, Theophilus enjoins them in this case to eat a few dates, without changing the hour of Divine Service, which shall not be celebrated till evening, and after the ninth hour¹. In a memorial directed to Ammon for the province of Lyco², he decrees that all such as have communicated with the Arian Bishops shall be deposed³; that all ordinations shall be performed by the Bishop⁴, with the consent and approbation of the whole clergy, in the middle of the church, and in presence of the people; and that the Bishop shall ask aloud, if the people also can bear witness to the person to be ordained; but that no one shall be ordained in secret, "since the Church is in peace," i. e. at liberty, under the administration of Christian princes. That which remains of the offerings⁵, over and above what has been consumed in the Holy Mysteries, must be divided among the clergy; the catechumens shall neither eat nor drink of them, but only the clergy, and the faithful who live with them⁶^k. For a great quantity of bread and wine was always offered for the Holy Sacrifice. The other canons of Theophilus related for the most part to private affairs; but all of them indicate the extent of the authority exercised by the Bishop of Alexandria over all Egypt, either for enforcing the observance of the canons, or for dispensing with them in case of necessity; as also for approving or correcting the conduct of the Bishops. Notwithstanding the division which the affair of St. Chrysostom had occasioned, Theophilus died in communion with the universal Church, and particularly with that of Rome, as is manifest from the titles with which Pope St. Leo honoured him⁷; and his doctrine has at all times been acknowledged orthodox.

Cyril, who was his nephew, being his sister's son, was elected in his room⁸; but not without some difficulty, as many wished to elect the Archdeacon Timothy. Abundantius, who commanded the forces, took part with the latter, and a tumult

A. D. 412.

¹ i. e. three

o'clock.]

² Concil.

ii. p. 1797.

(iii. p. 1256.)

³ can. 1.⁴ can. 2.⁵ can. 7.⁶ i. e. the

communi-

cants :

Bingh. 15.

7. § 2.]

⁷ Ep. 64, 65.

ap. Concil.

iii. et Ep.

121, 122. ap.

Mans. vi.

[Tillemont

denies this:

xi. Theoph.

21.]

⁸ Socr. 7. 7.

et ibi Vales.

middle of the fourth century, gradually became universal. The change was effected in Egypt before A. D. 431. (See Bingh. 20. 4. and Gieseler, i. § 70, 98.) On this festival, as on Sunday, fasting was strictly forbidden, and for the same reason. Supr. 20. 6. note l.

^k The remainder of the Eucharist

was also sometimes distributed among the innocent children of the Church, and sometimes reserved for the sick and absent. The Anglican Church has adopted the same rule which Theophilus here lays down. See Bingham, 15, 7. and Wheatley, 6. 30. § 6.

A. D. 412. actually took place; however, Cyril got the better, and was enthroned three days after the death of Theophilus. The victory which he had gained over the opposite party, gave him more authority than Theophilus himself had enjoyed; and from that time the Bishops of Alexandria exceeded a little the limits of the spiritual power, and assumed some share in the temporal government. The first thing Cyril did was to shut up the churches of the Novatians, and to seize on all their treasures¹.

[¹ In accordance with the law: Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 52.]

XLVII. St. Augustine intercedes for the Donatists.

Notwithstanding that a great number of Donatists were converted after the conference, some of them still persisted in their obstinacy, which they carried so far as to declare that they would never quit their party, not even though the truth of the Catholic doctrine, and the falsity of their own, should be demonstrated to them². There were, even at Hippo, several of their Circumcelliones, and clergy, who, having lain in ambush, had killed one Catholic Priest named Restitutus, and forced out of his house another named Innocent, one of whose eyes they struck out, and broke one of his fingers with stones³. They were seized by the public officers and carried before Count Marcellinus¹, who had them put to the torture; not on the rack, as was usual, with iron hooks, and with fire, but with rods only; and they confessed their crime⁴.

[² Aug. Ep. 139. al. 158. ad Marc. § 1.]

[³ Ep. 133. al. 159. ad Marc. § 1.]

[⁴ Ep. 134. al. 160. ad Apr. § 2.]

St. Augustine fearing they would be punished with the utmost severity of the law, wrote to the Count Marcellinus, beseeching him not to treat them as they had treated the Catholics⁵. "We might," said he, "pretend that we were clear from their death, since we have neither accused them, nor brought them before you; but we should be sorry to have the sufferings of the servants of God avenged by the law of retaliation. Not that we wish to prevent the wicked from being restrained in the liberty of sinning; but what we desire is, that without putting them to death, or maiming them in any manner, they may be brought from their foolish restlessness to a rational tranquillity, or from their criminal actions to some useful labour." That is to say,

[⁵ Ep. 133. al. 159. § 1.]

¹ Marcellinus was, perhaps, like Dulcinius afterwards (Aug. Retr. 2. 59), the *Executor* of the laws against the

heretics; since this office is mentioned in Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5, de Hær. 52. See Tillemont, S. Aug. 232.

he was desirous of having them either confined in prison, or employed in some public work. St. Augustine observes in this letter¹ that the Bishops themselves, in their tribunals, often availed themselves of the chastisement of rods, in the same manner as masters did for their scholars, and fathers for their children. A. D. 412.

He also wrote to Apringius the Proconsul², whose duty it was to judge these criminals, and who was brother to Marcellinus, and like him a Christian. St. Augustine makes the same entreaties to him, and says³; “Had I to intercede with a judge who was not a Christian, I should not address myself to him in this manner; but I should not on that account forsake the cause of the Church; and if he would give me a hearing, I would represent to him that the sufferings of the Catholics ought to serve as so many examples of patience, which we must not sully with the blood of our enemies; and should he still refuse to yield to my solicitations, I should suspect that his refusal proceeded wholly from his hatred to religion.” He goes on⁴: “It has come to pass that those enemies of the Church who endeavour to seduce the ignorant, by the pretended persecution of which they are wont to boast, have confessed the horrible crimes which they themselves have perpetrated against Catholic clerks. The Acts shall be read over, in order to heal those whom they have thus seduced. Do you wish that we should not dare to have those Acts read to their conclusion, because they contain the bloody execution of those unhappy wretches; and that there should thus be room to suspect the sufferers of having wished to return evil for evil?” Ep. 134.
al. 160.
§ 3.

Marcellinus having delayed to send to St. Augustine the Acts of this trial, according to his promise, St. Augustine wrote to him⁵, desiring him to let him have them as soon as possible; for he was desirous of having them read in the church of Hippo, and, if possible, in all the churches of the province; that the whole world might see that the Donatists, who had separated themselves under the pretext of their unwillingness to share in the pretended crimes of certain Catholics, did nevertheless retain among them a multitude of wicked men, who had even been convicted by law. He Ep. 139.
al. 158.

A. D. 412. again entreats Marcellinus not to put to death either these people, or certain others who still continued their outrages, by forcibly breaking into the churches¹. "If the Proconsul," he adds, "should persist in his resolution of punishing them with death, cause at least those letters which I have written to both of you upon this subject, to be inserted in the Acts. But if he refuse me this, let him at least keep the criminals confined in prison, and we will take care to obtain from the clemency of the Emperor, that the sufferings of the servants of God shall not be dishonoured with the blood of their enemies. I know that the Emperor was easily prevailed upon to pardon the pagans who had killed the clerks of Anaunia, who are now honoured as Martyrs²."

² Supr. 20.
22.

XLVIII.
St. Augustine's employments.
³ § 3.

At the end of this letter, he thus takes notice of the multitude of his occupations³; "If I could give you an account of my time, and the works on which I have been obliged to labour, you would be both surprised and really distressed at the quantity of business which overwhelms me, and which will not admit of any delay, or allow me to work at what you so earnestly demand, and I myself desire; and which, from my inability to execute it, afflicts me more than I can say. For when I have any relief, however trifling, from those who daily have recourse to me on their own affairs, and urge me so closely that I neither can escape, nor ought to neglect them, I am never without some other writings to compose, which have a prior claim upon me, because present circumstances will not allow them to be put off. For the rule of charity is, not to consider the degree of the friendship, but the greatness of the necessity. So that in this manner I have continually something or other to dictate, that diverts me from that which would be more agreeable to my inclination, during the short intervals in that heap of business with which either the wants or passions of others burden me; and, in truth, I know not what to do." The works which he notices as being then upon his hands, are, the Books on Infant Baptism, the Abridgment of the Acts of the Conference, the Epistle to the Laity of the Donatists⁴, the two long Epistles to Volusian and Marcellinus⁵, and the long

⁴ Ep. 141.
al. 152.

⁵ Ep. 137,
138. al. 3, 5.

Epistle to Honoratus¹. St. Augustine mentions in several other places in his works the multitude of his occupations, and particularly in his letter to Dioscorus, written with a view of dissuading him from the pursuit of vain and curious studies, and bringing him back to the serious matters of Christian philosophy².

The Epistle to the Laity among the Donatists, is that from the Council of Cirtha or Zerta, in which Silvanus, Primate of Numidia, presided³. St. Augustine speaks in the name of all the Bishops who had composed the Council; and the object of the letter is to contradict the false report which the Donatist Bishops had spread among their people, viz. that the Tribune Marcellinus had been bribed with money to condemn them. He gives a brief account of all that had passed in the conference at Carthage, for the instruction of those who either could not procure the Acts, or would not give themselves the trouble to read them⁴. "They have,"⁴ § 1. said he⁵, "done all they could to hinder any thing from being⁵ § 3, 7. done; and though they have not been able to effect this, "they have so loaded the Acts with useless words, as to "make it a difficult matter to read what was done." He insists strongly on those words which had escaped them, namely, that one person, or affair, does not in any way prejudice or affect another⁶; and whatever else they had advanced, or acknowledged against themselves: and then adds; "If we have bribed the judge to pass sentence in our favour, "with what have we bribed the Donatists themselves to say "so many things, and read so many instruments which "make against them, and for us?" He then exhorts them⁷ § 12. with mildness to yield to the truth now so evident, and not to resist it any longer⁸. This letter is dated on the eighteenth⁸ § 2, 13. of the calends of July, under the ninth Consulate of Honorius, i. e. the fourteenth of June, A. D. 412. About the same time St. Augustine wrote to two Priests, Saturninus and Eufrates, who, with certain clergy, were returned to the communion of the Church, to exhort them to perseverance, and to perform, each of them, their ministerial functions in the Church, according to his rank⁹. He wrote also to the inhabitants of Cirtha, to congratulate them upon their return to the Church;¹ Ep. 142. al. 257. and exhorts them to ascribe it not to him, but to the grace¹ Ep. 144. al. 130.

A. D. 412. of God. This conversion seems to have been an effect of the Council which was held in this city.

L.
Political
letter to
Marcel-
linus.
¹ Ep. 138.
al. 5.
² Ep. 136.
al. 4. § 2.

The long letter to Marcellinus¹, of which St. Augustine takes notice above, is written in answer to certain questions which he had made him; of which the most important was, in what manner the Christian religion can be reconciled with human policy². "For," said the pagans, "how is it possible to reconcile with the maxims of government, these positions that follow, viz. to return to no one evil for evil, to offer the other cheek to him who strikes us on the face, and the like? Who ever suffers the enemy to carry off his possessions? Who does not strive to return evil for evil, according to the right of war, to the Barbarians who lay waste the provinces of the empire? We see but too plainly the prejudice which Christian princes have done the empire, by following the principles of their religion."

³ Ep. 138.
al. 5. c. 2.
§ 9, &c.

To this St. Augustine answers³, that the pagans themselves, and the Romans, have applauded the virtue of clemency, and the forgiveness of injuries; that nothing is better adapted to preserve that union and concord among citizens, which is the very bond of civil society, and foundation of all true policy; because those are far more truly reconciled who are corrected by gentleness and patience, than such as are reduced by force. As for the precept of offering the other cheek and the like, they are not to be taken in a literal sense, and always practised outwardly⁴, but are to regulate the disposition of the heart. All this does not prevent the wicked from being chastised, in order to do them good in spite of themselves; in the same manner as a father corrects his child, by making him suffer. Upon the same principle war may be carried on, in order to take from the wicked the power of committing evil with impunity, which is the greatest misfortune that can happen to them; and it is plain that war is not forbidden by the Gospel, since it prescribes the duties of a soldier⁵.

[⁴ See John
18. 23.
Acts 23. 3.]

⁵ Luke 3.
14.

"Let such soldiers be given us; let the people of the several provinces, husbands, wives, parents, children, masters, slaves, kings, judges; those who levy the prince's taxes, and those who pay them; let all these be, each in his condition, such as Christianity requires, and then let them persist in their assertion that it is inconsistent with the good of a state."

As to the reproach that is thrown on the Christian princes, A. D. 412. viz. that they have occasioned the ruin of the Roman empire, it is, he says, mere calumny; since Sallust, before the light of the Gospel, complained that avarice, luxury, and debauchery, had paved the way to the ruin of the republic¹. [1 Bell. Jug. init.] Juvenal marks the progress of those vices, and how much the Romans had deviated from the frugality and poverty of their ancestors, which had been the foundation of their greatness²; God having rewarded with temporal power that virtue [2 Sat. 6.] they had practised, although not founded on true religion. In order to discuss more fully this important question, St. Augustine began, a little after, his great work on the City of God, inscribed to the same Marcellinus.

Volusian, to whom St. Augustine wrote at the same time a celebrated epistle, was a nobleman of Rome, brother of Albina, and uncle to the younger Melania. He was not yet a Christian, but was well versed in polite literature and philosophy. St. Augustine had exhorted him to read the Holy Scriptures, and particularly the Apostles, as they might engage him to read the Prophets cited by them; and offers at the same time to clear up any difficulties he might meet with³. Volusian did propose several questions to him concerning the Incarnation of the WORD, and the miracles of our Saviour⁴; and concludes with saying, "Ignorance in other Bishops may in some sort be tolerated, but when Augustine is applied to, we feel persuaded that where he is ignorant, the religion is itself at fault." Marcellinus, who was Volusian's friend, despatched this letter at the same time with that of which I have just related the answer⁵. [LI. Letter to Volusian.] St. Augustine, in answer to Volusian, says⁶ that the WORD of God having assumed a body to make Himself perceptible to our senses, assumed it in a Virgin, and took upon Himself all the infirmities of human nature, to shew that He was truly man; that God is united to man, to form one single person in CHRIST, as the soul united to the body in every man, makes but one single person⁷; but with this difference, that it is more easy to comprehend the union of two incorporeal substances, such as the Divine WORD with the Soul of CHRIST, than one between two things of which the one is corporeal and the other incorporeal, as the union

LI.
Letter to
Volusian.

³ Ep. 132.
al. 1. et
not. ibi.

⁴ Ep. 135.
al. 2.

⁵ Ep. 136.
al. 4.

⁶ Ep. 137.
al. 3. c. 6,
7, &c.

⁷ § 11.

A. D. 412. between our soul and body. CHRIST is come, not only to instruct mankind in all truth, but also to give them the help necessary for salvation¹. St. Augustine goes on to shew the greatness of His miracles, which the pagans themselves did not deny, but opposed to them the pretended miracles of Apollonius, of Apuleius, and other magicians². Finally, he brings together the several proofs of the Christian religion, in a short connected view of the whole history of religion, from the call of Abraham down to his own time³.

LII.
Letter to
Macedo-
nius.
A. D. 414.

St. Augustine not only interceded for the Donatists, but did his utmost to save all sorts of criminals from punishment, according to the general practice of all the Bishops. This is the subject of a long epistle to Macedonius, Vicar of Africa, who had consulted him on this question⁴. St. Augustine answers⁵; "It is not that we approve sin; but we pity the man at the same time that we abhor his crime; and as the correction of manners has place in this life only, we are forced, by the love we bear to all mankind, to intercede for transgressors; for fear the punishment which puts an end to their lives should be followed with that punishment which has no end." And in order to shew afterwards that religion itself authorizes such a practice, of which Macedonius seemed to doubt, he illustrates it by the example of the goodness of God, who makes the sun to rise both on the just and on the unjust⁶; and who though punishing some few crimes in this life that mankind might not doubt His providence, reserves the rest to the last day, in order to display His justice then⁷. "We therefore," says he, "love the wicked, we shew them kindness, we pray for them, because God commands us to do so: we do all this without partaking in their guilt any more than God Himself, but in order to bring them to repentance, after His own example⁸. And if He exercises patience even towards those of whom He knows that they will never repent, how much more ought we to have pity on those who promise to amend their lives, notwithstanding that we are not certain that they will perform their promise⁹!" These words seem to intimate that the Bishops used to intercede for those only who promised to become converts, and submit to Baptism or penance; and what is said before, plainly shews

¹ § 12.

² § 13.

³ § 15.

⁴ Ep. 152.
al. 53.

⁵ Ep. 153.
al. 54. § 3.

⁶ Mat. 5. 45.

⁷ c. 2. § 4.

⁸ § 5.
Rom. 11. 3.

⁹ c. 3. § 6.

how little value they attached to the repentance of a condemned criminal in the interval between his sentence and its execution. A. D. 414.

Macedonius had objected the practice of the Church, which admitted once only to public penance¹. This St. Augustine allows²; but adds, that God does not cease to exercise His patience towards those sinners who relapse into their former guilt. “If any one of them,” he continues, “should say to us, ‘Either admit me again to penance, or suffer me to follow the dictates of my despair, and to give a loose to my inclinations; abandoning myself to pleasure and debauchery, as far as my own means and the laws of man will permit me; or if you dissuade me from this, tell me whether it will avail me any thing in the life to come, to mortify myself, to exercise greater austerities than before, to give alms more abundantly, and, in a word, to lead a better life, and to have a more ardent charity;’ no one among us would be so mad as to tell him that all these things will avail him nothing. Wherefore the Church has, with great wisdom, enacted that this penance, so humiliating in its nature, shall be granted but once, lest this remedy, the more salutary in proportion as it is the less exposed to contempt, should, by becoming more common, be less useful. And yet no one is so daring as to say to God, ‘Why dost Thou again pardon that man, who after his first penance has engaged anew in sin?’”

St. Augustine then alleges the character of the sinner³, ³ § 8, 9, &c. which being common to all men, is found alike in the judges, accusers, and intercessors; and obliges them all, according to their several duties, to have pity on the guilty from a common principle of humanity. He then concludes⁴; ⁴ c. 5. § 15. “You see therefore that religion authorizes our intercession; and that we may sue for mercy even for abandoned criminals, since they are at any rate sinners who intercede with sinners, and for sinners. But we do not therefore imply that sovereign power, the right of life and death, iron hooks and weapons are useless institutions⁵. All these things⁵ c. 6. § 16. have their rules, their causes, their advantages, to restrain the wicked by fear, and to allow the good to live among them in security. But the intercessions of the Bishops do

A. D. 414. "not in any way clash with this order of human affairs, which is in fact the very foundation of those intercessions, and which enhances the favour of the pardon, in proportion to the justice of the punishment. It is sometimes a cruelty to pardon, and a mercy to punish¹. And for this reason we ought not to carry the punishment so far as death, for then there would no subject remain to receive the benefit of it. It is true that there are certain persons who are allowed the liberty of putting to death; such as the judge, the executioner, the traveller attacked by a thief, and the soldier in time of war. And it frequently happens that he who is the cause or occasion of the death of another, is not, in fact, guilty of it; for the intention is always to be considered. Thus², though the criminal whom we have saved from punishment, should afterwards perpetrate still greater crimes, they ought not to be imputed to us; there ought only to be ascribed to us the good which we have in view in our intercessions, namely, the gentleness which recommends the preaching of the Gospel, and the eternal salvation of those whom we deliver from temporal death."

¹ § 17.

² § 18.

³ § 20. Macedonius complained further³, that the Bishops interceded for criminals who refused to restore what they had taken. In answer to this St. Augustine declares that this is directly contrary to their intentions; that there can be no true repentance without restitution, and that he who does not oblige men to it, is an accomplice in their guilt⁴. But when the criminal no longer has what he had taken, or denies that he has it, he cannot be forced to restore it; and as the Bishops were often deceived in such cases, the judges accused them of conniving at the dishonesty of the offenders⁵. St. Augustine in this place lays down some excellent rules on various matters of restitution; in reference to judges, witnesses, advocates, and inferior officers of justice. Macedonius received this letter of St. Augustine with the highest acknowledgments, and overcome by his reasonings, granted mercy to certain criminals whom he had commended to his favour⁶.

⁶ Ep. 154. al. 51.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD BOOK.

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|---|---|
| <p>I. Commencement of Pelagius and Cælestius.</p> <p>II. Cælestius condemned at Carthage.</p> <p>III. St. Augustine's first Writings against the Pelagians.</p> <p>IV. Laws of Honorius in favour of the Church.</p> <p>V. Irruptions of the Barbarians.</p> <p>VI. Council of Braga.</p> <p>VII. Reproaches of the Pagans.</p> <p>VIII. St. Augustine's City of God.</p> <p>IX. Refutation of Idolatry.</p> <p>X. Defence of the Christian Faith.</p> <p>XI. Death of the Tribune Marcellinus.</p> <p>XII. St. Demetrias the Virgin.</p> <p>XIII. Letter of Pelagius to her.</p> <p>XIV. Sermon of St. Augustine against the Pelagians.</p> <p>XV. Other Works against them.</p> <p>XVI. Answer to the Consultation of Orosius.</p> <p>XVII. Letters conveyed by him to St. Jerome.</p> <p>XVIII. Writings of St. Jerome against the Pelagians.</p> <p>XIX. Conference of Jerusalem.</p> <p>XX. Council of Diospolis.</p> <p>XXI. Sequel of the same Council.</p> <p>XXII. Revelation of the Priest Lucian.</p> <p>XXIII. Reliques of St. Stephen.</p> <p>XXIV. Reliques of St. Zachariah.</p> <p>XXV. Expulsion of the Jews from Alexandria.</p> <p>XXVI. End of the Schism of Antioch.</p> <p>XXVII. Memory of St. Chrysostom re-established.</p> <p>XXVIII. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, a Pelagian.</p> <p>XXIX. Writings of Pelagius.</p> <p>XXX. Councils of Carthage and Milevum.</p> | <p>XXXI. Letters to John of Jerusalem.</p> <p>XXXII. Decretal of St. Innocent to Decentius.</p> <p>XXXIII. Other Decretals.</p> <p>XXXIV. Letters to the Africans.</p> <p>XXXV. Death of St. Innocent. Zosimus Pope.</p> <p>XXXVI. St. Augustine's Books on the TRINITY.</p> <p>XXXVII. On the Acts of the Council of Palestine.</p> <p>XXXVIII. Letters to St. Paulinus, &c.</p> <p>XXXIX. Treatise on the Correction of the Donatists.</p> <p>XL. Reasons for Penal Laws.</p> <p>XLI. Another Letter to Boniface.</p> <p>XLII. Cælestius at Rome.</p> <p>XLIII. Pelagius writes to the Pope.</p> <p>XLIV. Zosimus deceived by Pelagius.</p> <p>XLV. Letters of Zosimus in favour of the Bishop of Arles.</p> <p>XLVI. Commencement of St. Germanus of Auxerre.</p> <p>XLVII. Council of Carthage, A.D. 417.</p> <p>XLVIII. Council of May 1, A.D. 418.</p> <p>XLIX. Canons relating to the Donatists.</p> <p>L. Pope Zosimus condemns the Pelagians.</p> <p>LI. Commencement of Julian the Pelagian.</p> <p>LII. Pelagius attempts to justify himself to Pinianus.</p> <p>LIII. Book of St. Augustine on the Grace of CHRIST.</p> <p>LIV. Book on Original Sin.</p> <p>LV. St. Augustine at Cæsarea in Mauritania.</p> <p>LVI. Letters of St. Augustine to Optatus and Mercator.</p> <p>LVII. Letter to Sixtus.</p> <p>LVIII. Discourse against the Arians.</p> |
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXIII.

I.

Com-
mence-
ment of
Pelagius
and Cæ-
lestius.

¹ Oros.
Apol.
p. 618.

² Aug. x.
de Gest.
Pel. c. 22.
§ 46.

³ Gennad.
de Script.
43.

⁴ Mercat.
com. adv.
Pel. p. 2.

[⁵ Hier.
Ep. 43.
ad Ctes.
p. 477.
V. Garn.
Diss. 7.
c. 6.]

⁶ Aug. x.
de don.
pers. c. 20.
§ 53.

[⁷ Conf. 10.
c. 31. § 45.]

⁸ Hier.
Ep. 43.
ad Ctes.
p. 482.

WHILST the heresy of the Donatists was falling, another yet more dangerous arose, that of the Pelagians; which was condemned for the first time by a Council held at Carthage in the year 412. Pelagius, author of that heresy, was born in Great Britain, of mean parents, so that he had not at first been instructed in literature¹. He embraced the monastic profession, and remained a simple layman; so that he is never called any thing more than a Monk. He lived long at Rome, became known there to many persons, acquired a great reputation for virtue, and was beloved by St. Paulinus, and esteemed by St. Augustine². He was also distinguished for his doctrine, and composed several useful works; namely, three Books on the TRINITY, and a Collection of Passages from Scripture on Morality³.

During his residence at Rome he fell into the heresy against Grace, being instructed by a Syrian called Rufinus⁴. For that error had already gained a footing in the East. It was taught by Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuestia; and it was thought to take its rise from the principles of Origen⁵. Rufinus, the Syrian, on coming to Rome in the time of Pope Anastasius, that is, about the year 400, was the first to introduce there that doctrine; but, being a shrewd man, he would not venture to publish it himself, for fear of becoming odious, but deceived the Monk Pelagius, and thoroughly imbued him with his maxims. So Pelagius began to dispute against grace, about the year 405; and when in conversation⁶, a Bishop quoted these words of St. Augustine in his Confessions, "Lord, grant what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt⁷," Pelagius could not bear to hear them, and grew so violent that he almost quarrelled with the person who had quoted them. Nevertheless, he himself took great pains to dissemble his errors⁸; while he promulgated them more clearly by his disciples, to see how they would be

received, that he might approve or condemn them, as he thought most suitable for his designs. By these means his doctrine spread very much in a short time.

The chief disciple of Pelagius was Cælestius, whose name, as well as that of Pelagius, was bestowed on this same heresy. He was of noble extraction, and born an eunuch¹. After having exercised some time the profession of an Advocate, he entered a monastery, from whence he wrote three letters to his parents, the contents of which were simply exhortations to virtue². Afterwards he joined Pelagius, and began to speak against original sin. The master and the disciple were both possessed of talent and subtlety; but Cælestius was more free and bold. They left Rome a short time before it was taken, i. e. about the year 409. It is thought they went to Sicily, and thence to Africa. Pelagius arrived at Hippo in the year 410. But his stay being short, he went away without publishing his doctrines³. From thence he came to Carthage, where St. Augustine, who had already heard of his errors, saw him once or twice; but he was then wholly taken up with the conference with the Donatists; for it was in the year 411 that Pelagius embarked at Carthage, and went into Palestine, where he stayed a long time.

Cælestius endeavoured to get himself ordained Priest at Carthage; but as he was openly teaching his heresy there, he was accused before the Bishop Aurelius, towards the beginning of the year 412, by the Deacon Paulinus of Milan; the same person who at that same time wrote the life of St. Ambrose at the request of St. Augustine⁴. Aurelius then assembled a Council of several Bishops, to whom Paulinus presented two memorials, containing the errors of which he accused Cælestius, comprised under seven articles: 1. That Adam had been created mortal; whether he sinned or not, he was to die. 2. That the sin of Adam was prejudicial to himself alone, and not to the rest of mankind. 3. That infants, new-born, are in the same state in which Adam was before he sinned. 4. That the death or sin of Adam is not the cause of the death of all mankind; nor the resurrection of CHRIST the cause of the resurrection of all mankind. 5. That the Law conveys men to the kingdom of heaven in the same way as the Gospel. 6. That even before the coming

¹ Mercat. com. adv. Cæl. p. 132. V. not. Garn. ibi.

² Gennad. Script. 45.

³ Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. c. 22. § 46.

II. Cælestius condemned at Carthage. A. D. 412.

⁴ Mercat. com. adv. Cæl. p. 132. Aug. Ep. 157. al. 89. ad Hil. § 22. et 175. al. 90. ad Innoc.

A. D. 412. of CHRIST there have been impeccable men, that is to say, men without sin. 7. That infants, without receiving Baptism, have life eternal.

On the second and third articles, Cælestius said they were problematical questions, in which either side might be maintained; and that he knew several Priests who denied original sin¹. Being pressed by Paulinus to name them, Rufinus, who lived at Rome with Pammachius, was the only one he could mention. Nevertheless, he added that he had always said that infants needed Baptism, and ought to be baptized². He also gave a small memorial^{3 a}, in which he owned that infants stood in need of redemption, and consequently of Baptism. However, having been heard several times, he confessed enough to be convicted of heresy and obstinacy in the errors of which he was accused; so that he was condemned and deprived of ecclesiastical communion, as appeared by the Acts of this Council of Carthage. Cælestius appealed from that sentence to the Holy Apostolic See; but instead of pursuing his appeal, he departed to Ephesus⁴. His disciples at Carthage, warned by his condemnation, dared no more attack the faith of the Church, except by vain discourses and complaints which they spread among the people⁵.

St. Augustine had not been present at this Council of Carthage, neither was he very forward in writing against the Pelagians; but he and the other Catholic Bishops opposed

them in their sermons and private conversations⁶. We have several sermons of St. Augustine in which he treats of that subject, and exhorts his people to be steadfast in the ancient doctrine of the Church⁷. He maintains particularly Original Sin, and the necessity of baptizing children. "Let every

"one of you," said he⁸, "speak for those that cannot speak for themselves. The worldly patrimony of minors is entrusted to Bishops; they ought to have far more care of their salvation." However, he began to write against them in the same year 412. For the Tribune Marcellinus, who was at Carthage⁹, troubled with the daily disputes he had with them, consulted St. Augustine by letters, and obliged

¹ Aug. x. de Pec. Or. c. 3.

² c. 4.

³ c. 5.

⁴ Merc. com. Cæl. p. 133.

⁵ Aug. Ep. 157. al. 89. ad Hil. c. 3. § 22.

⁶ Retr. 2.33.

⁷ Serm. 170. 174, 175.

⁸ Serm. 176. c. 2.

⁹ De Gest. Pel. c. 11. § 25.

^a Not to this Council, but to Pope (Infr. 42.) See Garn. Diss. 5. Zosimus at Rome, five years later.

him to write to him on these questions, more particularly on the Baptism of infants. A. D. 412.

St. Augustine then, to comply with the request of Marcellinus, and to discharge the duty of his function, wrote two books which he addressed to him, intituled, “On the Merit of Sins and their Remission;” or, “The Baptism of Infants¹.” In the first he proves that man is become subject to death, not by the necessity of nature, but by the desert of sin; that the sin of Adam has implicated all his race, and that Baptism is administered to children, that they may receive the remission of original sin. In the second book, he shews first, that man *can* be without sin in this world, by the grace of God and his own free will. Secondly, that none in this life *are* absolutely without sin, since there are none who have not occasion to say, “Forgive us our sins.” Thirdly, that this happens because none desire it so earnestly as they ought to do. Lastly, that no man, excepting CHRIST alone, either is, or has been, or shall be without sin. A few days after he had completed those two books², he met with the expositions of Pelagius upon St. Paul, where he found a new argument, proposed by Pelagius as the sentiments of another, against original sin: it was this; that if the sin of Adam is prejudicial to those who do not sin, the righteousness of CHRIST is also serviceable to those who do not believe. This objection, which St. Augustine did not foresee, gave him occasion to add to his two books, a letter to Marcellinus, or rather a third book; in which he shews how infants are reckoned among the faithful, and are benefited by the faith of those who present them to be baptized. In these three books St. Augustine thought proper still to suppress the names of the new heretics, hoping thereby to correct them more easily³: nay, in the third book, when obliged to mention Pelagius, he bestowed on him some praises, for many boasted of his good life. At the same time a friend of St. Augustine, named Honoratus⁴, sent him from Carthage five questions concerning passages of Scripture, to which he desired an answer. St. Augustine seeing this new heresy arising, added himself a sixth question concerning the grace of the New Testament; on which subject he composed a regular treatise⁵, comprehending the other five questions, and the explanation of the

III.
St. Augustine's
first
writings
against the
Pelagians.
¹ Retr. 2. 33.

² De Pec.
Mer. 3. c. 1.

³ Retr. 2. 33.

⁴ Ep. 139.
al. 148.
ad Marc.
§ 3.
Retr. 2. 36.

⁵ Ep. 140.
al. 120.
ad Honor.

A. D. 412. whole twenty-first Psalm, occasioned by the first of them : this treatise is reckoned among his letters.

The Tribune Marcellinus having received the books "On
¹ Retr. 2. 37. "the Merit of Sins," wrote to St. Augustine¹ that he was surprised at what he had there said, that man could be without sin if he would, with the help of God : and that, nevertheless, none in this world had been, was, or would be for the time to come, so perfect. "How," said he, "can you say that a thing is possible, of which there is no example?" To answer this question, St. Augustine wrote the book, "On
² 2 Cor. 3. 6. "the Spirit and the Letter," where he explains the passage of the Apostle², "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." There, he warmly disputes against the enemies of grace : first, shewing by several examples that there are things possible which have never actually come to pass : and afterwards, explaining wherein consists the succour we receive from God to do well. The law which instructs us is not sufficient, though it is good and holy : on the contrary, if it stand alone, it renders us more guilty, since we know our duty without being able to perform it. We must then be supported by the SPIRIT, Who sheds abroad grace in our hearts, and makes us love and perform the good which is commanded us.

IV.
 Laws of
 Honorius
 in favour
 of the
 Church.

The Pelagians were accused of reviving the doctrine of Jovinian ; and, indeed, they did hold in common with him the doctrine of impeccability ; that is to say, that a man once justified by Baptism, could always keep himself just, if he took heed to himself ; and consequently could live without
³ Hier. Dial. sin³. It was this, perhaps, which renewed the zeal of the
 in Pel. Bishops against Jovinian, two-and-twenty years after his con-
 lib. 3. init. demnation. For we find a law of Honorius dated on the
 tom. iv. sixth of March, in the same year 412, which states that the
 ps. 2. p. 532. Bishops complained of the sacrilegious assemblies held by
 Supr. 19. 19. Jovinian without the walls of Rome⁴. Therefore, the Em-
⁴ Cod. Th. peror commands that he shall be taken and beaten with
 16. Tit. 5. leathern thongs loaded with lead⁵, and afterwards sent into
 de Hær. 53. perpetual exile with his accomplices : himself to the island of
 [5contusum plumbo. Boa, and the others wherever Felix the Præfect (to whom the
 See Gothof. law is addressed) should determine, provided they were
 in Cod. Th. alone, and in separate islands. The island of Boa is off the
 9. 35. 2.]

coast of Dalmatia. The Bishops, whose complaints gave occasion to this law, were perhaps assembled in Council at Rome, and Jovinian is not again mentioned; except that it is said that he continued till death his voluptuous course of life¹.

The Emperor Honorius confirmed the privileges of the Churches by two other laws made in the same year 412². The first, dated the twenty-fifth of May, exempted the lands belonging to the Church from sordid or extraordinary imposts, as from mending the roads, repairing bridges, transporting treasure or supplies for the army, and from "the gold of the lustral contribution" of merchants^b. In fine, they were to pay nothing but the *canonica illatio*, or ordinary tax³. The other law, of the eleventh of December, imports⁴ that all clergy, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and others, should only be accused before Bishops; that the informer, whatever be his rank, should be noted with infamy, if he could not prove what he had advanced; and that the Bishops should always examine those causes in public, and cause Acts of them to be drawn up; that is, the causes which concern religion; the cognizance of public criminal accusations, even against ecclesiastics, being left to secular judges⁵. It is thought that this law was occasioned by the unjust deposition of Heros, Bishop of Arles, which happened in the same year 412⁶. He was a holy man, and a disciple of St. Martin; and notwithstanding his innocence, and though no accusation was brought against him, he was driven out of the town by the people, who chose in his place Patroclus, a particular friend of Constantius, the *Magister Militum*, to whom they wished to pay their court. This was the cause of a great division amongst the Bishops of the country. Constantius was a native of Panesus in

A. D. 412.

¹ Genn. Script. in Paulo. 77.² Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. 40. Cod. Just. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacros. Eccl. 5.³ V. Cod. Th. 11.Paratitl.]
⁴ Cod. Th. 16. 2. 41. et Gothof. ibi.⁵ Ibid. 23.⁶ Prosp. Chr. p. 647.

^b This was a tax upon trade and commerce, exacted once in every lustrum, (i. e. at every four years' end), from which not the meanest tradesman was exempted. The clergy alone enjoyed a freedom from it, provided their traffic was confined to procuring themselves a maintenance, or raising funds for the poor. This privilege, first granted by Constantius, A. D. 343, (Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 2. 8,) and renewed by succeeding Emperors, continued till

the reign of Valentinian III., who absolutely forbade the clergy to trade at all, A. D. 452 (Val. Novel. 12. Cod. Th. fin.); probably in consequence of this privilege also having suffered a similar abuse to that which arose out of the exemption of the clergy from municipal offices. (Supr. 18. 32. note u.) Bingham. 5. 3. § 6. The tax itself was abolished by the Emperor Anastasius, A. D. 500. Evagr. 3. 39.

A. D. 412. Illyricum, and had served in the army since the time of Theodosius the Great. He supported the authority of the Empire in Gaul against the various tyrants who arose about this time, and against the Barbarians who were pouring in from all sides.

v.

Irruptions
of the Bar-
barians.

¹ Soz. 9.

12—15.

Olymp.

ap. Phot.

Cod. 80.

Prosp. Chr.

p. 646.

Cassiod.

Chr. p. 226.

² Prosp.

Chr. p. 648.

³ Socr. 7.

30.

The Goths, with their King Ataulphus, entered Gaul after their departure from Italy, in the same year 412, in the ninth Consulate of Honorius, and the fifth of Theodosius¹. The year following, 413, under the Consulate of Lucian and Heraclian, the Burgundians established themselves in that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhone²; and the following account is given of their conversion³. They were for the most part carpenters, and lived by their labour. Fatigued by the continual incursions of the Huns, and not knowing how to defend themselves, they resolved to put themselves under the protection of some god; and considering that the God of the Romans gave powerful succour to those who served Him, they resolved in a public consultation to believe in CHRIST. They went to a town of Gaul, and desired the Bishop to administer Baptism to them. He prepared them for it seven days, during which time they fasted, and were instructed. On the eighth day he baptized them, and sent them back. They marched boldly against the Huns, and were not deceived in their hopes, for the King of the Huns, called Optar, or Octar, dying in the night, of indigestion, the Burgundians fell upon their army, destitute of their chief, and overcame them, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers; for the Burgundians were but three thousand men against ten thousand. From that time they were zealous Christians, and all Catholics; they paid obedience to the clergy they had received amongst them, lived in great gentleness and innocence, and treated the Gauls, not as their subjects, but like brothers. The Vandals had entered Spain in the year 409, in the eighth Consulate of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius⁴. The Alani and the Suevi entered with them⁵, and the country was thus divided. The Alani took Lusitania and the province of Carthagena; the Vandals, Bœtica; and the Suevi had Gallicia⁶. In those devastations⁷, some Bishops fled from Spain, having lost their people, who had been partly dispersed by flight, and partly killed, or con-

⁴ Prosp.

Chr. p. 646.

Cassiod.

Chr. p. 226.

⁵ Oros. 7.

40.

⁶ Isidor.

Hist. Vand.

et Suev.

p. 277.

⁷ Aug. Ep.

228. al. 180.

ad Honor.

§ 5.

sumed by the miseries they suffered in the besieged towns, or led into captivity. There were, however, a much greater number of Bishops who remained, having some portion of their flock left, though exposed with them to continual perils.

A Council is referred to this time, which was at Braga, or Braccara, in Lusitania¹, over which the Bishop Pancratian presided, and spoke as follows: "You see, my brethren, what havoc is made in every part of Spain by the Barbarians; they ruin the churches, they kill the servants of God, they profane the memory of the saints, their bones, their sepulchres, their burial-places; all is in their power towards the Pyrenees, except Celtiberia and Carpetania. And seeing this evil ready to fall on our heads, I have caused you to assemble, that every one in particular may provide for himself, and all of us together repair the desolation of the Church. Brethren, let our care be for the salvation of souls; fearing lest the greatness of these miseries should lead them into the way of sinners, and cause them to renounce their faith; and for that purpose, let us set before the eyes of our flocks the example of our own constancy, in suffering for CHRIST some part of the many torments He has suffered for us. And because some of the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals, are idolaters, and others of them Arians, it is my opinion, if you approve of it, that we declare our faith against those errors, for the greater security."

All the Bishops having approved this proposition, Pancratian began to declare, in few words, the belief of the Catholic Church: and to each article the Bishops answered, "So we believe." Pancratian added, "Now ordain what must be done with the reliques of the saints." Elipandus of Coimbra said, "We shall not all be able to save them in the same manner: let every one act as the occasion requires. The Barbarians are among us; they closely besiege Lisbon; they hold Merida and Astorga; every day they may be upon us. Let every one then go home; let him comfort the faithful, let him decently conceal the bodies of the saints, and send us an account of the caves and places where they have been put, lest in length of time they

VI.
Council of
Braga.
A. D. 411.
¹ Concil. ii.
(Mans. iv.)

A. D. 411. "should be forgotten." All the Bishops having approved of this advice, Pancratian added, "Go ye all in peace; let there remain only our brother Potamius, by reason of the destruction of his church at Æminium, which the Barbarians are ravaging." Potamius answered, "Let me also go and comfort my flock, and suffer with them for CHRIST: for I have not received the office of a Bishop to be in prosperity, but to labour." Pancratian replied, "You have well spoken; your design is just, I approve of your departure, God be with you." All the Bishops said, "God keep you in that good resolution; we all approve of it: let us depart in the peace of JESUS CHRIST." Thus much is related of that Council, with the subscriptions of ten Bishops, viz. Pancratian of Braga, Gelasius of Merida, Elipandus of Coimbra, Pamerius of Egitava or Idanha, Arisbertus of Porto, Deusdedit of Lugo, Pontamius or rather Potamius of Æminium or Agueda, Tiburtius of Lamego, Agathius of Iria, Peter of Numantia or Camota. Arisbertus wrote about the same time to Samerius, Archdeacon of Braga, in these terms¹: "I pity you, my brother; I pity our Bishop and our Head, Pancratian; I pity you for your exile; may God look on our misery with the eyes of His mercy. Coimbra is taken; the servants of God are fallen by the edge of the sword: Elipandus is carried away captive: Lisbon has redeemed its liberty with gold; Egitava is besieged: every place is full of misery, groaning, and anguish. You have seen what the Suevi have done in Gallicia; judge from thence what the Alani are doing in Lusitania. I send you the decrees of the faith you ask for; for I have carried away my writings with me. I expect every day a like disaster for myself. I will send you an account of every thing, if I can discover where you will be concealed: may God look on us in mercy."

[¹ Post
Concil.]

VII.
Reproaches
of the
Pagans.

² Aug. Retr.
2. 43.
³ Fleury,
5. 9.
Tertull.
Apol. c. 40.

This inundation of the Barbarians, and especially the taking of Rome by the Goths, gave occasion to the pagans to renew with more animosity their complaints and calumnies against the Christian religion²; attributing to it, according to their ancient custom³, all the misfortunes which happened in the world. "Since," said they, "this impiety has appeared, the Roman power has daily decayed. The gods, founders

“ and protectors of this Empire, have withdrawn their suc- A. D. 411.
 “ cour, in proportion as their service has been neglected ;
 “ and now that their worship has so entirely ceased, that
 “ their temples are even closed, and the sacrifices, the
 “ auguries, and the other ways of rendering them propitious,
 “ are forbidden by laws, and subject to rigorous penalties,
 “ they have forsaken us ; and Rome, once victorious, is now
 “ become the prey of Barbarians.

“ The Christians are themselves involved in the calamities
 “ they have brought upon us ; their God has not distin-
 “ guished them ; they have been plundered, massacred, led
 “ into captivity ; their wives and virgins have not been spared
 “ any more than ours.” Such were the reproaches of the
 pagans.

The Tribune Marcellinus, writing to St. Augustine on this
 subject, had desired him to compose some books upon it,
 “ which will,” said he, “ be extremely serviceable to the
 “ Church, especially at this time ¹.” St. Augustine thought ¹ Aug. Ep.
136. al. 4.
§ 3.
 at first that an epistle would be sufficient, and wrote him the
 long letter on Politics, the substance of which I have already
 related ². But afterwards he saw that so vast and important ² Ep. 138.
al. 5. § 9.
Supr. 22.
50.
 a subject required a larger work ; and accordingly began one,
 which is the longest of his compositions, and which compre-
 hends the whole controversy against the pagans. He had
 already treated some of those points as circumstances re-
 quired ; as in the exposition of the six questions directed to ³ Ep. 102.
al. 49.
Retr. 2. 31.
 Deogratias, Priest of Carthage, about the year 408 ³.

The title of this work is, “ On the City of God,” the design VIII.
St. Au-
gustine's
City of
God.
A. D. 413-
426.
 being to defend the society of the children of God, that is,
 the Church, against the society of the children of the world.
 The whole work is divided into twenty-two books, of which
 the first ten are employed in refuting the pagans ; five against
 those who believed that the worship of the gods was neces-
 sary for the temporal prosperity of this world, and five
 against those who wished men to serve the gods that they
 might be happy in another life. The last twelve books
 establish the truth of the Christian religion, and are divided
 into three parts ; four shew the origin of the two cities or
 societies, four more their progress, and the four last their
 different ends. St. Augustine spent nearly thirteen years in

A.D. 413-26. composing this great work, being obliged from time to time to interrupt it for several others which he was unable to defer. He began in the year 413, a little before the death of Marcellinus, to whom he directs his discourse in the first and second book only, and finished it towards the year 426, before his *Retractations*. He shews in this work his great erudition, and profound knowledge of human learning and history, as the subject required.

At first he sets forth the injustice of the pagans, who accused the Christian religion of the sacking of Rome, when at the same time they saved themselves only by the protection of this same religion, in the Basilicas of the Apostles and Martyrs, which the Goths had respected¹. He mentions, as a particular effect of Providence, the defeat of Rhadagaisus, another king of the Goths, but a pagan²; for if he had taken Rome none would have been spared, nor any respect shewn to the holy places, and the pagans would have attributed this victory to the false gods, to whom he offered daily sacrifices. God was willing Rome should be punished, but not destroyed. He says that in this world good and evil are common to the just and wicked³; for if every sin were punished in this world, we should have no fear of the day of judgment: if no sin were manifestly punished in this world, we should not believe in Providence. If God did not evidently grant some sensible blessings to those who ask for them, it would be said it was not in His power: if He gave them to all that ask, He would be served only upon account of those kind of blessings. The difference is only in the use which is made by the good and wicked, of those evils and blessings they receive in this world. Good men always commit many faults on earth deserving temporal punishment⁴, were it only their weakness in bearing with the wicked, and neglecting to correct them; but every thing is turned to their good⁵, and true Christians do not consider as evils the loss of temporal riches, torments, or death⁶, or being left unburied⁷, or captivity⁸, or the violences offered to women and virgins⁹, since there is no evil but sin, and there is no sin without consent. Here St. Augustine opposes the error of the pagans, who thought it lawful, and even commendable, to kill one's self in order to avoid pain or infamy¹, and shews how much the patience of the Chris-

¹ Civ. Dei
Lib. 1. c. 1,
34, 35.
Supr. 22. 21.
² Lib. 5.
c. 23.
Sup. 22. 15.

³ Lib. 1. c. 8.

⁴ c. 9.

⁵ c. 10.

⁶ c. 11.

⁷ c. 12, 13.

⁸ c. 14, 15.

⁹ c. 16.

¹ c. 17,
18, &c.

tian Martyrs and Virgins is above the courage of Cato and A.D.413-26. Lucretia, so much vaunted by the Romans. In this manner did the Christians comfort themselves under the evils God permitted them to suffer, to prove or to correct them: but there was no consolation for the pagans, who served their gods only for temporal prosperity¹; that is, to live safely in luxury and a superfluity of pleasures², which had drawn upon them the corruption of their manners, and consequently the weakening and ruin of their empire³. That corruption was so great that those who saved themselves from the sacking of Rome, were seen every day at the theatres in Carthage, whilst the cities of the East were publicly mourning its capture⁴.

To prove the injustice of imputing the evils of the empire to the Christian religion, he shews that those evils were in full force long before, and that the worshippers of the heathen gods were never protected from them⁵. He begins with morality⁶; "Your gods," said he, "never gave you any precepts concerning morality; on the contrary, you have had examples from them of all sorts of infamy and vice." He enlarges upon their games and spectacles⁷, which all made part of their religion, and which the Romans deemed so shameful, that they noted with infamy those who acted in them, while the Greeks honoured them, in this acting more consistently with the principles of their religion⁸. Accordingly, the historians, and particularly Sallust⁹, testified that the manners of the Romans were very much corrupted immediately after the fall of Carthage, and above a century before the coming of CHRIST; and Cicero, in his treatise on the Republic, written sixty years before Christ, looked upon the state of Rome as already ruined, by the fall of their ancient morals¹. Here St. Augustine contrasts with the lewd and profane worship of the heathen gods, the decency and usefulness of ecclesiastical assemblies, where men were separated from women, and where they heard instructions on morality, taken from the Holy Scripture, and proposed with authority to all mankind.

He comes afterwards to sensible and bodily evils; and easily shews, in running over history since the taking of Troy, that the gods have not delivered their worshippers

¹ c. 29.² c. 30.³ Lib. 2.
c. 19, 20.⁴ Lib. 1.
c. 33.IX.
Refutation
of idolatry.⁵ Lib. 2. c. 3.⁶ c. 4, 6, 7, 26.⁷ c. 5, 8, 27.⁸ c. 11.⁹ c. 18, 19.¹ c. 21.

A.D.413-26 from them¹. He chiefly insists on the calamities of the second Punic war²; on the seditions of the Gracchi³, and the civil wars of Marius and Sylla⁴; and shews that the cruelty of the latter far exceeded that of the Goths⁵. From which he concludes that these last calamities were very wrongfully imputed to CHRIST⁶. “Neither is there any manner of reason,” said he, “to attribute to the false gods the increase and duration of the empire, as a recompense for the piety of the Romans⁷. First, this increase is not a good, since most conquests are unjust, and great empires void of justice, are nothing but great robberies⁸. Besides, other great empires have come to an end, as that of the Assyrians, for instance; the gods then have either not been concerned in them, or their protection is neither sure nor perpetual⁹. Finally, the Jews, who have never adored any but the one God, have had their times of prosperity¹. Neither is the greatness of empires an effect of destiny, or of the influence of the stars²; and the predictions of astrologers are vain and impertinent³: that greatness is an effect of God’s providence, who governs the greatest things as well as the smallest⁴. It has been His Will⁵ to recompense by this temporal prosperity the natural virtues of the ancient Romans, their frugality, their contempt for riches, their moderation, their courage, although these were really merely an effect of the love of glory that curbed the other vices, without ceasing to be a vice itself. Thus they have received their reward in this world, having had the glory and dominion they desired. But that it might not be thought necessary to serve the heathen gods in order to reign, God gave a long and happy reign to Constantine⁶: and that Emperors might not be Christians to obtain this temporal prosperity, He snatched away Jovian sooner than Julian. He allowed Gratian to be slain by a tyrant, and granted a happy reign to the virtue of Theodosius⁷.”

St. Augustine afterwards attacks those who defended the service of the gods as the means of obtaining happiness after death in another world⁸. In the first place, that opinion could not be in accordance with the popular religion, and with that crowd of obscure divinities, which were only served to gain

¹ Civ. Dei 3.
c. 2, 3, &c.

² c. 19.

³ c. 24.

⁴ c. 27.

⁵ c. 29.

⁶ c. 30.

⁷ Lib. 4. c. 3.

⁸ c. 4, 5.

⁹ c. 6, 7.

¹ c. 34.

² Lib. 5.

c. 1, 8.

³ c. 2, 3, &c.

⁴ c. 11.

⁵ c. 12, 13.

&c.

⁶ c. 25.

⁷ c. 26.

⁸ Lib. 6.

certain definite ends. The great gods themselves had power only over some parts of nature, according to the mysterious explanations of the learned¹; and the more deeply all these superstitions were examined, the less appearance did they present of any reasonable foundation. A.D.413-26.

But there were philosophers who, acknowledging a sovereign deity, pretended that he had under him several intelligences, to whom service must be paid in order to arrive at happiness in the other life. These were the Platonists, of whom I have said something on occasion of the Emperor Julian²; and as it was the last resource of idolatry, St. Augustine applies himself with great exactness to refute them³. He acknowledges first of all⁴, that the doctrine of Plato is not only superior to poetical fables, and the popular superstitions, but also to the opinions of all other philosophers; and that it approaches the nearest to the true religion. But he proves at large against those who professed themselves Platonists, that is to say, the disciples of Plotinus, Jamblicus, Porphyry, and Apuleius, that the sovereign God alone is to be adored and served, and not any of those inferior intelligences they place under Him, be they gods, or demons, or angels, be they good or bad; and that there is but one only Mediator between God and man, who is JESUS CHRIST. That the worship of "latreia"⁵ and sacrifice is due to God alone⁶; and that the true sacrifice is that of the heart, whereby we join the sacrifice of ourselves to the Sacrifice of CHRIST⁷, "which the Church," he adds⁸, "also celebrates by the Sacrament of the Altar, known by the faithful; where she is taught that she offereth herself in the thing offered. It is not the same as to the Martyrs⁹; we appoint for them neither temples, nor Priests, nor sacrifices, because they are not our gods, but their God is ours. It is true that we honour their memory, looking on them as Saints and men of God, who have combated unto death for the true religion. But who has ever seen a Priest of the faithful, standing before an Altar, though even placed over the holy body of a Martyr, say in his prayers, 'I offer this sacrifice to thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian?' We offer it to God, who has made them both men and Martyrs, and honoured them in heaven with the society of His holy

¹ Lib. 7.² Fleury,

15. 46.

³ Lib. 8, 9.⁴ Lib. 8.

c. 4, &c.

⁵ Supr. 19.

31. note k.]

⁶ Lib. 10.

c. 3.

⁷ c. 6. in fin.

[ut congregatio sanctorum universale sacrificium offeratur Deo per Sacerdotem Magnum]

⁸ Lib. 8.

c. 27.

⁹ Lib. 22.

c. 10.

A.D.413-26. "Angels; to render Him thanks for their victories, and to
"excite ourselves, by His help, to imitate them."

X.
Defence of
the Chris-
tian Faith.

After having refuted paganism, St. Augustine comes to the second part of his design, which is, to establish the Christian religion by answering the chief difficulties of the pagans; first, concerning the creation of the world¹ and Angels², and the origin of evil³; where he marks and refutes the errors of Origen, who says that the corporeal world was only made to punish spirits⁴. He explains the creation of man, his first state⁵, his fall⁶, and the consequences of his sin extending to all his race. Then he goes on to shew the progress of the two cities or societies of the children of God and of the wicked⁷. He notices the prophecies⁸, chiefly those relating to CHRIST, and demonstrates that the writings of the Prophets are older than the histories, or even the fables of the pagans⁹. He does not fail to bring forward the accomplishment of the most important prediction, viz. the conversion of the nations, and the preaching of the Gospel, which was established through all the world in so short a time, and notwithstanding so many oppositions¹; and he shews the good that God produces from the persecutions which the Church inwardly suffers from heretics and bad Christians².

The last part of the work treats of the different ends of the two cities³. St. Augustine relates and refutes various opinions of the philosophers concerning the chief end to be proposed in life, that is, concerning the supreme good. He shews⁴ that we must not seek it in ourselves, nor in this life, of which he describes the inevitable miseries, even to the most virtuous; and he concludes that we cannot be happy in this world but by the hope of eternal life, which is our end⁵. The day of judgment shall be our entrance into it; and that judgment is necessary that the justice of God may appear, which is hidden in this world⁶. For often do we see the wicked prosper, and good men suffer: sometimes also do we see good men succeed, and the wicked punished; so that we see no rule for it. On the subject of the two resurrections⁷ and of the reign of a thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse, St. Augustine refutes the opinion of the Millenarians, who understood it of a corporeal reign. He

¹ Lib. 11.

² Lib. 12.

³ Lib. 11.

c. 23.

⁴ V. Supr.

[¹ 2.]

⁵ Lib. 12.

c. 21, &c.

⁶ Lib 13,14.

⁷ Lib.15,16.

⁸ Lib. 17.

⁹ Lib. 18.

¹ c. 30, 49.

² c. 51.

³ Lib. 19.

c. 1, 2, 3.

⁴ c. 10.

c. 20, 27.

⁶ Lib. 20.

c. 2.

⁷ c. 7, 8, &c.

rejects also the opinion of those who maintained that Nero A.D. 413-26. was the Antichrist^{1 c.} Severus Sulpicius attributes a like ^{1 c. 19.} opinion to St. Martin, and St. Jerome reckons Severus amongst the Millenarians. He says that there was a great number of them in his time, and that they accused those who were not of their opinion, of denying, with Origen, the resurrection of the body. The punishment of the wicked shall be an everlasting fire². Upon which St. Augustine ^{2 Lib. 21. c. 2, 3, &c.} resolves the objections of the infidels touching the effect of this fire upon bodies and spirits, and upon the eternity of the pains³. He reports and refutes, on that point, various ^{3 c. 11, 12, 17, 23.} errors of the Christians themselves. Some thought that in the day of judgment God would pardon all men at the intercession of the Saints⁴; others, those who had partaken of ^{4 c. 18.} His Body⁵; others, those who had been baptized in the ^{5 c. 19.} Catholic Church, and had persevered in the faith⁶; others ^{6 c. 20, 21. [etiamsi malæ vitæ fuerit] 7 c. 22.} again, those who had bestowed alms⁷.

St. Augustine had refuted the error of those who held that faith alone, with Baptism, sufficed for salvation; and this is the subject of the Treatise on Faith and Works, composed towards the beginning of the year 413. Some laymen, well disposed to the study of the Scripture⁸, sent him certain ^{8 Retr. 2.38.} writings which so distinguished faith from good works as to induce a belief that eternal life could be obtained by faith alone, without works. They saw that persons who had left their wives or husbands, and married again, were not admitted to Baptism⁹. They pitied them, and not being able to deny ^{9 Aug. vi. de Fid. et Op. c. 1. § 2.} that those marriages were adulteries, they chose rather to say that all sinners ought to be admitted to Baptism, provided they embraced the faith, although they did not leave their sin; that after their Baptism they should be instructed in morality, and exhorted to confession; but that should they continue in their sin all their life, they pretended that if they kept the faith, they would nevertheless be saved, after they had been purified by fire. And thus they understood that passage of St. Paul¹, "He that upon the foundation," ^{1 1 Cor. 3. 11.}

^c The popular uncertainty about Nero's death (Sueton. Nero, c. 57), together with the predictions which promised him the restoration of a part or the whole of his empire (Ibid. c. 40),

originated or promoted an early opinion among the Christians, that he would reappear as Antichrist. For a list of those who countenanced this opinion, see Gieseler, i. § 28. note 5.

A.D.413-26. “(which is CHRIST,) shall have built with stubble or hay, shall be saved so as by fire.”

St. Augustine proves three truths against them. First, that it is not proper to admit indifferently to Baptism all those who make a profession of believing; and that notwithstanding we must tolerate the wicked in the Church, they must not be admitted when they are known for such. Secondly¹, that we must not be contented to teach the faith only to those who are under preparation for Baptism, but that they must also be taught the Christian morality. Thirdly², that those who are baptized will not arrive at eternal life by faith alone, if they are not effectually converted and do good works. We may see, in this work, with what care the Competentes^d were prepared, before Baptism was administered to them. St. Augustine in this also shews how a bad interpretation of the Scriptures had produced contradictory errors³.

To return to the City of God: St. Augustine there resolves the objections of the infidels, upon the resurrection and the qualities of glorified bodies⁴. He proves that the resurrection is possible by that of CHRIST, and he proves the resurrection of CHRIST because the whole world believed it by the preaching of the Apostles⁵. “There are,” he says, “three incredible things: that CHRIST is risen, and ascended into heaven with His flesh; that the world has believed a thing so incredible; that a small number of mean and ignorant men have persuaded all the world to believe it, even the learned. Our adversaries will not believe the first of these truths; they see the second, and cannot tell how it has come to pass, except by the third.”

^d The period between the first conversion and Baptism was very various, being protracted or shortened according to the circumstances of the case, and the doubtfulness or security of the Church in the faith of the individual convert. Ordinarily, however, the catechumens passed through four stages, being first, after the imposition of hands, instructed privately without entering the Church (ἐξουθούμενοι); then, admitted to hear the lessons and sermon, but ordered to withdraw at the commencement of the liturgy, which immediately followed the latter (*audientes*); next, allowed to stop during

certain prayers especially offered up for them, and to receive the benediction with imposition of hands (*genuflectentes*); and lastly, after they had sent in their names to the Bishop, as candidates for Baptism, they were thence called *competentes* or “petitioners.” In this last stage they were examined in the proficiency they had made during the three preceding; they were exorcised, they formally renounced the devil, were instructed in the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, and prepared for the hitherto concealed ceremonial of the approaching Sacrament. Bingham, 10. 1, 2.

¹ Lib. 22. c. 4, 11, 12, 13, 25, 26, &c.

² c. 5.

“ And indeed, those mean and ignorant men who said they A.D.413-26.
 “ had seen CHRIST ascend into heaven, did not say it only,
 “ but accompanied their discourses by evident miracles, and
 “ that in a very enlightened age, in which it was not easy to
 “ impose such wonders upon men’s belief¹.” Why then, it ¹ c. 6, 7.
 was asked, are miracles no longer wrought? “ Because,”
 says St. Augustine², “ they are no longer so necessary, and ” ² c. 8.
 “ because the faith of the whole world is a standing miracle.
 “ However, there are some still performed, but they are little
 “ known beyond the places where they happen.” And here-
 upon he recites two-and-twenty miracles on his own know-
 ledge, as having either seen them with his own eyes, or learnt
 them from credible witnesses, most of them wrought by the
 intercession of the Martyrs, and in the presence of their
 reliques³; and he declares that he omits an incomparably ³ c. 9.
 greater number⁴. Finally, he describes the felicity of the ⁴ c. 8. § 20.
 blessed, and treats of the manner in which God can be seen,
 whether by the body, or by the spirit⁵; besides what he had ⁵ c. 29, 30.
 before written to Paulina and to Fortunatian against the ⁶ Ep. 147,
 Anthropomorphites⁶. ⁶ 148. al.
⁷ 112, 111.
⁸ Retr. 2. 41.

The Tribune Marcellinus, to whom the first books of this
 great work were addressed, had remained at Carthage since
 the conference with the Donatists. The Count Heraclian,
 Governor of Africa, being made Consul with Lucian or
 Lucius, in the year 413, thought he could make himself
 master of the empire⁷. He came into Italy with a fleet of
 three thousand seven hundred ships; and having made a
 descent near Rome, he was put to flight by the Count
 Marinus, and returned to Carthage in a single vessel, where
 he was immediately killed. Marinus followed close after
 him, and put to death several other persons accused of
 having taken part in the conspiracy of Heraclian; and the
 Tribune Marcellinus was involved in that misfortune, by the
 instigation of the Donatists, exasperated at the sentence
 he had passed against them⁸. St. Augustine was then at
 Carthage, and upon the words of Marinus and of Cæcilian,
 another person of note, he was in hopes, with other Bishops,
 that he should save Marcellinus’ life, and that of his brother
 Apringius, who had been taken with him⁹. As they were
 together in prison, Apringius said one day to Marcellinus¹,
⁹ Ep. 151.
 al. 259. ad
 Cæc.
¹ § 9.

XI.
 Death of
 the Tri-
 bune Mar-
 cellinus.
 A. D. 413.

⁷ Oros. 7. 42.
 Prosp. Chr.
 p. 647.
 Marcel.
 Chr. p. 278.

⁸ Hier. iv.
 cont. Pel. 3.
 in fin.
 Supr. 22. 40.

A. D. 413. "If I suffer this for my sins, you whose life I know to have
 "been so Christian and so zealous, how have you deserved
 "it?" "Though my life," said Marcellinus, "were such as
 "you describe, think you that God has shewn me a light
 "mercy, in punishing my sins here, and not reserving them
 "for future judgment?" St. Augustine was afraid that he
 might in fact have committed some secret sin of impurity,
 which required a severe penance; and being alone in the
 prison with him, questioned him about it. Marcellinus smil-
 ing modestly and colouring, took with both hands the right
 hand of St. Augustine, and said, "I take to witness [the
 "Sacraments which are offered by this hand] that I have
 "never had commerce with any woman but my wife, either
 "before or since my marriage." St. Augustine testifies¹ that
 Marcellinus was possessed of all the other virtues; upright-
 ness, integrity in his judgments, fidelity to his friends, pa-
 tience towards his enemies, readiness to forgive, liberality,
 charity towards all; sincerity in religion, anxiety to obtain
 instruction therein; contempt of present things, and hope of
 everlasting goods. Had it not been for his wife he would
 have quitted all engagements in temporal affairs, to resign
 himself entirely to God. At last², at a time when it was
 least expected, on the eve of the festival of St. Cyprian,
 that is, the twelfth of September, Marinus ordered the two
 brothers to be suddenly taken out of prison, and beheaded.
 St. Augustine was so shocked at this action³ that he privately
 retired from Carthage, that he might not be obliged to inter-
 cede with Marinus for several other persons of note, who had
 taken sanctuary in the Church. The memory of the Tribune
 Marcellinus is celebrated on the sixth of April⁴, as of a
 Martyr put to death by the heretics, for having defended
 the faith.

¹ § 8.² § 6.³ § 3.⁴ Mart.
Rom.

A. D. 414. To prevent the Donatists from deriving any advantage
 from this death, the Emperor Honorius made a very severe
 law against them in the year following, 414, on the twenty-
 second of June⁵; and another on the twenty-ninth of August
 following⁶; expressly declaring that whatever had been done
 by the Tribune Marcellinus against them, and was written in
 the public Acts, should always remain in force. It is thought
 that it was the same reason which induced him to renew, on

⁵ Cod. Th.
 16. Tit. 5.
 de Hæc. 54.
 [xv. Kal.
 Jul. i. e.
 June 17.]
⁶ Ibid. 55.

the twenty-fifth of August, 415¹, the law addressed to Heraclian in 410, which condemned them to death and banishment.

A. D. 414.
¹ Ibid. 56.
 et Gothof.
 ibi.

The law of the twenty-second of June, 414, declared them incapable of making wills or contracts, and branded them with infamy; adjudged to the Catholic Church their places of assembly; condemned their Bishops and Clergy to exile, with confiscation of their property; and threatened those who concealed them with the same punishment. The same law imposed on all the Donatists heavy fines, according to their condition. On Proconsuls and other persons of the first rank, two hundred pounds weight of silver for each time they should have been present in the assemblies; and on others in proportion, even down to persons of servile condition, who were fined the third part of their gains², and received also corporal punishment.

[² pecu-
 lium.
 V. Cod. Th.
 5. 9.
 Paratitl.]

About the time of the death of Marcellinus, St. Augustine received great consolation by the consecration of the virgin Demetrias, daughter of Olybrius, Consul in 395³. She had fled to Carthage, after the taking of Rome, with her mother Juliana, and Proba, her grandmother by her father's side; and they suffered much from the avarice and injustice of Heraclian. They had resolved to marry her in Africa to some of the illustrious Romans who had retired thither, though they would have been better pleased to see her embrace virginity; but they did not dare to expect from her so great a perfection. However, Demetrias took secretly that holy resolution. In the midst of a multitude of eunuchs and maids who waited on her, in the midst of the pleasures of so great a house, she began to practise fastings, to wear poor and coarse clothes, and to lie upon the earth covered only with a hair-cloth. She did this in secret; and none but some virgins belonging to the family knew of it. She prayed the Saviour on her knees and with tears to fulfil her desire, and to soften the hearts of her mother and grandmother.

XII.
 St. De-
 metrias,
 Virgin.
³ Supr. 19.
 60. et 22. 22.
 Hier. Ep.
 97. al. 8.
 ad Demetr.

At last, the day appointed for the marriage being at hand, when the nuptial chamber was already in preparation, she one night took her resolution, encouraged by the example of St. Agnes⁴; and the next day, laying aside all her ornaments and jewels, she clothed herself in a coarse tunic, with a

[⁴ Virgin
 and Martyr,
 A. D. 304.
 Tille. v.]

A. D. 414.

[¹ pal-
lium]

cloak¹ of the same kind, and in this apparel went and threw herself at the feet of her grandmother Proba, but could only express herself by her tears. Proba and Juliana were extremely surprised, and, in suspense between fear and joy, knew not what to think. At last they both eagerly clasped her in their arms, and mingling their tears with hers, raised and soothed her, with unbounded delight at the holy resolution she had taken. The whole house was filled with an incredible joy; many of her friends and of her slaves followed her example, and consecrated themselves to God. All the churches of Africa were rejoiced at the news, which spread over all the islands between Africa and Italy: Rome herself received some consolation from it in her humiliation; and the report of it penetrated even into the East. Proba and Juliana did not lessen their daughter's dowry, and gave to the poor all that they had destined for her husband. She received the veil from the hands of the Bishop, with the usual prayers and ceremonies. St. Augustine was the more rejoiced at her resolution, because his exhortations had not a little contributed to it². For he had seen Demetrias during his residence at Carthage, at the time of the conference with the Donatists. And Proba and Juliana did not fail to write to him, to acquaint him with the news of her profession, at the same time that they sent him a small present according to custom³. They wrote likewise to St. Jerome, and earnestly prayed him to give their daughter some instructions for her conduct⁴. He laid aside his commentary upon Ezekiel, which he was then finishing, to comply with their request, and wrote a long epistle to Demetrias, containing all the duties of a Christian virgin; in which he exhorts her, notwithstanding her vast riches, to work daily with her own hands⁵. He did not omit to caution her against the Origenists, and to warn her to continue steadfast in the faith of Pope St. Innocent.

² Aug. Ep. 188. al. 143. ad Jul. § 1.

³ Ep. 150. al. 179.

⁴ Hier. Ep. 97. al. 8.

⁵ p. 793.

XIII.
Letter of
Pelagius to
St. Demetrias.

⁶ Aug. ii. App. Ep. 17. al. 142. et ap. Hier. v. p. 11. c. 1.

Pelagius, who was then in Palestine, wrote also a very long Epistle to St. Demetrias, or rather a book, which is extant, and was one of the first writings in which his heresy began to shew itself⁶. He begins with saying that the world cannot accuse him of rashness, since he only writes to comply with the letters and entreaties of her mother⁷; then entering upon the subject, he says that whenever he gives instructions

on morality he begins by shewing the strength of human nature, in order to encourage people to perfection by the hope of acquiring it¹. He adds², that the dignity of our nature consists chiefly in the free will which God has given to man, in order that, being capable both of good and evil, he may have a natural power to do both, and turn his will to either. He proposes the example of philosophers, in whom he allows several virtues, and asks, "From whence, I pray you, have men, so far removed from God, acquired so many things pleasing to God? From whence have they received those good things, if not from the goodness of nature? If then men without God thus manifest how God has made them, consider what Christians may do, whose nature and life have been trained to better things, and who are even assisted by the Divine grace."

He enlarges upon the law of nature, which he proves by the effects of a good and evil conscience³; then he enumerates⁴ the saints who lived under that law only⁴, from Abel down to Joseph and Job⁵, which latter "has disclosed," says he, "the hidden riches of nature, and shewn in himself what we are all able to do." He insists upon the strength of free will, that sin may be ascribed to the will only, and not to any fault of nature⁶. He says that it was equally by an effect of free will that Adam was expelled from paradise, and Enoch taken from the world: that our difficulty in acting rightly arises solely from long habituation to the vices which have corrupted us from our infancy, and passed, as it were, into our nature; and concludes by saying, that if there have been saints before the law and the coming of our Saviour, we ought to believe that we may become even far more perfect; we, who are strengthened by the grace of CHRIST, purified by His Blood, and excited to perfection by His example. He afterwards descends to particulars in the conduct of a virgin, and lays down excellent precepts⁷; but in extolling the advantages of good will, he uses these remarkable words to Demetrius⁸: "You have, in this, good reason to be justly preferred above others. For earthly nobility and temporal riches come from your parents, and not yourself; but it is yourself alone that can bestow on yourself spiritual riches. It is in this therefore that you are truly commendable and

A. D. 414.

¹ c. 2.² c. 3.³ c. 4.⁴ c. 5.⁵ c. 6.⁶ c. 7, 8.⁷ c. 9, 10.⁸ c. 11.

A. D. 414. "worthy of being preferred before others, in that, namely, "which cannot exist except of yourself, and in yourself." It is in these words that Pelagius most plainly discovers his error. He then protests against those who find some of God's commandments difficult¹. "No one," he says, "knows better the measure of our strength, than He who has given it to us. He is too just to have commanded any thing impossible, and too good to condemn man for evils which he could not avoid." He says moreover², "They who by a long habit of sin have in a manner smothered the goodness of their nature, may be reinstated by repentance; and having wrought a change in their will, may root out one habit by the other." And again on a passage of St. James, he shews how we must resist the devil³; namely, by submitting ourselves to God, and doing His will, that so we may even merit His grace, and thereby more easily resist the wicked Spirit by the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT. Pelagius does not omit to recommend prayer in many places of this work^e.

¹ c. 16.

² c. 17.
in fin.

³ c. 25.
[James 4.
7.]

XIV.
Sermon of
St. Au-
gustine
against the
Pelagians.
A. D. 413.
⁴ Aug. x.
de Gest.
Pel. c. 11.
§ 25.
⁵ Serm. 294.
al. 14.
de Verb.
Apost.
[⁶ under
Severus,
A. D. 203.
Tillem. iii.]

In the mean while his errors were spreading throughout Africa; those who upheld them pretended that it was the doctrine of the Eastern Churches, and threatened those who would not receive it with condemnation by the judgment of those Churches⁴. This obliged St. Augustine, who was then at Carthage, to preach a sermon upon the subject⁵, by the command of the Bishop Aurelius, in the great Basilica, on the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 413, the day of the commemoration of St. Guddenta the Martyr⁶. He had preached the day before, which was the feast of St. John the Baptist, and had begun to speak concerning the Baptism of children; but not being able to treat this subject sufficiently at large on that day, he resumed it on the following, and preferred the instruction of the people before the praises of the Saint.

In this sermon he opposes the Pelagians, without naming them. "They allow," he says⁷, "that infants must be

⁷ c. 2.

^e This letter is preserved among the works both of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. Bede informs us that some of his countrymen had ascribed it to St. Jerome, while he himself refers it to

Julian. (Præf. Cant. lib. 1.) But it is evident from St. Augustine (Ep. 188. al. 143. in fin. and De gratiâ Christi, c. 22, 37), and Orosius (Apol. p. 618), that Pelagius is the real author.

“baptized in order to enter the kingdom of heaven, yet they A. D. 413.
 “hold that without Baptism they may enjoy everlasting life,
 “because they have no sin either actual or original. This
 “is a new doctrine,” he adds, “that there should be an
 “everlasting life out of the kingdom of heaven ¹. The Scrip- ¹ c. 3, 4.
 “tures mention no middle place between the right and the
 “left ², the kingdom of God, and everlasting fire ³; whose- ² Matth. 25.
 “ever is excluded from the kingdom, is condemned to the ³ 33, &c.
 “fire. This salvation which they promise to infants out of ³ 1 Cor. 6.
 “the kingdom of heaven, is entirely arbitrary ⁴: others, more ⁴ 9, &c.
 “compassionate, may grant them the kingdom of heaven ⁴ Serm. c. 5.
 “with just as much reason. For if there be no original
 “sin, they deserve no punishment; and the loss of the
 “kingdom of God, is itself a punishment, as being an
 “exile ⁵.” The Pelagians grounded this distinction, between ⁵ c. 6.
 the life and the kingdom, on these words of the Gospel ⁶: ⁶ John 3. 5.
 “Except a man be born again of water and of the SPIRIT,
 “he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” But it is said
 afterwards ⁷, that “whosoever believeth in JESUS CHRIST ⁷ Ibid. 16.
 “should not perish, but have everlasting life.” “In baptizing
 “an infant ⁸, it is answered for him, that he believes in JESUS ⁸ Serm.
 “CHRIST; he therefore would perish without that faith, and ⁸ c. 11.
 “would not have everlasting life.” In this manner St. Au-
 gustine proves original sin from the practice of Baptism.
 For though the arguments of the Pelagians tended to destroy
 the benefit of the Baptism of infants, yet they dared not
 deny it, being overawed by the authority of the Church ⁹. ⁹ c. 17.

