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OUTLINES OF CHURCH HISTORY

FOR THE USE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS
IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN PRINCETON.

BY
JAMES C. MOFFAT,
HELENA PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY.

From the birth of Christ to A. D. 1648.

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OUTLINES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE WORLD AT THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST.

Jesus, who is called the Christ, was born in Judea, shortly before the death of Herod I., which took place between March 13th and April 4th, in the year 750 U. C. The birth of Jesus could not have been later than two or three months before that event; it may have been earlier by one, or even two years. Our common era assumes it to have occurred in 754 U. C., at least four years too late. The day of his birth is not determined.

At that epoch, the state of religion in the west of Asia and Europe was one of great depression. Rationalism had separated between faith and intelligence; east of the Indus it had constructed two great philosophical religions; west of the Tigris it had set up philosophy as a substitute for religion, and carried the convictions of the greater number of the educated. Confucianism and Buddhism, as religions, were accepted by vast multitudes; Greek philosophy did not profess to be religion, and scorned the ignorant populace. Between the Indus and the Tigris ruled the semi-barbarous Parthian, maintaining a degenerate Magism. Avestan monotheism was almost buried out of sight under that domination. The pure faith of the Hebrews was confined to few.

Everywhere the religious condition of the multitudes, to whom philosophy or philosophical religion was inaccessible, was exceedingly degraded.

All the countries lying around the Mediterranean were under one ruler. Rome had within the preceding half century united the ruder west of Europe to the decaying civilizations on the eastern coasts. Parthian barbarism lay as a barrier between that new empire and the culture of the further east.

Civilization in China and India was bound up in their great philosophical religions; in the west it reposed upon philosophy; while good order and security were maintained by Roman legislation and arms.

Great facilities for the spread of knowledge were furnished by Roman dominion; by the protection it furnished, the freedom of inter-communication which it promoted, by one common language of business, and one of polite literature. The wisdom and culture of the east were easily, through the common heart of Rome, extended to the strong but rugged nations of the west. And the government of that vast dominion was, at the time of the Saviour's birth, in the hands of one man, whose policy was peace.

But there was little hope or enterprise among the nations. Their spirit had been crushed. Among the wisest heathen a deep despondency prevailed, a sense of want, which no earthly possessions could fill.

Practical morals were at that time among the heathen exceedingly base, and basest in the highest places of society; not because men did not know the difference between right and wrong, but because they were without sufficient persuasives to righteousness. The example of their gods could be adduced to justify or palliate any vice or crime. Their great want was the want of a Saviour.

The Jews were still in possession of their own land, but subjects of the Roman Empire, to which they had recently been annexed. Jews of pure descent occupied chiefly the southern part of the country; Samaritans the middle, and Galileans the north, both being of mixed descent; and the eastern side of Jordan, divided into Iturea, Trachonites, and Perea was also held by a heterogeneous population.

Pure Jews were of three religious sects; Pharisees, who were ritualists; Sadducees, rationalists; and Essenes, who were Ascetics. Moreover, Jews were then resident in almost every nation: and in their synagogues the scriptures of promise were read. Among both Jews and gentiles there prevailed an expectancy of some great personage about to appear with blessing to mankind.

The Saviour was of pure Hebrew genealogy, but made his residence chiefly among the half gentiles of Galilee. His public ministry commenced with his baptism, when he was about thirty years of age, and extended to about three years and three months.

The social condition in which he was born was lowly, and yet, as both his mother and foster father were descended of the ancient Kings of Judea, he was a son of David according to the flesh.

Historically, Christ appeared as a teacher, in the crowning period of ancient learning and culture. Some things in his teaching were peculiar to himself.

1. He did not present what he taught as conclusions which he had arrived at; neither as things discovered, nor as certified by thinking in reference to them, but purely as revelation.

2. He did not reveal as having learned from some higher intelligence, but as speaking of his own original knowledge.

3. His method was of great breadth, calling in the exercise of all faculties of the human mind, and never seeking to simplify by sinking one faculty in another.

4. His instructions have eminently the mark of holiness.

II. As to their substance, his lessons contained intelligence from the councils of God; touching the nature of God's existence, his designs for man, and some of his dealings with higher beings.

2. They laid open the whole plan of redemption; and the love of God to man.

3. They taught the purest, most summary and most effectual principles of morals; and the way whereby man is to be accepted as holy with God: and of Jesus himself that he was the sacrifice for sin, the mediator of a new covenant and the eternal Son of God.

III. Jesus addressed the understanding of men, but demanded of his followers first of all an act of the heart; namely, that they should trust in him and love him and one another. And his teaching has been accompanied

with a power to go directly to the heart and change the state of its affections. Thereby, notwithstanding its depth and height, it is adapted to all grades of capacity.

IV. The operation and effect of his teaching are found in practice to be what he said they would be.

V. His miracles, his death and resurrection were essential to his instructions, as well as parts of what he came to do, and all, taken together, make a consistent whole, which is the Gospel.

His last commission to his disciples was to teach all nations. The progress of that teaching among men is the history of the church.

VI. Christ presented himself as the subject of his Gospel, and the teacher of its doctrines; but assigned to his disciples, under the Holy Spirit, the task of organizing their own society--which is the church. Of that the beginning was the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of the first Pentecost after the ascension.

CHURCH HISTORY.

The History of the Christian Church since that date is divided, in view of its own progress, into four great periods. The first is that of Apostolic history, in the end of which the church ceased to enjoy the presence and counsels of inspired men who had seen the Lord. Second is that which ended in conferring upon Christians external supremacy in the Roman empire, extending from about the beginning of the second century until the year 324 A. D. The third is that of union with the state, and bondage to the rule of legalism within the pale of the church, and extends until the first successful efforts for liberation, in and about 1517 A. D.

This long period contains others of great importance, as that which was marked by the Nestorian schism in 431 A. D.; that which determined the separation of the great group of Monophysite churches, in 553 A. D.; the terrible loss to the churches of the east and south in the first Mohammedan invasions, which began in 632 A. D., and the separation of the church into the eastern and western in the year 1054.

The fourth great period is that of the general conflict for and against the free publication of the Gospel, and its sole authority in the church; which is still going on.

Upon more minute inspection, we shall find it necessary to divide each of our periods into several subordinate sections, on the same principle, but drawn more closely from operations of the inner life of Christians.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM PENTECOST, A. D. 29 TO A. D. 100.

Apostolic History consists of five sections, marked by their respective steps of progress in the publication of the Gospel; namely, organization of the church in Jerusalem; preaching the Gospel to the Samaritans and elsewhere in Palestine; first mission to the gentiles; the overthrow of Jewish nationality, and the completing of the sacred canon, and death of the last inspired teacher.

1.

The first began with the day of Pentecost and closed with the death of Stephen. In it were witnessed the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the transforming effect upon the character of the Apostles, the sermon of Peter, with the addition of three thousand to the number of the believers in that one day. All the Christians residing at that time in Jerusalem formed one society, and had all things in common. At first their temporal and religious affairs were conducted by the apostles; by the appointment of deacons the apostolic form of the church was completed. The Christians of that time were Jews, or Jewish proselytes, and thought that the Gospel belonged only to the children of Abraham. The aposles were endowed with supernatural gifts for the planting of the church in its worship, government and instruction.

For a meeting of the whole, they used the court of the temple, but they also met in separate bodies, as occasion required, in synagogues and in private houses; and the synagogue, not the temple, furnished the basis

of their worship and government. In the sense of a common organization, they were one church; in the sense of congregations, they were sometimes several. Provision for the poor among them was accepted as a duty, and those who had property contributed freely to the wants of the rest.

Enemies arrayed themselves against the church from the first; Sadducees because they preached the resurrection, and Pharisees on the ground of disorder. The caution and tolerance recommended by Gamaliel prevailed for a time in the council. But persecution broke out again with great severity upon the death of Stephen, and the members of the church were scattered abroad.

2.

The dispersion was at first through the regions of Judea and Samaria, but very soon it extended also to the Gentiles. The apostles lingered longer in Jerusalem, making that city the centre of operations. Philip, the evangelist, was the first to carry the Gospel to Samaritans. From Jerusalem two apostles Peter and John, were sent to inquire into that work, and being satisfied with the reality of the conversions, rejoiced together with their fellow apostles, in such a way as shows that the fact was more than they had expected. Peter's experience in the case of Cornelius prepared them for preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Roman Centurion was received into the church by profession of faith and baptism. Acts x. 44–48; xv. 6–11. A new apostle was next called for the express purpose of preaching to the Gentiles. Paul's conversion occurred in or about the year 37. After having preached in Damascus, he spent some time in Arabia, visited Jerusalem, and returned to his native city Tarsus.