St. Augustine likewise proved original sin ¹ by the words ¹ c. 14.
 of St. Paul, who says ², “that by one man sin entered into ² § 15.
 “the world, in whom all have sinned.” To which they ² Rom. 5. 12.
 replied, that Adam having sinned first, his sin had passed to ² [ἐφ’ ᾧ: “in
 all other men, through the imitation of his ill example ³: but ³ whom;”
 in this sense ⁴ sin should rather come from the devil, who ³ marginal
 sinned before man, and who is called the Father of the ³ transla-
 wicked ⁵; and the righteous would rather belong to Abel, ³ tion]
 who gave them the first example of virtue, than to CHRIST, ³ [See
 who came so long after. “But,” said they ⁶, “if they who ⁴ Art. 9.]
 “are born of a sinner, are sinners, why then are not those ⁴ Serm.
 “who are born of a baptized believer righteous also, as he ⁴ c. 15.
 “is?” “Because,” replied St. Augustine, “the believer does ⁵ John 8. 44.
⁶ Serm.
 c. 16.

A. D. 413. "not beget, in that he is regenerated according to the SPIRIT, but in that he is begotten according to the flesh; and no one can be born again, unless he has been first born. So also the son of the circumcised man is not born circumcised." They alleged¹ these words of St. Paul², "Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." "In whatever sense you interpret this," said St. Augustine, "Baptism is not here treated of, nor does this holiness dispense with it; otherwise there would be no necessity to baptize the husband of a believing wife, for the Apostle says also in the same place, that the 'unbelieving husband' 'is sanctified by her.'"

¹ c. 19.

² 1 Cor. 7.
14.

³ c. 20.

At the conclusion of this sermon, he said³, "I entreat you to hear me patiently, I shall only read to you. I have now in my hand St. Cyprian, the ancient Bishop of this see; listen to what he believed concerning the Baptism of infants, or rather, to what he has shewn the Church has always believed concerning it; for these people are not satisfied with advancing impious novelties, they also accuse us of novelty." He then read the passage of the epistle to

⁴ Cypr. Ep.
59. al. 64.

Fidus⁴, in which, among other things, are these words: "If the greatest of sinners, when they turn to the faith, receive the remission of their sins and Baptism; how much less ought we to refuse it to an infant, who is just born and hath not sinned, save only that by being born of Adam, according to the flesh, he has by his first birth contracted the infection of the old death? he ought to be admitted the more readily to the remission of sins, because they are not his own sins, but those of another, which are forgiven him."

⁵ c. 21.

"Let us therefore endeavour⁵," says St. Augustine, "to persuade our brethren not to call us heretics, because we do not give them that name, though we might do so. They go too far; it can hardly be endured; let them not abuse the patience of the Church. We may indulge those who are mistaken in other questions, which are not as yet thoroughly explained, or established by the full authority of the Church, but not those who are endeavouring to shake her very foundation."

⁶ Aug. x.
de Perf.
Just. c. 1.

There were a great number of Pelagians in Sicily⁶, particularly at Syracuse; which gave occasion to one Hilarius to

write to St. Augustine, by some Africans who were returning from Syracuse to Hippo, and to consult him upon the six following propositions¹. I. That man may be without sin. II. That he can keep the commandments of God with ease, if he will. III. That an infant dying without Baptism cannot justly perish, because he is born without sin. IV. That a rich man, living in his riches, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, unless he sell all his property; and that if he use it to fulfil the commandments, it is of no service to him. V. That we must not swear at all. VI. That the Church, of which it is written that it hath neither spot nor wrinkle, is that wherein we now are, and that it can be without sin. The fourth and fifth of these propositions were an effect of the pride of Pelagians, who condemned all oaths, and all possession of riches, under the idea of freeing themselves from all sin, and attaining to perfection even in this life. St. Augustine² answers the first question as he had done in the second book "On the Merit of Sins³," shewing by the Scriptures that no one is without sin in this life, though we may go out of it without sin. Concerning the second question⁴, he says that it is an intolerable error to hold that the free will is sufficient to fulfil the commandments of God, without the help of grace and the gift of the HOLY GHOST. "Free will," he says⁵, "may perform good works, if it be assisted by God, which help is obtained by humble supplications and labour. But if abandoned by the Divine assistance, whatever knowledge of the law may recommend it, it will have no solid righteousness, but only an empty pride." These truths he proves by the Scriptures. Upon the third question he establishes original sin⁶, as he had already done in the sermon at Carthage, insisting upon the parallel of Adam and CHRIST, and shewing that even the Saints of the Old Testament were saved only through faith in CHRIST⁷. He mentions here the condemnation of Cælestius at Carthage⁸; and says that the followers of that sect were more numerous than was believed; but that the Church still bore with them, in order to heal them in her bosom, if possible, rather than cut them off as incurable members.

Upon the fourth question he shews that rich persons may be saved, by the example of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob⁹;

A. D. 414.

XV.

Other works against the Pelagians.

¹ Aug. Ep. 156. al. 88.² Ep. 157.

al. 89.

³ Supr. 3.⁴ c. 2. § 4.⁵ § 5.⁶ c. 3. § 11.⁷ § 15.⁸ § 22.

Supr. 2.

⁹ c. 4. § 23.

A. D. 414. with whom shall be placed, according to the Gospel¹, those
¹ Matth. 8. 11. who shall come from the East and West into the kingdom of
² § 25. heaven. He distinguishes counsels from precepts², and
³ § 33. shews in what consists the renunciation of all things, which
⁴ c. 5. § 40. is the soul of Christianity³. Upon the fifth question he
 says⁴ that it is not absolutely forbidden to swear, but that
 we ought to avoid it as much as possible; not that it is a sin
 to swear truly, but because it is a very great sin to swear
 falsely, and one into which a man who is accustomed to
 swear is the more liable to fall. As to the last question, upon
⁵ § 39, 40. the purity of the Church⁵, St. Augustine cuts it short by the
 way, saying that the Church endures, in this world, not only
 imperfect Christians, but sinners, thus implying that it is not
 absolutely free from spot and wrinkle.

A. D. 415. Some time after, St. Augustine wrote the book "On Nature
 "and Grace," for two other disciples of Pelagius, Timasius
 and James, who were both young men of good birth, and
 well instructed in polite learning⁶. By his exhortations they
⁶ Ep. 179. al. 252. ad Joh. § 2. had renounced all their worldly expectations to devote them-
 selves to the service of God; but they had likewise zealously
⁷ Ep. 186. al. 106. ad Paul. § 1. embraced his corrupt doctrine, from which St. Augustine
 recovered them. They sent him a book written by Pelagius,
 in which he used all the force of his reason to defend nature
 against grace, and they prayed him earnestly to answer it.
 St. Augustine suspended his other employments to peruse it
 with attention, and answered it by this treatise, which he
 addressed to Timasius and James, and intitled, "On Nature
 "and Grace," because in it he defended the grace of CHRIST,
⁷ Retr. 2. 42. without blaming nature in itself⁷; but shewed, that being
 corrupted and weakened by sin, it has need of being delivered
 and governed by grace. He composed this work in the year
 415, for which Timasius and James returned him thanks, and
⁸ Ep. 168. et de Gest. Pel. c. 25. § 49. were sorry they could not communicate it to Pelagius, who
 was then departed from them⁸.

XVI.
 Answer to the consultation of Orosius.
⁹ Aug. Ep. 109. al. 102. ad Evod. c. 4. § 13. Ep. 166. al. 28. ad Hier. § 2. Retr. 2. 44.
 About this time a young Priest, named Paulus Orosius,
 attracted by the reputation of St. Augustine, came from
 Spain, and from the shores of the ocean, from the simple
 desire of seeing him, and being instructed by him in the
 Holy Scriptures⁹. Orosius had a lively genius, and an easy
 delivery, and burned with zeal to refute the errors which had

overspread his country. He was even deputed for that purpose by two Bishops, Eutropius and Paul; and he presented to St. Augustine a memorial containing these errors¹. In the first place those of Priscillian², who said with the Manichees that the soul was a part of the Divine substance, conveyed into the body to be punished according to its deserts; and acknowledged the Trinity in name only³, as did Sabellius. A certain person named Avitus, having gone to Jerusalem to avoid the confusion in which he was involving himself by the maintenance of these errors, brought back with him into Spain the doctrine of Origen, which in part corrected them. This Avitus is thought to be the same to whom St. Jerome sent his translation of the Principles of Origen, about the year 409, with a letter, in which he pointed out to him the errors⁴; but if this be the same person, he profited little from this precaution. Be that as it will, the doctrine of Origen, which Avitus brought into Spain, contained the true faith of the Trinity, of the Creation, and the goodness of the works of God, but it also included the following errors. That angels, devils, and souls were of one and the same substance, and that they had received these different ranks according to their merit. That the corporeal world was made the last of all, in order to purify the souls who had transgressed before. That the everlasting fire was nothing but the remorse of conscience; and only called everlasting, because it would endure a long time; so that in the end all souls would be purified, even the devil himself. That the SON of GOD had always possessed a body, but in different degrees of materiality, according to the creatures to whom He had preached, angels, powers, and lastly men. That the "creature" which was "subject to corruption, not willingly,"⁵ was the sun, moon, and stars, which were rational powers. This Avitus, with another of the same name, who was also a Spaniard, and a Greek, named Basil, taught this doctrine as Origen's.

A. D. 415.

¹ ap. Aug. viii. p. 607.
² Fleury, 17. 56.
[Supr. 18. 29. note n.]

[³ unionem absque ullâ existentia aut proprietate]

⁴ Supr. 20. 51.
Hier. Ep. 94. al. 59.

[⁵ Rom. 8. 20. *ματαιότης*]

St. Augustine answered this consultation of Orosius by a short treatise⁶, in which he refers him to his works against the heresy of Manes, of which that of Priscillian was but an offshoot⁷. He shews that it is an article of the faith to believe that the soul is a work of God, and made out of

⁶ Aug. viii. ad Oros. p. 611.
⁷ c. 1.

A. D. 415. nothing, like the rest of His works¹. That the everlasting fire is a true fire, and truly everlasting². That the world was made not to punish spirits, but by the goodness of God³. That there is no reason to believe that the stars are animated⁴; and that we ought not to make too curious an inquiry into the nature of the celestial bodies or spirits⁵. On this matter he says, "I steadfastly believe that there are thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, and that they differ from each other; but that you may despise me, whom you think so great a doctor, I confess that I know neither what they are, nor in what they differ."

XVII. St. Jerome being consulted by the Tribune Marcellinus on the question of the origin of souls, referred him to St. Augustine, who could resolve him by word of mouth, being present with him in Africa⁶. But St. Augustine was himself perplexed with this question, and as it was one of those in which Orosius was desirous of being instructed, he advised him to go into Palestine to consult St. Jerome, praying him at the same time that he would again pass through Africa on his return⁷. Orosius undertook the voyage, and St. Augustine would not omit so favourable an opportunity of writing to St. Jerome, having wished for it a long time. He therefore wrote two long epistles to him, or rather books⁸, upon two questions which were then of great importance relating to the Pelagians. The first was upon the origin of the soul; and the second on this passage of St. James⁹: "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."

In the first book, St. Augustine begins by laying down what is certain, relating to the nature of the soul¹; that it is immortal; that it is not a part of the Godhead; that it is incorporeal²; and, lastly³, that it is fallen into sin by its own fault, and its own will, and that it cannot be delivered from sin, but by the grace of CHRIST. "This is," he writes, "what I steadfastly hold concerning the soul. What I require to know⁴ is, where it contracted that sin which is the cause of the condemnation even of infants who die before Baptism. In the books on free will which I wrote against the Manichees, I stated four questions on the origin

¹ c. 2.
² c. 5.

³ c. 8. § 9.

⁴ § 11.

⁵ c. 11. § 14.

Letters to St. Jerome by Orosius.

⁶ Aug. Ep. 165. al. 27. et Hier. Ep. 78. al. 82.

⁷ Aug. Ep. 166. al. 28. ad Hier. § 2.

⁸ Retr. 2. 4.

⁹ Jam. 2. 10.

¹ Ep. 166. al. 28. c. 2. § 3.

² § 4.
³ § 5.

⁴ c. 8. § 6.

“ of the soul¹: whether all souls are derived from that of the A. D. 415.
 “ first man; whether there are new souls made daily for ¹ § 7.
 “ every individual man; or if these souls pre-exist elsewhere,
 “ whether God sends them into the bodies, or whether they
 “ enter into them of themselves. Your opinion is the se-
 “ cond², that God makes a soul for every man who is born, ² c. 4. § 8.
 “ as appears by your letter to Marcellinus. I could wish
 “ that it were also mine, but I find great difficulties in
 “ adopting it.”

He then explains³ those difficulties that arise from original ³ § 6. et
 sin, and from the torments which infants suffer, not only in c. 6. § 16,
 17, &c.
 this world but chiefly in the other, if they die without Bap-
 tism; and which do not seem to be just, if there are entirely
 new souls created on purpose for each body. They have
 committed no sin at that age, and God cannot condemn a
 soul wherein He seeth no sin. “ For,” he says⁴, “ that those ⁴ c. 8. § 25.
 “ souls shall be condemned, if they depart thus from the
 “ body, is attested both by the Holy Scriptures and the
 “ Holy Church. I wish therefore that this opinion of the
 “ creation of new souls, if it be not contrary to that im-
 “ moveable article of our faith, may be mine also; but if it
 “ be contrary to it, that it may cease to be yours.” “ Those
 “ men,” he writes afterwards⁵, “ think to extricate them- ⁵ c. 9. § 27.
 “ selves better out of this difficulty, who say that souls are
 “ appointed to different bodies, according to their deserts in
 “ a former life. But that souls have sinned in another life,
 “ from whence they are cast down into fleshly prisons,
 “ I cannot believe, I cannot endure.” And he continues⁶: ⁶ § 28.
 “ Although I desire, and beg earnestly of God, that He will
 “ help me out of my ignorance by your means, nevertheless,
 “ if I cannot obtain it, I will pray unto Him to give me
 “ patience: since we so believe in Him as not to murmur
 “ against Him, even though He doth not enlighten us on
 “ some particular points. I am ignorant of many other
 “ matters, of more even than I can enumerate; and I should
 “ bear with patience my ignorance on this point, if I did not
 “ fear lest some unthinking people, by suffering themselves
 “ to be drawn towards any of these opinions, should be led
 “ astray from the security of the faith.” Thus it was that
 St. Augustine spoke when he was sixty years old, and

A. D. 415. acknowledged to be one of the greatest doctors of the Church^f.

¹ Ep. 167. al. 29. In the second book¹, he consults St. Jerome upon the question of the equality of sins, and the connection of virtues. He first declares that he regards this question as of more importance than the other; because it does not concern the state of a former life, but the manner in which we ought to act in this. He does not content himself with proposing questions, as in the other case, but also resolves them, submitting, nevertheless, his decision to the judgment of St. Jerome. The Stoics said that all faults were equal, and that the man who had not attained to the perfection of wisdom was not master of any; as he who is under water cannot breathe unless he comes quite out of it².

The Pelagians embraced this opinion, and seemed to be favoured by the Apostle St. James, who esteems it a great sin to place a poor man below a rich man³; and says⁴ that "whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." St. Augustine observes⁵ that according to the philosophers all virtues are so closely knit together that we cannot have one perfect virtue without possessing them all, but that it is not the same with vices⁶, because there are some quite contrary to one another. He shews⁷ that we may possess one virtue without having all the rest, at least in the same degree, since the most righteous

^f Bellarmine (de Amis. Grat. lib. 4. c. 11.) enumerates and discusses six opinions on the origin of souls: 1. The Manichee doctrine derived from the Stoics, that the soul is a portion of the Divine Essence, which is refuted by Mal. 3. 6; James 1. 17; Ps. 102. 27: 2. The Platonic theory of Origen that all souls were created in the beginning, and afterwards imprisoned in bodies of different degrees of materiality, therein to expiate their sins; a theory which makes our punishment, death, a positive good, the blessing of multiplication a curse, and the resurrection of the body an evil, and contradicts Rom. 9. 11: 3. The Rabbinical notion that all souls were created in the beginning, and are united voluntarily or involuntarily, but not as a punishment for sin, to the bodies which are propagated from time to time; which is supported

chiefly by the alleged necessity of God's resting finally from creation on the seventh day, and opposed on the ground of the improbability of His creating an imperfect work, as the human soul would be without the body: 4. That our souls, like our bodies, are propagated from Adam; an opinion which seems to be favoured by the doctrine of original sin, and which is chiefly opposed by the difficulty of conceiving how one spirit can generate another: 5. The opinion of St. Augustine, that the origin of souls is a mystery which admits of no certain solution: 6. The doctrine in which later theologians have rested, that souls are individually created from nothing for every body that is successively propagated, and acquire their original sin by becoming part of that humanity which is derived from Adam.

men are not without sin in this life; that therefore¹ neither virtue nor wisdom consists in one indivisible point, but that we may make a progress in them, as when a man comes gradually out of darkness into light. He concludes² that virtue is charity, whereof some have more, some less, and others none at all. It is never so perfect in this life as not to admit of increase; and consequently always leaves room for some deficiency. Charity contains the whole law³, and so whoever fails in one point, injures charity wholly; yet injures it more or less severely, according to the quality of the sin⁴. Therefore we have the more of sin, the less we have of charity; and when there shall be nothing left in us of our infirmity, then shall we be perfect in charity.

In the first of these two letters St. Augustine declares himself well assured of the faith of St. Jerome concerning grace; and quotes his treatise against Jovinian, and his Commentary upon Jonah⁵. This shews that he had not as yet seen what St. Jerome had written against the Pelagians themselves. And indeed it was about the same time, that is to say, about the year 414, that he wrote a letter to Ctesiphon, who had consulted him upon this subject, in which he observes that those errors had already seduced many in the East, and refutes them without naming the authors⁶. He ascribes their origin to the Stoic and Pythagorean philosophers, who held that it was in our power not only to subdue the passions, but even entirely to extinguish them. Thus the Pelagians maintained that man, by making a right use of his free will, could attain to live without sin, though nevertheless they dared not use the Greek word *Ἀναμάρτητος*, which signifies "without sin," because the Eastern Christians would not have endured it⁷. St. Jerome also accused the Pelagians of having taken that error from the Manichees and Priscillianists, who said that their Elect and Perfect were free from sin; and again from the Origenists, and the disciples of Jovinian. He promises to refute them in a larger work.

And this he accomplished in a dialogue between a Catholic, whom he calls Atticus, and a Pelagian, to whom he gives the name of Critobulus⁸. He composed this work in the year 415, in order to comply with the earnest entreaties of the brethren; and he divided it into three books. In it he

A. D. 415.

§ 13.

§ 15.

c. 5. § 16.

§ 17.

XVIII.

Writings of
St. Jerome
against the
Pelagians.

A. D. 414.

Ep. 166.
c. 3. § 6.Hier. Ep.
43.

p. 475.

A. D. 415.

Hier. iv.
ps. 2. p. 483.

A. D. 415. refutes more at large the same errors concerning free will and impeccability, and answers several articles of the treatise of Pelagius "Of Chapters," or otherwise "Of Passages" or Eulogies^g. He observes, by the way, that the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons used to wear white garments in the administration of the Sacrifice^h. At the end he mentions something concerning original sin, and makes use of the passage of St. Cyprian². In every part of this work he produces the same proofs which St. Augustine had already given, and, at last, quotes him in the following terms³: "The holy and eloquent Bishop Augustine has written long since two books to Marcellinus, on the Baptism of Infants, in opposition to your heresy; and a third book against those who say, with you, that a man may be free from sin if he will; and now, lately, a fourth book to Hilarius. It is said that he is composing other works against you by name, but they are not yet come to my hands. I therefore intend to give over this business, for I should either only repeat the same things to no purpose, or if I would say any thing new, that excellent genius has anticipated me in saying better." Such was the sincerity and humility of St. Jerome at a very advanced age.

¹ Lib. 1. ad tit. 73. p. 502.

² Lib. 3. p. 545. [Supr. 14.]

³ p. 546.

XIX. Conference of Jerusalem. ⁴ Oros. Apol.

Orosius found him employed on this work when he arrived in Palestine, and he withdrew to his retirement at Bethlehem, in order to be instructed by him in religion⁴. He thought he might remain there concealed and unknown, but found himself summoned to Jerusalem by the Priests of that Church, at the latter end of the month of June, in the year 415. Being

^g This was a work of Pelagius, in one book, which was intended for an imitation, or perhaps a completion, of St. Cyprian's three books "Of Testimonies." It was a practical treatise, consisting of sentiments arranged under *chapters* or *titles*, and supported by *texts* or *testimonies* from Scripture; this mode of composition giving rise to the various names under which we find it mentioned. It is preserved only in the quotations of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. For these and the other fragments of Pelagius' works which have come down to us, see Garnier, Diss. 6 (in his edition of Marius Mercator), and Gieseler i. § 85. note 15.

^h The earliest certain notice of any distinct dress in the celebration of Divine Service is found in a present of a vestment embroidered with gold made by Constantine to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, to be used by him in the service of Baptism. (Theod. 2. 27.) This, however, seems to imply that such a distinction was already common; and from this period we find many intimations of a distinctive habit in the performance of Divine Service, not only for the clergy generally, but for the several orders in particular. See Bingham. 13. 8. § 1, 2. and for a particular description of ecclesiastical vestures, see Palmer's Orig. Lit., App. ii. p. 307.

arrived there, he attended the assembly of the Priests, in which the Bishop John was presiding, who made him seat himself among them. They immediately prayed him that if he knew any thing of what had passed in Africa concerning the heresy of Pelagius and Cælestius, he would plainly and faithfully declare it. He related to them in a few words, how Cælestius had been accused before many Bishops assembled at Carthage, who had heard and condemned him, after which he had fled from Africa; and that St. Augustine was engaged in answering at large a book of Pelagius, at the request of the disciples of Pelagius himself, who had sent it to him. These were James and Timasius. Orosius added, "I have besides in my hands a letter of the same Bishop, which he sent over lately into Sicily, in which he has related several questions of the heretics." They ordered him to read it, which he accordingly did; it was the letter to Hilarius¹.

A. D. 415.

Hereupon John, Bishop of Jerusalem, desired that Pelagius might be called in. To this the assembly consented, as well out of respect to the Bishop as for the good which might probably result, thinking that his presence would render his conviction more easy. As soon as Pelagius had entered, the Priests with one voice asked him whether he acknowledged that he had taught that doctrine which the Bishop Augustine opposed. He replied, "What have I to do with Augustine?" They all cried out that he deserved to be expelled, not from that assembly only, but also from the whole Church, for speaking so disrespectfully of a Bishop whom God had employed to procure unity to the whole of Africa. But the Bishop John caused Pelagius to be seated in the midst of the Catholic Priests, though a private layman and accused of heresy, and then said, "I am Augustine," meaning that he would represent him. Orosius said, "If you represent Augustine, follow his sentiments." The Bishop John said to the whole assembly, "What has just been read, is it against other persons, or would you understand it of Pelagius? Declare what you have to say against him." The others signed to Orosius, and he said, "Pelagius has told me that he taught that a man may be free from sin, and can easily keep the commandments of God,

[¹ Supr.
15.]

A. D. 415. "if he will." Pelagius replied, "I cannot deny that I have said so, and that I do so still." Orosius continued, "This is what the Council of Africa has execrated in Cælestius, this is what the Bishop Augustine has repudiated with horror in his writings, as you have heard. This is what the blessed Jerome, whose words the whole West looks for as for the dew from heaven¹, has condemned in the letter which he has lately written to Ctesiphon; and he is now actually engaged in refuting the same in the book which he is writing in the form of a dialogue."

[¹ sicut ros in vellus]

² Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. c. 30. § 54. et c. 14. § 37.

³ 1 Cor. 15. 10.

⁴ Oros. Apol.

The Bishop John, without listening to all this, wished to oblige Orosius and the others to declare themselves, before him, the accusers of Pelagius; but they refused, saying that this doctrine had already been sufficiently condemned by the Bishops. The dispute continued a long while; and as Pelagius was accused of saying that a man may be free from sin if he will, the Bishop John asked him if it was so, and he replied², "I did not say that a man may be free from sin through his own nature; but I said that he who will labour to attain freedom from sin, has this power from God." Some of them murmured at this answer, and said that Pelagius held that a man might be perfect without the grace of God. But the Bishop John took them up, and said, "The Apostle himself testifies³ that he labours much, not according to his own strength but according to the grace of God." As those who were present still continued to murmur, Pelagius said, "I believe this likewise: Anathema to him who says that without the assistance of God, a man can make progress in all the virtues." The Bishop John said⁴, "If he were to say that a man has that power, without the assistance of God, he would deserve to be condemned. What say ye all? Do you deny the assistance of God?" Orosius replied, "Anathema to him that denies it." Orosius spoke Latin and the Bishop John Greek, so that they only understood each other by means of an interpreter; and the person appointed for that purpose, a man unknown to Orosius, performed his part very ill on this occasion, and several of those who were present at this conference had repeatedly detected him in error. Orosius, therefore, having so indifferent an interpreter, and so unfavourable a judge, said aloud, "The heretic

“ is a Latin, we are Latins ; this heresy ought to be reserved A. D. 415.
 “ for Latin judges, who are better acquainted with it.” The Bishop John wished to take upon himself the decision of the matter without an accuser, though he was himself suspected. The conference lasted some time longer, and it was at last decided by the Bishop John, according to the proposal of Orosius, that there should be a deputation sent with letters to Pope Innocent ; and that whatever he decided on should be agreed to. Meanwhile silence was imposed on Pelagius and his adversaries, and it was forbidden to reproach the Bishop John as a convicted heretic. This opinion was approved by all : they celebrated thanksgiving, gave the kiss of peace to each other, and, to confirm it, all prayed together before they parted.

About forty-seven days after, Orosius having gone to the dedication of the Church of Jerusalem, which was celebrated on the thirteenth of September¹, on the first day of the feast, ¹ Fleury, 11. 54. the Bishop John, whom, as usual, he accompanied out of respect, said to him, “ Why do you, who have blasphemed, “ come with me ?” Orosius replied, “ What have I said “ that can be called blasphemy ?” The Bishop answered, “ I heard you say, that even with the assistance of God, a “ man cannot be without sin.” Orosius took the whole Council to witness that such an expression had never issued from his lips, and added, “ How could the Bishop, who is a “ Greek, and knows no Latin, understand me who speak “ nothing but Latin ? And why did he not admonish me on “ the spot, in a fatherly manner ?” Orosius felt himself bound to improve this opportunity, which Providence had thrown in his way, of repressing the insolence of the heretics, who abused the patience with which the Church tolerated them, and not satisfied with spreading their errors in Jerusalem, even challenged the Catholics to controversy, accusing them of being faint-hearted. For this purpose he wrote an apology against the calumny of John of Jerusalem ; and while St. Jerome and St. Augustine were content with only combating the errors of the heretics without mentioning their names, Orosius names Pelagius and Cælestius, and attacks them openly. He concludes with this protest : “ I call JESUS “ CHRIST to witness, that I abhor the heresy, and not the

A. D. 415. "heretic; I shun him because of his heresy; let him detest and condemn it, and we hold him as a brother." Thus the resolution taken at the conference at Jerusalem was rendered fruitless by the accusation of the Bishop John, and the apology of Orosius.

XX.
Council of
Diospolis.

In the month of December in the same year 415, a Council of fourteen Bishops met in Palestine, viz. Eulogius, who is thought to have been Bishop of Cæsarea, John of Jerusalem, Ammonian, Porphyrius of Gaza, Eutonium of Sebaste, another Porphyrius, Fidus of Joppa, Zoninus, Zoboennus of Eleutheropolis, Nymphidius, Chromatius, Jovinus of Ascalon, Eleutherius of Jericho, and Clematius¹. They met about the twentieth of December at Diospolis, the place known in Holy Scripture under the name of Lydda². The subject of this Council was an examination of a writing presented by two Bishops of Gaul, who had been expelled from their sees; Heros of Arles, a disciple of St. Martin, whom we have before mentioned³, and Lazarus of Aix⁴. These two Bishops, shocked at the doctrine of Pelagius, made a compilation of the errors which they had collected from his and Cælestius' books; adding besides, the articles upon which Cælestius had been condemned by the Council of Carthage, and those which Hilarius had sent to St. Augustine from Sicily. They presented this memorial, written in Latin, to Eulogius, who presided at the Council; but they could not attend there themselves on the day appointed, because one of them was seized with a severe sickness. Pelagius, on the other hand, repaired thither⁵, to justify himself; a thing which he might easily do, as there were no accusers to appear against him; for Orosius was no longer there. John, Bishop of Jerusalem, is suspected of having assisted Pelagius to choose so favourable a time.

¹ Aug. x. cont. Jul. I. c. 5. § 19.
² V. Garn. Diss. 2. c. 3.

³ Supr. 4.
⁴ Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. c. 1. § 2.

⁵ § 3.

⁶ Ibid. c. 25. § 50.

⁷ E p. 146. De Gest. Pel. c. 26. § 51.

Pelagius⁶, in order to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the Bishops of the Council, boasted of being united in friendship with several holy Bishops, and produced a number of letters, of which some were read; amongst others a short letter from St. Augustine, which really expressed much friendship to him, but contained an implied exhortation to acknowledge the necessity of grace⁷. This letter was written about two years before, at a time when

St. Augustine, though already informed of his errors, had still some hopes of reclaiming him. At last it became necessary to read the memorial of the Bishops Heros and Lazarus; and as the Bishops, who were judges in this Council, did not understand Latin, they had it explained to them by an interpreter, while Pelagius gave his answers in Greek.

The first article of accusation against him¹ was, that he had written in one of his books, viz. the Book of Chapters,² “that a man cannot be without sin, unless he have knowledge of the law.” After this had been read, the Council said, “Have you published this, Pelagius?” He replied, “I have said it, but not in the sense they take it. I did not say that he who has the knowledge of the law cannot sin, but that he is assisted by the knowledge of the law to avoid sin; as it is written³, ‘He hath given unto them the help of the law.’” The Council said, “What Pelagius has declared is not different from the doctrine of the Church.” Then they added, “Let another article be read⁴.” Hereupon was read what Pelagius had written in the same book, viz. “that all men are guided by their own will.” Pelagius replied, “I said this too, by reason of free will. God assists us to choose the good; and the man that sins is in fault, because he has free will.” The Bishops said, “Neither is this different from the doctrine of the Church.”

Then was read a passage in the book of Pelagius, where he said⁵ that “at the day of judgment, unjust men and sinners should not be forgiven, but should burn in everlasting fire.” His accusers had taken notice of these words, because he did not distinguish those sinners who should be saved through the merits of CHRIST, from those who should be condemned. But as there was no one there to oblige him to explain himself, he only replied that he had said this according to the Gospel, where it is written of sinners⁶, “These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal:” and he added⁷, “If any one believes otherwise, he is an Origenist.” The Council said, “This also is not different from the doctrine of the Church.” It was objected to him⁸, that he had written that “evil did not enter even into the thoughts of the righteous.” He answered, “I did not say so, but I said that a Christian ought to study to

A. D. 415.

¹ c. 1. § 2.² Hier. iv. Dial. p. 500.³ Is. 8. 20. LXX.

[νόμον γὰρ εἰς βοήθειαν ἔδωκεν]

⁴ De Gest. Pel. c. 1. § 5.⁵ c. 3. § 9.⁶ Matth. 25. 46.⁷ § 10.⁸ c. 4. § 12.

A. D. 415. "think no evil;" which the Bishops approved. It was then read, that he had written that "the kingdom of heaven was promised even in the Old Testament." In fact, he made no difference between the old and new law. But, as he had no opponent, he replied, "This also may be proved by the Scriptures. But the heretics deny it, in contempt of the Old Testament." By the heretics he meant the Manichees. "As for me," continued he, "I said this on the authority of
¹ Dan. 7. 18. "the Scripture, because it is written in the Prophet Daniel¹,
 " 'But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom.'"
 The Council said, "Neither is this different from the faith of
 "the Church."

It was then objected that Pelagius had written in the same
² c. 6. § 16. book² that "man might be without sin if he would;" and that, writing to a widow, he had said to her, "Piety should find that place with you, which it has not found elsewhere;" and other flattering expressions of the same kind. And in another book addressed to the same person, shewing how the saints ought to pray, he said, "That man prays with a good conscience, who can say, 'Thou knowest, LORD, how pure
 " 'are these hands which I lift up unto Thee, and these lips
 " 'with which I call unto Thee for mercy.'" To this Pelagius replied, "I did say that man may be without sin, and may keep the commandments of God, if he will; for God has given him power so to do. But I did not say that there was any person who had never sinned from his infancy to his old age; I only said that when converted from his sins he might keep without sin by his own labour, and by the grace of God, without, however, being unchangeable for the time to come. What they have added is not in my books, nor have I ever said any thing like it." The Council said, "Since you deny that you wrote it, do you anathematize those who hold it?" Pelagius replied, "I do anathematize
 [³ stultos] "them, as impertinent questioners³, and not as heretics, since
 [⁴ dogma] "it is not an article of faith⁴." Then the Bishops pronounced their decision, saying, "Since Pelagius has anathematized with his own mouth this doubtful and unnecessary language, answering, as is right, that man with the help of God and grace may be without sin, let him answer also to the other articles."

The following propositions were then brought forward against Pelagius, which were taken from the doctrine of Cælestius, his disciple¹. They were, "That Adam was created mortal, so that he must have died, whether he had sinned or not: that the sin of Adam was prejudicial to himself alone, and not to mankind: that the Law conveys men into the kingdom in the same way as the Gospel: that before the coming of CHRIST there were men without sin: that new-born infants are in the same state in which Adam was before his sin: that all mankind do not die by the death of Adam, or for his sin; nor rise again by the resurrection of CHRIST." In bringing forward these propositions, it was not omitted that they had been heard and condemned at the Council of Carthage. Objection was likewise made to the propositions that were sent from Sicily to St. Augustine, which he had answered in his book to Hilarius, viz. "That man may be without sin, if he will: that infants without Baptism have eternal life: that unless the rich after Baptism renounce every thing, the good they seem to do avails them nothing, and they cannot have the kingdom of God." Pelagius made answer to these objections; "As to man's being without sin, that has been already spoken of: as to those who were without sin before the coming of our LORD, I too say that before His coming there were men who lived a holy and righteous life, as the Holy Scriptures teach us. As to the rest, my adversaries themselves bear witness that I did not say it; and I am not obliged to answer it: nevertheless, for the satisfaction of this holy Council I anathematize those who either do maintain, or ever have maintained it." After this reply the Council said, "Pelagius, here present, has well and sufficiently answered these articles, anathematizing what is not his own."

It was objected that Pelagius said that "the Church is here without spot or wrinkle²." He replied³, "I said it, because the Church is purified by Baptism, and because it is the will of the LORD that it so remain." The Council said, "We approve this also." Then there were objections made against some propositions in the book of Cælestius⁴, taking the sense rather of every article than the words. The first was, "That we do more than is required of us by the

A. D. 415.

XXI.
Sequel of
the Council
of Dios-
polis.¹ Aug. x.
de Gest.
Pel. c. 11.
§ 23.² c. 12. § 27.
³ § 28.⁴ c. 13. § 29.

A. D. 415. "Law and the Gospel." To which Pelagius replied, "They have cited this as though it were our own, but we said it in accordance with the words of St. Paul on virginity; 'I have

¹ 1 Cor. 7. 25. "'no commandment of the LORD¹.'" The Council said, "This is likewise received by the Church."

² c. 14. § 30. After this², other objections were made against Pelagius, on some capital articles of Cælestius, viz. "That the grace of God and His assistance is not given for every particular action, but that it consists in free will, or in the law and the doctrine." And, moreover, "that the grace of God is given according to our deserts; because, were He to grant it to sinners, it would seem to be unjust." From whence he concluded, "Therefore grace itself depends on my will to be worthy or unworthy of it. For if we do all things through grace; when we are overcome by sin, it is not we who are overcome, but the grace of God, which unconditionally willed to assist us, but could not." And again, "If it be the grace of God which makes us overcome sin, it is therefore His fault when we are overcome; because He either absolutely could not, or would not preserve us from it." To this Pelagius replied, "Whether these be the sentiments of Cælestius, is for those who say it to inquire; for my part I never held that doctrine, but do anathematize him who holds it." The Council said, "The holy Council receives you, since you condemn these reprobate words³."

[³ reprobata verba]

This other proposition of Cælestius was likewise objected to Pelagius⁴, viz. "That each man may possess all virtues and graces," by which, it was argued, the diversity of

⁴ c. 14. § 32. graces, taught by the Apostle⁵, is destroyed. Pelagius replied, "We did say it, but they maliciously and ignorantly find fault with it; for we do not destroy the diversity of graces, but we say that God gives all the graces to him who is worthy of receiving them, as He gave them to the Apostle St. Paul." The Council said, "You have understood fitly⁶, and in the sense of the Church, the gift of graces of which the Apostle speaks."

[⁶ consequenter]

Objections were also made against these articles of the book of Cælestius⁷, viz. "That those only who are absolutely without sin, can be called the children of God." From whence it followed that even St. Paul was not a child of

⁷ c. 18. § 42.

GOD, inasmuch as he says that he is not as yet perfect¹. A. D. 415.
 “That forgetfulness and ignorance are not of the nature of¹ Philip. 3.
 “sin, because they are not voluntary, but necessary². That^{12.} [2 Cf. Levit.
 “there is no free will, if it be in need of the assistance of^{4.]}
 “GOD; because it depends on the will of every man to act
 “or not to act. That our victory proceeds not from the
 “assistance of GOD, but from free will;” which Cælestius
 expressed in the following manner: “The victory is our own,
 “because we took up arms through our own will; as on the
 “contrary, it is our own fault when we are overcome, since
 “we neglected voluntarily to arm ourselves.” He quoted
 these words of St. Peter³: “We are partakers of the Divine³ 2 Pet. 1. 4.
 “Nature;” from whence he concluded that if the soul cannot
 be free from sin, GOD likewise is subject to sin; since the
 soul, which is a part of Him, is subject to sin. Cælestius
 said besides, “that forgiveness is not granted to penitents
 “according to the grace and mercy of GOD, but according to
 “the merits and works of those who, through repentance,
 “render themselves worthy of mercy.”

These things being read, the Council said⁴, “What saith⁴ c. 19. § 43.
 “the Monk Pelagius, here present, to these articles? For
 “the Holy Council and the Holy Catholic Church condemn
 “this doctrine.” Pelagius answered, “I repeat again, these
 “propositions, by the very testimony of my adversaries, are
 “not mine, and therefore it is not my business to answer
 “them. What I have owned to be mine, I maintain is good;
 “what I have said not to be mine, I reject, according to the
 “judgment of the Holy Church, in pronouncing anathema to
 “him, whosoever he be, that contradicts the doctrine of the
 “Holy Catholic Church. For I believe in the Trinity of
 “One Only Substance, and in all other things, according to
 “the doctrine of the Church; if any one believe otherwise,
 “let him be anathema.”

The Council said⁵, “Since we are satisfied with the de-⁵ c. 20. § 44.
 “claration of the Monk Pelagius, here present, who approves
 “of the Holy Doctrine, and condemns whatsoever is con-
 “trary to the faith of the Church, we declare him to be in
 “the communion of the Catholic Church.” Thus ended the
 Council of Diospolis. Pelagius was acquitted, because he
 appeared to be a Catholic; but his doctrine was condemned

A. D. 415. by the Council, and he himself was obliged to condemn it. It is true, indeed, that he did it only in words; for he did not change his opinions, but deceived the Bishops.

XXII.
Revelation
of the
Priest
Lucian.
¹ Marc. Chr.
p. 279.
² Luc. Ep.
ap. Aug. vii.
App. et
Baron.
an. 415.
§ 8.
Chrysisip.
ap. Phot.
cod. 171.
in fin.

John of Jerusalem was at this Council when he received the news of the discovery of the reliques of St. Stephen¹. Within twenty miles of Jerusalem was a village named Caphargamala, that is to say, the Town of Gamaliel². It was governed by a Priest, named Lucian, a holy and devout man. On a Friday, the third of the nones of December, under the tenth Consulate of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius, at the third hour of the night; that is to say, on the third of December, in the year 415, at nine o'clock in the evening, Lucian was sleeping in his bed in the Baptistry, where he commonly lay, in order to keep watch over the sacred vessels of the Church. Being half awake, he saw a tall old man of fair appearance, with a long white beard, clothed in a white robe, inwrought with small plates of gold containing within them crosses, and holding a golden rod in his hand. This person drew near to Lucian, and standing at his right hand, struck him with his golden rod, saying, "Lucian, Lucian, Lucian!" Then he said to him in Greek, "Go to Jerusalem, and say to Bishop John, 'How long shall we be shut up? Open speedily our tomb, where lie our neglected reliques, that God may by us open to the world the gates of His clemency.' I am not troubled so much for myself, as for the Saints who are with me." Lucian answered³, "Who art thou, my lord, and who are those that are with thee?" He replied, "I am Gamaliel, who instructed the Apostle St. Paul in the law; and with me, on the east side of the tomb, lieth my lord Stephen, who was stoned by the Jews, without the north gate. There he remained one day and one night, according to the orders of the impious Priests, that his body might be devoured by the beasts; but neither beast nor bird touched it. I sent by night to the faithful, whom I knew at Jerusalem; I exhorted them, I supplied the necessary expense, and persuaded them to bring away his body secretly in my chariot, and bear it to this place in my house. There I celebrated his funeral during forty days, and afterwards caused him to be laid in my tomb at the east. Nicodemus

³ Luc. Ep.
c. 3.

“ also lieth there, in another coffin, he who came by night A. D. 415.
 “ unto our Saviour JESUS, and was baptized by His disciples.
 “ When the Jews discovered it, they deprived him of his
 “ dignity, excommunicated and banished him from Jeru-
 “ salem. I received him into my house in the country, there
 “ I fed and maintained him to the end of his life, then
 “ buried him honourably near Stephen. There also I buried
 “ my son Abibas, who died before me, at the age of twenty
 “ years, after having received with me the Baptism of CHRIST.
 “ He is in the third coffin, which stands higher up, where I
 “ was also placed after my death. My wife Ethna, and my
 “ eldest son Selemias, not being willing to embrace the
 “ faith of CHRIST, were buried in another ground belonging
 “ to their mother, called Capharsemelia.” Lucian asked him,
 “ Where shall we look for you?” Gamaliel replied, “ In the
 “ suburb, which is named Delagabri¹.”

[¹ i. e. vi-
rorum Dei]
² c. 4.

Lucian, on waking, made the following prayer²: “ Lord
 “ JESUS, if this vision come from Thee, grant that I may see
 “ it again a second and a third time.” He then began to
 fast on bread and water, and continued till the Friday fol-
 lowing. Gamaliel appeared again to him, in the same form
 as before, and said, “ Why hast not thou been to acquaint
 “ the holy Bishop John?” Lucian replied, “ I feared, my
 “ lord, lest, if I went to him on the first vision, I might seem
 “ an impostor.” Gamaliel said, “ Obey, obey, obey!” and
 then added, “ Since thou hast asked me where our reliques
 “ are, pay attention to what thou shalt now see.” And imme-
 diately he brought four baskets, three of gold and one of
 silver. The three golden baskets were full of roses, two of
 white roses, and the third of red; the silver basket was filled
 with saffron of a delicious odour. Lucian asked what these
 were. Gamaliel said, “ These are our reliques: the red roses
 “ are Stephen, who lieth at the entrance of the sepulchre;
 “ the second basket is Nicodemus, who is near the door;
 “ the silver basket is my son Abibas, who departed from the
 “ world without stain; his basket is joined to mine.” Having
 spoken these words, he disappeared.

Lucian³, on waking, gave thanks to God, and continued³ c. 5.
 his fasting. In the third week, on the same day, and at the
 same hour, Gamaliel appeared again to him, threatening him,

A. D. 415. and upbraiding him with his neglect. "Seest thou not," said he, "the drought which afflicts the world? Dost thou not consider that there are in the desert many Saints better than thou, whom we have left and chosen thee, that thou mayest make us known? For this reason have we brought thee from another town to be Priest of this place." Lucian, being now terrified, promised him that he would not defer it any longer. After this he had another vision. He thought himself at Jerusalem, and that he was relating his vision to the Bishop John, who said to him, "If it be so, I must take this great ox, which is fit both for the waggon¹ and the plough, and leave you the others, with the land. It is better that this be in a large city; the others will suffice for you."

[¹ carrus]

XXIII.
Discovery
of the
reliques of
St. Stephen.
² c. 6.

After this last vision², Lucian repaired to Jerusalem, and related all to Bishop John, excepting this last part about the great ox. For he had understood him to mean St. Stephen, whose reliques the Bishop would require of him, in order to place them in the church of Sion, which was signified by the great waggon. He wished therefore to see if the Bishop would speak to him of it. The Bishop John wept for joy, and praised God; then he said, "If it be so, my beloved son, I must translate from thence the ever-blessed Stephen, first Martyr and first Deacon;" and he added, "Go and dig under a heap of stones³ which is in the field; and if you find the reliques, give me notice." Lucian replied, "I have already walked in that field, and in the middle of it I saw a heap of small stones; I thought they were there." The Bishop answered, "Go, as I have said to you; and if you find them, do you stay there to watch the place, and send me notice by a Deacon, that I may repair thither." Lucian returned to his village, and summoned all the inhabitants by a public crier, to meet on the next day in the morning, to dig up this heap of stones.

[³ the usual
mark of a
grave:
Baron.]

⁴ c. 7.

On the next day, as he was going to dig up the place, he found a Monk, named Migetius, who was relating to all the brethren a vision which he had seen that same night⁴. Lucian called him, and asked what he had seen. Migetius was a simple man, of a pure life. Gamaliel had appeared to him in the same manner as he had done to Lucian, who recognised

all his tokens, and had ordered him to say to Lucian, "You A. D. 415.
 "labour in vain at that heap of stones; we are there no
 "longer; we were laid there when our funeral was celebrated
 "according to the ancient custom, and that heap of stones
 "was the mark of mourning. Search for us on the other
 "side, in a place called in Syriac Debatalia¹." "Accord- [¹ i. e. vi-
 forum
 fortium]
 "ingly," continued Migetius, still relating his vision, "I
 "was in this field, and saw there a monument neglected and
 "ruinous, where were three golden couches, one of them
 "higher than the others; on this were laid two men, an old
 "man and a young one, and one man on each of the other
 "two. He that was on the upper couch said to me, 'Go,
 "'tell the Priest Lucian, that we were masters of this place;
 "'if thou wilt find the great and just, he lieth on the east.'"
 Lucian, having heard this narrative of the Monk Migetius,
 praised God that he had yet another witness of his revelation.

Having therefore dug up the heap of stones to no purpose², ² c. 8.
 they went to the monument indicated by Migetius, and after
 digging up the earth, they found three coffins and a stone,
 on which were written in very large characters, Cheliel,
 Nasuam, Gamaliel, Abiba³. The two first were the names [³ Cod.
 Germ.]
 of Stephen and Nicodemus, translated into Syriac. Lucian
 immediately sent to acquaint Bishop John with this, who was
 then at Diospolis at the Council. John took with him two
 other Bishops, who were there present, viz. Eutonium of
 Sebaste, and Eleutherius of Jericho, and went to the place
 where the reliques were found. As soon as they opened the
 coffin of St. Stephen, the earth shook, and there issued
 from the coffin an odour so delicious that no one ever re-
 membered to have perceived any thing like it. A multitude
 of people had assembled, amongst whom were many persons
 afflicted with various distempers. Seventy-three of them
 were healed on the spot by that odour. Some were delivered
 from evil spirits, others from issues of blood; others from the
 king's-evil, and other tumours; from fistulas, from fevers;
 from epilepsy, from head-aches, and pains in the bowels.
 They kissed the holy reliques, and closed them up again;
 then singing psalms and hymns, they carried those of
 St. Stephen to the church of Sion, where he had been or-
 dained Deacon; but some small parts of them were left at

A. D. 415. Caphargamala. The body of St. Stephen was reduced to dust, excepting the bones, which were all entire, and in their natural position. This translation was performed on the seventh of the calends of January¹, that is to say, on the twenty-sixth of December, the day on which the Church has ever since honoured the memory of St. Stephen. Nevertheless, that discovery is commemorated on the third of August, for which it is not easy to assign a reason. During the very time in which this translation was effected, there fell abundance of rain, and relieved the drought with which the country had been afflicted.

¹ c. 9.

The Priest Lucian gave part of the reliques of St. Stephen, which he had kept, to Avitus, a Spanish Priest, who had been some time in Palestine; and, at his request, wrote a plain and faithful account of the manner in which he had found these holy bodies. Avitus translated it into Latin, and sent it by Orosius, with some of the reliques of St. Stephen, that is to say, some of the dust of his flesh and nerves, and a few solid bones, to Palconius, Bishop of Braga in Lusitania, with a letter addressed to himself, his clergy, and his people, to console them in their calamities, occasioned by the incursions of the Barbarians. His letter is still extant, together with his translation of the narrative of Lucian.

XXIV.
Reliques of
St. Zachariah.

About this time there were several discoveries of reliques made in the East. The reliques of the Prophet Zachariah were found in Palestine, in a village called, from his name, Caphar-zachariah, belonging to the territory of Eleutheropolis². This holy Prophet appeared to a slave named Calemerus, who had the superintendance of those lands for his master; and shewing him a certain garden, said to him, "Dig here within two cubits of the hedge which lies on the road to the town of Bittherebis; you will find a double coffin, one of wood, inclosed in another of lead, standing in a crystal vessel filled with water, and two serpents of a moderate size, gentle and without venom." In obedience to the command of the Prophet, Calemerus went to the place indicated, and discovered the sacred coffin by the signs just mentioned. There the Prophet was seen clothed in a white robe, being, as it was supposed, in priestly attire. Under his feet, without the coffin, was laid a child in royal burial; for he had a

² Soz. 9. 17.

crown of gold on his head, sandals of gold, and rich apparel. A. D. 415.
 As the learned men were at a loss to decide who this child could be; Zachariah, superior of the monastery of Gerara, said that he had read an old Hebrew book, no part of the Holy Scriptures, in which it was said that when King Joash put to death the Prophet Zachariah¹, a son of his, whom he tenderly loved, died suddenly seven days after. The king looked upon this as a Divine punishment, and caused his son to be buried at the feet of the Prophet, as if to make him an atonement. This explanation supposes that the Prophet Zachariah, whose reliques were found, was the son of Jehoiada, and not the son of Barachiah, whose prophecy we have. The body of the Prophet was perfectly entire, though it had been lying under ground so many ages. He was shaved very close; had a straight nose, a beard of moderate size, a small head, eyes somewhat sunk, and overshadowed with very thick eye-brows. These are the words of Sozomen, whose history ends here, that is to say, what we have left of it. He afterwards gave an account of the discovery of the reliques of St. Stephen², and continued his narration to the year 439, and the seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius the Younger, under whose government he wrote³. St. Cyril also, Bishop of Alexandria, translated the reliques of the blessed Martyrs Cyrus and John to Manuthe near Canopus, to complete the destruction of the power of the evil spirits there⁴.

About the same time St. Cyril expelled the Jews from Alexandria on the following occasion⁵. One day, as Orestes, governor of the city⁶, was making proclamations⁷ in the theatre, several Christians, who were attached to the Bishop, drew near to hear the ordinances of the Governor; and among others, a certain man named Hierax, who was master of a grammar school⁸, a zealous auditor of the Bishop, and a most active man in exciting plaudits in his sermons¹. The Jews, always hostile to the Christians, and at that time particularly provoked on the subject of certain dancers, seeing Hierax in the theatre, immediately cried out that he only

¹ 2 Chr. 24. 22.

² Soz. 9. 16.

³ Ibid. Præf.

⁴ Acta Cyri et Joh. ap. Sur. i. Jan. 31.

XXV.

Expulsion of the Jews from Alexandria.

⁵ Socr. 7. 13.

⁶ Augustal Præfect.]

⁷ πολιτείαν ποιούντος : V. not. Val.]

⁸ γραμματῶν τῶν πε-
 ζῶν. V. not. Val.]

¹ The Christians of this period were accustomed to give outward expression to the feelings excited by the preacher, whether of approbation, excitement, or sorrow. For instances of this practice

see Bingham, 14. 4. § 27, 28. It frequently, however, as might be expected, produced evil consequences, and it was discountenanced by St. Chrysostom, Homil. 30 in Act. tom. ix.

A. D. 415. came to excite a tumult. Orestes had been long offended at the power of the Bishops, which lessened that of the governors, and therefore believing that St. Cyril meant to control his ordinances, he caused Hierax to be seized, and scourged publicly in the theatre. When St. Cyril heard this, he sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with severe punishments, unless they gave over raising tumults against the Christians; but this only exasperated the multitude the more. They resolved to attack the Christians by night, and having taken for a sign of recognition among themselves rings made of the bark of young palm-branches, they cried through the city that the church of Alexandria was on fire. The Christians repaired thither from all parts, and the Jews fell upon them, and killed a great number of them. On the next day the authors of this massacre were discovered, and St. Cyril went with a great body of people to the Jews' synagogues, and having taken possession of them he expelled the Jews from the city, and delivered up their property to be plundered. Thus were the Jews expelled from Alexandria, where they had lived ever since the time of Alexander the Great, its founder. Orestes took this proceeding very ill, and looked upon it as a great misfortune, that such a city should lose at once so great a number of inhabitants. He made his report of the matter to the Emperor, to whom St. Cyril likewise wrote an account of the crimes of the Jews.

However, being solicited by the people, he sent to Orestes to propose a reconciliation, and conjured him to agree to it, even by the books of the Gospels; but Orestes would not hear of it. Then the Monks of Mount Nitria¹, who had zealously espoused the interest of the Bishop Theophilus against Dioscorus, and the Four Brothers, left their monasteries and came to Alexandria, to the number of five hundred. They kept watch for the Governor Orestes as he was going abroad in his chariot; and coming up to him, they called him pagan and idolater, with other injurious names. Orestes suspecting that Cyril had laid a snare for him, cried out that he was a Christian, and that he had been baptized by the Bishop Atticus at Constantinople: but the Monks would not hear him, and one of them, whose name was Ammonius,

¹ Socr.7.14.

struck him on the head with a stone, which covered him with A. D. 415. blood. His officers, terrified at the shower of stones, dispersed; but the people came to his assistance, and put the Monks to flight. Ammonius was taken, and carried before the Governor, who brought him to trial, and tortured him to death. St. Cyril took up his body and laid it in a church, changing his name into that of Thaumasius, or "Admirable," and would have had him acknowledged for a Martyr, but the wisest among the Christians did not approve of this proceeding, and soon after St. Cyril himself suffered the affair to drop into silence and oblivion.

The people did not stop there. They pretended that an illustrious lady named Hypatia prevented the Præfect Orestes from being reconciled to the Bishop¹. She was ¹ Socr. 7.15. daughter to the philosopher Theon, and so learned that she excelled all the philosophers of her time. She had succeeded to the Platonic school, and taught in public, so that people came to her from all parts; and we have several letters from Synesius to her, in which he acknowledges himself her disciple. Her learning was attended with great modesty, which gained her much respect and influence with the magistrates. She used often to see Orestes, which gave occasion to the suspicion that she incensed him against St. Cyril. On this a set of violent men, headed by a Reader named Peter, watched for her one day, as she was going home to her house, pulled her out of her carriage, and dragged her to the church called Cæsareum; they stripped off her clothes, killed her with the blows of broken pots², tore her to pieces, and <sup>[² ὀστρά-
κοις]</sup> burned her limbs at a place called Cinaro. "This action," says the historian Socrates, "brought great reproach upon Cyril, and on the Church of Alexandria; for such acts of violence are very far removed from Christianity." Then he adds, "This happened in the fourth year of the Episcopate of Cyril, under the tenth Consulate of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius, in the month of March, during the Fasts," that is, in the Lent of the year 415.

It is thought that these disorders at Alexandria were the A. D. 416. occasion of a law of Theodosius, of the month of October, in the year 416, for suppressing the disorders of the Parabolani³. This was a name given to the clergy of the lowest order, who

³ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Episc. 42.

A. D. 416. were appointed to attend the sick, particularly in contagious diseases, from which circumstance their name was derived, because it signifies in Greek, persons who expose themselves. The city of Alexandria sent a deputation to Constantinople to complain of them. The Emperor made a law, that the clergy in general should take no part in public affairs, and with regard to the Parabolani in particular, that they should not exceed five hundred in number, [and that they should be elected from among the poor, by the companies of tradesmen:] that their names should be delivered in to the Præfect of Alexandria¹, who should put others into the places of those who died: that they should not be present at any public shows, or appear in the town hall, or in the courts of judicature, except individually on their private affairs, or corporately by a syndic. But this law was partly repealed eighteen months after, on the third of February, in the year 418². The number of the Parabolani was increased to six hundred, and the choice and management of them was committed to the Bishop of Alexandria³.

[¹ i. e. the Augustal Præfect.]

² Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 15. l. 43.

XXVI.
End of the schism of Antioch. A. D. 414.

³ Theod. Hist. 5. 35.

Porphyrius, Bishop of Antioch, died, and was succeeded by Alexander, who had passed his life in the exercises of the monastic profession, in the practice of poverty, and of all the virtues; thus supporting his great eloquence by his own example³. He reunited, by his powerful exhortations, the party of the Eustathians, who had been so long separated from the other Catholics under the Bishops Paulinus and Evagrius; and celebrated that reunion by a feast, the like of which had never been seen before. For being attended by all those of his communion, both clergy and laymen, he went to the place where the Eustathians held their meeting, and finding them singing, he joined the voices of his people with theirs, and they walked all together in procession up to the great church across the market-place by the side of the

* This is the first notice of Parabolani; but they are here spoken of not as a new order, but as one already settled in the Church. Bingham observes of them "that being commonly, according to their name, men of a bold and daring spirit, they were ready upon all occasions to engage in any quarrel that should happen in Church or State;" so that "the civil

"government always looked upon these Parabolani as a formidable body of men; and accordingly kept a watchful eye and strict hand over them, that whilst they were serving the Church, they might not do any disservice to the State, but keep within the bounds of that office whereto they were appointed." Bingham. 3. 9. § 4.

river Orontes. The Jews, the Arians, and the small remnant of the pagans groaned at this happy reunion. Alexander received into his clergy all those whom Paulinus and Evagrius had ordained, allowing them to continue every one in his own rank¹. Thus ended the schism of Antioch, which had lasted eighty-five years from the time of the banishment of St. Eustathius, that is to say, from about the year 329, and consequently ended about the year 414².

St. Alexander likewise was the first who restored the name of St. John Chrysostom, in the ecclesiastical diptychs³. He acknowledged Elpidius of Laodicea, and Pappus, for Bishops⁴, who had always adhered to the party of John, and restored them to their churches, without any examination. He then sent a deputation to Pope Innocent, to acquaint him with these happy tidings, and to desire his communion. The Priest Cassian, a disciple of St. John Chrysostom, being then at Rome, solicited his answer; and Pope Innocent having examined the writings which Alexander had sent to him, and the report of the deputies, approved his conduct in all things, and wrote a letter to him, which was subscribed by twenty Bishops of Italy, and may therefore pass for a synodical letter. He likewise wrote for himself a private letter of friendship to Alexander⁵, to testify how pleased he was with his deputation. He also sent him on his part three deputies, Paul a Priest, Nicolaus a Deacon, and Peter a Subdeacon; and entreated him to write often to him, to retrieve the loss of the past time. Innocent communicated this news to the Priest Bonifacius⁶, who was residing for him at the Emperor's court at Constantinople, and who was himself afterwards Pope. Acacius, Bishop of Berrhœa, one of the principals of the party that opposed St. Chrysostom, was likewise reconciled on this occasion, and wrote to the Bishop of Rome⁷, testifying his approval of all that Alexander had done, both in receiving the clergy of Paulinus and Evagrius, and in restoring the Bishops Elpidius and Pappus. St. Innocent referred him to Alexander, for an inquiry into the sincerity of his reunion, which his past behaviour rendered doubtful; and agreed to receive him to his communion as soon as he had declared his sentiments by word of mouth to Alexander.

Peace and communion being restored between the Churches

A. D. 414.

¹ Innoc. Ep. 14. al. 23. ad Bonif.
² Theod. 3.5. et Vales. ibi.
 Fleury, 11. 43.

A. D. 415.

³ Theod. 5. 35.
⁴ Innoc. Ep. 17. al. 19. ad Alex.

⁵ Ep. 15. al. 20.

⁶ Ep. 14. al. 23.

⁷ Ep. 19. al. 21.

A. D. 415. of Rome and Antioch, St. Innocent wrote a decretal letter to Alexander, concerning some points of discipline on which he had consulted him, in order to remedy the disorders introduced into the East by heresy and schisms¹. The first article is concerning the authority of the Church of Antioch, which, according to the Nicene Council², extended not only over one province, but over a whole diocese³. "Which honour was assigned it," says the Pope, "not so much for the greatness of the city, as because it was the first see of the first of the Apostles; and it would not yield even to Rome, were it not that it only enjoyed for a time him whom Rome possessed to the end¹. Therefore as you ordain the Metropolitans by a peculiar authority, I am of opinion that you ought not to suffer the other Bishops to be ordained without your consent. You will send your letters to authorize the ordination of those who are at a distance; and for those who are near, you will send for them, if you think proper, to receive the imposition of your own hands.

⁴ c. 2. "The Bishops of Cyprus⁴, who, to avoid the tyranny of the Arians, have taken upon themselves to perform their ordinations without consulting any one, ought to return to the observation of the canons," that is to say, in their dependency on the Bishop of Antioch. "The Church does not follow all the changes of the temporal government. Therefore if a province be divided into two parts, it ought not to have two Metropolitans, but keep to the ancient custom⁵. The clergy of Arians⁶, or other heretics, who return to the Church, ought not to be admitted to any

¹ Ep. 18. al. 24. ap. Dion. Ex. 45.
² can. 6. Fleury, 11. 20.
³ V. Supr. 22. 26. note a.]

⁵ Supr. 18. 9. note m.]
⁶ c. 3.

¹ "This new development of the hierarchy [i. e. the Patriarchal system] proceeded on different principles in the two parts of the Roman empire. In the East the divisions of the provinces had, from the first, been followed in the arrangement of their metropolitan government, and this principle of distribution had become more and more fixed by custom. In the formation of larger hierarchical combinations, therefore, they naturally adhered to the political distribution of the realm into dioceses, which had been made by Constantine." But the Western Church estimated the dignity of the

Bishops by their Apostolic origin; and in consequence, "the Roman Bishops strenuously opposed the opinion that they and the other Patriarchs owed their preeminence to the importance of the cities in which they resided; and hence their opposition to the honours paid the Bishop of Constantinople, for which no other reason was pretended than his residence in the chief city of the East." Gieseler. i. § 91 and 92. St. Peter is mentioned as the first Bishop of Antioch by Origen (Homil. 6. in Luc. tom. iii.) and Eusebius (Hist. 3. 36). See also Tillemont, tom. i. S. Pierre, § 27.

“ sacerdotal function, or ecclesiastical ministrations. For A. D. 415.
 “ though their Baptism is valid, it does not confer grace
 “ on them; and this is why their laymen are not received
 “ without the imposition of hands, in order to give them the
 “ Holy Spirit.” Pope St. Innocent enjoins Alexander of
 Antioch to communicate these decisions to the other Bishops,
 by reading his letter to them, which he desires may be done,
 if possible, in a Council.

St. Alexander of Antioch, being come to Constantinople, XXVII.
 spoke boldly for the memory of St. John Chrysostom, and Memory of
 urged the people to compel the Bishop Atticus to place his St. Chry-
 name in the diptychs, but he could not succeed¹. Atticus sostom
 would not agree to it for a long time: and Pope St. Innocent re-esta-
 refused likewise to grant him his communion, notwithstand- blished.
 ing the entreaties of Maximian, a Bishop of Macedonia, who ¹ Ep. Attic.
 had been a friend to St. John Chrysostom². St. Alexander ap. Cyr. v.
 did not hold the see of Antioch very long, and was suc- pars 2.
 ceeded by Theodotus, a man of very exact life, and of extra- p. 202. D.
 ordinary gentleness³. He allowed himself to be persuaded ² Innoc. Ep.
 to reunite to the Church the remainder of the Apollinarians, 16. al. 22.
 though many of them professed openly enough their errors. ad Max.
 The people obliged him likewise to place the name of St. ³ Theod.
 John Chrysostom in the diptychs; but Theodotus, fearing Hist. 5. 38.
 that Atticus of Constantinople might be displeased at it, de-
 sired Acacius of Berrhoea to write to him about it, praying
 him to forgive him what he had done through necessity.
 Acacius wrote likewise to St. Cyril⁴, acquainting him that ⁴ Cyr. Ep.
 the Bishop of Antioch had been compelled to receive the ad Attic. v.
 name of John, that he had scruples about it, but that he p. 207. C.
 had done it to protect himself against violence. The Priest
 who carried [Acacius’] letter to Constantinople, spread
 among the people the cause of his voyage and the contents
 of the letter, which had like to have occasioned great dis-
 orders. Atticus was alarmed at this, and went to the Em-
 peror to find some means of quieting the people, and restor-
 ing peace. The Emperor answered that to procure so great
 a blessing as union, there was no great harm in writing the
 name of a dead man. Atticus yielded to this authority, and
 to the inclination of the people, and caused the name of St.
 John Chrysostom to be set down in the ecclesiastical register.

A. D. 415. He likewise wrote immediately to St. Cyril of Alexandria¹ to justify his conduct, and exhort him to follow his example.

¹ Cyr. Ep. ad Attic. v. p. 201. "There are cases," he says, "where we must prefer the good of peace to the strictness of rules; though we ought not to habituate the people to govern, as in a democracy. Nevertheless, I do not think that I have offended against the canons: for the blessed John is named not among the deceased Bishops only, but likewise among the laymen and women². And there is a great difference between the living and the dead, since they are even set down in different books. The honourable funeral of Saul was of no prejudice to David³: Eudoxius, the Arian, does not injure the Apostles, though buried under the same Altar^m: Paulinus and Evagrius, the authors of the schism of Antioch, have been received since their death in the sacred diptychs for this long time past." We have the answer of St. Cyril⁴, in which he blames Atticus for having placed the name of John in the rank of the Bishops, as an attempt against the canons. And he was obliged to speak thus, since he admitted the legitimacy of the Council which had deposed John.

² V. Supr. 22. 43. note h.]

³ 2 Sam. 2. 5.

⁴ Cyr. v. p. 204.

⁵ p. 205. B. "You have been now so long," says he⁵, "on the throne of Constantinople, and no one has refused to join in your assemblies. Who then are those whose reunion obliges you to exclude from the Church, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis?" These were the three provinces belonging to Egypt, in which St. John Chrysostom was held to be lawfully condemned. "Let us therefore," he concludes⁶, "leave Arsacius in possession of the next place after Nectarius of blessed memory." St. Isidore of Pelusium also wrote to St. Cyril with strength and authority upon this subject⁷, exhorting him not to fellow the passion of his uncle, and not to maintain an eternal division in the Church, under the

^m Eudoxius, a native of Arabissus in Armenia, after having been refused ordination by St. Eustathius of Antioch, was elevated by the Arians to the see of Germanicia, a city on the confines of Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and assisted at the Council of Antioch in A. D. 341. In 358 he possessed himself of the see of Antioch, but in consequence of his connection with Aecius and the Anomæans, was expelled the

same year by the Semi-Arian party. He contrived, however, to recover the favour of Constantius, and, on the triumph of the Acacians in 360, obtained the see of Constantinople, which he held during eleven years till his death in 370, when he was buried under the Altar, where lay the sacred reliques of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy. Tillemont, tom. vi. les Ariens.

pretence of piety. St. Cyril at last submitted, and the Church of Alexandria, from the year 419, was in communion with the Roman Church. A. D. 415.

Pelagius was still in the East, and had powerful protectors there; amongst others, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, whom some have even esteemed the author of his heresy¹. Theodorus, in order to maintain it, wrote five books², "Against those who said that men sinned by Nature, and not by Will;" that is, against the Catholic belief of original sin. He said, that "the author of that heresy came from the West, and dwelt in the East." He called him Haram, but it is evident that he meant St. Jerome. For besides the doctrine in question, he accused him of having forged a fifth Gospel, saying that he had found it in the library of Eusebius of Palestine. This is the Gospel of St. Matthew according to the Nazarenes, which St. Jerome quotes often, and even in his dialogues against the Pelagians. Theodorus likewise accused him of having rejected the Septuagint and the other ancient versions, to set up a new one, though he had only learned Hebrew late in life, and had been taught by some of the most contemptible among the Jews.

He said that this man, having composed discourses on the new heresy which he had invented, had sent them to his native country, that is to say, into the West, where he had seduced many persons, and even whole Churches. These are the errors which he attributes to him: I. That men sin by nature; not that nature in which Adam was first created, because it was good, and was the work of God; but that of which he partook after his sin, which is bad and mortal. That thus men are become wicked, and have sin, in their nature, and not in their choice. II. That even new-born children are not free from sin; because, since the fall of Adam, his nature, which is extended over his whole race, is subject to sin, "of which they adduce for proof," says Theodorus, "I was conceived in sin³," and the like passages; as ³ Ps. 51. 5.
 "well as Baptism and the Communion of the Body of our Saviour for the remission of sins, since these are given even to infants". III. That there is none righteous among men.

XXVIII.
Theodorus
of Mop-
suestia, a
Pelagian.
¹ Mercat.
Com. adv.
Pel. init.
² Phot.
Cod. 177.

^c ⁿ "It is beyond dispute, that as she gave them the unction of chrism, [the Church] baptized infants and with imposition of hands for Con-

A. D. 415. IV. That even JESUS CHRIST our GOD was not pure from sin, since He took upon Him that nature which was infected with it; though elsewhere they say that the incarnation was not real, but only in appearance. V. That marriage, and all that serves to propagate mankind, are the works of the corrupt nature into which Adam fell by his sin. Such are the errors which Theodorus of Mopsuestia ascribed to the new heretics of the West; but, in reality, they are nothing but the doctrine of the Catholic Church, as it was disfigured by the Pelagians, in order to make it appear odious.

XXIX.
Writings of
Pelagius.
A. D. 416.

Orosius returned from Palestine towards the spring of the year 416, and brought some of St. Stephen's reliques with him. He was likewise charged with St. Jerome's answer to St. Augustine, concerning his questions upon the origin of the soul, and the equality of sins¹. St. Jerome professes much esteem and affection for St. Augustine, but excuses himself for not answering his questions at that juncture, because of the difficulty of the times, and lest, if they should not be of the same opinion, the heretics might take that opportunity of calumniating them. It is likely that with this letter Orosius brought the dialogues of St. Jerome, because St. Augustine soon after quoted them in a letter which he wrote to Oceanus². He also brought letters with him from Heros and Lazarus against Pelagius and Cælestius³. They mentioned⁴ that Pelagius continued at Jerusalem, and deceived some people there; but that those who were able to see deeper into his opinions, resisted him strenuously, and above all St. Jerome. In fact, Pelagius had become bolder after the Council of Diospolis, and made great account of the acquittal he had there received. Yet he dared not shew the Acts of the Council, because it would have been seen from them that he had been forced to disown his errors⁵; on the contrary, he prevented the publication of them as long as he could, and contented himself with spreading abroad a letter which he wrote to a Priest of his acquaintance⁶, in which he said that fourteen Bishops, that is to say, the Council of Diospolis, had

¹ Aug. Ep. 172. al. 30. Hier. Ep. 79. al. 94.

² Ep. 180. al. 260. § 5.

³ Ep. 175. al. 90. init.

⁴ Ep. 176. al. 92. § 4.

⁵ Ep. 183. al. 96. Inn. § 3.

⁶ Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. c. 30. § 54.

"firmation, so she immediately admitted them to a participation of the Eucharist, as soon as they were baptized, and ever after without exception." Bingham. 15. 4. § 7. See

Aug. de Pecc. Mer. 1. c. 20. § 26. and Innoc. Ep. 25. al. 30. ad Milev. The Council of Trent (Sess. 21. c. 4.) decreed that it was not necessary to the salvation of infants.

approved what he maintained, viz. "that man may be with-
 "out sin, and may easily keep the commandments of God, if
 "he will." But he did not say that he had added these
 words in the Council, viz. "with the grace of God;" and he
 added in his letter the word "easily," which he had not dared
 to pronounce in the Council; on the contrary, he had said
 that it was necessary to labour and strive¹.

He even wrote a short Apology², in which he defended
 himself by the authority of that Council, saying, that he had
 in it answered the objections of the Bishops of Gaul, and had
 been fully acquitted; and he sent that Apology to St. Au-
 gustine, by a Deacon named Carus³. St. Augustine suspected
 its truth, and that Pelagius had only been absolved by pre-
 tending to be a Catholic; but as he had no proofs then to con-
 vict him, he did not write upon the subject. About this time,
 Pelagius composed his four books "On Free Will" against
 St. Jerome, in which he boasted of that Council⁴. In the
 third book⁵ he explained the grounds of his doctrine, dis-
 tinguishing the power, the will, and the fact⁶, that is to say,
 the action; and thereby it might be seen what Pelagius
 meant whenever he spoke of the grace or the assistance of
 God^o.

Orosius presented the letters of Heros and Lazarus to the
 Council, which was held, according to custom, at Carthage
 by the Bishops of the Proconsular province, in the year 416.
 The Bishops were sixty-eight in number, and the chief of
 them were Aurelius of Carthage, who presided, Vincentius of
 Culusus and Theasius of Membresa⁷. The letters of Heros
 and Lazarus having been read in this Council, the Acts of
 the Council of Carthage were likewise read, in which Cælestius
 had been condemned about five years before⁸. After having
 read them, the Bishops were of opinion that the authors of
 this error, that is to say, Pelagius and Cælestius, ought to be
 anathematized themselves, if they did not very plainly anathe-
 matize their errors; in order that the sentence thus pro-
 nounced against them being made public, might, at any rate,
 reclaim those whom they either had deceived, or might
 deceive for the time to come, even if it had no effect upon

^o He maintained that the *power act* from man alone,
 only was from God, the *will* and the

[¹ laborare
 et agoni-
 zare]

² Aug. x.
 de Gest.
 Pel. § 1.
 Ep. 179.
 al. 252. § 7.

³ De Gest.
 c. 32. § 57.

⁴ Ep. 186.
 al. 106.
 c. 10. § 34.
 De Pecc.
 Orig. c. 14.
 § 15.

⁵ De Grat.
 Chr. c. 4.
 § 5.
 [⁶ posse,
 velle, esse]

XXX.
 Councils of
 Carthage
 and Mile-
 vum.

⁷ Aug. Ep.
 175. al. 90.
 ad Inn.

⁸ Supr. 2.

A. D. 416. the authors themselves; for there were a vast number of people, who by dint of talking and disputing drew after them the weak, and wearied even the most steadfast in the faith¹.

¹ Ep. 177. al. 95. ad Inn. § 3.

The Council thought fit likewise to communicate their judgment to the Pope St. Innocent, in order to join the apostolical authority to their own². And the rather, because the Bishops in Africa were informed that Pelagius had several

² Ep. 175. § 2.

people of his party at Rome³, where he had lived a long time; some of whom supported his doctrine, but the greater part did not believe it to be such as it was represented, chiefly by reason of the Council of Diospolis, in which it was pretended that he had been absolved. Accordingly, the Bishops of the Council of Carthage wrote a synodical letter to the Pope, to which they annexed the letters of Heros and Lazarus, with the Acts of this last Council, comprising also those of the Council of the year 412. In these letters they mention the principal errors of Pelagius, which they refute concisely by the authority of the Scripture; and they conclude in the following manner⁴: “Although Pelagius and Cælestius dis-

³ Ep. 175. § 6.

“own the doctrine and the writings produced against them, “without its being possible to convict them of falsehood, “nevertheless we must anathematize in general, whosoever “teacheth that human nature is sufficient to escape sin, and “perform the commandments of God, in that he thus shews “himself an enemy to His grace, which is so plainly declared “by the prayers of the Saints; and moreover, whosoever “denieth that by the Baptism of CHRIST infants are de- “livered from perdition, and obtain everlasting salvation.”

⁴ Ep. 178. al. 94. ad Hil. § 2.

About the same time a Council was held at Milevum, composed of the Bishops of Numidia⁵, to the number of sixty-one; whereof the principal were Silvanus of Summa, the Primate, Aurelius of Macommades, Alypius, St. Augustine, Severus of Milevum, Fortunatus of Cirtha, Possidius of Calama⁶. These Bishops being informed of the proceedings of the Council of Carthage, wrote, after their example, to the Pope St. Innocent, desiring in like manner that he would condemn this heresy, which robbed adults of prayer⁷, and infants of Baptism.

⁵ Ep. 176. al. 92. ad Inn.

[⁷ i. e. the petition, Forgive us our trespasses]

⁶ Ep. 177. al. 93.

Besides these synodical letters, St. Augustine wrote one to Pope St. Innocent⁸, in the name of five Bishops, of whom

he was himself one: the others were Aurelius of Carthage, Alypius, Evodius, and Possidius. It was in the nature of a familiar letter¹, in which they explained the whole affair of Pelagius more at large, and begged that the Pope would summon him to Rome² to be strictly examined, that he might know what kind of grace he admitted; or to correspond with him on the same subject by letters, in order that if he acknowledged the grace which the Church taught, he might be absolved without difficulty. With this letter the Bishops sent to the Pope the book of Pelagius, which Timasius and James had sent to St. Augustine, and the answer which the latter had made to it³.