Meanwhile some of the dispersed came to Antioch and preached to the Greeks, and a great number believed. Hearing of that, the apostles at Jerusalem sent Barnabas to visit Antioch, who when he had come and had seen the grace of God was greatly rejoiced; and going to Tarsus he found Paul, and brought him to Antioch,

where they both labored for a whole year. In that great city, where strict Jews with their Hellenistic brethren, and Heathen, with proselytes to Judaism, lived in close neighborhood, the views of the disciples were further enlightened touching the liberality of the Gospel. Consequently Antioch was the place where the disciples were first regarded as other than a Hebrew sect, and first received the name Christian.

The church which in the first of these two brief periods was but one community, was in the second dispersed and formed into many. Jewish exclusiveness in the minds of the disciples was overcome so far as to admit of preaching the Gospel to Samaritans and Gentiles. But all were still expected to submit to Jewish rites.

The rapid increase of the number of believers was a fact which most deeply impressed the writer of their early history. He recurs to it in different connections.

The creed of the church was contained in the simple apostolic injunction, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.

It was in the latter years of the Emperor Tiberius that the church was formed in Jerusalem. The beginning of its dispersion took place perhaps in the 22nd year of that reign. The second period lasted through the reign of Caligula and to the fourth year of Claudius. In 41 Herod Agrippa was elevated by Claudius to be king of all Palestine. He died in 44 A. D. The country was again treated as a province, and governed from Rome.

3.

In the history of the apostolic church the third section extends from the first regularly appointed mission to the Gentiles, about the year 45, until the arrival of Paul at Rome, in A. D. 61.

After the Jews, the first opponents whom christianity met in argument were the Greeks, keen and logical, and it became of importance for its preachers to be versed in that learning from which those opponents drew their arguments. Jews alone were yet systematically arrayed

against the gospel. Antioch furnished a refuge for the disciples where they were safe from that persecution, and a favorable center of operations among the heathen. A short time subsequent to the year 44, most likely in 45 A. D. a number of pious men, prophets and teachers residing at Antioch, as they ministered to the Lord and fasted, were directed by the Holy Spirit to set apart Barnabas and Saul to the work of missions among the Gentiles. So when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands upon the missionaries, they sent them away. The gospel was preached in every direction from Jerusalem; but this, the most important of apostolic missions was addressed to the heart of the highest civilization.

The missionaries were well qualified for their task. Both of pure Hebrew blood, they were both natives of Greek countries, and had enjoyed both Greek and Hebrew culture. From Antioch they proceeded to Selencia, took ship to Cyprus, visited the cities Salamis and Paphos, in the latter of which the Roman Proconsul, Sergius Paulus was converted, and the name of the apostle ceases to be Saul, and becomes Paul. Thence they sailed to the coast of Asia Minor. Here John Mark who had attended them from Antioch forsook them and returned. Landing at Perga they proceeded through Pamphylia to Antioch in Pisidia. Thence eastward to Iconium, then to Lystra and to Derbe. At Lystra they with difficulty restrained the people from offering them worship, until the Jews stirred up opposition to them. From Derbe they retraced their steps to Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, Perga, and Atalia, and thence to Antioch in Syria. There they reported to the church what God had wrought by them; and abode a long time with the disciples.

Then arose a controversy about what was to be done with heathen converts, whether it was, or was not necessary for them to be circumcised and keep the law of Moses. As some persons from Judæa disturbed the church in Antioch by arguing the affirmative of that question, it was resolved that Paul and Barnabas and certain others should go to Jerusalem and consult the apostles and elders. In Jerusalem the controversy was also warm. Certain Pharisees who had become chris-

tian were very earnest for retaining the law. In the meeting which took place there was difference of opinion; but after Paul and Barnabas and Peter had spoken, recounting what God had done for Gentiles through them, James proposed a resolution which was agreed to, that Gentile converts should abstain from meats offered to idols, from blood, from things strangled and from fornication, and that beyond this no other burden should be imposed upon them. Silas and Judas Barsabas were appointed to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, and communicate the message which they also carried in writing.

Still this was not complete emancipation from Legalism. The whole ministry of Paul was needed to effect that, by demonstrating that salvation is by faith in Christ alone, and that the believer is no longer under the law, but under grace. The meeting, or council at Jerusalem occurred in the year 50 or 51 A. D., most probably the former.

Soon afterward Paul and Barnabas undertook another missionary tour, but did not go together. Barnabas took Mark as his companion and went to Cyprus; Paul took Silas, and went through Northern Syria, round the gulf of Issus into Cilicia, confirming the churches. Thence to Derbe, Lystra and Iconium, stations on his former tour; then through Phrygia and Galatia to Mysia. At Troas he had a vision of a man of Macedonia, saying "come over into Macedonia, and help us." Accordingly he and his companions sailed over to Neapolis, and thence proceeded to Philippi. In that city after being imprisoned, miraculously delivered, the conversion of the jailor, and vindication of their own character as Roman citizens, the missionaries planted a church, and proceeding southward visited Thessalonica and Berœa. There meeting with opposition from Jews, Paul went to Athens, then to Corinth, where his companions, left at Berœa, came to him. After laboring about eighteen months at Corinth he sailed to Ephesus, then to Cæsarea in Palestine, then to Jerusalem to observe the Pentecost, and returned to Antioch in course of the Summer.

Paul's third missionary tour was entered on in Autumn of same year in which he returned from the

second. It pursued nearly the same course, but more time was spent in Phrygia and Galatia, and its direction was through Proconsular Asia to Ephesus. In that city Paul remained nearly three years, so that all the inhabitants of the province heard the word of the Lord Jesus. In the year 57 he proceeded by way of Troas, to Macedonia and in the Winter visited Corinth, spent three months there and in the vicinity. Next Spring he set forth on his return by way of Macedonia: thence across the Ægean sea to Troas; then from point to point down the Asiatic coast to Miletus where he had his last interviaw with the elders of Ephesus; then, by way of Rhodes and Patara, to Tyre, to Ptolemais and Caesarea, and finally to Jerusalem.

At Jerusalem a violent Jewish party charged him with teaching even Jews abroad to disregard the laws of Moses, and stirred up a mob, from which Paul was rescued by the Roman officer in command of the garrison in the city. This led to his trial before Felix, Festus and Agrippa and his appeal to Cæsar. At Caesarea he was kept a prisoner during the whole of the year 59, and the greater part of the next. Late in the Autumn of A. D. 60. he was sent to Rome, but was delayed until the Winter set in. In crossing the Ionian sea he suffered shipwreck, was constrained to spend three months on the island of Malta, and did not reach Rome until the Spring of A. D. 61.

The officer who had charge of Paul and the other prisoners, treated him with great courtesy and indulgence. At Rome, he was received with similar consideration, and was suffered to dwell two years in a house hired by himself, freely preaching the gospel to all who visited him.

Paul's efforts had been addressed chiefly to the great seats of government and moral influence. Antioch was his starting point, and the scenes of his most prolonged labors, besides that city, were Philippi, Ephesus, Corinth and Rome.

The companions of Paul in his missionary labor were in his first journey, Barnabas all the way, and Mark as far as Perga; on his second, Silas, and from Lystra,

Timothy, and at least part of the way, Luke; on his third, Luke, Titus and Timothy. Aquila and Priscilla, Apollos and others were also associated with him briefly at different times and places.

His epistles were written chiefly between A. D. 52 and 63, at Corinth, at Ephesus, in Macedonia and at Rome.

A tradition represents Paul as liberated after his first trial, as making extensive missionary tours, revisiting Ephesus, Macedonia and Miletus, and extending his labors to Nicopolis, to Crete and to Spain. In the year preceding the death of Nero, it is said he was again in Rome, having been arrested a second time, and suffered death by beheading in that year. Those who believe in a second imprisonment of Paul refer to it and to the preceding interval of freedom, the writing of the pastoral epistles.

4.

The next section of Apostolic history extends from the beginning of Paul's imprisonment in Rome to the destruction of Jerusalem:—from A. D. 61 to 70.

After the meeting at Jerusalem, the history of the other apostles is involved in obscurity. After that occasion we read of Peter at Antioch, and in his own epistle at Babylon. Although the door was opened to the gentiles through the agency of Peter, his vocation was not to them, but to the Jews. The testimonies adduced to sustain the assertion that he was Bishop of Rome, are feeble and contradictory in themselves, and utterly inconsistent with all the scripture that touches the subject.

Of the other apostles our knowledge is still more scanty, and chiefly apocryphal. They are said to have preached the gospel in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in Egypt, in Parthia, in Persia, in India and in Scythia. The great fact, which there is no reason to question, is that churches were planted in all the leading countries adjoining on the Mediterranean sea, and in the direction in which their civilization was advancing.

The church accepted its generic form within the time of Paul. To that end the chief actors were Peter, Paul

and James. The apostles had their place exterior to the working system of the church, and were not included under it. They were appointed by Christ and miraculously qualified for the special and temporary service which they performed.

The early christian church grew up from elements contained in the Jewish synagogue, both as respects government and worship. The elders, who were the rulers, the reader and speaker and minister or attendant were the office bearers of the synagogue. And the exercises consisted of prayer, reading of the Word, exposition and exhortation, with chanting of Psalms, and concluded with the pronunciation of a blessing. All the churches were constituted on the same model and were of co-ordinate authority. None assumed supremacy over the rest, though Jerusalem first, and then Antioch, was the most influential. Before the death of Paul, the Christian Church consisted of a great number of such communities all professing the same faith and loving the same Redeemer and one another.

The publication of the gospel was first made by oral address. A literature however was ordained also and grew up by degrees. The canonical books except those of John, were probably all written before the close of this section of time.

When Paul finished his labors, the freedom of the gospel had been fully vindicated; but there was a party in the church which still advocated compliance with some parts of the ceremonial law. The great controversy of the apostolic period was over this question. Paul was on one side, and Peter was claimed by the moderate advocates of the other. On either side the extremes ran out into heresy.

The animosity of unconverted Jews and of the Jewish authorities towards christians of all parties was unrelenting. But their power was drawing near its end. A heathen enemy had already begun his career.

The events now mentioned took place under the emperors Claudius, and Nero. The last came to the throne in A. D. 54. In the tenth year of his reign, a large part of Rome was burned, by design or accident is

not certain. But the blame was laid on the emperor; and he to avert the obloquy from himself, charged it on the christians. We have no reason to believe that he concerned himself about their faith: but they were a class of people against whom he could direct popular rage with impunity.

In the latter years of Nero's reign, an insurrection in Judea led to the removal thither of a large body of Roman troops. An obstinate resistance changed the movement into a war. On the part of the Romans it was conducted by Vespasian and his son Titus. In the midst of the war Nero, last of the Cæsars, came to his miserable and merited end, (June 11, A. D. 68.)

The imperial throne was now an object of ambition open to all the heads of the military force. The Pretorian Guards at Rome, the army of the west in Spain, that of the northwest, in Gaul and on the Rhine, claimed, each for themselves, the right of putting their respective generals into the place of honor. And Galba, Otho and Vitellius were successively elevated to the throne and dragged from it, in the space of a year and a half. Soon after the last of the three was elevated to the now dangerous office, Vespasian also put in his claim. The army in Judea he left under command of Titus; that of Illyricum was sufficient for his own purpose. It was already near the scene of strife, took up his cause, and won his victories before his arrival. The empire was waiting for his acceptance. And thus the Flavian family (Dec. 20th, 69,) became the successor of the Julian.

With Vespasian a new style of government opened. For the good of the state his days were filled with business. His industry and economy were even more than the Romans of that age could rightly estimate. During that reign from 70 to 79 A. D., Christians, like all other orderly subjects, enjoyed the protection of a government which interfered not with their religious opinions.

Meanwhile Titus, in command of the army in Judea, after overcoming a resistance of unsurpassed obstinacy, took Jerusalem by storm (Sept. 2, 70 A. D.) Its walls and houses, and, much to the regret of Titus, its beautiful temple, were levelled with the ground. The Jews

as a nation were completely reduced. A portion of them remained in the land between sixty and seventy years longer, after which in another rebellion, they were finally broken and their fragments scattered to the ends of the earth

Their national centre was now lost, and their power to injure the christians greatly reduced, but dispersed as they were in far separate societies their hostility never abated until it became dangerous to themselves to indulge it. And ere that time they had accumulated for their posterity an inheritance of vengeance, which is not all exhausted to the present day.

The Mosaic economy virtually abolished by the death of Christ, was now practically terminated, and the sacrifice and oblation ceased.

5.

From the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70, to the death of the Apostle John, the church passed through another stage of progress, apostolic chiefly, and towards the last, solely by the presence of the beloved disciple.

A new generation was now growing up in the church, and ere the end of this period the mass of believers consisted of those who had been born within christian families.

The clemency of Vespasian's reign was continued in that of Titus, and the churches enjoyed freedom, in as far as the government was concerned. But when in A. D. 81, Domitian, a younger son of Vespasian came to the throne, the work of persecution received imperial sanction. Among others Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla, kindred of the emperor, suffered. Through Jewish misrepresentation Domitian was made to believe that the aim of the christians was to put the successors of Jesus on the throne. He relaxed his severity upon discovering that the surviving kinsmen of Jesus were poor peasants without political ambition or desires. Persecution of christians however continued on the ground of Atheism, that is rejection of all the gods of heathen worship. Nerva, ascending the throne in A. D. 96, repealed the persecuting edicts of Domitian ; but took

no steps to legalize christianity, and give it a right to governmental protection. At the end of two years he was succeeded by Trajan, a wise ruler, but severe, by whom although persecution was limited, it was within those limits sanctioned.

After the Jewish wars began, the apostle John removed to Proconsular Asia, took up his residence at Ephesus, and preached in several cities in that province. He addresses its seven churches with the authority of a special commission. Under Domitian, he was banished for a time to the isle of Patmos, where he wrote the book of Revelation. His gospel was written after the other three, and while he resided at Ephesus. His epistles have the color of the same period, adapted rather to fan the love of those brought up as christians than to instruct converts from heathenism or Judaism; and the faults he reproves are not of a nature incident to new churches.

Disturbers of the peace of the church, and of the faith of believers had already formed themselves into sects of greater or smaller numbers. Some taught that the end of the world was near, and looked for an early appearance of the Lord. The Docetae held that Christ had no real body, others that he was only a man; at Ephesus under the very presence of the apostle, Cerinthus the Gnostic taught his wild opinions; and the Nicolaitans had such footing at Pergamus that the Holy Spirit, through John, administered a reproof for that cause.

John lived to an advanced age, and died in the reign of Trajan, about the close of the first century, and at Ephesus, to which he had returned after the death of Domitian. His teaching did not turn upon legal conformity or the doctrine of faith, but upon christian love, and spiritual union with Christ. It was needful that the gospel should be presented in all three views, as obedience, faith and love. Balanced, as they are in Scripture, they properly sustain one another. But the last comprehends the other two. Exposition of the more comprehensive principle was the final work of revelation.

Christianity was first planted in cities. And as all the converts of one city made only one church, the

largest churches were those of the large cities. Most eminent at the end of the first century were those assembled in Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth and Rome. That eminence was greatly due to the importance of the cities. But in no case was authority over the other churches recognized as residing in them.

The episcopal succession in Antioch begins with Evodius, and the second bishop was Ignatius; in Rome, it is uncertain, but the common list begins with Linus, followed successively by Anacletus, and Clement. Most of the churches of those days claimed to have been planted by an apostle, but for none of them do we find it said in earliest tradition that an apostle was the bishop.

Notwithstanding the rise of heresies, the faith of the Church in general was still of a uniform standard, and means were in use for the propagation and maintenance of christian knowledge. The canonical books of the New Testament received by the Church without question were the four gospels, the acts of the apostles by Luke, the epistles bearing the name of Paul, to the number of thirteen, with the first epistle of Peter and first of John. But, for a time, there were some churches which doubted concerning the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John and that of Jude. The Apocalypse was accepted from its first appearance. Subsequently its authenticity was questioned by some parties in the chiliast controversy. Respecting the epistle to the Hebrews, there was question only of its authorship. These apostolic writings were publicly read in the meetings of Christians, and placed together with Old Testament Scripture.

The scrupulousness of the early christians which gave rise to those doubts, was due to the existence of certain other books, in some respects good and well meaning, but of no apostolic authority.