In this book of Pelagius they had marked the places from which it appeared that he acknowledged no other grace than that nature wherein God has created us. The letter added⁴, "If he disowns this book or these passages, we con-⁴ § 7. tend no further: let him anathematize them, and frankly confess the grace peculiar to Christians." And afterwards⁵,⁵ § 15. "When his friends shall see that book anathematized, not only by the authority of the Catholic Bishops, and particularly by your holiness, but also by himself, we do not believe that they will dare to speak any more against the grace of God." St. Augustine likewise sent to the Pope the letter which he had written to Pelagius upon his Apology, delivered to him by the Deacon Carus; begging the Pope to forward it to him, in order that he might be the more willing to read it. These three letters, viz. those of the Councils of Carthage and Milevum, and the letter of the five Bishops, were sent to Rome by a Bishop whose name was Julius⁶.

About the same time St. Augustine having heard that John, Bishop of Jerusalem, had a great regard for Pelagius, wrote to him to be on his guard against him⁷, and sent him the same book which he had received from Timasius and James, with his answer to it; praying the Bishop John to oblige Pelagius to explain himself upon the necessity of prayer and on original sin. "I pray you likewise," said he⁸, "to send us⁸ § 7. the Ecclesiastical Acts, by which it is reported he is justified. I ask this of you in the name of several Bishops, who are in the same difficulty that I am on this subject." The Pope St. Innocent wrote also to John of Jerusalem, concern-

A. D. 416.

¹ Ep. 186.

al. 106.

ad Paul.

§ 2.

² Ep. 177.

§ 3.

³ § 6.⁴ § 7.⁵ § 15.⁶ Innoc.

Ep. 26.

ap. Aug.

Ep. 188.

al. 96. init.]

XXXI.

Letters to

John of Je-

rusalem.

⁷ Ep. 179.

al. 252.

A. D. 416. ing the violence committed in Palestine by a set of Pelagians¹, who attacked St. Jerome, and the pious persons of both sexes, who were under his care. Some of them were killed, among others a Deacon; the monasteries were burned and plundered. St. Jerome himself escaped with difficulty to a fortified tower.

The two virgins, St. Eustochium and her niece St. Paula², were plundered and pursued, and made their escape with much difficulty, after having seen their servants massacred before their faces. These ladies likewise complained to the Pope St. Innocent, as had also been done by St. Jerome, without, however, naming any one³. This was the subject of his letter to John of Jerusalem, in which he said that the author of these violences was not unknown, but that John ought to prevent them by his care, or at least, after the evil had been done, to comfort and relieve the sufferers; and he warned him to see that it was done, if he would not himself be answerable, according to the laws of the Church. He also

wrote a consolatory letter to St. Jerome⁴, in which he said that if he would send accusations to him against any definite person, he would appoint judges, or provide a more speedy remedy. This letter is remarkable, as shewing the authority of the Pope throughout the whole Church. It is thought that these letters did not find John of Jerusalem alive when they arrived in Palestine; for he died on the tenth of January, in the year 417. He had succeeded St. Cyril⁵, and had held the see of Jerusalem upwards of forty years. He was succeeded by Praxillus, whose manners were conformable to his name, which, in Greek, signifies "meek⁶." He held the see for about thirteen years.

The Pope St. Innocent wrote in the same year 416, (which was the last of his Pontificate,) a famous decretal letter to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium in Umbria⁷. He first complains of the neglect of the traditions which the Roman Church had received from the Apostle St. Peter; "especially," he says, "since it is well known that there were no Churches founded by any one, either in Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, Sicily, or in the adjacent islands, unless by those whom the Apostle St. Peter or his successors had appointed Bishops." And afterwards; "You have, without doubt, been often at Rome; you have been present at the as-

XXXII. Decretal of St. Innocent to Decentius.
¹ Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. in fin.
² [daughter of Toxotius and Læta: Tillem. xii. S. Jer. §97.]
³ Innoc. Ep. 32. al. 35.
⁴ Ep. 33. al. 34.
⁵ Supr. 18. 36.
⁶ Theod. Hist. 5. 33.
⁷ Innoc. Ep. 1. al. 25.

since it is well known that there were no Churches founded by any one, either in Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, Sicily, or in the adjacent islands, unless by those whom the Apostle St. Peter or his successors had appointed Bishops." And afterwards; "You have, without doubt, been often at Rome; you have been present at the as-

“semblies of our Church, and you have seen the customs A. D. 416.
 “which it observes, whether in the consecration of the
 “Mysteries, or in the other secret actions; and this would be
 “sufficient for your instruction.” We may see here how the
 Bishops were taught the administration of the sacraments by
 example, and by a living tradition. Then coming to parti-
 culars, the Pope declares¹, “that the kiss of peace is not to 1 c. 1.
 “be given till after the consecration of the Mysteries, to shew
 “that the people have consented to it, and that the service is
 “ended^p. That the names² of those who have made oblations 2 c. 2.
 “are not to be repeated till after the Priest has commended
 “the oblations themselves to God in his prayer,” by which
 the Memento in the canon is to be understood^q: “that the
 “leaven ought not to be sent to the country churches³.” 3 c. 5.
 It is thought that this leaven was a part of the Eucharist,
 which was reserved after the Sacrifice, to be mixed with the
 next succeeding Sacrifice, as a sacred leaven, and sensible
 token that it is ever the same oblation of the same Body of
 CHRIST^r. This the Pope used to send every Sunday through-

^p The order of the ancient and Apostolic Roman Liturgy may be found in Palmer's Orig. Lit., vol. i. p. 122. The Gallican Liturgy, derived probably through the Church of Lyons from the Asiatic Churches and St. John, differed in some respects from this; and one of the points of difference was in the position of the kiss of peace, which in the Roman Liturgy followed, while in the Gallican and Eastern Liturgies it preceded the canon. The kiss itself formed a part of all the ancient Liturgies, the Eastern Churches regarding it as a symbol of charity and reconciliation, the Western as a testimony of consent and a seal of prayer. Bingham. 15. 3. § 3.

^q This was another point of difference in the Roman and Gallican Liturgies. (Palmer's Orig. i. p. 119.) “It was an ancient custom, derived from Apostolical practice, for all communicants, that were of ability, to make their oblations of bread and wine, and sometimes other things, at the Altar: out of which both the elements were taken, and a common feast was made for the poor:” and “it was usual in many places to rehearse the names of such as offered, that a commemoration of them might be made,

“and prayers and praises be offered to God for them at the Altar.” Bingham. 15. 2. § 1, 4. In the Western Church these oblations were made at the time corresponding to our Offertory (Palmer's Orig., ii. p. 67): and the commendation of these gifts to God is retained in our Prayer for the Church Militant, in which we beseech Him to accept our oblations as well as our alms and prayers. (Ibid. p. 86.) The Memento of the Roman Liturgy, or commemoration of the givers, was attached to the petition for the people in the same prayer. (Ibid. p. 92.)

^r This “fermentum, as it is called (quod nominatur)” is mentioned in the lives of the Popes Melchisedech, A. D. 311, and Siricius, A. D. 385, where it is evidently used as a technical word, and not intended literally to signify leaven. Mabillon, after Sirmond, considers it to be the term applied to a portion of the Eucharist, which was sent round to the Priests of the parish churches in token of their communion with and subjection to the Bishop, as well as to indicate the perpetual unity of the Sacrifice: and he supposes that the Holy Mystery was purposely concealed under an allegorical name, intended to intimate its leavening and assimilating

- A. D. 416. out the several *titles* in Rome, i. e. throughout the churches of the city, whose Priests could not assemble that day with him, on account of the people committed to their care. They therefore received from the Acolytes the leaven consecrated by the Pope, as a mark of communion; but it was not sent to the Priests of the distant cemeteries, because the sacraments are not to be carried to a great distance; and these Priests of the cemeteries were authorized to consecrate them^s. "All our Churches," said the Pope, "are within the city," that is, his diocese¹ extended no further; and accordingly we find Bishops in the little cities that lay nearest to Rome, such as Ostia, Præneste, and Tibur.
- ² c. 4. "Every Saturday², as well as Friday, is to be kept as a fast, and on these two days the Mysteries are not celebrated, in commemoration of the sorrow in which the Apostles spent them." This was the practice of the Church of Rome; the others fasted on the Holy Saturday alone out of all the Saturdays in the year. "Those who
- ³ c. 6. "after Baptism shall be possessed of a devil³ may receive the imposition of hands from a Priest, or any other clerk, but only by order of the Bishop. Penitents ought only
- ⁴ c. 7. "to receive absolution on Holy Thursday⁴, unless in a case of necessity^t. The Bishop only has power to give to
- ⁵ c. 3. "children the sacred seal⁵," (i. e. the sacrament of Confirmation.) "This we are taught," says the Pope, "not only by the practice of the Churches, but also by the Holy Scrip-
- ⁶ Acts 8. 14. "ture in the Acts, in the persons of St. Peter and St. John⁶. Priests may, indeed, administer to those who are baptized the unction of chrism, provided it has been consecrated by the Bishop; but they may not anoint the forehead with it, this being the prerogative of the Bishops alone, when they

virtues. The custom fell into disuse before the ninth century. Mabill. Diss. de Az. ac Ferm. c. 10, appended to his Vet. Anal., tom. i. and Comment. in Ord. Rom. 6. § 1, 2, prefixed to Musæi Italici, tom. ii.

^s Rome was ecclesiastically divided into seven larger districts, or *diaconie*; into *tituli*, or parishes within the walls, and *parocchie*, or suburban parishes: and besides the parish churches there were *cameteria*, or churches in honour of

Martyrs, to which no cure of souls was attached. Mabil. Com. in Ord. Rom. 3. See Bingham. 8. 1. § 9, 10.

^t The day of our LORD's betrayal was early set apart as a proper season for granting absolution. (Ambros. Ep. 20. al. 33. ad Marc. § 26.) It was also a custom with the Emperors since Valentinian, to grant pardons to criminals at Easter. Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 38. de Indulg. Crim. Bingham. 19. 2. § 10.

“ give the HOLY GHOST^u. The unction of the sick may be A. D. 416.
 “ performed by Priests¹ [and even laymen], in accordance ¹ c. 8.
 “ with the Epistle of St. James; and for this reason, because Jam. 5. 14.
 “ the other employments of the Bishops do not allow them
 “ to go and visit all the sick; but the oil of this unction
 “ ought to be consecrated by the Bishop. It is not given to
 “ penitents, because it is a sacrament.” Thus we see the
 two sacraments of Confirmation and Extreme Unction fully
 established in this decretal on Tradition and Scripture^x. The
 Pope concludes: “ When you shall come hither, I shall be
 “ able to tell you all the rest, which it would not have been
 “ lawful to write.” He had already said², (speaking of the ² c. 1.
 Holy Sacrifice), “ after all those things are done which I
 “ ought not to reveal;” and speaking of Confirmation³, “ I ³ c. 3.
 “ cannot say the words, lest I should seem rather to betray
 “ the Mysteries than to answer a question.” Such was even
 then the inviolable secrecy of the Mysteries.

This decretal is dated the fourteenth of the calends of XXXIII.
 April, under the Consulate of Theodosius and of Palladius, Other De-
 i. e. the nineteenth of March, 416. We have likewise several cretals,
 other decretals of Pope St. Innocent to various Bishops of
 Italy, but we are ignorant of the time at which they were
 written: one to Felix, Bishop of Nuceria⁴, concerning or-
 dinations⁵; in which he declares⁶ that the mutilation of a [⁴ in Gallia
 finger, or any other part of the body, does not disqualify any Cispadana]
 clerk, except it be voluntary; and not when it happens by ⁵ Ep. 4.
 accident, as while working in the country. That among the al. 37.
⁶ c. 1.

^u Confirmation, in the ancient Church, was given immediately after Baptism, and was generally regarded as a part of that sacrament. It consisted of the unction of chrism (so called to distinguish it from the “ unction of mystical oil” before Baptism: Bingham, 11. 9. § 2), the sign of the cross, and the imposition of hands with prayer. Bingham, 12.

^x The word “ sacramentum” had not as yet received any formal definition, and was generally employed in a much wider signification than our Church has now attached to it. It seems in the earliest times to have been understood to mean simply “ an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace” (rerum occultarum sacratis et

evidentibus signis, Aug. x. de Pecc. Orig. c. 40. § 45); and thus not only Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, but also the imposition of hands (Cyprian, Ep. 72. ad Steph.) and the chrism which accompanied Baptism (Pacian, Serm. de Bapt. ap. Bibl. PP. iv. p. 318. h), the anointing of the sick mentioned by St. Innocent in the text, exorcism and exsufflation (Aug. x. de Pecc. Orig. c. 40), and the salt which was given to catechumens (Aug. x. de Pecc. Mer. 2. c. 26), and even the petitions of the Lord’s Prayer (Cyprian, de Orat. Dom. p. 206) were called “ sacramenta.” See Bingham, 12. 1. § 4, and Gieseler, vol. ii. § 77.

A. D. 416. laity¹, those were disqualified for orders, who after their Baptism had borne arms, pleaded causes, or executed any public administration²; as well as those who were called Curiales, for fear they should be recalled to serve in cities³; and those also who had kept a concubine⁴: and all bigamists, among whom are comprised those who had married widows⁵.

In two other epistles, one of which is addressed to Maximus and Severus, Bishops in the province of the Brutii, or Calabria⁶, and the other to Agapitus, Macedonius, and Marianus, Bishops in Apulia⁷, the Pope enjoins those Bishops to summon before them certain clerks, who had been accused before him by some private persons, and to depose them if the accusations proved true. But when Florentius, Bishop of Tibur, was accused of encroaching on the territory of his neighbour, the Pope invites him to come to Rome after Easter, in order that his claims might be there determined⁸; that is, he summons before his own Council this neighbouring Bishop, and refers the more distant clergy to their respective Bishops. In another decretal⁹ he determines that a second marriage, contracted during the captivity of a former wife, ought to be declared null at her return. There are three decretals directed to the Bishops of Macedonia, occasioned by certain ordinations made by Bonosus, who was condemned under Pope Siricius, about the year 390¹. Pope St. Innocent received a synodical letter from upwards of twenty-three Bishops of Macedonia, of whom Rufus and Eusebius were the chief, asking his advice on various matters of discipline relating to ordinations, and those of heretics in particular. Pope St. Innocent in his answer² first lays it down as a maxim³ that the ordinations of heretics are invalid, that is to say, that they ought to be ineffectual; and that those whom they have ordained, on returning to the Church, ought to be considered no otherwise than as laymen, like all other public sinners, because ordination does not obliterate crimes. He proves this maxim⁴ by the conduct of Anysius of Thessalonica, and of the Bishops, his contemporaries, who had only received those whom Bonosus had ordained by way of dispensation, and to avoid scandal, which plainly proves that the ancient apostolical rule was opposed to it.

¹ c. 3.² V. Ep. Siric. ad Himer. c. 5. Supr. 18. 34. [³ Supr. 19. 14. note m.]⁴ c. 4.⁵ c. 2.⁶ Ep. 5. al. 38.⁷ Ep. 6. al. 39.⁸ Ep. 8. al. 40.⁹ Ep. 9. al. 36. ad Prob.¹ Supr. 19. 27.² Ep. 22. al. 17.³ c. 3, 4.⁴ c. 5.

It was pretended that Bonosus had ordained several persons in opposition to their own inclinations¹. To which the Pope answers, that "this may indeed be believed of those who, after this ordination, had immediately withdrawn from his communion to return to the Church. But as to those who did not return till after a year, or a month, we may consider them as persons who, feeling themselves unworthy of lawful ordination, addressed themselves to him who bestowed it on all comers, hoping, when once ordained, to preserve their places in the Catholic Church. Again, a distinction ought to be made between those who have not performed any function, and those who have consecrated and distributed the Mysteries, and celebrated the masses according to custom." The Pope concludes² that what has been granted to the necessity of the times ought not to become a precedent when the Church is in peace; and lays down this important maxim, viz. that when a whole people have sinned, many faults are overlooked, because of the impossibility of punishing all the guilty. This decretal is dated the thirteenth of December, under the Consulate of Constantius, i. e. in the year 414. Pope St. Innocent being at Ravenna, to transact some affairs for the people of Rome, had a deputation sent him from certain persons, who alleged that they had been ordained by Bonosus before his condemnation; and he wrote to Martian, Bishop of Naissus³, to receive them in case their representation should be found true⁴. But as for the followers of Bonosus, who were also called Photinians, because they denied, like Photinius, the divinity of CHRIST, Pope St. Innocent wrote to Laurentius⁵, Bishop of Segna⁶, to expel them [from his diocese], as Mark their leader had been expelled from Rome, and [thus] to prevent their seducing simple people and peasants.

In the year 416, under the Consulate of Palladius, on the second of June, Pope St. Innocent wrote to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, a severe epistle relating to ordinations⁷. He there complains that the Church is treated with great indignity in Africa, and the Bishops elected so carelessly, that

A. D. 416.

¹ Ep. 22.
al. 17. c. 5.² c. 6.³ in Mæsia superior]
⁴ Ep. 21.
al. 16.⁵ Ep. 20.
al. 41.
⁶ in Croatia]XXXIV.
Letters
to the
Africans.
⁷ Ep. 12.

^v This epistle, from the collection of Isidorus Mercator, is rejected as spurious by Coustant. Præf. Ep. Pont. § 10. See Tillemont, tom. x. S. Innoc. § 13.

A. D. 416. complaints about it are in every body's mouth, and even in the letters of the governors. That clerks who have from their infancy been brought up in the learning and service of the Church have been rejected, to make room for the sudden elevation to the sacerdotal function of men involved in business, and of entirely secular habits. He entreats Aurelius to cause this epistle to be read in all the churches of Africa, as well as those of the Præfects, which he despatched to him. This disorder might be owing to the scarcity of clergy, of which we have already seen that Aurelius himself complained in full council¹.

¹ Supr. 21.

13.

A. D. 417.

Pope St. Innocent having received the synodical letters sent to him from the Council of Milevum, and the private epistle of the five Bishops, answered them by different letters, all three dated the same day, namely, the sixth of the calends of February, after the seventh Consulate of Theodosius, and Junius Quartus Palladius, or under the Consulate of Honorius and Constantius, i. e. the twenty-seventh of January, 417. The Bishop Julius, who had brought the letters from the Africans, was the bearer also of the answers. The two first², written in answer to the two synodical epistles, are pretty nearly alike. The Pope begins with commending the Bishops of Africa for having, in conformity with the ancient practice, consulted the Holy See, on whose authority and dignity he does not omit to expatiate. He briefly states

² Innoc.

Ep. 24, 25.

ap. Aug.

181, 182.

al. 91, 93.

³ Ep. 181.

§ 8, 9.

⁴ Ep. 182.

§ 6.

the doctrine of the Catholic Church with respect to grace³, and condemns Pelagius, Cælestius, and their followers⁴, declaring them to be cut off from the communion of the Church; with a proviso however, of readmitting them into it, if they would renounce their errors. In the third epistle⁵,

⁵ Innoc.

Ep. 26. ap.

Aug. 183.

al. 96.

which is in answer to the five Bishops, Pope St. Innocent says that he can neither affirm nor deny that there are Pelagians at Rome⁶, because if there are any, they take care to conceal themselves, and are not easily discovered in so great a multitude of people. He adds, speaking of Pelagius⁷, "We cannot persuade ourselves that he has been acquitted, though some laymen have brought certain Acts, by which he pretends to have been absolved. But we doubt the authenticity of these Acts, as they were not communicated to us by the Council, and as we have not

⁶ § 2.

⁷ § 3.

“ received one single letter from those who took part in it. A. D. 417.
 “ For if Pelagius had been sure of his justification, he cer-
 “ tainly would not have failed to oblige his judges to send us
 “ an account of it. And even according to the Acts them-
 “ selves, he was not distinctly justified; but rather wholly
 “ employed himself in seeking out evasions, and endeavour-
 “ ing to confuse the investigation: for which reason we can
 “ neither approve nor censure this sentence¹. If Pelagius ¹ § 4.
 “ pretends that he has nothing to fear, it is not our business
 “ to send for him, but rather his to haste hither, and get
 “ himself acquitted. If he still entertains the same senti-
 “ ments, let him receive never so many letters, he will never
 “ venture to expose himself to our judgment; and if he ought
 “ to be sent for, this ought rather to be done by those who
 “ are nearer. We have read through the book², said to be ² § 5.
 “ written by him, which you sent us, and have found in it
 “ many propositions against the grace of God, many blas-
 “ phemies, nothing that pleased us, and scarcely any thing
 “ but what displeased us, and ought to be rejected by all
 “ men.” This is the judgment of Pope St. Innocent upon
 the doctrine of Pelagius.

This holy Pope died a short time after, on the twelfth of XXXV.
 March in the same year 417, after having held the Holy See Death of
 about fifteen years³. He dedicated a church in the name of St. Inno-
 St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, for building which, Vestina, cent.
 an illustrious woman, had bequeathed a sum of money, which Zosimus
 was accordingly applied to this purpose under the care of Ur- Pope.
 sinus and Leopardus, Priests, and Libianus, Deacon. There 3 Martyr.
 was placed in it a great number of silver vessels, and among Bed.
 the rest a tower to receive the Holy Eucharist, and a gilded Usuard.&c.
 dove. For the Baptistery there was a silver stag which ap. præf.
 poured out water; a vessel for the holy chrism, and another in Ep. 186.
 for the oil of exorcism. The weight of all the silver vessels Aug.
 of this church amounted to four hundred and forty-eight Lib. Pon-
 Roman pounds, making about five hundred and ninety marks⁴. tif. ap.
 There were also thirty-six large copper candlesticks⁵, weighing Concil. ii.
 nine hundred and sixty pounds⁶, besides a great number of p. 1242.
 silver candlesticks, which shews that the churches were well (iii.p.1025.)
 illuminated for the night services. The revenue of this
 church, arising from houses in Rome and lands in Italy,

[⁴ 329 lbs. avoirdupois]
 [⁵ Phara canthara]
 [⁶ 705 lbs. av.]

A. D. 417. amounted to seven hundred and eighty-six pence of gold¹,
 [1 728l. 1s. amounting in our money to six thousand two hundred and
 2d.] eighty-eight livres. Pope St. Innocent was buried in the
 cemetery of Priscilla, and was succeeded by Zosimus, a Greek
 by birth, who held the see a year and nine months².

² Prosp.
 Chr. p. 650.

³ Ep. Pasch.
 ap. S. Leon.
 A. D. 443.
 Concil. iii.
 p. 1348.
 (v. p. 1222.)

In this year, 417, Easter, according to the true computa-
 tion, fell on the tenth of the calends of May, i. e. the twenty-
 second of April³. Nevertheless some in the West made a
 mistake, and celebrated Easter on the eighth of the calends of
 April, i. e. the twenty-fifth of March; however, the error was
 discovered, and the true calculation confirmed by a miracle.
 In Sicily, amidst high mountains and thick forests, stood a
 little village called Meltinas, having in it a very small and
 poorly built church; but whose baptismal fonts filled of
 themselves every year, on the night preceding Easter Sun-
 day, at the hour of solemn Baptism, though there was
 neither canal, pipe, nor any water near them; and after the
 few persons who were there had been baptized, the water ran
 off in the same manner as it had come, without any channel.
 This year, however, after the lessons appointed for the night
 of Easter Sunday had been read, the Priest being prepared
 to baptize according to custom, waited in vain for the water,
 even till [day-break], when those who were to have been
 baptized, withdrew. But in the night between Saturday and
 Sunday, the twenty-second of April, the sacred fonts were
 filled with water at the proper hour. Thus it clearly appears
 that those Western Churches were mistaken in their calcula-
 tion. Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybœum, related this miracle
 twenty-six years after, on the testimony of a Deacon named
 Libanius. Several other similar cases are related of bap-
 tismal fonts that filled of themselves⁴.

⁴ Mosch.
 Prat. Spirit.
 c. 214. 215.
 ap. Rosw. 10.
 Greg. Tur.
 de Glor.
 Mart. l. c. 24.
 Cassiod.
 Var. 8. 33.

XXXVI.
 St. Au-
 gustine's
 books on
 the Trinity.
 A. D. 416.

About this time St. Augustine finished his books on the
 Trinity, which he had begun about the year 400. He had
 laid aside that work when he found that the first books had
 been surreptitiously taken from him before he had finished
 and corrected them, as he had intended to publish them all
 at the same time, because they were connected together by
 a progressive advance of knowledge⁵. However, he suffered
 himself to be prevailed on to complete and correct this work,
 not as he wished, but as he was able, so as not to vary too

⁵ Aug. Ep.
 174. ad Aur.

much from what had been already published against his will. He had undertaken to supply an answer to several questions proposed to him by those, who not satisfied with adhering to the simple faith, wished to have an account of the Mysteries¹; and to supply what was wanting on this head in the writings of the Latins, for the use of those who did not understand the Greek authors. But as he was of opinion that but few would understand these books, he often laid them aside for works of more general use, and on that account more pressing².

A. D. 416.

¹ Aug. viii.
de Trin. 3.
init.

² Ep. 169.
al. 102. ad
Evod. § 1.

The treatise on the Trinity is divided into fifteen books, of which the first seven are wholly taken up in unfolding that which has been revealed to us on this mystery, according to the Scriptures and Tradition. He first establishes the equality of the Divine Persons, and answers the objections of the Arians³; and particularly those which they drew from the various manifestations of God before the Incarnation of the Word, and shews that there is no reason to ascribe them to One of the Persons more than to Another. He explains⁴ how it is said⁵ that the Son is "the Power and the Wisdom of the Father," notwithstanding that the Three Persons are one and the same Power, and one and the same Wisdom. Lastly⁶, he decides in the clearest manner, the question of the Hypostases, so famous among both Greeks and Latins⁷. In the eighth book⁸ he begins to shew how the love of good, like the love of truth and justice, naturally leads to the knowledge of the Divine Nature; and continues in the following books to shew that we find in our own souls the image of the Trinity; and that some traces of it, though very faint, may be seen even in material nature. These last books contain whatever is to be found of the most sublime and solid in metaphysics, particularly on the distinction of soul and body, and the nature of spiritual substance; and this treatise in general is one of the most important of St. Augustine's writings. He inscribed it to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage; and some time after dedicated to him his work on the Acts of the Council of Palestine.

³ Lib. 1, 2, 3.

⁴ Lib. 6.

⁵ 1 Cor. 1. 24.

⁶ Lib. 7. c. 4.

⁷ § 7, &c.

⁸ Fleury,

17. 29.

⁸ Lib. 8—11.

For he at last received the Acts which he had so long desired, that he might see in what manner Pelagius had been acquitted, having a suspicion that he had overreached the

XXXVII.
On the
Acts of the
Council of
Palestine.
A. D. 417.

A. D. 417. Bishops. He perceived that his surmises were justly founded, and gave great thanks to God that he had not been mistaken in the opinion he had entertained of his brethren¹. But as Pelagius and his followers boasted loudly of this acquittal, St. Augustine, who had not ventured to write on the subject till he had certain proof of the fact, drew up a treatise expressly on these Acts², in which he examined in detail all that had been laid to Pelagius' charge in the Council of Palestine, together with his several answers. He shews that he had been acquitted only because he had either dissembled his errors, and disguised them in ambiguous expressions, or else denied them in express terms. Besides, he had not a single antagonist to detect his equivocations, and he was moreover before a company of Greek Bishops, who could only know his writings through an interpreter, while he explained himself in Greek³. There was no one present to produce passages out of his writings, which would have proved that he taught in fact, what he then denied in word⁴. As the Bishops of Palestine did not see into all this, and heard Pelagius utter none but orthodox propositions, they had good reason for acquitting him⁵. And in this manner does St. Augustine excuse them with remarkable charity and discretion. But he maintains that this does not justify Pelagius⁶, since his writings, and his whole conduct, give room for the suspicion that he has not changed his sentiments. What remains certain is, that the heresy of which he was accused, was condemned by the Council of Palestine⁷, since it was only his condemnation of it which procured his own acquittal. And as Pelagius availed himself of civil letters from certain Bishops, and one from St. Augustine himself, St. Augustine cites⁸ and explains it in such a manner as shews with how much circumspection he was wont to weigh and choose all his words, even such as seemed no more than common compliments. To give the greater authority to his work, and make it more generally known, he inscribed it to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage.

XXXVIII. St. Augustine knew that St. Paulinus of Nola had entertained an affection for Pelagius, as an earnest servant of God⁹; and he had heard that in the same city there were people who adhered so obstinately to his errors, as to say

¹ Aug. x. de Gest. Pel. c. 1. § 2.

² Retr. 2. 47.

³ De Gest. c. 1. § 3.

⁴ c. 6. § 17. 19.

⁵ c. 17. § 41.

⁶ c. 21. § 45.

⁷ c. 34. 35. § 59, 60.

⁸ c. 28. § 52.

⁹ Ep. 186. al. 106. § 1.

that they would abandon Pelagius if it were true that he had, in the Council of Palestine, anathematized those who said that unbaptized infants had eternal life¹. St. Augustine, ^{A. D. 417.} ^{1 c. 8. § 29.} therefore, meeting with a favourable opportunity, by means of one Januarius², about the middle of the year 417, wrote ^{2 § 1.} St. Paulinus a long letter, not to sustain his own faith, of which he nothing doubted, but to assist him in supporting it against the heretics³. For St. Paulinus had not applied him- ^{3 c. 12. § 39.} self early enough to the study of religion to become a profound theologian. St. Augustine begins by telling him that he himself had loved Pelagius, believing him to be orthodox, and that he had not easily believed what was said about his errors, till he had found them expressed in the book which Timasius and James had sent him. He afterwards⁴ takes ^{4 c. 1. § 2.} notice of the several transactions in Africa and at Rome, under Pope Innocent, and how Pelagius had been condemned, and sends all the papers on the subject to St. Paulinus. He goes on to establish the Catholic doctrine on the necessity of Grace; and in particular⁵ refutes the fancy of ^{5 c. 4. § 12, 13, &c.} those who, not daring to deny the necessity of Baptism, and not choosing to acknowledge original sin, affirmed that infants sinned before they were born, and used their free will in the wombs of their mothers; which they attempted to prove by the strugglings of Esau and Jacob⁶. ^{6 Gen. 25. 22.}

Others wished to establish the same opinion from the leaping of St. John the Baptist in the womb of Elizabeth⁷. ^{7 Luke 1. 44.} These St. Augustine refutes in a letter to Dardanus, written about the same time⁸. He was a man of high rank, and, ^{8 Ep. 187. al. 57. c. 7. § 22.} as is generally supposed, the same Præfect of the Gauls to whom St. Jerome had inscribed a little work some years before, in answer to a question he had proposed to him⁹. ^{9 Hier. ii. P. 605.} The chief subject of St. Augustine's epistle to Dardanus, which he himself calls a book, is the Presence of God¹. ^{1 Retr. 2. 49.} He makes a distinction between the simple Presence and the Indwelling by Grace, and combats the errors of the Pelagians without naming them. About the same time he and Alypius wrote a common letter to the widow Juliana², ^{2 Ep. 188. al. 143.} to warn her of the errors contained in the letter written to her daughter Demetrias³, and entreating her to let them ^{3 Supr. 13.} know the author of it, though they strongly suspected that

A. D. 417. it was Pelagius. They shew her the dangerous tendency of that letter.

XXXIX. The Donatists were reconciled in crowds, from the time of the conference, and the laws which had been published against them; particularly that of the twenty-second of June, 414¹, by which they were all fined in very considerable sums. But those whom the severity of these laws could not prevail upon to return to the Church, broke out with greater fury than before, which they carried to such a height as even to kill themselves in mere despite of the Catholics, in order to load them with the odium of their death. Some good people, terrified at these examples, began to doubt whether it were not better to let them alone, than to push them to extremities, and the Donatists complained loudly of persecution. This is the subject of St. Augustine's letter to Boniface², then Tribune and afterwards Count, who was authorized to see these laws put into execution in Africa. St. Augustine, therefore, about the year 417, wrote him a long letter, or rather a book, as he himself entitles it³, on the Correction of the Donatists, in which he fully discusses the question whether temporal punishments ought to be employed against heretics; a subject which he had already treated nine or ten years before in his letter to Vincentius the Rogatist⁴.

In his letter to Boniface, he marks the difference between true and false Martyrs⁵: "When the Emperors," he writes, "make evil laws for error against truth, the faithful are tried, and they who persevere are crowned. But when they make good laws for truth against error, they terrify the furious, and correct the wise." He cites the two laws made by Nebuchadnezzar; the one⁶ to adore his idol, to which piety refused obedience; and the other⁷, to worship the true God, the transgressors of which would have suffered the punishment due to their impiety. So that true Martyrs are not simply those who suffer persecution for any cause whatever, but those who suffer it for righteousness' sake. Now the Donatists suffer only for injustice and cruelties. "Because we," says St. Augustine⁸, "are desirous of procuring for them eternal life, they do their utmost to deprive us even of temporal life; and are so much in love with

Treatise on the correction of the Donatists.

¹ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæer. 54. Supr. 11.

² Ep. 185. al. 50.

³ Retr. 2. 48.

⁴ Ep. 93. al. 48.

⁵ c. 2. § 8, 9, 10.

⁶ Dan. 3. 5.

⁷ Ibid. 29.

⁸ § 11.

“murder, that they practise it upon themselves when they A. D. 417.
 “cannot exercise it upon others. Those who know not their
 “custom, imagine that it is only since the enactment of these
 “laws of reunion that they kill themselves¹. But in the time ^{1 c. 3. § 12.}
 “when idolatry still flourished, they used to flock in crowds
 “to the most solemn festivals of the pagans, not to break in
 “pieces the idols, but to get themselves killed; insomuch
 “that the most valiant among the pagans used to vow to
 “their idol, to kill each a certain number of them. Some of
 “them used to fall upon armed travellers, saying to them,
 “with dreadful menaces, ‘If you do not kill us, we will kill
 “‘you.’ Sometimes they extorted from the judges who hap-
 “pened to be on the road, orders for their own execution,
 “either by the common executioners, or the officers; but it
 “is said that one judge cheated them, by ordering them to
 “be bound [as if for execution] and afterwards set at liberty.
 “It was their daily sport to precipitate themselves from the
 “tops of rocks, and to throw themselves into the water or
 “the fire when they could find no one whom they could
 “constrain to kill them.” And afterwards², “They even ^{2 c. 4. § 15.}
 “disturbed the tranquillity of unoffending people³. The ^{3 Fleury,}
 “master was reduced to fear his slave when once the latter had ^{11. 46.}
 “put himself under their protection; they forced masters to
 “give the most worthless slaves their liberty, and creditors
 “to render up their bonds to their debtors. If their threats
 “were despised, they were forthwith put in execution, and
 “houses were soon either beaten down, or burnt to the
 “ground. Respectable people have been found lying as if
 “dead from the blows they had received, or have been car-
 “ried off and tied to a mill, which they were compelled to
 “turn under the lash, like beasts. What assistance against
 “them did we derive either from laws or magistrates? What
 “officer dared breathe in their presence? Several among the
 “Donatists themselves regarded them with horror⁴, and some ^{4 § 16.}
 “wished to be converted but dared not draw upon themselves
 “such enemies.

“After the schism of the Maximianists⁵ and the ad- ^{5 § 18.}
 “vantage which the Catholics gained from it, the hatred of
 “the obstinate Donatists became so furious, that scarce a
 “single church was secure against their outrages. The

A. D. 417. "roads were no longer safe for those who were travelling to
 "preach unity; the very Bishops found themselves reduced
 "to the hard alternative of either suppressing the truth in
 "silence, or bearing with their insults. But if they were
 "silent, no one was converted, while the Donatists were suf-
 "fered to seduce many; if they preached, they raised their
 "fury, and if some were then converted, yet the weaker
 "were kept back through fear.

XI. "Nevertheless, before those penal laws enacted against all
 Reasons for "the Donatists were sent into Africa¹, some of our brethren
 penal laws. "were of opinion, and myself among the rest, that the Em-
¹ c. 7. § 25. "perors should be petitioned merely to secure those who
 "preached the Catholic truth from their outrages². But
² Supr. 21. "our deputies did not succeed in their intention, for they
 53. "found a law already published, not only to restrain this
 "heresy, but to suppress it entirely. It is true, that for the
 "sake of preserving Christian moderation, they did not make
 "the penalty death, but only pecuniary fines, and for their
 "Bishops and clergy banishment." St. Augustine after-
 wards takes notice of the effect of these laws, and the great
 number of converts that had been made³: he then adds⁴,
³ § 29. "Could you but behold the joy of those who are returned to
⁴ c. 8. § 32. "unity, their fervency and constant attendance at church,
 "there to sing the praises, and there to hear the Word of
 "God; with what grief many call to mind their former
 "error; how happy they think themselves in having found
 "the truth, how deeply they abhor the impostures of their
 "teachers; were you able at one glance to see the assemblies
 "of these converts in many districts of Africa, you would say
 "that it would have been too great a cruelty to have suffered
 "them to fall into everlasting flames, to prevent some des-
 "perate men, who are not to be compared with them in
 "numbers, from throwing themselves into the fire. It is
 "with regret that the Church sees those perish whom she
⁵ c. 3. § 14. "cannot preserve⁵. She earnestly desires that all should
 "live, but she fears yet more lest all should perish."
⁶ c. 5. § 19. "But," said the Donatists⁶, "the Apostles never solicited
 "the princes of the earth for any thing of this kind." "It
 "is true," said St. Augustine; "but the times are changed;
 "monarchs, who in those days persecuted the Lord, now

“serve Him, and that not as men only, but also as kings, by A. D. 417.
 “doing for His service that which none but kings can do.
 “Must not that man have lost his senses who should say to
 “them¹, ‘Be not you concerned whether the Church of your’ 1 § 20.
 “‘Master is revered or persecuted in your kingdom;
 “‘neither religion nor sacrilege concern you;’ whilst at the
 “same time he would not dare to tell them that neither
 “chastity nor impurity concern them? If, because man has
 “received from God free-will, sacrilege is to be permitted,
 “why should adultery be punished? Doubtless it is better² 2 c. 6. § 21.
 “to bring over people to the service of God by instruction,
 “but we are not therefore to neglect those who are brought
 “to it by no other way than fear.” He adduces the example
 of St. Paul, converted by a kind of violence³; and he insists 3 § 22.
 on those words of CHRIST⁴, “Go out into the highways, and Acts 9. 4.
 “hedges, and whomsoever ye shall find, compel them to 4 § 24.
 “come in.” Luke 14. 23.

The Donatists accused the Catholics of persecuting them for the sake of reaping their spoils, because it was enacted by the laws, that whatever their churches possessed should be transferred to the Catholics, together with the churches themselves⁵. “Oh that they would become Catholics,” 5 c. 9. § 35.
 exclaims St. Augustine, “and possess with us in peace Cod. Th.
 “and love, not only those possessions which they call their 16. Tit. 5.
 “own, but ours also! If we made their possessions the de Hær. 52.
 “object of our desire, we should not force them to enter
 “our communion, as they complain so bitterly. Where is
 “the avaricious man who seeks a sharer in his possessions?
 “Let them see whether such of them as have become our
 “brethren do not possess, not only what they formerly en-
 “joyed, but our possessions also. For if we are poor, these
 “possessions belong to us in the same manner as to the other
 “poor; but if we have enough to support ourselves, these
 “possessions belong not to us, but to the poor; we have in
 “some measure the administration of them, but we do not
 “claim to ourselves any property in them; this would be an
 “usurpation worthy of condemnation.” Such, according to
 St. Augustine, is the right of Bishops over ecclesiastical pos-
 sessions. “But,” said the Donatists⁶, “you admit us into 6 c. 10. § 44.
 “the clergy, [after] enjoining penance for our having been

A. D. 417. "schismatics, or enemies to the Church." "It is true," says St. Augustine, "that this is a wound to discipline, but a salutary wound, such as is made in a tree when it is grafted. For though the Church has ordained¹ that no one after having undergone penance, shall be allowed to be admitted into, or to continue among the clergy; it is not that she has doubted her power of remitting sins; but because she wished to be assured of the humility of penitents, and of the sincerity of their conversion, by taking from them all hopes of raising themselves in this world, without, however, risking their salvation. But on occasions like these, where the destruction of whole multitudes is at stake, charity induces us to relax somewhat, that we may apply a remedy to greater evils²."

¹ § 45.
[Supr.
20. 33.
Bingh. 4. 3.
§ 7.]

[² Cf. Ep.
Inn. ad Ruf.
Supr. 23.]

XLI. Some time after this St. Augustine wrote another letter to Count Boniface for his edification, as he had desired him³. In it he shews him that we may please God in bearing arms by the example of David, of the Centurion in the Gospel⁴, and of Cornelius; and by the instructions which John the Baptist gave to soldiers⁵, without obliging them to quit their profession. "But," said he⁶, "when you arm for the battle, you ought first to consider that your bodily strength is the gift of God. You ought to keep faith even with the enemy. You should ever wish for peace, and never make war but when necessity requires it, and use no violence against the enemy, save when he resists. Preserve conjugal chastity⁷, sobriety, frugality; shame is it for him who is not vanquished by men, to be so by his passions. Neither the abundance, nor the want of temporal goods, ought to raise or depress the courage of a man and a Christian."

⁷ § 7.

⁸ Aug. ix.
cont. Gaud.
1. c. 37.
§ 47.

Notwithstanding the persecutions which the Donatists complained of suffering from the Catholics, they still continued to ordain Bishops and to hold Councils⁸. They assembled one about this time consisting of thirty Bishops, at which Petilianus was present; and it was there ordained that all such Bishops or Priests as had involuntarily communicated with the Catholics, provided they had neither preached nor offered the Sacrifice, should obtain pardon, and preserve their dignity. By this ordinance they again violated

their principle, that whoever communicated with sinners, became himself criminal. A. D. 418.

When Pelagius and Cælestius found themselves condemned, not only by the Bishops of Africa, but likewise by Pope Innocent, they sought some means of removing this disgrace from the eyes of men. Pelagius wrote to the Pope in his own justification, and Cælestius came in person to Rome¹, hoping to meet with support there, and to engage several of the clergy in his defence; it was even rumoured that the Priest Sixtus, who was afterwards Pope, was favourably inclined to the enemies of grace. Cælestius, after he had been condemned at Carthage in 412, appealed to the Pope; but instead of prosecuting his appeal, he went directly to Ephesus, and taking them by surprise, got himself there ordained Priest². From hence, some years after, he went to Constantinople, but the Bishop Atticus, having discovered his evil practices, took great pains to drive him thence, and wrote of him to the Bishops of Asia, to Thessalonica, and to Carthage. We do not find that he wrote to Rome, perhaps because he was not yet reconciled with the Pope, on the affair of St. Chrysostom. Cælestius, thus driven out of Constantinople, came with all haste to Rome, and presented himself before Pope Zosimus, pretending to prosecute his appeal after an interval of five years, and to justify himself on those errors of which he had been accused before the Holy See, taking advantage of the absence of his accusers; i. e. of Paulinus the Deacon, who had accused him at Carthage, and of the Bishops Heros and Lazarus, who had accused him in Palestine.

He presented a confession of faith³, in which he recapitulated all the articles of the Creed, from the Trinity to the Resurrection of the dead; explaining in detail, his belief on all those articles concerning which nothing was laid to his charge. But when he came to the point in question, he said, "If any disputes have risen on questions that form no part of the faith, I have not pretended to decide them, as the author of a new doctrine; but I offer to your examination what I have drawn from the source of the Prophets and Apostles, that, if I have erred through ignorance, your judgment may correct me." Afterwards, speaking of

XLII.
Cælestius
at Rome.
A. D. 417.

¹ Aug. x.
de Pecc.
Orig. c. 7.
§ 8. et
cont. Ep.
Pel. lib. 2.
c. 3.

² Ep. 157.
§ 22.
Supr. 2.
Mercat.
Com. adv.
Cæl. p. 138.

³ Aug. x.
de Pecc.
Or. c. 23.
§ 26.

A. D. 417. original sin, he said¹, "We hold that infants ought to be
¹ Ibid. c. 5, 6. "baptized for the remission of sins, in accordance with the
 De Grat.
 Chr. c. 33. "rule of the universal Church, and the authority of the
 "Gospel, because the LORD hath declared that the kingdom
 "of heaven can be given to none but the baptized; but we
 "do not thence pretend to establish the transmission of sin
 "from parents to children; an inference far removed from
 "the Catholic doctrine. For sin is not born with man, but
 "it is man who commits sin after his birth; it does not
 "spring from nature, but from will. We avow the first
 "principle that we may not have to admit different kinds of
 "Baptisms, and we use this latter caution [against the infer-
 "ence], that we may not ascribe injustice to the Creator."
 Such is the confession of the faith of Cælestius.

Pope Zosimus was at that time encumbered with a multi-
² Zos. Ep.
 3. al. 2. tude of matters, which he deemed of greater consequence²;
 he would not, however, defer the decision of this, that he
 might not keep the Bishops of Africa any longer in suspense,
 as they knew that Cælestius was at Rome. He therefore ap-
 pointed the time and place for this trial, and chose St. Cle-
 ment's³ church for that purpose; that, excited by the example
 of this holy Martyr, he might proceed the more religiously.
 Besides the clergy of the Church of Rome, there were present
 several Bishops of different countries. They examined all
 that had been hitherto done in the cause of Cælestius. He
 was called in, his confession of faith was read, and several of
 the Roman clergy seemed to approve his opinions. The Pope
 himself acted as if he had judged his confession Catholic, not
 that he approved the tenets which it contained, but because
 Cælestius declared himself ready to submit to the judgment
 of the Holy See⁴. Seeing a man of an active genius⁵, who, if
 corrected, might be useful to the Church, he approved the
 readiness he shewed to be corrected, and feared to push him
 down the precipice, by treating him too harshly.

He did not, however, content himself with his confession
 of faith in writing, but put many questions to him to try if
 these were his real sentiments, leaving God to judge of the
 sincerity of his answers. Cælestius confirmed by word of
 mouth, and by repeated declarations, the contents of his
 written confession. The Pope asked him whether he con-

[³ Pope
 and Martyr,
 A. D. 100.
 Cf. Philip.
 4. 3.]

⁴ Aug. x.
 cont. Ep.
 Pel. 2. c. 3.
 [⁵ acerrimi
 ingenii]

demned all the errors which had been published under his name¹. Cælestius answered that he condemned them agreeably to the sentence of Pope Innocent, and promised to condemn whatever should be condemned by the Holy See. Nevertheless, when urged by Pope Zosimus to condemn those particulars which Paulinus the Deacon had laid to his charge, he refused to do so. He was likewise interrogated with respect to the accusations which Heros and Lazarus had made against him, as contained in their letters, which the Council of Carthage had sent to Rome. He answered that he had only seen Lazarus in passing², and that Heros had given him satisfaction for having entertained an ill opinion of him.

A. D. 417.

¹ Paulin. libel. Con-
cil. ii.
p. 1578.
(iv. p. 382.)
Zos. Ep. 8.
ap. Const.

[² in trans-
itu]

Although Pope Zosimus had resolved not to irritate him, he yet did not think proper to absolve him from the excommunication with which he was bound; accordingly, for the greater security, he adjourned the affair for two months before he pronounced a definitive sentence, that he might write to the African Bishops on the subject, who were better acquainted with the cause, and at the same time give Cælestius time to return to reason. But in the mean time he, and the other Bishops who were present, exhorted him to avoid for the future these vain disputes and curious questions. He proceeded more quickly with respect to Heros and Lazarus; whom, though absent, he deposed from the Episcopate and excommunicated, being prejudiced against them by the complaints of Cælestius, or of Patroclus, who held the see of Arles in the room of Heros.

Pope Zosimus wrote to Aurelius and the other Bishops of Africa an account of his proceedings in this trial, and sent them the Acts³. He complains of their having too easily given credit to Heros and Lazarus. "We have found," said he, "that their ordinations were irregular, and an accusation in writing ought not to have been received from them against an absent person, who, now that he is present, explains his faith, and challenges his accuser." He proceeds, "It often happens that when we scruple to believe those who testify the rectitude of their faith, we plunge them, as it were, by necessity into error." This letter is dated under the Consulate of Honorius and Constantius, which was in the year 417.

³ Zos. Ep. 3.
al. 2.

A. D. 417.

XLIII.
Pelagius
writes to
the Pope.
¹ Zos. Ep. 4.
al. 3.

² Aug. x.
de Graf.
Chr. c. 30.
et de Pecc.
Or. c. 17.
§ 19.

³ De Grat.
Chr. c. 31.

[⁴merentur
Domini
gratiam
Cf. Art. 13.]
⁵ Pel. libel.
Concil. ii.
p. 1563.
(iv. p. 355.)

After Pope Zosimus had written this letter, he received one from Praylius, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had succeeded John, in which he most earnestly recommended to him the affair of Pelagius¹. This letter was accompanied by another written by Pelagius himself, together with his confession of faith; both of which were directed to Pope Innocent, with whose death he was not yet acquainted². Pelagius said in his letter that two things were laid to his charge: first, that he refused to admit infants to Baptism, and promised them the kingdom of heaven, without the redemption of CHRIST; and secondly, that he put so much confidence in free will, as to deny the assistance of grace. He rejected the first error, as evidently contrary to the Gospel, and said, "Who is so impious as to refuse to an infant the redemption which is common to all mankind, and to hinder from being born again to a certain life, him who is born to an uncertain one?" He saved himself by these last words. For when interrogated on this matter, he would say, "I know where children who die unbaptized do not go; but I know not where they do go." Upon the article of grace he said³, "We have a free will, either to sin, or to forbear sinning; and in all good works it is ever aided by the Divine assistance." And afterwards, "We maintain that free will exists generally in all mankind, in Christians, Jews, and Gentiles: they have all equally received it by nature, but in Christians only it is assisted with grace. In others this good of their original creation is naked and unarmed. They shall be judged and condemned, because, though possessed of free will, by which they might come to the faith, and merit the grace of God, they make an ill use of their freedom; while Christians shall be rewarded, because by using their free will aright, they merit the grace of the LORD⁴, and keep His commandments."

His confession of faith, which is still extant⁵, was similar to that of Cælestius. He explained in it at length all the articles of faith on which there was no dispute, from the mystery of the Trinity to the Resurrection of the flesh. On Baptism he expressed himself as follows: "We hold one only Baptism, and we assert that it ought to be administered to infants in the same form of words as to adults." On grace

he said, " We confess a free will, holding at the same time A. D. 417.
 " that we stand continually in need of the Divine assistance ;
 " and that those are equally mistaken who say with the
 " Manichees that man cannot escape sin, and who say with
 " Jovinian that man cannot sin." He concluded with these
 words : " Such, blessed Pope ! is the faith we have learnt in
 " the Catholic Church, which we have ever held, and still
 " continue to hold. If any thing contained herein has been
 " declared with too little either of skill or care, we desire you
 " to correct it ; you, who hold the faith, and the see, of Peter." Nothing seemed more orthodox than this confession of faith, and yet it left the door open to the errors of Pelagius.

These writings having been read publicly at Rome, all present, not excepting the Pope himself, were deceived by their fair appearance. They found that Pelagius spoke at Jerusalem, as Cælestius had done at Rome. They were filled with joy and admiration ; scarcely could they refrain from tears, so shocked were they that men of so pure a faith had been attacked by calumnies¹. It seemed to them that these writings spoke of nothing but the grace and assistance of God. Heros and Lazarus, already in bad repute for other reasons, appeared to them no otherwise than as two intermeddlers, who desired nothing but to trouble the Church. Under these feelings, Pope Zosimus, thus deceived in the fact, wrote a second letter to Aurelius, and to all the Bishops of Africa, in stronger terms than the first ; in which he declares his satisfaction with the confession of faith of Pelagius, and his persuasion of his sincerity : but, following his own prejudice, and too easily giving credit to what Cælestius had said, he speaks thus against Heros and Lazarus : " Is it possible, " my dear brethren, that you have not yet learnt, at least by " rumour², who are the disturbers of the Church ? Are you " unacquainted with their life and condemnation ? But not- " withstanding the Apostolic See has cut them off from all " communion by a special sentence, listen now also to a " brief account of their behaviour. Lazarus has been long " accustomed to accuse the innocent ; several Councils have " found him guilty of slandering our holy brother, Britius, " Bishop of Tours. Proculus of Marseilles condemned him " as a calumniator in the Council of Turin. Nevertheless,

XLIV.
Zosimus
deceived
by Pelagius.

¹ Zos. Ep. 4.
al. 3.

[²opinion]

A. D. 417. "the same Proculus, many years after, ordained him Bishop of Aix, to corroborate the sentence of the tyrant¹: he took possession of the episcopal chair, scarce yet cleansed from the stain of innocent blood; and maintained a shadow of the priesthood, as long as the tyrant who protected him preserved an image of the empire; but after his death, he left the place, and so condemned himself by his own act." This tyrant, the protector of Lazarus, is Constantine, who was acknowledged Emperor of the Gauls, in the year 411. Pope Zosimus goes on: "The same may be said of Heros; the protection of the same tyrant; murders, seditions, imprisonments of Priests who resisted him; the whole city in consternation²; the same repentance has made him also renounce the Priesthood." Notwithstanding which, these Bishops who have here met with such ill treatment, are looked upon by St. Augustine as good men³; and St. Prosper calls Heros a holy man and disciple of St. Martin⁴; which gives us reason to suppose that Pope Zosimus had too easily listened to the calumnies of Patroclus of Arles.

[¹ tyrannici
judicii de-
fensor]

[² totius
civitatis
addictio]

³ De Gest.
Pel. c. 1.
§ 2.

⁴ Prosp.
Chr. p. 647.

⁵ John 7. 51.
Acts 25. 16.

[⁶ twenty-
first?]

⁷ Facund.
7. 3.

XLV.
Letters of
Zosimus in
favour of
the Bishop
of Arles.

The Pope again dwells on the absence of Heros and Lazarus, saying that it proved the weakness of their accusation, since they had not the courage to maintain it; and he says the same of James and Timasius. He censures the African Bishops for having too easily given credit to such accusations; he exhorts them to be more circumspect for the future, and not to judge any man without hearing him, as the Scriptures command⁵; carefully to maintain peace and charity, and to rejoice that Pelagius and Cælestius have never been separated from the Catholic truth. This letter is dated the eleventh of the calends of October, i. e. the twenty-second⁶ of September; and the Pope sent at the same time copies of the writings of Pelagius. In this manner he suffered himself to be imposed upon by the artifice of these two heretics, from too great easiness of belief, without in any way approving their errors⁷.

He likewise suffered himself to be prepossessed in favour of Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, to the prejudice of the other Bishops of the Gauls^z. For the same year, and at the be-

^z The following narrative will perhaps be rendered more intelligible by a general view of the ecclesiastical divisions of the Latin Church at the period

ginning of his Pontificate, he ordained¹ that all Ecclesiastics, not excepting the Bishops themselves, who should set out from any place in the Gauls to go to Rome, or any other part of the world, should obtain *litteræ formatæ*² from the Bishop of Arles, and that without such letters they should not be received. He declares that he has sent this decree into all places, and that this privilege of granting such letters has been allowed particularly to Patroclus, in consideration of his merit. He preserves to the Bishop of Arles³ the right of³ c. 2. Metropolitan over the province of Vienne, and over Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, as well for the ordination of Bishops, as the decision of causes⁴; "except," said he, "the⁴ c. 3. "greatness of the cause may require us to take cognizance "of it." Thus we see the greater causes reserved for the Pope. He grounds the prerogative of the Church of Arles on the dignity of St. Trophimus, who was established its first Bishop by the Holy See, and who first spread the faith in Gaul. This letter is dated the eleventh of the calends of April, under the Consulate of Honorius and Constantius, or the twenty-second of March, 417.

Some time after, Ursus and Tuentius having been ordained Bishops, without the intervention of the Bishop of Arles, Pope Zosimus wrote a circular letter to the Bishops of Africa, Gaul, and Spain⁵, and stating several other defects in those⁵ Ep. 6. al. 4. ordinations, declares Ursus and Tuentius deprived of all ecclesiastical dignity, and even of communion. This letter is

of the death of Pope St. Innocent. At that time the Bishop of Rome, though exercising great influence throughout the West, had the full rights of Patriarch only within the civil diocese of Rome (i. e. all Italy south of the rivers Osis, and Macra, together with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica). In the diocese of Italy, the Bishop of Milan exercised an independent and almost patriarchal authority; but the Bishop of Thessalonica enjoyed the rights of Primate in the province of East Illyria as the Pope's Vicar. (See *supr.* 18. 22.) Across the Mediterranean the Bishop of Carthage held the first rank among the Metropolitans of the six African provinces; and the Bishop of Toledo seems generally to have been allowed a similar position in Spain. In Gaul there appears to have been no ac-

knowledged Patriarch; and according to the settlement recently effected at the Council of Turin, St. Simplicius of Vienne was Metropolitan of Vionensis, Hilary of Narbonne of Narbonensis Prima, and Proculus of Marseilles exercised during his own life the same power in Narbonensis Secunda, which after his death fell to the Bishop of Aix. Pope Zosimus appears to have wished not only to merge these three provinces in one under the sole primacy of the Bishop of Arles, but also to have invested Patroclus as his own Vicar in Gaul, with the same patriarchal powers which Pope St. Damasus had before delegated to St. Ascholius in East Illyria. (*Supr.* 18. 22.) See Gieseler, i. § 92, and 66. note 3. and Tillem. x. Zos.

A. D. 417.

¹ Zos. Ep. 5. al. 1.² *Supr.* 20. 31.]

A. D. 417. dated the tenth of the calends of October, under the same Consuls, or the twenty-third¹ of September, 417.

[¹ twenty-second?]

Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, claimed the right of ordaining Bishops in Narbonensis Secunda, and Simplicius of Vienne made the same claim with respect to his province.

² Ep. 7. al. 5. Pope Zosimus condemned them both², and said that even the Holy See itself could not grant them that right, as it endeavours to preserve inviolate antiquity and the ordinances of the Fathers. This letter is dated the third of the calends of October, that is, the twenty-ninth of September, in the same year, 417.

³ Ep. 8. al. 6. He wrote also the same day to Hilary, Bishop of Narbonne³, who claimed authority to ordain in Narbonensis Prima, and had obtained a decree from the Holy See for that purpose; but Pope Zosimus declares it to have been surreptitiously obtained, and ordains that the privilege of the Church of Arles, confirmed by an uninterrupted possession ever since St. Trophimus, should be still maintained, under penalty of deposition against all those whom Hilary should ordain, and himself likewise. Proculus of Marseilles did not submit, but continued still to ordain; upon which Pope Zosimus declared by a letter, written to Patroclus of Arles⁴, that no one ought to look upon those whom Proculus had ordained as Bishops; and by another letter to the clergy and the people of Marseilles⁵, he declares that they ought no longer to acknowledge Proculus, but must address themselves to Patroclus, and obey him in all things that relate to the government of their Church. Both these letters are of the same date, viz. the third of the nones of March, under the twelfth Consulate of Honorius and the eighth of Theodosius, or the fifth of March, 418. However, all these decisions were but little maintained by the succeeding Popes, for which reason it is thought that Zosimus was prejudiced in favour of Patroclus.

⁴ Ep. 11. al. 10. A. D. 418.

⁵ Ep. 12. al. 11.

XLVI. Commencement of St. Germanus of Auxerre.

⁶ Vita per Const. ap. Sur. iv. Jul. 31. et

At this time St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the greatest luminaries of Gaul, was ordained⁶. He was born about the year 380, at Auxerre, of Rusticus and Germanilla, persons of illustrious birth, and was brought up from his infancy in the study of literature. After having gone through the schools of Gaul, he went to Rome to apply himself to the study of the law, and exercised the profession

of an advocate at the tribunal of the Prætorian Præfect. A. D. 418.
 He then married a lady of equal rank with himself, named Hist. Episc. Autis. ap. Bibl. Lab. i. p. 414.
 Eustachia; after which he was raised to honourable employ-
 ments, and at last obtained that of Duke, which gave him
 the supreme command over the forces in his own country.
 He took great delight in hunting, and amused himself with
 hanging the heads of the beasts he had taken on a pear-tree
 that stood in the middle of the city. St. Amator, then Bishop
 of Auxerre, often reprov'd him for it, as being a remnant of
 pagan superstition; and at last watching his opportunity, he
 had the tree cut down while Germanus was absent, who was
 violently enraged, and threatened the Bishop with death.
 St. Amator knew by revelation that his end was drawing
 near, and that Germanus was destined for his successor. He
 therefore went to Autun, to Julius the Præfect of the Gauls,
 and besought him to give him leave to perform the tonsure¹ [¹ ton- surare]
 on Germanus. These are the words of the Priest Constantius,
 who wrote his life in the same century, and they shew that
 the clergy were in those days distinguished by the tonsure^a.

The Præfect Julius having given him permission, St. Amator
 returned to Auxerre, assembled the people in his house, de-
 clared to them his approaching death, and desired them to
 choose his successor. When no one answered, he led them
 to the church; and, as they were going into it, bid them lay
 aside their weapons, for it was the ancient custom of the
 Gauls to go always armed. Then St. Amator commanded
 the door-keepers to close the church, and collecting round
 him a crowd of clergy and noblemen, he took Germanus, cut
 his hair off, and stripping him of his secular ornaments,

^a The clerical tonsure appears to have originated in the endeavour to preserve a decent mean between the luxurious and barbarous fashion of long hair, and the superstitious and pagan practice of shaving the head (Hier. 13. in Ezech. 44. 20): for in the fourth century none but penitents were shaved, at least in the African Church. (Optat. 2. p. 54.) The first exact description of the tonsure is found in the fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 633. (can. 41), in which all the clergy are ordered to wear their hair cut close on the crown of the head, leaving a round or circle hanging downwards (*circuli coronam*); from which

some have derived the term *coronati*, signifying the clergy (Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 2. 38. et Gothof. ibi), and the *corona* of the Bishops. (Pont. Vit. Cypr. § 19. et Aug. Ep. 133. al. 147. § 5.) See Bingh. 6. 4. § 16. This mode was the one practised by the Roman Church, and afterwards said to be derived from St. Peter; the Greek clergy cut the hair close all over the head, and claimed the example of St. James the Less, St. Paul, and the other Apostles in favour of their practice; while the British and Irish professed to follow St. John in shaving the fore part of the head from ear to ear. Mabil. Annal. Bened. i. 15. 32.

A. D. 418. clothed him in the habit of religion, and ordained him Deacon, telling him at the same time that he was to be his successor. St. Amator died a few days after, on Wednesday the first of May; a circumstance which marks the year 418. At his funeral a paralytic was healed with the water with which his body had been washed. A month after, Germanus was elected by the common consent of all; of the clergy, the nobility, the people both of the town and country; and he was obliged to accept the Episcopal office, notwithstanding his extreme reluctance.

Immediately he became another man; he renounced all the pomp of the world; treated his wife no otherwise than as a sister; distributed all his possessions to the poor, and embraced a life of poverty and austerity. From the day of his ordination to his death, that is, for thirty years, he never touched wheaten bread, wine, vinegar, oil, pulse, or salt. He lived only on barley bread, which he had threshed and ground himself, and began his meal with ashes. He never ate save in the evening, sometimes in the middle of the week, but generally only on the seventh day. His dress was a hood and a tunic, without adding any thing in winter, or leaving off any thing in summer; nor did he ever lay them aside till they
 [¹ cilicium] fell to pieces; and beneath he wore continually a hair-shirt¹. His bed was enclosed with boards, and filled with ashes; it was covered with a hair-cloth, without a bolster, and only one blanket; he slept with all his clothes on; generally without laying aside even his girdle or his shoes. He always carried about him reliques of Saints, inclosed in a little box, and tied to a leathern thong. He extended his hospitality to all kinds of persons, without exception; he gave his guests to eat while he himself was fasting, and washed their feet with his own hands.

He founded a monastery over against Auxerre, on the other side of the river Yonne, in honour of St. Cosma and St. Damian, which now goes by the name of St. Marian, one of its first Abbots. To this St. Germanus used frequently to withdraw, and he appointed St. Allodius, or Allogius, to be the first Abbot, who was succeeded by St. Mamertinus. The latter had been once a very zealous worshipper of idols, and had been converted by a miraculous vision of St. Corcodomus,

and the other Saints who had founded the Church of Auxerre. A. D. 418. He left a writing containing the account of it. St. Germanus baptized him, healed an infirmity in one of his eyes, and another in his hand, and worked many other miracles. He discovered the sepulchres of several Martyrs¹, and among the rest, of a great multitude of persons who had been put to death under the persecution of Aurelian, with St. Priscus, otherwise called St. Bry, in a place called Quotiacum, or Coucy. Their bodies, for the greater despatch, had been thrown into a cistern, whence he took them, and built in their honour a church and a monastery, which at this day goes by the name of Saints-en-Puysaye. St. Germanus gave all his wealth to the Church, consisting of several fine and spacious manors, that lay contiguous to one another, agreeably situated, and of a very considerable revenue: seven of these he gave to the Cathedral Church; namely, Appoigny, where his father and mother had been buried in the Church of St. John; the Little Varzy, where was a palace; Great Varzy, Toucy, Poëilly, Marcigny, and Perigny. Three of them, Monceaux, Fontenay, and Merilles, he gave to the monastery of St. Cosma; one for wine, another for corn, and the third for cattle. He gave three to the church built by him in honour of St. Mauritius, which now bears the name of St. Germanus himself, because he was buried there. The three manors he gave it are, Garchy in Senonois, Concou, and Molins in Auxerrois. In this manner St. Germanus, by reducing himself to extreme poverty, enriched his church, which before was very poor; and by this and similar examples we may judge that the great endowments of many churches are derived from the liberality of their Bishops.

The Bishops of Africa having received Pope Zosimus' letter in favour of Cælestius, wrote to him, desiring him to leave things in the state they were then in, till he should be more thoroughly acquainted with the affair². This letter was written from Carthage, by those Bishops who happened to be there, or could be suddenly assembled by Aurelius; but about November, 417, a Council was held there, consisting of two hundred and fourteen Bishops³. Here decrees were made relating to the faith, which were afterwards followed by Rome, the whole world, and the Emperors, and from which the suc-

¹ Hist. Episc. Aut.

² XLVII. Council of Carthage, A. D. 417.

³ Zos. Ep. 10. al. 12. in fin.

³ Prosp. ad cap. Gall. 8. et cont. Cass. Collat. c. 10. et Chr. p. 650.

A. D. 417. ceeding Council afterwards composed the eight famous articles against the Pelagians. At the head of these decrees, they inserted a second letter to Pope Zosimus, in which they addressed him as follows : “We have enacted that the sentence “ which the venerable Bishop Innocent pronounced against “ Pelagius and Cælestius shall still continue, till they shall un- “ equivocally confess that the grace of JESUS CHRIST assists us “ not only to know, but also to do what is right in every action ; “ so that without it, we can neither have, think, say, nor do “ any thing that belongs to true piety.” They added that although Cælestius had said in general terms¹, that he assented to the letter of Innocent, yet that this was not enough for persons of inferior understanding, but that he ought to anathematize in express words, whatever pernicious articles were in his writings, lest many should believe that the Apostolical See had approved his errors, rather than that he had reformed them. The Bishops of Africa also reminded Pope Zosimus² of the judgment of Pope Innocent on the Council of Diospolis, discovered to him the artfulness of the confession of faith sent to Rome by Pelagius, and refuted all the evasions of the heretics. And as Zosimus had reprimanded them for having too easily given credit to the accusers of Cælestius, they on their side shewed that he himself had been a little too hasty in giving credit to his words³. Lastly⁴, they gave the Pope an account of all that had passed among them on this subject, and sent to him the Acts which had been drawn up about it, whether in the presence or in the absence of Cælestius.

¹ Aug. x. cont. Ep. Pel. 2. c. 3.

² De Pecc. Orig. c. 8. in fin.

³ Zos. Ep. 10. al. 12.
⁴ Mercat. com. adv. Cæst. p. 134.

⁵ Libel. Paul. ap. Aug. x. App. p. 102. et Concil. ii. p. 1578. (iv. p. 382.) ap. Coust. Zos. Ep. 8.

This letter was carried by Marcellinus, Subdeacon of the Church of Carthage. He likewise took with him a writing of Paulinus the Deacon⁵, the same who had accused Cælestius in 412, and who was still at Carthage. He had received a summons from the Pope on the second of November, by which he was ordered to present himself at Rome, for the judgment of the Holy See, which they accused him of having wished to evade ; but he excuses himself by saying, “ Cælestius has not prosecuted the appeal which he lodged in “ 412. I have no longer any private interest in this affair, “ which has now become the business of the whole Church ; “ and Cælestius is sufficiently convicted, since Pope Zosimus

“ has urged him to condemn the particulars which I laid to his charge at Carthage, and he has constantly refused to do so.” This writing of Paulinus is dated the eighth of November, 417. Pope Zosimus granted to the Bishops of Africa their request of leaving the matter in its present state, as appears by his letter of the twelfth of the calends of April, under the twelfth Consulate of Honorius, i. e. the twenty-first of March, 418, which was received at Carthage on the twenty-ninth of April¹. The Emperor Honorius having received the Acts of the Council of Carthage, gave a rescript against the Pelagians², which takes notice of the two first articles of their errors, that Adam was created mortal, and that he did not transmit sin to his posterity. He then orders, in the first place, that Cælestius and Pelagius shall be driven out of Rome; (that is, we must suppose, in case they should be found there, for Pelagius was still in Palestine;) and next, that whoever shall know any of their followers, shall inform against them before the magistrates; and that those who are found guilty shall be sent into banishment. This rescript, given at Ravenna the thirtieth of April, 418, was directed to Palladius, Prætorian Præfect of Italy, who, in consequence, published his ordinance³ in conjunction with Monaxius and Agricola, Prætorian Præfects of the East and of the Gauls respectively; by which they enacted that all who should be convicted of entertaining this error, should be punished with perpetual banishment, and confiscation of their property.

In the mean time the Bishops from all Africa met together at Carthage in full Council, to the number of more than two hundred⁴, from the province of Byzacena, from that of Tripolis, of Numidia, of Mauritania Sitifensis, and Cæsariensis; there were even some from Spain^b. Aurelius of Carthage and Donatian of Telepte, Primate of Byzacena, sat as presidents in this Council, which was held in the private hall⁵ of the Basilica of Faustus, on the first day of May, under the twelfth Consulate of Honorius, i. e. in the year 418. They here determined eight doctrinal articles against

A. D. 417.

A. D. 418.

¹ Zos. Ep. 10. al. 12.

² Cod. Can. Eccl. Rom. Quesnel. c. 14. et ap. Aug. x. App. p. 105.

³ c. 15.

XLVIII. Council of Carthage of May 1, A. D. 418. ⁴ Cod. Can. Afr. 108. Council. ii. p. 1576. (iv. p. 378.) ap. Aug. x. App. p. 106. [⁵ secretarium. V. Infra. 55. note f.]

^b Probably from the province of Mauritania Tingitana, which, though on the coast of Africa, was included within the civil diocese of Spain. Notitia Imp. Occ. p. 12. See Garn. Diss. 2. § 11.

- A. D. 418. the Pelagians, in these words : “ Whosoever shall say that
 “ Adam was created mortal, so that whether he sinned, or
¹ c. 1. “ whether he sinned not, he was to die¹, that is, to go out
 “ of the body, not for the punishment of sin, but from the
 “ necessity of nature ; let him be anathema. Whosoever
² c. 2. “ says² that Baptism is not to be administered to new-born
 “ infants ; or that, notwithstanding they are baptized for the
 “ remission of sins, yet that they derive from Adam no original
 “ sin to be expiated by regeneration ; from which it follows
 “ that the form of Baptism for the remission of sins is untrue
 “ with respect to them ; let him be anathema. For that which
³ Rom. 5. 12. “ the Apostle says³,—‘ That by one man sin entered into the
 “ ‘ world, and death by sin ; and so death passed upon all
 [⁴ εφ’ ᾧ : “ ‘ men, in whom⁴ all have sinned’—is to be understood no
 marg. “ otherwise than as the Catholic Church, spread throughout
 trans.] “ the whole earth, has ever understood it.” In some copies
⁵ c. 3. we find a third article added after this, in these words⁵ ; “ If
 Concil. Afr. “ any one says that when our LORD said, ‘ In My Father’s
 77. Phot. “ ‘ house are many mansions⁶,’ He meant it to be understood
 Cod. 52. “ that in the kingdom of heaven there is a middle abode, or
⁶ John 14. 2. “ some other place, where infants live in happiness who de-
 “ part from this life without Baptism, without which they
 “ cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, which is the life
 “ eternal ; let him be anathema. For since the LORD hath
⁷ John 3. 5. “ said⁷, ‘ Except a man be born again of water and of the
 “ ‘ Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God :’ what
 “ Catholic can doubt but that he who shall not be found
 “ worthy to be joint-heir with CHRIST, shall have his portion
 “ with the devil ? He who is not on the right hand will
 “ undoubtedly be on the left.” Those copies which have
 this article reckon nine in all ; in the rest, the third article
 is that which follows :
- ⁸ c. 4. al. 3. “ Whosoever shall say⁸ that the grace of GOD, which jus-
 “ tifies us through JESUS CHRIST, is effectual only for the
 “ remission of sins already committed, and not for assistance
 “ that we may commit no more ; let him be anathema.
⁹ c. 5. al. 4. “ Whosoever shall say⁹ that the same grace of GOD, through
 “ JESUS CHRIST, assists us against falling into sin only by
 “ opening to us the knowledge of the commandments, that
 “ we may know what we ought to seek after, and what to

“ avoid ; but that it does not also enable us to love and to A. D. 418.
 “ do what we know ought to be done ; let him be anathema.
 “ For since the Apostle tells us¹ that ‘ Knowledge puffeth 1 Cor. 8. 1.
 “ ‘ up, but charity edifieth,’ it is a great impiety to believe
 “ that we have the grace of CHRIST for that which puffeth up,
 “ and not for that which edifieth ; since both are the gifts of
 “ God, the knowledge of what we ought to do, and the love to
 “ do it, so that knowledge cannot puff up, so long as charity
 “ edifieth. And as it is written that God ‘ teacheth man 2 Ps. 94. 10.
 “ ‘ knowledge²,’ it is also written that ‘ love is of God 3 1 John 4. 7.

“ Whosoever shall say⁴ that the grace of justification is 4 c. 6. al. 5.
 “ given us that we may more easily perform by grace, that
 “ which we are commanded to do by free will ; as if, without
 “ receiving grace, it were possible for us to fulfil the com-
 “ mandments of GOD, though with difficulty ; let him be
 “ anathema. For the LORD spoke of the fruits of the com-
 “ mandments of GOD, when He said⁵, ‘ Without Me ye can 5 John 15. 5.
 “ ‘ do nothing ;’ and not, ‘ Ye can do it with greater diffi-
 “ ‘ culty.’ Inasmuch as the Apostle St. John declares⁶, ‘ If 6 c. 7. al. 6.
 “ ‘ we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the 1 John 1. 8.
 “ ‘ truth is not in us ;’ whosoever believes that these words
 “ are to be so understood, as if, in humility, we ought not
 “ to say that we have no sin, and not because it is so in
 “ truth ; let him be anathema. For the Apostle adds, ‘ But
 “ ‘ if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive
 “ ‘ us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness ;’
 “ which sufficiently shews that he says it not only in hu-
 “ mility, but in truth. For he might have said, ‘ If we say
 “ ‘ that we have no sin, we exalt ourselves, and humility is
 “ ‘ not in us :’ but in saying ‘ we deceive ourselves, and the
 “ ‘ truth is not in us,’ he shews plainly, that he who says he
 “ has no sin, says not a truth, but a falsehood.

“ Whosoever shall say⁷ that when the Saints say in the 7 c. 8. al. 7.
 “ LORD’s Prayer, ‘ Forgive us our debts⁸,’ they do not say it 8 Matth. 6.
 “ for themselves, since that petition is no longer necessary 12.
 “ for them, but for others who are sinners in the society of
 “ which they are members ; and that for this reason each
 “ one of the Saints does not say, ‘ Forgive me my debts,’
 “ but ‘ Forgive us our debts ;’ that we may understand that
 “ the righteous man asks it rather for others than for him-

- A. D. 418. "self; let him be anathema. For the Apostle St. James
¹ Jam. 3. 2. "was just and holy when he said¹, 'For in many things we
 " 'offend all:' and wherefore does he add 'all,' unless it be
 " that his assertion may agree with the Psalm, where we
² Ps. 143. 2. "read², 'Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O LORD;
 " 'for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified?' And
³ 2 Chr. 6. "in the prayer of the wise Solomon³, 'There is no man
 36.
⁴ Job 37. 7. " 'which sinneth not;' and in the book of Job⁴, 'He setteth
 sec. LXX. " 'His seal in the hand of every man; that every man may
 " 'know his weakness.' This is the reason why the just
 " and holy Daniel, having said in the plural number in his
⁵ Dan. 9. 5. "prayer⁵, 'We have sinned, and have committed iniquity,'
 " &c., which he confesses in truth and humility; that no one
 " may suppose that he spoke of the sins of his people, rather
⁶ Ibid. 20. "than of his own, afterwards adds⁶, 'Whiles I was praying
 " 'and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people, before
 " 'the LORD my God.' He would not say 'our sin,' but said,
 " the 'sin of his people, and his own;' because he foresaw,
 " as a Prophet, those who would have understood his words
⁷ c. 9. al. 8. "so falsely. Whosoever think⁷ that these same words of the
 " LORD'S Prayer, 'Forgive us our debts,' are said by the
 " Saints in humility only, and not in truth, let them be
 " anathema. For who can tolerate him who in his prayers
 " lies, not to man, but to God; who says with his lips that
 " he desires to be forgiven, and says in his heart that he has
 " no debts to be forgiven?" It is thought that these canons
 were drawn up by St. Augustine, who was the soul of this
 Council^{8 c}.