The day on which the Lord arose was a solemn and memorable day to the disciples. On that day week they were again assembled, when the Lord appeared among them. Subsequently mention is made of the first day of the week, as that on which the disciples "met together to break bread," (Acts xx. 7,) and by the Apostle John

mention is made of the Lord's day, Rev. i. 10. Jewish Christians observed also the annual festival of Pentecost. And in some places exercises of public as well as private worship were observed daily.

Worship consisted of prayer, reading of Scripture, preaching, and singing of Psalms and Hymns and spiritual songs. The music was entirely vocal.

It does not appear that the apostles and elders wore any peculiar vestments when conducting divine service.

The places used for social worship were, in the first instance, synagogues, but also, and perhaps most commonly, private houses.

Of Sacraments the early christians had only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The ordinary ministers in sacred office were elders, in the first instance ordained by the apostles, or evangelists, (Acts xiv. 23. Titus ii. 2,) with the concurrence of the church over which they were set (Clement, 1 Epistle to Cor. 44), and evidence that they were called by the Holy Spirit, (Acts 20 : 28.) The form was laying on of hands by the Apostles or by the Presbytery, (1 Tim. 4 : 14.)

From the corrupt morals of the age, to which the first christian converts had been more or less accustomed, the exercise of church discipline was necessarily strict, yet it was ordered by the apostles to be laid on with the tenderness of brethren, (2 Thes. 3 : 14, 15. Titus 3 : 10. 2 Cor. 2 : 7.) The christian was to be holy, as becoming him in whom dwells the Spirit of God. 1 Cor. 3 : 16, 17.

SECOND PERIOD.

From 100 to 325.

1.—Apostolic Fathers.

At the death of the Apostle John, about the year 100, we come to the dividing line between revelation and the work of preserving what has been revealed. So far the church has been instructed by inspired teachers, now she is to rely upon ordinary means. Still, for a few years, the personal influence of the apostles lingered in

the lives of persons who had enjoyed their society. The next most interesting group in the history of the church is that of the Apostolic Fathers, eminently gifted men who had been disciples of some of the apostles, among whom the most important were Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Papias and Polycarp. Of their writings we have a general epistle by Barnabas, an epistle to the Corinthians by Clement, a book by Hermas, which he calls the Shepherd, several epistles ascribed to Ignatius, and an epistle of Polycarp to the church at Philippi. Other writings are ascribed to some of them, but deemed spurious. Quite a number of books also are extant, as if from the first and second centuries, which are grouped under the general name Apocryphal. To none of these, the genuine works of the Apostolic Fathers, any more than the apocryphal, did the early church, or any part of it, attach a value equal to the writings of the apostles.

According to tradition, Clement died in A. D. 102, Ignatius suffered martyrdom in the amphitheatre at Rome in 115, Papias survived until 163, and Polycarp died the death of a martyr in 167 or 169.

The doctrines upon which those teachers insisted most, were the deity of Jesus, his equality with the Father, his vicarious suffering, the remission of sins through his blood, the depravity of man, justification by faith in Christ and obedience to his instructions. Some in their doctrine, as Clement, Hermas and Barnabas follow the example of Paul, and others, as Ignatius and Polycarp that of John.

The great theological question was the person of Christ. On that the extreme doctrines were those of the Docetae, on one hand, and of the Ebionites, on the other, while Gnostics wove it according to their fancies, into the speculations of their philosophy.

Extraordinary offices in the church had now ceased. It became necessary to rely upon those of Presbyter and Deacon; which already began to be subdivided in some churches. There was no higher rank in the church than the Presbyter. And each church, with its session of Presbyters, administered its own government without subordination to any ecclesiastical superior. A Presbyter

was so called from the custom of the synagogue, the name being only the Greek word for elder; but by the Greeks he was also called an overseer, ἐπίσκοπος, from which Bishop is an English derivative, the former being a title of rank, and the latter a designation of office.

Deacons, originally apppointed to distribute alms and relieve the apostles of secular duties, took care of the poor and sick, and discharged other offices standing between the church and the world.

These were the only ordinary officers of the primitive church. Knowledge of this fact was retained among christians long after its simplicity had been practically abandoned. It was defended as historical by Hilary of Rome in the 4th century, by Jerome in the 5th, by Isidore of Seville, in the 7th, by Anselm in the 11th, by Peter Lombard in the 12th, and others, until after the revival of learning in the 14th, it became again more commonly recognized.

At first all the presbyters of a church were bishops; but on any occasion of public worship, one of them necessarily presided. For each to have taken his turn would have best preserved their equality. But from that method they early departed, for one reason or another, yielding the duty of presiding to one of their number, who thereby became more specially the overseer, or bishop of the congregation. In course of time it was thought expedient to determine the rule that there should be only one bishop in one church. This change took place, of course, gradually, and in some churches sooner than in others. It manifests itself in the course of the second century.

Church extension proceeded in apostolic times by the method of planting each new congregation as a separate church, competent to its own government, after the model constituted everywhere by the apostles. But when the churches of the great cities began to expand, and new congregations to proceed from them, another method, that of branch churches, was gradually generated.

In the beginning of this period the emperor Trajan was on the throne, and reigned until 117. He was succeeded by Hadrian, from 117 to 138. Neither of those

emperors exhibited any animosity against christians, and yet within their time christians suffered much at the hands of local rulers and the people of certain provinces. Priests and other ministers of heathenism were exceedingly bitter against them, and stirred up the people to maltreat them, or prosecuted them before the magistrates, on various false charges. Information touching these matters did not always reach the Emperor.

An important contemporaneous testimony from the heathen side is the letter of the younger Pliny from Bithynia to Trajan. Pliny was governor of Bithynia, where Christianity had made great progress, while neither legally allowed nor forbidden, and found himself called upon, in regard to those charged with professing its faith, to act where he had no law. He had recourse to the Emperor, stating distinctly the case and what he had been able to learn about the christians. In the rescript of Trajan, written probably in 104, we have the first Roman law intelligently addressed to the subject. It instructed Pliny not to disturb the christians, not to take action in regard to them, unless brought before him on a definite charge; but if so accused and convicted they were to be punished unless they denied Christ, and were willing to adore the Roman gods. (Pliny's Letters, Book X. letters 97, 98.) Designed, as that rescript was, to put a check upon unjust prosecutions, there is no doubt that in the provinces many christians suffered under its sanction.

From the letter of Pliny it appears that christian worship, at the beginning of the second century was still extremely simple, conducted in Bithynia with a degree of secrecy. Their meetings were held very early in the morning. Christ was the object of their adoration. They observed the Lord's Supper, or the Love Feasts frequently: and held themselves under oath to do no wrong. They were disposed to submit to the government in all things, not inconsistent with their duty to God. But could not be induced by even torture and the terrors of death to deny Christ. And their influence was vastly greater than their numbers. Throughout Bithynia the observances of heathen worship had almost

ceased; the temples were nearly deserted, and victims for sacrifice could scarcely find a purchaser.

In the reign of Hadrian the heathen populace proceeded to such a degree of animosity as to clamor for the execution of christians in the arena, as part of the entertainment at the public festivals. Hadrian issued a rescript interdicting such inhuman proceedings.

Within this period the Jews provoked their final reduction. In Cyrene, (A. D. 115) they excited an insurrection, which extended to Egypt and Cyprus. Another was raised by them in Mesopotamia. Another in 132, under their leader Bar Cochab, attempted to expel the Romans from Palestine. In the war whereby that insurrection was put down, Palestine was, in 135, reduced almost to a desert. Jews were forbidden to visit the ruins of Jerusalem on pain of death. Only once a year, on the anniversary of its destruction, were they permitted to view the place from a distance. A new town subsequently arose there, and in it a church of gentiles.

2.—Primitive Apologists.

The next division of this period may be most characteristically designated as that of the Primitive Apologists, in whom, during the middle and latter part of the second century, the church had her ablest defenders. The productions called apologies were defences of christians, written for the purpose of being presented to the Emperor, or the Roman Senate. When Hadrian upon his imperial tour visited Athens in 126, the learned christian Quadratus took occasion to present to him a defence of his fellow christians. Another was presented about the same time by Aristides. A third was written by Agrippa Castor, about 135, against the heresies of Basilides. All three are lost. The earliest extant work of the kind is that of Justin Martyr, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about 139. Another was prepared by the same author between 161 and 166, to be presented to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, colleagues on the throne. He also wrote a work called a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, in which he encounters the objections from the side of Judaism.

Justin was a native of Samaria, born of Gentile parents. He suffered martyrdom at Rome in or about the year 166.