⁸ Prosp.
 Carm. de
 Ingr. p. 550.

^c The following summary of the Pelagian doctrines is from Gieseler (vol. i. § 85. Eng. transl.), and may be considered as accurate on the whole, though there are many ways of viewing the same positions, and Gieseler has his own bias. "There is no original sin. Man can, by his free will, choose good as well as evil. Every one, therefore, can secure future happiness, (*salus*, or *vita æterna*.) A still higher happiness (*regnum cœlorum*) is offered to men by Christianity, to which baptism is a necessary condition. As the law was formally given to men to guide and assist them in the way of goodness, so now the instructions and example of CHRIST, and the par-

ticular operations of God's grace," [rather, assistance through more perfect knowledge: Pelagius retained the title "grace," but always meant outward aid as distinct from inward operation.] "These last, however, are always preceded by the free resolve to be virtuous. God's predestination, therefore, is grounded entirely on His fore-knowledge of human actions." The opposite system of St. Augustine is thus given by the same writer: "By the sin of Adam human nature became physically and morally corrupt; his sin, of itself damnable, (*peccatum originale*,) has descended to all men, and they have thus no longer a free will, except to choose evil. From

The same Council afterwards made several canons relating to the reunion of the Donatists, in order to lay down rules for the determination of the see to which the particular churches, which the Bishops had reunited, either before or since the enactment of the imperial laws against them, should be subordinate¹; in what manner their reunited Bishops should share the diocese with the Catholic Bishops; and how the zeal of those should be rewarded, who were particularly assiduous in converting the neighbouring people; for they assigned to them the share of the negligent. Among other things it is ordained² that “no claim shall be allowed upon a church after a three years’ possession by another; that whoever shall have actually disturbed the possession of his brother, shall lose his cause³; that all these disputes shall be judged by the Bishops⁴, and that there shall be no appeal from judges chosen with the consent of both parties⁵.” It is ordained⁶ “that all Priests, or other clergy, who shall be dissatisfied with the decisions of their own Bishops, shall prosecute their cause before the neighbouring Bishops, having first obtained the consent of their own Bishops. That if they judge proper to appeal from them, they may appeal to the Council of Africa, or to the Primates of their several provinces: but whoever shall think fit to appeal beyond the sea, shall not be admitted to the communion of any person in Africa.” In certain cases of necessity⁷, virgins under five-and-twenty are allowed to take the veil. And in order that all the Bishops assembled might not be kept sitting too long, the Council chose three deputies from each province, to determine all private affairs⁸, viz. from the province of Carthage, Vincentius, Fortunatian, and Clarus; from Numidia, Alypius, Augustine, and Restitutus; from Byzacena, Cresconius, Jocundus, and Æmilian, together with [their Primate] the aged Donatian; from Sitifensis, Severian, Asiaticus, and Donatus; from the pro-

A. D. 418.

XLIX.
Canons relating to the Donatists.

¹ Cod. Can. Afr. 117, 118.
² Concil. Afr. 84, 85.

³ c. 86.⁴ c. 87.⁴ c. 88.⁵ c. 89.⁶ c. 92.⁷ c. 93.⁸ c. 94.

“this corrupt mass (*perditionis massa*)
“God resolved from all eternity to
“save some through CHRIST, and consign
“the rest to the perdition they
“all had deserved. Though baptism
“gives forgiveness of sins, and even of
“original sin, it does not remedy the
“moral corruption of men. Therefore

“in the elect, the grace of GOD of itself,
“and irresistibly” [rather, effectually]
“inspires not only faith, but the wish
“and the power to do right. Those,
“who do not partake in the grace of
“GOD, have no part in CHRIST, and
“are devoted to damnation, and that
“eternal.”

A. D. 418. vince of Tripolis, Plautius, who, according to custom, had been sent to the Council as their single deputy^d. These fourteen commissaries were empowered to judge all causes, together with Aurelius of Carthage, whom the Council desired to subscribe all acts and letters. Such are the transactions of the plenary Council held at Carthage on the first of May, 418.

L. Before the decree of this Council had been passed, at least before tidings of it had been brought to Rome¹, Pope Zosimus had discovered that he had been overreached; and had authoritatively condemned the Pelagians². He saw how zealously all the faithful at Rome opposed the errors of Pelagius, of which they could not be ignorant from his long residence among them; neither were they ignorant that Cælestius was his disciple³. They made the Pope acquainted with certain writings of Pelagius, perhaps his commentaries on St. Paul; at least it is certain that the Pope grounded his sentence against Cælestius on these commentaries⁴. In the mean time the heresy had its defenders at Rome, and a great division ensued⁵, which the Pelagians made use of as a handle to accuse the Catholics of endeavouring to raise a sedition⁶; and Constantius⁷, who after having been a Vicar of the Prætorian Præfects, had withdrawn himself from secular affairs to serve God, was so greatly persecuted by them, as to obtain a place among the number of Confessors.

This being the state of affairs at Rome, Pope Zosimus resolved, according to the advice he had received from the Bishops of Africa, to re-examine Cælestius, and obtain an exact answer from his own mouth⁸, in order that no doubt might remain either that he had renounced his errors, or that he ought to be looked upon as an impostor; but Cælestius dared not submit to this examination, and fled from Rome⁹. Upon this Pope Zosimus having no longer any thing to hinder him, issued his sentence, by which he confirmed the decrees of the Council of Africa, in 417¹; and in conformity with the judgment of Pope Innocent his predecessor², condemned anew

¹ Prosp. cont. Cass. Collat. c. 41.
² Aug. x. cont. Jul. 1. c. 4. § 13. et 6. c. 12. § 37.

³ Aug. x. cont. Ep. Pel. 2. c. 3.
⁴ Mercat. com. adv. Cæl. p. 134.
⁵ Honor. Rescript. 30. April. Supr. 47.
⁶ Aug. x. Op. imp. cont. Jul. 3. 35.
⁷ Prosp. Chr. p. 649.

^d The provinces of Mauritania Cæsariensis and Tingitana are omitted in this list. Garnier suggests that the successes of the Vandals on the opposite coast of Spain (see Gibbon c. 33),

had perhaps already recalled the Bishops of these Western provinces to their respective dioceses. Garn. Diss. 2. § 15.

Pelagius and Cælestius, degrading them to the rank of penitents if they abjured their errors, and if they refused, absolutely excommunicating them¹. Pope Zosimus wrote a very long letter upon this subject, directed to the Bishops of Africa in particular, and to all Bishops in general. In it he explained the errors of which Paulinus had accused Cælestius, quoted several passages out of Pelagius' Commentary on St. Paul, and omitted nothing relating to Pelagius and Cælestius. He firmly established original sin, and condemned Pelagius for allowing to infants dying unbaptized a place of repose and happiness out of the kingdom of heaven². He declared that there is no season in which we do not stand in need of the assistance of God³; and that in all our actions, thoughts, and motions, we are to expect all from His assistance, and not from the strength of nature. This letter of Pope Zosimus was sent to the Bishops of Egypt and of the East⁴; to Jerusalem, to Constantinople, and to Thessalonica; in a word, to all the Churches in the world⁵; and according to the Pope's order, it was subscribed by all the Catholic Bishops, those of Italy in particular.

All the clergy of Rome followed this decision, not excepting those whom the Pelagians claimed as their partizans, and particularly the Priest Sixtus, whom they boasted of as their principal defender⁶. He was the first to pronounce an anathema against them before a great assembly of people, and took particular care to write on the subject to all those before whom the Pelagians boasted of his friendship; and not content with declaring his own opinion, he began to force the heretics to renounce their errors, by the terror of the imperial laws. This Sixtus the Priest is the same person who was Pope fourteen years afterwards. To the letter of Pope Zosimus, relating to the condemnation of Pelagius, he joined another, directed to Aurelius of Carthage, making Leo the Acolyte the bearer, who is thought to be the same that was Pope twenty-two years after. Sixtus wrote likewise to St. Augustine by the Priest Firmus.

Those Bishops who would not subscribe to the condemnation of the Pelagians were deposed by ecclesiastical sentences, and banished from Italy, conformably to the imperial laws⁷. Many, however, renounced their error, came and submitted

A. D. 418.

¹ De Pecc. Orig. c. 22. § 25.² Ep. 190. al. 157. ad Opt. c. 6. § 22.³ Aug. x. de An. Orig. 2. c. 12.⁴ Cæst. Ep. I. al. 21. ad Gall. Episc. c. 8, 9. ap. Concil. ii. p. 1616. A. (iv. p. 460. B.)⁵ Merc. com. adv. Cæst. p. 134. p. 138.⁶ Aug. Ep. 191, 194. § 1. al. 104, 105. ad Sixt.LI. Commencement of Julian the Pelagian. ⁷ Merc. com. adv. Cæst. p. 138.

A. D. 418.

[¹ Aug. x.
cont. Ep.
Pel. 1. c. 1.
§ 3.]

themselves to the Holy See, and were restored to their churches. But eighteen continued obstinate¹, of whom the most famous was Julian, Bishop of Æculanum. They were required to condemn, in conjunction with the whole Church, Pelagius and Cælestius, and to subscribe the letter of Pope Zosimus; but they refused to do it, and there is still extant a confession of faith, drawn up by them in their own justification². It very much resembles those of Pelagius and Cælestius. They acknowledge the necessity of baptizing infants, but deny original sin; they desire the Pope to write to them, if they ought to believe otherwise; but declare at the same time, that if it was intended to make them odious to the world, without first convicting them of error, they appeal to a plenary Council. They say that those who are accused of holding condemned errors, have themselves condemned them in writing. They beseech the Pope not to be offended, if they cannot prevail upon themselves to condemn those persons in their absence, and without hearing them; and employ the same authorities, of which Pope Zosimus had before availed himself, against the Bishops of Africa, as if to reproach him for his change of mind. Zosimus paid no regard to this confession of faith, and did not fail to condemn Julian and his associates. Julian wrote also another letter to Pope Zosimus³, in which he apparently condemned certain errors of Cælestius, though he did not scruple to maintain them afterwards. This letter, before it came to the hands of Pope Zosimus, had been carried by some of Julian's disciples all over Italy, and shewn by them as an admirable production.

³ Aug. x.
cont. Jul. I.
c. 4. § 13.
Merc. com.
adv. Jul.
p. 15.

This Julian, Bishop of Æculanum, who distinguished himself so much among the Pelagians, was a native of Apulia⁴, and son of Memor, a Bishop of great piety, and Juliana, who was no less virtuous⁵. Memor was the common friend of St. Augustine⁶ and St. Paulinus of Nola, with the latter of whom he had even some family connection. Julian had been baptized in his infancy⁷, was afterwards ordained Reader, and when very young, his father had married him to a young lady of rank, whose name was Ia, and their epithalamium was composed by St. Paulinus⁸. Whether Julian had lost his wife, or whether she had embraced a life of continence, it is

⁴ Aug. x.
Op. imp.
cont. Jul. 6.
c. 18. in fin.
⁵ Merc.
com. adv.
Jul. p. 10.
⁶ Aug. x.
cont. Jul. I.
c. 4. § 12.
⁷ Ibid. § 14.

⁸ Paul.
Carm. 24.
al. 14.

certain that he was already Deacon in 408, or 409, as appears by a letter of St. Augustine to his father¹, in which he expressed the utmost friendship for them both. At last Pope Innocent I.² ordained him Bishop of Æculanum³, a city now in ruins, situated in Campania, fifteen miles or five leagues distant from Benevento, the see of which has been since translated to Frigento, and at last united to Bellino. Pelagius himself had sown the seeds of heresy in his mind⁴, probably during the time that Pelagius resided at Rome. He dared not declare himself so long as Pope Innocent lived, but was one of those who refused to subscribe the condemnation pronounced by Zosimus⁵.

St. Augustine continued some time at Carthage, to transact the business with which the Council of the first of May, 418, had charged him, together with the other thirteen deputies⁶; here he received a letter from Pinianus, Albina his mother-in-law, and Melania his wife, who were in Palestine, and had had an interview with Pelagius⁷. When they exhorted him to condemn in writing all that was alleged against him, he said in their presence, "I anathematize all such as shall either think or say, that the grace of God, by which CHRIST came into the world to save sinners, is not necessary, not only at all hours, and in every moment, but also in every action; and they who strive to do away with it, deserve eternal punishment." He added⁸, "that he believed one only Baptism, which ought to be administered to infants in the same form of words as to adult persons;" and confessed "that infants receive Baptism for the remission of sins." He likewise read to them the writing which he had sent to Pope Innocent at Rome⁹, and complained¹ of his having been included in the condemnation of Cælestius; while on the contrary he attached great importance to his justification in the Council of Diospolis. Pinianus, Albina, and Melania were much rejoiced to hear what they had desired from the mouth of Pelagius; but at the same time, they thought it would be safer to consult St. Augustine². They therefore wrote to him one common letter, which he answered while he was still at Carthage, though he was much more occupied there than in any other place; but the bearer of their letter was in haste.

A. D. 418.

¹ Aug. Ep. 101. al. 131. § 4.² Merc. com. adv. Cæl. p. 138. ³ Noris. Hist. Pel. l. c. 18.⁴ Bed. Præf. in Cant. c. 4.⁵ Merc. com. adv. Cæl. p. 138.

LII. Pelagius attempts to justify himself to Pinianus.

⁶ Supr. 49.⁷ Aug. x. de Grat. Chr. c. 1. § 2.⁸ c. 32. § 35.⁹ De Pecc. Orig. c. 1. ¹ Ibid. c. 8. § 9.² De Grat. Chr. c. 1. Retr. 2. 50.

A. D. 418.

LIII.
Book of
St. August-
tine on the
grace of
Christ.

¹ De Grat.
Chr. c. 4.
§ 5.

² c. 7. § 8.

³ Pel. Ep.
ad Dem.
c. 25.
ap. Aug. ii.
App. p. 15.
Aug. de
Grat. Chr.
c. 22. § 23.

⁴ § 24.

His answer consisted of two books, the first of which treated of the grace of CHRIST, and the second of original sin. In the first he shews that Pelagius acknowledged grace only in name; and to prevent all suspicion of having either misunderstood or intentionally misinterpreted his words, he quotes the plainest and clearest passages in his writings¹. Pelagius, in his third book in defence of free will, had said, "The power we have either to do, to speak, or to think aright, is from Him who has given this power, and who assists it; but the action by which we either do, speak, or think aright, is from ourselves, because it is in our own power to turn all this to evil." This was the basis of his whole doctrine; that man received from God only the power to do well, and from himself the action and effect. He therefore gave the name of grace to that natural power of acting virtuously, which we have received from God. It is true, indeed, that he added to it His assistance²; but this he made consist in the law, in instruction and revelation, by which He opens the eyes of our heart; exhibiting to us future things, that we may not be occupied by present things; discovering to us the artifices of the devil, and enlightening our minds in various ways.

Pelagius said further, that grace is given us in proportion to our merits, notwithstanding that he seemed to have condemned this proposition in the Council of Palestine; for he wrote thus in his letter to Demetrius, on a passage in St. James³: "He shews in what manner we are to resist the devil, namely, by submitting ourselves to God, and so, by doing His will, meriting His grace, to enable us more easily to resist the Evil Spirit, by the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT." And to shew that Pelagius spoke not only of the increase of grace which may be merited, but of the primary grace⁴, St. Augustine quotes another passage, where he said, "He who attaches himself wholly to God, does it only by the use of his free will, by which he puts his heart into God's hand, that He may turn it whithersoever He pleases. So that God, according to his principle, does not assist us till we of ourselves, and without any kind of assistance, have given ourselves to Him." The passage from the letter to Demetrius contained another error, viz. that the assistance

of grace is not for doing good at all, but only for doing it A. D. 418. more easily; and he said the same in his first book in defence of free will.

By all these passages St. Augustine shews¹ that Pelagius¹ c. 30, &c. had never distinctly condemned the error which had been ascribed to him concerning grace; since all he had said on this subject, whether in the Council of Palestine, in his writings to Pope Innocent, or before Pinianus, might be understood, according to his principles, of the natural power to do good; of the law, of example, and of the other methods of enlightening us; or of the remission of sins; without acknowledging the necessity of a supernatural assistance as to the will. And because Pelagius had bestowed great praises on Ambrose, from whom he had drawn some words to his advantage², St. Augustine quotes several pas-² c. 43, &c. sages from the latter, which expressly assert the necessity of grace.

In the second book to Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, LIV. Book on original sin. St. Augustine treats of original sin. He shews that Cælestius had declared more openly against this tenet in the Council of Carthage, in A. D. 412, than Pelagius in the Council of Palestine; but that Pelagius had sufficiently explained his doctrine on this subject in the first book of his work in defence of free will; in which he said³, “The good or the evil,³ Aug. de Pecc. Orig. c. 13. § 14. “by which we become deserving of praise or dispraise, is not “born with us, but is done by us; we are born capable of “either, but without vice as without virtue; and before the “action of our own will, there is nothing in man but what “God has created.” This single passage plainly shewed with how little sincerity he had anathematized those who held that the sin of Adam had harmed himself alone, and that infants are born in the same state in which Adam was before the fall.

St. Augustine next proceeds to shew⁴ that this question is c. 23. § 26. not one of those by which the faith is in no way affected, as Pelagius and Cælestius asserted; but that it touches the very foundation of Christianity, since it involves the question whether CHRIST be truly the Mediator of all men, so that no one could ever have been saved without faith in His merits, and in the grace which He has merited for us. For Pelagius

A. D. 418. distinguished three states in the succession of ages¹, and said
¹ c. 26. § 30. that the just had lived at first under nature, afterwards under the law, and lastly under grace. As if the first were saved by nature only, the second by the mere assistance of the law, while grace was not necessary till after the coming of CHRIST.

² c. 33. § 38. Lastly², St. Augustine refutes the objection of the Pelagians against original sin, that it would follow from thence that marriage was an evil; and that man, who is the fruit of marriage, was not the work of God. He shews that marriage is good in itself, and that whatever it may contain of shameful, even in its most lawful use, is only the effect of that concupiscence which came into the world since the sin of the first man. But he afterwards treated this subject more deeply. St. Augustine sent to Pinianus, together with these two books³, all the Acts of the condemnation of Pelagius and Cælestius in Africa and at Rome^e.

³ c. 7. § 8. in fin.

LV.
 St. Augustine at
 Cæsarea in
 Mauritania.
⁴ Ep. 190.
 al. 157.
⁵ Retr. 2. 51.
 Possid.
 Vit. 14.
 Baudr.
 Geogr. in
 Julia
 Cæsarea.
⁶ Aug. ix.
 de Gest.
 Emer.
⁷ Supr. 22.
 28.

Some time after this, St. Augustine was obliged to go into Mauritania, about certain ecclesiastical matters with which Pope Zosimus had entrusted him⁴, in conjunction with certain other Bishops. Being at Cæsarea⁵, the chief city of the province, which is now called Tenez, in the kingdom of Algiers, they were informed that Emeritus, the Donatist Bishop of the city, was just arrived in it⁶. He was one of the leaders of their party, and had spoken the most in the Conference, where he was one of the deputies⁷. The Catholic Bishops went immediately to look for him, and having met, they mutually saluted each other. St. Augustine said to him, "It is not becoming for you to stay in the street, come into the church." Emeritus consented without any difficulty, and this led the Catholics to suppose that he would not refuse to join in communion with them, but they were deceived in their hopes. St. Augustine began to speak to the people, and preached a sermon, which is still extant⁸, on the charity, peace, and unity of the Church; in which he repeats the offer made by the Catholics in the Conference,

⁸ Aug. ix.
 Serm. ad
 Cæs.

^e The mutual esteem and friendship indicated by this correspondence (see also *infr.* 24. 12), seem to prove that Pinianus could not have violated his oath, and disregarded the expressed sentiments of St. Augustine in quitting

Hippo. (*V. Supr.* 22. 23.) Tillemont suggests that the latter might have at last prevailed on his people to release Pinianus from his oath. *Tillem.* xiii. S. Aug. § 194.

to receive the Donatist Bishops as Bishops¹; and he promises this on the part of Deuterius, the Catholic Bishop of Cæsarea.

Two days after this the Catholic Bishops again urged Emeritus to enter their communion, and that a proof of their offer might remain on record, they caused Acts of this Conference to be drawn up, which began as follows²: “Under
 “ the twelfth Consulate of Honorius, and the eighth of
 “ Theodosius, being the twelfth of the calends of October,”
 (i. e. the twentieth of September, 418); “ in the great church
 “ at Cæsarea; Deuterius, Metropolitan of Cæsarea, with
 “ Alypius of Thagaste, Augustine of Hippo, Possidius of
 “ Calama, Rusticus of Cartennæ, Palladius of Tigabita, and
 “ the rest of the Bishops being come into a Hall^{3 f}, in presence
 “ of the Priests, Deacons, the whole body of the clergy, and
 “ a very great concourse of people; in presence likewise of
 “ Emeritus, the Donatist Bishop; Augustine, Bishop of the
 “ Catholic Church, said: ‘ My dear brethren, you who have
 “ ‘ always been Catholics, and you who have returned from
 “ ‘ the errors of the Donatists, or who are still doubtful of the
 “ ‘ truth, listen to us; to us, who seek your salvation in pure
 “ ‘ love.’ ” He then repeats what had taken place two days
 before, and adds⁴: “ Since Emeritus is present, his presence
 “ must be made advantageous to the Church, either by his
 “ own conversion, which we sincerely wish, or at least for the
 “ salvation of others. I know what you have been told, (I
 “ address myself to you who were once of their party:) you
 “ have been told⁵ that in the Conference we bought the
 “ decision of the Commissioner; that he was a member of
 “ our communion, and would not suffer your friends to say
 “ all they wished.” Then addressing himself to Emeritus,
 he said⁶, “ You were present at the Conference; if you there
 “ lost your cause, wherefore are you come hither? But if
 “ you have not lost it, tell us why you think you ought to

A. D. 418.
¹ Supr. 22.
 29.

² Aug. ix.
 de Gest.
 cum Emer.
 Possid.
 Vit. 14.

[³ exedra]

⁴ Gest.
 Emer. § 2.

⁵ Supr. 22.
 40.

⁶ § 3.

^f To the ancient churches were attached several outer buildings, which went by the general name of *Exedra*. Among these was the Vestry or *Diaconicum*, or *Secretarium*, so called because it was not only the repository of the vestments and utensils of the church, which were under the care of the Dea-

cons, but was also used for the meeting of the consistory or tribunal of the Church (and not unfrequently of provincial, or even general Councils); *secretum* or *secretarium* being a well-known name for the courts of the civil magistrate. Bingham. 8. 7. § 1, 7.

A. D. 418. "have gained it. If you think that you were overcome by power, there is none here; if you are conscious of having been overcome by truth, why do you still refuse to be at unity?" Emeritus replied, "The Acts shew whether I gained or lost; whether I was overcome by truth, or oppressed by might." St. Augustine said, "Wherefore then are you come?" Emeritus answered, "To say this which you demand of me." St. Augustine said, "I demand wherefore you are come; if you had not come here, I would not ask you this." Emeritus said to the Notary who was making notes, and who bid him answer, "Go on¹;" and said no more.

[¹ Fac]

² § 4.

St. Augustine², after having again desired him to speak, and waited a long while without being able to get a word from him, directed his discourse to the people, and bade them take notice of his silence. He recommended the Bishop Deuterius to have the Acts of the Conference read at full length every year during Lent in the Church, as was observed at Carthage, at Thagaste, at Constantina, at Hippo, and in all the best governed Churches³. After this St. Alypius read the letter which the Catholic Bishops had addressed to Marcellinus the Tribune before the Conference⁴; and St. Augustine insisted chiefly on the offer they had made to resign their chairs to the Donatist Bishops for the sake of unity. He then related all that had taken place among the Donatists, with respect to the schism of Maximianus, challenging Emeritus to convict him of falsehood in case he advanced any thing that was not true. For Emeritus was one of the chief of the Primianists, and it was he who had dictated the sentence of the Council of Bagaia against Maximianus⁵. But for all St. Augustine could say, Emeritus still persisted obstinately in his silence, though the very man who had spoken so much at the Conference of Carthage. His parents and fellow-citizens⁶ (for he was a native of Cæsarea) likewise pressed him to answer, and engaged, if he should be able to refute what the Catholics advanced, to return to his communion, even at the hazard of losing their goods and temporal condition; but he still continued silent⁷.

³ Supr. 22.
40.

⁴ Ibid. 29.

⁵ Supr. 19.
54.

⁶ Possid.
Vit. 14.

⁷ St. Augustine gives some explanation of this scene in his work against

Gaudentius, lib. i. c. 14, 32. tom. ix. "Emeritus came," he says, "unde-

While St. Augustine continued at Cæsarea in Mauritania¹, he abolished an evil custom which had been established from time immemorial. This was a combat which was fought every year at a stated time, for several days together, called in Latin 'Caterva,' or 'the Troop.' Upon this occasion all the citizens and nearest relations, not excepting even fathers and their children, used to divide themselves into two parties, and fight together, even to killing one another, when they were able. St. Augustine preached against this abuse with all the force of his eloquence. The people at first gave him acclamations, but these he considered only as tokens of the pleasure they received from his discourse, and he thought he had done nothing, till their tears began to flow. Then he concluded with exhorting them all to return thanks to God. He himself related his success above eight years afterwards, and testified that this savage custom had never been renewed.

During his continuance at Cæsarea, a Monk named Renatus, and a Bishop called Muresis, shewed him letters written by the Bishop Optatus, on the question of the origin of souls, and desired his opinion upon that subject². Accordingly he wrote to Optatus on it; and began by telling him that he had never dared to decide this question, so difficult did it appear to him; but whatever opinion we may adopt³, we must above all things be sure to preserve the belief in original sin against the Pelagians, whose error was already condemned by all the world; and he sent to Optatus the letter which Pope Zosimus had just published upon this subject. On his return to Hippo, he wrote an answer to a layman named Mercator⁴, who had written to him at the time he was at Carthage, concerning the errors of the Pelagians: against which Mercator was very zealous, and had even composed a book, which he sent to St. Augustine to examine. In this letter St. Augustine expresses himself thus in allusion to an intricate question⁵: "For my part I own to you, I had rather learn

A. D. 418.

¹ Aug. iii.
de Doctr.
Chr. 4.
c. 24. § 53.

LVI.

Letters of
St. August-
ine to Op-
tatus and
Mercator.
² Aug. Ep.
190. al. 157.
ad Opt.

c. 6. § 22.

Ep. 193.

c. 14. § 13.

"tected, uncompeled:" (he seems to have concealed himself in order to escape the sentence of banishment, Supr. 22. 40, and 23. 11:) "he could have come for no other reason than to say somewhat in behalf of the Donatists against the Catholics;" but "whatever he had intended to say, had

"been refuted by anticipation in my discourse, before it could be produced by his sophistry:" so that he chose rather to remain silent, than confess his defeat, or adduce arguments already answered. See Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. § 288.

A. D. 418. "than teach. For the sweetness of truth invites us to learn, "and charity ought to compel us to teach; but we ought "only to teach when charity does compel us to it." He sent this letter to Mercator by Albinus, an Acolyte of the Roman Church: whom he charged also with a short letter to the Priest Sixtus, to congratulate him on the resolution with which he had declared himself against the Pelagians¹; and some time after he wrote him a longer one by the Priest Firmus, who had brought him a letter from Sixtus, and was returning from Africa to Rome².

¹ Ep. 191.
al. 104.

² Ep. 194.
al. 105.

LVII.
Letter to
Sixtus.

³ c. 2. § 3.

⁴ § 4.

⁵ § 5.

⁶ Rom. 11.

⁷ c. 3. § 6.

In this letter St. Augustine exhorts St. Sixtus to apply himself to the instruction of those whom he had already alarmed sufficiently; and to fortify him against them, he answers their objections. "They imagine," said he³, "that "they are deprived of free will, if they admit, that without "the succour of God, man has not even good will; and they "do not comprehend, that so far from strengthening free "will, they do but build it in the air, in that they do not "found it upon the Lord, who is the solid Rock. They fancy⁴ "that they make God a respecter of persons, if they believe "that without any preceding merit He sheweth mercy on "whom He will; and do not consider that he who is con- "demned receives a merited punishment, while he who is "liberated receives an unmerited grace: so that the former "has no reason for complaint, nor the latter for boasting. "This is more truly the case in which there is no respect of "persons, where all are involved in the same common mass "of condemnation."

"But," say they⁵, "it is unjust in the same bad cause to "pardon one and punish the other." "It is, however, certainly "just," answers St. Augustine, "to punish both: we ought then "to render thanks to our Saviour, that He has not treated us "like our fellows. For if all men were saved, the justice due "to sin would not be discerned; if none were saved, the "benefit of grace would not be known: we must not then "seek for a cause, either in the distinction of merit, or in the "necessity of fate, or in the caprice of fortune, but in the "depth of the treasures of God's wisdom, which the Apostle "admires, without unfolding⁶." And afterwards⁷: "Have "the just then no merit at all? They have some, without

“doubt, in that they are just; but they had none to make A. D. 418.
 “them just; according to the words of the Apostle, ‘Being
 “‘justified freely by His grace¹.’” 1 Rom. 3.24.

Pelagius² had seemed to condemn that error in the Council 2 § 7.
 of Palestine, in acknowledging that grace was not given ac-
 cording to our merits: but his disciples answered³ that this 3 § 8.
 grace was human nature, in which we had been created
 without having deserved it. St. Augustine answers, “Far
 “from all Christians be that illusion. The grace which the
 “Apostle recommends, is not that by which we have been
 “created men; but that by which we have been justified,
 “when we were already bad men. He did not die for the
 “creation of those who were not, but for the justification of
 “those who were impious.

“Neither is grace the remission of sins⁴; for it is obtained 4 § 9, 12, 13.
 “by faith; and faith, which is the source of prayer and all
 “righteousness, is also given. And to know⁵, why of two 5 § 10.
 “persons who hear the same doctrine, or see the same
 “miracle, one believes, and the other believes not; it is the
 “depth of the wisdom of God, whose judgments are un-
 “searchable, and are not the less just for being hidden. ‘He
 “‘hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He
 “‘will He hardeneth⁶,’ but He does not harden in hatred, 6 Rom. 9.18.
 “but only in not shewing mercy⁷.” And afterwards⁸: “The 7 § 14.
 “Spirit bloweth where He listeth: but it must be admitted 8 c. 4. § 18.
 “that He aids in a different way those in whom He dwells,
 “and those in whom He does not yet dwell; for He aids
 “these last, that they may become faithful, while He aids
 “the first, as being already faithful.” And again⁹: “When 9 c. 5. § 19.
 “God crowns our merits, He only crowns His own gifts.
 “Therefore St. Paul says¹, ‘The wages of sin is death, but 1 § 20, 21.
 “‘the grace² of God is eternal life.’ We should have ex- Rom. 6. 23.
 “pected him to say, ‘the wages of righteousness is eternal [2 τὸ χρί-
 ρισμα]
 “‘life,’ as in truth it is; but fearing lest man should be
 “puffed up with his own merit, he has rather chosen to
 “refer eternal life to grace, from whence proceeds our
 “righteousness.”

“But,” says the Pelagian³, “Men will excuse themselves 3 c. 6. § 22.
 “by saying, ‘Why should we be blamed if we live ill, since
 “‘we have not received grace to live well?’” St. Augustine

- A. D. 418. answers, "Those who live ill cannot truly say they are not
 " to blame; for if they do no ill, they live well. But if they
 " live ill, it proceeds from themselves, either from their
 " original evil, or from that which they have themselves
 " added to it. If they are vessels of wrath, let them impute
 " it to themselves, as being formed of that lump, which God
 " has justly condemned for the sin of that one man, in whom
 " all have sinned. If they are vessels of mercy, let them not
 " be puffed up, but rather glorify Him, who has given them
 " a grace which they had not deserved. After all¹, this ex-
 " cuse is nothing more than the objection which the Apostle
 " makes against himself, saying², 'Why doth He yet find
 " ' fault? For who hath resisted His will?' But we answer with
 " him³; 'O man, who art thou, that repliest against God?'
 " Let the Christian then be content in this life, with know-
 " ing or believing, that God delivers no man but by a free
 " mercy, and condemns no man but by a most true justice.
 " But why He does, or does not deliver, one more than
 " another, let him search who is able to penetrate the depth
 " of His judgments; but let him beware of the precipice."
 " Afterwards he demonstrates⁴, that although those who sin
 " with knowledge are the most guilty, the rest cannot excuse
 " themselves by their ignorance. "Every sinner," he says⁵, "is
 " inexcusable, either by his original sin, or because he has
 " added to it of his own will, whether knowingly or igno-
 " rantly; for even ignorance itself is without doubt a sin in
 " those who have chosen not to know; and in those who
 " have not been able, it is the punishment of sin." And
 " again⁶; "Grace finds nothing just in him whom it delivers,
 " neither will, nor work, nor even excuse; for if the excuse
 " be just, he that pleads it is delivered by his merit, and not
 " by grace."
 " But all the human reasoning of those who are fearful of
 " attributing to God respect of persons, is lost in the case of
 " infants⁷. For since they admit that no infant enters into
 " the kingdom of heaven without being born again of water
 " and of the Spirit, what reason can they render for this,
 " that one dies baptized, another without Baptism? What
 " merits have here preceded⁸? There are none in the infants
 " themselves, they are drawn from the same mass; it is not

¹ § 23.² Rom. 9.19.³ Ibid. 20.⁴ § 24, &c.⁵ § 27.⁶ § 29.⁷ c. 7. § 31.⁸ § 32.

“ the merits of their parents, for we may suppose, what may A. D. 418.
 “ actually happen, that the parents of infants who die with-
 “ out Baptism are Christians; and that the infants of wicked
 “ or unbelieving parents being exposed, are preserved and
 “ baptized by Christians.” He relates, after St. Paul, the
 example of Esau and of Jacob¹; and adds², “ when they are 1 c. 8. § 34.
 “ so hard pressed, into what strange abysses do they throw 2 § 35.
 “ themselves? ‘ God,’ say they, ‘ hated one, and loved the
 “ ‘ other, because He foresaw the deeds they were to act.’
 “ Who will not admire that the Apostle did not find out
 “ that subtilty? For he did not think of that answer,
 “ which appears to them so brief and so decisive. He says
 “ only³, ‘ Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. 3 Rom. 9. 14.
 “ ‘ for He saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will
 “ ‘ have mercy. So then it is not of him that willeth, or of
 “ ‘ him that runneth, but of GOD that sheweth mercy.’
 “ Where are now the merits, or the works, past or future,
 “ done or to be done by the strength of free will? Has not
 “ the Apostle pronounced a clear decision in favour of free
 “ grace; that is, of true grace? And⁴ even although one 4 c. 9. § 41.
 “ should say that God foresaw the works of Esau and Jacob,
 “ who lived long, can it be said that He foreseeth the future
 “ works of those who are to die in their infancy? How can
 “ those be called future works which will never be at all?”
 He confounds the Pelagians on this objection, and thinks it
 so absurd, that he fears it will not be believed that they have
 proposed it⁵. He answers yet another cavil of the Pelagians⁶, 5 c. 10.
 concerning the answer which is given for infants, that they 6 § 43.
 believe in the remission of sins: “ Yes,” said they, “ they believe 6 § 45.
 “ that sins are forgiven in the Church, not, however, to those
 “ who have none, but to those who have.” “ Why then,” says
 St. Augustine, “ are they exorcised and breathed upon? It
 “ is an unreality, if they are not in the power of the devil.”
 He ends this long letter to Sixtus⁷, by begging him to 7 § 47.
 inform him of any new objections the heretics might invent
 against the Catholic faith, and how the other Catholic doctors
 opposed them.

About the same time, a discourse of the Arians, without
 the author’s name, was sent to St. Augustine by a person
 who earnestly prayed him to answer it⁸. He did it as briefly

LVIII.
 Discourse
 against the
 Arians.
8 Retr. 2. 52.
 Cont. Serm.
 Arian.
 tom. viii.

A. D. 418. and as quickly as possible: putting the discourse itself at the beginning of his answer, and numbers to each article, that it might be easily seen what answer he had made to each. It is much the same as what he says in his other works against the Arians; and in the discourse he here refutes, may be seen in few words all the substance of their doctrine.

END OF THE TWENTY-THIRD BOOK.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH BOOK.

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| <p>I. History of Orosius.</p> <p>II. Reliques of St. Stephen at Minorca.</p> <p>III. Conversion of the Jews.</p> <p>IV. Reliques of St. Stephen at Uzalis.</p> <p>V. Miracles at Calama, &c.</p> <p>VI. Commencement of the affair of Apiarius.</p> <p>VII. Death of Zosimus: Schism of Boniface and Eulalius.</p> <p>VIII. Honorius takes cognizance of it.</p> <p>IX. Eulalius expelled from Rome.</p> <p>X. Council of Carthage, A. D. 419.</p> <p>XI. Continuation of the Council.</p> <p>XII. Death of St. Jerome.</p> <p>XIII. Letters of St. Augustine to Hesychius.</p> <p>XIV. Locutions and Questions on Scripture.</p> <p>XV. First Book on Marriage and Concupiscence.</p> <p>XVI. Rescripts of Honorius for the Church.</p> <p>XVII. Letter of Pope Boniface to the Bishops of the Gauls.</p> <p>XVIII. Second Book on Marriage and Concupiscence.</p> <p>XIX. Books of St. Augustine to Pope Boniface.</p> <p>XX. Books on the Soul, and its Origin.</p> <p>XXI. Acts of Constantius for the Church.</p> <p>XXII. Last Works of St. Augustine against the Donatists.</p> <p>XXIII. Other Works of St. Augustine.</p> <p>XXIV. Books against Julian.</p> <p>XXV. The Pelagians condemned in the East.</p> <p>XXVI. Persecution in Persia.</p> <p>XXVII. Conversion of the Saracens.</p> <p>XXVIII. Commencement of St. Euthymius.</p> <p>XXIX. Persian War.</p> <p>XXX. Education of Theodosius the Younger.</p> <p>XXXI. Jurisdiction of the Pope in Illyricum.</p> | <p>XXXII. Death of Boniface: Cælestine Pope.</p> <p>XXXIII. Death of Honorius: Valentinian III., Emperor.</p> <p>XXXIV. Affair of Anthony of Fussala.</p> <p>XXXV. Conclusion of the affair of Apiarius.</p> <p>XXXVI. Healing of Paul at Hippo.</p> <p>XXXVII. Healing of Palladia.</p> <p>XXXVIII. Domestic Life of St. Augustine.</p> <p>XXXIX. His behaviour in temporal matters.</p> <p>XL. First Sermon on the Common Life.</p> <p>XLI. Second Sermon.</p> <p>XLII. Rule to the Nuns.</p> <p>XLIII. Eraclius nominated Bishop of Hippo.</p> <p>XLIV. Death of Atticus: Sisinnius, Bishop of Constantinople.</p> <p>XLV. Dispute among the Monks of Adrumetum.</p> <p>XLVI. Book of St. Augustine on Grace and Free Will.</p> <p>XLVII. Book on Correction and Grace.</p> <p>XLVIII. Retractations of St. Augustine.</p> <p>XLIX. Conversion of Leporius.</p> <p>L. Letter to Vitalius.</p> <p>LI. Revolt of Count Boniface.</p> <p>LII. Letter of St. Augustine to Boniface.</p> <p>LIII. Conference with Maximin.</p> <p>LIV. Conference with Pascentius.</p> <p>LV. Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople.</p> <p>LVI. Decretals of St. Cælestine.</p> <p>LVII. Cassian at Marseilles.</p> <p>LVIII. Monastery of Lerins.</p> <p>LIX. Letter of Hilary to St. Augustine.</p> <p>LX. Letter of St. Prosper.</p> <p>LXI. Book of St. Augustine on the Predestination of Saints.</p> <p>LXII. Book on Perseverance.</p> <p>LXIII. Book on Heresies.</p> |
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXIV.

A. D. 416. **OROSIUS** came back from Jerusalem at the beginning of the year 416, bringing with him the reliques of St. Stephen, which Avitus had entrusted to him to carry into Spain¹, and which were the first that had been brought into the West. He returned through Africa, as St. Augustine had desired him², and brought to Carthage the letters of Heros and Lazarus, against Pelagius³. It is thought that Orosius composed his history at this time⁴, which was written at the order of St. Augustine, to serve as a proof to his work of the City of God, of which he was then composing the eleventh book⁵. The object of the history of Orosius is to demonstrate to the pagans, that in all times mankind had been afflicted with the same calamities under which they were then suffering; and which they attributed to the neglect of their ancient superstitions. He begins at the Deluge, and briefly sketches the whole history of the world down to his own time: but he enlarges much more upon the Roman history than upon that of other nations.

II. After some stay in Africa, he embarked, intending to cross over to Spain, but he was not able to land there, apparently in consequence of the ravages of the Goths⁶. He stopped some time in the island of Minorca, in the town of Magona, now Mahon, famous for its harbour; and he deposited the reliques of St. Stephen, with which he was charged, in a church near the town, being resolved to return into Africa.

A. D. 418. The presence of the reliques excited the zeal of the Christians, and they began all over the town to enter into religious disputes with the Jews, who were among them in great numbers. At last they fixed a day for a public conference⁷.

The Christians⁸ prepared themselves for the contest by drawing up a memorial of the chief points of the controversy; the Jews were not satisfied with perusing their books; they collected in their synagogue stones, staves, darts, and arms

I.
History of
Orosius.
¹ Supr. 23.
23.

² Aug. Ep.
166. al. 28.
§ 2.

³ Ep. 175.
al. 90. § 1.

⁴ Marcell.
Chr. p. 279.
Ind. 14.

⁵ Oros.
Præf.
[Precep-
tis tuis
parui]

Reliques of
St. Stephen
at Minorca.
⁶ Ep. Sever.
§ 2.
ap. Aug. vii.
App.

⁷ § 4.

⁸ § 5.

of all sorts, and they sent for one Theodorus, a man of great authority among them, who was then absent in the island of Majorca. They relied also very much on the power of a person named Theodosius, the richest man in all the town, who enjoyed among them the dignity of a patriarch. A. D. 418.

Severus, who had been recently ordained Bishop of Minorca, was then at Jammona, another town of the island now called Citadella, distant from Mahon thirty miles, or ten leagues: there were no Jews at Jammona, and they were possessed with the belief that they could not live there. The Bishop Severus¹ set out from that place with a great multitude of the¹ § 9. faithful people, who joyfully followed him, being encouraged by visions, which the event induced them to believe Divine. Theodorus², the Jew, had also a dream, which he related to² § 8. many, both Jews and Christians. "As I was going," said he, "to the synagogue, twelve men held out their hands to me, saying, 'Whither are you going? There is a lion 'there.' At these words, seized with fear, I prepared to fly, [but first, finding a place from which I could see the interior of the synagogue], I beheld there Monks singing with an admirable sweetness: my fear augmented, and I should not have recovered myself, if I had not entered into the house of Reuben, whence I ran with all my speed to my mother, who was close at hand."

As soon as the Bishop Severus was arrived at Mahon, he sent some clerks to inform the Jews of his arrival, and desire them to come to the church. They answered they could not go into it that day, which was a Saturday. The Bishop sent word to them, "Then stay for me at the synagogue. We do not wish to force you to any servile work, the matter in question is only a dispute upon the law; shew us where it is forbidden to hold conferences on the Sabbath-day." They obstinately refused to come to the church, but they came to the Bishop's lodging. He said to them, "Why, my brethren, I beseech you, have you collected so many stones and so many arms, as if you had to deal with robbers, and that too in a town subject to the Roman laws? You I see, are thirsting for our blood, while we only thirst for your salvation."

The Jews, in alarm, denied the fact, even with oaths. The

A. D. 418. Bishop said, "What need is there for oaths in things of
 "which our own eyes may satisfy us? Let us go to the
 "synagogue." They all went towards it singing Psalms,
 both Christians and Jews¹: but before they had reached it,
 some Jewish women began to throw large stones on them
 from above, which did not, however, hurt any one: and the
 Christians, notwithstanding all the Bishop could do to restrain
 them, attacked the Jews also with stones, but without wound-
 ing any of them. Then having made themselves masters of
 the synagogue, they burnt it with all its ornaments, except
 the books and the silver plate. The holy books were carried
 away, that they might not be profaned by the Jews, and their
 plate was restored to them, that they might not complain
 that they had been plundered. After having destroyed the
 synagogue, in the sight of the astonished Jews, the Christians
 returned to the church, giving thanks to God, and praying
 for their conversion.

III. Reuben was the first who openly declared he would quit
 Judaism²; he received the sign of the cross as a catechumen³,
 and began to reproach the other Jews with their hardness of
 heart. Three days after, Theodorus, accompanied by a great
 number of Jews, came to the burnt synagogue, the walls of
 which were still remaining; a great number of Christians
 assembled there also. As Theodorus was boldly disputing,
 and ridiculing all their objections, the Christians, with one
 accord, cried out, "Theodorus, believe in CHRIST." The
 Jews thought they cried, "Theodorus believes:" and alarmed
 at seeing themselves thus abandoned by their chief, they
 dispersed on all sides. The women ran with their hair dis-
 hevelled, crying, "Theodorus, what hast thou done?" The
 men sought to hide themselves in the town, or fled away to the
 mountains. Theodorus remained upon the spot, astonished
 to see himself forsaken by every body, and beholding Monks
 singing according to his dream⁴. Reuben said to him, "What
 "do you fear, my lord Theodorus? If you wish to live secure
 "in honours and riches, believe, like me, in CHRIST." Theo-
 dorus paused a while, and then said to the Bishop and
 Christians, "I will do what you wish, I give you my word for
 "it: but permit me to speak to my people, that my con-
 "version may be more useful." All the Christians expressed

¹ § 10.

III.
 Conversion
 of the
 Jews.
² § 11.
 [³ V. Bingham.
 10. 1. § 3.]

⁴ § 12.

an incredible joy; some threw themselves upon him to embrace him, others were full of eagerness to speak to him. He went home, and the Christians went to the church singing according to their custom. After the Holy Mysteries, as they came out, they found a great multitude of Jews, who came to ask from the Bishop the sign of CHRIST. They returned to the church, gave thanks to GOD, and were all signed on their foreheads by the Bishop.

Another day they did not begin mass¹ till the seventh hour, that is to say, one o'clock at noon; so much was the Bishop occupied in addressing exhortations to the Jews who came to be converted, and in having their names written down; and the people felt so much joy, that they even forgot to eat. The next day they expected with impatience that Theodorus should perform his promise². He wished first to fetch his wife, whom he had left in the island of Majorca, for fear she should continue a Jewess, and wish to leave him. The Christians thought his excuse reasonable, but the converted Jews would suffer no delay. Theodorus submitted, and all the Jews followed his example; among others an old man of a hundred and two years of age. Even their doctors yielded without dispute. Some Jews³, strangers, who were waiting for a favourable wind, chose rather to lose the opportunity of embarking, than that of being converted. There only remained a few women, who continued obstinate for some days.

The eighth day after the Bishop Severus had come from Jammona⁴, he prepared to return thither; but as he was on the point of setting out, one of these women who had embarked with the intention of departing, being brought on shore again, came and threw herself at his feet, praying him with tears to receive her. "Why," said he, "have you left your brethren with so much levity?" She made answer, "The Prophet Jonas would also have fled from before the LORD, whose will he nevertheless fulfilled in spite of himself." To conclude, five hundred and forty persons were converted in the space of eight days⁵, reckoning from the fourth of the nones of February, after the Consulate of Honorius and of Constantius⁶; that is to say, from the second of February, 418. The converted Jews began to demolish the

A. D. 418.

¹ § 15.
[Missa
Dominica:
probably,
the Com-
munion
Service.
Cf. Aug. ix.
Brev. Coll.
3. c. 17.
§ 32. et
Du Cange
in Domi-
nicum.]
² § 16.

³ § 17.

⁴ § 19.

⁵ § 20.

⁶ § 21.

A. D. 418. remains of their synagogue, and to build a new church, not only at their own cost, but with their own hands.

The Bishop Severus wrote an account of this great event, in a letter which he addressed to all the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and the faithful throughout the world, and which has been preserved to this day. It appears by a law of Honorius¹ of the tenth of March, of the same year 418, that before that time the Jews were admitted to employments in the palace, and even to serve in the army, since by this law he renders them incapable of doing so; he allows them, however, to bear municipal offices, and to exercise the profession of lawyers.

IV. The letter of the Bishop Severus was brought to Uzalis in Africa, where Evodius was then Bishop, an ancient friend of St. Augustine. It was publicly read in the reading-desk² of the church³, at the beginning of the service, the same day that some of the reliques of St. Stephen were brought thither. Some Monks of Uzalis having heard Orosius talk of the reliques of this Saint⁴, which he had seen in the East, were moved to send for some, and found means to procure a vial⁵ which contained some of his blood, with some small fragments of bones very thin, like the points of ears of corn⁶. They kept these reliques some time, without letting any one know of them; and as they were talking of it one day, a virgin consecrated to God, being present, said within herself, "And who knows whether these are truly reliques of Martyrs?" The night following she had a dream, which was verified by the event, as was likewise another of the same nature by another virgin⁷.

The Bishop Evodius having in consequence been informed of these reliques, went to a place outside of the town of Uzalis, where the memory of two ancient Martyrs, Felix and Genadius⁸, was preserved, and received there the reliques of St. Stephen. A barber named Concordius, who had broken his foot by a fall, and had kept his bed for a long time, having recommended himself to St. Stephen, was healed. He walked on his own feet to render thanks to God in the Martyrs' church; and after having prayed there a long while, he lighted wax-tapers, and left his crutch there. The Bishop⁹ after he had celebrated the Holy Mysteries, went from that

¹ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 8. de Jud. 24.

Reliques of St. Stephen at Uzalis.

² pulpito. V. Bingham. 8. 5. § 4. and 3. 5. § 4.]

³ De Mirac. S. Steph. lib. 1. c. 2. ap. Aug. vii. App.

⁴ c. 1.

[⁵ ampullam]

[⁶ aristarum quasi ossium significacionem]

⁷ c. 2.

[⁸ Nothing is known of these Martyrs: Tillem. v. Cass. § 8.]

⁹ c. 2.

church accompanied by a vast multitude of people divided into several choirs, carrying tapers and flambeaux, singing psalms, and often repeating these words, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." The Bishop, seated in a chariot, carried the reliques upon his knees¹. They walked in that manner to the town, where they arrived in the evening; and the reliques were deposited in the church, under the Apsis, that is, in the chancel, where they were laid upon the Bishop's throne², and covered with a cloth³.

The same day a blind woman named Hilara, a baker⁴ well known in the town, came to church full of faith, and desired a pious woman to give her her hand, and to lead her near the reliques. Feeling about, she took hold of the cloth which covered them, applied it to both her eyes, and retired to her home. At night she went out of her door, and began to see by the light of the moon the neighbouring walls and the pavements of the street. She called her son, and said to him, "Son, are not those the walls of the house of such a one?" Her son thought she said this to make him tell her⁵. She added, lifting up her eyes to heaven, "I see the moon over the theatre: it is not a full moon⁶." Her son said to her, "Why did you pretend to be blind?" thinking that she never was so. The next morning she came by herself to church, to render thanks to God.

Afterwards the reliques were placed on a little bed, in a place shut up, where there were doors and a little window, through which the people touched the linen cloths, which healed the sick⁷. They flocked thither from all parts, even from a distance: and an infinite number of miracles were wrought there⁸. A veil was placed before the oratory⁹ of St. Stephen¹, the gift of an unknown person, upon which the Saint was painted, bearing a cross upon his shoulders, with the end² of which he was striking the gate of the town, and driving a dragon out of it. And this painting in a church is a remarkable circumstance³.

The Bishop Evodius had separated some part of the reliques⁴, and had put them into his monastery, in a little silver shrine, with the intention of transporting them to the church of a place called the Promontory, which he had recovered from the Donatists. But God warned him by two

A. D. 418.

[¹ gremio]² c. 3.

[in loco

absidæ

super ca-

thedram

velatam]

[³ palla][⁴ panaria][⁵ ten-
fando, non
videndo][⁶ adhuc
dimidiana]⁷ Lib. 2.

c. 2. § 6.

Lib. 1. c. 12.

⁸ c. 15. § 2.[⁹ Memo-

riam]

¹ Lib. 2.

c. 4. § 2.

[² cuspid][³ V. Supr.

19. 44.]

⁴ Lib. 1.

c. 7.

A. D. 418. revelations that this translation was not pleasing to Him; and accordingly, when they were already getting ready the carriage, the people came in a crowd to the church, and began to make great outcries, and to surround the Bishop, entreating and detaining him, till he had promised with an oath not to carry away any of the reliques of St. Stephen. Evodius then replaced those reliques with the others; but as he was carrying them solemnly in procession from the monastery to the church¹, a blind man touched the silver shrine² which contained them, and immediately recovered his sight. Another blind man having been healed, left for an offering a silver lamp³.

¹ c. 8.

[² capsella]

³ c. 13.

[candela]

⁴ Præf.

Mirac.

S. Steph.

⁵ Lib. 1.

c. 15. § 2.

⁶ Lib. 2.

c. 1.

[⁷ absida]

To preserve the memory of these miracles, Evodius caused them to be written by one of his clerks⁴; who, as he was not able to relate them all, selected the best known⁵. At the festival of St. Stephen, this account was publicly read⁶: and after the reading of each miracle, the person healed was sought for among the people. For example, Hilara, who had been blind, was made to pass through the middle of the church, walking all alone: she ascended the steps of the chancel⁷, and there remained standing for some time, to be seen by all the people. The same thing was done in the case of one healed of the palsy, and so of all the others one by one. The miracles appeared to be seen, rather than read: and the people, who had made exclamations during the reading, redoubled, at this spectacle, their acclamations and tears. Several took copies of the relation, as it was read, which induced the same author to write afterwards a second book of these miracles; and we have them both. We see from them that St. Stephen usually appeared under the form of a young man, and sometimes in a Deacon's habit.

⁸ Lib. 1.

c. 4.

⁹ Lib. 1.

c. 15.

Aug. Serm.

323, 324.

al. 32, 33.

de div.

Amongst these miracles of Uzalis are enumerated several restorations to life⁸, one of which is also related by St. Augustine, almost in the same terms⁹. An infant^a catechumen died while still at the breast. His mother seeing him irrecoverably lost, ran to the oratory of St. Stephen, and said, "Holy Martyr, you see I have no consolation left. Restore

^a "Be he infant or adult that is designed to be a Christian, till he be baptized they call him *catechumenus*."

Wall, Hist. Inf. Bapt., part 1. ch. 7. § 1. Cf. Aug. Serm. 294. § 14.

“ me my child, that I may find him in the presence of Him A. D. 418.
 “ who has crowned you.” She prayed thus a long time,
 pouring forth torrents of tears. At last the child returned
 to life, and they heard his voice. She took him instantly to
 the Priests, he was baptized, he received the unction, the im-
 position of the hands, and all the sacraments; that is to say, the
 Confirmation and Eucharist, which always followed Baptism ¹. [¹ V. Supr.
 23. 28.
 not. n. and
 32. not. u.]
 But God took him again very soon, and his mother bore
 him to the grave with the same countenance as if she were
 bearing him to the bosom of St. Stephen. These are the
 words of St. Augustine, who speaks again in another place of
 the miracles that were wrought at Uzalis ².

He testifies that many were wrought at Calama ³, of which
 Possidius was Bishop, and where there was a chapel of St.
 Stephen, and he relates these. A Priest of Spain ⁴, named
 Eucharius, who lived at Calama, and had been afflicted
 with the stone for a long time, was cured of it by the
 reliques of St. Stephen. Afterwards dying of another dis-
 ease, when his funeral had actually commenced, one of
 his tunics was brought back from the chapel of the Saint,
 and thrown on his body: and he arose. Two men, sick of
 the gout ⁵, one a citizen of Calama, and the other a stranger, ⁵ § 14.
 were also healed; the citizen entirely; the stranger learnt,
 by a revelation, a remedy which eased his pain every time
 he was seized with it. One of the chief persons of the
 town ⁶, named Martial, advanced in age, and very far from ⁶ § 13.
 being a Christian, had a believing daughter, whose husband
 had been baptized that same year. Seeing him sick, they
 prayed him with many tears to become a Christian: but
 he absolutely refused it, and sent them away with indigna-
 tion. His son-in-law bethought himself of going to the
 chapel of St. Stephen to pray for his conversion. He did so,
 with great fervency, and on coming away took some flowers
 he saw upon the Altar, and laid them by his father's head, as
 it was already night. They went to bed: and before it was
 day, Martial cried out that some one should run to the
 Bishop: he happened then to be at Hippo with St. Augus-
 tine, and when Martial learnt that he was absent, he desired
 the Priests might be sent for. They came; he said he be-
 lieved, and was baptized to the great astonishment of every

² Civ. Dei
 22. 8. § 21.
 V.

Miracles at
 Calama. &c.

³ Ibid. § 20.
⁴ § 12.

A. D. 418. body. From his baptism to the time of his death, which happened shortly after, these words were always in his mouth, "JESUS CHRIST, receive my spirit;" which were the last words of St. Stephen; though he knew it not. All these miracles were wrought at Calama, and are related by St. Augustine.

¹ § 10. The Bishop Præjectus¹ was carrying some of the reliques of St. Stephen to a place in Numidia, called the Waters of Tibilis, and there was there a great concourse of people. A blind woman prayed some one to lead her to the Bishop; she gave some flowers that she bore, and having received them back again, put them to her eyes; immediately she recovered her sight, and began to walk and leap before the others. Lucillus, Bishop of Sinita², near Hippo, had long been troubled with a fistula, and was waiting for a surgeon, one of his friends, to operate on it: as he was carrying some reliques of St. Stephen in procession in the midst of the people, he was suddenly healed, and his disease appeared no more.

² § 11. In a village called Audurus³, there was a church, and some reliques of St. Stephen; a child who was at play in the street⁴, was crushed under the wheel of a cart drawn by oxen, and lay writhing in the agonies of death; his mother carried him before the reliques, and he came to life again without any appearance of having been even hurt. A virgin⁵ being dangerously ill in a neighbouring village called Caspaliana⁶, they carried one of her tunics to the same reliques; but she was dead before it was brought back. Her parents covered her body with it, and she came to life again. It is St. Augustine that relates all these miracles, as being among those about which he was best informed.

VI.
Com-
mence-
ment of the
affair of
Apiarius.
[⁷ Africa
Propria or
Procon-
sularis, ac-
cording to
Baudrand.]
⁸ Aug. Ep.
229. al. 262.
⁹ Ep. Conc.
Afr. ad
Bonif. et ad
Cæl. ap.
Conc. Afr.
101, 105. et
Cod. Can.
134, 138.

Urbanus, Bishop of Sicca in Mauritania Cæsariensis⁷, and a friend of St. Augustine⁸, had excommunicated the Priest Apiarius, as being irregularly ordained, and charged⁹ with several infamous crimes, of which he was accused by the inhabitants of Tabraca⁹^b. Apiarius appealed to Pope Zosimus

ministerial functions at Tabraca. Being, however, accused by the inhabitants of that place of enormous crimes, he was a second time excommunicated, and his pretended appeal to Rome gave occasion to the second mission of Faustinus. (Infr. 35.) Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. § 292, 293.

^b According to Tillemont's explanation of the letters of the African Bishops, Apiarius was originally a Priest of Sicca, and had no connection with Tabraca, till after his first readmittance into the Church, when, being forbidden to return to Sicca (V. Infr. 11.) he exercised his

at Rome, who sent three legates into Africa, Faustinus Bishop of Potentia in Picenum, Philip and Asellus Priests. When they were arrived at Carthage, the Bishops assembled with Aurelius asked them what the Pope had charged them with; and not content with a verbal declaration of their commission, they prayed them to cause the instructions which they had brought in writing to be read. They were read accordingly, and were found to contain four articles. The first was on the appeal of Bishops to the Pope; the second against unnecessary voyages of Bishops to court; the third on the trial of the causes of Priests and Deacons before the neighbouring Bishops, if their own Bishop had excommunicated them without good reason; and the fourth spoke of excommunicating the Bishop Urbanus, or even citing him to Rome, if he did not correct what seemed to want correction.

These instructions having been read, there was no difficulty on the second article: because the Bishops of Africa had already made a canon, in the Council of Carthage, in the year 407, to prevent the Bishops and Priests from going to court on frivolous pretences¹. But concerning the first article, which permitted Bishops to appeal to Rome; and the third, which required that the causes of the clergy should be brought before the neighbouring Bishops; the Bishops of Africa could not agree to the Pope's claim². And as, to support it, he alleged the canons of Nicæa, the Bishops of Africa said they could not find those canons in the copies which they had. Nevertheless, as far as this Council was concerned, they wrote to Pope Zosimus in the year 418, that they would consent to be thus treated provisionally for a short time, till they were better informed of the decrees of Nicæa. The Bishops of Africa were willing that the clergy should complain of the judgment of their Bishop before the Primate and Council of the province; but not before the Bishops of the neighbouring provinces. And they did not recognize the canons of Sardica, brought forward by the Pope under the name of Nicæa, because the Donatists had substituted the false Council of Sardica in the place of the true one³.

Pope Zosimus died not long after: that is to say, on the

A. D. 418.

¹ Supr. 22.
14.
Cod. can.
106. Conc.
Afr. 73.

² Concil. ii.
p. 1139 C.
V. Perron.
Repl. Liv. 1.
ch. 48. p.
396. and
ch. 52.
(iii. p. 832.
E.)

³ Aug. Ep.
44. al. 163.
c. 3. § 6.
Supr. 22. 31.

VII.
Death of

A. D. 418. twenty-sixth of December of the same year, 418, having held the Holy See one year and nine months¹. It is said² that he ordained that the Deacons should carry pallæ or linen napkins upon their left arm, from whence came the maniple; and that he permitted the paschal taper to be blessed in the parishes³: it was already customary in the chief churches, as appears by a hymn of Prudentius on that subject. He forbade also that drink should be given to clerks in public, and only allowed it in the houses of the faithful, and especially of the clergy. He held an ordination in the month of December, in which he ordained ten Priests, three Deacons, and eight Bishops in different places. He had a long and grievous sickness, and was several times believed to be dead⁴. He was buried upon the road to Tibur, near the body of St. Lawrence⁵.

The Præfect of Rome was Symmachus, son of him who had distinguished himself under Theodosius the Great⁶. As soon as Pope Zosimus was dead, Symmachus spoke to the people, and warned them to leave the clergy the freedom of election; and threatened the corporations⁷ and chiefs of the wards⁸, if they disturbed the tranquillity of the city. Several Bishops were assembled, according to custom, to proceed to the election⁹; but before the funeral of Zosimus had been completed, the Archdeacon Eulalius made himself master of the church of the Lateran, almost all the entrances of which he closed; having on his side the Deacons, some Priests, and a large number of people. He stayed there two days, waiting for the solemn day of ordination, that is to say, the next Sunday, which in that year, 418, was the twenty-ninth of December. Meanwhile, the greatest part of the clergy and of the people assembled in the church of Theodora¹, and resolved to elect Boniface, a Priest of long standing, well instructed in the law of God, of approved morality, and one who did not wish to be made Bishop, which in their judgment rendered him the more worthy of it. They sent three Priests to Eulalius to warn him in writing not to undertake any thing without the consent of the greatest part of the clergy. But these Priests were ill used and imprisoned.

The Præfect Symmachus, who favoured Eulalius, ordered before him all the Priests of Boniface's party, and admonished

Zosimus : schism of Boniface and Eulalius.

¹ Supr. 23. 35.

Prosp. Chr. p. 650.

[² Lib. Pont. ap. Concil. ii. (Mans. iv.), et Baron. an. 418. § 76.]

[³ V. Hoffman. in Cereus Paschalis.]

⁴ Rel.

Symm. ap. Bar. an. 418. § 79.

[⁵ Supr. 18. 33. not. z.]

⁶ Proso-pogr. Gothof. ap. Cod. Th. in fin.

[⁷ corporatos officii]

[⁸ majores regionis]

⁹ Libell. Presbyt. ap. Bar. an. 419. § 8.

[¹ V. Boll. ix. Apr. 1.]

them also with threats to do nothing against the rules. But A. D. 418. notwithstanding, they assembled in the church of St. Marcellus^c, and there elected Boniface Bishop of Rome, on Sunday the twenty-ninth of December. He was ordained with all the requisite solemnities, by nine Bishops of different provinces; and about seventy Priests subscribed with them the Act, which was drawn up of it. They then conducted him to St. Peter's church. Eulalius, on his side, was ordained by the Bishop of Ostia, whom they had sent for, although very aged and sick: for, according to ancient custom, he was the person to ordain the Pope¹. The same day, the twenty-ninth ^{1 Fleury, 9. 34.} of December, the Præfect Symmachus wrote an account of what had happened to the Emperor Honorius, who was at Ravenna, treating the election of Boniface as a factious proceeding, and demanding the Emperor's orders: "To whom," said he, "it belongs to give judgment in this affair." At the same time he sent those Acts, which gave a favourable impression of the cause of Eulalius.

The Emperor Honorius, prejudiced by the relation of Symmachus, declared himself for Eulalius, and commanded that notice should be given to Boniface to depart from Rome, and that he should be expelled by force if he resisted²; and that ^{2 Bar. an. 419. § 2.} Symmachus should arrest the chiefs of the sedition, and punish them as they deserved: and for the better execution of his orders, he sent Aphrodisius, Tribune and Notary³. ^[3 Supr. 22. 26. not. z.] This rescript is dated on the third of January, in the year 419. Symmachus received it on the day of a great festival, that is to say, the Epiphany⁴; and immediately he sent his ^{4 § 5.} Primiscrinus, whose office resembled that of first secretary, to tell Boniface to come to him, and learn the Emperor's order, and not to make the procession, nor perform the services. Notwithstanding, Boniface made the procession, and the officer who was sent by Symmachus was beaten by the people. When Symmachus heard this, he marched towards St. Paul's, out of the city, whither Boniface had withdrawn,

^c The only authentic record of Pope St. Marcellus, the successor of St. Marcellinus, is contained in an epitaph composed apparently by Pope St. Damasus (Grut. Inscript. iii. p. 1172. § 3); which speaks of divisions occasioned by his enforcement of the penitential

discipline on the lapsed (cf. Euseb. de Mart. Pal. c. 12), and relates that he was banished by the tyrant, meaning, probably, Maxentius. His death is placed A. D. 310. See Tillem. v. Pers. Diocl. § 38.

A. D. 419. and where the people were then assembled: while Boniface, on his side, continued to advance towards the city, and entered it, in spite of Symmachus's officers; but he was repulsed by greater numbers, and the people who accompanied him were dispersed. In the mean time Eulalius celebrated the festival in St. Peter's church, at which the station of the Epiphany is still marked¹. All this passed without a riot; and Symmachus gave an account of it to the Emperor on the eighth day of January.

¹ Miss. Rom.

VIII.
Honorius takes cognizance of the schism.
² Bar. an. 419. § 8. et ap. Coust. Bonif. Ep. I.

³ § 11.

⁴ § 12.

The Priests who had elected Boniface, wrote to the Emperor to undeceive him². They explained to him the truth of the fact; and prayed him to revoke his first order, and to send for Eulalius to his court, with those who upheld him: promising on their part, that Pope Boniface, with the Bishops and Priests who had elected him, should repair thither; and demanding that those who should not choose to appear, might be banished from Rome. The Emperor Honorius paid attention to this request, and sent orders to Symmachus³ to suspend the execution of his former rescript; and to signify to Boniface and Eulalius, that they should both come to Ravenna on the eighth of February, with all the authors of both the ordinations, under penalty to the defaulter of seeing his ordination declared unlawful. This second rescript was sent by Aptonius, Decurion of the Palace, on the fifteenth of January. At the same time the Emperor sent for several Bishops of different provinces, to come and decide this difference. Symmachus published this second rescript at Rome⁴, gave notice of it to Boniface, to Eulalius, and to the clergy of each party; and forbade the people who followed them, to assemble in the same church. He sent to the Emperor the memorials which were given him from each party, seeking to justify himself, and appear neutral. His letter is dated the twenty-fifth of January.

⁵ § 14.

⁶ § 15.

The Bishops convoked at Ravenna, assembled there in council, where they ordered that the Bishops who had assisted and subscribed to the two contested ordinations, should not be received either as judges or witnesses; a resolution which was approved by the Emperor⁵. But finding this Council too much divided to terminate the quarrel, he deferred the decision till the first day of May⁶. In the mean

while, as the feast of Easter was approaching, for in that year, 419, it fell on the thirtieth of March, the Emperor, with the advice of the Council, and the consent of both parties, ordered that Boniface and Eulalius should go out of Rome, and that the Holy Mysteries should be celebrated there by Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, who was of neither party. The Emperor wrote to him for this purpose¹; he wrote also to Symmachus², that he might prevent any tumult; and he likewise wrote to the Senate and the Roman people³. These last letters are dated on the fifteenth of March.

Moreover, the Emperor Honorius wrote to several Bishops, to summon them to the Council on the first of May; and particularly to St. Paulinus of Nola⁴, with whose holiness and merit he was well acquainted, and whom he had before summoned to the first Council; but St. Paulinus had excused himself on the plea of sickness. He wrote also to the Bishops of Africa⁵ and Gaul⁶, proroguing the day of the Council to the thirteenth of June. Besides the general letter to all the Bishops of Africa, there was one in particular for Aurelius of Carthage⁷, and a circular one to seven of the principal Bishops; the three chief of whom were St. Augustine, Alypius, and Evodius⁸.

In the mean time Eulalius came to Rome, on the eighteenth of March, and entered the city without the knowledge of the Præfect Symmachus⁹. The same day Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, wrote to the Præfect, that he had received orders to celebrate the feast of Easter at Rome, and arrived himself three days after. At his arrival the people rose, and some assembled in the forum completely armed; Symmachus, with the chief persons of the city, advanced to exhort the people to peace. They came at first to the assembly, and there waited for Achilleus to publish his orders; but the multitude hindered him from approaching. Symmachus, with the Vicar¹, being pressed forward by the crowd, entered Vespasian's forum to appease the two parties; when, on a sudden, armed slaves attacked the people of the party of Eulalius, who were without arms. They wounded some, and even attacked the Præfect and Vicar, who were forced to save themselves through a by-way: some of the seditious were recognized and apprehended. This account is taken from

A. D. 419.

¹ § 16.² § 15.³ § 17, 18.⁴ § 20.⁵ § 21.⁶ § 36.⁷ § 22.⁸ § 23.IX.
Eulalius
expelled
from Rome.
⁹ § 26.[¹ a civil
officer.
V. Supr.
22. 26.
not. a.]

A. D. 419. the report of Symmachus to Constantius, on the twenty-third of March, in which he requests precise instructions before the feast of Easter, because the people of both parties threatened to expel one another by force of arms from the church of the Lateran. Constantius was the person who had so effectually served the empire against the tyrants in Gaul and Spain¹. To reward his services, the Emperor Honorius had bestowed on him his sister Galla Placidia in marriage, called him his brother, and afterwards made him his colleague in the empire. He sent Honorius's order to Symmachus, by Vitulus his chancellor²; this was then nothing more than the title of an ordinary secretary. The substance of Honorius's rescript, dated the twenty-fifth of March, was as follows³: “ Since Eulalius has entered Rome in contempt of the former orders, which forbade the two competitors to approach it, he must absolutely leave the city, to remove all cause of tumult, under pain of losing not only his dignity, but his liberty; and any excuse, that the people detain him by force, will not be admitted. If any of the clergy communicate with him, they shall be liable to the same punishment, and the laity in proportion. The Bishop of Spoleto shall perform the service during the holy-days of Easter; and for this purpose, the church of the Lateran shall be open to none but him.” The officers of the Præfect Symmachus are charged with its execution, under the penalty of large fines, and even death.

⁴ § 32. Symmachus having received this rescript⁴, gave notice of it to Eulalius the same day, who having read it, said he would consider of it; but he refused to leave the city, in spite of the most urgent remonstrances. The next day he was again warned; but nevertheless he assembled the people, and got possession of the Basilica of the Lateran, where he baptized, and celebrated Easter⁵. The Præfect Symmachus sent to all

⁵ Lib. Pontif. ap. Bar. § 31.

the corporations and officers to expel him, but would not go thither himself, lest his religion should render him an object of suspicion: apparently because he was a pagan like his father. Eulalius was then forced out of the church of the Lateran, and officers were placed to guard it, that Achilleus of Spoleto might celebrate the solemnity in quiet. Eulalius was even driven out of Rome, and conducted to the place of

his exile; and some clerks of his party, who were active in A. D. 419. the sedition, were arrested.

The Emperor Honorius being informed of all this, declared that Eulalius had been justly expelled¹, and that Boniface¹ § 33. ought to come to Rome, and take upon him the government of the Church. This rescript was given at Ravenna on the third of April, and received at Rome on the eighth. The Senate and people expressed great joy at it, and two days afterwards Boniface entered the city amidst the concourse of the whole people, and with great acclamations. Thus peace was again established. Eulalius was made Bishop of Nepi².² § 41. The schism being thus ended, the Emperor Honorius countermanded the Bishops of Africa, and probably all the rest, whom he had summoned to meet in the Council on the thirteenth of June³. This whole history of the schism of Eulalius, is³ § 36. taken from the Acts published by Cardinal Baronius.

The legates whom Pope Zosimus had sent into Africa upon the affair of Apiarius, were still there, and they were present at a general Council of Africa, which was held at Carthage in the hall of the Basilica of Faustus, the eighth of the calends of June, after the twelfth consulate of Honorius, and the eighth of Theodosius; that is, the twenty-fifth of May, in this year 419⁴. It is reckoned the sixth Council⁴ of Carthage. Aurelius presided there, with Valentinus, Primate of Numidia: next was seated Faustinus, Bishop of Potentia, one of the Pope's legates; then the Bishops deputed from the several provinces of Africa, namely, the two Numidiæ, Byzacena, the two Mauritaniæ, Tripolis, and the Proconsular province, to the number of two hundred and seventeen Bishops; and after them all were seated the two other legates of the Pope, Philip and Asellus, who were only Priests. The Deacons were present standing. Aurelius began by ordering the canons of the Council of Nicæa to be read⁵; but the legate Faustinus interrupted the reading of them⁶, and demanded first to have read the instructions which he and his colleagues had received from Pope Zosimus⁷. These instructions were accordingly read⁸, in which was inserted the canon which allowed a Bishop deposed by the provincial Council to appeal to the Pope, and to demand a revision of his cause before the Bishops of the neighbouring province,

X.
Council of
Carthage,
A. D. 419.

⁴ Concil. ii.
p. 1589 et
1042. (iv.
p. 402 et
iii. p. 699.)

⁵ Conc.
Carth. 6.
c. 1.

⁶ c. 2.

⁷ Supr. 6.

⁸ c. 3.

A. D. 419. and a legate of the Pope¹. This canon was mentioned as being of the Council of Nicæa, though it was in reality the fifth of the Council of Sardica^d; and on this account St. Alypius interrupted the reading it², and said, "We have already answered on this point by our former letters, and we engage to observe what has been ordained by the Council of Nicæa; but the obstacle in the present case is, that upon inspecting the Greek copies of the Council of Nicæa, I know not how it is, we do not find those words in them: wherefore we desire you, holy Pope Aurelius, to send to Constantinople, where it is said the original of that Council is preserved; and also to the venerable Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, that they may send it to us, together with an attestation of it in their letters, that there may no longer remain any doubt. We must also desire the venerable Bishop of the Roman Church, Boniface, to send also to the said Churches, that copies of the Council of Nicæa may be brought from thence. At present let us cause them to be inserted in these Acts just as we now have them."

³ c. 5. The legate Faustinus³ protested against any prejudice resulting to the Church of Rome from this remonstrance; and added, that it would be sufficient for the Pope alone to make that inquiry, for fear it might seem that some dispute had arisen between the Churches. Aurelius proposed to inform the Pope fully of what had passed, and all the Council agreed to it. At the request of the Bishop Novatus⁴, deputy from Mauritania⁵, there was also read a passage out of the instructions of the Roman legates, in which was inserted the fourteenth⁶ canon of the Council of Sardica, which allows a Priest or Deacon excommunicated by his Bishop, to have recourse to the neighbouring Bishops. St. Augustine said upon that article⁷, "We promise to observe this also, reserving to ourselves the right of obtaining more exact information concerning the Council of Nicæa." Aurelius asked their opinions, and all agreed to observe all the decrees of the Council of Nicæa. The legate Faustinus proposed writing to the Pope on the article⁸, about which St. Augustine had

^d "This mistake was favoured by the form of the collection of canons then in use, in which the canons of the Council of Nice were followed by

"those of the other Councils, without any distinguishing mark." Gieseler i. § 92. note 47.

spoken, concerning the clergy below the rank of Bishop, A. D. 419. since that too was called in question. Then were read the decrees of the Council of Nicæa¹, according to the copy¹ c. 9. brought to Africa by Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, who had been present at it; and it was resolved, according to the proposal of St. Alypius, to send to the Bishops of Antioch, of Alexandria, and of Constantinople, that so they might admit the authority of the decrees in question, if they were found in the originals; or if they were not, might consider of them in a Council. In the Acts of this Council were inserted the Creed of Nicæa, and its twenty canons.