Tatian, a friend and disciple of Justin, wrote an address to the heathen among the Greeks, urging the folly and grossness of heathenism, and the purity and wisdom of scripture.

The apology of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, was inscribed to a friend, one Autolycus, who was a heathen, but a lover of truth, and presents evidences for christian truth, drawn from both Scripture and history.

Athenagoras of Athens also prepared for the emperor Marcus Aurelius an argument in defence of the christians.

Irenaeus about 170 wrote his treatise against heresies, chiefly the heresies of the Gnostics. Such writings increased in number towards the end of the century, but most of them are no longer extant. Of those which remain most valuable is the longer apology of Justin. Its topics may be classified under the following heads.

1. "Appeals to the justice of the ruling powers, and expostulations with them on the unfairness of the proceedings against christians."

2. "Refutations of the charges of Atheism, immorality and of disaffection towards the Emperor."

3. "Direct arguments in proof of the truth of christianity drawn from miracles and prophecy."

4. Exposure of the baseness and absurdity of polytheism and idolatry, and on the other hand the beneficial effects of christian doctrine upon the life of men.

5. Description of the christian rites, customs and manner of life.

Among the literary opponents, whom the apologists had to encounter, were Celsus the Epicurean, Crescens the Cynic, and the rhetorician M. C. Fronto, who all flourished about the middle of the century. Bitterest was Celsus. In a work called the True Account he collected all the arguments against christianity, which he could urge with any degree of probability. It is now known only in the refutation of it by Origen.

The arguments against Christianity were chiefly,

1. That Jesus was of low birth, and brought up among the ignorant, the vulgar and vicious, and that he suffered an ignominious death.

2. That Christianity was a novelty; that it had not the sanction of any national government; that it had commenced among barbarians, that its facts were incredible, and its doctrines absurd, especially those of regeneration and the resurrection; that different portions of Scripture contradicted each other, and that it demanded a blind and unreasonable faith.

3. Christians were charged with Atheism, with the worship of a crucified malefactor, with being poor and uncultivated, with the crime of creating division in religion and society, and of being disloyal to their country and to the emperor, with a superstitious spirit, fanatical and dismal.

4. Sometimes also mysteriously awful crimes were imputed to them, as that of indiscriminate licentiousness, of eating human flesh and blood, of devouring children in their religious feasts, and other things equally wild, the fictions of alarmed ignorance and heated imaginations.

Holding such belief the heathen populace certainly thought that they had abundant cause for their deadly hatred to the followers of Christ.

In debate with Jews, the early defenders of the gospel found common ground in the Old Testament Scriptures; and their aim was to show that the prophecies and types of the Messiah, therein contained, were all fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth.

With heathen the controversy was partly religious and moral, and partly political and social, and had to be debated on the ground of admitted moral principle, good sense, demonstrable truth and the common rights of Roman subjects. It was the external morality of those early witnesses for the gospel which weighed most in their favor, and the change which passed upon wicked men when they became christian.

It was when the stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius came to the throne, in 161, that persecution received

imperial direction, and proceeded upon principle and by law.

Commodus, though a worse man than his father, proved a more lenient ruler towards the christians. At the end of the second century their number had vastly increased within the empire, though under much oppression, and in some places constrained to observe their ordinances in secret.

Concerning the doctrine and worship of christians in the second century we learn most from the apologists. For the works of their theologian Arabianus, and of their historian Hegesippus, have perished.

1. They worshipped Christ as God proceeding from the Father, not as a holy man, but as the Word made flesh, the Divine nature incarnate.

2. They believed that the Holy Spirit was one of the persons in Godhead, and in conjunction with the Father and Son an object of worship.

3. Of man, they believed that he was created capable of choosing right; but capable also of transgression, and that by sinning he fell in Adam.

4. Justification they assigned entirely to the merits of Christ as its ground or cause, and faith they held to be the means of acceptance.

5. They believed in such a degree of human freedom that men were accountable for their actions.

6. They believed in the resurrection of the body, in case of both righteous and wicked, the eternal blessedness of the former, and eternal punishment of the latter.

But the principal point, discussed with all the philosophical acumen of the time, was the person of Christ, and his place in various theories of good and evil.

Of the forms of their worship and sacraments we learn also some interesting particulars from the same sources, especially from Justin.

1. Of Baptism he writes that it had taken the place of circumcision, and accordingly it was applied to infants.

2. It was administered by affusion, by immersion, or by sprinkling, in the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Only water was used. No other ceremony is mentioned as connected with it.

3. The day which is called Sunday Justin says was kept by them, because on that day of the week the Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead. On that day the people in town and country met in their respective places of worship.

(a.) In those meetings the memoirs of the apostles, or writings of the prophets were read to such length as time permitted.

(b.) Then the brother who presided delivered a discourse, in which he instructed the people, and exhorted them to the imitation of those excellent examples.

(c.) After that, they all rose together, and offered up their prayers.

(d.) After prayer, bread was brought, and wine and water. And again the brother who presided offered up prayer and thanksgiving according to his ability, and the people expressed their assent by saying "Amen."

Justin makes no mention of singing. But elsewhere that element of worship appears with sufficient clearness. It was one of the most striking features of christian meetings as they were described to Pliny. Where Justin worshipped, it seems that they celebrated the Lord's Supper every Lord's day. He describes the administration of that ordinance, more particularly.

1. After the prayer which closed the ordinary services, the people saluted one another with a kiss.

2. Then to that one of the brethren who presided there was brought bread, and a cup of wine mixed with water.

3. And he taking them offered up thanks and praise to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

4. When he had finished the prayer, and offering of thanks, all the people present assented by saying "Amen."

5. Then the Deacons gave to each of those who were present to partake of the bread, and of the wine and water, and to carry away some for those who were absent.

6. In that ordinance only those were allowed to partake, who professed their belief in those things which were taught in the church, were baptized, and endeavored to live as Christ commanded.

7. The bread Justin speaks of as what Christ had commanded to be offered in remembrance of his being made flesh, and the cup as that which he commanded to be offered in remembrance of his blood.

8. He does not mention the posture of the communicants; but from that fact it may be inferred, as well as from the statement that the Deacons distributed the elements, that it was the same which they occupied when listening to the preceding sermon and reading. For their change of posture in prayer he does mention.

9. After the service, a collection was taken up for the poor.

Besides the Lord's Day, many christians still kept the Jewish Sabbath, and the Jewish Christian practice of observing certain annual festivals was gradually gaining ground among the Gentile churches. It was also common to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays. The annual commemoration of the Lord's suffering, death and resurrection was also general in the churches both east and west. But they differed in the way of observing it. By the end of the century a serious controversy arose between them on that subject.

That Period which opened with the accession of Nerva A. D. 96, and closed in the death of Marcus Aurelius (180,) was the most prosperous and tranquil in the history of imperial Rome. The facilities for publication of the gospel, notwithstanding local and occasional persecutions, were unprecedented. The empire had reached its utmost extent, was most of the time in peace, the fear or reverence of it was upon all the world, delegates from Antoninus went even as far as China, and the wants, natural and artificial, of so many great cities made demands, which the most distant barbarous nations found their profit in supplying.

When from relying upon the counsel of an inspired apostle the church came to employ the judgment of uninspired teachers, many difficulties beset her way. One of these was philosophical speculation of that style which bore the general name of Gnosis. It was not new, but reached its maturity in the second century, within the time of the Primitive Apologists.

Christian Gnosticism was a theory of good and evil, how they arose, and how they co-exist, and how the persons of Christ and of the Holy Spirit stand in relation to them. Its fundamental elements were

1. A great and holy spirit, eternal, unchangeable and infinite, the source of all life and good; but inactive,—the tranquil reservoir of holiness and power.

2. The world of matter, existing also from all eternity, but inactive, and containing in itself the principles of evil.

3. The union of spirit and matter, which was temporary, and productive of the natural or imperfect.

4. The ruler of the natural world was the Demiurgus, or master spirit, who created it by combining the contradictory elements of spirit and matter.

5. Souls of men were rays of light which had come from the eternal spirit. In their earthly condition they are continually striving to obtain deliverance from fetters of the Demiurgus and of matter, and thereby to return into the region of the pure and spiritual.

6. Christ was one of the highest spirits of light, who connected himself with the body of Jesus, to assist men in effecting that end.

The various schools of Gnosticism differed from each other chiefly in their way of representing the imperfect. That of Alexandria effected it by emanations. But theories of emanations differed among themselves.

1. Basilides taught that seven secondary powers emanated from God. From these emanated other seven, and from these again a third class, and so on, until there were three hundred and sixty-five kingdoms of spirits, each of which possessed a feebler degree of power in goodness than the preceding, and the seven angels of the lowest heaven came into contact with matter, and their chief became the Creator of the world, the Demiurgus.

Men, at so great a distance as they were from God, bound up with matter in creation, were inextricably involved in darkness and evil. To deliver their souls from that bondage, the Nous, the first spirit of the highest order, entered the man Jesus, at his baptism, and remained connected with him until just before his death.

2. Valentinus, also an Egyptian, removed about 140 to Rome. His *pleroma* was simpler than that of Basilides. It consisted of fifteen male and as many female aeons who all emanated from Bythos, the depths of Deity. From the last of these proceeded a being called Achamoth, which had no longer power enough to retain its place within the Pleroma, and so came into contact with matter, and communicating the germ of life thereto, formed the Demirugus or creator of the world.

Christ and the Holy Spirit were two new aeons, who came to restore the disturbed harmony of the Pleroma.

3. A third branch of Alexandrian Gnosticism was that of the Ophites. In their doctrine, the first man, the second man, i. e. the son of man, and the Holy Spirit emanate separately from Bythos. From the last, through means of the former two, proceed the perfect masculine light-nature, Sophia, or wisdom. Sophia sought to defeat the oppressive designs of the world creator through the serpent of the first temptation. The office assigned to Christ was the same as in the theory of Valentinus.

II. Among the Gnostics of Syria a simple dualism prevailed. Their principal representative, Saturninus of Antioch, (between 125 and 150) taught that there was an original evil Being, the everlasting antagonist of God, and that in accordance with these two powers, both active, there are two classes of men, one instigated by the evil Being, and the other by the good.

III. The Gnosticism of Asia Minor is represented chiefly by Marcion, a native of Sinope, who came to Rome, and studied with the Gnostic Cerdo, between 140 and 150. In Marcion's system there are three original principles, the holy, the righteous, and the wicked, embodied in God, the Demiurgus, and the Devil. As in other Gnostic systems, matter is essentially evil. Men were under the merely righteous Demiurgus; and from him could expect only justice. To free them from his severity, Christ took the appearance of a body among them, and revealed to them the holy God, and the way of obtaining his favor.

Such fanciful theories admitted of endless diversity of treatment. The sect called Ophites lasted longest,

and were still in existence as late as 530. Gnosticism embraced elements of both Ebionism and Docetism, but held nearest affinity to the latter.

About 170, a sect arose in Phrygia, under the teaching of Montanus of Ardaban, afterwards of Pepuza, which held that inspiration of the Holy Spirit consists in extraordinary excitement, that Scripture was not completed by the apostles, but admitted of further revelation; that Montanus and his associates, Maximilla and Priscilla, were divinely inspired, and possessed the gift of prophesying. They also practised numerous austerities, attached great value to celibacy and martyrdom; and proclaimed the end of the world, and the millennial reign of Christ to be near at hand. The prophecies of Montanus and his female associates were in most cases, if not all, committed to writing, and esteemed by their followers as belonging to Holy Scripture, and completing the Christian Revelation.

Montanists, driven from Asia Minor by persecution, found refuge in Northern Africa, where, in the beginning of the third century, they had an able advocate in Tertullian.

In resisting Montanism another party rushed to an opposite extreme, and not only denied the continuance of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, but also the doctrine of the divine Logos, and rejected the gospel according to John, in which it is principally taught, and the book of Revelation, because of the Chiliasm, which was then defended by it. The Alogi, as that party was sometimes called, seem to have accepted Christ as a mere man or as deified by the indwelling of God the Father.

Among the philosophic sects of the heathen the most friendly to Christianity was the Platonic; and the firmest opposition was exhibited by the Stoics. Some doctrines which Platonism argued, Christianity revealed; but the pretensions of the Stoics to a faultless morality it rejected. But that was the strong point of Stoicism. There was abundant reason in the natural heart for Stoic hostility to Christians. Accordingly, when Marcus Aurelius, an illustrious member of that sect, came to the throne, (A. D. 161) persecution was ordered against them with an

intelligent animosity, which had not previously been evinced by an emperor. It was then that Justin suffered death at Rome (166), the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, and the recently formed churches in Lyons and Vienne in Gaul had their faith severely tried (177). Spies and informers were encouraged to bring christians to trial, and the agency of persecution was in the local tribunals sustained by the imperial authority.

From contemporaneous statements it appears that,

1. It was distinctly for their doctrine that christians were then persecuted.

2. The purpose of the Emperor, though springing from a different cause, coincided with the feelings of the heathen public, to whose bitterness and savage nature the style of the executions was due.

3. Local magistrates were sometimes forced beyond all legal forms by the demands of the mob.

4. Jews retained their old malignity, though no longer in condition to execute it of themselves. .

5. The endurance of the martyrs at that time was due to christian faith, not to mere physical energy or impassive nerves, nor to the fanaticism of martyrdom.

6. It was the superior claims of the Christian's God, and the doctrine of the resurrection and the life in Christ which chiefly exasperated the rage of the heathen.

Among the sources of christian history for the second century, there are fifteen epistles under the name of Ignatius. They were all published for genuine as late as during the 16th century. But three of them, written in Latin were soon discovered to be spurious; subsequent criticism, in a few years clearly exposed the false pretensions of five more. Bishop Pearson, an English divine of the 17th century, in a learned treatise, defended the genuineness of the remaining seven. These exist in two forms, a longer and a shorter. It was the shorter which from about the beginning of the 18th century came to be generally accepted as genuine.

But in 1843 certain ancient manuscripts of three Ignatian epistles in the Syriac language were brought from a monastery in Egypt, and deposited in the British Museum, which have re-opened the controversy. So far

as a conclusion has been reached, it is to throw doubt on the whole seven. Some critics consider the three in Syriac as the only genuine epistles of Ignatius; others can see no sufficient reason for excepting the three from the sweeping condemnation of forgery passed upon the rest.

Although it seems most probable that some genuine letters of Ignatius constituted the foundation of the structure, it has been utterly ruined for direct use in history. Only indirectly can its evidence be of any value.

The spirit of the seven epistles is that of inordinate hierarchical pretension, such as that the "Deacons are to be reverenced as Jesus Christ, the Bishop, as God the Father, and the Presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and college of the apostles."

2. The second century from the end of its first quarter onward, was a period fertile in heresies. Without a systematic theology to sustain and restrain them, and with a terminology general and undefined, men ran wild in speculation. Early christians uninspired had no more certainty of being always in the right than christians of later days; and from lack of experience were more likely to make mistakes.

Knowledge of the heresies of that time, especially of Gnosticism, is best obtained from Irenaeus who came from Smyrna into Gaul as a missionary, and after the death of Pothinus in 177, became bishop of the church in Lyons, where he continued to labor until his death. The best exponent of Montanism is Tertullian.

During this period the principal efforts of christian writers were addressed to evidences of the truth of their religion, and of its benign effects upon private life and the order of society, and to counteract the progress of heresy. The oldest, and still the best of the creeds, called the Apostles' is now mentioned. It occurs in various forms in Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen. And from the fact that it does appear under such a variety of forms, there is no reason to believe that it is apostolic in any other sense than that of presenting a summary of the Apostles' teaching.

3. Though christians had their honored traditions, Scripture was the standard of their faith. It is continually

quoted in their writings. Their familiarity with it was very remarkable. Eusebius speaks of persons who could repeat at will any required passage from either the Old or New Testament.

The Greek originals of the New Testament were generally in use, both in the East and West, and the Septuagint, or Old Greek version of the Old Testament. But translations, for instruction of the unlearned, were at an early date made into Latin. One of the oldest, perhaps, of those versions was the Itala, which in course of time came to be very highly esteemed and commonly used. Another Latin version it is thought existed in Gaul; and a third must have been made within the same period for the use of the churches in Africa.

4. External uniformity was not enforced over the churches by any central authority, nor by any all-comprehending general government. Coördinate churches held more or less intercourse by letter, and by transfer of members from one to another, and in cases of common danger, churches of the same province, or even of more extensive tracts of country, held councils or conferences together. And all the churches treated each other as members of one great commonwealth, and all adhered to fundamentally the same system of polity, discipline and worship. And all claimed the right of interfering with remonstrance and reproof where any one had departed from the common standard.