There are thirty-three canons attributed to this Council², [² Cod. can. Afr.] but they are rather canons of preceding Councils renewed. The twenty-fourth contains the catalogue of the Scriptures attributed also to the Council held in 397, entirely agreeing with that which is in use with us at this day³. After the thirty-third canon, it is said, "There were also read several " Councils of the whole province of Africa, held in former " times;" and seventeen are set down; the first of which is that of Hippo⁴, of the eighth of October in the year 393, and the last that of Carthage of the first of May, 418⁵. They have all been taken notice of at the time in which they occurred, except the second held at Carthage the twenty-sixth of June, 394⁶, the fourth of the twenty-sixth of June, 397⁷, and the fifth of the fifteenth of June, 409⁸, which we know nothing of except from this mention of them in this Council of 419.

Afterwards there is another meeting of the same Council, dated the thirtieth of May, 419, which some reckon the seventh Council of Carthage⁹. As several Bishops expressed themselves in haste to return to their Churches, it was resolved to choose commissioners for the affairs that remained, and twenty-two were named; of which number were St. Augustine, Alypius, and Possidius¹. In this session were made six canons concerning accusations of the clergy. Excommunicated persons², heretics³, pagans, Jews, infamous persons, such as actors, slaves, the freed-men of the accused persons, and all whom the law does not allow in public accusations, are excluded: except where the individuals are themselves concerned⁴, in which case they are allowed to be

³ Conc. Carth. 3. c. 47. Supr. 20. 26. [and 22. 4. not. d.]

⁴ Supr. 19. 41. c. 34. ⁵ c. 108. V. Fleury, 32. 3.

⁶ c. 34. ⁷ c. 57. ⁸ c. 107.

XI. Continuation of the Council. ⁹ Concil. ii. p. 1603. (iv. p. 435.)

¹ Cod. can. Afr. c. 127.

² c. 128. ³ c. 129.

[⁴ in causis propriis]

A. D. 419. accusers. Those who are disabled from informing, are disabled
¹ c. 131. also from being witnesses¹; as well as those whom the informer brings out of his own household, or those who are under fourteen years. He who cannot prove one head of his charge², is not admitted to prove the rest. If a Bishop asserts that a man has confessed a crime to him alone, and
² c. 130. the other denies it³, the Bishop is not to take it ill, if he be not believed upon his single evidence: and if he says his conscience will not allow him to communicate with the accused person, the other Bishops shall not communicate with that Bishop. Then Aurelius broke up the Council, and deferred writing to Pope Boniface till the next day. The Synodical letter⁴ declares that this affair had occasioned very troublesome altercation, though without any breach of charity. It then adds, “The Priest Apiarius, whose ordination and excommunication had produced so much scandal
⁴ c. 134. “all over Africa, having begged pardon for all his faults, has been restored to communion; our brother Urbanus, Bishop of Sicca, having first corrected what required correction⁵.
 “But because the peace and quiet of the Church ought to be provided for, not only for the present, but for the future, we have ordained that the Priest Apiarius be removed from the Church of Sicca, without, however, losing the honour of his rank; and receive a letter, by virtue of which he may exercise the functions of the Priesthood, wherever he may be willing and able to do so.”

[⁵ There appears to have been some informality in the proceedings of Urbanus against Apiarius. V. Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. § 292.]

They next mention the letter they had written the year
⁶ Supr. 6. before, concerning the instructions given by Pope Zosimus⁶ to his legates, and then say, “We desire that your holiness will allow us to observe what has been decreed in the Council of Nicæa; and enforce in your own country what is contained in the instructions of Zosimus;” that is to say, the two canons of the Council of Sardica, which they then transcribe. After which they add, “If those resolutions be contained in the Council of Nicæa, and observed with you in Italy, we will mention them no more, and will not scruple to allow them⁷ e. But if it be otherwise in the

⁷ V. Græc. p. 1142. B. (iii. p. 833 C.) V. Perron. Repl. Liv. 1. ch. 52. p. 472.

⁶ There are several various readings in this passage, which is capable of more than one interpretation, and its

real meaning appears to be uncertain. See Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. § 295.

“ canons of Nicæa, we believe, with God’s mercy, that so A. D. 419.
 “ long as you preside over the Roman Church, we shall no
 “ longer suffer this annoyance, and that we shall be treated
 “ with the brotherly charity which you so well understand.
 “ Wherefore we pray you to write to the Bishops of Antioch,
 “ of Alexandria, and of Constantinople, and to any others, if
 “ it so please you, to send us the canons of Nicæa: for who
 “ can doubt of the truth of the copies brought from those
 “ illustrious Churches, if they shall be found to agree toge-
 “ ther? In the mean while, we promise to observe the canons
 “ quoted in the instruction concerning the appeals of Bishops
 “ to the Bishop of Rome, and the trial of clergy before the
 “ Bishops of their provinces. Of whatever else has passed in
 “ our Council, you will be able to inform yourself from the
 “ Acts brought by our brethren, the Bishop Faustinus, and
 “ the Priests Philip and Asellus.”

The Pope’s legates, after the conclusion of this Council, returned home. This is the last Council of Africa of which we have any Acts remaining; and it is preserved in four places: first in the collection of Councils¹, where it is divided into two, under the names of the Sixth and Seventh Councils of Carthage. Secondly², in the code of the canons of Dionysius Exiguus, where it is set down under the name of the General Council of Africa, because it comprehends the canons of several others in one hundred and thirty-eight articles. The third edition is only a Greek version of the former³, containing likewise one hundred and thirty-eight articles, under the name of the Code of the Canons of the Church of Africa. The fourth edition⁴, which is to be found, as well as the first, in the collection of the Councils, is nothing more than a part of this code, beginning at the Council of Hippo in 393, and divided into one hundred and five articles: it bears simply the name of the Council of Africa.

¹ Concil. ii.
p. 1589.
(iv. p. 402.)

² Ibid.
p. 1041.
(iii. p. 699.)
et ap.
Justell.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Concil. ii.
p. 1638.
(iv. p. 478.)

Of the deputation to Antioch we know nothing; but we find that the Council of Carthage sent the Priest Innocent to Alexandria, to whom St. Cyril caused to be delivered a true copy of the Council of Nicæa, taken from the original that was preserved amongst the archives of his Church⁵. The Fathers of Africa had likewise inquired of him the day of the

⁵ Cod. can.
Afr. 135.

A. D. 419. Paschal feast, which he was engaged by his office to make known to all the Churches¹; and he tells them, that the following year 420, it would fall on the seventeenth of the calends of May, that is, the fifteenth of April. But there is some error here: for in the eighth Paschal Homily, he places Easter-day, of the same year, on the twenty-third of Pharmuthi, which is the eighteenth of April. The Subdeacon Marcellus was sent to Constantinople, and likewise received from Atticus the copy of the Council of Nicea². These copies were sent to Pope Boniface on the twenty-sixth of November, of the same year 419. This is all that happened in this affair under the pontificate of Boniface.

² c. 136.

XII.
Death of
St. Jerome.

³ Hier. Ep.
81. al. 79.
ap. Aug.
Ep. 202.
al. 24.

[⁴ neptis]

The Priest Innocent passed into Palestine, and visited St. Jerome, who charged him with a letter to St. Alypius and St. Augustine³, wherein he says, “I call God to witness, that “if it were possible, I would take the wings of a dove to “come and embrace you, especially at this time, when you “have had so great a share in stifling the heresy of Cælestius. “As to your question, whether I have answered the books of “Annianus, the pretended Deacon of Celeda, know that it is “not long since I received his books, by our holy brother, “the Priest Eusebius; but since that time I have been so “oppressed with the diseases that have fallen upon me, and “with the death of your holy daughter Eustochium, that I “have almost resolved to despise them; however, I will “answer them, if God gives me life, and I can get writers; “but you would do it better; and I am afraid of being forced “to commend my own works, in defending them against “him. Our holy children Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, “salute you with much affection, as well as your little “daughter⁴ Paula, who earnestly desires you to remember “her.”

This is the last letter we have left of St. Jerome; and he died the year following, at ninety-one years of age, in the ninth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Constantius, the day before the calends of October, that is, the thirtieth of September, 420⁵: the Church honours him on the same day, as one of her most illustrious doctors; and though we have still remaining a great number of his works, yet some of them are lost. The Church also commemorates St. Eusto-

⁵ Mart.

Rom.

Prosp.

Chr. p. 651.

V. Bar.

an. 420.

§ 39.

chium on the twenty-eighth of September; and it is probable she died on that day in 419. She was the third daughter of St. Paula¹, and having continued a virgin, had followed her in her retirement, and never left her; she had at Bethlehem a monastery of fifty virgins. The young Paula, whom St. Jerome mentions in the same letter, was the niece of Eustochium, being the daughter of her brother Toxotius². We have already seen that Albina, Pinianus, and the young Melania his wife, were in Palestine, where they had seen Pelagius, and had entertained hopes of recovering him to the Catholic faith³.

A. D. 419.

¹ Supr. 18. 21.² Pall. Laus. c. 126.³ Supr. 23. 52.

XIII. Letters of St. Augustine to Hesychius.

⁴ Marcel. Chr. p. 280. Ind. 2.

In this year 419, in the Consulate of Monaxius and Plintha, there was an earthquake in Palestine, which destroyed several towns and villages⁴. Our LORD JESUS CHRIST appeared on the Mount of Olives in a cloud; and the pagans saw upon their clothes shining crosses; so that a great number of people of different nations were converted and received Baptism. In the year before, A. D. 418, on Friday the nineteenth of July, there was an eclipse of the sun about the eighth hour; that is, about two in the afternoon⁵. It was so great an eclipse, that the stars appeared, and was succeeded by a drought, which produced an extraordinary mortality both among men and beasts. During the eclipse there appeared a light in the heavens in the form of a cone, which some mistook for a comet, and which appeared during four months, from the middle of the summer to the end of autumn. It was thought to portend the misfortunes that followed, amongst others the earthquake of the year 419. It was attended by a fire which fell from the sky, but did no harm; for it was borne into the sea by a high wind; and men saw it with astonishment for some time blazing upon the waves.

⁵ Ibid. Ind. 1. Chr. Pasch. p. 310. Philost. 12. 8.

All these prodigies led many to think that the end of the world was at hand: and Hesychius, Bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, wrote concerning it to St. Augustine, applying several passages of the Prophets to the last coming of CHRIST. St. Augustine refers him to St. Jerome's explanations, and adds⁶, "I think that those prophecies, and especially the weeks of Daniel, ought to be understood of the past. For I dare not compute the time of CHRIST's last coming, nor do I believe any Prophet has determined it: but I keep to

⁶ Ep. 197. al. 78. § 1.

A. D. 419. "what the LORD Himself has said¹: 'No man can know the

¹ Acts 1. 7. " 'times which the Father hath put in His own power.'

² § 4. " Besides², it is certain, according to the words of CHRIST³,

³ Matth. 24. " 'that before the end of the world the Gospel shall be

¹⁻⁴ " 'preached in all the world: ' but we cannot tell how many

" nations yet remain, to whom it has not been preached, and

" still less how much time will still remain, after all have

" received it." He concludes with these words: "I would

" rather know what you ask of me than be ignorant of it;

" but as I have not been able to attain that knowledge, I

" choose rather to confess my ignorance, than to assume a

" false pretence of knowledge." Thus spoke St. Augustine

at the age of sixty-five years.

⁴ Ep. 198. Hesychius answered⁴, that, indeed, we could not know the
al. 79. § 5.

precise day or even year of the last coming of CHRIST, but

that we might know that it was near by the signs He had

given us, many of which, he asserts, had already come to pass.

⁵ § 6. He advances as an undoubted fact⁵, that since the Emperors

had become Christians, the progress of the faith had been

much more rapid and extensive. St. Augustine replied in a

long letter⁶, in which he fully discusses this question con-

⁶ Ep. 199. al. 80. concerning the end of the world. He maintains⁷ that all that

⁷ c. 1. § 3. concerns us is, that the last day of our lives may find us

ready to receive the LORD: since we shall be judged at the

end of the world, according to the state in which we shall

⁸ c. 6. § 17. have departed this life. He confesses⁸ that we are at the last

hour, according to St. John's words; but he affirms that this

hour means many ages, and he observes that about 420 years

⁹ c. 7. § 20. are computed from the birth of our Saviour⁹. He continues

¹ § 21. to maintain¹ that the weeks of Daniel are to be understood

of the first coming, in accordance with most of the com-

mentators; and that in the discourses of CHRIST on His last

² c. 9. § 25. coming², we must distinguish what relates to the destruction

of Jerusalem, from what relates to the end of the world. That

³ c. 10. § 34. even though we see the greatest part³ of the prodigies and

misfortunes which He foretold, we cannot tell whether these

are the last, since there may be greater yet to come. That

⁴ c. 12. § 46. in Africa⁴ there are an infinite number of Barbarians, to

whom the Gospel has not yet been preached, as is learnt from

slaves brought from among them; and that some of those

most near to the Romans, had been converted not many years since, and in very small numbers. In conclusion¹, that the surest way is to watch and pray: not only because life is uncertain, but also because we know not when the LORD will come. On the other side, if we believe that He is soon to come, it is to be feared that if in fact He tarries, they who shall find themselves deceived may waver in their faith, and be tempted to think He will not come at all: and that the unbelievers may take occasion from it to deride our belief.

In the mean while, St. Augustine began two works on Holy Scripture, which he did not finish, being called off by more urgent occupations. The first was the "Locutions²," or, the modes of speaking in Greek or Hebrew, which stop the reader, and often lead him to look for mysteries where there are none. At the same time he dictated the "Questions" on the same books; which consist of the difficulties which came into his mind, and which he sometimes contents himself with proposing: but he generally lays down principles for resolving them, and adheres to the literal sense. These two works go no further than the seven first books of the Scripture, as far as the Books of Kings³.

One named Pollentius having written to him upon the question of separation in case of adultery, engaged him to write the books "On adulterous Marriages⁴." Pollentius maintained that the wife who separated from her husband, upon account of adultery on his side, might marry again; and what St. Paul says to the contrary⁵ he interpreted of her who marries again for any other reason. St. Augustine maintains that this prohibition regards her who has left her husband for the cause of adultery⁶. Pollentius maintained also, that married persons who were believers, could not leave the unbelieving party; and St. Augustine shews that St. Paul allows, though he does not advise it. We see at the beginning of the second book, that the eagerness with which St. Augustine's works were demanded, caused them to be published by those who lived with him, sometimes even without his knowledge.

He was obliged about the same time to write the first book "On Marriage and Concupiscence," on this occasion⁷. The Pelagians who remained in Italy after the sentence of Pope

XIV.
Locutions
and Ques-
tions on
Scripture.
² Retr. 2.
54, 55.

[³ i. e. Sa-
muel:
Aug.
tom. iii.]

⁴ Retr. 2. 57.
tom. vi.

⁵ 1 Cor.
7. 10.

⁶ c. 8.

XV.
First Book
on Mar-
riage and
Concu-
piscence.

⁷ Aug. x. de Nupt. 1. c. 2. Op. imp. cont. Jul. 1. c. 10.

A. D. 419. Zosimus, addressed themselves to the Emperor Honorius, and demanded ecclesiastical judges of him to examine the matter over again; complaining that they had been taken by surprise, and unfairly condemned. Count Valerius crushed all their measures by his authority, and prevented the Emperor from fixing any time or place for the revision of their cause. "And, indeed," says St. Augustine, "the Emperor not being willing to have the Catholic faith called in question, acted with good reason in not allowing the heretics to revive disputes, but rather restraining them by the severity of the laws." He therefore banished out of Italy those Bishops whom Pope Zosimus had deposed. The Pelagians loudly complained of the refusal of an universal Council; pretending that the Catholics had thereby given up their cause.

They likewise endeavoured to dissuade Count Valerius from the protection he afforded to the Catholics, and sent him a writing, in which they said that St. Augustine condemned marriage, by maintaining original sin¹. Valerius, firm in the faith, laughed at this calumny, and about the same time wrote three letters to St. Augustine², who thence took occasion to address to him the work he thought himself obliged to compose upon that subject, and which he called, "On Marriage and Concupiscence." Valerius strictly observed conjugal chastity³; he was zealous against the Pelagians; his important employments did not prevent his application to study, even at the expense of sleep⁴; and he took pleasure in St. Augustine's works. These are the reasons which determined St. Augustine to address this work to him.

He there explains the proper advantages of the married state, among which he proves that concupiscence is not to be reckoned⁵, but that it is an evil, which is not inherent in the nature of marriage, nor derived from its first institution, but which came in accidentally by the sin of the first man. Neither the fruitfulness of nature, nor the distinction and union of the sexes, have any thing but good in themselves, since they are the work of the Creator⁶: that which is shameful, and consequently bad, proceeds from another cause; that is, from the rebellion of the flesh against the spirit, which is the effect of sin. The holiness of marriage makes good use of this evil for the production of men⁷: but this evil of concupiscence is never-

¹ Retr. 2. 53.

² Ep. 200. ad Val.

³ Aug. de Nupt. 1. c. 2.

⁴ c. 35.

⁵ c. 7, 10, 17, 21.

⁶ c. 5, 6, 22.

⁷ c. 16, 18.

theless the cause that they who are born in lawful marriage from the children of God, are not born children of God, but of the world; bound down to sin¹, from which their parents have been freed; and subject to the power of the devil, till they are freed, as well as their parents, by the same grace of CHRIST. He explains how concupiscence remains in persons baptized², without making them guilty, but only inclined to sin; and he gives in this work excellent rules for the lawful use of marriage³. When Julian saw this book, he composed four books in answer to it, and addressed them to a Bishop of his party, named Turbantius, who afterwards returned to the Catholic Church⁴.

We may ascribe to the solicitations of Count Valerius, or of Pope Boniface, a constitution of the Emperor Honorius mentioned in a letter written from Ravenna to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, on the ninth of June, 419⁵. The substance of it is, that, in order to check the obstinacy of some Bishops who still supported the doctrine of Pelagius, it is enjoined that Aurelius warn them, that all who will not subscribe his condemnation, shall be deposed from the Episcopate, banished from the cities, and excommunicated. The same letter of the Emperor was sent to St. Augustine; which shews that he was as much distinguished for his merit amongst the Bishops of Africa, as Aurelius for his dignity. Aurelius did not fail to execute the order, as appears by his letter on the first of August in the same year, to oblige all the Bishops to subscribe the condemnation of Cælestius and Pelagius⁶. The Emperor Honorius soon after made a law⁷, which revived the prohibition, by which all ecclesiastics were forbidden to lodge with strange women⁸: and all are to be reputed such, except mothers, daughters, and sisters. They are even exhorted not to leave those with whom they have contracted a lawful marriage, before their promotion to the Priesthood, since they have made themselves worthy of that honour in their company. But they lived only as brothers and sisters. That law is dated on the eighth of May, 420. The same law⁹ condemns to banishment, with confiscation of goods, all seducers of virgins consecrated to God. This class of criminals had perhaps become more numerous since the heresy of Jovinian¹.

A. D. 419.

c. 32, 20.

c. 25, 26,
23, 27.

c. 8.

Op. imp.
cont. Jul. 4.
c. 30.XVI.
Rescripts
of Honorius
for the
Church.Ap. Aug.
Ep. 101.
ap. Bar.
an. 419.
§ 57.Ap. Bar.
§ 58.Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 2.
de Episc.44.
[⁸extraneæ,
V. Supr.
20. 38.]Cod. Th.
9. Tit. 25.de rapt.
Sanct. 3.
[¹ V. Supr.
19. 19. and
Bingh. 7. 4.
§ 4.]

A. D. 419. The Pope Boniface having been seized with a long illness, feared that if he died, the same intrigues would be repeated at the election of his successor, which had taken place at his own¹. Accordingly, he wrote to the Emperor Honorius by certain Bishops deputed in his own name, and in that of the whole Church of Rome; praying him that under his reign the Church might be allowed at least the same liberty which she had enjoyed under the pagan Emperors, of maintaining her ancient rules. This letter is dated the first of July, and, as is generally supposed, of the same year, 419. The Emperor made the following answer by a rescript, which was committed to the care of the same deputies²: “If contrary to our wishes any thing should happen to your holiness, let all men know that they are to abstain from canvassing; and if, contrary to the rules, two persons shall be ordained, neither of the two shall be Bishop, but him only, who shall be chosen at a new election with the consent of all.”

¹ Bonif.
Ep. 1. al. 7.

² Bonif.
Ep. 2.
ap. Coust.

XVII.
Letter of
Pope Boni-
face to the
Bishops of
the Gauls.
³ Bonif.
Ep. 2. al. 3.
[⁴ Bingham.
9. 6. § 1.]

Pope Boniface had written to the Bishops of Gaul a short time before, that is to say, on the thirteenth of June, 419³. The letter is addressed to Patroclus, Remigius, Maximus, Severus, and ten others by name, and to the Bishops of the Gauls and the Seven Provinces in general⁴. Maximus, Bishop of Valence, was accused of many crimes, and among others of Manicheism; and it was proved by synodical Acts. It appeared also by the acts of the secular judges, that he had been prosecuted before them for homicide, and even been put to the torture. He never ceased, however, to style himself Bishop in all the places, where he lay in hiding, and would not submit himself to the judgment of his brethren, though the Popes had often referred him to it. The clergy of the Church of Valence complained of him to Pope Boniface; and the Bishops of Gaul also sent accusations against him in writing.

Though the repeated refusals of Maximus to appear furnished sufficient grounds for his immediate condemnation, yet the Pope was willing to grant him a still longer delay, and decreed that he should be judged by the Bishops of the Gauls assembled in Council before the first day of November; but that then, present or absent, he should be judged without any further delay, on condition that the judgment be

ratified by the authority of the Pope. The Pope adds : “ We A. D. 419.
 “ send letters through all the provinces, that he may not be
 “ able to excuse himself on the plea of ignorance ; and when
 “ your decision shall be reported to us, it must necessarily be
 “ confirmed by our authority.” Some think that the clergy
 of Valence brought this accusation directly before the Pope,
 in consequence of the disputes in the province of Vienne for
 the right of Metropolitan, which was claimed by Patroclus of
 Arles ¹.

There were some Pelagians at Rome ; and to confirm them
 in their error, as well as to make new converts, Julian sent
 thither a letter, in which he treated the Catholics as Mani-
 chees, with the view of inducing the ignorant to regard them
 with horror². During the same time, he and the other Pela-
 gian Bishops, to the number of eighteen, wrote a letter to
 Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, to gain him over, if possible,
 to their party. Some watchful Catholics, having met with
 these two letters, put them into the hands of Pope Boniface.
 Alypius came at that time to Rome, where the Pope received
 him with great friendship³, kept him with him during the
 short stay he made there, and entertained him with great
 confidence. They spoke much of St. Augustine ; and the
 Pope delivered to Alypius the two letters of the Pelagians,
 in which St. Augustine was named and calumniated, that he
 might take them to him, that St. Augustine might answer
 them himself ⁴.

Before Alypius went to Rome⁵, he had been at Ravenna,
 where the Court then was ; and had seen Count Valerius
 there ; who sent to him, during his residence at Rome, some
 extracts from the first book of the four which Julian had
 written against that of St. Augustine, on Marriage and Con-
 cupiscence. Valerius desired St. Augustine to confute these
 extracts as soon as possible. Alypius carried them back with
 him into Africa, with the two letters of the Pelagians, and
 repeated orally to St. Augustine the objections of the heretics
 against some passages of his book. St. Augustine would
 have preferred making no answer till he had seen the entire
 work of Julian : but to satisfy Count Valerius, he composed
 a second book under the same title, “ On Marriage and Con-
 “ cupiscence.” He there defends the Catholic doctrine of

¹ Supr. 23.
45.

XVIII.
Second
book on
Marriage
and Concu-
piscence.

² Aug. x.
cont. Ep.
Pel. 1. c. 1.
§ 3.

³ Ibid. § 1.

⁴ Retr. 2.61.

⁵ Retr. 2.53.
Præf. ad
Op. imp.
Ep. 207.
ad Claud.
De Nupt. 2.
§ 1.

A. D. 419. original sin, and shews how widely it differs from the impiety of the Manichees; for Julian's answer turned chiefly upon that calumny. This book is thought to have been written in the year 420.

XIX.
Books of
St. Au-
gustine to
Pope Boni-
face.
A. D. 420.
¹ Aug. x.
cont. Ep.
Pel.
² § 1.

St. Augustine also answered the two letters of the Pelagians, in four books addressed to Pope Boniface, who had sent them to him¹. He begins with sentiments of gratitude for those instances of friendship he had received from him by Alypius. "Your humility," says he², "makes you not disdain the friendship of the mean, though you are seated in a higher see; and you condescend to return it with a reciprocal affection." In his first book he gives an answer to the letter sent to Rome, which was supposed to be Julian's; and confutes the calumnies of the Pelagians, who accused the Catholics of destroying free-will³; of saying, that God did not institute marriage, and that the union of the sexes is an invention of the devil⁴; that the Saints of the Old Testament were not freed from sin⁵; that St. Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, were polluted with impurity, because they owned themselves subject to concupiscence⁶; that CHRIST Himself was made subject to sin⁷; and, that Baptism does not procure a remission of all sins⁸. St. Augustine gives an answer to all these calumnies; and shews the pernicious meaning concealed under the profession of faith which the author of the letter had set down in opposition to the Catholics⁹.

³ c. 2.

⁴ c. 5, 6.

⁵ c. 7.

⁶ c. 8.

⁷ c. 12.

⁸ c. 13.

⁹ c. 15,
16, &c.

In the second book he answers the letter of the eighteen Pelagian Bishops to Rufus of Thessalonica, which was filled with the same false charges. He makes a comparison between the Manichees and the Pelagians, and shews that the Catholics hold the middle doctrine between these two errors¹. He justifies the clergy of Rome, from the prevarication with which the Pelagians charged them²; and shews that their doctrine was never approved at Rome, though Zosimus for some time treated Cælestius with indulgence. That under the name of grace³, we do not establish fate, nor attribute to God respect of persons; though we maintain that grace is not given according to merit; and that God inspires us with the first desire of goodness⁴: so that we cannot change from evil to good, save by His mercy freely bestowed.

¹ c. 2.

² c. 3.

³ c. 5, 6.

⁴ c. 8, 9, &c.

In the third book he explains the Catholic doctrine concerning the usefulness of the old law¹, the effect of Baptism²,^{1 c. 2.} the difference between the old and the new covenant³; the justice and perfection of the Apostles and Prophets⁴; what is called sin in JESUS CHRIST, where it is said He came in the likeness of sinful flesh⁵; that He condemned sin by sin, and that He became sin: and lastly⁶, in what manner we hope perfectly to fulfil the commandments of God in the other life.^{5 c. 6.} In the fourth book he answers what the Pelagians said, in establishment of their own doctrine; and lays open the deceit concealed in the five articles they advance, as equally opposed to the Manichees and the Catholics⁷; namely, the praise of the creature, of marriage, of the law, of free will, and of the Saints.^{7 Lib. 4. c. 2.} They praise the creature and marriage, in order to deny original sin; the law and free will, in order to prove that grace is given according to merit; and the Saints, to shew that there had been men exempt from sin, even in this life. The Catholic Church⁸, keeping the mean between the Manichees and the Pelagians, teaches that our nature is good⁹, as being the work of God, who is good; but that it stands in need of a Saviour, because of the original sin proceeding from the first man; that marriage is good¹, and instituted by God, but that concupiscence, which accrued to it from sin, is evil; that the law of God is good, but that it only shews us sin, without removing it; that free will is natural to man², but that it is now so led captive, that it cannot work righteousness without being freed by grace; that the justice of the saints³, both under the Old and New Testament, was real, but not perfect.^{3 c. 7.} He concludes with some passages from St. Cyprian⁴.^{4 c. 8, 9.}

About this time, St. Augustine wrote four books on the Soul and its Origin, against Victor, surnamed Vincentius, a young man of Mauritania Cæsariensis, who having met with a work of St. Augustine at a Spanish Priest's named Peter, was shocked at these words of his, "I know not whether all souls are propagated from that of the first man, or whether they are given to each man individually; but I am well assured that the soul is a spirit, and not a body⁵." Victor was shocked both at what St. Augustine doubted and at what he believed; and wrote two books against him addressed

XX.
Books on
the Soul
and its
Origin.
A. D. 419.
⁵ Retr. 2. 56.

A. D. 419. to the Priest Peter; where, without intending it, he supported some of the tenets of the Pelagians, and others still worse. However, the Priest Peter, when he had heard Victor's books read, rose up in a transport of joy, kissed his head, and thanked him for having taught him that of which he was before ignorant¹.

¹ Aug. x.
de An. 2.
§ 1.

Renatus, a lay-Monk, but a person of very orthodox faith, who was at Cæsarea in Mauritania, had an exact copy made of these two books of Victor, which he sent to St. Augustine at Hippo; who having read them, wrote one book, in which he replies to all the passages of Scripture which Victor had employed, to shew that God created souls for every individual man, and shews that those passages do not clearly prove it. Not that St. Augustine rejected this opinion of the creation of souls, which was that of St. Jerome²: he only rejected the insufficient proofs which Victor produced for it; and was still in doubt on the question itself, though he inclined to that opinion for which the Church has since declared.

² Aug. Ep.
166. al. 28.
§ 8.
Supr. 23. 17.

³ Lib. 1.
c. 2.

As Renatus had been afraid of offending St. Augustine in sending him a work in which he was spoken ill of, St. Augustine says to him³, "I am sorry you do not yet know me. Far from complaining of you, I do not even complain of Victor. Since his opinion was different from mine, ought he to have concealed it? He ought rather to have written to me myself; but not knowing me, he did not dare to do so, and he did not think himself bound to consult me, believing, as he did, that he maintained a certain truth. He obeyed his friend, who, as he says, forced him to write; and if in the heat of the dispute, an injurious word against me may have escaped him, I am willing to think it happened rather from the necessity of supporting his opinion, than with the design of offending me. For when I am a stranger to the temper of a man, I think it much better to have a good opinion of him, than to blame him rashly. Perhaps he did it with a kind intention, designing to undeceive me. If so, I am obliged to him for his good will, though I am forced to disapprove his sentiments; and I think he ought to be corrected with kindness, rather than rejected with harshness, especially considering he is but a

“ young Catholic.” For Victor had been a Donatist, or more particularly, of the schism of the Rogatists¹.

A. D. 419.

[¹ Supr.
19. 53.]

St. Augustine afterwards wrote a long letter to the Priest Peter, which he reckons as the second book of this work. In this he tells him with the same mildness, that being a Priest, and advanced in years, it does not become him to approve the work of a young layman, filled with so many errors, the principal of which he points out to him; exhorting him at the same time to oblige Victor to correct them. Lastly, he wrote two books to Victor himself; in the one of which he shews him his errors; and in the other, he points out to him how much he has been in the wrong in reproving him, either for doubting of the origin of the soul, or for affirming its spirituality. These last books also are written with so much modesty and charity, that Victor was moved with them, and wrote St. Augustine an answer, acknowledging that he was corrected². Indeed, he had declared at the beginning³ and end of his work, that he would alter his opinion, if he could be shewn that he had been mistaken: and thus the errors he had supported through ignorance, did not prevent him from being a Catholic³.

² Retr. 2. 56.³ Aug. de An. Orig. 3. in fin.

Alypius returned into Italy towards the end of the year 420, or the beginning of the following, and brought to Pope Boniface the four books that were addressed to him; and to Count Valerius, the second book on Marriage and Concupiscence⁴. The Pelagians did not fail to calumniate Alypius upon this voyage⁵; saying, that he had brought above fourscore horses out of Africa for presents to the Tribunes; that he had distributed much money, and procured the settlement of inheritances, in order to corrupt the authorities, and excite the people to sedition. However ill-grounded these reproaches were, we may conjecture from them, that Alypius was entrusted with the solicitation of some order at Court against the Pelagians. In fact, we find an edict against them by Constantius, whom Honorius, whose sister he had married, declared Emperor on the sixth of the ides of February; that is, on the eighth day of that month, in 421; and who died six months after⁶. The edict of Constantius is directed to Volusian, Præfect of Rome, and orders that all the Pelagians, and Cælestius by name, shall be

XXI.

Acts of Constantius for the Church.

A. D. 420.

⁴ Ap. Aug. x. Op. imp. l. c. 85.⁵ Ibid. c. 42, 74. et Lib. 3. c. 35.

A. D. 421.

⁶ Supr. 9. Theoph. an. 413. p. 72.

A. D. 421. banished to a hundred miles distance, under pain of death to the officers of the Præfect; who joins to it his own order, Olympiod. ap. Phot. Cod. 80. Chron. Cod. Theod. an. 421. Ap. Baron. an. 420. forbidding all persons whatever to conceal the exiles, under pain of proscription. This is the Volusian, uncle to the younger Melania, to whom St. Augustine had written a celebrated letter upon the incarnation¹.

§ 1. Phot. Cod. 53. ¹ Supr. 22. 51. The Emperor Constantius also caused all that remained of the temple of the goddess Cælestis at Carthage to be destroyed, even to the foundations; so that the place remained a field for burying the dead², and the falsity of a pretended oracle of that goddess, according to which her temple was to be re-established, was exposed. The demolishing of that temple, was performed by Ursus, the Tribune and Procurator of the domain, who was a Catholic Christian; and who³, besides, performed another service to religion, by discovering the abominable mysteries of the Manichees, by means of a young girl named Margaret, who was not quite twelve years old, and a pretended holy woman⁴ called Eusebia, both of the number of their elect. St. Augustine contributed to this discovery by the knowledge he had of their doctrine, and he gives the particulars of it in his book on heresies. Authentic acts were drawn up concerning it, before the Bishops in the church of Carthage. The Manichees called those who practised these abominations Catharists, that is, Purifiers.

² Prosper. de prædict. Pars 3. c. 38.
³ Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 16. et Aug. viii. de Hæres. 46. [⁴ sanctimonialis]

A. D. 420. About the same time there appeared at Carthage the book of a heretic, opposed to the Old Testament, which was exposed for sale at the port; and many persons assembled to hear it read, with a great deal of curiosity and pleasure⁵. Some zealous Christians sent it to St. Augustine, desiring him to answer it without delay. He found that the author

[⁶ Supr. 20. 27. not. 1.] was not a Manichee, but a Marcionite⁶, or of some similar sect. For he rejected the God who was the Creator of the world, whereas the Manichees asserted that it was the good God who created the world, though out of a matter of which He was not the author. St. Augustine accordingly refuted this book by a work entitled, "Against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets⁷," which he divided into two books. In the first, he answers the objections against several passages of the Old Testament; on the creation of the world, and of

⁷ Tom. viii.

man in particular; on the sin of Adam, the deluge, and other similar questions¹. In the second, he answers the passages in the New Testament, which were employed against the Old. He begins by observing that the Jews, besides the canonical Scriptures, had unwritten traditions, which they learnt by heart, and which they called Deuterosis; which proves that their Talmud was not yet written, if St. Augustine was well informed.

A. D. 420.
¹ Lib. 2.
 c. 10. § 34.

Dulcitus, Tribune and Notary of the Emperor, was stationed in Africa, for the purpose of putting into execution the imperial orders against the Donatists, and of endeavouring to reunite them². He wrote for this purpose to Gaudentius, Bishop of Thamugada, who had been one of their deputies in the conference of Carthage, and endeavoured to divert him from carrying into effect the threat he had made of burning himself and his people with his Church: adding, that if they believed themselves in the right, they ought rather to fly according to the precept of CHRIST. Gaudentius answered in two letters, which Dulcitus sent to St. Augustine, desiring him to answer them himself. At first St. Augustine excused himself by a letter to Dulcitus, in which he tells him that he is overwhelmed with business, and that he has already refuted the empty talk³ of the Donatists in several of his other works⁴. He only answers the instance they bring of the Jew Razias, who killed himself to avoid slavery, as is related in the second book of the Maccabees⁵. He says the Scripture only praises him for his courage; and in other places sufficiently condemns these voluntary deaths, which have no other principle than pride and impatience. He promises at the end to answer Gaudentius's two letters.

XXII.
 Last works
 of St. Au-
 gustine
 against the
 Donatists.
 A. D. 420.
² Retr. 2.
 59.

[³ vanilo-
 quio]
⁴ Ep. 204.
 al. 61. § 4.

⁵ § 6, 7.
 2 Macc.
 14. 37.

He kept his word and confuted them exactly, putting first the very words of Gaudentius, and then his own answers⁶. He had adopted the same method in answering Petilianus, and had placed before each article, "Petilianus said;" and then "Augustine answered." But Petilianus had accused him of falsehood, saying that he had never disputed with him by word of mouth. That Gaudentius might not avail himself of a similar quibble, he writes "Words of the Letter;" and then, "Answer." As Gaudentius advanced nothing new,

⁶ Aug. ix.
 cont. Gaud.
 l. c. 1.

A. D. 420. St. Augustine only repeats what he had said in his other works against the Donatists; except upon the example of
¹ c. 31. § 36. Razias¹, which he refutes more at length than in his letter to Dulcitus; but without contesting the authority of the second book of the Maccabees, which he acknowledges to be received in the Church^{2 f}. He observes³ that the object of the imperial laws against the Donatists was not their death, but their reformation, or, at most, their banishment. Gaudentius, not to appear defeated, made a reply⁴; and St. Augustine again answered him, that he might not leave him even that weak advantage. These are his last works against the Donatists, whose numbers, by his cares, decreased daily.

XXIII. Some years afterwards, Dulcitus proposed to St. Augustine eight questions on several passages of the Scripture, and St. Augustine answered them by passages drawn from his other works, where he had already discussed those questions⁵. In this work he cites the Enchiridion which he had addressed to Laurentius⁶, brother to Dulcitus, Primicerius of the city of Rome, that is, chief of some company of officers, for he appears to have been only a layman. He had desired St. Augustine to compose a book for him, which he might always have in his hands⁷, (for that is the meaning of the Greek word Enchiridion,) and which would comprise what ought to be principally observed in religion, what ought to be chiefly avoided on account of the several heresies, how far reason could carry us, and what was the foundation of the Catholic faith. St. Augustine answers all these questions, and says that all religion consists in faith, hope, and charity; and that these three virtues are comprised in the Creed and Lord's Prayer. He then explains them, enlarging chiefly upon the Creed, and dwelling upon the most important questions against the pagans and the heretics of the age; ⁸ c. 10, 11, such as the origin of evil, against the Manichees⁸; and &c. ⁹ c. 27, 28, grace and predestination, against the Pelagians⁹; so that &c. this little work is an excellent abridgment of divinity. It

^f St. Augustine says; "This Scripture is not held by the Jews, like the Law, Prophets, and Psalms, to which our LORD bears testimony (Luke 24. 44), but has been received by the

"Church not unprofitably, if it be soberly read." Cf. Civ. Dei 18. 36. and Bp. Cosin's Hist. of Canon. ch. 7. § 81.

was composed after the year 420, since St. Jerome is mentioned in it as dead¹. A. D. 420.

¹ c. 87.

St. Augustine, in this work, speaks of the usefulness of prayer for the dead², and says; "When we offer the Sacrifice of the Altar, or any alms for the baptized dead; for those that are very good, it is a giving thanks; for those that are not very wicked, it serves as a propitiation; for those that are very wicked, though of no service to them, it confers some consolation on the living. And for those to whom it is of service it obtains a full pardon, or, at least, renders their punishment³ more supportable." He speaks of it too in another writing of the same date⁴, addressed to St. Paulinus of Nola, who had consulted him upon the question, whether it were of any service to a dead person to be interred near the grave of a martyr, on account of those who desired to be buried in the Basilica of St. Felix. "Methinks," said St. Paulinus, "these pious sentiments should not be useless; and it cannot be in vain that the whole Church has been accustomed to pray for the dead: from whence we may conclude, that it is of service to a dead person to be buried in a place which shews that the help of the Saints has been sought for him." St. Augustine replied by the treatise intiled, "On the Care due to the Dead."

² c. 110.
[V. Supr.
19. 41.
not. b.]

[³ tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio]
⁴ De cur. pro Mort. tom. vi.

He begins by establishing, that all we do for them only avails for them according to their previous life. "We read," he adds, "in the books of the Maccabees⁵, that sacrifice was offered for the dead; and even though we did not read it any where in the Scriptures of the Old Testament⁶, it is no light authority, this of the whole Church, which is manifest⁷ in this custom. For the recommendation of the dead has place even in the prayers which the Priest makes to God before His Altar." He afterwards shews⁸ that the place of burial, and even burial itself, are things, in themselves, indifferent to Christians; but the place is accidentally of service⁹, if a believing mother, desiring that her son may be buried in the Basilica of a Martyr, believes that his soul is assisted by the merits of the Saint¹. For this faith is itself a kind of prayer, and avails for the dead person, if he be in that state in which it can avail him; and when the mother

⁵ 2 Macc. 12. 43.

[⁶ Scripturis veteribus]
[⁷ claret]

⁸ c. 2.

⁹ c. 5.

[¹ meritis Martyris adjuvari]

A. D. 420. afterwards comes thither, the place itself excites her to pray with more affection. He speaks of the apparitions of the dead¹; and, without disputing about the fact, he shews that we may see the dead in dreams, or otherwise, without their souls having any share in it; as we often see the living in dreams, when they themselves know nothing of it. "How " then," he asks, "do the Martyrs come to the aid of those " who pray to them, and hear their prayers?" and owns that this is a question above his understanding; but it relates only to the manner of the intercession of the Saints, and not to their suffrages, or to their merits; of which he entertains no doubt.

² c. 18. He concludes thus²; "Such being the case, [let us believe " that nothing reaches the dead,] for whom we are solicitous, " save the solemn sacrifices we offer for them, either at the " Altar, or by our prayers and alms; though even these do " not benefit all for whom they are offered, but those only, " who, during their life, have rendered themselves capable of " deriving benefit from them. But because we cannot dis- " tinguish between these, we ought to offer them for all the " regenerate; for it is better that this aid should be super- " fluous to those whom it can neither harm nor serve, than " be wanting to those whom it does benefit. And each per- " forms this service more carefully for his own friends, that " they may do the same by him." St. Augustine also speaks of the apparitions of the dead in two letters written about the year 414, to his friend Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis, who had consulted him on this subject³.

³ Ep. 159,
162. al.
100, 101.
⁴ tom. vi.
Ep. 205.

About the year 420, he wrote his treatise "Against Lying"⁴ in answer to a question of Consentius; and at the same time wrote him a letter upon another question, concerning the immediate state of the glorified body after the resurrection.

⁵ Retr. 2.
60.
Fleury, 17.
56.

In the treatise against lying, he chiefly combats those who believed that it was lawful to speak false, in order to detect the Priscillianists⁵; for those heretics held it as a maxim, that it was enough to believe rightly and speak the truth to their brethren, but that it might be disguised before strangers. Thus with the Catholics they pretended to be Catholics, and did not scruple to support their dissimulation by perjury. Some Catholics believed it lawful to use the

same deceit towards them, and to pretend to esteem their authors, and believe their doctrine, in order to convict them. And we find that St. Flavian, of Antioch, did use a similar artifice against the Messalians¹.

St. Augustine absolutely condemns this practice, and maintains that it is never lawful to speak falsely in the matter of religion, since otherwise the Martyrs must have been in the wrong not to have preserved their lives by such easy means²; and he shews that if lying be admitted in this matter, the foundation of our faith is overturned. Passing on, he condemns every species of lying, and gives an answer to all the passages of the Scripture which were adduced to authorize it in certain cases³. He shews that there is no instance of it in the New Testament; and as to those in the Old, that what appears a lie is either not really one, or that the Scripture does not approve it. He opposes⁴ the compensation of sins by their results, and maintains that we ought never to do any evil under pretence of any good whatever. In this work, according to his own judgment, he treats the question of lying more clearly than in that which he composed a short time before he was made Bishop⁵.

St. Augustine having obtained the entire work of Julian against him, and carefully examined it, observed that the extracts he had received from Count Valerius did not exactly agree with the original⁶; and he feared that Julian might accuse him of imposture, as in fact he did not fail to do. St. Augustine, therefore, resolved to make a full answer to it, which he did as soon as possible, in 421, in a work which he acknowledges to be much laboured, and which is esteemed the best of his writings against the Pelagians. It is divided into six books, the two first of which attack Julian in general from the authority of the Catholic doctors, while the four others confute his four books point by point.

In the first book he shews that Julian, in accusing the Catholics of Manicheism, accuses also the Fathers who had written up to that time; that is, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Reticus Bishop of Autun, Olympius a Spanish Bishop, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, from whom he cites the passages upon original sin. None of the works of Reticus and Olympius have been preserved. We only know that

A. D. 420.

¹ Supr. 19.
26.² c. 2, 3, &c.
§ 3.
Fleury,
5. 11.
Clem. Alex.
Strom. 4.³ c. 12,
13, &c.⁴ c. 18.⁵ Supr. 20.
12.XXIV.
Books
against
Julian.
A. D. 421.⁶ Retr. 2. 62.
Ep. 207.
ad Claud.

A. D. 421. Reticus was present at the Council of Rome against the Donatists, under Pope Melchiades, in 313¹. Julian cited some passages from St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, from which he drew some advantage. St. Augustine answers them, and proves that the East is not less opposed to the Pelagians than the West². He then makes it appear³ that Julian himself favoured the Manichees without intending it, by some of his propositions, the consequences of which he did not see. In the second book, from the authority of the Fathers, he answers the five arguments of the Pelagians against original sin: namely, that it was making the devil the author of the birth of man, condemning marriage, denying that all sins were remitted in Baptism, accusing God of injustice, and making us despair of perfection. Against these calumnies he brings the authority of ten Bishops, the same from whom he had proved original sin; St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Reticus, Olympius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and Pope St. Innocent; to whom he adds St. Jerome, whose praise he enlarges on in several passages of this work.

He then proceeds to examine each book of Julian by itself; he speaks of the evil of concupiscence⁴, and shews how different it is from that evil substance which the Manichees supposed to be in us. In the fourth book he chiefly proves two things; that the virtues of infidels are not real virtues⁵; and that concupiscence is evil, by the testimony even of heathen authors⁶. He there takes the opportunity of explaining in what way God desires that all men should be saved⁷. In the fifth book he shews that all Christians attribute to sin both the pains which infants suffer here from their very birth, and their exclusion from the kingdom of God, if they die without Baptism⁸; that sin may be the punishment of a preceding sin⁹, as in those whom St. Paul tells us were delivered over to a reprobate mind; and that from the same condemned mass some are chosen freely, while others are vessels of wrath¹. In the sixth book he confirms the belief in original sin by the Baptism of infants, and the ceremonies of exorcism and breathing, to drive away the devil². He shews³, by the example of the good olive-tree, the seed of which produces only wild olive-trees, that the

¹ Fleury, 10. 11.
[Supr. 19. 53. not. 1.]

² c. 5.
³ c. 8, 9.

⁴ Cont. Jul. Lib. 3.

⁵ Lib. 4. c. 3. § 16.

⁶ c. 12. § 60.
c. 14. § 72.
c. 15. § 78.

⁷ c. 8. § 42.
1 Tim. 2. 4.

⁸ Lib. 5. c. 1. § 4.
⁹ c. 3. § 10, &c.
Rom. 1. 18.

¹ c. 4.

² Lib. 6. c. 3.
³ c. 6, 7.

regenerate might be expected to beget sinful children; and that even the body is sanctified by Baptism, though it still continues corruptible¹.

From the sentence of Pope Zosimus till the year 431, the Pelagians never ceased demanding an universal Council, saying that the refusal of it was a proof of the weakness of the cause of the Catholics. St. Augustine answered that this was the language of all heretics². "Your cause," says he, "has just been determined before the Bishops, who are the proper judges: there is no further need of examination with you, but only to make you acquiesce in the sentence, or to restrain your turbulence." In the year 417, preaching at Carthage, he had said³, "The result of two Councils on this subject has been already sent to the Apostolic See; answers have been returned, the cause is decided." He meant the two Councils of Carthage and of Milevum⁴, and the rescripts of Pope St. Innocent.

The Pelagians therefore addressed themselves to the Bishops of the East, pretending they were unjustly persecuted by those of the West. They sent some of their fugitive Bishops to Constantinople; but Atticus opposed to them the ancient faith of the Church, rejected them, and would not suffer them even to stay at Constantinople⁵. They were no better received at Ephesus, where they had, apparently, been in hopes of protection, on account of the stay Cælestius had made there. About the same time, Pelagius was prosecuted in a Council in which Theodotus, Bishop of Antioch, presided⁶. His accusers were again Heros and Lazarus. He was convicted of heresy, and driven from the holy places of Jerusalem; and the Bishop Praylius, as well as Theodotus, wrote an account of it to the Pope. From this time there is no further mention of Pelagius, and he was old enough not to have lived long after⁷. Julian was one of those who went into the East, and he was there, as is believed, in the year 421. After having traversed many provinces with his companions⁸, he went into Cilicia to visit Theodorus of Mopsuestia, whom he looked upon as his master, and whose instructions he wished to avail himself of for the eight books which he afterwards wrote against St. Augustine. However, after Julian had left Cilicia, a Council was held there, in

A. D. 421.

¹ c. 13.

XXXV.

The Pelagians condemned in the East.

² Cont.

Jul. 3. c. 1. § 5.

³ Serm. 131. al. 2. de verb.

Apost. c. 10.

⁴ Supr. 23. 30.⁵ Nestor.

Ep. ap. Cæl. Ep. 6, 7. et Concil. iii. p. 349.

(iv. p. 1021.)

Cæl. Ep. 13.

ad Nest.

Prosp. de

Ingrat. c. 2.

⁶ Mercat.

Comm.

adv. Cæl.

p. 139.

⁷ he was more than seventy.

Garn.

Diss. 1.

§ 4.]

⁸ Mercat.

Præf. in

Symb.

Theod.

p. 40.

A. D. 421. which Theodorus himself condemned the doctrine of the Pelagians, and anathematized Julian.

To this time, and to the year 421, is referred, with the greatest probability, the death of St. Mary the Egyptian, so famous for her repentance¹. There was in Palestine a hermit named Zosimas, who had passed fifty-three years in a monastery, when it came into his thought that no one could teach him any thing more in the monastic life. To undeceive him, and to shew him that there is always room for progress in perfection, he received an order to go to a monastery situated near the river Jordan. He was admitted there, and found, in fact, that a very perfect life was there practised. During Lent they all left the monastery, passed over Jordan, and dispersed themselves over the desert. Some of them carried some provision for their support, others lived upon the herbs they met with; but they never communicated to each other on their return what they had done during this time. Zosimas went ever forwards, wishing to penetrate the innermost desert, and see if he could not find some Solitary still more perfect. After having thus advanced for twenty days, as he was stopping at noon to rest himself, and was repeating the prayer for the sixth hour, he saw what seemed the figure of a human body. At first he was afraid, and made the sign of the cross; then he saw that it was really some person that appeared naked, and scorched by the sun, with white hair. He ran in that direction filled with joy, but the person fled: he gradually gained ground, and when he was near enough to be heard, he cried out to it to stop, and to bless him. At last the person who fled, answered, "Abbot Zosimas, I am a woman, throw me your cloak to cover me, that I may come near you." Zosimas, terrified to hear her call him by his name, saw plainly that it was a Saint; and after she had received his cloak, and they had entered into conversation, he desired her to tell him who she was, and why she lived in that manner: and she thus complied with his request.

"I am an Egyptian. At twelve years of age I left my parents, and went to Alexandria, where I plunged into debauchery, and led a life so infamous that I am ashamed even to think of it; I lived seventeen years in these

¹ V. Boll. ix.
April. 2.
p. 67.

“ abominations. One summer’s day I saw many persons A. D. 421.
 “ running towards the sea; I asked where they were going;
 “ they told me they were going to Jerusalem, for the festival
 “ of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. I embarked with
 “ them, looking only for fresh opportunities to continue my
 “ debauchery.” This feast of the Holy Cross was that which
 in the time of Constantine was celebrated on the thirteenth
 of September¹. The Saint continued: “ Being arrived at
 “ Jerusalem, when the day of the feast was come, I mixed
 “ with the crowd to get into the church when the Holy Cross
 “ was shewn; but I was always driven back. At last, having
 “ done my utmost, I retired into a corner of the court, and
 “ began to reflect that my crimes had made me unworthy of
 “ entering that holy place. I began to weep and beat my
 “ breast, and seeing an image of the Holy Virgin over the
 “ place where I was standing, I prayed to her to obtain me
 “ admission into the church, promising to renounce the
 “ world, and to go whithersoever she should order me.

¹ Fleury,
11. 54.

“ I then got in without difficulty, and having seen the
 “ Holy Cross, and kissed the pavement of that holy place, I
 “ came back to return thanks to the Holy Virgin, and to pray
 “ to her to guide me; and I heard a voice which cried from
 “ afar, ‘ If you cross the Jordan, you will find perfect rest.’
 “ As I was going out of the court, some one gave me three
 “ pieces of money², with which I bought three loaves, and
 “ having asked the way to the Jordan, I walked all the rest
 “ of the day, and in the evening arrived at a church of
 “ St. John the Baptist near the river. There I received the
 “ Holy Mysteries, and having eaten the half of one of my
 “ loaves, I crossed the Jordan, and came into this desert.”
 “ And how long have you lived here?” said Zosimas. “ It
 “ is,” said she, “ as near as I can judge, forty-seven years.”
 “ And what sustenance have you found?” inquired he.
 “ The bread I carried with me,” answered she, “ lasted me
 “ some time: and afterwards I lived upon the herbs I found
 “ in the desert.” Zosimas went on, “ Have you passed so
 “ many years without difficulty, and without being troubled
 “ at so sudden a change?” “ What you ask,” replied she,
 “ fills me with horror, and I know not whether I can give
 “ you an account of it, without exposing myself afresh to the

² num-
mos]

A. D. 421. "same dangers." "Hide nothing from me," said he: and she accordingly thus resumed her discourse.

"I passed seventeen years in fighting with my passions, as with wild beasts. I used to love wine extremely, and often I had not even water to quench my thirst. I was tempted to sing the infamous songs I had learnt; lastly, I was solicited by the most shameful desires, and I bore in my bosom a fire that consumed me. At those times I beat my breast, I threw myself on the ground, and watered it with my tears; at length I had recourse to the Holy Virgin, my protectress, who has always supported me. My clothes being worn out, I suffered severely from the heat and the cold, and often I fell to the ground, and remained without breath or motion. I have endured great temptations from the devils." As she from time to time made use of passages from the Scripture, Zosimas asked her if she had ever studied, to which she answered with a smile, "Believe me, since I crossed the Jordan, I have never seen living soul till this day, not so much as any brute creature, and have never learnt any thing; but 'it is GOD that teacheth men know-
 1 Ps. 94. 10. ledge'. To conclude, ask me no further question, and as to all that I have told you, I conjure you by CHRIST our LORD to say nothing of it to any one, till GOD shall take me out of this world. Do only what I am going to tell you. Next Lent do not cross the Jordan, according to the custom of your monastery; remain in the house, and in the evening of Holy Thursday, take the Body and Blood of CHRIST, and wait for me on the bank of the Jordan, on the side that is inhabited; for I have not received the Sacred Gifts since I received them in the Church of St. John, and I long for them most ardently."

After she had thus spoken, she recommended herself to his prayers, and ran towards the innermost desert. Zosimas knelt down and kissed the earth where she had placed her feet; he then returned, praising God, and full of joy, and repaired to the monastery like the others, against Palm Sunday. During all that year he dared not speak of what he had seen, waiting with impatience for the following Lent. The rest of the Monks went forth as usual: but he was seized with a fever, according to the Saint's prediction, who had

told him that he would not be able to go out, though he should wish it. Some days after he recovered; and on the Holy Thursday he took the Body and Blood of our LORD in a small chalice, and a few figs, dates, and lentils¹ in a basket, and went and sat himself down near the Jordan, expecting the Saint; but he wondered with some anxiety how she was to cross the river. She appeared on the other side, and having made the sign of the cross over the river, she came, walking upon the water. Astonished at this miracle, he would have bowed before her, but she cried out to him, "What would you do, my father, you who are a Priest, and "carry the Divine Mysteries?" She then desired him to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and having received the Holy Sacrament, she prayed him to return again the next year to the ravine where he had first found her. He entreated her on his part to accept the sustenance he had brought her; she took only three lentils with the tips of her fingers, recommended herself to his prayers, and then returned over the Jordan in the same manner as she had come.

A. D. 421.

[¹ fabæ
aquâ
maceratæ]

The next year Zosimas went forth into the desert according to the custom; and when he came to the ravine, he there found the Saint stretched out dead, and bathed her feet with his tears. Then having repeated some Psalms, and said the burial-service² over her, as he was doubting whether he ought to bury her, he saw written on the earth near her head, "Abbot Zosimas, here bury the body of the poor Mary, and "pray for me who died this same night of the Lord's Passion, "after I had received the Holy Mysteries." He was overjoyed at having learnt the Saint's name; but he knew not how he should dig up the earth³, if a lion had not come to make the grave. He buried her, praying her to pray for the whole world; and on his return to the monastery, related all that he had seen and heard of this holy penitent. He died about a hundred years old, and an author of the time wrote this history from the relation of the Monks. The Church honours St. Mary the Egyptian on the second day of April, and St. Zosimas on the fourth.

[² sepul-
chralis
deprecatio][³ as he was
without
tools]

The Eastern Church enjoyed peace under the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, but the Christians in Persia suffered

XXVI.
Perse-
cution in
Persia.

A.D.420-50.

¹ Theod.
Hist. 5. 39.

a cruel persecution¹. A Bishop called Audas, or Abdas, in other respects a man of great virtue, hurried on by an indiscreet zeal, destroyed one of the temples where the Persians adored the fire. The King having heard of it from the Magi, sent for Audas, and at first complained of it gently, and ordered him to rebuild the temple; but the Bishop refused to comply, and the King threatened him with the destruction of all the churches. He kept his word; and having first caused the Bishop to be put to death, ordered all the churches to be overthrown. Theodoret, in relating this narrative, blames the Bishop for destroying the fire-temple, but praises him for suffering martyrdom rather than rebuild it. "For to me," he says, "it seems the same thing as "worshipping the fire, to build a temple to it." Such was the origin of this persecution, which had already become cruel under the ninth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Constantius², that is, in 420, and which lasted altogether for thirty years. King Isdegerdes began it; after his death Gororanes, or Vararanes, his successor, continued it, and the son of the latter followed in the same course.

² Chr. Marc.
p. 280.

The torments were various and cruel; the hands of some of the Christians were flayed, the backs of others, and the faces of others, from the forehead to the chin. The persecutors split canes in two, applied the flat sides, and covered the whole body with them; they next bound them tightly with cords from head to foot, and then forcibly drew off the canes one after another; so that they brought the skin off with them. They dug great pits, and after having well plastered them, shut up in them a number of large rats; then they threw in the Martyrs, bound hand and foot, so that the rats, pressed by hunger, gnawed them by degrees, without their being able to defend themselves. These cruelties did not prevent the Christians from running to meet death, to gain eternal life thereby. Four Martyrs, Hormisdas, Suenes, Benjamin, and James, are recorded in particular.

Hormisdas was of the first nobility amongst the Persians, of the race of the Achæmenidæ, and son of the governor of a province. The King having heard that he was a Christian, sent for him, and commanded him to renounce CHRIST:

Hormisdas answered, "that one who had despised God A.D.420-50.
 " would far more easily despise his King, who was but a
 " mortal man." The King took from him all his wealth and
 honours, had him stripped naked, leaving him only a linen
 girdle; and in that condition ordered him to drive the camels
 of the army¹. Some time after, looking down out of his
 chamber, he saw Hormisdas burnt with the sun, and covered
 with dust; and remembering the high station of his father,
 he called him, ordered a shirt to be given him, and said,
 " Now at last cease from your obstinacy, and renounce the
 " Son of the carpenter." Hormisdas tore the shirt, and
 threw it at him, saying, " If you thought by this costly pre-
 " sent to make me desert my religion, keep it, with your
 " impiety." [Cf. Euseb. Mart. Pal. c. 12.]

Suenes was master of a thousand slaves. As he refused to renounce the true God, the King asked him which was the worst of all his slaves, and on him he bestowed all the rest of them, as well as Suenes himself and his wife, whom he compelled to marry him: but Suenes was not moved, and continued firm in the faith.

Benjamin was a Deacon, and the King had caused him to be put into prison. Two years after there came a Roman Ambassador on other matters, who, on learning that this Deacon was in prison, demanded his liberty. The King granted it, upon condition that Benjamin should promise not to speak to any of the Magi on the Christian religion; and the Ambassador promised it. But Benjamin said it was impossible for him to hide that talent for which he must render an account: nevertheless, as the King knew nothing of his refusal, he ordered him to be set at liberty. Benjamin continued to convert the infidels. At the end of a year the King was told of it; he ordered him to be brought before him, and commanded him to renounce his God. "How would you treat him," said Benjamin, "who should renounce his obedience to you, to acknowledge another King?" "I would put him to death," said the King. Benjamin answered, "What punishment then does not he deserve, who abandons the CREATOR, to pay Divine honours to a creature like himself?" The King enraged, ordered twenty canes to be sharpened to a point, and had them forced

A.D.420-50. up the nails of his hands and feet: and as he despised this torture, he ordered another pointed cane to be thrust into the most sensitive part of his body; and at last caused him to be impaled on a stake rough with knots on all sides, and so the Martyr expired.

¹ Niceph.
Hist. 14. 20.

James, after being a Christian¹, had returned to the Persian religion, out of complaisance to King Isdegerdes; but his mother and wife afterwards brought him back to Christianity. The King was so provoked at it that he had him cut piecemeal at the joints of each limb: first his hands, then his arms; afterwards his feet and legs; so that nothing remained but his body and head; and as he still confessed CHRIST, they at last cut off his head.

XXVII.
Conversion
of the
Saracens.

At the beginning of this persecution, towards the conclusion of the reign of Isdegerdes, the Magi procured orders to be issued out to all the chiefs of the Saracens, subject to Persia, to guard the roads, and to apprehend all Christians, that none might take refuge with the Romans². Aspebetus, who was one of those chiefs, touched with compassion for the Christians, who were so cruelly treated, not only did not arrest them, but actually assisted them to make their escape. Being accused of it to Isdegerdes, he determined to go over to the Romans with his son Terebo and all his family. Anatholius, who was then governor of the East, received him kindly, and gave him the command of those Arabs who were tributary to the Romans.

² Vita S.
Euthym.
c. 18. ap.
Cotel.Eccl.
Gr. Mon. ii.

Terebo, the son of Aspebetus, had from his infancy been paralytic in one half of his body³: that is to say, all over his right side, from head to foot. After he had come with his father into that part of Arabia which was subject to the Romans, being continually afflicted with his disease, he said to himself one night⁴, "Terebo, what is all the art of physicians? Where are the imaginations of our Magi, and the power of that which we adore? Where are the fables of the astrologers, their enchantments and charms? All this avails nothing, if it be not God's pleasure." Having made these reflections he began to pray to God with tears, and said, "Great God, who hast made heaven and earth, if Thou hast pity on my misery, and deliverest me from this sad disease, I will become a

³ c. 19.

⁴ c. 20.

“ Christian, and renounce all pagan superstition.” Having A.D.420-50.
spoken thus, he fell asleep¹, and saw a Monk with a long 1 c. 21.
grey beard, who asked him what ailed him. Terebo told
him of his disease; the Monk answered, “ Perform what you
“ have promised to God, and He will heal you.” Terebo
repeated his promise, and the Monk said to him, “ I am
“ Euthymius, who dwell in the desert of the East, ten miles
“ from Jerusalem, in the ravine to the south of the road to
“ Jericho; if you wish to be healed, come to me without
“ delay.”

Terebo rose², and told the dream to his father, who im- 2 c. 19.
mediately took him with him, together with a large body of
Arabs, and a numerous escort, and came to the place in-
dicated in the dream, where lived Euthymius and Theoctistus.
The Monks who lived under their rule were alarmed at the
sight of such a multitude of barbarians. But Theoctistus
went up to the barbarians, and said, “ What seek you?”
They answered, “ We seek the servant of God, Euthymius.”
The Abbot Theoctistus said to them, “ He speaks to nobody
“ before Saturday; he is in seclusion.” Aspebetus took
Theoctistus by the hand, and shewed him his son, who spoke
thus³: “ I was seized with this disease, while I was in Persia 3 c. 20.
“ long since, and have in vain tried all the skill of the phy-
“ sicians, and all the superstitions of the Magi: on the con-
“ trary, my evil is but increased. When I came into this
“ country, I was moved by God, and said thus and thus to
“ myself.” He then related his reflections and his dream,
and added, “ I pray you, therefore, not to hide from me the
“ physician to whom God has directed me.” Theoctistus
reported all this to Euthymius in his retirement⁴; and 4 c. 22.
Euthymius not thinking it lawful to resist the divine revela-
tions, came to them: and having prayed with fervour, he
made the sign of the cross over Terebo, and healed him
instantly. The barbarians, in astonishment, believed in
CHRIST,⁵ and falling to the earth, prayed him to give them 5 c. 23.
Baptism. Euthymius seeing that their belief was sincere⁶, 6 c. 24.
had a small font made in a corner of his cavern, and having
instructed them, baptized them all: first, Aspebetus, whose
name he changed to Peter; and then Maris, his wife’s brother,
who were the two chief men of the company, and the most

A.D.420-50. distinguished for their wisdom and riches. Then he baptized Terebo and all the rest. He kept them forty days with him, to instruct and confirm them in the faith, and then dismissed them. But Maris, Terebo's uncle, would not leave these holy Monks¹. He renounced every thing, and gave his riches, which were great, towards building and enlarging the monastery, where he passed the rest of his days, and became a great servant of God. The rumour of this miracle brought to St. Euthymius a great number of persons afflicted with various diseases, who were all healed²; so that he became celebrated in a short time, and his reputation extended over all Palestine and the neighbouring provinces.

¹ c. 25.

² c. 26.

XXVIII.

Com-
mence-
ment of
St. Euthy-
mius.

³ Ibid. c. 2.

[⁴ under
Decius or
Valerian :
Tillem.iii.]

⁵ c. 3.

⁶ Fleury,
17. 37.

⁷ c. 4.
Fleury,
17. 18.

⁸ c. 5.

⁹ c. 6.

[¹ ὁ ἁγί-
καὶτα ἐπι-
σκοπος :
probably
not St.
Otreïus]

St. Euthymius was of Melitene, the metropolis of the lesser Armenia; his father Paul, and his mother Dionysia were much distinguished by their nobility and virtue³. Having lived long together without children, they went to the church of the Martyr St. Polyeuctes⁴ near the city, and there passed many days in prayer. One night they saw a vision, wherein it was twice said to them, "Euthymeite," (that is, in Greek, Be of good courage,) "you shall have a son of that name, "because the whole Church shall recover courage at the "time of his birth." Accordingly they had a son, born in the month of August, in the fourth Consulate of Gratian⁵, that is, in the year 377. They named him Euthymius, and the year following the Emperor Valens died, and peace was restored to the Church⁶. The parents of Euthymius devoted him to God from his birth, and on his father's death his mother offered him at three years old to St. Otreïus, Bishop of Melitene⁷. He baptized him, cut off his hair, made him Reader, brought him up with him in his episcopal lodgings, as if he had been his own son, and ordained the mother Deaconess⁸. He had the child instructed by two excellent young men named Acacius and Synodius, then Readers, and afterwards Bishops of Melitene successively⁹. Euthymius applied himself earnestly to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and to the celebration of Divine Service, exercising himself in every virtue. After he had been well instructed, and gone through all the degrees of the ecclesiastical functions, St. Otreïus¹ ordained him Priest of the church of Melitene, and intrusted him with the care of the neighbouring monas-

teries, because from his infancy he had shewn a particular inclination for the monastic life. From the day of the Epiphany¹ to Easter he used to retire to a desert mountain, where was afterwards built a monastery named after the Ascension, and there pass the Lent in solitude.

[¹ τὴν με-
γάλην τῶν
φάτων ἐορ-
τὴν]

At the age of nine-and-twenty², that is, in the year 406,² c. 10. finding his attention too much occupied by the care of the monasteries, he left the city of Melitene, and fled to Jerusalem. After having adored the Cross, and visited the holy places, he conversed with the hermits of that country, and retired to the Laura of Pharan, six miles from Jerusalem³; ³ Fleury, 17. 6. that is, into a cell without the Laura⁵. He possessed nothing, and got his living by making mats. He contracted a particular friendship for Theoctistus, his neighbour⁴; and they⁴ c. 11. every year retired together into the desert of Cutila, from the octave of the Epiphany to Palm-Sunday. Euthymius had been now five years at Pharan⁵, when going, as usual,⁵ c. 12. to Cutila with Theoctistus, they found in the desert a torrent very deep and precipitous. Examining on all sides, they saw to the north a large cavern, to which they climbed with difficulty. But when they reached it, they believed God had prepared the place for them, and there fixed their dwellings, living on the herbs they met with.

Some herdsmen of a place called Lazarium, driving their flocks of goats, found the two hermits, and fled⁶; but they⁶ c. 13. said to them, "Be not afraid, brethren, we are men like you, who dwell in this place for our sins." These goatherds told others of them, and from that time the inhabitants of Lazarium assisted them⁷, and the Monks of Pharan having⁷ c. 14. learnt where they were, went and visited them. Their two first disciples were Marinus and Luke, who afterwards became the founders of a monastery, and the instructors of the Abbot Theodorus, famous in this desert. In this way there came a great number of disciples to Euthymius; but he left to Theoctistus the care of instructing them, that he himself might live more in retirement. At first they did

³ A *Laura* "differed from a *Cenobium* or *Community* in this, that a *Laura* was many cells divided from each other, where every Monk provided for himself; but a *Cenobium*

"was but one habitation, where the *Monks* lived in society, and had all things in common." Bingham. 7. 2. § 2.

not intend to make a monastery in this place, but only a Laura, as at Pharan¹. However, seeing that at night they could not go up to the grotto, which they made their church, so difficult was the approach to it, they built a monastery below; but Euthymius continued to live in the cave. Amongst the instructions he gave them, he recommended to them manual labour, saying², “It is ridiculous that while “secular persons work laboriously to support their wives and “children, to offer to God their first fruits, to bestow alms “according to their power, and to pay tribute, we on the “contrary should profit by the labour of others, without pro- “viding for ourselves, at least for our own subsistence.”

XXIX. The Christians of Persia finding themselves persecuted, had recourse to the Romans, imploring them not to suffer them to be destroyed³. Atticus received them favourably, and informed the Emperor Theodosius of it, who had also other causes of complaint against the Persians. Accordingly when their King sent to demand back the fugitives, the Romans told them they would not restore them; that they were resolved to run all hazards for their religion; and that they would rather have a war with the Persians, than leave the Christians to perish. War was therefore declared; the Romans had the advantage in it, and gained a great victory over the Persians; the news of which was brought to Constantinople on Tuesday the eighth of the ides of September, in the Consulate of Eustathius and Agricola, that is, the sixth of September, 421⁴. At last the Persians, after many losses, were obliged to accept the peace they had refused, which was accordingly concluded in the thirteenth Consulate of Honorius, and the tenth of Theodosius; that is, in 421⁵.

This war gave occasion to a memorable action of Acacius, Bishop of Amida, upon the frontiers of Persia⁶. The Romans had taken about seven thousand prisoners, whom they would not restore, and who were perishing by famine. The King of Persia was much enraged at it. Then Acacius assembled his clergy, and spoke thus to them; “Our God has no need “either of dishes or cups, seeing that He neither eats nor “drinks; since then our Church, through the liberality of “her members, is possessed of a great number of gold and “silver vessels, we ought to make use of them to ransom and

¹ c. 15.² c. 16.

XXIX.

Persian war.

A. D. 421.

³ Socr. 7.18.⁴ Chr. Pasch.

p. 313. C.

Chr. Marc. p. 280.

⁵ Socr. 7.20.

Chr. Marc. p. 281.

⁶ Socr. 7.21.

“support these captive soldiers.” Accordingly, he had the vessels melted down¹, paid the ransom of the Persians to the Roman soldiers, supplied them with provisions and necessaries for their journey, and sent them home to their King; who admired that action, and confessed that the Romans knew how to conquer by generosity, as well as valour. He desired to see the Bishop Acacius, and the Emperor Theodosius granted it.

Several miracles are related to have happened on the occasion of this war; and the success of it is attributed to the virtues of Theodosius². Pulcheria, his eldest sister, had taken very great care of his education, though she was only two years older than himself³. She was not yet fifteen when she devoted her virginity to God, and persuaded her two sisters to do the same, in order that they might give no occasion to rivalry or rebellion, by the admission of any other man, besides the Emperor, into the royal household. And for a public testimony of her vow, she offered in the church of Constantinople a gold table for an Altar, set with jewels of wonderful workmanship, with an inscription on the front of it, setting forth the occasion of the offering. In 415, when she was about sixteen⁴, the Emperor her brother associated her in the empire, and declared her Augusta⁵; a thing hitherto unprecedented. She governed the empire of the East with great wisdom, adopting wise counsels, and giving orders herself for the prompt execution of her resolutions. For she both spoke and wrote perfectly well in Latin and Greek. But she gave the honour of every thing to her brother; and she had him instructed in a manner suitable to his rank. He learnt from the best masters the exercises of riding, of the use of arms, and other similar accomplishments. She herself taught him to appear in public with gravity and dignity; to regulate his walk and his countenance; to put proper questions; to appear gentle or terrible, as the occasion demanded.

She was not less careful to inspire him with piety, accustoming him to pray often, to frequent the churches, and adorn them with valuable presents; to honour Bishops, and true Monks, and other virtuous persons; and to be upon his guard against novelties in religion. He completed the destruction of the idol temples, and the abolition of idolatry⁶.

A. D. 421.

[¹ V. Supr. 22. 4. not. e.]

XXX. Education of Theodosius the Younger.

² Socr. 7. 18. Theod.Hist. 5. 37. ³ Soz. 9. 1.[⁴ or 23. V. Supr. 22. 18.

marg.]

⁵ Chr. Marcel. p. 278.⁶ Theod. Hist. 5. 37.

¹ Socr. 7. 22. The palace was regulated like a monastery¹. The young Emperor rose very early to sing with his two sisters, alternately², the praises of God. He knew the Holy Scripture by heart, and conversed sensibly on it with the Bishops. He had a library of the sacred books, and of all the interpreters of them. He fasted often, and especially on Wednesdays and Fridays; patiently bore heat and cold, and had nothing of the delicacy of a Prince born in the purple; among other things, his patience and sweetness of temper are commended. He granted to Asclepiades, Bishop of the Chersonese³, the pardon of several criminals who were imprisoned for having taught the barbarians the art of ship-building⁴. If any criminal had been condemned to death, he used to grant him his pardon, even before he went out of the gates of the city: for the executions took place without the city. And when asked the reason of his clemency, he answered, "It is very easy to put a man to death, but God only can recall him to life." He made a law⁵ to restrain even the Jews and pagans from the spectacles of the theatre and circus through all the cities of the Empire, on Sunday, Christmas-day, the Epiphany, Easter-day, and during the Quinquagesima, that is to say, from Easter to Whitsuntide, and on the feasts of the Apostles^h; even though they should fall on those days which were celebrated in honour of himself; as, for instance, on his birthday. This law is of the first of February, 425.

He renewed the laws of his predecessors against heretics, including the Novatians by name among them; and that by three laws, all issued in the year 423⁶. The same year he made three other laws in favour of the Jews, to repress the indiscreet zeal of the Christians⁷. He forbade their synagogues to be taken from them, or despoiled of their ornaments; but he also prohibited them from building new ones; and confirmed the prohibition against circumcising Christians, or having them as slaves⁸. He forbade the Christians

[³ in Thrace. Gothof.]

⁴ Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 40. de pœn. 24.

⁵ Cod. Th. 15. Tit. 5. de Spect. 5.

⁶ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 59. 60, 61.

⁷ Ibid. Tit. 8. de Jud. 26. 27.

⁸ Ibid. Tit. 9. Ne Christ. manc. 4.

^h The words which Fleury appears to be here translating — "Quinquagesimæ diebus, quo tempore et commemoratio Apostolicæ Passionis, totius Christianitatis magistræ, a cunctis jure celebratur"—are under-

stood by Godefroy, not as intimating the *Festivals* of the Apostles, but as alluding to the custom of reading the *Acts* of the Apostles in the season between Easter and Whitsuntide. See Bingham. 20. 6. § 1. and 14. 3. § 3.

to abuse the authority of religion to the commission of any violence against the pagans, as well as against the Jews, so long as they remained quiet; or to take any thing from them, under penalty of a fourfold restitution¹. To conclude, he confirmed the constitutions against the heathens, reducing, however, the penalty of death against those who sacrificed to idols, to banishment, with confiscation of goods². These three laws are of the same year, 423.