3.—Christian Schools.

Another section of this period of church history is marked by the rise to distinction of the great christian schools, whereby the character of learning, or erudition is for the first time attached to Christian literature. That may be considered as the principal feature of church progress until the rise of the controversy on episcopal rights and prerogatives. The section begins with the persecution under Septimius Severus in 202, and closes with the legalizing of Christianity by Gallienus in 261.

The men whose lives and labors express the special purpose of the period are its great scholars and theologians; in Greek, Pantaenus, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus,

and others; and in the Latin, Tertullian, Minutius Felix and Cyprian. The quarters in which christian learning appeared with greatest distinction were Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and North Africa: and chief of all, the great emporium of Alexandria in Egypt.

From earliest date in the history of the church it was customary to provide instruction for children and converts from heathenism. The method employed was chiefly oral, although no doubt books were also used. The term *κατηχειν*, or *κατηχιζω*, was employed in relation to it. The name given to the work was *κατήχησις*, and the persons so instructed were *κατηχούμενοι*, &c.

Besides these schools, a more advanced education was provided for those who were to be ministers of the gospel.

Of all the church schools both for catechumens and for ministers the most eminent were those of Antioch and of Alexandria, and although not so much is said about the schools in Carthage, that city was distinguished by its gifted and learned men.

Athenagoras, one of the primitive apologists, is mentioned as a teacher in Alexandria in the second century. But it was when Pantaenus and his pupil Clement were united in the management of its instructions, in the first years of the third century, that it began to take its place at the head of christian schools.

It was distingnished from the *Mouseion*, that is, the polytheistic university of the Ptolemies, by the name *Didascaleion*. There christian theology was first subjected to scientific treatment, in the exigencies of catechetical instruction and of apologetics, in defence against Jews, heretics, and heathen. Alexandria was at once the chief seat of Polytheistic and of Jewish learning, and from it issued the most elaborate and ingeniously constructed Gnosticism. The reputation of the christian school, built up by Pantaenus and Clement, was sustained by the uncommon intellectual endowments of Origen, by far the most laborious man of his day.

After the withdrawal of Origen in 231, the *Didascaleion* was conducted by his pupil Heraclas until 233, and until 248, by Dionysius, whose reputation in ancient times was equal to that of Clement and Origen. In those men

did the christian school of Alexandria see the highest point of her erudition. Most of their writings have perished, except of the two last named. Clement is most valuable in the field of paedagogic and antiquities, Origen, in that of Biblical scholarship and theology. His views of doctrine guided the thinking of a large number of the ministry for many generations, and some of the most bitterly debated heresies had their root in his teaching.

Meanwhile the Syrian school, which had its seat at Antioch, was rising towards that eminence, which it matured a hundred years later. In the early part of the third century its greatest ornament was Julius Africanus, who was not however a native of Antioch, but of Emmaus in Palestine, where most of his life was spent. His principal work was Annals of the world from the creation, of which only parts are extant. He died in 232.

2. After the death of Commodus, in 192, we enter upon a new period of imperial history. From the death of Julius Cæsar, regard for him had conferred the accumulated honors upon his legal heir, and as long as adoption continued the succession the empire was hereditary in his family. With the death of Nero that came to an end; and the power of appointment to the highest office was grasped by the army. Corrected early by the accession of the Flavian family, that evil was successfully repelled for a much longer time by the wise method of Nerva, which secured a steady rule until the death of Commodus. Then, all check upon election by the army being removed, the decline of Imperial authority began. Pertinax was raised to the throne, but retained it only three months. Didius Julianus purchased it by a large bounty to the Pretorian guard; but lost it together with his life in about two months. More reliable military support sustained other candidates, among whom Septimius Severus with the army of Illyricum proved successful. The Pretorian guards were disbanded, and Severus organized in their stead a new force, more numerous, and for himself more reliable. He proved a stern, but successful ruler, both in peace and war. After a campaign of great exposure in Britain, he died at York, in 211, having reigned from 193.

In the first years of Severus, Christians suffered only from the animosity of the heathen populace and some of the provincial governors. But in 202 an imperial edict was issued forbidding any who were heathen to become christian. Of course it bore heaviest upon those who conducted christian worship and the schools of the church. It was thus that Clement and Pantaenus, were driven from their work in Alexandria, that Leonidas, the father of Origen, was brought to the block, and that Potamiaena, Perpetua, and Felicitas, and many others sealed their testimony with their blood.

In the reign of Caracalla, the son and successor of Severus, the Roman empire began to experience the effects of waning power. The emperor impoverished his subjects to pamper the army, and purchased the privilege of peace from his enemies. Having made himself odious at Rome, he extended Roman citizenship to all the subjects of the empire, and withdrew from the city. He was put to death by Macrinus, Prefect of the Pretorian guard, (in 217.) The assassin took his place, but was slain next year by the soldiers, who set up Heliogabalus, a boy of fourteen years of age. At the end of four years the boy-emperor, precocious in profligacy, met the fate he had ordered for many others. In 222 Alexander Severus succeeded to the throne. One of his first acts was to revoke all edicts against christians. His mother Julia Mammaea was so friendly to them that many believed her one of their number. The liberality of Alexander was extended to the great and good of every name. His domestic chapel contained busts standing for Abraham, for Christ, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana; and the golden rule of Christ he had inscribed upon the walls of his palace.

In the fourth year of his reign, Persian nationality was revived under Ardishir Babegan, who overthrew the Parthians, renewed the claims of the successors of Cyrus, and prepared to drive the Romans from Asia. The Avestan religion was restored, and Christians were driven back into the empire, or subjected to severe oppression—the beginning of long continued persecution in that quarter. Sassanide princes recognized no such affinity between

their degenerate Avestanism and the gospel of Christ, as their hero Cyrus had recognized between the Avestan faith of his day and the religion of the Jews.

The first Persian invasion Alexander successfully resisted; and had turned his victorious arms against enemies in the north, when he was murdered. He had reigned thirteen years. Maximin, a Thracian, was elevated by the army. He exhibited his hatred to the christians by indulging the heathen populace in their cruelties to them, and directing his own attacks upon their clergy. At the end of about three years (238) he was slain by his own soldiers.

In this instance the senate at Rome disputed the right of the army in the north to appoint a master for the empire, and favored the election of Gordian, proconsul of Africa; and when he was slain, transferred their preference to a younger member of his family, a boy of twelve years. At the end of six years the younger Gordian was murdered by order of Philip the Arabian, who assumed the purple in his stead.

Under the jurisdiction of Gordian the churches were not molested; and Philip was even friendly. In 249 he was defeated in battle with Decius, and slain. Decius marked his reign by issuing, in 249, an order to all governors of provinces to return to the ancient state religion, and to enforce it by the severest penalties, thereby instituting one of the most sanguinary persecutions that the church has ever been called to endure. It extended to the whole empire. It was also occasion of much subsequent controversy touching the discipline of those who had succumbed to suffering, or fear.

Decius, slain in battle with the Goths, in 251, was succeeded by Gallus, who renewed the persecution after a brief relaxation. But, in 253, Gallus was slain by his soldiers. His successor, Emilianus, met the same fate in three months. Valerian was raised to the throne, and held it until 260, when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Persians.

Persecution, restrained in the first years of Valerian, was revived in 257. By Gallienus, the son and successor of Valerian, it was brought to an end, in 261, and

Christianity recognized as a lawful religion, received for the first time a title to governmental toleration. Thence forward, until the time of Diocletian, the Christians suffered little molestation.

3. Christians were still the minority of the population upon the whole; but in some provinces they were more numerous than the heathen, and their continual increase was a matter of frequent remark. They could no longer be treated with contempt. They were fast becoming a great party in the empire, threatening to overpower the heathen, and extinguish the religion and observances of their fathers, all that they had been accustomed to honor and revere.

No longer could the charges of disloyalty, or of immoral conduct be advanced against christians; but that of atheism, as the heathen meant it, was fully established. Their cause was distinctly apprehended to be death to the worship of the gods, and to the very belief in their existence.

Christian influence had been operating so long that it had wrought an important change upon the moral character of society in general. Vices once so common as to be little blamed, were now branded with disgrace; and certain abominations once practised in Heathen temples, and esteemed essential parts of worship, had ceased; and were now regarded as corruptions, from which Polytheism had purified itself in returning to its own standards. That Christianity had some good in it was not now denied; but it was urged that Polytheism had more, and that it maintained a reverence for the gods, and a ritual worship indispensable to the completeness of the service men owed them. It was argued that the virtues of Christians were disfigured by a low and tasteless manner of life, a barbarous form of worship and rude fanatical spirit, and that by their Atheism they were bringing down the wrath of the gods upon the empire. The attitude of the most intelligent heathen towards christianity and their own religion was not unlike that of the Bramo Somaj in India, at the present time: and the Neo-Platonic philosophy was accepted as their guide.