It is to this zeal for religion, and to the other virtues of Theodosius the Younger, that the historians of the age, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, ascribe his prosperity and his victories³. However, they seem to have yielded a little to the inclination so common among writers, to praise the reigning prince, and conceal his faults; for the sequel will shew us that Theodosius was weak, ruled by others, and easily prejudiced. Theodoret himself relates an action of his, which rather indicates a frivolous scrupulosity than a sound religious spirit⁴; an over-bold Monk sued to him for a favour, and when it was refused him more than once, he excommunicated the Emperor, and withdrew. The Emperor returned to the palace, and when the hour of repast arrived, and the company were assembled, he declared that he would eat nothing till he was absolved from this excommunication, and accordingly sent to the Bishop and besought him to order this Monk to absolve him. The Bishop sent him word that he was not bound to regard the excommunication of any chance person, and that he himself pronounced him absolved from this; but the Emperor was not satisfied till the Monk had been found, after a long search, and had readmitted him into communion with him.

Theodosius was twenty years old when he married Athenais, the daughter of an Athenian philosopher named Leontius, or Heraclitus⁵. He made this choice by the advice of Pulcheria, his sister, from the consideration of her beauty and her wit: for her father had given her an excellent education, but had disinherited her; and she had come to Constantinople to get the will set aside, and complain against her two brothers, who insisted upon its validity. She was a pagan; but before she was married to the Emperor, she was baptized by the Bishop Atticus, who changed her heathen

¹ Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 10.
de pag. 24.

² Ibid. l. 23.

³ Theod.
Hist. 5. 36.

⁴ Ibid. 37.

A. D. 421.

⁵ Chr.
Pasch.
an. 420, &c.
p. 310.
Socr. 7. 21.
Chr. Mar-
cel. p. 281.

A. D. 421. name into that of Eudoxia; for Athenais was derived from Athene, which in Greek signifies Minerva. The Emperor espoused her in the month of Desius, on the seventh of the ides of June, under the Consulate of Eustathius and Agricola, that is, on the seventh of June, A. D. 421: and two years after, on the second of January, 423, he caused her to be declared Augusta. So far was she from entertaining any resentment against her brothers, that she raised them to high employments, as the persons who had been the occasion of her elevation.

XXXI.
Jurisdiction of the
Pope in
Illyricum.
A. D. 419.

The Emperor Theodosius, a little after his marriage, published a decree against the authority of the Pope in Illyricum, the occasion of which was as follows. Perigenes, who had been born and baptized at Corinth, having successively gone through all the clerical orders, was ordained Priest, and lived a long time in this condition with the utmost integrity. The see of Patræ fell vacant, and the Bishop of Corinth ordained Perigenes Bishop; but the people refused to receive him, and he returned to Corinth. A short time after the Bishop of Corinth died, and the Corinthians demanded Perigenes for their Bishop, by a petition which they sent to Pope Boniface. The Pope was unwilling to decide in the matter till he had received the letters of Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, who exercised the authority of the Holy See over Achaia and Macedonia. For all Illyricum had originally made part of the Western empire; and the division into Eastern and Western Illyricum, which had taken place under Arcadius, had caused no alteration in the ecclesiastical government¹. The Pope had always exercised authority over all Illyricum, and he had devolved it on the Bishop of Thessalonica, as appears by the letters of Damasus, Siricius, and Innocent. Pope Boniface therefore wrote to Rufus, sending him the petition of the Corinthians, and testifying his own approbation of the election of Perigenes². Rufus published the contents of the Pope's letter, and most of the Bishops assented to it, but some opposed it; however, the Pope would resolve upon nothing till he had received advice from Rufus, and did not even write to Perigenes himself³. His second letter to Rufus is dated the nineteenth of September, A. D. 419. At last, the Pope having received an answer

¹ V. Thomass. Discip. Pars 1. lib. 1. c. 18. § 6. Supr. 18. 22. [and not. x.]
² Collect. Holstein. Conc. Rom. 3. ap. Concil. iv. p. 1702. (viii. p. 752.)
³ p. 1703. (p. 753.)

from Rufus in accordance with his intentions, confirmed the election¹; and Perigenes, by his order, was placed in the metropolitan see of Corinth, which he preserved till his death².

The Bishops, who had opposed this election, and who unwillingly endured the authority of the Pope in any part of the Eastern Empire, obtained from the Emperor Theodosius a decree, dated the fourteenth of July, 421³; in which, under the plea of observing the ancient canons, he ordains, that if any difficulty shall arise in Illyricum, it shall be referred to the assembly of Bishops, not without the intervention of the Bishop of Constantinople, who enjoys the prerogative of ancient Rome. Thus the Emperor claimed the power of transferring to the Bishop of Constantinople that superintendence over the Bishops of Illyricum which was then possessed by the Bishop of Thessalonica, as the delegate of the Holy See.

Pope Boniface having received notice of this innovation, and also that the Bishop of Constantinople had summoned a Council to meet at Corinth to inquire into the ordination of Perigenes, wrote three letters⁴; the first to Rufus of Thessalonica, whom he orders not to yield to those who wish to intrude, and acquire to themselves a dignity to which they have no claim; meaning the Bishop of Constantinople. He particularly orders Rufus to take cognizance of the affair of Perebius, Bishop of Pharsalia, who had applied for the assistance of the Holy See. The second letter is addressed to the Bishops of Thessaly⁵, and its object is to exhort them always to acknowledge Rufus for their head. In this letter he excommunicates Pausianus, Cyriacus, and Calliopus, reserving however to Rufus the power of interceding in their favour; but he unreservedly deposes Maximus from the Episcopate, in consequence of an irregularity in his ordination.

The third letter is addressed to the Bishops of Macedonia, Achaia, Thessaly, Epirus, Prævalis, and Dacia⁶, that is, to the Council that was to assemble at Corinth, to hear the cause of Perigenes, notwithstanding it had been before decided by the Holy See. The Pope complains in the strongest terms of this intention, and says, "What Bishop, after this, could give orders for the meeting of such an assembly?"

A. D. 419.

¹ Ep. ad
Episc.
Maced.
ibid. p.
1707.

(p. 756.)
² Socr. 7. 36.
A. D. 421.

³ Cod. Th.
16. Tit. 2.
de Episc.
45.
Cod. Just. 1.
Tit. 2.
de Sacr.
Eccles. 6.

A. D. 422.

⁴ Concil. iv.
p. 1704.
(viii. p. 754.)

⁵ p. 1705.
(p. 755.)

⁶ p. 1706.
(p. 756.)
V. Baudr.

A. D. 422. "If you read the canons," he continues, "you will there find which is the second see after the Church of Rome, and which the third; these great Churches of Alexandria and Antioch maintain their dignity by virtue of the canons, with which they are well acquainted. They have had recourse to the Church of Rome in matters of more than common importance, as in the case of Athanasius, and that of Flavian of Antioch. For which reason I forbid you to meet together to call in question the ordination of Perigenes. But if he be accused of having committed any crime since he was established in his see by our authority, our brother Rufus, together with such others as he shall choose to assist him, will take cognizance of it, and report the whole to us." He again recommends them to obey Rufus in all things, and threatens all who may persist in this attempt, with separation from the communion of the Holy See. These three letters are all of the same date, the fifth of the ides of March, under the thirteenth Consulate of Honorius, and the tenth of Theodosius, that is, the eleventh of March, 422. Severus, Notary of the Holy See, was the bearer of them.

Pope Boniface also sent a deputation to the Emperor Honorius, to entreat him to maintain the ancient privileges of the Church of Rome; and Honorius wrote on this subject to Theodosius, who complied with his desire¹. His answer to Honorius imports², that without regarding what the Bishops of Illyricum may have insidiously obtained, the ancient privileges of the Church of Rome shall be observed according to the canons, and that he has given orders to the Prætorian Præfects to see them put in execution. This ordinance of Theodosius is preserved in the archives of the Church of Rome, but not in the codes, that were since compiled by order of Theodosius, or even of Justinian; which, on the contrary, have retained the decree annulled by this latter ordinance, as being advantageous to the city of Constantinople, where these codes were compiled. We see by the whole conduct of Boniface in this affair, how vigorously the Popes even in that age opposed the encroachments of the Bishops of Constantinople, the consequences of which they foresaw. But Boniface, in opposing this decree, attacks none expressly

¹ p. 1709.
(p. 759.)
² p. 1710.
(p. 759.)

but the Bishops of Illyricum, without naming the Bishop of Constantinople, or complaining of the Emperor of the East. A. D. 422.

The same year Boniface repressed an encroachment of Patroclus of Arles in Gaul; who had ordained at Luteva, a place without the limits of his jurisdiction, a person whom neither the clergy nor the people of the city desired for their Bishop¹. They complained of it to the Pope; and he wrote to Hilary, Bishop of Narbonne, the Metropolitan of the province, and sent him at the same time the petition of the clergy and people of Luteva, with orders to go to the spot, and there ordain a Bishop according to their desire, as well in virtue of his own right as Metropolitan, as by the authority of the Holy See. All this was supported by the sixth canon of Nicæa, which preserves the rights of the Metropolitans in every province. This letter is dated the ninth of February, A. D. 422.

A little after this, in the same year, 422, Pope Boniface died, after having held the Holy See for three years and eight months². He forbade any woman or nun³ to touch or wash the sacred Palla, or Altar-cloth, which office he confined exclusively to the ministers of the Church. And also that no slave, or person liable to serve in municipal offices, or any other kind of employment, should be ordained Clerk. He held an ordination at Rome in the month of December, at which he ordained thirteen Priests, three Deacons, and thirty-six Bishops for several places. He built an oratory in the cemetery of St. Felicitas, and adorned her monument, and that of St. Silvanus; where he set a patten⁴ of twenty pounds weight; a vase⁵ weighing thirteen pounds; two small chalices⁶, of four pounds weight; and three crowns or circles for lamps, of fifteen pounds, which amount to eighty-four silver marks⁷; for each of these pounds contains twelve ounces. He was buried in the same place, near the body of St. Felicitas, on the eighth of the calends of November, that is, on the twenty-fifth of October; and the Holy See remained vacant for nine days. An ancient epitaph informs us that Pope Boniface died at an advanced age⁸; that he had served the Holy See from his earliest years; that he healed the schism by his gentleness and clemency, and that he relieved the city of Rome during an unfruitful year. Some Clerks and Priests

¹ Bonif.
Ep. 3. al. 12.
Concil. ii.
p. 1585.
(iv. p. 395.)

XXXII.
Death of
Boniface:
Cælestine
Pope.

² V. Præf.
in Ep. Aug.
209.

Socr. 7. 11.
Chr. Prosp.
p. 650.
Chr. Mar-
cell. p. 280.
Supr. 7.
Lib. Pontif.
ap. Conc. ii.
p. 1580.

(iv. p. 387.)
[³Monacha]
[⁴patenam]

[⁵scy-
phum]
[⁶chalices]

[⁷ 39 lbs.
avoirdu-
poids]

⁸Ap. Baron.
an. 423.
§ 3.

A. D. 422. wished to recall Eulalius, who had disputed the Pontificate with him; but he refused to return to Rome, and continued in his retirement in Campania, where he died at the end of the year. Nine days after the death of Boniface, that is, the third of November, Cælestine was unanimously elected¹. He was a Roman by birth, a son of Priscus, and he possessed the Holy See for nine years and ten months. He is reckoned the forty-first Pope.

¹Chr. Prosp. p. 651.
Chr. Marcell. p. 281.
Aug. Ep. 209. al. 261.
ad Cæst. § 1.

XXXIII.
Death of Honorius:
Valentinian III.,
Emperor.
A. D. 423.

²Socr. 7. 22.
Olymp. ap. Phot. cod. 80.
Chr. Prosp. p. 651.
Philost. 12. 13.

A. D. 425.

The year following, A. D. 423, the Emperor Honorius died of a dropsy, under the Consulate of Marianus and Asclepiodotus, on the eighteenth of the calends of September, that is, the fifteenth of August; after having reigned twenty-eight years from the death of Theodosius his father, and lived thirty-nine in all². A year before, he had banished Placidia his sister from Ravenna, where he held his court; and she had fled for refuge to Constantinople with her children. Before the news of Honorius' death arrived there, John, Primicerius of the Notaries, or chief Secretary, procured himself to be acknowledged at Ravenna, where he reigned a year and a half, supported by Castinus, the Magister Militum. He endeavoured also to get himself acknowledged in Africa, but was opposed by Count Boniface, who with great fidelity supported the party of the Princess Placidia and her children. They were also assisted by the Emperor Theodosius, who caused the young Valentinian, son to Placidia and Constantius, to be declared Cæsar. Theodosius sent a body of troops into Italy; John was defeated and killed in July, 425; and Valentinian the Third, who was not yet seven years old, was acknowledged Emperor of the West, on the tenth of the calends of November, under his own first Consulate, and the eleventh of Theodosius, that is, on the twenty-third of October of the same year, 425³.

[³ Socr. 7. 25.
V. Vales. ibi.]

⁴ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. 46. et Tit. 5. de hæc. 63.
⁵ Tit. 2. de Episc. 47.

In this year several laws were published in his name, in favour of the Church. The first⁴, dated the sixth of July, and addressed to George, Proconsul of Africa, confirms the privileges of the Church, and the penalties against heretics. The second, directed to Bassus⁵, restores the privileges of all the Churches, which had been annulled by the tyrant, that is to say, by John; and particularly the right of the clergy not to be prosecuted before the secular judges, but to be

judged by the Bishops. By the same law it is enacted that all heretics and schismatics shall be banished from the cities¹. Another law, of the seventeenth of July of the same year², enacts the same thing for Rome in particular, against those who withdraw themselves and seduce the people from the communion of the Pope. This was the remainder of the schism of Eulalius, which revived again after the death of Pope Boniface.

In the beginning of St. Cælestine's Pontificate, St. Augustine wrote to him concerning Anthony of Fussala, who had appealed to the Holy See³. Fussala was a small town, situated at the extremity of the diocese of Hippo, in a district which contained very few Catholics: so few indeed that there was not even one in the town itself; and the rest of the country, though thickly inhabited, was full of Donatists. All these parts were reunited to the Church, though not without great toil and danger: insomuch that the Priests whom St. Augustine first sent there, were stripped, beaten, maimed, blinded, or murdered. The town was forty miles, that is, above thirteen leagues, distant from Hippo; and St. Augustine found the distance too great for him to bestow on it the attention necessary for the government of these new Catholics, and the conversion of the few remaining Donatists. He therefore resolved to establish a Bishop there, though there had not been one hitherto⁴; and accordingly⁴ § 3. sought for a proper person, who understood the Punic language, and found a Priest, whom he appointed to undertake that office. He then wrote to the Primate of Numidia, to desire him to come and ordain him; but when all was in readiness, the Priest on whom St. Augustine had depended, suddenly failed him, and could never be induced to allow himself to be ordained Bishop.

St. Augustine could not make up his mind to defer the ordination, and to send back the Primate without doing any thing; for he was a venerable old man, and had come with much exertion from a great distance. He therefore presented for Bishop of Fussala a young man, named Anthony, whom he had brought up from childhood in his monastery; but who had no higher office than that of Reader, and was not yet sufficiently tried in the ministry of the Church. However,

A. D. 425.

¹ Tit. 5. de

hæc. 64.

² Ibid. l. 62.

XXXIV.

Affair of

Anthony of

Fussala.

A. D. 423.

³ Ep. 209.

al. 161. § 2.

A. D. 423. the people of Fussala received him with entire submission, and he was ordained Bishop. But he conducted himself very ill¹, and the scandal became so great, that his flock accused him before St. Augustine and a Council of Bishops, of exercising an insupportable tyranny, of extortion, and of various acts of oppression. There were even certain strangers who accused him of unchastity; but they were not able to prove it; and the Bishops did not find him so criminal as to deserve deposition from the Episcopate. They condemned him² first to make restitution of all that he could be proved to have taken, and to be deprived of communion till he had made this restitution; and secondly, to leave this people, who could bear with him no longer, and might even break out into some act of violence; so that he still remained a Bishop, but without a Church. Anthony submitted to the sentence³, and even laid down in money the value of what he had taken, according to the estimate that was made of it, that he might be restored to communion.

Nevertheless, he afterwards appealed to the Holy See, and presented a petition to Pope Boniface⁴, wherein he disguised the fact, and prayed to be restored to his Church; maintaining, that he ought either not to have been deprived of it, or else to have been deposed from the Episcopate⁵. He even got the Primate of Numidia, whom he had persuaded to believe him innocent, to write to the Pope in his favour⁶. Pope Boniface wrote word for his restoration, but with this condition: "If he had faithfully described the state of the case." Anthony insisted strongly on this decision of the Holy See, and threatened to have it executed by the secular power, and by force of arms. St. Augustine beseeches Pope Cælestine to prevent this, and sends him at the same time all the acts of the proceedings, that he might have a thorough knowledge of the affair.

He accuses himself of imprudence for having caused this young man to be ordained before he had sufficiently proved him. But he supports the decision of his Council, and maintains that although a Bishop may not have merited deposition, he still ought not to remain unpunished⁷. He quotes some instances to this effect in Africa itself⁸. Priscus had been disabled from ever becoming Primate, though still remaining

Bishop. Victor had been subject to the same penalty, and, A. D. 423. moreover, no Bishop communicated with him except in his own diocese. Lawrence was deprived of his see without ceasing to be a Bishop, and his case was exactly the same as Anthony's; and these sentences had been confirmed by the Holy See. St. Augustine concludes with beseeching the Pope to have compassion on the people of Fussala, by not sending back to them a Bishop so much disliked; to have compassion on Anthony, by not allowing him the opportunity of doing any more evil; and finally, to have compassion on himself, and on his old age: (he was then at least sixty-eight years old:) "For," he adds, "the danger in which I see both parties involved, casts me into so deep a melancholy, that I think of abandoning the Episcopate, and spending the remainder of my life in bewailing my error." There is no doubt but that matters were ordered to his satisfaction, and that Anthony was not restored to his see; for we find that St. Augustine still governed the Church of Fussala not long before his death ¹.

This letter of St. Augustine was written at the time when the African Bishops were still deferring to the appeals to Rome, till they should be better informed of the canons of Nicæa, according to the tenor of the letter of the Council, in 419, to Pope Boniface. It is true, indeed, that they received the correct copies of the Nicene canons in his time, and sent them to him on the twenty-sixth of November of the same year, 419²; but the Bishops of Africa declared ² Supr. 11. that they would no longer allow any appeals to be made beyond sea, by a synodical letter addressed to Pope Cælestine, which must have been written some time after this of St. Augustine, since they do not like him compliment the Pope on his accession to the Pontificate. And, indeed, the war which broke out immediately after the death of Honorius, prevented free intercourse between Africa and Rome. But on the restoration of peace, and apparently in 426, the Bishops of Africa received by the hands of the Priest Leo, a letter from the Pope St. Cælestine³, in favour of the Priest Apiarius ³ Ep. Conc. Afric. ap. Cod. Can. Afr. 138. Concil. Afr. 105. whom he had restored to communion, and sent back to Africa, together with Faustinus the Bishop, who had been there before as legate from Pope Zosimus. At his arrival

¹ Ep. 224. ad Quodvult.

XXXV. Conclusion of the affair of Apiarius. A. D. 426.

A. D. 426. the Bishops of Africa assembled a Council, in which Aurelius of Carthage, and Valentine, Primate of Numidia, presided. Thirteen more are named, but the name of St. Augustine does not appear among them. This Council having examined the affair of Apiarius, found him charged with so many crimes, that it was impossible for Faustinus to defend him, though he acted the part rather of an advocate than of a judge, and violated all right in the opposition he maintained against the whole Council, under pretence of supporting the privileges of the Church of Rome. For he wanted Apiarius to be received to the communion of the Bishops of Africa, because the Pope had restored him to it, believing that he had appealed, though he could not prove even the fact of his appeal. After a debate of three days, Apiarius, at last stung with remorse, and moved by God, confessed on a sudden all the crimes of which he had been accused, which were so infamous and incredible as to draw groans from the whole Council; after which he was for ever deprived of all ecclesiastical ministration.

The Bishops wrote a synodical letter to Pope Cælestine, in which they conjure him for the future not to receive to his communion those who have been excommunicated by them; since this was a point ruled by the Nicene Council. "For," they added, "if this be forbidden with respect to the minor clergy or laymen, how much more did the Council intend its observance in respect to Bishops? Those, therefore, who are interdicted from communion in their own provinces, ought not to be restored by your holiness too hastily, and in opposition to the rules: and you ought to reject the Priests and other clergy who are so rash as to have recourse to you. For no ordinance of our fathers has deprived the Church of Africa of this authority, and the decrees of the Nicene Council have subjected the Bishops themselves to their respective Metropolitans.

"They have ordained, with great wisdom and justice, that all matters shall be terminated in the places where they arise; and did not think that the grace of the HOLY GHOST would be wanting in any province to bestow on its Bishops the knowledge and strength necessary for their decisions: especially, since whoever thinks himself wronged,

“ may appeal to the Council of his province, or even to a A. D. 426.
 “ general Council, unless it be imagined that God can
 “ inspire a single individual with justice, and refuse it to an
 “ innumerable multitude of assembled Bishops. And how
 “ shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea,
 “ since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary
 “ witnesses, whether from the weakness of sex, or of advanced
 “ age, or any other impediment? For, that your holiness
 “ should send any one on your part, we can find ordained by
 “ no Council.

“ With regard to what you have sent us by our brother
 “ Faustinus, as being contained in the Nicene Council, we
 “ find nothing of the kind in the more authentic copies of
 “ that Council, which we have received from our brother the
 “ Bishop of Alexandria, and the venerable Atticus of Con-
 “ stantinople, and which we formerly sent to Boniface your
 “ predecessor of happy memory. For the rest, whoever de-
 “ sires you to delegate any of your clergy to execute your
 “ orders, we beseech you not to comply, lest it seem that we
 “ are introducing the pride of secular dominion into the
 “ Church of CHRIST, which ought to exhibit to all men
 “ an example of simplicity and humility. For as to our
 “ brother Faustinus, since the wretched Apiarius is cut off
 “ from the Church, we depend confidently on your goodness,
 “ that without violating brotherly charity, Africa shall be no
 “ longer forced to endure him.” Such is the letter of the
 Council of Africa to Pope St. Cælestine.

About this time two great miracles were wrought at Hippo, XXXVI.
 in the presence of St. Augustine, in the persons of a brother Healing of
 and sister named Paul and Palladia, natives of Cæsarea in Paul at
 Cappadocia, who were afflicted with an excessive trembling in Hippo.
 all their limbs¹. After long wanderings, which had spread A. D. 425.
 the report of their misery in various places, they came at last
 to Hippo, about fifteen days before Easter, and, as is sup-
 posed, in the year 425. They daily visited the church, and
 the place where St. Stephen’s reliques had been deposited,
 which had been brought there about a year before. These
 two unhappy creatures drew the eyes of all upon them wher-
 ever they went; and those who had seen them in other
 places, and knew the cause of their tremors, related it to

¹ Aug. viii.
 Civ. Dei 22.
 c. 8. § 22.

A. D. 425. others. On the morning of Easter Sunday, a considerable number of people being already assembled in the church, Paul was praying before the place where the reliques were deposited, and holding the rails which surrounded it, when on a sudden he lay down on the ground, and so remained, as if asleep, but without trembling as he had been used to do, even in his sleep. The spectators were astonished; some were seized with fear, others with sorrow; some wished to raise him, but others prevented them, and said that they ought rather to stay and see the event. Paul rose up, returning the gaze of those who were looking at him, no longer trembling, and perfectly healed; upon which the whole congregation began to praise God, and filled the church with shouts of joy. They ran to the place where St. Augustine was sitting ready to proceed to the service¹. They came one after another with eagerness to tell him what had happened, each one thinking he brought the first news of it. As he was rejoicing, and returning thanks to God in secret, Paul himself came in, with several others, and threw himself at St. Augustine's feet, who raised him up and embraced him. He then proceeded to the people. The church was thronged, and echoed from side to side with the acclamations of the whole congregation, crying, "Thanks to God; praise to God!" St. Augustine saluted the people, and the shouting recommenced with more ardour than before².

[¹ proces-
surus]

[² V. Supr.
23. 25.
not. i.]

³ Aug. v.
Serm. 320.
al. de Div.
29.

When silence was at last obtained, the Scriptures were read as usual, and the time for the sermon being come, St. Augustine said³; "We have been used to hear books read, containing the miracles which God had performed through the prayers of the blessed Martyr St. Stephen. The presence of this young man supplies the place of a book: we need no other writing than his face, which you all know. You who know what you used to behold in him with grief, read what you now behold in him with joy, that God may be more abundantly honoured, and that what is written in this book may abide in your memory. Excuse me that I do not speak to you more at length; you well know how much I am fatigued. I should not yesterday have had strength enough to do so much, fasting, and to speak to you to-day, had it not been for St. Stephen's

“ prayers.” St. Augustine said no more upon this subject; choosing rather, as he said, to let them taste the eloquence of God Himself, which explained itself by the miracle. To understand what he means by his fatigue, we must remember that he was seventy years of age; and that it was usual to fast the whole of the Holy Saturday, and that the greatest part of the night was spent in blessing the fonts, and in the solemn Baptism¹. He invited Paul, who had been healed, to dine with him, and inquired particularly about his history, which Paul related as follows²:

[¹ V. Supr. 21. 35. not. d.]

[² Libell. Pauli ap. Aug. post Serm. 322.]

“ I was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, being one of a large family. We are ten children in all, seven sons and three daughters; of these I am the sixth, and my sister Palladia comes next to me. While we still lived at home, our eldest brother was guilty of ill treatment towards our mother, even so far as to raise his hand against her. Though we were all present, we did not once offer to interpose, nor even so much as ask him why he did thus. Our mother being exceedingly exasperated, resolved to inflict on him her malediction, and for that purpose set out to go to the Baptistery very early in the morning. As she was going thither, she met I know not whom under the figure of our uncle, her brother-in-law, (though it seems to have been an evil spirit,) who asked her whither she was going. She answered that she was going to curse her son for the insupportable ill treatment she had received from him. He advised her to curse all her children, and she consented. Accordingly, when she came to the Baptistery, she prostrated herself, laid her hands on the sacred fonts, and with her hair dishevelled, and her bosom uncovered, besought God that we might all be banished from our country, and become vagabonds up and down the earth, so that all mankind might be terrified at our example.

“ Immediately our eldest brother was seized with a trembling, such as you have lately seen in me. We were all successively seized with the same evil in the course of the year, according to the order of our birth. Our mother, seeing that her curses had been so effectual, could no longer endure the stings of her conscience, and the reproaches of men; she hanged herself, and thus put an end

A. D. 425. "to her miserable life. We all went forth from Cæsarea, "unable to endure our shame, abandoned our native country, "and dispersed ourselves up and down in different places. "We have been informed that our second brother has re-
 [1 Me-
 moria] "covered his health at Ravenna, at the chapel¹ of the "glorious Martyr St. Lawrence, which has lately been "erected there.

"As for myself, wherever I heard that there were holy "places where God wrought miracles, I went to them with "an earnest desire to be healed, and my sister accompanied "me. I have been at Ancona in Italy, and at Uzalis in "Africa, knowing that St. Stephen wrought great miracles "in both those cities. At last my sister and I were ad- "monished three months ago by the following vision. A "person of bright appearance, and whose white hair ren- "dered his aspect venerable, told me that I should be cured "in three months: and your holiness" (he was speaking to St. Augustine) "appeared to my sister in the same "form in which we now behold you; and by this we "understood that we were to come to this place; for I have "frequently seen you since that time, in other cities on "our road, exactly as we now see you. Being therefore "admonished by so clear an order from God, we came into "this city about a fortnight ago. You have seen my afflic- "tion, and you still see it in the person of my sister. I daily "offered up my prayers with many tears in the place where "the reliques of St. Stephen are deposited. This morning, "as I was holding the rails and weeping, I suddenly fell "down, I lost my senses, and knew not where I was. A "little after I got up, perfectly healed, as was plainly seen "by those who were present."

XXXVII.
 Healing of
 Palladia.

From this relation St. Augustine caused a writing to be drawn up, in order to have it read in the church, and on Easter Monday, after the sermon was ended, he promised it to the people, saying², "It shall be prepared to-day, and³ shall be read to you to-morrow." On the Tuesday³ he caused the brother and sister to stand upon the steps of the raised seat⁴ from which he preached, that the whole congre-

[⁴ exedra]

¹ Bingham (8. 5. § 4.) considers this to mean the *Ambo* or reading-desk; (as well as the *Apsis* mentioned below) while Du Cange explains it by the

gation might see them both together, the brother without any unnatural trembling, and the sister trembling in every limb; which excited the people to return thanks to God for the one, and to pray for the other. They continued standing in this manner while the writing was read over, which was written in the name of Paul, and addressed to St. Augustine, and contained all that he had before related. This being read over, St. Augustine caused them to withdraw, and began to speak to the people¹. The first subject he discoursed upon was the respect which children owe their parents, and the moderation that parents ought to preserve on their side. He afterwards admonishes them to return thanks to God for having permitted this miracle to be wrought among them. He speaks of the chapel of St. Stephen, which there was at Ancona even before his body was discovered in Palestine²; "And listen," he added,³ "to what we have heard about this. During the stoning of St. Stephen, a stone which had struck him on the elbow rebounded on a believer who was present; he took it up and kept it. This man was a sailor, whom chance, at last, brought to Ancona, and he knew, by revelation, that he was to leave this stone there. A chapel was erected there to St. Stephen, and a report was spread that one of his elbows was there. It was afterwards understood that the sailor had been inspired to leave this stone in that place, because Ancon signifies the elbow in Greek. But no miracles were wrought there till after the body of St. Stephen had been discovered."

St. Augustine afterwards spoke of the miracles that were performed at Uzalis, and was beginning to relate that of the woman whose child had been raised from the dead, in order to be baptized³, when he was interrupted by the people, who began to cry aloud in the chapel of St. Stephen, "Thanks to God, praise to CHRIST!" and in the midst of these cries, they brought with them the young woman, who

Bishop's throne in the chancel (*Bema*), or the chancel itself. The latter seems the more probable explanation, as the Bishop generally preached sitting on his throne, after the practice of the Jewish Synagogue (cf. Matth. 23. 2,

26. #55: Luke 4. 20: Acts 13. 16), while in the African and several other Churches, the people listened to him standing. The practice in this respect was not, however, invariable. Bingham. 14. 4. § 24, 25.

A. D. 425.

¹ Serm. 323.

² c. 2. § 2.

³ Supr. 4.

A. D. 425. was healed. For, when she came down from the steps, she went to pray before the Memory of St. Stephen while St. Augustine was preaching. No sooner had she touched the rails than she fell down in the same manner as her brother had done, seemed to fall asleep, and rose up healed. The people who were listening to the sermon, hearing a noise, ran to meet her; and while St. Augustine was asking the meaning of these shouts of joy, they brought Palladia into the church, led her up to the Apsis or chancel, and placed her on the same spot where she and her brother had before stood. The people were so overjoyed to see her healed, as well as her brother, that it seemed as if their shouts would never cease, and they were so loud that the ear could scarce endure them; at last St. Augustine, having prevailed upon the people to be a little silent, concluded his sermon by a few words of thanksgiving; and the day after, which was Wednesday, he finished the history of the miracle that had been wrought at Uzalis. All the sermons which St. Augustine preached upon this occasion are still extant, including that which was interrupted by the miracle. About a year after this, when he was finishing his great work of the City of God, he inserted in it this story of the healing of Paul and Palladia. He there mentions also several other miracles that had been wrought at Hippo during two years¹, and says that nearly seventy accounts of miracles had been already written, though there were many of which no history had been given.

¹ Civ. Dei
22. c. 8. § 20.

XXXVIII.
Domestic
life of St.
Augustine.
² Possid.
Vit. Aug.
c. 19.

St. Augustine was much occupied in deciding differences between Christians and people of all religions, who made choice of him for umpire². But he chose rather to judge between persons unknown to him than between his friends, saying that out of two unknown persons he might gain one friend, while out of two friends he lost one. In this business he was often occupied till the time of eating, and sometimes the whole day without breaking his fast; taking this opportunity to ascertain the dispositions of the parties, and inspire them with piety and sound morals. He sometimes gave letters of recommendation in secular matters; but he considered this office a vexatious labour, and sometimes refused to gratify his best friends in this particular³, that he might

³ c. 20.

husband his reputation, and not render himself dependent on those who were in authority. Whenever he did recommend any person, it was with so much modesty and circumspection, that so far from being troublesome to the great, he on the contrary gained their admiration. For it was not his custom to press them, as others did, to obtain what he asked at any price; but he gave reasons which could not be disputed.¹ He approved of the following maxims which he had learnt from St. Ambrose²; never to ask any person for another in marriage, nor to recommend any person to a military commission, for fear of being afterwards reproached for it; and, when in his own country, never to accept an invitation to dinner, that he might run no risk of exceeding the bounds of temperance. But he approved of the intervention of the Bishop in marriages, when the parties were actually engaged, to sanction their contract, or bestow on them his blessing.

His dress and furniture were plain and modest, without any affectation of either elegance or poverty³. He wore, like other men, linen next his skin, and his upper garments of woollen⁴; he wore shoes, and exhorted those who went barefoot for the stricter fulfilment of the gospel⁵, not to be vain upon that account⁶. "Let us preserve charity," said he; "I applaud your courage, do you bear with my weakness." He kept a very frugal table, which was seldom covered with any thing but herbs and pulse; flesh was sometimes added for his guests, or for the weak; but wine was never omitted. All the table utensils except the spoons, which were of silver, were either of earthenware, wood, or marble, not from the necessity of his circumstances, but from a love of poverty. On his table were written two verses forbidding evil speaking against the absent; a circumstance which shews that it was without a cloth, according to the usual custom of the ancients. When some Bishops, his friends, violated this rule, he reprimanded them with warmth, and said that either those verses on the table must be erased, or that he would rise in the midst of the repast and retire to his apartment. Reading was also customary at his table. His clergy always lived with him in the same house⁷, ate at the same table, and were fed and clothed at the common expense. He used to reprove them for their

¹ Maced. Ep. ap. Aug. 154. al. 51.
² Possid. c. 27.

³ c. 22.

⁴ Serm. 37. al. 45. de Div. c. 5.

⁵ Luke 10. 4.]

⁶ Serm. 101. al. 42. de Sanct. c. 6.

⁷ Possid. c. 25.

faults, and yet bear with them as much as was proper, exhorting them chiefly not to have recourse to weak excuses, nor to entertain animosity against each other, but to be reconciled, and exercise brotherly correction according to the rule of the gospel¹. No woman ever lived in, or visited his house², not even his sister, though she was a widow and had devoted herself to God, and governed a community of Nuns³ for many years, till her death; nor his cousins, or nieces, who were also Nuns; notwithstanding that the Councils had made an exception in favour of such persons. "For," said he, "although these persons would themselves be free "from all suspicion, yet they would necessarily introduce "other women to wait on them at home, or visit them from "abroad; and intercourse with these is not free from peril or "scandal." If any women wished to see him, he never admitted them but in the presence of some of his clerks, nor ever conversed with them alone and in private. He never visited the convents of Nuns except in cases of the greatest necessity⁴. If any sick persons desired him to come to them to pray over them, and lay his hands upon them, he immediately went; but with this exception, he visited none but afflicted persons, such as widows and orphans.

¹ Matth. 5.
23; 18. 15.
² Possid.
c. 26.
[³ ancillæ
Dei.]

⁴ c. 27.

XXXIX.
His beha-
viour in
temporal
matters.

⁵ Ibid. c. 23.

⁶ Ep. 38.
al. 149. ad
Profut. § 2.
[⁷ valen-
toribus]
⁸ Possid.
c. 24.

He was never forgetful of the poor, and used to relieve them from the same stock which maintained himself and his community, that is, from the revenues of the Church, or the oblations of the faithful⁵. He was very careful of hospitality, and held it as a maxim, that it is far better to receive a bad man, than to refuse a good man through either ignorance or excessive caution⁶. He used to entrust the most robust⁷ among his clergy in turns, with the care of the fabric of the church, and of his whole revenue⁸, never carrying any key about him, or wearing any ring upon his finger; that is to say, any of those rings to which signets were anciently attached, to seal up, on any occasion, whatever was required to be preserved. Those who had the management of his house, set down all the sums received and expended, and gave him an account of the whole at the year's end; and in many articles he rather trusted to the honesty of the steward than to his personal examination of the accounts; for he gave little heed to the temporalities of the Church; he was far more occupied

in the study and contemplation of spiritual things, to which he returned immediately as soon as he had given orders for other affairs. For this reason he never cared to raise new edifices, for fear they should distract and engage his mind; he did not, however, forbid others to build, provided they took care to avoid excess.

He never chose to buy any land, or house, either in the town or country; but if any thing of this kind was given to the Church as a donation, or legacy, he accepted it. He was better pleased when any thing fell to the Church by way of legacy than by inheritance, because of the secular business involved in the latter case, sometimes even attended with loss: and even in the case of legacies he would say "that we ought to receive them if offered, rather than exact their payment." He refused several inheritances, not because they would not be of service to the poor, but because he thought it more proper to leave them for the children or relatives of the deceased. One of the chief men of Hippo, who lived at Carthage, sent St. Augustine a deed of gift of a certain estate which he had made over to the church of Hippo, reserving to himself the revenues of it. St. Augustine received it willingly, and congratulated him on the care he had of his salvation. Some years after this, the donor sent his son to St. Augustine with a letter, in which he prayed him to return him the deed of gift, and at the same time sent a hundred pence of gold¹, that is, about eight hundred livres for the poor. St. Augustine returned the deed, and refused the money; and wrote a letter to the donor, reprimanding him severely for the dissimulation or injustice he had been guilty of, and exhorting him to repentance. Whenever the Church was in want of money, St. Augustine used to declare to his people the necessities of the poor; and sometimes to relieve them, or redeem captives, he would break to pieces and melt down the sacred vessels². He would sometimes admonish his flock that they were not sufficiently careful of the treasure of the Church, whence the Altar was maintained. Seeing that the independent property of the Church excited a feeling of jealousy against the clergy³, he declared to the people that he would rather depend on their voluntary contributions, than have the care of the management of these possessions; and

[¹ solidos:
about 92.]

[² V. Supr.
22. 4. not.
e.]

³ Possid.
c. 23.

that he was ready to give them all up, that both he himself, and the other servants of God, might live of the Altar, by serving at the Altar¹, as under the Old Testament; but the laymen never chose to accept these offers.

[¹ 1 Cor. 9. 13.]

XL.

First sermon on the Common Life.

² Serm. 355. al. 49. de Div. c. 2. § 3. A. D. 424. [V. Tillem. xiii. S. Aug. 318, and not. 82.]

A Priest named Januarius became a member of St. Augustine's community, pretending that he had distributed all his substance in good works²; but, in reality, he had reserved a sum of money, which he said was the property of his daughter; for he had a son and a daughter, still young, who were both in monasteries. He therefore said that he kept that money for his daughter that she might dispose of it when she came of age. Meanwhile, seeing his death approaching, he made a will, by which he disposed of this money, affirming with an oath that it was his own: he disinherited his son and daughter, and made the Church his heir. St. Augustine was deeply afflicted at the dissimulation of this Priest, and the scandal which might thence accrue to his community³; for which reason he one day desired his people to assemble in great numbers in the church on the morrow; and when the day arrived he began to remind them how he came to Hippo, how he had been ordained Priest and Bishop against his will⁴, and how he had formed a monastery of clergy in the episcopal lodgings, for the purpose of exercising hospitality with more propriety than could be done in an ordinary monastery. "This," said he, "is our way of life. No member of our society is allowed to have any property; if any one has any, he violates the rules. I have a good opinion of my brethren, and I do not inquire whether they act otherwise." He then relates the affair of the Priest Januarius, and declares that he does not wish the Church to accept his inheritance, because he disapproves of his conduct, and the more so, as he leaves a lawsuit to his children, each of whom will claim the money he has left: "But I hope," says St. Augustine, "to make up this difference with the assistance of some of the principal men among yourselves."

³ Serm. 356. al. 50. de Div. § 2.

⁴ Supr. 19. 38; 20. 12.

⁵ Serm. 355. al. 49. de Div. c. 3.

He then proceeds to justify his conduct in refusing this inheritance⁵. "It is difficult," he says, "to satisfy every body; some will blame me if I accept the inheritances of those who disinherit their children in anger; and others

“ again will censure me if I do not accept them. ‘ See,’ A. D. 425.
 “ they will say, ‘ why no one gives any thing to the Church
 “ ‘ of Hippo.’ I profess to you, that I receive all such
 “ oblations as are just and holy. If any one, being angry
 “ with his son, should disinherit him, would it not be my
 “ duty to reconcile them, if he were still living? But if he
 “ does as I have often recommended to you, and regards
 “ CHRIST as his second or his third son, I would accept it.”
 He gives a reason why he refused to accept of the inheritance
 of one Boniface¹, and says, on this occasion, that there is no¹ c. 4. § 5.
 treasury². “ For,” said he, “ it would ill become a Bishop [² entheca]
 “ to lay up money when we have so many more poor than
 “ we can satisfy.” Then he adds: “ Whoever wishes to
 “ disinherit his son, in order to bestow his wealth on the
 “ Church, let him look out for another, and not Augustine,
 “ to accept of it; or rather, if it please God, let him meet
 “ with no one who will do so. How much has this action of
 “ the holy Bishop Aurelius of Carthage been applauded! A
 “ certain man who neither had, nor expected any children,
 “ made over all his possessions to the Church, only reserving
 “ to himself their income. It came to pass that he had
 “ children, and the Bishop restored him all that he had be-
 “ stowed, though he himself little expected it. He might
 “ have refused to have restored it according to the laws of
 “ the world, but not according to the laws of God³.”

St. Augustine declares besides⁴, that he has told those who
 live in community with him, to dispose of whatever they
 might chance to have, and has allowed them till the Epiphany
 for doing this. “ I had taken a resolution,” added he, “ not
 “ to ordain any one who should refuse to live with me, and
 “ to deprive him of his orders if he quitted the community.
 “ But now, before God and before you all, I change my
 “ intention. Those who wish to have property of their own,
 “ those for whom God and His Church are not enough, may
 “ live where they will; I will not deprive them of their
 “ orders; I wish to have no hypocrites with me. It is a
 “ great evil to break a vow; but it is far worse to feign to
 “ observe it. I leave them to the judgment of God.”

After the Epiphany, he gave an account to his people of XLI.
Second sermon.
 all that had been done, according to the promise he had made

[³ jure fori,
non jure
poli]
⁴ § 6.

A. D. 425. them¹. He began by ordering one Lazarus, a Deacon, to read that passage in the Acts of the Apostles which describes the community in all things observed by the faithful at Jerusalem². St. Augustine was so fond of this passage, that after the Deacon had done reading, he took up the book and read it himself. "This," said he, "is what we propose to imitate." And afterwards³: "I bring you pleasing tidings. All my brethren and my clergy who dwell with me, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, have, upon trial⁴, been all found such as I desired them." He then takes notice in detail of each one of his clergy who was possessed of any property, and explains in what manner it had been disposed of, or what was the reason it was not yet disposed of, that all his flock might see that they had really reduced themselves to a community of goods, and a perfect poverty. Among those who were thus particularly noticed he names two Priests, Leporius⁵ and Barnabas⁶. This Leporius seems to be the same who came from Gaul, and abjured his errors, as will be hereafter related⁷. St. Augustine informs us that he was a stranger, of a good family; and that he had disposed of his substance before he came to Hippo. He likewise names five Deacons: Valens⁸; Faustinus⁹, who had left the military service of the world to lead a monastic life, and had been baptized at Hippo; Severus¹, who had lost his sight; Hipponensis², who had some slaves, and manumitted them that very day in the church; and lastly, Eraclius³, whose virtue St. Augustine commends. He had erected, at his own expense, the Memory of St. Stephen; for this was the name given to the place where his reliques were deposited. He had likewise purchased an estate for the Church by the advice of St. Augustine. That very day he manumitted some slaves he had still remaining, and who were already settled in a monastery. This is the same Eraclius whom St. Augustine ordained Priest some time after, and marked out for his successor⁴. Among the Subdeacons he named none but his nephew Patricius.

He exhorts his people to give nothing to the clergy, except what they gave to all in common⁵. "Let no one," said he, "give either cloak⁶ or tunic⁷ to any save to the common stock; for from this alone my wants also are supplied. I

¹ Serm. 356. al. 50. de Div.

² Acts 4. 31, &c.

³ Serm. 356. § 3.

⁴ § 4, 5, &c.

⁵ § 10.

⁶ § 15.

⁷ Infr. 49.

⁸ § 3.

⁹ § 4.

¹ § 5.

² § 6.

³ § 7.

⁴ Infr. 43.

⁵ § 13.

[⁶ byrrhus]
[⁷ tunica]

“ will not have you offer any thing for my particular use, A. D. 425.
 “ under pretence of its being decent and suitable; as, for
 “ instance, a costly cloak; which may, perhaps, become a
 “ Bishop, but not Augustine, who is a poor man, born of
 “ poor parents. I ought to wear a garment such as I may
 “ give my brother if he has none, such as may be worn by a
 “ Priest, a Deacon, or a Subdeacon. If a better is given
 “ me, I sell it to give to the poor.” It is manifest from this
 place, that the clergy, and even the Bishops, had not as yet
 any particular dress. For the Byrrhus mentioned in this
 place, was common to the laymen as well ¹.

¹ V. Du
Cange.

St. Augustine then declares that having found his whole
 clergy ready to observe a community of all things, he returns
 to his first resolution ²: “ If I should find any one,” says he, ² § 14.
 “ who lives in hypocrisy, and reserves any private property,
 “ I will not allow him to dispose of it by will, and will erase
 “ his name from the catalogue of the clergy. Let him
 “ appeal against me to a thousand Councils; let him cross
 “ the sea, and address himself to whom he pleases; let him
 “ live where he can; but I hope, that with God’s assistance,
 “ he will never be able to be clerk in the place where I am
 “ Bishop.” Thus did St. Augustine live in perfect openness
 towards his flock, and such was his care to justify his own
 conduct, and that of his clergy. He also desired their con-
 sent for the ordinations of his clergy ³.

³ Possid.
c. 21.

After the death of his sister, the Nuns over whom she had
 presided had one Felicitas for their Superior, a maiden brought
 up under her own management. After having long obeyed her,
 they rebelled against her, upon the occasion of receiving a new
 Priest, whose name was Rusticus; and thereupon desired to
 have another Superior set over them ⁴. St. Augustine would
 not go to the place, for fear his presence should occasion still
 greater disorder; but wrote to Felicitas and Rusticus ⁵ to con-
 sole and encourage them to do their duty; and he also wrote
 to the Nuns a letter of mingled severity and love ⁶, in which
 he exhorts them to peace, and submission to their Superior,
 and lays down rules for all the details of their conduct. We
 learn from it that they were not confined within the walls ⁷; ⁷ § 10.
 but that they sometimes went out, though never less than
 three together ⁸, and that they went once a month to the ⁸ § 13.

XLII.
Rule to the
Nuns.

⁴ Ep. 211.
al. 109. § 4.

⁵ Ep. 210.
al. 87.

⁶ Ep. 211.
al. 109.

A. D. 425. bath. They had every thing in common, even to their very
¹ § 5, 12. clothes ¹. But allowance was made not only for actual
² § 9, 13. disease, but also for weakness of body and delicacy of con-
stitution ², that all might receive the refreshments of which
they stood in need. It is this letter of St. Augustine which
is generally called his Rule, and which has since been applied
to men ³.

[³ V. Aug. i.
p. 790.]

XLIII.
Eraclius
nominated
Bishop of
Hippo.
A. D. 426.
⁴ Acta in
design.
Eracl. inter
Ep. 213.
al. 110.

St. Augustine considering that he was now aged, being
nearly eighty-two years old, resolved to provide himself a
successor. Accordingly he gave notice to the people of
Hippo that he had something to say to them ⁴. They
assembled in great numbers in the Church of Peace at Hippo,
on the day after, which was the sixth of the calends of
October, under the twelfth Consulate of Theodosius, and the
second of Valentinian, i. e. the twenty-sixth of September,
A. D. 426. Among them were two Bishops, viz. Religianus
and Martinianus, and seven Priests, namely, Saturninus,
Leporius, Barnabas, Fortunatian, Rusticus, Lazarus, and
Eraclius.

Then St. Augustine spoke as follows: "We are all mortal;
" in youth we look forward to a more advanced age; but
" after old age, there is no fresh period left to hope for. I
" know what troubles usually arise in Churches after the
" death of their Bishops, and it is my duty to prevent, as
" much as in me lies, any such evil happening here. I am
" come, as you know, from the Church of Milevum, where
" it was feared that some disorder would arise after the
" death of my brother Severus. He had, indeed, appointed
" his successor; but he had thought it sufficient to name
" him in the presence of the clergy, and had not spoken of it
" to the people. Several of them were annoyed on this
" account; however, by the mercy of God they were satisfied;
" and the person whom Severus had appointed has been
" ordained Bishop.

" In order therefore that no one may complain of me, I
" now declare before you all, my will, which I believe to be
" that of Heaven; it is, that the Priest Eraclius may be my
" successor." The people cried out aloud, "Thanks to God;
" praise to CHRIST ⁵!" which they repeated twenty-three
times; "O CHRIST, hear us; long live Augustine!" which was

[⁵ Deo
gratias,
Christo
laudes]

repeated sixteen times. Silence being restored, St. Augustine said, "It were needless to expatiate in his commendation; I love his wisdom, and I spare his modesty; it is enough that you know him, and that my inclinations agree with yours." He continued, "The Church Notaries, as you see, are taking down my words and your acclamations; in a word, we are making ecclesiastical Acts; for I wish that by this means it may be as strongly ratified as is possible among men." At this the people shouted thirty-six times; "Thanks to God, praise to CHRIST!" "O CHRIST, hear us; long live Augustine!" thirteen times: "Be our father and our Bishop¹!" eight times: "He is worthy, he is just²!" twenty times: "He deserves it, he is worthy of it³!" five times: "He is worthy, he is just!" six times.

St. Augustine added, "I do not wish that to be done in his case, which was done in mine⁴. My father Valerius, of happy memory, was still living when I was ordained Bishop, and I occupied the see together with him, contrary to the prohibition of the Nicene Council; but neither he nor I knew that it was prohibited. I do not wish, therefore, that my son should be reprov'd in that for which I was myself reprov'd. He shall continue, as he is, a Priest, and shall be ordained a Bishop, when it shall please God. But I am now, with the grace of CHRIST, going to do what I have not hitherto been able to put in execution. You know what I desired some years since. We had agreed, that in consideration of the work on the Scriptures, which my brethren the Bishops had thought fit to impose on me in the two Councils of Numidia and Carthage, I should be allowed five days in the week to myself; to this you agreed by your acclamations, and acts of this were drawn up. It was observed for a little while, but my leisure was very soon violently broken in upon; so that no time was allowed me to apply myself to what I wanted. I pray you therefore and conjure you, in the name of CHRIST, suffer me to throw off the burden of my occupations on this young man the Priest Eraclius, whom I appoint for my successor." The people cried aloud, twenty-six times, "We thank you for your choice⁵!" St. Augustine thanked them, and added, "Let the people therefore address themselves to him, instead

A. D. 426.

[¹ Te patrem, te episcopum][² Dignus et justus est][³ Benè meritus, benè dignus][⁴ Supr. 20. 12.][⁵ Judicio tuo gratias agimus]

A. D. 426. "of coming to me; when he shall need my advice, I will not refuse it him. If God shall grant me yet a little more of life, I do not claim to spend it in idleness, but in the study of the Scriptures; let no one grudge me my leisure, for it is full of work. I have now finished my business with you: all that remains is, to pray you to subscribe this Act; shew your consent by some acclamation." The people answered, "So be it!" which they repeated twenty-five times: "It is just, it is reasonable!" twenty times; "So be it, so be it!" fourteen times, with several other acclamations. When these were ended, St. Augustine said, "It is well; let us offer the Sacrifice to God; and whilst we shall be at prayer, I recommend to you to lay aside all your wants and secular affairs, and to pray for this Church, for me, and for the Priest Eraclius." There is still extant a sermon of Eraclius, which seems to have been made on this occasion, and which is chiefly occupied with the praises of St. Augustine¹. He therein intimates that he has been his disciple many years, and had nevertheless come to Hippo in mature age; which shews, that when St. Augustine calls him a young man, these words are not to be understood too rigorously.

¹ ap. Aug. v. in fin. Serm.

XLIV.
Death of
Atticus:
Sisinnius
Bishop of
Constanti-
nople.

A. D. 425.

² Socr. 7. 25.
Supr. 22. 9.

³ Supr. 23.
27.

⁴ Supr. 19.
35.

Cod. Th. 16.
Tit. 6. Ne
Sanct.
Bapt. 6.

In the mean time, the city of Constantinople had changed its Bishop. Atticus died on the tenth of October, under the eleventh Consulate of Theodosius and the first of Valentinian, that is, A. D. 425, after having occupied the see nearly twenty years². He is praised by the historian for having restored peace to his Church, by inserting the name of St. Chrysostom in the Diptychs³. His charity to the poor is likewise commended; for his beneficence was not confined to his own diocese, but extended itself to the neighbouring cities. There is still extant a letter on this subject, which he sent to Calliopius, Priest of the Church of Nicæa, with three hundred pieces of gold: in which he recommends him to give to those who are ashamed to ask, and not to those who make a trade of begging; but to pay no attention to differences of religion. There was a sect of Novatians that went by the name of Sabbatians, or Protopaschites, who had been banished by a law of Theodosius the Younger, of the twenty-first of March, 413⁴. They had brought from Rhodes the body of their leader Sabbatius, and used to pray at his

tomb; but Atticus caused it to be carried off in the night, and thus abolished this superstitious practice. However, he still suffered the Novatians to hold their meetings, and said; "These are witnesses to our faith, in which they have made no change, though they have now been so long separated from the Church." We must understand him to mean the faith of the Trinity¹; for the Novatians did err on the article of the remission of sins². But Atticus gave a clear evidence of the purity of his faith, in the vigorous resistance against the Pelagians, which has been already noticed³.

[¹ Cf. Soer. 1. 10: 2. 38.]
[² Supr. 22. 4. not. c.]

³ Supr. 25.

After his death great disputes arose about the election of a successor⁴. Several persons were proposed, and among others two Priests, Philip and Proclus. Philip, a native of Sida in Pamphylia, had been a Deacon under St. Chrysostom, and his ordinary attendant in that capacity. He applied himself to study, and collected a great number of books of all kinds. His style was Asiatic, and he wrote much; and among the rest, an historical work divided into thirty books. All the people of Constantinople preferred both to Philip and Proclus another Priest, named Sisinnius, whose Church was situated without the city, in a place called Elaia, or the Olive, in which the feast of the Ascension of our SAVIOUR was celebrated annually, with great solemnity. The piety and charity of Sisinnius towards the poor had won him the favour of the laity. They carried their point, and he was ordained on the twenty-eighth of February, under the twelfth Consulate of Theodosius and the second of Valentinian, that is, in the year 426⁵.

⁴ Soer. 7. 26, 27.

⁵ Chr. Marc. p. 282. A. D. 426.

For his ordination a Council was held at Constantinople, by order of the Emperor Theodosius, in which Theodosius, Bishop of Antioch, assisted⁶. This Council wrote a letter addressed to Berinian, Amphilocheus, and the other Bishops of Pamphylia, in which it was declared, that if any one should henceforward be proved, either by word or deed, to have laid himself open to the charge of entertaining the heresy of the Massalians⁷, he should be deposed, whatever promise he might make of fulfilling his penance; and that whoever should maintain his cause, whether Bishop or any other, should incur the same danger. This was so ordered, because they knew the dissimulation of these heretics.

⁶ Phot. cod. 52.

⁷ Supr. 19. 25.

A. D. 426-7.

As for Proclus, Sisinnius ordained him Bishop of Cyzicus, which see happened at that time to be vacant¹. But as he was preparing to set out for that place he was anticipated by the Cyziceniens, who ordained one Dalmatius, a man who led an ascetic life. "This they did," observes Socrates, "in defiance of that law which forbids the ordination of a Bishop without the consent of the Bishop of Constantinople; but they excused themselves on the plea that this law only applied to the individual person of Atticus." There is no other notice of this law extant. Proclus therefore remained without any particular church, but still officiating as Priest, and preaching in Constantinople with great success. Sisinnius did not sit two years in the episcopal chair, and died on the twenty-fourth of December, under the Consulate of Hierius and Ardaburius; that is, in the year 427. He was simple, easy of access, and averse to business; a character by no means acceptable to a restless people, who accordingly looked upon him as a weak man.

XLV.
Dispute
among the
Monks of
Adrumetum.

A. D. 427.

[² Aug. Ep.

216. al. 256.

§ 2.]

³ Supr. 23.

57.

There was a monastery at Adrumetum, a city of Africa situated on the sea coast, in which a Monk named Florus, a native of Uzalis, was living. This man went into his own country, and was accompanied on his journey by a Monk called Felix². While at Uzalis, he met with the letter of St. Augustine to Sixtus³, which he copied, and on setting out for Carthage, left it with Felix his fellow-traveller, who carried it to the monastery at Adrumetum, and began to read it to his brethren. Among these there were five or six, who, not understanding very well St. Augustine's meaning, excited a great disturbance; disputing against those who understood it better, and pretending that they destroyed free will. When Florus returned from Carthage, the divisions broke out afresh, and they fell upon him as having been the occasion of the dispute, not comprehending what he said to them in support of the sound doctrine. Florus thought it his duty to acquaint the Abbot, whose name was Valentine, with this disorder, which till then he knew nothing of, and shewed him the book, in which the Abbot easily recognised the style and doctrine of St. Augustine, and read it with pleasure and consolation. To put an end to these disputes between his Monks, he resolved to send some of them to Evodius,

Bishop of Uzalis, who wrote to Valentine and his Monks, A. D. 427. exhorting them to peace. However, his letter did not appease their irritated minds, and they resolved to go to St. Augustine himself. The Abbot did not recommend this, and endeavoured to heal them, by causing a Priest named Sabinus to explain the work to them in the clearest manner. However, it was all to no purpose; and fearing to sour their minds still more, he suffered them to depart, and even supplied them with the money requisite for their journey; only he did not give them any letter for St. Augustine, that he might not seem to entertain any doubt himself about his doctrine. The persons who set out were two young men named Cresconius and Felix; and after their departure the monastery remained in peace.

When they came to Hippo¹, St. Augustine received them, although they had not brought any letter from their Abbot, as he observed in them too much simplicity to allow him to suspect them of imposture. They laid before him the state of the question, and accused Florus of being the occasion of all the disorder in their community. St. Augustine instructed them, and explained to them his letter to Sixtus: he even wished to charge them with all the works relating to the Pelagians, but they did not allow him time enough to have them copied out, because they wanted to return to their monastery before the festival of Easter, that they might celebrate it with their brethren in perfect harmony, after the termination of all their disputes. This is thought to have been in the year 427, when Easter fell on the third of April. St. Augustine therefore gave them a letter for the Abbot Valentine, and the whole community, in which he explained that difficult question of free will and grace, and prayed the Abbot to send Florus to him, suspecting the real state of the case, namely, that the others opposed him so warmly only because they did not understand him.

However, St. Augustine after having written this letter, kept the Monks of Adrumetum with him till after Easter; a change of purpose occasioned, as is generally imagined, by the arrival of the other Felix, who came after them, and, as it seems, acquainted him more fully with the state of the question². During the long time they sojourned here,

¹ Aug. Ep. 204. al. 46.

XLVI.
Book of St. Augustine on Grace and Free Will.

² Aug. Ep. 215. al. 47.

A. D. 427. St. Augustine read to them, besides his letter to Sixtus,

¹ Supr. 23. the letters of the Council of Carthage¹, of the Council of Milevum, and of the five Bishops to Pope Innocent, with his answers, the letter of the Council of Africa to Pope Zosimus, with his letter addressed to all the Bishops in the world, and the canons of the plenary Council of Africa against the Pelagians. He also read to them St. Cyprian's treatise on the LORD'S Prayer, in which the necessity of the grace of

² Supr. 23. God is strongly displayed². He did yet more; for he composed a new work on purpose, intitled, "On Grace and Free Will," and inscribed it to Valentine and his Monks.

He therein shews that we must equally avoid denying free will, in order to establish grace, or denying grace, to establish free will. He proves free will by the Holy Scriptures³, which abound with precepts and promises; and in-

sists particularly on those passages which exhort us to will⁴.

He also proves the necessity of grace by the Scripture⁵, in which it is said that the virtues enjoined by it are gifts of God, who unites together the precept and the assistance, and commands us to pray. He shews, in opposition to the Pelagians, that grace is not given according to our merits; since the first grace is given to the wicked, who deserved nothing but punishment⁶. All the good which the Scripture ascribes to man it ascribes in other places to grace⁷; and thus eternal life is at the same time both a reward and a free gift⁸. The Law is not grace⁹, since the Law alone is only the letter which kills, and the knowledge which puffeth up. Nature is not grace¹, since it is common to all; for then CHRIST would have died in vain. Grace does not consist only in the remission of past sins, since we say, "Lead us not into temptation." We cannot merit grace, either by good works, as he has shewn already, or by any good will²; since we pray God to give us faith, to change our wills, and to soften our hard hearts. It is therefore He who has first chosen us, and loved us; it is He who endues us with a good will; who increases it for the fulfilment of His commandments; and renders us capable of fulfilling them, by inspiring us with a more fervent charity than that by which at first we feebly willed the good. God has so great a power over our hearts³, that He turns them whithersoever He pleases; whether by

⁴ Rom. 12.

⁵ Ps. 32.

⁶ Prov. 1.

⁷ 1 Cor.

⁸ 36. &c.]

⁹ c. 4.

⁶ c. 6.

⁷ c. 7.

⁸ c. 8.

⁹ c. 11.

[² Cor.

³ 6.]

¹ c. 13.

² c. 14.

³ c. 20.

inclining them to good, in His free mercy, or in applying to His designs the evil which they derive from their free will¹. ¹ c. 21. Lastly², we see a manifest example of grace in infants, to whom it is impossible for us to ascribe any merit to attract it, or any demerit to repel it, except original sin; or any reason why one should be preferred before another, except the hidden judgment of God. St. Augustine says, at the conclusion³, “Read over this book continually, and if you “ understand it, thank God for it; and whatever you may “ not understand, pray to Him to make you understand it, “ for He will give you understanding.” He had recommended to them in the beginning⁴, not to allow themselves to be troubled by the obscurity of this question, and to keep peace and charity among themselves, walking according to their knowledge, and waiting till it should please God to increase it. When St. Augustine had read over this book to Cresconius, and to the Monks who had accompanied him, he gave it to them, together with the other treatises which have been already mentioned; and a second letter directed to the Abbot Valentine, in which he intreats him to send Florus to him. Valentine did not fail to comply with his request⁵, and made Florus the bearer of a letter of thanks.

St. Augustine was much rejoiced to find that the faith of Florus was sound, with respect to free will and grace, and to learn that peace was re-established in the monastery of Adrumetum. But he learnt also that some one there had made the following objection: “If it be God which worketh “ in us both to will and to do⁶, our superiors ought to be “ satisfied with instructing us and praying for us, without “ correcting us when we fail to do our duty. How is it my “ fault, if I have not that powerful succour which God has “ not given me, and which He only can bestow?” This false conclusion, which threw so much odium on the doctrine of grace, obliged St. Augustine to compose a new treatise, which he intitled, “On Correction and Grace,” and which also he addressed to the Abbot Valentine and his Monks, without, however, accusing them of entertaining this error⁷.

He first establishes the doctrine of the Church with respect to the Law, Grace, and Free Will. He shews⁸ that we are free to do well only through the grace of JESUS CHRIST,

A. D. 427.

¹ c. 21.² c. 22.³ c. 24.⁴ c. 1.⁵ Ap. Aug.

Ep. 216.

al. 256.

XLVII.

Book on

Correction

and Grace.

⁶ Philip

2. 13.

⁷ Retr. 2.

67.

⁸ Aug. x.

de Cor. et

Grat. c. 2.

A. D. 427. which not only points it out to us, but also enables us to perform it. He then proposes the objection which is the subject of this work: "Why do they preach to us, and command us to turn from the evil way, and to do good, if it be not we who do it, but God which worketh in us both to will and to do it?" "Nay, rather," he answers, "let them understand, if they are the sons of God¹, that it is the Spirit of God who leads them on both to do what they ought to do, and after they have done it, to return thanks to Him who leadeth them to it. For they are led in order that they may do something, and not that they may do nothing. But when they do it not, let them pray, to obtain that which they have not yet received." "Well then," said they, "let our superiors rest satisfied with teaching us our duty, and praying for us, that we may perform it; but let them not correct or reprove us, if we fail in performing it." "On the contrary," says St. Augustine, "this should all be done, since the Apostles, who were the doctors of the Church, did so. They taught what ought to be done, they corrected if it was not done, and prayed in order that it might be done."

¹ Rom. 8.
14.
Philip.
2. 13.

² c. 4. The Pelagian objects², "Is it my fault that I do not possess what I never received? Teach me what I am to do, and if I do it, thank God for it; if I do it not, do not correct me, but pray to Him, that He would give me power to do it."

³ c. 5. St. Augustine answers³, "It is your own fault that you are wicked; and still more so that you refuse to be corrected for it. As if vices were to be applauded, or looked upon as indifferent, as if correction was not useful, by striking the mind with fear, shame and grief, by exciting to prayer, and to repentance! They ought rather to say; 'Neither teach me any thing, nor pray for me, since God is able to turn our hearts without either precept or prayer, in the same manner as He converted St. Paul.' These extraordinary graces which God bestows on whom He pleases, ought not to prevent our making use of correction, any more than of instruction, or prayer."

⁴ c. 6. The Pelagians said⁴, "We have not received obedience; why then are we corrected, as if it were in our power to bestow it on ourselves?" St. Augustine answers, "If they

“are not yet baptized, their disobedience flows from the sin A. D. 427.
“of the first man; which does not make us individually less
“guilty or less reprehensible, because it is common to all
“mankind. If he who speaks thus has been baptized, he
“cannot say that he has not received; since he has lost by
“his free will the grace which he had once received.”
“Nay,” said the Pelagian, “I may say that I have not
“received, since I have not received perseverance.” “It
“is true,” St. Augustine answered, “that perseverance is a
“gift of God;” (which he proves, by the fact that prayer is
“made for it.) “But nevertheless it is with justice that we
“correct those who have not persevered in the good life¹; 1 c. 7.
“for it is by their own will that they are changed; and if
“they do not profit by the correction, they merit eternal
“damnation. Even those to whom the gospel has not been
“preached, shall not deliver themselves from this condemna-
“tion, though it seems a more reasonable excuse, to say,
“‘We have not received the grace to hear the gospel,’ than
“to say, ‘We have not received perseverance.’ For it may
“be said, ‘Friend, you would have persevered if you had
“‘chosen, in that which you had both heard and possessed;’
“but it cannot possibly be said, ‘You would have believed,
“‘if you had chosen, in that which you had not heard.’

“Those therefore who have not heard the gospel; those, who
“after having heard it, and having been converted, have not
“persevered; those who have refused to believe; and infants
“who have died unbaptized; these four classes of persons are
“none of them separated from the mass of perdition: those
“who are separated from it, are so not by their own merits,
“but through the grace of the Mediator: God gives to them
“all the means of salvation; and not one of them perishes
“because they are predestinated, that is to say, not only
“called but elected. And if any one should ask me², ‘Why’ 2 c. 8.
“‘God has not bestowed perseverance on all those to whom
“‘He has given charity;’ my answer is, that I do not know;
“and that I admire, with the Apostle, the depth of the
“judgments of God. But you, Enemy of grace, who put this
“question to me, I believe that you are as little able to solve
“it as myself. Or if you have recourse to free will, what
“answer will you make to these words, ‘Peter, I have prayed

A. D. 427. " " for thee, that thy faith fail not¹?' Will you dare to say,
¹ Luke 22. " that notwithstanding the prayer of CHRIST, the faith of
 32. " Peter would have failed, if Peter had so willed it? The
 " human will does not therefore obtain grace by its own
 " freedom; but rather obtains freedom through grace; which
 " also enables it to persevere by conferring on it a perpetual
 " delight, and an invincible strength. It is, indeed, mar-
 " vellous that God does not bestow perseverance on some of
 " His children; but it is no less astonishing that He some-
 " times refuses the grace of Baptism to the children of His
 " friends, and grants it to the children of His enemies; or
 " that He does not withdraw from the dangers of this life
 " those among the faithful whose fall He foresees. Let us
 " not wonder that we cannot penetrate His impenetrable
² c. 9. § 25. " conduct. We must therefore always correct him who sins²,
 " though we do not know whether the correction will be of any
 " advantage to him, and whether or no he be predestinated.

" ' But no one can say that Adam was not separated from
³ c. 10. " ' the mass of perdition which did not yet exist³; wherefore
 " ' then was not perseverance bestowed on him? And it
 " ' not having been bestowed upon him, how is he guilty?' "
 To answer this objection, St. Augustine makes a distinction
 between the grace of the two states or conditions; the state
 of innocence, in which the first man was before his sin, and
 the state of corrupted nature, in which we now are. This
 distinction has been the occasion of much controversy between
 the most celebrated divines; and it would require a long dis-
 course to explain and reconcile it with the principles laid
 down in the other works of St. Augustine. I shall not
 therefore enter upon it, that I may not transgress the limits
 prescribed to the historian; and the rather, as without ex-
 plaining this doctrine, we may very easily understand what-
 ever relates to the reconciling of correction with grace.

⁴ c. 13. St. Augustine goes on to teach⁴, " that the number of
 " those who are predestinated is fixed and certain, but that
 " no man knows whether he is included in it or not; which
 " ignorance is advantageous to him, as it makes him lowly
 " and humble. The reprobates are of several sorts. Some
 " of them die with original sin only; others add to it by
 " their free will; and others again have grace bestowed upon

“ them, and do not persevere in it; they abandon God, A. D. 427.
 “ and God abandons them. For they are abandoned to their
 “ free will, because by a just and hidden judgment of God,
 “ they have not received the gift of perseverance. Let men
 “ therefore suffer themselves to be corrected when they sin¹, 1 c. 14.
 “ and not argue from correction against grace, nor from
 “ grace against correction. Man has a power either to will
 “ or to refuse; but without prejudice to the Almighty power
 “ of God, who is absolute master of the human will. We
 “ ought to correct in proportion to the fault², and endeavour 2 c. 15.
 “ after the salvation of all men, without distinction; because
 “ we cannot tell who those are whom God intends actually
 “ to save, and because the care which we shall bestow
 “ therein, will, at any rate, be of advantage to ourselves.”
 For what remains, St. Augustine clearly teaches elsewhere³, 3 Aug. x.
 de Spir.
 et Lit. c. 33.
 § 58.
 that God is willing that all men should be saved; without,
 however, taking from them their free will, the good or ill use
 of which makes them fit subjects of judgment. He also
 shews that God is not the author of sin, inasmuch as it
 depends on the will of each individual, either to consent or
 not to consent to the outward or inward grace⁴. 4 c. 34. § 60.

This treatise on Correction and Grace is the last of which XLVIII.
 Retractations of St.
 Augustine.
 St. Augustine takes notice in his Retractations, written about
 the year 427. It was now many years since he had formed
 the design of revising all his works which had become public,
 and which he was therefore unable to correct in any other way
 than by a public censure; but he had hitherto been diverted
 from it by more urgent business⁵. He had entertained such
 an intention fifteen years before, as appears by a letter to
 Marcellinus⁶. At last, after he had appointed Eraclius his
 successor, having now more leisure, he undertook this work,
 and completed it in two books; of which the first comprises the
 works written from the time of his conversion (including those
 which were composed before his Baptism) down to the com-
 mencement of his Episcopate; and the second comprises all the
 rest, even to the time when he was making this revisal. He
 therein reviews all his works, as nearly as he could, according
 to the order of time in which they were written; desiring
 that they might be read in the same order, that so his readers
 might observe the progress he had made. He begins with 5 Possid.
 Vit. c. 28.
 Retr.
 Prolog.
 6 Ep. 43.
 al. 7. § 2, 3.

A. D. 427. the three books against the Academics, and concludes with the treatise on Correction and Grace, marking every point, even down to the slightest expressions, which he judged worthy of censure, and at the same time defending what had been unjustly censured by others. He reckons ninety-three

¹ Ep. 224.
ad Quod-
vult. § 2.
Retr. 2. 67.

works ¹, in two hundred and thirty-two books, and observes that he had been pressed by his brethren to publish these two books of Retractations, before he had begun to revise his letters and sermons. He afterwards began to revise his

² Ep. 224.

letters, but had not time to finish them ².

XLIX.
Conversion
of Lepo-
rius.
³ Cass. de
Incarn. 1.
c. 2, 3, 4.
Gennad.
Script.
§ 60.

About the same time Leporius was converted from his errors by the instructions of the Bishops of Africa, and particularly of St. Augustine ³. He was a native of Gaul, and was distinguished among the Monks by the purity of his life; but he ascribed his virtue to his own free will and his own strength, following the doctrine of Pelagius, whose disciple he was. He carried this evil principle to a still greater length by maintaining that JESUS CHRIST was only a common man; but that He had used His free will so well, as to have lived without sin; and, by His good works, had merited to be the Son of God. That the only object of His coming into the world, was to exhibit to mankind an example of virtue; and that if they chose to profit by it, they also might be without sin. Leporius published his errors in a letter which caused a great scandal. Cassian, who had been then about thirteen or fourteen years in Provence, admonished him, and exhorted him to make a recantation; several other learned men in Gaul did the same, but to no purpose. Wherefore Proculus of Marseilles, and Cylinnius, another Bishop in Gaul, finding him obstinate, condemned his doctrine. Being thus driven out of Gaul, he went to Africa, accompanied with some others who had imbibed the same erroneous principles. He lived some time after this with St. Augustine; and it is thought that he is the Priest Leporius, who assisted with others at the nomination of Eraclius ⁴; for the Leporius of whom we are now speaking was ordained a Priest, after having been a Monk. He acknowledged his error, and made a public confession of it; and in order to repair the scandal he had caused to the Churches of Gaul, he sent thither an authentic recantation,

⁴ Supr. 43.

which was read in the Church of Carthage in the presence of several Bishops. It is addressed to Proculus and Cylinnius¹. Leporius therein acknowledges and humbly asks pardon for his ignorance and presumption. He condemns his scandalous letter, and confesses that GOD, that is, JESUS CHRIST, was born of Mary; and that it was not more unworthy of GOD to be born of a woman, and to assume from her the human nature when He thought proper, than to form the human nature within her; for else it would be adding a fourth person to the TRINITY, if we make two Sons of GOD, and two CHRISTs, the one GOD, the other Man. "But we must not therefore believe that the Incarnation of the WORD is a mixture and confusion of both natures; for such a mixture destroys both parts. The Son only became incarnate, not the Father, nor the HOLY GHOST. They are not two, the one GOD, and the other Man; the same is both GOD and Man, one only Son of GOD, JESUS CHRIST: wherefore we do not fear to say, that GOD was born, suffered, and was crucified according to the flesh. We believe that He is the only Son of GOD, not adopted, but properly so called; not imaginary, but real; not for a season, but eternal.

"We likewise," he added, "execrate what we said, in ascribing to CHRIST, labour, merit, and faith; making Him almost like each one of the Saints, though this was not our intention; and in a manner ranking Him among mere mortals, who is GOD over all, and who hath not received the Spirit by measure². We also condemn what we said, that CHRIST suffered without any assistance from the Divinity, by the mere strength of human nature, to which we were led by our desire to remove all suffering from the Divine Word; and that CHRIST, as man, was ignorant of some things: for we may not say this of the LORD of the Prophets. In conclusion, as it would take too long to notice in detail all the other propositions we have advanced, we declare in sincerity that we either receive or reject them, in conformity with the principles of the Catholic Church; and we pronounce anathema against all heretics, against Photinus³, Arius, Sabellius, Eunomius⁴, Valentine⁵, Apollinaris⁶, Manichæus, and all the rest." Leporius sub-

A. D. 427.

¹ Lepor.
Emend.
ap. Sirm.

² Rom. 9. 5.
John 3. 34.

[³ Supr. 18.
6. not. q.]

[⁴ Ib. 18. 1.
not. a.]

[⁵ Ib. 19. 14.
not. k.]

[⁶ Ib. 18. 6.
not. r.]

A. D. 427.

scribed this letter, together with Dominus and Bonus, who were apparently his companions in error. Four Bishops subscribed it as witnesses: namely, Aurelius of Carthage; St. Augustine; Florentius, Bishop of the other Hippo; and Secundinus, Bishop of Megarmita. These four Bishops wrote also to Proculus and Cylinnius¹, commending the severity of the Bishops of Gaul, which had proved so salutary to Leporius; bearing testimony to his conversion, and exhorting them to receive him again to their communion; for he himself continued in Africa. There is no doubt that this letter was written by St. Augustine, and even the recantation of Leporius is ascribed to him².

¹ Aug. Ep. 219.

² Leo. Ep. 134. c. 6. V. Not. Quesn. ii. p. 906.

L.

Letter to Vitalis.

³ Ep. 217. al. 107.

About the same time, St. Augustine wrote to a person named Vitalis of Carthage³, who maintained that the beginning of faith was not the gift of God; that God did no further incline us to will the good, than by setting it before us in His law, while it depended on ourselves to give or withhold our consent to it. But he allowed that what we asked of God by faith, He afterwards granted to us by grace; so that he maintained the principles of those who were afterwards called Semi-Pelagians. St. Augustine, to convince him of his error, insists principally on the prayers of the Church. "Say then openly," said he to him, "that we ought not to pray for those to whom we preach the gospel, but only to preach to them. Raise your voice against the prayers of the Church, and when you hear the Priest at the Altar exhorting the people of God to pray for the infidels, that He may convert them; for the Catechumens, that He may inspire them with the desire of Baptism, and for the faithful, that they may persevere through His grace; laugh at all these holy exhortations, and say that you will not pray to God for the infidels, that He may make them become believers; because this is not a gift of His mercy, but an effect of their will." He proceeds⁴: "Let us not deceive men, for we cannot deceive God. Assuredly, we do not pray to God, but pretend to pray to Him, if we believe that those things for which we pray to Him are effected by ourselves alone. Assuredly, we do but pretend to thank Him, if we do not believe that that for which we thank Him is His doing." The form of prayer mentioned by St. Au-

⁴ c. 2. § 7.

gustine in this place is to the same purport with that used A. D. 427. by ourselves on Good Friday.

He afterwards proposes to Vitalis these twelve articles¹, 1 c. 5. § 16. containing all that is comprised in the Catholic faith on the subject of grace. "Those who are not yet born have done "neither good nor evil²; and there is no previous life in ² 1. "which they can have merited the miseries of this present "one; yet nevertheless by being born of Adam, according "to the flesh, they incur the obligation of eternal death, if "they are not born again in CHRIST. The grace of God is "given neither to children nor adults, according to their "merits³. It is given to adult persons for each action ³ 2. "separately⁴. It is not given to all men⁵; and those to ⁴ 3. "whom it is given, receive it without having merited it, ⁵ 4. "either by their works, or even by their will, as appears "most clearly in the case of infants. Those to whom it is "given, receive it by the free mercy of God⁶. Those to ⁶ 5. "whom it is not given, are excluded from it by a just judg- "ment of God⁷. 'We must all appear before the judgment- ⁷ 6. "'seat of CHRIST⁸, that every one may receive the things ⁸ 7. "'done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether ^{2 Cor. 5. 10.} "'it be good or bad,' not according to that he would have "done, had he lived longer. Even infants shall be judged "in this manner⁹, according as they shall have been either ⁹ 8. "baptized or unbaptized, and shall have believed or not be- "lieved, through the heart and mouth of those who brought "them to the Sacrament. 'They who die in the Lord are "blessed¹, and that which they would have done, if their ¹ 9. "life had been prolonged, does not in any way affect them. Rev. 14. 13. "They who believe in God with their own heart," (that is, "adult persons,) "do so by their volition and free will². We ² 10. "act agreeably to the true faith³, when we who believe, pray [voluntate ac libero arbitrio] "to God for those who do not wish to believe, in order that ³ 11. "they may wish to believe. When any one of these em- "braces the faith⁴, it is our duty sincerely to return God ⁴ 12. "thanks for the same, as for a gift from Him; and this "custom is a reasonable one." St. Augustine then proves each of these articles separately.

Count Boniface, after the death of his wife, had taken a LI. Revolt of Count Boniface. A. D. 428. resolution of quitting the military profession, and embracing

A. D. 428. a monastic life¹. St. Augustine and St. Alypius had dissuaded him from it, believing that he might prove more useful both to Church and state by continuing in the world. But they had advised him to live disengaged from worldly objects, and to preserve continence. However, having by the Emperor's order been obliged to go over into Spain, he there entered into a second marriage with a woman related to the Kings of the Vandals, and thus secured to himself their friendship. Aëtius, who, after Boniface, was the most powerful of all the Roman generals, was then in Italy; and he availed himself of this alliance to accuse Boniface before the Empress Placidia, who governed during the minority of her son Valentinian². He told her that Boniface intended to make himself independent, and assume the sovereignty of Africa; and as a proof of his assertion, he added; "If you order him to come to Italy, he will refuse to obey." In the mean time he wrote to Boniface to warn him, if the Empress should send for him, not to obey her summons, because she designed to destroy him; telling him in proof of what he said, that there was no reason whatever for sending for him. Boniface gave credit to this notice of Aëtius, who was his creature, and whom he believed to be thoroughly true to his interests; and accordingly when he received the order to present himself before the Emperor, he refused to obey, and thus confirmed the suspicion which Aëtius had raised against him.

War was then declared, and at first three generals sent against him, whom he defeated; and afterwards Count Sigisvult. Boniface, urged by the necessity of self-preservation, sent to Spain, and entered into a treaty with the Vandal princes, Gontharis and Gizeric, or Genseric. He agreed with them to divide Africa into three parts, to give a third to each of them, and keep the remainder for himself, that each should govern his own division independently; but if they were attacked, that they should all three unite in mutual defence. On the faith of this treaty, the Vandals crossed the straits and came into Africa, leaving Spain to the Visigoths, who were now become the most powerful in that country. With the Vandals there came also Alani, Goths, and a confused multitude of other nations³; and

¹ Aug. Ep. 220. al. 70. ad Bonif. § 3.

² Procop. Bell. Vand. c. 3.

³ Possid. Vit. c. 28.

their number, including old men and children, masters and slaves, amounted to eighty thousand¹. Genseric, to imprint the greater terror, caused them to be numbered; and a report was spread that they composed a body of eighty thousand combatants: they laid waste the country which they found in peace, murdering, burning, cutting down the trees, and above all, ravaging the churches, for they were Arians. They went over into Africa, under the Consulate of Taurus and Felix, that is, A.D. 428².

A. D. 428.
¹ Victor.
 Vitens.
 Pers. Vand.
 1. § 1.

²Chr.Pasch.
 p. 314.

Then it was that St. Augustine wrote to Count Boniface, to induce him to turn his eyes inward³. He begins by declaring that he does not mean to speak to him of the preservation of his power or even of his life, but only of his salvation. "I know," said he⁴, "that you are not without friends who love you after the fashion of this world, and can give you advice on temporal subjects; but it is not easy to give you advice on the salvation of your soul, for want of a fit opportunity."

LII.
 St. August-
 tine's letter
 to Boni-
 face.

³ Ep. 220.
 al. 70.
⁴ § 2.

He then reminds him of the design he had formed of withdrawing from the world, and reproaches him with his second marriage⁵. "I was indeed a little comforted," he says, "when I heard that you refused to marry this lady till she became a Catholic, and yet the Arians have so great an influence in your house that they have baptized your daughter, and if we are truly informed, they have rebaptized Virgins consecrated to God. It is even said that your wife is not enough for you, and that you keep concubines." He afterwards sets before him the evils which had followed from this unhappy marriage, that is to say, his rebellion⁶; and adds, "You cannot deny before God that the love of the goods of this world has led you into all this evil. You may indeed do but little evil yourself⁷, but you furnish an opportunity of doing a great deal to numbers of persons who only think of advancing their own interests by your means; so that so far from restraining your own desires, you are obliged to satisfy those of others. You will answer," he adds⁸, "that you can give good reasons for your conduct, and that those ought rather to be blamed who have returned you evil for good. That is a point of which I am no judge, since I cannot hear both

⁵ § 4.

⁶ § 5. 7.

⁷ § 6.

⁸ 5, 8.

A. D. 428. “sides; but judge you yourself in the sight of God. If the
 “Roman Empire has done good to you, return not evil for
 “good; if you have received evil, return not evil for evil.
¹ § 9. “You will perhaps say to me¹, ‘What would you have me
 “do in this extremity?’ If you ask my advice on your
 “temporal affairs, I know not what answer to make you.
 “But if you consult me for the salvation of your soul, I know
 “well what to say. ‘Love not the world, neither the things
² 1 John “that are in the world².’ Shew your courage by subduing
² 15. “your desires: repent³; pray earnestly to be delivered from
 [³ age poe- “your invisible enemies, that is, your passions⁴. Give alms,
 nitentiam] ⁴ § 10. “fast as much as you can without injuring your health⁵.
⁵ § 11. “If you were not married, I would advise you to embrace
 “a life of continence, to quit the army, and retire into a
⁶ § 12. “monastery⁶. But this you cannot do without the consent
 “of your wife: for although you ought not to have married,
 “after what you had said to us at Tubuna, yet she did it in
 “her simplicity, since she knew nothing of this when she
 “espoused you. Would that you could persuade her to
 “embrace a state of continence! but at any rate preserve
 “conjugal chastity. Your wife ought not to prevent you
 “from loving God, from not loving the world; from keep-
 “ing your faith even in war, and even in war labouring for
 “peace; from employing the goods of this world in doing
 “good works, and never committing any evil for the sake
 “of these transitory goods.”

We do not find that Count Boniface profited by this
 advice; and it was beyond his power to repair the evil he
 had done. His friends in Italy, who were assured of his
 fidelity, could not bring themselves to believe that he had
 any design of usurping the sovereignty of the empire⁷: some
 of them, by the advice of Placidia, went to Carthage, and
 had an interview with Boniface, in which he shewed them
 the letters he had received from Aëtius, and thus explained
 to them the whole intrigue. The Empress was overwhelmed
 with astonishment and confusion, but she dared not discover
 her indignation against Aëtius, because she depended on his
 assistance to support the desperate fortunes of the Emperor,
 her son. However, she entreated Boniface to quit the party
 of the Barbarians, and not to abandon the Empire. Boniface

⁷ Procop.
 Bell. Vand.
 c. 3.

acknowledged his fault, and did all he could to retrieve it. He besought the Barbarians to retire from Africa, but they took offence at his request, and he was obliged to come to open war with them. Succours were sent him from Rome and Constantinople; a battle was fought, in which the Romans were vanquished; and the Vandals continued in Africa, and ravaged the country with impunity¹.

An Arian Bishop, named Maximin, had accompanied Count Sigisvult and the Goths, whom he commanded for the Emperor Valentinian, against Count Boniface². At the desire of several persons, he had a conference at Hippo with St. Augustine, which was taken down in writing. St. Augustine began by demanding of him a declaration of his faith; and he answered, that he held that of the Council of Rimini³. Being urged to say what he believed himself, he said; "I believe there is One Only God, the Father, who received life from none; and One Only Son, who received from the Father both His being and His life; and One Only HOLY GHOST, the Comforter, who is the Enlightener and Sanctifier of our souls." He challenged St. Augustine to prove the equality of the Divine Persons, and endeavoured on his side to prove Their inequality, under the plea of maintaining the unity of the Godhead. "This is the One God," said he⁴, "whom CHRIST and the HOLY GHOST⁴ § 13. "worship, and whom all creatures reverence; it is thus we say He is One." Upon which St. Augustine said⁵; "It⁵ § 14. follows, then, that you either do not worship CHRIST, or that you do not worship One Only God." He then desired him to prove from Scripture, that the HOLY GHOST worships the Father, allowing that the Son worships Him in His manhood. And he proved the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, from His possession of temples; an attribute which belongs to God alone⁶. Maximin consumed the rest of the conference in a long and useless discourse, and on his return to Carthage, boasted of having had the superiority in it. This obliged St. Augustine to refute him by two books; in the first of which he shews that Maximin was not able to answer him, while in the second he answered all that Maximin had himself advanced.

¹ Hist. Miscell. 14. § 9, 10.

LIII. Conference with Maximin.

² Possid. Vit. c. 17. Aug. viii. Coll. cum Maximin.

³ V. Supr. 18, 20. not. p.]

⁴ § 13.

⁵ § 14.

⁶ 1 Cor. 3. 16. et 6. 19.

LIV. Conference

St. Augustine held another conference with an Arian,

with Pascentius.

A. D. 406.
[V. Tillem.
xiii. S. Aug.
not. 40.]
¹ Possid.
c. 17.

² Aug. Ep.
238. al. 164.

[³ V. Supr.
18. 20. not.
m. et 18.
45.]

which seems to have taken place some years previously¹. It was with Pascentius, Count of the Emperor's household, that is, Steward of the Demesnes, who, abusing the authority of his employment, exacted with great rigour the dues of the treasury, and insulted the Catholics who followed the purer faith. He even attacked St. Augustine, and caused several persons of distinction to invite him to a conference. It was held at Carthage in their presence, and continued from morning till evening. At the opening of it², as Arius and Eunomius had been named, St. Alypius, who was present, demanded, which of those two was followed by Auxentius³, whom Pascentius had warmly commended. Immediately Pascentius loudly anathematized Arius and Eunomius, and required that St. Augustine should likewise anathematize Homoüsios, that is, Consubstantial, as if it had been a person; and afterwards insisted upon their shewing him that word in Scripture. Then he made a confession of his faith in such terms that St. Augustine himself offered to subscribe it. Pascentius wrote it down, and inserted in it the word, "Unbegotten." St. Augustine desired him, in his turn, to point out this word in Scripture, in order to shew him that we must not look therein for the words, when it is certain that the sense is found there. Pascentius finding himself hard pressed, took from St. Augustine the paper in which he had written his confession of faith, and tore it to pieces⁴; and they agreed that after dinner they should have notaries to take down the conference. Accordingly they returned at the appointed hour, with notaries; but Pascentius was no longer willing to have any thing written, and when St. Augustine pressed the point, he said to him in a passion, "I should have done much better to content myself with your reputation only, for I find you yourself are far inferior to it." St. Augustine replied, "I had told you before that my reputation spoke too well of me." "You said truly," returned Pascentius. St. Augustine answered, "Since my reputation and I myself have given you different accounts of myself, I am glad you have found me true, rather than it." Pascentius insisted upon having nothing written down, on pretence that it might get him into difficulty, in consequence of the laws

⁴ § 6.

against heretics¹; and St. Augustine, with the Bishops present, continued the conference, foretelling at the same time what actually happened, that each one would afterwards publish whatever account of it he thought fit.

The see of Constantinople continued vacant some time after the death of Sisinnius, though many demanded Philip, and many Proclus². But to put a stop to all canvassing, the court resolved not to appoint any member of the same Church. Accordingly a foreigner was summoned; and this was Nestorius, a native of Germanicia³, but educated at Antioch, where he had been baptized in his infancy. He had practised the monastic life in the monastery of Euprepus, which was at the gates of Antioch, and only two stades distant from the city⁴. The Bishop Theodotus had ordained him Priest, and given him the office of Catechist, to explain the faith to the Competentes⁵, and defend it against the heretics. And indeed he appeared very zealous against those who were then most odious in the East, the Arians, the Apollinarians, and the Origenists; and he professed to be an admirer and imitator of St. Chrysostom. He had a remarkably fine voice and an easy delivery⁶; but his eloquence was not sound; he sought only how to please and gain the applauses of the people, whose attention he also courted by the paleness of his countenance, by his sombre dress, and his slow pace, ever avoiding the crowd and the places of public resort, and spending most of his time at home, and engaged in his books. He thus acquired a great reputation for virtue, doctrine, and eloquence. When summoned to Constantinople he took with him a Priest named Anastasius, who was in his confidence; and in their journey they visited Theodorus of Mopsuestia, from whom it is asserted that Nestorius imbibed the pernicious doctrine he afterwards taught. Theodorus of Mopsuestia died a little after this⁷; and not long after him Theodotus, Bishop of Antioch, who was succeeded by John, a disciple of Theodorus; and it is with their death that Theodoret concludes his history.

Nestorius arrived at Constantinople three months after the death of the Bishop Sisinnius, and was ordained on the tenth of April, under the Consulate of Felix and Taurus, that is, in the year 428⁸. In his first sermon he addressed

A. D. 406.

¹ Possid. Vit. 17.

LV. Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople.

A. D. 428.

² Supr. 44. Socr. 7. 29.[³ in Syria]⁴ Liberat.

Brev. c. 4.

Evagr.

Hist. 1. 7.

[V. Garn.

Præf. pars

2. Mercat.]

[⁵ V. Supr.

23. 10. not

d.]

⁶ Theod.

iv. Hær.

Fab. 4. 13.

et ad

Sporac.

p. 696.

⁷ Theod.

Hist. 5. 40.

⁸ Socr. 7. 29.

A. D. 428. the Emperor in these words, which excited much notice ; “ Give me, O Emperor, the earth purged from heretics, and “ I will repay you with the heaven. Destroy the heretics with “ me, and I will destroy the Persians with you.” These words were not unpleasing to a populace violently eager against the heretics ; but others deemed Nestorius of a light and hasty temper, to exhibit so much heat in his very first sermon. The fifth day after his ordination, he attempted to deprive the Arians of the place where they used to assemble in secret. This drove them to such despair, that they set fire to it ; the flames seized on the adjoining houses, and Nestorius ever afterwards bore the name of the Incendiary. He wished also to attack the Novatians, and was only prevented by the authority of the Court. He persecuted the Quartodecimans in Asia, Lydia, and Caria, and was the occasion of a sedition near Sardes and Miletus, in which many persons lost their lives. “ In this,” says ¹ Socr. 7. 31. Socrates¹, “ he acted contrary to the practice of the Church.”

Anthony, Bishop of Germa, a city on the Hellespont, applied himself to oppress the Macedonians, saying that he had orders to that effect from Nestorius. They endured the persecution for some time ; but at last, reduced to despair, they despatched assassins, and murdered Anthony. This gave Nestorius an opportunity of depriving them of their churches ; and accordingly in 429², they lost that which they had at Constantinople, that at Cyzicus, and many others in the Hellespont. Some, however, were reunited to the Church.

There is still extant a law enacted by Theodosius the Younger, at Constantinople, on the thirtieth of May, 428³, that is, six weeks after the ordination of Nestorius, which enjoins that the heretics shall immediately restore to the Catholics all the churches they had taken from them, and forbids them to ordain any fresh clergy under the penalty of ten pounds of gold. A distinction is then made between the various kinds of heretics, and the Arians, the Macedonians, and Apollinarians, are forbidden to have churches in any city ; while the Novatians and the Sabbatians⁴ are only commanded not to make any innovation⁵. But any assembly for the purpose of prayer is forbidden throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire, to the Eunomians⁶, the Valen-

¹ Supr. 18. s. c.]
² i. e. not to build new churches : Gothof.]
³ Supr. 18.]
⁴ not. a.]

² Marcel. Chr. p. 282.

³ Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. 65.

tinians¹, the Montanists, Priscillianists, (so called from Priscilla, and not from Priscillian,) and Phrygians², the Marcionites³, the Borborians, the Messalians, Euchitæ or Enthusiasts⁴; to the Donatists, the Audians, the Hydroparastatæ, the Ascodrogitæ, the Photinians⁵, the Paulians, the Marcellians⁶, and lastly, to the Manicheans, who, it is declared by this law, “are come to the last extreme of wickedness, and ought even to be banished from the cities, and delivered over to capital punishment^{7 k.}” No mention is made of the Pelagians in this law; and Nestorius was also favourably disposed towards them. It was in this same year, 428, that the memory of St. Chrysostom began to be celebrated on the twenty-sixth of September⁸; which is probably to be ascribed to the exertions of Nestorius, his countryman and admirer.

A. D. 428.
 [1 19.14.k.]
 [2 18. 8. f.]
 [3 20.27.i.]
 [4 19. 25.]
 [5 18.6.q.]
 [6 ibid.]

⁷ Cod. Just.
 1. Tit. 5.
 de Hær. 5.
⁸ Marcel.
 Chr. p.282.

The same year Pope St. Cælestine wrote a decretal letter to the Bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, for the purpose of correcting several abuses⁹. Some Bishops affected a particular dress, and assumed a philosopher’s cloak and girdle¹; alleging the command in the Gospel, “to have our loins girded about².” “If this,” says the Pope, “is to be taken literally, why do they not also carry burning lamps as well as staves in their hands? These words in the Scripture have a mystical signification: the girdle signifies chastity; the staff is pastoral government; the burning lamp is the brightness of good works³. This peculiar dress⁴ may perhaps suit those who live in remote and solitary places,” (that is, the Monks); “but why change in the Churches of Gaul a custom sanctioned by the practice of such eminent Bishops during so many years? We ought to be distinguished from the people, not by dress, but by doctrine and manners; and we ought not to seek to impose upon the eyes, but rather to enlighten the understandings

LVI.
 Decretal of St. Cælestine.
⁹ Cælest. Ep. 2. al. 4.
 [1 amicti pallio et iumbis præcincti]
² Luke 12. 35.
³ Matth. 5. 16.

^k The names of several of these sects have not before occurred. Of these, the *Borborians* were a Gnostic sect (Epiph. Hær. 26. § 3); the *Audians*, besides several other errors, maintained the Quartodeciman rule after the decision of the Nicene Council (Epiph. Hær. 70); the *Hydroparastatæ*, *Aquarii*, or *Encratites* were followers of Tatian, so called from their abstaining wholly

from the use of flesh and wine, and offering water instead of wine at the Eucharist (Bingham, 15. 2. § 7); the *Ascodrogitæ* or *Tascodrogitæ* were a Montanist sect (Gothof. in Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 5. 10); and the Paulians derived their name from Paul of Samosata (Euseb. 7. 27—30; Gieseler, i. § 58).

A. D. 428. "of the simple." It is evident from these words, that the ecclesiastics and even the Bishops did not as yet wear any peculiar dress in the West.

The second abuse which Pope St. Cælestine reproves, is the refusal of penance to persons at the point of death¹. "The sincerity of their conversion," he says, "ought rather to be estimated by the disposition of their minds, than from the circumstance of the time." The third abuse is², the elevation to the episcopal office, of laymen who had not previously passed through the other clerical orders, and even of persons accused of crimes. He confirms the right of Metropolitans³; and forbids all encroachments of one province on another. He also forbids the election of Bishops from foreign and unknown clergy, to the exclusion of those who have served a long time in the same Church, and are in good repute among their fellow-citizens. "For," said he⁴, "a Bishop ought not to be imposed on an unwilling flock; he should have the consent of clergy, people, and magistrates."

"I refer to you," he says⁵, "the case of the Bishop of Marseilles, who is said to have rejoiced over the murder of his brother, even so far as to go and meet the man who came stained with his blood, for the purpose of communicating with him⁶." Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, had been killed two years before, that is, in the year 426⁷, by a Tribune who had stabbed him in several places; who, as is generally reported, had received a private order from Felix, Magister Militum, for that purpose. This is, undoubtedly, the murder mentioned in Pope St. Cælestine's letter, which is dated the seventh of the calends of August, under the Consulate of Felix and Taurus, the 26th of July, 428. The year following, A. D. 429, under the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, he wrote another decretal letter to the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria⁸, to recommend to them the observation of the canons; and in particular, not to ordain any layman Bishop, to the prejudice of those clerks who have spent their lives in the service of the Church.

[⁶ portionem cum eo habiturus]
⁷ Prosp.
Chr. p. 654.

⁸ Ep. 3.
al. 5.

LVII.
Cassian at Marseilles.
A. D. 420.

There were even in those days several monasteries in Gaul, and particularly in Provence. Cassian had withdrawn thither after the death of St. Chrysostom, about the

year 409. Having been ordained Priest, he had founded two monasteries at Marseilles, the one of Monks, the other of Nuns. It is said that he presided over as many as five thousand Monks, and he is looked upon as the founder of the famous abbey of St. Victor of Marseilles. About the year 420 he drew up his Monastic Institutions, at the request of Castor, Bishop of Apta, or Apta Julia¹, who had founded a monastery in a manor which made part of his patrimonial inheritance, situated in the diocese of Nismes; and who was desirous of being instructed in the discipline which Cassian had seen practised in the East; and which he had introduced in those monasteries he had founded. In compliance with his request, Cassian wrote twelve books of Monastic Institutions, and inscribed them to him. He declares at the commencement² that he will say nothing of the miracles of the Monks of Egypt, though he had heard many related, and had even witnessed some with his own eyes; but that he will speak only of their rule of life, and their maxims on morals. In the first book he describes their dress; in the second, the order of their evening and nightly prayers; in the third, the order of the daily prayers made by the rest of the Monks of the East, that is, by those of Palestine and Mesopotamia. For the Egyptians only assembled for Vespers and Nocturns; while the rest assembled also for the Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours. He observes that the observation of the hour of Prime had begun in his own time, and at his own monastery at Bethlehem³, to prevent the laziness of those who after the prayers of the night were accustomed to sleep till the third hour; and also to mark the commencement of the labour of the day¹. In the fourth book of the Institutions, he speaks

A. D. 420.

¹ Ep. Castor.
ap. Cass.² Proef.
Instit.
Supr. 20. 8.³ Instit. 3.
c. 4.

¹ Though in the commencement of the Christian Church there may have been daily meetings for common prayer (Acts 2. 46), yet in the times of persecution which succeeded there seem to have been only weekly assemblies on Sunday (Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97; Justin. Apol. 1. § 67. p. 83). Soon after, however, we find notice of assemblies on the Wednesdays and Fridays (Tertull. de Orat. c. 14: Socr. 5. 22), and the Sabbath or Saturday (Basil. Ep. 93. al. 289: Athan. Hom. de Sem. ii. p. 60: Socr. 5. 22, 6. 8: Concil. Laod.

c. 16), then daily throughout the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide (Tertull. de Idolol. c. 14), and the forty days of Lent (Chrys. Hom. de Stat. and in Genes.); and from the time of St. Cyprian there is considered to have been daily morning (*caetus antelucani, vigilia, hora nocturna*, whence the *Nocturn*), and evening prayer (*λυχναια, lucernarium, missa vespertina*), in the Church (Cypr. de Or. Dom. p. 209, and Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. p. 109), for which we find regular forms in the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. 8. c. 35.

A. D. 420. of the manner of examining and receiving the Monks, particularly at Tabenna; in which he says that no novice was allowed to give his goods to the monastery¹. In the remaining eight books of the Institutions, he treats of the manner of combating the capital vices, which he makes eight in number, gluttony, impurity, covetousness, anger, sorrow, inquietude or idleness², vanity, and pride. In treating of idleness, he takes occasion to discourse largely on the necessity of manual labour³.

¹ Instit. 4. c. 4.

[² ἀκηδία
sive
tædium
cordis]

³ Instit. 10. c. 7, &c.

A.D. 423-8.

Afterwards, about the year 423, he composed his Collations, for the purpose of explaining the internal habits of the Monks of Egypt, whose externals only had been described in his

⁴ Præf. Coll. Institutions⁴. He first wrote ten only, and inscribed them to Leontius, Bishop of Frejus, and Helladius, an Anchorite, who was also afterwards ordained Bishop. In these ten first Collations of Cassian, the Monks of Scetis are the only

⁵ Supr. 20. 7. interlocutors⁵. About two years after he wrote seven more, which he addressed to St. Honoratus, Abbot of Lerins, and to St. Eucherius, who was at that time a Monk of the same monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Lyons. In these, Cassian has made those Monks the speakers, whom he had seen in his first voyage to Egypt, namely, Chæremon, Nesteros, and Joseph⁶. Chæremon, among other things, speaks of the protection of God, that is, of grace, but in a way not absolutely correct. Some years after, about 428, Cassian wrote seven other Collations, and inscribed them to four Monks of the islands of Marsailles. The speakers in these are the Abbot Piammon, and the rest whom he had seen in the same journey. There are in all twenty-four Collations, arranged, not chronologically, but according to the order of their subjects.

⁶ Supr. 20. 3.

LVIII. The monastery of Lerins had been founded about the year 410, by St. Honoratus, whose name that island still bears. He was descended of a noble family, which had enjoyed the

Monastery of Lerins. A.D. 410-28.

The observation of the Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours, as times of *public* worship, appears to have originated in these monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine (Cass. Instit. 3. 2, 3), though they may have been observed in private much earlier (Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 854; Orig. de Orat. 12; Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 214). They appear to

have been gradually received into the regular Church service about this period (Cf. Chrys. Hom. de Annâ, iv. p. 737; Apost. Const. 2. 59, 8. 34). The origin of *Prime* is described in the text, and the *Completerium* appears to have arisen much later (Bona de Psalm. c. 11. § 1). See Bingham, 13. 9.

honour of the Consulate¹; was converted and baptized in the flower of his youth, in spite of the opposition of his father and his whole family. Then he began a life of mortification and severity; he cut his hair short; wore coarse stuffs, and marred his countenance by fasting. One of his brothers named Venantius embraced the same course of life; and the two young men, having distributed their goods among the poor, put themselves under the direction of a holy Hermit, named Caprasius, who lived in the islands of Marseilles. In his company they made a voyage, and continued some time in Achaia. Venantius died at Methone, and Honoratus returned to Provence. The veneration he entertained for Leontius, Bishop of Frejus, induced him to settle in his diocese; and he chose the little island of Lerins, which was then a desert, and infested with serpents, where he built a monastery, which was soon peopled by a great number of Monks of all nations. Although Honoratus had long avoided the ministerial function, he was ordained Priest, and had a peculiar skill in directing the souls of men. The Church of Arles desired him for their Pastor, and he was accordingly consecrated Bishop of that city after Patroclus, but he governed it no longer than two years. He united the divided spirits of his flock, and acquired great esteem for his charity, which led him to distribute in a short time the treasures which his predecessor had amassed. He instructed the people even from his bed, during his last illness, and had preached to them on the day of the Epiphany, about eight days before his death, which happened in 428. The Church solemnizes his memory on the sixteenth of January². He was succeeded by St. Hilary, who had been his disciple at Lerins, and retained in the Episcopate the practices of the monastic life. Several of these Monks had imbibed that doctrine of Cassian, which he had learnt in the East, and explained particularly in his thirteenth Collation: they found it difficult to agree with that of St. Augustine, and yielded to the same error as the Monks of Adrumetum; believing that at any rate the beginning of merit proceeded from ourselves. They discovered that the doctrine of St. Augustine involved several evil consequences adverse to the goodness of God, and the freedom of man.

A.D.410-28.

¹ Serm.
S. Hilar.
ap. S. Leon.
i. p. 752.

² Mart.
Rom.

A. D. 429.

LIX.
Letter of
Hilary to
St. August-
tine.¹ Supr. 23.

15.

² ap. Aug.

Ep. 226.

³ Acts 16.
31.⁴ § 3.⁵ § 4.

One Hilary, (a different person from the Bishop of Arles), a disciple of St. Augustine, who had resided some time with him, and who was probably the same person who, in 414, had written to him from Sicily, concerning the errors of the Pelagians¹, wrote two more letters to him on this occasion.

The first is lost, but in the second he speaks thus²: “Listen to what is maintained at Marseilles, and in some other parts of Gaul: that it is a new and dangerous doctrine to say that some are chosen in such a way that even the very will to believe is given to them. They agree that all men have died in Adam, that no one can be delivered by his own free will, that no one has any power in himself either to begin or finish any good work; but they do not reckon as a work the will to be healed. And when it is said, ‘Believe, and thou shalt be saved³,’ they say that this is requiring the one, and offering the other; that it is man’s duty to present his faith, since the Creator has given him the power to do so; and that his nature is never so corrupted that he cannot will to be healed, never therefore so corrupted that he ought not either to be healed from his disease, or punished because he does not will to be healed. That it is no denial of grace to say that it is preceded by such a will as seeks only, without having any power to act of itself. And thus admitting in all men a will, by which they are able either to frustrate grace or to obey it, they fancy they can give a reason for election and reprobation, inasmuch as every man is dealt with according to the merits of his will.

“When they are asked⁴ why the faith is preached in one place or time, rather than another, they answer, that it is in consequence of the foreknowledge of God, and that it is preached in those places and times in which He has foreseen that it will be believed. Your assertion⁵, that it is impossible for any one to persevere unless he has received strength for that purpose, they admit, but with this restriction, that free will always makes some advance, however feebly, towards either receiving or rejecting the remedy, but does not itself contribute the least towards the cure. But they will not allow it to be said that this perseverance cannot be either merited by our prayers, or

“lost by our resistance; nor are they content to be referred
 “to the uncertainty of the will of God, so long as they
 “think they can clearly perceive some beginning of the
 “will, however slight, either to obtain or lose it. As to the
 “passage cited by you, ‘Speedily was he taken away, lest
 “‘wickedness should alter his understanding’¹, they reject
 “it as uncanonical².

“They assert³ that the practice of exhortation is useless,
 “if there remains nothing in man that can be excited by
 “correction. If he cannot dread the evil with which he is
 “threatened, except by an act of will which is bestowed
 “upon him, ‘it is not he,’ say they, ‘who is to be blamed,
 “‘because he does not now will, but rather the man who
 “‘drew this condemnation on his posterity.’ Neither do
 “they approve of the difference which you make between
 “the grace of the first man, and that which is now given to
 “all⁴; for they say that it throws men into a kind of despair.
 “For it was Adam to whom our exhortations and threats
 “should have been addressed, as he possessed a freedom
 “either to persevere or to give way; and not we, who are
 “bound by an inevitable necessity not to will what is just,
 “those only excepted, who are delivered by grace from the
 “common mass of damnation. They maintain, that what-
 “ever succour God may grant to the predestinate, they may
 “yet either preserve or lose it by their own will. Hence
 “also it follows that they will not allow that the number of
 “the elect and of the reprobate is fixed⁵; and refuse to admit⁵ § 7.
 “the explanation you give of those words, that ‘God will
 “‘have all men to be saved’⁶;’ for they will not suffer them
 “to be restricted to those who are in the number of the
 “predestinate, but understand them of all men without
 “exception. And at last they return to this complaint⁷:⁷ § 8.
 “‘What need was there to puzzle so many persons of mere
 “‘ordinary understanding by the uncertainty of this dispute?
 “‘Even without this decision, the defence of the Catholic
 “‘religion has not been less profitably sustained during so
 “‘many years by so many writers, and even by yourself.’

“I ought not to omit⁸, that in every other particular they⁸ § 9.
 “testify the greatest admiration for all the actions and words
 “of your holiness. Be pleased,” says he⁹, “to communicate⁹ § 10.

A. D. 429.

¹ Wisd. 4.
11.[² non
canoni-
cum]³ § 5.⁴ § 6.Aug. de
Cor.etGrat.
c. 11, 12.⁶ Aug. de
Cor.etGrat.
c. 14.¹ Tim. 2. 4.⁷ § 8.

A. D. 429. "to us the books you are composing on all your works" (meaning his *Retractations*) "as soon as you shall have published them; in order that they may authorize us to reject what you yourself shall have thought proper to censure in your writings. We have not got the treatise on *Grace and Free Will*. As I am hurried by the bearer of this letter, and fear I may not have thoroughly explained myself, I have prevailed upon a man celebrated for his virtue, his eloquence, and his zeal, to write to you all he could collect; and I have attached his letter to my own. For he is a man who well deserves, even without this occasion, to be known to your holiness."

LX.
Letter of
St. Prosper.

The person thus mentioned by Hilary is St. Prosper. He was of Riez in Aquitaine, or rather in Provence, and appears to have been only a layman, but well-instructed, and very zealous for the doctrine of grace. He had never seen St. Augustine, but they were already acquainted by letters. In that with which the letter of Hilary was accompanied, he says¹: "Many of the servants of CHRIST who live at Marseilles, having seen the works which your holiness has written against the Pelagians, think that all you have said in them on the calling of the elect according to the purpose of God, is contrary to the opinion of the Fathers, and the sentiments of the Church. Some were waiting for some clearer explanation on your part, when, by the disposition of Providence, the same question happening to be started in Africa, you published your treatise on *Correction and Grace*. We received this as an unexpected happiness, and believed that it would put an end to all complaints. And, indeed, it did confirm those who approved your doctrine, but at the same time it alienated the others still more. Their opposition is to be feared, both on their own account, inasmuch as they are persons of no common virtue, and also on account of the more simple people, over whom they exercise great influence."

¹ ap. Aug.
Ep. 225.

² § 3.

St. Prosper goes on to explain the doctrine of the Semi-Pelagians, as Hilary had done, but in a still stronger light². "They assert," says he, "that the doctrine of predestination takes from those who are fallen the care of raising themselves up again, and inspires the Saints with lukewarmness;

“ since in either case all labour is useless, if it be impossible A. D. 429.
 “ for the reprobate to enter by any amount of diligence, or
 “ the elect to perish by any degree of negligence. That all
 “ virtue is destroyed, if the decree of God prevent the human
 “ will; that under this name of predestination, a fatal ne-
 “ cessity is introduced, or God is made the Creator of different
 “ natures, if no one can become any thing else than what he
 “ has been made. Their final conclusion is, that our belief
 “ is contrary to edification, and that even though it be true,
 “ it ought not to be published, since it is hazardous to pro-
 “ pound what cannot be easily received, while there is no
 “ danger in silently suppressing what cannot be understood.
 “ Others, still more Pelagian¹, make grace consist in the gifts § 4.
 “ of nature, and say that if men make good use of these,
 “ they merit the attainment of saving grace. Thus those
 “ who will to be so, become the children of God; and those
 “ who do not will it, are inexcusable: the justice of God
 “ consists in this, that those who do not believe, perish; and
 “ His goodness appears, in that He excludes no one from
 “ life, but wills that all, without distinction, should be saved.
 “ In a word, they insist that we have as much freedom to do
 “ good as to do evil.

“ When the case of infants who die before they come to
 “ years of discretion is objected to them, they answer²: § 5.
 “ that they are either lost or saved, according as God foresees
 “ that they would be either good or bad, if they were allowed
 “ to reach the age of action. They say the same of whole
 “ nations, and that the Gospel has been either preached or
 “ not preached to them, according as God foresaw that they
 “ would either believe or not believe. That our LORD JESUS
 “ CHRIST died for all mankind³, and that no one whatever § 6.
 “ is excluded from the redemption of His blood. Thus, on
 “ the part of God, eternal life is prepared for all; but on
 “ the part of free will, it is for those only who believe of their
 “ own accord, and by their faith merit the assistance of
 “ grace.” St. Prosper, having thus explained the doctrine of
 “ the Semi-Pelagians, desires the assistance of St. Augustine⁴: § 7.
 “ And first,” he says⁵, “ as the greater part of them do not § 8.
 “ believe that the faith is attacked in this dispute, shew them
 “ how dangerous their opinion is; and then, how it is that

A. D. 429. "this preventing and co-operating grace does not impede the
 "action of free will. Whether in predestination we must
 "make a distinction between an absolute decree, for infants
 "who are saved without doing any thing, and a foreknowledge
 "of the good works which others are destined to do; or hold,
 "without distinction, that there is no good in us of which
 "God is not the author. Instruct us also on this point,
 "that if we review all the opinions of the ancients upon this
 "subject, they are found to be almost all of the same opinion,
 "that predestination is founded on foreknowledge, by which
 "God knows what use the will of each individual will make
 "of the assistance of grace. We hope by this means¹ that
 "you will enlighten the understandings of those who are
 "prepossessed with these notions: for you ought to be in-
 "formed that one among them, a person of great authority,
 "and very zealous for the Church, Hilary, the holy Bishop
 "of Arles, is in all other respects an admirer and follower of
 "your doctrine, and has long desired to communicate with
 "you by letter upon this subject."

LXI.
 Book of
 St. Augus-
 tine on the
 Predesti-
 nation of
 Saints.

When St. Augustine received these letters of Hilary and Prosper, he was greatly afflicted to find that there were persons who still dared to resist the doctrine of the Church, after it had been so clearly established by such a number of divine authorities. He could not, however, refuse to satisfy the zeal of these virtuous laymen; and though he had already written so much on this subject, though he was overwhelmed with other employments, and weakened by old age, he nevertheless wrote two books, intitled "On the Predestination of the Saints," and addressed to Prosper and Hilary.

In the first he shews that not the increase of faith only, but also its first beginning, is the gift of God; since St. Paul says², "For unto you it is given in the behalf of CHRIST, not
 "only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."
 And in another place³, "Not that we are sufficient of our-
 "selves to think any thing as of ourselves:" now believing
 is nothing more than thinking with assent⁴. He owns⁵ that
 he himself had formerly thought otherwise, as in his ex-
 position of the Epistle to the Romans, written before he
 was made Bishop, which the Semi-Pelagians objected to him;
 but he admits that he was mistaken, and says that he was

² c. 2. § 4.
 Philip. 1.
 29.

³ 2 Cor. 3. 5.

[⁴ ipsum
 credere
 nihil aliud
 est quam
 cum as-
 sensione
 cogitare]
⁵ c. 3.

led to see his error principally by this text¹, "What hast A. D. 429.
 "thou that thou didst not receive?" For he shews that it ¹ 1 Cor.
 is to be understood of faith itself²; and that faith ought to ^{4. 7.}
 be reckoned among the works which do not precede the ² c. 5.
 grace of God³, according to this other text, "Not of works, ³ c. 7.
 "otherwise grace is no more grace⁴;" for our Saviour says⁵, ⁴ Rom. 11. 6.
 "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom ⁵ John 6. 29.
 "He hath sent." Wherefore faith, both in its commence-
 ment and its perfection, is a gift of God which is not be-
 stowed on all⁶. ⁶ c. 9.

Predestination differs from grace⁷, of which it is only the ⁷ c. 10.
 preparation; and it differs also from foreknowledge. God,
 by foreknowledge, knows even those things which He will
 not Himself do, as sins, for instance; by predestination He
 foresees these things which He means to do; as, when He
 promised Abraham that nations should believe through his
 seed⁸. For He only promises that which depends upon ⁸ Gen. 17. 5.
 Himself. Now His promise is sure⁹; and this is why man ⁹ c. 11.
 ought not to fear to trust in it, even though it be uncertain ¹⁰ Rom. 4. 16.
 with respect to him; he ought far less to rely on his own will,
 which is doubtful in itself. Although it be said, "If thou
 "shalt believe, thou shalt be saved¹," it does not follow that ¹ Rom. 10. 9.
 the second only is in God's power. Those who do believe,
 pray to Him to increase their faith, and they also pray to
 Him to bestow it on those who do not believe. It is He who
 causes us to believe, in the same way as He saith by the
 Prophet Ezekiel, "I will cause you to walk in My statutes²." ² Ezek.
 36. 27.
 We act, and He causes us to act.

But after all, predestination purely gratuitous appears
 evidently in infants, and in JESUS CHRIST³. For, by what ³ c. 12. 13.
 preceding merit are the infants which are saved, distin-
 guished from the rest? "It is," said the Semi-Pelagians,
 "because God foresees what kind of life they would lead, if
 "they were to attain to years of maturity." "But," replies
 St. Augustine, "God neither rewards nor punishes actions
 "which will never be done;" and he repeats here what he had
 proved in his letter to Vitalis⁴, that we shall be judged ⁴ Supr. 50.
 according to the good or evil we have done in our body⁵. ⁵ 2 Cor. 5. 10.
 And as the Semi-Pelagians rejected the Book of Wisdom⁶, ⁶ c. 14.
 in which it is said⁷, "Speedily was he taken away, lest ⁷ Wisd. 4. 11.

A. D. 429. "wickedness should alter his understanding," St. Augustine maintains it by the authority both of St. Cyprian and of the whole Church, in which it had been ever publicly read^m. He then shews the truth of this sentence in itself. For if God had regard to what every man would do, if he were to live longer, we could not be assured either of the salvation or damnation of any person. But the most illustrious example of grace and predestination is the Man CHRIST JESUS¹. What had that man done, who did not yet exist, that he should be united to the Divine Word in unity of person! By what faith, by what works had he merited that supreme honour! We see in our Head the fountain of grace, which has spread itself over all His members. For St. Paul says expressly

¹ c. 15. that He was predestinated², and that He "is the Author and Finisher of our faith³."

² Rom. 1. 4. [ὁπισθέρως, deter-
mined:
marg.]
³ Hebr. 12. 2.
⁴ c. 16.
⁵ Luke 14.
16.
⁶ Rom. 11.
29.
⁷ c. 17.
⁸ John 15.
16.
⁹ c. 18.
Ephes. 1. 4.

There are two sorts of callings⁴, the one common to those who refuse to come to the wedding⁵; the other peculiar to the predestinated, and which is without repentance⁶. They are called⁷, not because they do believe, but that they may believe; for it is said⁸, "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you." "The Father hath chosen us in JESUS CHRIST before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him⁹." He does not say, "because we were to be so," but "that we should be so:" and he adds, that He has "predestinated us according to the good pleasure of His will," that no man may glory in his own good will. And as the Semi-Pelagians might confine themselves to saying, "God has predestinated us to be holy, because He foresaw that we would believe¹," St. Augustine shews that this calling includes every thing, not excepting faith itself. For St. Paul returns thanks to

¹ c. 19.

^m St. Augustine does not, in this place, either assert or deny the canonicity of the Book of Wisdom, though elsewhere he excludes it from the Jewish canon (Civ. Dei 17. 20). But he is anxious to establish the truth of an assertion contained in a book which had been read in the Church for so many years: and he claims for the book itself an authority at least superior to that of all the commentators and fathers, of whom, he says, "even those nearest to Apostolic times set

"its authority before their own, and when they quoted it, doubted not that they were quoting a divine text." Our Articles use a similar language in not applying to this Book to establish a doctrine, and our Homilies in quoting it as Holy Scripture. See especially Hom., p. 73, 172, 224, 354. Ed. Ox. 1832: also Bishop Cosin's Hist. of Can., ch. 6. § 77. and 7. § 80, 81; and Hooker, Eccles. Pol. 5. 20. § 11.

God for the faith of the Ephesians and Thessalonians¹: now it would be mocking of God to thank Him for what He had not given. And when he acknowledges that "God opens to him a door" for the preaching of the gospel², what does he mean to say, except that God disposes the hearts of men to faith?

A. D. 429.
¹ Ephes. 1. 13.
¹ Thess. 2. 13.
² Coloss. 4. 2. 1 Cor. 16. 9. 2 Cor. 2. 12, 13.

The second book of St. Augustine to Prosper and Hilary bore at first the same title, "On the Predestination of the Saints³," but it has been since intitled, "On the Gift of Perseverance," because it begins with that question. He shews, then, in the first place⁴, that the perseverance of which it is said⁵, "he that endureth to the end shall be saved," is not less a gift of God than the beginning of faith; and he proves it chiefly by the fact of our praying for it. For it would be a mocking of God, to ask that of Him which we did not believe to be in His power to give. Now we ask for scarcely any thing else in the Lord's Prayer, according to the explanation of St. Cyprian, who has therein refuted the Pelagians before their birth⁶. We chiefly pray for perseverance, in praying not to be led into temptation⁷: for it is true that each individual by abandoning God through his own will, deserves, in consequence, to be abandoned by God⁸; but it is to escape this evil that we make this prayer. We need not harass ourselves with disputes on this matter⁹; we need only attend to the daily prayers of the Church. She prays that the unbelievers may believe, therefore it is God who turns their hearts; she prays that the faithful may persevere, therefore it is God who gives them perseverance. God has foreseen that He will do so, and this is predestination.

LXII.
 Book on the Gift of Perseverance.
³ Prosp. Resp. ad excerp. Genuens. init.
⁴ de Don. Pers. c. 2.
⁵ Matth. 10. 22.

"But," it is asked¹, "why is not grace bestowed according to the merits of men?" Because He is merciful: "Why then is it not bestowed on all?" Because He is just. Of two children equally subject to original sin, He takes the one and leaves the other²; of two adult unbelievers, He calls one effectually and not the other; these are His unsearchable judgments. And it is still more difficult to understand why, of two righteous persons, perseverance is given to the one, and not to the other. This, however, is most certain, that the one is of the number of the predestinated, and the other is not. "They went out from us," says St. John, "because they

¹ c. 8.
² c. 9.

A. D. 429.

¹ 1 John
2. 19.

“were not of us¹.” They were of them in one sense, inasmuch as they were called and justified; they were not of them in another sense, inasmuch as they were not predestinated. That this mystery of predestination is impenetrable we may learn from CHRIST Himself, who says², “If the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon “which have been done in you, they had a great while ago “repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.” For it cannot be said after this, that God refuses the preaching of the gospel to those only whom He foresees would not profit by it.

² Luke
10. 13.
Matth.
11. 21.³ c. 14.

“But,” said the Semi-Pelagians³, “it is dangerous to “publish this doctrine, since it is incompatible with preach- “ing, exhortation, and correction.” Yet St. Paul, and

⁴ Philip. 1. 6.
John 6. 65.

CHRIST Himself, did not omit to teach it⁴. And, indeed, will any one say that God has not foreseen to what persons

⁵ § 35.

He will give faith or perseverance⁵? Now predestination is nothing more than the foreknowledge and preparation of the benefits of God, by which all those are most surely delivered, who are delivered. The same argument might be

⁶ c. 18. § 47.

used against foreknowledge and grace⁶. It is true indeed, that in preaching this doctrine to the people, discretion must

⁷ c. 22.

be used⁷; we must not say, “The predestination of God is “absolutely certain, so that you are come to the faith, who

“have received the will to obey; while you on the contrary “remain attached to sin, because you have not yet received

“grace to raise yourselves out of it. But if you are pre- “destinated, you also will receive the same grace: while you

“again, if you are reprobate, will cease to be obedient.” For though all this be true in itself, and if taken in a right

sense, yet so harsh and indiscreet a mode of stating it will render it intolerable. We should rather say, “A sure pre-

“destination has brought you from infidelity to the faith, “and will cause you to persevere in it. If you are still

“attached to your sins, receive salutary instruction⁸, with- “out, however, being elated by it; ‘for it is God which

“worketh in you both to will and to do⁹.’ And if some are “not yet called, let us pray to God that He will call them;

“for perhaps they too are predestinated.” As for the reprobate, we ought never to mention them but in the third

[⁸ disci-
plina]⁹ Philip.
2. 13.

person, saying, for instance, "If some are now obedient, and A. D. 429.
 "yet are not predestinated, they are obedient only for a
 "time, and will not persevere in their obedience to the end."
 Above all¹, we must exhort the less acute to leave disputes ^{1 c. 23.}
 to the learned, and attend to the prayers of the Church.

St. Augustine concludes in these words²; "Let all who ^{2 c. 24.}
 "read this, if they understand it, return thanks to God; if
 "they do not understand it, let them pray to Him for in-
 "struction. Let those who think I am in error, consider
 "my words with earnest attention, lest perchance they may
 "be themselves in error. For myself, I return thanks to
 "God, whenever those who read my works instruct me,
 "and correct me; and this I look for especially from the
 "doctors of the Church, if they condescend to read what
 "I have written." St. Augustine makes no answer to the
 objection drawn from his distinction between the grace of
 the two states, namely, that of Adam and our own.

In this book on Perseverance, he takes notice that he was ^{LXIII.}
 at that same time engaged upon his Retractations³; and he ^{Book on}
 likewise speaks of it in his last letter to Quodvultdeus, which ^{Heresies.}
 must therefore have been written about the same time. ^{3 c. 21. § 55.}
 Quodvultdeus, who was then Deacon of Carthage, and after-
 wards Bishop of the same Church, wrote to St. Augustine⁴, ^{4 ap. Aug.}
 desiring him, in the name of all the clergy, to draw up a small ^{Ep. 221.}
 treatise containing an epitome of all the heresies from the
 beginning of Christianity. St. Augustine at first excused
 himself on the ground of the difficulty of the work⁵, and ^{5 Ep. 222.}
 referred Quodvultdeus to the treatises of St. Philastrius,
 Bishop of Brescia⁶, and St. Epiphanius, declaring at the ^{6 Supr. 18,}
 same time a great preference for the latter. This did not, ^{10.}
 however, silence Quodvultdeus; and he pressed St. Augus-
 tine so urgently in a second letter, that he at last obtained
 his request⁷. St. Augustine only desired him to allow him ^{7 Ep. 223,}
 time⁸, because of the multitude of occupations in which he ^{8 Ep. 224.}
 was involved, and which had obliged him even to lay aside
 the work he was then writing.

"This is," he says, "an answer to the eight books which
 "Julian has published after the four which I have already
 "answered. My brother Alypius met with them at Rome,
 "and though he had not yet copied them all, he was un-

A. D. 429. "willing to lose an opportunity which occurred of sending
 "me five, at the same time promising to send me the other
 "three very soon, and strongly urging me to answer them.
 "I have therefore been obliged to go on more slowly with
 "the work on which I was then engaged, which was the
 "revision of my own works¹; and that I may not be want-
 "ing to either of these, I work at one by day and the other
 "by night, so far, that is, as the other occupations which
 "are continually pouring in upon me from all sides will
 "allow." He fulfilled his promise, and sent some time
 after to Quodvultdeus a treatise on Heresies, in which he
 enumerates eighty-eight in all, beginning with the Simonians
 and concluding with the Pelagians². He does not, however,
 claim to have known all the heresies, since some of them are
 so obscure as to escape the most curious eye; nor to have
 explained all the tenets of the heretics he has mentioned,
 since there are some which are unknown even to the heretics
 themselves. To this first book he intended to have added a
 second, in which he meant to lay down rules to determine
 what constitutes a heretic, and thus afford a security against
 all heresies, known or unknown³; but he was prevented by
 death from writing this second part⁴.

¹ Supr. 48.

² Aug. viii.
 de Hær.
 Præf. et
 Peror.

³ Possid.
 Indic. c. 5.
⁴ Isid. de
 Script.
 Eccles. c. 9.

INDEX TO THE TEXT.

*** The References are made to BOOKS and CHAPTERS.

A.

- Abda, St.*, Bishop of Persia, 21. 46.
His zeal produces a persecution, 24.
26. in which he himself suffers martyrdom, *ibid.*
- Abibas, St.*, son of Gamaliel, 23. 22, 23.
- Ablaas*, Bishop of Persia. See *Abda*.
- Absolution*, when granted at the point of death, 22. 4.
- Abstinence*, from wine and flesh during Lent, 21. 2.
- Acacius*, Bishop of Berrhcea, conspires against St. Chrysostom, 21. 17. at the Council of the Oak, 21. 18. and at the Council of Constantinople, 21. 33. secretly ordains Porphyrius Bishop of Antioch, 21. 47. writes to the Pope against St. Chrysostom, 21. 50. is reunited with the friends of St. Chrysostom, 23. 26.
- *St.*, Bishop of Amida, 24. 29.
- Achilleus*, Bishop of Spoleto, 24. 8, 9.
- Acts* of the Apostles, by Leucius, a Manichean work, 21. 56.
- Adelphius*, Bishop of Cucusus, 21. 44.
- Adrumetum*, city of Africa. Dispute among the Monks of Adrumetum on grace, 24. 45. Books of St. Augustine on that occasion, 24. 46, 47.
- Ætius*, Patrician, accuses Count Boniface before the Empress Placidia, 24. 51.
- Africa*, Eastern. See *Alexandria*.
——— Western, want of clergy there, 21. 13. primacy, 21. 25. mode of proceeding in general Councils, 21. 26. makes the first attack on the Pelagian heresy, 23. 2. is ravaged by the Vandals, 24. 51.
- Agapetus*, Bishop of the Macedonians at Synnada, 22. 27.
- Agnes, St.*, St. Demetrias excited by her example, 23. 12.
- Alani*, in Gaul, 22. 16. in Spain, 23. 5. in Africa, 24. 51.
- Alaric*, marches against Rome, 22. 19. retires, *ibid.* returns and makes Attilus Emperor, 22. 20. deposes him, *ibid.* treats with Honorius, 22. 21. besieges and takes Rome, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- Albina, St.*, daughter-in-law of St. Melania the Elder, and mother of Pinianus, 21. 31. crosses into Africa, 22. 22. and thence to Palestine, 23. 52: 24. 12.
- Alethius, St.*, Bishop of Cahors, 21. 51.
- Alexander*, Bishop of Basinopolis, 22. 42.
——— *St.*, Patriarch of Antioch, 23. 26. His death, 23. 27.
- Alexandria*, Council there condemning Origen, 21. 1.
- Alypius, St.*, assists at a Council of Carthage, 21. 26. exposed to a tumult at Hippos, 22. 23. Question between him and St. Augustine about the property of Honoratus, 22. 25. deputy at the Conference at Carthage, 22. 31. at the second Council of Milevum, 23. 30. subscribes the letter of St. Augustine to Pope Innocent against Pelagius, *ibid.* his visits to Rome, 24. 18, 21. is calumniated by the Pelagians, 24. 21.
- Amandus, St.*, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, 21. 51.
- Amantius*, eunuch of the Empress Eudoxia, 21. 8.
- Amator, St.*, Bishop of Auxerre, 23. 46.
- Ambrose, St.*, disobedience of his deacon, Gerontius, 21. 7. commended by Pelagius, 23. 53.
- Amida*, city of Mesopotamia. *St. Acacius*, Bishop, 24. 29.
- Ammonius*, Bishop of Adrianopolis, 21. 5. ——— one of the Four Brothers: ill-treated by Theophilus of Alexandria, 21. 3. conversation with St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. death, 21. 23. See *Four Brothers*.

- Ammonius*, Bishop of Laodicea in Pisidia, 21. 33.
 ——— a seditious Monk of Alexandria, 23. 25.
- Amphilochius, St.*, a friend of St. Olym-
 pius, 21. 40.
- Anastasius, St.*, Pope, letter to the African Bishops, 21. 13. death, 21. 26.
 ——— Priest, companion of Nestorius, 24. 55.
- Anania*, Martyrs of, unavenged, 22. 47.
- Ancona*, city of Italy, where was a Memory of St. Stephen, 24. 37.
- Ancoratus*, work of St. Epiphanius, 21. 15.
- Andrew, St.*, reliques of, at Constantinople, 22. 6.
- Andronicus*, Governor of Pentapolis, excommunicated by Synesius, 22. 45.
- Angels*, doctrine of Origen, and St. Augustine's opinion, 23. 16.
- Anthemius*, Præfect of the East, 22. 18, 27.
- Anthony*, Bishop of Fussala, 24. 34.
 ——— Bishop of Germa, 24. 55.
- Anthropomorphites*, Egyptian Monks condemned by Theophilus, 21. 1.
- Antichrist*, not referred to Nero by St. Augustine, 23. 10.
- Antioch*, end of the Schism, 23. 26. authority of the see, *ibid.*
- Antiochus*, Bishop of Ptolemais, preaches at Constantinople, 21. 9. opposed to St. Chrysostom, 21. 17, 33, 50. at the Council of the Oak, 21. 18. and that of Constantinople, 21. 33. secretly ordains Porphyrius Bishop of Antioch, 21. 47.
- Antoninus*, Bishop of Ephesus, 21. 5, 6.
- Anysius, St.*, Bishop of Thessalonica, writes to the Pope in favour of St. Chrysostom, 21. 50: 22. 10.
- Apiarius*, Priest of Africa, excommunicated by his Bishop, 24. 6. appeals to the Pope, *ibid.* his case examined at the sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 10. is readmitted to communion, 24. 11. Pope Cælestine endeavours unsuccessfully to restore him a second time, 24. 35.
- Apocalypse*, Harlot of (ch. 17), a type of idolatrous Rome, 22. 22.
- Apocryphal Books*; canon of Pope Innocent, 22. 4. quoted by Vigilantius, 22. 5. by Gaudentius, 24. 22. rejected by the Semi-Pelagians, 24. 59. opinion of St. Augustine, 24. 22, 61.
- Apology* of St. Augustine in his City of God, 23. 8, &c.
- Appeals* to the Pope disputed by the African Bishops, 24. 6, 11, 35. to a general Council by the Pelagians, 23. 51: 24. 25.
- Apringius*, Proconsul, 22. 47. death, 23. 11.
- Apronianus*, husband of Avita, niece of St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31.
- Arabian*, Bishop of Ancyra, 21. 5.
- Arcadia*, Virgin, daughter of the Emperor Arcadius, 22. 18.
- Arcadius*, Emperor, is supported by St. Chrysostom against Gainas the Goth, 21. 4. grants to the Empress Eudoxia the destruction of the temple of Marnas, 21. 8. banishes St. Chrysostom, 21. 21. recalls him, 21. 22. again yields to his enemies, and orders him to quit the Church, 21. 35. and to leave Constantinople, 21. 37. letter to him from Honorius in favour of St. Chrysostom, 22. 3. His death, 22. 18. Laws published by him, 21. 34: 22. 41, 47.
- Arians*. Attempt of Gainas to procure an Arian church at Constantinople, 21. 4. Tumult at Constantinople, and consequent prohibition of assembling within the city, 21. 10. Irruption of Arian Barbarians into the Gauls, 22. 16. and thence into Spain, 23. 5. Discourse of St. Augustine against them, 23. 58. Vandal Arians invited into Africa by Count Boniface, 24. 51. Works of St. Augustine against Maximin, 24. 53. and Pascentius, 24. 54. Law of Theodosius II. against them, 24. 55.
- Arles*, city of Provence. Dispute between the Bishops of Arles and Vienne on the primacy, 21. 52. Privileges of the Church of Arles confirmed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45. Attempt of the Bishop of Arles repressed by Pope Boniface, 24. 31. St. Honoratus, Bishop of Arles, 24. 58. succeeded by St. Hilary, *ibid.*
- Arms*, profession of, compatible with Christianity, 23. 41. not allowed to be worn in Church, 23. 46.
- Arsacius*, accuses St. Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, 21. 21. Bishop of Constantinople, 21. 39. his death, 22. 9.
- Aspebetus*, a Saracen chief, baptized by St. Euthymius, 24. 27.
- Astrologers*, law against, 22. 19.
- Asyncritia*, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 41.
- Attalus*, Emperor of the West, 22. 20.
- Atticus*, accuses St. Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, 21. 21. succeeds Arsacius in the see of Constantinople, 22. 9. obtains rescripts from the Emperor to force the Catholics to communicate with him, *ibid.* his behaviour towards Theodosius of Synnada, 22. 27. refuses to insert

- the name of St. Chrysostom in the Diptychs, 23. 27. consents to it, and writes to St. Cyril of Alexandria, *ibid.* opposes the Pelagians, 24. 25. his death, 24. 44.
- Audas, St.*, Bishop of Persia. See *Abda.*
- Augustine, St.*, promises to receive the Donatists, 21. 13. is present at the Council of Carthage, A. D. 403, 21. 26. the Donatists attempt to murder him, 21. 27. difference between him and St. Jerome, 21. 28, 29. recommends moderation towards the Donatists in the Council of Carthage, A. D. 404, 21. 53. his conduct in the affair of Spes and Boniface, 21. 54. conference with Felix the Manichee, 21. 55, 56. Works, *On the Nature of Good: Against Secundinus: Against Hilarus*, 21. 57. books *Against Cresconius* the Donatist, 22. 8. Letter to Olympius, Master of the Offices, 22. 16. on the massacre of Calama, 22. 17. to Donatus, Proconsul of Africa, 22. 18. he appeases the tumult at Hippo for the ordination of Pinianus, 22. 23. letter on the oath of Pinianus, 22. 24. His disinterestedness in the case of Honoratus, 22. 25. Treatise *On the Only Baptism, ibid.* sermons before the Conference of Carthage, 22. 30. he is one of the Deputies for the Conference, 22. 31. discusses the question of the Church in the Conference, 22. 38. his *Abridgment of the Conference*, and *Address to the Donatist laity*, 22. 40. he intercedes for the Donatists, 22. 47. his multifarious occupations, 22. 48. letter to the Donatist laity in the name of the Council of Ciritha, 22. 49. letters to Marcellinus, 22. 50. to Volusian, 22. 51. to Macedonius, 22. 52. His first writings against the Pelagians, *On the Merit and Remission of Sins: On the Spirit and Letter*, 23. 2, 3. *The City of God*, 23. 8, &c. Treatise *On Faith and Works*, 23. 10. he attempts in vain to save the Tribune Marcellinus, 23. 11. Sermon against the Pelagians at Carthage, 23. 14. Letter to Hilary, and treatise *On Nature and Grace*, 23. 15. Answer to the consultation of Orosius, 23. 16. letters to St. Jerome carried by Orosius, 23. 17. his modesty, 23. 17, 56: 24. 62. he assists at the second Council of Milevum, 23. 30. letter to Pope Innocent I. against Pelagius, *ibid.* to John of Jerusalem, 23. 31. Books *On the Trinity*, 23. 36. *On the Acts of the Council of Palestine*, 23. 37. letters to Paulinus, Dardanus, and Juliana, 23. 38. to Count Boniface on the Correction of the Donatists, 23. 39, 40. on the military profession, 23. 41. Books *On the Grace of Christ and Original Sin*, 23. 53, 54. Conference with Emeritus, the Donatist, at Cæsarea in Mauritania, 23. 55. letters to Optatus and Mercator, 23. 56. to Sixtus, 23. 57. *Discourse against the Arians*, 23. 58. his testimony to the miracles of the reliques of St. Stephen, 24. 4, 5. letters to Hesychius, 24. 13. *Locutions*, and *Questions: On Adulterous Marriages*, 24. 14. Books *On Marriage and Concupiscence*, 24. 15, 18. *Four Books to Pope Boniface*, 24. 19. *On the Soul, and its Origin*, 24. 20. *Against the Adversary of the Law, and the Prophets*, 24. 21. last works against the Donatists, *Against Gaudentius*, 24. 22. *Eight Questions of Dulcitus: Enchiridion: On the Care due to the Dead: Against Lying*, 24. 23. Books *Against Julian*, 24. 24. letter to Pope Cælestine I. on the affair of Anthony of Fussala, 24. 34. Miraculous cure of Paul and Palladia, 24. 36, 37. His domestic life, 24. 38. his disinterestedness in temporal matters, 24. 39. his two sermons on the Common Life, 24. 40, 41. *Rule for the Nuns*, 24. 42. he names Eraclius his successor, 24. 43. Dispute among the Monks of Adrumetum on the letter of Sixtus, 24. 45. Book composed in consequence, *On Grace and Free Will*, 24. 46. and *On Correction and Grace*, 24. 47. his *Retractions*, 24. 48. Conversion of Leporius, 24. 49. Letter to Vitalis, 24. 50. to Count Boniface, 24. 52. conference with Maximin and Pascentius, Arians, 24. 53, 54. Books *Against Maximin*, 24. 53. Book *On the Predestination of Saints*, 24. 61. *On the Gift of Perseverance*, 24. 62. *On Heresies*, 24. 63. *Aurelius*, Bishop of Carthage. St. Chrysostom writes to him, 22. 12. he subscribes the letter of the Catholic Bishops to the Tribune Marcellinus, 22. 29. is at the head of the Deputies in the Conference, 22. 31. causes St. Augustine to preach against the Pelagians in the great church of Carthage, 23. 14. Letter to him from Pope Innocent on ordinations, 23. 34. instance of his generosity, 24. 40. signs, as a witness, the recantation of Leporius, 24. 49. See *Councils of Carthage*.
- Auxerre, St. Amator* and St. Germanus, Bishops of, 23. 46.
- Avita*, niece of St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31.

Avitus, Priest, brought into Spain the doctrine of Origen, 23. 16. and some of the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 23. supposed to be the person to whom St. Jerome wrote, 23. 16.

B.

Babylon, Idolatrous Rome so called in the Apocalypse, 22. 22.

Baptism. Three thousand newly baptized at Constantinople, 21. 36. Treatise of St. Augustine, *On the Only Baptism*, against the Donatists, 22. 25. Preparation for Baptism, 23. 10. Baptismal Fonts miraculously replenished, 23. 35. Ceremonies of Baptism, 24. 24.

Barbarians. Irruption and defeat of Rhadagaisus in Italy, 22. 15. Ravages of the Barbarians in the Gauls, 22. 16: 23. 5. Alaric besieges Rome, 22. 19. takes and pillages it, 22. 21. Ravages of the Barbarians in the East, 22. 22. in the Gauls and Spain, 23. 5. in Africa, 24. 51.

Basiliscus, *St.*, appears to St. Chrysostom, 22. 18.

Bassiana, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 41.

Benjamin, Martyr in Persia, 24. 26.

Bigamy. Marriage before Baptism not cancelled by Baptism, 21. 51.

Bishops, New Bishops notified by the Bishop of Alexandria, 21. 2. Visits of Bishops to the Court, 22. 14. Number of the African Bishops, 22. 35.

Boniface, Priest of Hippo, accuses Spes, 21. 54.

Count. St. Augustine's letters to him, 23. 39, 40, 41: 24. 52. he opposes the tyrant John, 24. 33. his revolt, 24. 51. and attempt to repair his fault, 24. 52.

Boniface I., *St.*, Pope. While Priest, at Constantinople for Pope Innocent I., 23. 26. is elected Pope, 24. 7. Schism of Eulalius, 24. 7, 8, 9. Synodical letter addressed to him by the sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 11. Rescript obtained by him from Honorius for the election of his successor, 24. 16. his letter to the Bishops of Gaul concerning Maximus, 24. 17. Books of St. Augustine addressed to him against the Pelagians, 24. 19. he maintains his jurisdiction over Illyria, 24. 31. represses an attempt of Patroclus of Arles, *ibid.* his death, 24. 32.

Bonosius, heretic, his ordinations invalid, 23. 33.

Borborians, heretics, 24. 55.

Bosphorus, Bishop of Colonia, favourable to St. Chrysostom, 22. 11.

Bourdeau, St. Amandus, Bishop of, 21. 51.

Braga, Council of, 23. 6.

Bricius, *St.*, or Britius, Bishop of Tours, said to have been falsely accused by Lazarus of Aix, 21. 52: 23. 44.

Brisco, eunuch of the Empress Eudoxia, 21. 10.

Briso, Bishop of Philippopolis in Thrace, 21. 33.

Brisso, brother of the younger Palladius, 22. 11.

Brothers, the Four Tall, persecuted by Theophilus, 21. 3. go to Constantinople to seek the assistance of St. Chrysostom, 21. 11. apply to the Emperor Arcadius, 21. 14. their interview with St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. Testimony of Posthumian to their persecution, 21. 16. Reconciliation of Theophilus with them, 22. 23.

Burgundians, conversion of, 23. 5.

C.

Cæcilianus, defended in the conference of Carthage, 22. 39, 40.

Cælestine, *St.*, I., Pope, 24. 32. Letter of St. Augustine to him on Anthony of Fussala, 24. 34. From the Bishops of Africa on Apiarius, 24. 35. Two Decretals, 24. 56.

Cælestius, disciple of Pelagius, 23. 1. Condemned at Carthage, 23. 2, 30. Goes to Rome to justify himself, 23. 42. His confession of faith, *ibid.* Flies from a new trial, 23. 50.

Cæsarea in Cappadocia, St. Chrysostom's ill-usage there, 21. 43.

Calama, city of Africa, of which St. Possidius was Bishop, 21. 27. Sedition of the Pagans against the Christians, 22. 17. Miracles wrought there by the reliques of St. Stephen, 24. 5.

Canons of the Council of Antioch employed against St. Chrysostom, 21. 34. Of Sardica alleged as those of Nicæa by Pope Zosimus, 24. 6, 10.

Caphargamala, city of Palestine, where the reliques of St. Stephen were discovered, 23. 22.

Capraisius, hermit of the islands of Marseilles, 24. 58.

Carteria, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 22. 1.

Carthage: conference between Donatists and Catholics, 22. 27—40. See *Councils*.

- Carthage*, schism of Bishops of, 21. 32.
- Cassian*, Collation on Prayer, 21. 1. He goes to Rome in defence of St. Chrysostom, 21. 50. Endeavours to convert Leporius, 24. 49. Retires to Marseilles, and there founds monasteries, 24. 57. His *Institutions* and *Collations*, *ibid.*
- Castor*, Bishop of Apta, 24. 57.
- Castorius*, Bishop of Bagaïa, 21. 25.
- Castricia*, an enemy of St. Chrysostom, 21. 17.
- Caterva*, a combat at Cæsarea in Mauritania, abolished by St. Augustine, 23. 55.
- Catharists*, a sect of Manichees, 24. 21.
- Ceremonies*, Jewish, how they ought to be abolished, 21. 29.
- Cheremon*, Egyptian Monk, an interlocutor in Cassian's Collations, 24. 57.
- Chalcidica*, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 41.
- Chromatius*, Bishop of Aquileia, 22. 3. St. Chrysostom writes to him, 21. 49: 22. 12.
- Chrysostom, St.*, resists Gainas the Goth, 21. 4. Is ambassador to Gainas in rebellion, *ibid.* Antoninus of Ephesus accused before him, 21. 5. He goes to reform the Churches of Proconsular Asia, 21. 6. Deposes Gerontius of Nicomedia, 21. 7. Expels Severian of Gabala from Constantinople, 21. 9. Is reconciled to him by the Empress Eudoxia, *ibid.* Opposes the Arians at Constantinople, 21. 10. The Four Brothers seek his aid against Theophilus of Alexandria, 21. 11. His respect for St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. Conspiracy against him, 21. 17. Council of the Oak, 21. 18, &c. Forty Bishops on his side, 21. 19. Sermons preached by him on this occasion, 21. 20. He is condemned by the Council, and banished by the Emperor, 21. 21. Recalled immediately, 21. 22. Theophilus retires, and St. Chrysostom remains in peace, 21. 23. New conspiracy against him on occasion of the Empress Eudoxia's statue, 21. 33. The Canons of the Council of the Dedication of Antioch produced against him, 21. 34. Is expelled from the Church, 21. 35. Outrages on Easter-eve, 21. 36. He is expelled from Constantinople, 21. 37. Persecution of his friends, 21. 38. The Catholics refuse to recognise Arsacius, 21. 39. Zeal of St. Olympias, 21. 40. Persecution of St. Nicarete, and others, 21. 41. His conduct in exile, 21. 42. Ill-treatment at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, 21. 43. Ar-
- rival at Cucusus, 21. 44. Letters to St. Olympias, and others, 21. 45: 22. 1, 2, 12. Letter to Pope Innocent, 21. 49. Deputations to Rome for and against him, 21. 50. His occupations at Cucusus, 22. 1. His sufferings, 22. 2. He is removed to Arabissus, *ibid.* Deputation from the West to Arcadius in his favour, 22. 3. Violence against the deputies, 22. 10. And against the Eastern Bishops, 22. 11. He is removed to Pityus, 22. 13. His death, *ibid.* Theophilus of Alexandria refuses to insert his name in the Diptychs, 22. 42. Admitted by St. Alexander of Antioch, 23. 26. And by Atticus, 23. 27. His memory celebrated at Constantinople, 24. 55.
- Churches* preserved at the sack of Rome, 22. 21.
- Cirthea*, Council of, A.D. 412, 22. 49.
- City of God*, of St. Augustine, 23. 8.
- Clergy*, continence of, 22. 4, 5. Want of, in Africa, 21. 13. Accusations against, to whom allowed, 24. 11.
- Cœlestis*, temple of, at Carthage levelled by Constantius, 24. 21.
- Cœlicolæ*, heretics, 22. 18.
- Comana*, in Pontus, place of St. Chrysostom's death, 22. 13.
- Community* of St. Augustine's clergy, 24. 41.
- Concupiscence*, how connected with marriage, 24. 15. Is not the evil substance of the Manichees, 24. 24.
- Conference*, between Donatists and Catholics, at Carthage, ordered by the Emperor Honorius, 22. 26. Preliminaries, 22. 28. Offers of the Catholics, 22. 29. Acts of Delegation, 22. 31. First day, 22. 32—35. Second day, 22. 36. Third day, 22. 37—40. Question of the Church, 22. 38. Cause of Cœcilianus, 22. 39. Sentence of Marcellinus, and publication of the Acts, 22. 40.
- Confirmation*, given by the Bishop alone, 23. 32.
- Constantine*, usurper in the Gauls, 23. 44.
- Constantinople*, Council of the enemies of St. Chrysostom, A.D. 403, 21. 33. Burning of the church and palace, 21. 37. Schism between the Catholics attached to St. Chrysostom, and those who recognised Arsacius, 21. 39. Continuation of the schism under Atticus, 22. 9. Memory of St. Chrysostom re-established, 23. 27. Claim of the Bishop of Constantinople resisted by Pope Boniface, 24. 31. Sisinnius Bishop, and Council A. D. 426, 24. 44. Law

- enforcing the authority of the see, 24. 44.
- Constantius III.*, Emperor of the West; Magister Militum, 23. 4. Brother-in-law of the Emperor Honorius, 24. 9. Declared Emperor, 24. 21. Issues an edict against the Pelagians, and destroys the remains of the temple of Coelestis, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- Priest of Antioch, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 42, 44, 47: 22. 1.
- Vicar of the Prætorian Præfects, and Confessor, 23. 50.
- Continnence* of the clergy, in the decretal of St. Innocent to St. Exuperius, 22. 4.
- Councils*, mode of proceeding in the African Councils, 21. 26. Councils during persecution, 22. 39. Cause of the Pelagians decided without an Ecumenical Council, 24. 25.
- Councils.*
- At Alexandria, condemning Origen, 21. 1. A. D. 399.
- At Constantinople, where Antoninus of Ephesus was accused, 21. 5. A. D. 400.
- At Ephesus, where the Simoniacal Bishops were condemned, 21. 6. A. D. 401.
- At Cyprus, condemning Origen, 21. 12. A. D. 401.
- At Carthage, on the scarcity of clergy, 21. 13. June 18, A. D. 401.
- Ibid.* and against Donatists, *ibid.* Sept. 13, A. D. 401.
- First of Milevum, on the Primacy of Numidia, 21. 25. Aug. 27, A. D. 402.
- At Carthage, to summon the Donatists to conference, 21. 26. Aug. 24, A. D. 403.
- Of the Oak*, against St. Chrysostom, 21. 18, &c. A. D. 403.
- At Constantinople, with St. Chrysostom, 21. 19. A. D. 403.
- At Constantinople*, against St. Chrysostom, 21. 33. A. D. 403.
- Of Turin, 21. 52. A. D. 404.
- At Carthage, requesting the use of the civil power against the Donatists, 21. 53. June 26, A. D. 404.
- Italian Council, for St. Chrysostom, 22. 3. A. D. 405.
- At Carthage, to enforce the Edict of Union, 22. 8. Aug. 23, A. D. 405.
- Ibid.*, restraining the Bishops' visits to Italy, 22. 8. Dec. 8, A. D. 405.
- Ibid.*, requesting Defenders from Scholastici, 22. 14. June 13, A. D. 407.
- At Carthage, against Pagans and Heretics, 22. 16. June 16, A. D. 408.
- Ibid.*, for same purpose, 22. 16. Oct. 13, A. D. 408.
- Ibid.*, to obtain the revocation of a law favourable to the Donatists, 22. 26. June 14, A. D. 410.
- CONFERENCE OF CARTHAGE, 22. 28, &c. A. D. 411.
- At Ptolemais, excommunicating Andronicus, 22. 45. A. D. 411.
- At Braga, on the Barbarian invasion, 23. 2. A. D. 411.
- At Ciritha, against the Donatist calumnies, 22. 49. A. D. 412.
- At Carthage, against Cælestius, 23. 2. A. D. 412.
- At Jerusalem, to examine Pelagius, 23. 19. A. D. 415.
- At Diospolis, where Pelagius was acquitted, 23. 20, 21. A. D. 415.
- At Carthage, against the Pelagians, 23. 30. A. D. 416.
- At Milevum, against the Pelagians, 23. 30. A. D. 416.
- At Carthage, *ibid.* 23. 47. Nov. A. D. 417.
- Ibid.*, in which the Eight Articles against the Pelagians were determined, 23. 48. May 1, A. D. 418.
- Ibid.*, receiving the Legates of Pope Zosimus concerning Apiarius, 24. 6. A. D. 418.
- At Ravenna, concerning the schism of Eulalius, 24. 8. A. D. 419.
- SIXTH OF CARTHAGE, concerning Apiarius, 24. 10. May 25, A. D. 419.
- SEVENTH OF CARTHAGE, 24. 11. May 30, A. D. 419.
- At Antioch, condemning Pelagius, 24. 25. A. D. 421.
- In Cilicia, *ibid.*, 24. 25. A. D. 421.
- At Hippo, against Anthony of Fussala, 24. 34. A. D. 423.
- At Carthage, receiving the Legates of Pope Cælestine concerning Apiarius, 24. 35. A. D. 426.
- At Hippo, for the nomination of Eraclius, 24. 43. Sept. 26, A. D. 426.
- At Constantinople, for the consecration of Sisinnius, 24. 44. A. D. 426.
- Cresconius*, Donatist, 22. 8.
- Criminals*, intercession for, justified, 22. 52.
- Crispinus*, Donatist Bishop of Calama, 21. 27.
- Cross*, custody of, entrusted to St. Porphyrius of Gaza, 21. 8. a piece of, given to St. Paulinus by St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31.

Ctesiphon, St. Jerome's letter to him against the Pelagians, 23. 18.
Cucusus, in Armenia, the place of St. Chrysostom's exile, 21. 42, 44.
Cyprus, Bishops of, subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, 23. 26.
Cyriacus, Bishop of Emesa, taken and banished, 21. 37. Accompanies deputation from the West, 22. 3. His second exile, 22. 11.
 ——— Bishop of Synnada, 21. 50.
Cyril, St., Bishop of Alexandria, 22. 46. Closes the Novatian Churches, *ibid.* Expels the Jews from Alexandria, 23. 25. Correspondence with Atticus on the re-establishment of the memory of St. Chrysostom, 23. 27.
Cyrius, Bishop of Chalcedon, opposed to St. Chrysostom, 21. 18, 34, 50. His painful death, 21. 48.
Cyrus, St., Martyr, translation of his reliques, 23. 24.
Cyzicus, St. Proclus, Bishop of, 24. 44.

D.

Dacia, a province of Illyria, of which St. Nicetas was Bishop, 21. 31.
Dardanus, St. Augustine's letter to him, 23. 38.
Dead, prayers of the, 22. 5, 6 : 24. 23.
Decani, 21. 18.
Decentius, decretal of St. Innocent to him, 23. 32.
Decretals of St. Innocent I. to St. Exuperius, 22. 4. To Decentius, 23. 32. and others, 23. 33. Of St. Cælestine I., 24. 56.
Defenders of the Churches, 22. 14, 15.
Delphinus, St., Bishop of Bourdeaux, 21. 51.
Demetrias, St., crosses into Africa, 22. 22. Consecrates herself to God, 23. 12. Letter of Pelagius to her, 23. 13.
Demetrius, Bishop of Pessinus, deputy of St. Chrysostom, 21. 19. Goes to Rome for him, 21. 49. A second time, 22. 3. His exile, 22. 11.
Desiderius, St., Bishop of Langres, Martyr, 22. 16.
Dictynnius, Bishop of Astorga, renounces Priscillianism, 21. 32.
Diogenes, friend of St. Chrysostom, 22. 1.
 ———, *St.*, of Arras, Martyr, 22. 16.
Diogenian, St., Bishop of Albi, 21. 51.
Diophantus, Priest, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 47.
Dioscorus, one of the Four Brothers, persecuted by Theophilus, 21. 3. Driven from his Church, 21. 11. His death, 21. 20, 23. See the Four Brothers.

Dioscorus, a friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 44.

———— Bishop of Dardanus, 22. 43.
 ————— to whom St. Augustine addresses a letter, 22. 48.

Diospolis, or Lydda, in Palestine ; Council in which Pelagius was acquitted, 23. 20, 21. Book of St. Augustine on the *Acts of this Council*, 23. 37.

Discipline, stricter in persecution, 22. 4.
Dispensations, rules of, 23. 33, 40.

Divorce, forbidden by the canons, 22. 4, 14.

Donatists, provincial Council of Africa treating of their reception, 21. 13. another on the same subject, 21. 26. The Donatists refuse to confer with the Catholics, 21. 27. The African Bishops call in the secular power against them, 21. 53. Outrages of the Donatists, 22. 7, 26 : 23. 39. Conversion of many, 22. 26. Conference of Carthage, 22. 26—40. See *Conference*. St. Augustine intercedes for them, 22. 47. Their share in the death of the Tribune Marcellinus, 23. 11. Treatise of St. Augustine on their correction, 23. 39, 40. Donatist Council, 23. 41. Canons of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 418, concerning their conversion, 23. 49. Last works of St. Augustine against them, 24. 22. Laws against them, 22. 7, 26, 40 : 23. 11. For them, 22. 26.

Donatus, Proconsul of Africa, 22. 18.

Dulcinius, Tribune and Notary in Africa, 24. 22. Brother to Laurentius, 24. 23.

Dynamius, St., Bishop of Angoulême, 21. 51.

E.

Easter, time of, determined by Bishops of Alexandria, 21. 2. Corrected by a miracle, 23. 35.

Easter-eve, violation of, 21. 36.

Elpidius, Bishop of Laodicea, declares for St. Chrysostom, 21. 34. His retirement, 22. 11. Restored by St. Alexander of Antioch, 23. 26.

———— Priest, accuser of St. Chrysostom, 21. 21. His servant attempts to assassinate St. Chrysostom, 21. 36.

Emeritus, Donatist Bishop of Cæsarea in Mauritania, takes part in the conference, 22. 38. Refuses to confer with St. Augustine, 23. 55.

Enchiridion, work of St. Augustine, 24. 23.

End of the world, St. Augustine's letter to Hesychius, 24. 13.

- Ephesus*, Council in which St. Chrysostom presides, 21. 6.
- Epiphanius, St.*, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, condemns the works of Origen in a Council, 21. 12. Goes to Constantinople, 21. 15. Conversation with the Four Brothers, *ibid.* Return and death, *ibid.* A friend of St. Olympias, 21. 40.
- Eraclius*, Priest of Hippo, 24. 41. Named by St. Augustine as his successor, 24. 43.
- Eucharist*, St. Chrysostom's reverence for it, 21. 5, 17. Received fasting, 21. 20. Psalm chanted at its celebration, 21. 57. When given to the dying, 22. 4. Received by St. Chrysostom before his death, 22. 13.
- Eudoxia*, Empress of Arcadius, obtains the destruction of the temple of Marnas at Gaza, 21. 8. Takes part with Severian of Gabala, 21. 9. Provides silver crosses for the Catholic processions, 21. 10. Recommends her son, when ill, to St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. Opposed to St. Chrysostom, 21. 17. Who is reported to have preached against her, 21. 20. Obtains his recall, 21. 22. Is again offended with him, 21. 33. Her death, 21. 48.
- or *Athenais*, Empress of Theodosius II., 24. 30.
- Eugenius*, Bishop of Phrygia, 21. 49.
- Eulalius*, schism of, 24. 7—9. Refuses to return to Rome after the death of Pope Boniface, 24. 32.
- Eulogius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, St. Chrysostom writes to him, 22. 12.
- Eulysius*, Bishop of Bostra, friend of St. Chrysostom, 21. 37. His exile, 22. 11.
- Bishop of Apamea, 21. 50.
- Evodius, St.*, Bishop of Uzalis, friend of St. Augustine, deputy from a Council at Carthage to the Emperor Honorius, 21. 53. Subscribes St. Augustine's letter to Pope Innocent against Pelagius, 23. 30. Receives some reliques of St. Stephen, 24. 4. Causes an account of some of the miracles wrought by them to be written, *ibid.* Writes to the Monks of Adrumetum, 24. 45.
- Euoypius*, brother of the philosopher Synesius, 22. 41.
- Eusebius*, Bishop of Valentinianople, accuses Antoninus of Ephesus, 21. 5. Abandons the accusation, *ib.* Renews it after the death of Antoninus, 21. 6.
- Eustathians*, of Antioch. End of the schism under St. Alexander, 23. 26.
- Eustochium, St.*, Virgin, her grief for her mother's death, 21. 30. Is attacked by the Pelagians, and complains to Pope Innocent, 23. 31. Her death, 24. 12.
- Euthymius*, one of the Four Brothers. See *Four Brothers*.
- *St.*, Solitary. His birth, and education, 24. 28. Saracens converted by him, 24. 27.
- Eutropia, St.*, sister of St. Nicasius, Virgin and Martyr, 22. 16.
- Eutropius, St.*, Reader, Martyr in defence of St. Chrysostom, 21. 38.
- Execution*, of criminals, lawful in Christianity, 22. 4.
- Exuperius, St.*, Bishop of Toulouse, 21. 51. Decretal of Pope St. Innocent to him, 22. 4.

F.

- Faustinus*, Bishop, enemy of St. Chrysostom, 21. 21.
- Bishop of Potentia, Legate of Pope Zosimus in Africa, 24. 6. Assists at the sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 10. Legate of Pope Cælestine in Africa, 24. 35. At another Council, *ibid.*
- Felix*, of Aptunga, justified in the Conference of Carthage, 22. 39, 40.
- *St.*, Bishop of Treves. The Council of Turin refuse to admit those who communicate with him, 21. 52.
- Manichee, his conference with St. Augustine, 21. 55, 56. His conversion, 21. 56.
- Donatist Bishop of Rome, 22. 34.
- Flavian, St.*, of Antioch, death of, 21. 47.
- Florentinus, St.*, Martyr, 22. 16.
- Florentius, St.*, Bishop of Cahors, 21. 51.
- *St.*, Martyr, 22. 16.
- Foundation*, Epistle of, a Manichee work, 21. 55, 56.
- Fraternus, St.*, Martyr, 22. 16.
- Free will*, errors of Pelagius, 23. 13, 15. Treatise of St. Augustine on Grace and Free Will, 24. 46.
- Fussala*, city of Africa, made a Bishopric by St. Augustine, 24. 34.

G.

- Gaiinas*, Gothic Captain, demands a Church at Constantinople for the Arians, 21. 4. His revolt and death, *ib.*
- Galla Placidia*, sister of Honorius, married to the Emperor Constantius, 24. 9. Driven from Ravenna after the death of Constantius, she flies to Constantinople, 24. 33. Is prejudiced against Count Boniface by Aëtius, 24. 51.
- Gamaliel, St.*, appears to the Priest Lucian, and discovers to him the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 22, 23.

- Gaudentius*, St., Bishop of Brescia, one of the Western deputation to Arcadius for St. Chrysostom, 22. 3. St. Chrysostom writes to him, 22. 12.
- Donatist Bishop of Thaumugada, 24. 22.
- Gaul*: St. Victricius and other celebrated Bishops of the Gauls, 21. 51. Council of Turin, in which the primacy is disputed by the Bishops of Arles and Vienne, 21. 52. Irruption of the Barbarians, 22. 16. Conversion of the Burgundians, 23. 5. Privileges of the Church of Arles confirmed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45. Ordination of St. Germanus of Auxerre, 23. 46. Letter of Pope Boniface concerning Maximus, Bishop of Valence, 24. 17. Attempt of the Bishop of Arles repressed by Pope Boniface, 24. 31. Monasteries of Cassian at Marseilles, 24. 57. Monastery of St. Honoratus at Lerins, 24. 58. Semi-Pelagians of Marseilles, 24. 58, 59.
- Gaza*, St. Porphyrius, Bishop of, 21. 8.
- Genserik*, King of the Vandals, Arian, enters Africa, 24. 51.
- Germanus*, Monk, accompanies Cassian to Rome in defence of St. Chrysostom, 21. 50.
- *St.*, Bishop of Auxerre, ordination of, 23. 46.
- Gerontius*, Bishop of Nicomedia. His history, 21. 7. Presents a petition against St. Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, 21. 21.
- Gladiators*, allowed in A.D. 404, 22. 15.
- Gothic Monks* at Constantinople, 21. 45: 22. 1. The Goths enter Gaul, 23. 5.
- Goths*, St. Chrysostom's care for the Churches of Gothia, 21. 45.
- Grace*, Book of St. Augustine on the Grace of Christ, 23. 53. Letter to Sixtus on Grace, 23. 57. Book on Grace and Free Will, 24. 46. On Correction and Grace, 24. 47. Letter to Vitalis, comprising the Catholic doctrine on Grace in twelve articles, 24. 50.
- H.
- Hallelujah*. Vigilantius wishes to confine the singing of it to Easter, 22. 25.
- Helladius*, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, ordains Gerontius, 21. 7.
- Priest, friend of St. Chrysostom, 22. 11.
- Heracian*, Count, preserves Africa to Honorius, 22. 20. His revolt and death, 23. 11.
- Heraclides*, Bishop of Ephesus, 21. 6. accused of Origenism, 21. 20. Accused at the Council of the Oak, 21. 23. St. Chrysostom's advice to him, 21. 45. A prisoner at Nicomedia, 22. 11.
- Heresies*. Petition of the Council of Carthage to the Emperor Honorius for his protection against the Donatists, 21. 53. Decisions of Pope St. Innocent I. on the manner of receiving heretics, 23. 26, 33. Treatise of St. Augustine on the correction of the Donatists, 23. 39, 40. Treatise on Heresies, 24. 63.
- Heros*, Bishop of Arles, expelled by his people, 23. 4. Accuses Pelagius at the Council of Diospolis, 23. 20. Is deposed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 42. Diversity of opinion concerning this Bishop, 23. 44.
- Hesychius*, Bishop of Parium, 21. 5.
- Bishop of Salona. St. Chrysostom writes to him, 22. 12. Correspondence with St. Augustine, 24. 13.
- Hilary*, St., Martyr, 22. 16.
- of Syracuse, consults St. Augustine on certain propositions of the Pelagians, 23. 15. St. Augustine's answer, *ibid.* Hilary writes to him concerning the Semi-Pelagians, 24. 59. St. Augustine's answer, 24. 61, 62.
- Bishop of Narbonne. His claims refused by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45. confirmed by Pope Boniface, 24. 31.
- *St.*, Bishop of Arles, 24. 58. his esteem for St. Augustine, 24. 60.
- History* of Sulpitius Severus, 21. 51. of Paulus Orosius, 24. 1.
- Homicide*, in what cases allowed, 22. 52.
- Honoratus*, Monk, Priest of Thiava: question on the disposal of his property, 22. 25.
- friend of St. Augustine, 23. 3.
- *St.*, first Abbot of Lerins, 24. 57. 58. Bishop of Arles, 24. 58.
- Honorius*, Emperor. His letter to Arcadius in favour of St. Chrysostom, 22. 3. Edict of Union, 22. 8. Deputation of the Romans to him on the invasion of Alaric, 22. 19. he offers to treat with Attalus, 22. 20. causes him to be deposed, *ibid.* treats with Alaric unsuccessfully, 22. 21. allows himself to be prejudiced in favour of Eulalius, 24. 7. summons before him Boniface and Eulalius, 24. 8. decides in favour of Boniface, 24. 9. obtains from Theodosius II. the revocation of a constitution adverse to the Pope's authority in Illyria, 24. 31. his death, 24. 33. Laws issued by him, 21. 13: 22. 8, 15, 18, 19, 26, 40: 23. 4, 11, 47: 24. 9.

Hormisdas, St., Martyr in Persia, 24. 26.
Hydroparastatae, heretics, 24. 55.
Hypatia, a learned lady of Alexandria,
 22. 41 : 23. 25.
Hypostasis, question of, decided by St.
 Augustine in his work on the Trinity,
 23. 36.

I. & J.

James and Timasius, to whom St. Augustine addressed his book on Nature and Grace, 23. 15.
 ——— *St.*, Martyr in Persia, 24. 26.
Januarius, Priest of St. Augustine, his deceitful conduct, 24. 40.
Jerome, St. Letters translated or written by him against the Origenists, 21. 1, 2, 12. His Apology against Rufinus, *ibid.* difference with St. Augustine on the Epistle to the Galatians, 21. 28, 29. his Elogy of St. Paula, 21. 30. Letter on the Last Judgment, 22. 4. testimony to St. Exuperius, *ibid.* Commentaries of Zechariah and Malachi, *ibid.* Treatise against Vigilantius, 22. 5, 6. his sentiments on the capture of Rome by Alaric, 22. 22. on the Vandal invasion of Gaul, 22. 16. he translates a violent edict of Theophilus against St. Chrysostom, 22. 42. Letter to St. Demetrias, 23. 12. Letters of St. Augustine to him on the subject of Pelagianism, 23. 17. Writings of St. Jerome against the Pelagians, 23. 18. his praise of St. Augustine, *ibid.* he is calumniated by Theodorus of Mopsuestia, 23. 28. is attacked by the Pelagians, and complains to Pope Innocent I., 23. 31. his last letter to St. Augustine and St. Alypius, 24. 12. his death, *ibid.*
Jerusalem. Translation of the reliques of St. Stephen to the church of Sion, 23. 23. Præyllius, Bishop, 23. 31.
Jews. Law of Theodosius II. against them, 22. 18. St. Cyril drives them from Alexandria, 23. 24. Jews of Minorca converted by the presence of the reliques of St. Stephen, 24. 2, 3.
Illyria, dispute concerning its jurisdiction, 24. 31.
Infants, dying unbaptized, deprived of eternal life, 23. 14. Predestination most evident in infants, 23. 57 : 24. 46.
Innocent I., St., Pope, 21. 26. his letter to the Bishops of Spain, 21. 32. Theophilus of Alexandria and St. Chrysostom write to him, 21. 49. his answer to them, 21. 50. decretal to St. Victoricius, 21. 51. he writes to

the Emperor Honorius in favour of St. Chrysostom, 22. 3. decretal to St. Exuperius, 22. 4. St. Chrysostom writes to him, 22. 12. he is sent as a deputy to Honorius on the invasion of Alaric, 22. 19. his letters to St. Alexander of Antioch, 23. 26. decretal to the same, *ibid.* The Councils of Carthage and Milevum write to him concerning Pelagius and Cælestius, 23. 30. letter of St. Augustine and four other Bishops to him on the same subject, *ibid.* Complaints to him from St. Jerome and others, who had been attacked by the Pelagians, 23. 31. his letters to John of Jerusalem and St. Jerome, *ibid.* decretal to Decentius, 23. 32. Other decretals, 23. 33. Letters to the Africans, and judgment on Pelagius, 23. 34. his death, 23. 35.
Innocent, Priest, deputed from Africa to Alexandria, 24. 11. passes through Palestine, and visits St. Jerome, 24. 12.
Intercession for criminals justified, 22. 52.
Joannites, the party of St. Chrysostom at Constantinople, 21. 39.
John II., Bishop of Jerusalem, is defended by St. Jerome, 21. 12. favours Pelagius, and accuses Orosius without reason, 23. 19. assists at the Council of Diospolis, 23. 20. translates the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 23. letters of St. Augustine and Pope Innocent to him on the subject of Pelagianism, 23. 31. his death, *ibid.*
 ——— Archdeacon of Constantinople, accuses St. Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, 21. 18.
 ——— Primicerius of the Notaries, usurps the Empire of the West, 24. 33. his death, *ibid.*
 ——— *I.*, Bishop of Antioch, 24. 55.
Jovinian, heretic, 22. 5. exiled by Honorius, 23. 4.
Isaac, Egyptian Abbot, 21. 1.
 ——— Syrian Abbot, 21. 17.
Isaurians, a barbarous people of Asia Minor, 21. 41 : 22. 2, 11.
Isdegerdes I., King of Persia, favours the Christians, 21. 46. persecutes them, 24. 26.
 ——— *II.*, King of Persia, son of Vararanes V., 24. 26.
Isidore, Monk of Alexandria, calumniated and condemned by Theophilus, 21. 3. his death, 21. 23.
 ——— *St.*, of Pelusium, his explanation of the pallium, 21. 18. exhorts St. Cyril of Alexandria to re-establish the memory of St. Chrysostom, 23. 27.

Italica. St. Chrysostom writes to her, 22. 12.

Jucundus, a Reader, martyred by the Barbarians, 22. 16.

Julian, Bishop of Œculanum, Pelagian, refuses to subscribe the condemnation of Pelagius, 23. 51. writes against the Catholics, 24. 15, 18. is answered by St. Augustine, 24. 18, 19, 24. passes into the East, and visits Theodorus of Mopsuestia, 24. 25.

Juliana, Roman lady, daughter of Olybrius. St. Chrysostom writes to her, 22. 12. she passes into Africa, 22. 22. St. Augustine writes to her, 23. 38.

L.

Laurentius, Primicerius of the city of Rome. St. Augustin's Enchiridion addressed to him, 24. 23.

Lazarium, place of the monastery of St. Euthymius, 24. 28.

Lazarus, Bishop of Aix, accuses Pelagius at the Council of Diospolis, 23. 20. is deposed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 42. Diversity of opinions concerning him, 23. 44.

Leaven, sent round to the churches of Rome, 23. 32.

Lent, rules of Theophilus concerning, 21. 2.

Leo, Acolyte, sent into Africa by Pope Zosimus, 23. 50.

Leontius, Bishop of Ancyra, 21. 33.

——— Bishop of Frejus. Cassian addresses his Collations to him, 24. 57. St. Honoratus retires into his diocese, 24. 58.

Leporius, Priest of Hippo, 24. 41. his errors and recantation, 24. 49.

Lerins, isle in the Mediterranean. Foundation of the monastery by St. Honoratus, 24. 58.

Leucius, apocryphal writer, 21. 56.

Liberty. See *Free Will*.

Lights, in churches, 22. 6 : 24. 4. objected to by Vigilantius, 22. 5. defended by St. Jerome, 22. 6. in processions, 21. 22, 30.

Locutions of St. Augustine, 24. 14.

Lucian, Priest, discovers the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 22, 23.

Lucius, Captain, attacks St. Chrysostom's clergy, 21. 35, 36.

Luke, St., reliques of, translated to Constantinople, 22. 6.

Lydda. See *Diospolis*.

M.

Macedonians, heretics, reunion at Synnada, 22. 27. their persecution under Nestorius, 24. 55.

Macedonius, Vicar of Africa, to whom St. Augustine writes, 22. 52.

Manichees, heretics. Conference of St. Augustine with Felix, 21. 55, 56. Works of St. Augustine against them, 21. 57. how they differ from the Catholics and the Pelagians, 24. 19. discovery of some of their mysteries, 24. 21.

Maniple of the Deacons, origin of, 24. 7.

Marcella, St., her danger at the sack of Rome, 22. 21. her death, *ibid*.

Marcellinus, St., Tribune, appointed as Imperial Commissioner for the Conference of Carthage, 22. 26, &c. Letter of St. Augustine to him, 22. 50. St. Augustine addresses to him his first writings against the Pelagians, 23. 2, 3. and the City of God, 23. 7, 8. His death, 23. 11.

Marina, Virgin, daughter of the Emperor Arcadius, 22. 18.

Marinus, Count, executes Marcellinus, 23. 11.

Maris, Saracen, converted by St. Euthymius, 24. 27.

Marius Mercator, letter of St. Augustine to him, 23. 56.

Mark, Deacon of St. Porphyrius of Gaza, 21. 8.

Marnas, Temple of, at Gaza, destroyed, 21. 8.

Marriage. St. Augustine's work on Adulterous Marriages, 24. 14. on Marriage and Concupiscence, 24. 15, 18.

Marseilles, claims of its Bishop Proculus, 21. 52. monastery founded by Cassian, 24. 57.

Martin, St., of Tours, life of, written by Sulpitius Severus, 21. 51.

Martyrs. Persecution against St. Chrysostom, 21. 35, &c. Martyrs by the Barbarians in the Gauls, 22. 16. in the East, 22. 22. in Persia, 24. 26. reverence to the Martyrs, attacked by Vigilantius, 22. 5. defended by St. Jerome, 22. 6.

Maruthas, St., Bishop of Mesopotamia, among the enemies of St. Chrysostom, 21. 18, 45. his labours in Persia, 21. 46.

Mary, St., the Egyptian, penitent, 24. 25.

Massalians, heretics, condemned at Constantinople, 24. 44.

Maximianists, Donatist sect, excluded from the Conference of Carthage, 22. 28.

Maximin, or *Maximian*, Donatist Bishop of Bagaia, returns to the Catholic Church, 25. 25. attack of the Donatists on him, 22. 7.

Maximin, Arian Bishop, his conference with St. Augustine, 24. 53.

Maximus, Bishop of Valence, 24. 17.

Melania, St., the Elder, revisits Rome, 21. 31. returns to Jerusalem, and dies there, 22. 22.

—— the Younger, renounces the world, 21. 31. crosses over into Africa, 22. 32. and thence into Palestine, 23. 52 : 24. 12.

Melchisedes, St., Pope, is calumniated by the Donatists, 22. 39.

Mercator. See *Marius*.

Migetius, Monk, 23. 23.

Milevum, African city. Councils held there, 21. 25 : 23. 30.

Miracles, recorded of St. Theotimus of Scythia, 21. 5. by St. Paulinus of Nola, 21. 31. on occasion of the persecution of St. Chrysostom, 21. 48. seen by St. Augustine at Milan, 21. 54. at the tombs of the Martyrs, 22. 5, 6. Vision of the Deacon Paul, 22. 10. of St. Chrysostom, predicting his death, 22. 13. St. Augustine answers the objection derived from the comparative rarity of miracles, 23. 10. Discovery of the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 23. and of St. Zachariah, 23. 24. Miracles wrought by the reliques of St. Stephen at Minorca, 24. 2, 3. at Uzalis, 24. 4. at Calama and other places, 24. 5. Miraculous cure of Terebo, by St. Euthymius, 24. 27. of Paul and Palladia at Hippo, 24. 36, 37.

Monasteries of Cassian at Marseilles, 24. 57. of St. Honoratus at Lerins, 24. 58.

Monks, of Egypt, their opposition to Theophilus, 21. 1. St. Nilammon, of Geræ, 21. 24. Monks of Cæsarea, attack St. Chrysostom, 21. 43. Marrian and Gothic Monks at Constantinople, 21. 45 : 22. 1. St. Nilus and other Monks of Mount Sinai, 21. 48. Monastic life attacked by Vigilantius, 22. 5. and defended by St. Jerome, 22. 6. St. Mary the Egyptian, 24. 25. Rule of St. Augustine to the Nuns, afterwards applied to Monks, 24. 42.

Mysterics, concealment of, 21. 36. secrecy preserved concerning them as late as the fifth century, 23. 32.

N.

Nectarius, of Calama, pagan, 22. 17.

Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, first mention of, 24. 55.

Nicarete, St., Virgin of Constantinople, 21. 41.

Nicene Council: Canons of Sardica cited by Pope Zosimus as the Nicene, 24. 6. Question on this point in the sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 10. Originals of the Nicene Council preserved at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, 24. 10, 11. and cited by the Bishops of Africa, 24. 35.

Nicetas, St., Bishop of Dacia, 21. 31.

Nicetius, Primate of Mauritania Sitifensis, 21. 25.

Nicodemus, St., his burial near the body of St. Stephen, 23. 22.

Nilammon, St., Monk of Egypt, 21. 24.

Nilus, St., Solitary, his letters to the Emperor Arcadius on St. Chrysostom, 21. 48. his son carried off by the Barbarians, 22. 22. his death and writings, *ibid.*

Nitria, desert of Egypt, ravaged by order of Theophilus, 21. 3.

Novatians, heretics; St. Chrysostom takes from them many churches, 21. 6. St. Cyril of Alexandria closes their churches, 22. 46. Atticus of Constantinople tolerates their assemblies, 24. 44.

O.

Oak, Council of the, 21. 18—23. Accusations against St. Chrysostom, 21. 18. He refuses to appear, 21. 19. Other accusations against him, 21. 20. He is deposed, 21. 21. Synodical letters of the Council, *ibid.* Session against Heraclides, Bishop of Ephesus, 21. 23. Breaking up of the Council, *ibid.*

Olympias, St., widow, assists the Egyptian Monks persecuted by Theophilus, 21. 11. St. Chrysostom's farewell to her, 21. 37. Her virtues, 21. 40. And persecution, *ibid.* St. Chrysostom's letters to her, 21. 44, 45 : 22. 1, 2, 12. She assists St. Chrysostom, 22. 1.

Olympius, Spanish Bishop, cited by St. Augustine, 24. 24.

——, Master of the Offices, 22. 16.

Optatus, Bishop, to whom St. Augustine writes, 23. 56.

——, Præfect of Constantinople, 22. 3.

Optimus, St., of Antioch in Pisidia, his death, 21. 40.

Ordinations, 21. 18, 20. Decretals of Pope St. Cælestine, 24. 56.

Orestes, Præfect of Alexandria, 23. 25.

Origen, condemned by Theophilus of Alexandria, 21. 1, 2. And by St. Epiphanius, 21. 12. Letters translated or written by St. Jerome against

- the Origenists, *ibid.* St. Epiphanius prosecutes the condemnation of the books of Origen at Constantinople, 21. 15. They are defended by St. Theotimus, *ibid.* Theophilus himself reads them, 21. 23. Quoted by St. Jerome, 21. 29. The principles of Origenism give birth to Pelagianism, 23. 1. Errors of Origen refuted by St. Augustine, 23. 10, 16.
- Orosius*, Paulus, Spanish Priest, comes to Africa to consult St. Augustine, 23. 16. Goes to Palestine to consult St. Jerome, 23. 17. Is summoned to the Council at Jerusalem for the examination of Pelagius, 23. 19. Is accused by John of Jerusalem, and defends himself, *ibid.* Returns to Africa, 23. 29. Is present at a Council at Carthage, 23. 30. His History, 24. 1. He leaves some of the reliques of St. Stephen in the island of Minorca, 24. 2.
- Otreius*, Bishop of Arabissus, 22. 1.
- , *St.*, Bishop of Melitene, educates St. Euthymius, 24. 28.
- P.
- Pæmius*, a friend of St. Chrysostom. 21. 44, 45.
- Pagans*: renewal of their calumnies against the Christians, 23. 7. St. Augustine answers them in the City of God, 23. 8.
- Palladia* of Cappadocia, miraculous cure of, at Hippo, 24. 36, 37.
- Palladius*, Bishop of Helenopolis, author of the Life of St. Chrysostom, 21. 18: 22. 11.
- , his successor in the see of Helenopolis, a commissioner in the case of Antoninus of Ephesus, 21. 5. Accompanies St. Chrysostom to Ephesus, 21. 6. Is accused of Origenism, 21. 20. Obligated to fly, goes to Rome, 21. 50. Accompanies the deputation from Honorius, 22. 3. Exile, 22. 11.
- Pammachius*, *St.*, death of, 22, 21.
- Pancratian*, Bishop of Braga, 23. 6.
- Pansophius*, Bishop of Pisidia, at a Council at Constantinople, 21. 5. Deputed to Rome for St. Chrysostom, 21. 49.
- Bishop of Nicomedia, 21. 7.
- Paphnutius Bubalus*, Egyptian Abbot, opposes the Anthropomorphites, 21. 1.
- Pappus*, Syrian Bishop, deputed to Rome for St. Chrysostom, 21. 49. His retirement, 22. 11. Restored by St. Alexander of Antioch, 23. 26.
- Parabolani*, an inferior clerical order at Alexandria, 23. 25.
- Paschal Taper*, benediction of, 24. 7.
- Pascentius*, Arian Count, 24. 54.
- Paschasius*, Deacon of St. Victricius, 21. 51.
- Pastils*, used by St. Chrysostom after the Eucharist, 21. 17, 18.
- Patroclus*, Bishop of Arles, 23. 4. Privileges granted to him by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45. He is checked by Pope Boniface, 24. 31. His death, 24. 56.
- Paul*, Bishop of Heraclea, at a Council at Constantinople, 21. 5. Accompanies St. Chrysostom to Ephesus, 21. 6. Presides at the Council of the Oak, 21. 18, 21.
- Bishop of Erythrum in Cyrenaica, 22. 43.
- of Cappadocia, miraculous cure of, 24. 36.
- Paula*, *St.*, the Elder, death of, 21. 30.
- the Younger, attacked by the Pelagians, 23. 31. Desires to be remembered to St. Augustine, 24. 12.
- Paulinus*, *St.*, Bishop of Nola, receives St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31. His esteem for St. Victricius, 21. 51. His prayer during the pillage of Nola by Alaric, 22. 21. Letter of St. Augustine to him on Pelagianism, 23. 38. Another on the care due to the dead, 24. 23.
- Deacon and Secretary of St. Ambrose, accuses Cælestius at Carthage, 23. 2. Is cited to Rome, and excuses himself from attending, 23. 47.
- Pelagianism*, its commencement, 23. 1. *Council of Carthage*, in which Cælestius is condemned, 23. 2. Sermons and first writings of St. Augustine against the Pelagians, 23. 2, 3. Letter of Pelagius to St. Demetrias, 23. 13. Sermon of St. Augustine in the great Church of Carthage, 23. 14. Other works of St. Augustine against the Pelagians, 23. 15, &c. Writings of St. Jerome against the Pelagians, 23. 18. Conference at Jerusalem, 23. 19. *Council of Diospolis*, 23. 20, 21. Books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia in favour of Pelagianism, 23. 28. Writings of Pelagius, 23. 29. *Councils of Carthage and Milevum*, 23. 30. Letters of St. Augustine, 23. 30, 31. Violence committed by the Pelagians in Palestine, 23. 31. Letter of Pope Innocent to John of Jerusalem, *ibid.* His answers to the African Bishops, and *Judgment on Pelagius*, 23. 34. Book of St. Augustine on the Acts of the Council of Diospolis, 23. 37. Other letters of St. Augustine, 23. 38. Cælestius at Rome; his confession of

- faith, 23. 42. Pelagius writes to the Pope, and sends him a similar confession of faith, 23. 43. Pope Zosimus, deceived by them, writes in their favour to the African Bishops, 23. 44. *Council of Carthage*, and Synodical letter to Pope Zosimus, 23. 47. *Rescript of the Emperor Honorius* against the Pelagians, *ibid.* *Plenary Council of Carthage*, determining the Eight Articles, 23. 48. *Pope Zosimus condemns Pelagius and Cælestine*, 23. 50. and also *Julian of Cæculanum* and other Pelagians, 23. 51. Pelagius endeavours to justify himself to Pinianus, 23. 52. Consultation of Pinianus, *ib.* St. Augustine's answer, consisting of the Books on the Grace of Christ and Original Sin, 23. 53, 54. Letters of St. Augustine to Optatus and Mercator, 23. 56. and to Sixtus, 23. 57. First Book on Marriage and Concupiscence, 24. 15. *Another Rescript of the Emperor Honorius* against the Pelagians, 24. 16. Writings of Julian against St. Augustine and the Catholics, 24. 15, 18. Second Book on Marriage and Concupiscence, 24. 18. Four Books to Pope Boniface, 24. 19. *Rescript of the Emperor Constantius* against the Pelagians, 24. 21. The Six Books of St. Augustine against Julian, 24. 24. The Pelagians seek support in the East, and are condemned there, 24. 25. End of Pelagius, *ibid.* Dispute among the Monks of Adrumetum, 24. 45. Book of St. Augustine on Grace and Free Will, 24. 46. On Correction and Grace, 24. 47. Conversion of Leporius, 24. 49. Letter to Vitalis, 24. 50. Letters of Hilary and St. Prosper to St. Augustine on the *opinions of the Semi-Pelagians*, 24. 59, 60. St. Augustine answers them by the Books on the Predestination of the Saints, 24. 61. and the Gift of Perseverance, 24. 62.
- Pelagius, St.*, Bishop of Perigueux, 21. 51.
-
- heretic: first mention of him, 23. 1. His errors, 23. 2. His letter to Demetrias, 23. 13. Is present at the conference at Jerusalem, 23. 19. and at the Council of Diospolis, 23. 20, 21. His Apology, and Books on Free Will, 23. 29. Is condemned in the Council of Carthage, 23. 30. Judgment of Pope St. Innocent, 23. 34. Pelagius writes to the Pope and sends a Confession of Faith, 23. 43. Judgment of Pope Zosimus, 23. 50. Pelagius wishes to justify himself to Pinianus, 23. 52. He is driven from Jerusalem, 24. 25. His death, *ibid.* *Penance*, more severe in times of persecution, 22. 4. Decretal of Pope St. Innocent to Exuperius, *ibid.* of Pope St. Cælestine, 24. 56.
- Pentadia*, widow and Deaconess, persecuted, 21. 41.
- Perdition*: four descriptions of persons not separated from the mass of perdition according to St. Augustine, 24. 47.
- Perigenes*, Bishop of Corinth. Dispute upon his ordination, 24. 31.
- Persecutions*: against St. Chrysostom, 21. 33, &c. in Persia under Isdegerdes, 24. 26. See *Martyrs*.
- Persia*. Labours of St. Maruthas, 21. 46. Persecution under Isdegerdes, 24. 26. Victory of the Romans over the Persians under Theodosius the Younger, 24. 29.
- Peter, St.*, the Apostle: dispute between St. Augustine and St. Jerome on his reproof by St. Paul at Antioch, 21. 28, 29. St. Peter and his successors recognised as the founders of the Churches of the West, 23. 32.
- Pharan*, site of the Laura of St. Euthymius, 24. 28.
- Pharetrius*, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, attaches himself to the enemies of St. Chrysostom, 21. 33. Ill-treats him on his journey through Cæsarea, 21. 43.
- Philastrius, St.*, Bishop of Brescia, his Book on Heresies, 24. 63.
- Philip*, Priest of Constantinople, 24. 44. Proposed twice for Patriarch, 24. 44, 54.
- Photinus*, Deacon of Cappadocia, converts Serapion, 21. 1.
- Pinianus*, husband of St. Melania the Younger, 21. 31. Crosses over to Africa, 22. 22. The people of Hippo wish to have him ordained Priest, 22. 23. Letter of St. Augustine on his oath on that occasion, 22. 24. Pelagius endeavours to justify himself to him in Palestine, 23. 52. Pinianus consults St. Augustine about it, *ibid.* St. Augustine's answer, 23. 53, 54.
- Placidia*, Empress. See *Galla*.
- Platonists*, refuted by St. Augustine, 23. 9.
- Pollentius* writes to St. Augustine, 24. 14.
- Pope*, Diocese of, 23. 32. Resistance offered by the African Bishops to Popes Zosimus and Cælestine, 24. 6, 35. Dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the Pope over Illyria, 24. 31.
- Porphyrius, St.*, Bishop of Gaza, labours for the conversion of the idolaters,

21. 8. Obtains from the Emperor Arcadius the destruction of the temple of Marnas, *ibid.* Assists at the Council of Diospolis, 23. 20.

Porphyrius, Priest of Antioch, 21. 18. Procures for himself the Bishopric of Antioch, 21. 47. His death, 23. 26.

Possidius, *St.*, Bishop of Calama, at a Council of Carthage, 21. 26. Suffers violence from the Donatists, 21. 27. His dispute with Crispinus, Donatist Bishop of Calama, *ibid.* Goes to Rome to demand justice on the seditious people of Calama, 22. 17. A deputy at the Conference of Carthage, 22. 31. At the second Council of Milevum, 23. 30. Subscribes the letter of St. Augustine to Pope Innocent I. against Pelagius, *ibid.* Miracles of the reliques of St. Stephen at Calama during his episcopate, 24. 5.

Posthumian, at Alexandria, and in Palestine, 21. 16.

Power, ecclesiastical and secular; their distinction marked by Synesius, 22. 45.

Prayers. Choice of prayers for the public service, 22. 14. Prayers of the Church alleged to support the doctrine of grace, 24. 50, 62. Prayers of the Saints, 22. 5, 6. for the dead, 24. 23.

Praëlius, Bishop of Jerusalem, 23. 31. Writes to Pope Zosimus in favour of Pelagius, 23. 43. and afterwards against him, 24. 25.

Predestination. St. Augustine's book on the Predestination of the Saints, 24. 61. how differing from Foreknowledge, *ibid.*

Princes, temporal. Christian princes bound to maintain religion, 23. 40.

Principia, Virgin, escapes at the sack of Rome by Alaric, 32. 21.

Priscillianists, heretics, followers of Priscilla, 22. 27 : 24. 55.

Priscus, *St.*, Martyr, discovery of his reliques, 23. 46.

Proba Faltonia, St. Chrysostom writes to her, 22. 12. She goes to Africa, 22. 22. St. Augustine writes to her, *ibid.*

Procopius, *St.*, Anchorite in the island of Rhodes, 21. 8.

Procula, *St.*, Deaconess, 21. 41.

Proculus, *St.*, Priest of Constantinople, proposed for Bishop, 24. 44. Ordained Bishop of Cyzicus, *ibid.* Proposed a second time for Bishop of Constantinople, 24. 55.

— Bishop of Marseilles; Primacy granted to him at the Council of Turin, 21. 52. His claim disal-

lowed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45. Zosimus deprives him of his authority, *ibid.* Proculus condemns Leporius, 24. 49. Accusation of Pope Cælestine against him, 24. 56.

Prosper, *St.* of Aquitaine, his letter to St. Augustine on the Semi-Pelagians, 24. 60. Answer of St. Augustine, 24. 61, 62.

Prudentius, *St.*, Martyr in the Gauls, 22. 16.

Psalms, chanted at the Offertory and during the Communion, 21. 57.

Pulcheria, *St.*, Virgin, daughter of the Emperor Arcadius, 22. 18. Educates her brother Theodosius the Younger, 24. 30. He associates her in the Empire, *ibid.*

Q.

Quartodecimans, St. Chrysostom deprives them of many Churches, 21. 6.

Quodvultdeus, *St.*, Deacon of Carthage, writes to St. Augustine, 24. 63.

R.

Reliques, recommended by St. Chrysostom, 22. 1. Attacked by Vigilantius, 22. 5. Defended by St. Jerome, 22. 6. Discovery of the reliques of St. Stephen, 23. 23. See *St. Stephen*.

Restitutus, Donatist Priest, converted, and killed by the Donatists, 22. 26.

Resurrection: objections of the infidels answered by St. Augustine, 23. 10.

Reticius, *St.*, Bishop of Autun, cited by St. Augustine, 24. 24.

Retractions of St. Augustine, 24. 48.

Rhadagaisus, King of the Goths, his invasion and defeat, 22. 15. Manifestation of Providence in that event, 23. 8.

Rome, besieged and taken by Alaric, 22. 19—21. Consequent dispersion of the Romans, 22. 22. Idolatrous Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse, *ibid.* Cause of the greatness of the Roman Empire, 23. 9. Rome, the origin of the Churches of Italy, Gaul, Spain, &c., 23. 32.

Ruffinus, Priest of Aquileia, his retreat into Sicily, and death, 22. 22.

Rufinus, a Syrian, first author of Pelagianism, 23. 1.

Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, his authority supported by Pope Boniface, 24. 31.

S.

Sabbatians, superstition of, 24. 44.

Sabintiana, Deaconess, 21. 44.

- Saints*, testimony of St. Jerome to the reverence due to them, 22. 6.
- Samuel*, reliques of, brought to Constantinople, 22. 6.
- Sardica*, Canons of, cited as the Nicene, 24. 6.
- Scripture*, Holy. Catalogue of the Canonical Books given by Pope Innocent I., 22. 4. by sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 10.
- Secundinus*, Manichee, 21. 57.
- Seleucia*, widow, assists St. Chrysostom, 21. 43.
- Serapion*, Anthropomorphite, converted, 21. 1.
- Archdeacon of Constantinople, opposes Severian of Gabala, 21. 9. Sent to St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. Ordained Bishop of Heraclea, 21. 23. Persecuted for the defence of St. Chrysostom, 22. 11.
- Bishop of Ostracina, 22. 11.
- Severian*, Bishop of Gabala. St. Chrysostom entrusts to him the care of his Church, 21. 6. He endeavours to establish himself there, 21. 9. Eudoxia reconciles St. Chrysostom to him, *ib.* He joins the enemies of St. Chrysostom, 21. 17. Assists at the Council of the Oak, 21. 18. Preaches against St. Chrysostom, 21. 22. Is obliged to fly from that city, 21. 23. Assists at the Council of Constantinople against St. Chrysostom, 21. 34. Ordains Porphyrius Bishop of Antioch, 21. 47. Writes to Pope St. Innocent, 21. 50. Procures St. Chrysostom's removal to Pityus, 22. 13.
- Severus*, Bishop of Milevum, 23. 30.
- Bishop of Minorca, 24. 2, 3.
- Silvanus*, Bishop of Summa, Primate of Numidia: letter subscribed by him, 22. 29. He presides at the Council of Cirtha, 22. 49. and at the second Council of Milevum, 23. 30.
- Simoniacal* Bishops deposed by St. Chrysostom, 21. 6.
- Simplician, St.*, or *Simplicius*, Bishop of Vienne, 21. 51. His claim disallowed by Pope Zosimus, 23. 45.
- Sin*, original, taught by St. Augustine, 23. 3, 14, 54.
- Sisinnius*, Monk, 22. 5.
- *I.*, Patriarch of Constantinople, 24. 44.
- Status, St., III.*, Pope: while Priest, he declares against the Pelagians, 23. 50. St. Augustine's letters to him, 23. 56, 57.
- Soul*, origin of; St. Augustine's opinion in letter to St. Jerome, 23. 17. in letter to Optatus, 23. 56. Four Books on the subject against Victor Vincentius, 24. 20.
- Spain*. Letter of Pope St. Innocent to the Spanish Bishops, 21. 32. Irruption of the Barbarians, 23. 5. Council of Braga, 23. 6.
- Spes*, a young man accused by the Priest Boniface, 21. 54.
- Stephen, St.*; his reliques discovered, 23. 22, 23. Avitus, a Spanish Priest, sends a portion of them into Spain by Orosius, 23. 23. Orosius deposits them in the island of Minorca, 24. 1, 2. where they contribute to the conversion of more than five hundred Jews, 24. 2, 3. Another portion is brought to Uzalis in Africa, where many miracles are wrought, 24. 4. Other miracles wrought by them in Africa, 24. 5. and particularly at Hippo, 24. 36, 37. Stone preserved at Ancona in Italy, 24. 37.
- Priest, persecuted for the defence of St. Chrysostom, 22. 11.
- Monk, *ibid.*
- Stilico*, death of, 22. 15.
- Suicide* forbidden, 23. 8.
- Sulpitius Severus*, writings of, 21. 51.
- Symmachus* the Younger, Præfect of Rome, favours Eulalius, 24. 7. Executes the orders of Honorius regarding Boniface and Eulalius, 24. 8. Expels Eulalius, 24. 9.
- Symposius*, Spanish Bishop, 21. 32.
- Syncretius*, Bishop of Trajanople, 21. 5.
- Synesius*, philosopher, ordained Bishop of Ptolemais, 22. 41. His letter to Theophilus of Alexandria, 22. 42. Affairs conducted by him in Cyrenaica, 22. 43, 44. He excommunicates Andronicus, 22. 45. and then intercedes for him, *ibid.*
- Syrian*, Bishop, accompanies St. Chrysostom to Ephesus, 21. 6.

T.

- Talmud*, not written in St. Augustine's time, 24. 21.
- Taper*, Paschal, benediction of, 24. 7.
- Terebo*, Saracen, converted, 24. 27.
- Theoctistus, St.*, Abbot, companion of St. Euthymius, 24. 27, 28.
- Theodorus*, Bishop of Mopsuestia, teaches the error afterwards adopted by Pelagius, 23. 1. His books in favour of Pelagianism, 23. 28. He is consulted by Julian of Æculanum, 24. 25. He condemns Pelagianism, and anathematizes Julian, *ibid.* Is visited by Nestorius, 24. 55. His death, *ibid.*
- Bishop of Tyana, 21. 33.
- Jew of Minorca, 24. 2, 3.
- Theodosius, II.*, Emperor. His birth, 21. 7. His sickness, in which Eu-

- doxia recommends him to St. Epiphanius, 21. 15. Commencement of his reign, 22. 18. His education and marriage, 24. 30. His constitution on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Illyria, 24. 31. He supports Valentinian III. and proclaims him Emperor, 24. 33. Laws issued by him, 22. 18, 27: 23. 25: 24. 30, 31, 55.
- Theodosius*, Bishop of Synnada, 22. 27.
- Theodotus*, Reader, 22. 2.
- Bishop of Antioch, 23. 27. Admits the name of St. Chrysostom in the Diptychs, *ibid.* Presides at a Council in which Pelagius is condemned, 24. 25. His death, 24. 55.
- Theophilus*, Bishop of Alexandria. The Anthropomorphite Monks rise against him, 21. 1. He appeases them by condemning Origen, *ibid.* His Paschal letters condemning Origen, 21. 2. He persecutes the Priest Isidore and the Four Brothers, 21. 3. Writes against them to St. Chrysostom, 21. 11. Excites St. Epiphanius against the Origenists, 21. 12. Is summoned to appear before the Emperor Arcadius at Constantinople, 21. 14. He goes there, and refuses to communicate with St. Chrysostom, 21. 17. Assembles the Council of the Oak, 21. 18. Reconciles himself with the Four Brothers, 21. 23. Is obliged to fly from Constantinople, *ibid.* Endeavours to ordain St. Nilammon, 21. 24. Dares not enter into the second conspiracy against St. Chrysostom, 21. 33. Writes to Pope Innocent against him, 21. 49, 50. Answer of Pope Innocent, 21. 50. He ordains Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, 22. 41. Letter of Synesius to him concerning a friend of St. Chrysostom, 22. 42. Theophilus publishes a violent edict against St. Chrysostom, *ibid.* Commissions given by him to Synesius, 22. 43. His death, and writings, 22. 46.
- Theotimus*, *St.*, Bishop of Tomi, at Constantinople, 21. 5. Opposes St. Epiphanius in favour of Origen, 21. 15.
- Tigerius*, *St.*, Priest and Confessor, 21. 38. His exile, 22. 11.
- Timasius* and James, disciples of Pelagius, 23. 15.
- Toleration*: what errors ought to be tolerated, 23. 14. Reasons for penal laws against heretics, 23. 40.
- Toulouse*, *St.* Exuperius, Bishop, 21. 51.
- Tranquillus*, Bishop, interview with the Emperor Arcadius, 21. 34.
- Trophimus*, *St.*, first Bishop of Arles, regarded by Pope Zosimus as the first Apostle of the Gauls, 23. 45.
- Turin*, Council of, 21. 52.
- U. & V.
- Vacantivi*, wandering Bishops, 22. 44.
- Valentine*, Bishop of Treves, 22. 16.
- Primate of Numidia, presides at the sixth Council of Carthage, 24. 10. and at the Council in which the affair of Apiarius was terminated, 24. 35.
- Abbot of Adrumetum, 24. 45, &c.
- Valentinian III.*, Emperor, 24. 33. Laws in his name, *ibid.*
- Valerius*, *St.*, Deacon and Martyr, 21. 16.
- Count, 24. 15, 18.
- Vandals* enter Spain, 23. 5. and Africa, 24. 51.
- Vararanes*, King of Persia, 24. 26.
- Venantius*, brother of St. Honoratus of Lerins, 24. 58.
- Venerandus*, *St.*, Bishop of Clermont, 21. 51.
- Venerius*, *St.*, Bishop of Milan: St. Chrysostom writes to him, 21. 49: 22. 12.
- Vestments*, clerical. St. Chrysostom accused of changing his dress on the Episcopal throne, 21. 18. St. Jerome observes that the ministers at the Altar wore white vestments, 23. 18. The clergy wore no peculiar dress, except in Divine Service, 24. 56.
- Victor*, *St.*, of Marseilles, Abbey founded in his name, 24. 57.
- *Vincentius* writes against St. Augustine, 24. 20.
- Victricius*, *St.*, Bishop of Rouen, 21. 51.
- Vienne*; dispute between Arles and Vienne for the primacy, 21. 52.
- Vigilantius*, heretic, 22. 5, 6.
- Vincentius*, Rogatist, to whom St. Augustine writes, 23. 39.
- Virgins* consecrated even under twenty-five years, 23. 49.
- Vitalis* of Carthage, to whom St. Augustine writes, 24. 50.
- Unilas*, Gothic Bishop, 21. 45.
- Volusian*, *St.* Augustine's letter to him, 22. 51. Præfect of Rome, 24. 21.
- Uxalis*, city of Africa: miracles wrought there, 24. 4.
- X.
- Xantippus*, Primate of Numidia, 21. 25.
- Z.
- Zachariah*, *St.*, son of Jehoiada: discovery of his reliques, 23. 24.
- Zosimas*, *St.*, Solitary of Palestine, 24. 25.

Zosimus, St., Pope, 23. 35. examines Cælestius, 23. 42. condemns Heros and Lazarus, *ibid.* Pelagius writes to him, 23. 43. Zosimus, deceived by Pelagius and Cælestius, writes in their favour to the African Bishops, 23. 44. Other letters in favour of Patroclus of Arles, 23. 45. Letters to the African Bishops on Pelagius and Cælestius, 23. 47. Zosimus

condemns Pelagius and Cælestius, 23. 50. and Julian of Æculanum, 23. 51. charges St. Augustine with ecclesiastical business in Africa, 23. 55. sends legates to Carthage on the affair of Apiarius, 24. 6. Letters addressed to him on that occasion by the African Bishops, *ibid.* his death, 24. 7.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

*** The references are made to the Notes under the BOOKS and CHAPTERS.

A.

Absolution, given on Holy Thursday, 23. 32. t.
Acts of the Apostles, read between Easter and Whitsuntide, 24. 30. h.
 — or *Voyages* of the Apostles, a spurious work, 21. 56. r.
Africa, civil government of, 22. 26. a.
Agentes in rebus, 22. 32. c.
Albina, daughter-in-law of St. Melania the Elder, and mother of St. Melania the Younger, 21. 31. z.
Alexandria, Patriarch of, determines the time of Easter, 21. 2. b.
Altar, originally of wood, afterwards of stone, 22. 7. k. use of the words Table and Altar, *ibid.*
Ambrose, St., disposes of the church plate, 22. 4. e.
Anastasius, Emperor of the East, 21. 42. i. abolishes the Lustral Contribution, 23. 4. b.
Anatolius of Laodicea, maintains the Quartodeciman rule, 21. 6. m.
Antichrist, Nero expected to re-appear as, 23. 10. c.
Antioch, St. Peter first Bishop of, 23. 26. l.
Apiarius, not originally Priest of Tabraca, 24. 6. b.
Apocryphal Scriptures of the Old Testament, 22. 4. d. Books of Maccabees, 24. 22. f. of Wisdom, 24. 61. m.
Apparitores, 22. 32. c.
Applause, common at Sermons, 23. 25. i.
Aquarii, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Arles, Bishop of, attempt to make him the Papal Vicar in the Gauls, 23. 45. z.
Ascodrogitæ, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Asia Minor, distracted state of, 21. 6. i.
Athanasius, St., his Paschal Letter, 21. 2. b. a witness to the Canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d. Canonical hours of Prayer, 24. 57. l.

Audians, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Audientes, a class of Catechumens, 23. 10. d.
Augustal Præfect, 22. 26. a.
Augustine, St., his opinion on the mode of fasting, 21. 2. d. disposes of the Church plate, 22. 4. e. opinion on the origin of souls, 23. 17. f. summary of his doctrines on grace, 23. 48. c. opinion on the Books of Maccabees, 24. 22. f.

B.

Baptism, why administered at night, 21. 36. e. Lights used at its administration, 22. 6. h.
Basil, St., his hospital, 21. 3. e. his complaint of the state of the Church, 21. 6. i. threatens simoniacal Bishops with excommunication, 21. 6. l. his connection with Eustathius of Sebaste, 22. 9. l.
Bishops: their lodgings attached to the church, 21. 35. c. different principle regulating their precedence in the East and West, 23. 26. l.
Boniface, Donatist Bishop at Rome, 22. 34. e.
Borborians, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Brothers, Four Tall, 21. 3. marg.

C.

Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, 22. 4. d.
Canons; the ancient collections without distinction of Councils, 24. 10. d.
Carthage, rank of the Bishop, 23. 45. z.
Catechumens, discipline of, 23. 10. d. Infants so called, 24. 4. a.
Catholic, signification of the word, 22. 37. f.
Centenarii, 22. 32. c.

- Christmas Day*, when observed, 22. 46. i.
- Chrysostom, St.*, the simplicity of his habits displeasing to the people of Constantinople, 21. 18. q. remarkable character of his Patriarchate, 21. 41. h.
- Church*: constitution of the Eastern Church in the beginning of the fifth century, 21. 7. n. of the Western, 23. 45. z. Church plate, &c., occasionally alienated for charitable purposes, 22. 4. e.
- Clement, St.*, of Rome, his Epistle an Ecclesiastical Book, 22. 4. d.
- Clergy*, whether allowed to possess property, 22. 25. y. and to trade, 23. 4. 6.
- Cœmeteria* of Rome, 23. 32. s.
- Cœnobium*, how differing from a Laura, 24. 28. g.
- Collects*, peculiar to the Western Churches, 22. 14. q.
- Competentes*, a class of Catechumens, 23. 10. d.
- Conference* of Carthage, date of, 22. 28. b. character of, 22. 40. g.
- Confirmation*, rites of, 23. 32. u.
- Constantine the Great*, illuminated the city on Easter Eve, 21. 35. d.
- Constantinople*, see of: gradual growth of its power, 21. 7. n. Degradation of the ecclesiastical power beneath the secular, 21. 41. h. Why opposed by the Bishop of Rome, 23. 26. l.
- Constitutions*, Apostolical, an ecclesiastical Book, 22. 4. d.
- Councils*, whether they sate on Sundays, 21. 23. t.
- Count* of the East, 22. 26. a.
- Creed*, reservation of, 21. 36. e.
- Curiosi*, or *Curagendarii*, 21. 21. s.
- Cycles* for determining Easter, 21. 2. b.
- Cyril, St.*, of Alexandria, his Paschal Letters, 21. 2. b.
- of Jerusalem, a witness to the Canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d. sells church ornaments, 22. 4. e.
- D.
- Deaconess*, order of, 21. 41. f.
- Demetrius, St.*, genuineness of Pelagius' Letter to her, 23. 13. e.
- Diaconix* of Rome, 23. 32. s.
- Diaconicum*, 23. 55. f.
- Dioceses*, ecclesiastical, in the East, 21. 7. n. in the West, 23. 45. z. Enumeration of the civil Dioceses, 22. 26. a.
- Dionysius, St.*, of Alexandria, his Paschal Letters, 21. 2. b.
- Exiguus adopts the Alexandrian cycle, 21. 2. b.
- Dioscorus*, one of the Four Brothers: error in Fleury respecting him, 21. 3. g.
- Diptychs*, 22. 42. h.
- Donatists*; date of Conference of Carthage, 22. 28. b. character of it, 22. 40. g. their Bishops at Rome, 22. 34. e.
- Ducenarii*, 22. 32. c.
- E.
- Easter*, time of, 21. 2. b. and 6. m. Easter Eve, how observed, 21. 35. d. Criminals pardoned at Easter, 23. 32. t.
- Ecclesiastical* writings, 22. 4. d. vestments, 23. 18. h.
- Edward VI.*, alteration from his Prayer-Book, 22. 5. g. substitutes Tables for Altars, 22. 7. k.
- **Εκδικοι* or *ἐκκλησιονέδικοι*, 21. 27. y.
- Emeritus*, Donatist, his refusal to answer St. Augustine, 23. 55. g.
- Encratites*, heretics, 24. 55. k.
- Epiphanius, St.*, writes to St. Jerome against the Origenists, 21. 1. a. his description of the office of Deaconess, 21. 41. f.
- Epiphany*, meaning of the word, and time of its celebration, 22. 46. i.
- Eucharist*, consecration of, whether consisting in the Invocation or Commemoration, 22. 22. s. how the remains were disposed of, 22. 46. k.
- Eudorius*, heretic, sketch of his history, 23. 27. m.
- Eugenius IV.*, Pope, his decree on the Apocrypha, 22. 4. d.
- Eustathius* of Sebaste, heretic, sketch of his history, 22. 9. l.
- Execrachs*, power of, 21. 7. n.
- Executor* of the Imperial Laws, 22. 47. 1.
- Ewedra*, 23. 55. f: 24. 37. i.
- Ex-Priests*, 21. 6. k.
- F.
- Felix V.*, Pope, 22. 4. d.
- Fermentum*, meaning of the term, 23. 32. r.
- Foundation*, Epistle of, a work of Manes, 21. 55. p.
- Funerals*, why lights were used in them, 22. 6. h.
- G.
- Gallican Churches*, their division in the fifth century, 23. 45. z. Origin of the Gallican Liturgy, 23. 32. p.
- Genusflectentes*, a class of Catechumens, 23. 10. d.
- Gothia*, what country meant by this term, 22. 1. a.

Gregory, St., Nazianzen, his complaint of the state of the Church, 21. 6. i. a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.

H.

Hallelujah, when sung, 22. 5. g.
Hilary, St., of Poitiers, a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.
Hospital, attached to churches, 21. 3. e. *St. Basil's*, *ibid.*
Hydroparastatae, heretics, 24. 55. k.

I. & J.

Jerome, St., his reason for the observance of Easter Eve, 21. 35. d. a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d. said to have introduced a more general use of the Hallelujah at Rome, 22. 5. g. mentions the practice of lighting tapers when the gospel is read, 22. 6. h.
Infant Communion, usual in the ancient Church, 23. 28. n.
Innocent I., St., Pope, his catalogue of the Scriptures, 23. 4. d.
Invocation in the Eucharist, 22. 22. s.
Isaurians, 21. 42. i.
Isdegerdes, Persian King, 21. 45. l.
Isidore, Monk of Alexandria, assisted by *St. Melania the Elder*, 21. 31. z.
Junilius, African Bishop, a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.

K.

Kiss of Peace, 23. 32. p.

L.

Laodicea, Council of, determines the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.
Laura, how differing from a *Cœnobium*, 24. 28. g.
Lawyers, sometimes considered incapable of ordination, 21. 32. b.
Lent, how observed by the ancients, 21. 2. d.
Leucius, apocryphal author, 21. 56. r.
Lights, on what occasions employed, 22. 6. h.
Liturgy: points of difference in different liturgies, 23. 32. p, q.
LORD's Prayer, not allowed to be used by unbaptized persons, 21. 36. e.
Lustral Contribution, 23. 4. b.
Lycomedes, said to have procured a portrait of *St. John*, 21. 56. r.

M.

Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, presented by Constantine with an embroidered vestment, 23. 18. h.
Maccabees, Books of; *St. Augustine's* opinion on them, 24. 22. f.
Manichees, writings of, 21. 55. p. and 56. q, r. doctrine on the origin of souls, 23. 17. f.
Manifestation of our LORD, what understood by the term, and when celebrated, 22. 46. i.
Marcellinus, grandfather of *St. Melania the Elder*, 21. 31. z.
Marcellus, St., Pope, 24. 7. c.
Martyropolis, the see of *St. Maruthas*, 21. 45. l.
Maruthas, St., sketch of his history, 21. 45. l.
Mauritania Tingitana, province in Africa, 23. 48. b.
Maximin Daia, Emperor, 22. 13. o.
Melania, St., the Elder, sketch of the history of, 21. 31. z.
Melito, Bishop of Sardes, a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.
Memento of the Roman Liturgy, 23. 32. q.
Milan; power of its Bishop, 23. 45. z.
Miracles at the Tombs of the Martyrs, not denied by *Vigilantius*, 22. 5. f.
Monks; their general character, 21. 43. k. their secularity in the fifth century, 22. 22. u. subject to the Bishops, *ibid.*
Montanists, heretics, adopt the *Quartodeciman rule*, 21. 6. m.
Mysteries of the Church, concealment of, 21. 36. e: 23. 32. r.

N.

Nativity of our LORD. See *Christmas Day*.

Nero, expected to re-appear as *Antichrist*, 23. 10. c.
Nilammon, St., of Geræ, date of his death, 21. 24. u.
Nilus, St., a disciple of *St. Chrysostom*, 21. 48. n. his complaints of the secularity of the Monks, 22. 22. u. his *Eight Capital Vices*, 22. 22. x.
Notaries, civil, 22. 26. z.
Novatians, how connected with *Quartodecimans*, 21. 6. m. Difference of principle between the *Novatians* and the Church, 22. 4. c.

O.

Oakt, Council of: number of Bishops composing it, 21. 18. p. number and

duration of its sessions, 21. 23. t. genuineness of the Acts preserved by Photius, *ibid.* date of the Council, 21. 24. u.
Oblations at the Altar, 23. 32. q: 22. 7. k.
Origen, seems to object to prayer to the Son, 21. 2. c. a witness to the canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d. his theory on the origin of souls, 23. 17. f.

P.

Palladius, the author of the Life of St. Chrysostom, a different person from the author of the *Historia Lausiaca*, 22. 11. m.
Pallium, or *ἀμφοδρίον*, 21. 3. f.
Paphnutius, Egyptian Monk, assisted by St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31. z.
Parabolani, an inferior clerical order at Alexandria, 23. 25. k.
Paræciæ of Rome, 23. 32. s.
Paschal letters, 21. 2. b.
Patriarchs, their power, 21. 7. n. and relative dignity, 23. 26. l.
Paulians, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Paulinus, *St.*, relates a miracle effected by a portion of the wood of the Cross, 21. 31. a.
Peace, Kiss of, 23. 32. p.
Pearson, Bishop, his exposition of the word Catholic, 22. 37. f.
Pelagius, genuineness of his letter to St. Demetrius, 23. 13. e. his writings, 23. 18. g. his age, 24. 25. marg. summary of the Pelagian doctrines, 23. 48. c.
Penance, practice of, 22. 4. c.
Peter, *St.*, first Bishop of Antioch, 23. 26. l.
Pope. See *Roman Church*.
Phrygia, imbued with Judaism, 21. 6. m.
Pinianus, leaves Hippo without breaking his oath, 23. 54. e.
Polyeuctes, *St.*, Martyr, 24. 28. marg.
Porphyrius, perhaps a native of Antioch, 21. 46. m.
Prefectures, enumeration of, 22. 26. a.
Priest of the Palace, 22. 11. n.
Principes, 22. 32. c.
Publicola, son of St. Melania the Elder, and father of St. Melania the Younger, 21. 31. z.

Q.

Quartodecimans of the fifth century, 21. 6. m.

R.

Rabbinical theory on the origin of souls, 23. 17. f.

Repentance, death-bed, 22. 4. c.
Roman Church. The first rank conceded to the Bishop of Rome, 21. 7. n. he opposes the claims of the Patriarch of Constantinople, 23. 26. l. his power in the fifth century, 23. 45. z. Roman Liturgy, 23. 32. p. Ecclesiastical division of Rome, 23. 32. s. Roman Tonsure, 23. 46. a.
Ruffinus of Aquileia, companion of St. Melania the Elder, 21. 31. z. a witness to the Canon of Scripture, 22. 4. d.

S.

Sabbatius, heretic, maintains the Quartodeciman rule, 21. 6. m.
Sacrament, ancient signification of the word, 23. 32. x.
Scythian, a Manichee teacher, 21. 56. q.
Secretaria, of the civil judges, 22. 14. p. of the churches, 23. 55. f.
Sermons: posture of the preacher and audience respectively, 24. 37. i.
Severian of Gabala, his writings, 21. 9. o.
Severus, Sulpitius, his complaint of Episcopal ambition, 21. 6. l.
Shepherd of Hermas, an ecclesiastical book, 22. 4. d.
Simony, in what consisting, and how punished, 21. 6. l.
Sunday: Councils sometimes sate on Sunday, 21. 23. t.

T.

Table, a term used for Altar, 22. 7. k.
Tapers, on what occasions used, 22. 6. h.
Tarcalissæus, or Zeno, Emperor of the East, 21. 42. i.
Tascodrogitæ, heretics, 24. 55. k.
Thessalonica, Bishop of, the Pope's Vicar, 23. 45. z.
Thursday, Holy, the season for Absolution, 23. 32. t.
Tituli, of Rome, 23. 32. s.
Toledo, Bishop of, his rank, 23. 45. z.
Tonsure, clerical, 23. 46. a.
Treasure, a Manichee work, 21. 56. q.
Trent, Council of: its judgment on the Apocrypha, 22. 4. d. denies the necessity of infant communion, 23. 28. n.
Tribune and Notary, 22. 26. z.

U. & V.

Vestments, ecclesiastical, 23. 18. h.
Vicarii, civil officers, 22. 26. a.

- Vigilantius*, heretic, does not deny the miracles at the Tombs of the Martyrs, 22. 5. f. why he wished to confine the Hallelujah to Easter, 22. 5. g.
- Visigoths*, 22. 1. a.
- Ulfilas*, Arian Bishop of the Visigoths, 22. 1. a.
- Unction*, of Chism, and of Mystical Oil, 23. 32. u.
- W.
- Wisdom*, authority of the Book of, 24. 61. m.
- X.
- Xenodochium*, 21. 3. e.
- Z.
- Zeno*, or Tarcalissæus, Emperor of the East, 21. 42. i.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CONDEMNATION of Origen by Theophilus, and Persecution of the Four Brothers	A.D. 399.
St. Chrysostom opposes Gáinas; Accusation of Antoninus of Ephesus; Letters of Pope St. Innocent to the Spanish Bishops	A.D. 400.
St. Porphyrius of Gaza at Constantinople: St. Chrysostom's visitation of Proconsular Asia; his difference with Severian, and correspondence with Theophilus; Council at Cyprus condemning Origen; Arrival of St. Epiphanius at Constantinople	A.D. 401.
First Council of Milevum; Crispinus, Donatist, at Mappala; St. Melania's return to Rome; Death of Pope Anastasius; St. Innocent, Pope	A.D. 402.
Death of St. Epiphanius; Council of the Oak; Second Council against St. Chrysostom	A.D. 403.
Death of St. Nilammon; St. Chrysostom banished; Arsacius, Bishop of Constantinople; Porphyrius, Bishop of Antioch; Death of St. Paula; Decretal of Pope St. Innocent to St. Victricius; Council of Turin; St. Possidius and Crispinus; Donatist attack on Maximian; Spes and Boniface; St. Augustine's Conference with Felix	A.D. 404.
Difference between St. Jerome and St. Augustine on the Epistle to the Galatians	A.D. 395—405.
Deputation for St. Chrysostom from the West; Death of Arsacius; Decretal of St. Innocent to St. Exuperius; Edict of Union; First appearance of Pelagius' heresy	A.D. 405.
Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople; Exile of St. Chrysostom's friends; St. Jerome writes against Vigilantius; Barbarians in the Gauls; Honoratus of Thiava; St. Augustine's Conference with Pascentius	A.D. 406.

- Death of St. Chrysostom ; Defeat of Rhadagaisus A.D. 407.
- Death of Arcadius ; Sedition of Calama ; Death of Stilico A.D. 408.
- First siege of Rome by Alaric ; Pelagius and Cælestius
leave Rome ; Vandals enter Spain ; Cassian's arrival
at Marseilles A.D. 409.
- Alaric takes Rome ; St. Melania, &c., in Africa ; Pela-
gius at Hippo ; St. Nilus of Mount Sinai and the
Barbarians ; Agapetus of Synnada ; Ordination of
Synesius ; Foundation of the Monastery of Lerins A.D. 410.
- Conference of Carthage ; Pelagius at Carthage ; Ex-
communication of Andronicus ; Council of Braga A.D. 411.
- Death of Theophilus ; St. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria ;
Second mission of St. Maruthas to Persia ; Council
of Ciritha ; Cælestius condemned at Carthage : St. Au-
gustine's first writings against the Pelagians ; Goths
enter the Gauls A.D. 412.
- Death of the Tribune Marcellinus A.D. 413.
- St. Demetrias, Virgin ; St. Jerome begins to write
against the Pelagians ; End of the schism of
Antioch A.D. 414.
- Orosius in Africa ; Conference at Jerusalem ; Council
of Diospolis ; Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Pelagian ;
Discovery of the reliques of St. Stephen ; Restoration
of St. Chrysostom's name ; Expulsion of the Jews
from Alexandria A.D. 415.
- Laws on the Parabolani ; Return of Orosius, and Coun-
cils at Carthage and Milevum : Reliques of St. Stephen
at Minorca, Uzalis, &c. ; Decretals of St. Innocent to
Decentius and others A.D. 416.
- Pope St. Innocent condemns Pelagius ; Death of St. In-
nocent ; Zosimus, Pope ; Confession of Faith of
Pelagius and Cælestius ; Pope Zosimus acquits them ;
he writes in favour of Patroclus of Arles A.D. 417.
- Council of Carthage, May 1 ; Zosimus condemns the
Pelagians ; Julian of Æculanum, Pelagian : Pinianus
converses with Pelagius ; Faustinus, Papal Legate in
the case of Apiarius ; St. Augustine at Cæsarea in
Mauritania ; Death of Pope Zosimus ; Ordination of
St. Germanus of Auxerre A.D. 418.

Boniface, Pope; SIXTH AND SEVENTH COUNCILS OF CARTHAGE; Death of St. Eustochium	A.D. 419.
Dispute on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Illyria	A.D. 419—22.
Death of St. Jerome; Cassian's Institutions; Third mission of St. Maruthas to Persia	A.D. 420.
Persecution in Persia	A.D. 420—50.
Persian War; Constantius, Emperor; Marriage of Theodosius II.; Pelagians condemned in the East; Death of St. Mary the Egyptian	A.D. 421.
Death of Pope Boniface; St. Cælestine, Pope	A.D. 422.
Death of Honorius; Usurpation of John; Anthony of Fussala	A.D. 423.
Valentinian III., Emperor; Cure of Paul and Palladia; St. Augustine's Sermons on the Common Life; Death of Atticus	A.D. 425.
Conclusion of the affair of Apiarius; Nomination of Eraclius; Sisinnius, Bishop of Constantinople	A.D. 426.
Death of Sisinnius; Dispute among the Monks of Adrumetum; Retractations of St. Augustine; Con- version of Leporius	A.D. 427.
Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople; Revolt of Count Boniface; Vandals enter Africa; Decretals of St. Cæ- lestine; Death of St. Honoratus of Arles	A.D. 428.
Rise of the Semi-Pelagians at Marseilles	A.D. 429.

ERRATA, &c.

- Page 27. marg. *dele* p. 147.
— 47. Insert in marg. XXII. Recall of St. Chrysostom.
— 53. marg. *for* App. p. 144, *read* ap. Concil. ii. p. 1190. (iii. p. 939.)
— 57. line 30. *for* a, *read* the.
— 100. Insert in line 13, after Bourdeaux, “and St. Amandus his successor,
“ St. Aperius of Toul, St. Florentius of Cahors,”
— 297. marg. *for* Const. *read* Coust.
— 327. Contents, ch. 50, *for* Vitalius, *read* Vitalis.

Boniface, Pope; SIXTH AND SEVENTH COUNCILS OF CARTHAGE; Death of St. Eustochium	A.D. 419.
Dispute on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Illyria	A.D. 419—22.
Death of St. Jerome; Cassian's Institutions; Third mission of St. Maruthas to Persia	A.D. 420.
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