Ammonius Saccas, the founder of that philosophy died in 243, at the age of more than eighty years. His

system was one in which some elements of Christianity and of oriental speculation were engrafted upon the stock of Platonism.

The heathen had also their wonder-working sage, in the Pythagorean philosopher, Apollonius of Tyana, whom some of them set up as a rival to Christ. Apollonius was a real person, who lived about the time of Christ, and obtained some distinction in letters. A work professing to give an account of his life was written about the year 220, by Philostratus, at the instance of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, which is full of extravagant fictions, attributing to him miracles like those of Christ, but also most heathenish falsehood and deception.

4. It was still around the question of the wonderful person of Christ that the theological discussions of christians arrayed themselves. But the principal point was no longer whether his body was real or not; it was now of his Deity. And the bearing of the controversy was determined by the opinions of those who taught the singleness of person in Godhead, called by the general name Monarchianism.

That style of doctrine presented itself in several forms, one of which was but a variation upon Ebionism, teaching that Christ was only a man conceived by miraculous means, and endowed with the divine wisdom from his birth. The power of God was conferred upon him in greater degree than upon the prophets, or any other human being. The distinction of the party holding this doctrine was due to Theodotus, a Byzantine, who came to Rome in the latter part of the second century.

Similar was the teaching of Artemon about the same time in Rome. Although rejected by christians generally and by some eminent writers, it continued to be defended by a party through the first half of the third century. It was preached by Beryllus bishop of Bostra as late as 244. But at a synod in Bostra that year, he listened to his own refutation by Origen, and recanted.

A second variety of Monarchianism was that which claimed all deity for Christ. The Father and the Son were only different modes of designating the same sub-

ject. The one God, who in other respects is the Father, becomes in his appearance in human nature, the Son. Jesus was divine by the indwelling of the only person in Godhead.

This doctrine was first preached in Rome by Praxeas who came from Asia Minor about the end of the reign of Commodus (192.) By opposition to Montanus he drew upon himself the censure of Tertullian, who charged his doctrine with seeking to commend itself as teaching the monarchy of God. The expression has given a general name for that class of heresies.

For holding doctrines similar to those of Praxeas, Noëtus was excommunicated in Smyrna, in 230. Sometimes this class of monarchians were called Patripassian, according to a saying of Tertullian about Praxeas, that "two works of the Devil he wrought in Rome, he drove out prophecy and brought in heresy, put the Holy Spirit to flight and crucified the Father."

Another doctrine of kindred nature was that of Sabellius, a presbyter in Ptolemais, between 250 and 260, who taught that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit were not, in the common acceptation, different persons, but different manifestations of the same person. Christ was divine, not as an emanation from God, not by indwelling of the Father; but as that particular manifestation called the Son. We conceive of God in his self-existant, creative and all-supporting power, as the Father; in the illuminating power of the Logos, as the Son, and in his enlivening power in the hearts of believers, as the Holy Spirit; and thus have three divine energies in one person.

Moreover Sabellius believed that the man Jesus was not a common man, but specially adapted for that union with Deity.

By the churches in general the doctrine of a trinity in unity of the Godhead was held as firmly as at any other time; but discussion of the subject was working towards a logical expression, not yet satisfactorily attained.

Controversy also arose out of the method of scriptural interpretation adopted by the Alexandrian School, and especially by Origen. That method recognized a three-

fold meaning in Scripture, namely the literal, or historical, the moral, and the mystical. By urging the mystical meaning of certain texts Origen was charged with sometimes denying the historical; and the method, if it had some advocates, also encountered strong opposition.

5. Origen in his theology also gave occasion to much controversy. His views were expressed in commentaries on Scripture, and in separate treatises, as well as in a systematic work on theology, called *De Principiis*. That work was assailed from various quarters as containing heresy, it was also defended by some of the ablest writers of that and the succeeding century. It was both accused and defended on the charge of Platonism. Although obviously designed to controvert Gnostic speculations, it was colored to some extent by them. The principal points of his system were:

(*a*) That God is everlastingly active, creating from and to all eternity.

(*b*) That all intellectual beings are originally equal, and clothed in bodies, God being the only disembodied spirit. The differences among men are due to their remaining holy or sinking in sin. But all are free to return to righteousness, even the Devil is capable of amelioration and pardon.

(*c*) The Logos, the Mediator of all divine agency, and inferior to the supreme God, did not proceed from the essence of the Father, as an emanation, but as a constant ray of the divine glory, was generated by the will of God from eternity.

(*d*) The Holy Spirit, and all other beings were created by the Logos.

(*e*) In Jesus the Logos united himself to a real body and a human soul, both specially prepared for him.

(*f*) To attain the highest virtue, a man must be free from all restraints of sensuality, and of self-interest, having for his aim to be like God.

(*g*) Alexandrian theologians held that the resurrection body will not be of earthly material, but spiritual and incorruptible.

(*h*) They accordingly rejected the expectations of sensual chiliasm.

Origen held that Christ is of "a nature midway between the uncreated and that of all creatures." All creatures derive their being from the Father through the Son. The Son proceeds from the will of the Father.

Dionysius, the pupil and successor of Origen in the christian school, in his attempt to develop the idea of his master more precisely, was led to designate the Divine Logos as created of the Father from all eternity, a step from which he afterwards withdrew.

6. It was commonly believed that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ, in which the saints should, for a thousand years, enjoy much happiness. That was to be the great Sabbath of the world's history, and was to occur, as some thought, after the lapse of six thousand years from the creation. A small party, deriving its origin from Cerinthus, expected that millennium as a period for enjoyment of sensual pleasures. A literal acceptance of the millennium described in the book of Revelation was insisted on by Nepos and Coracion, Egyptian bishops. But their teaching on that point was opposed by Dionysius of Alexandria so effectually that before a synod held at Arsinoe in 255, Coracion professed himself convinced of his error and renounced it. Subsequently through the efforts of Dionysius and others that style of chiliasm was abandoned in the eastern churches.

7. During this period we find more frequent mention of edifices exclusively used for christian worship. In 202 it appears that there was a church building in Edessa. Alexander Severus gave a piece of land in Rome for a christian place of worship, and in the edict of Gallienus their places of worship are directed to be restored to christians. Such an edifice was called a place of prayer (*προσευκτήριον*), or the Lord's house (*οἶκος κυριακός*, or *οἰκία κυριακή*, or later *τὸ κυριακόν*), or the house of the meeting (*οἶκος ἐκκλησίας* or simply *ἐκκλησία*). From early in the third century, the idea of constructing such houses more or less after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, took possession of the minds of christians in some quarters. And where that was carried out, worship began to be

celebrated in a more formal manner, and a greater distinction to be made between the ministry and the congregation. Terms also belonging to the temple and the temple service gradually crept in.

Holy days, from the middle of the second century, were gradually multiplied. The churches in some places began to hold meetings on Wednesdays and Fridays, the days of the Lord's betrayal and crucifixion. And the observation of the Lord's Passion and of Pentecost was fully established, in the west, as well as in the east, before the close of the second century. The manner of that observation gave rise to a controversy of some warmth. The churches of Asia Minor observed the feast on the 14th of the first Jewish month, Nisan, and on the third day after that, the memorial of the resurrection, following closely the historical order, although the day of the month did not, of course, in most years correspond to the day of the week, on which the Lord suffered. The church of Rome, on the other hand, with those of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Tyre and Cæsarea of Palestine adhered strictly to the days of the week though they might not correspond always to the same days of the month. Touching this difference, Polycarp, on a visit to Rome in 162, had conference with the bishop of Rome, but neither of them persuaded the other, nor thought it of such importance as to impair their fraternal affection. But about 196, Victor bishop of Rome, assuming such pre-eminence as the imperial city exercised in civil matters, and claiming superior place in the church as successor of St. Peter, undertook to compel the churches of Asia Minor into compliance with the western practice, by the terrors of excommunication. He was quickly admonished of his error by several bishops, in both east and west, among the rest, by Polycrates of Ephesus, and Irenaeus of Lyons. The case ended in leaving each church to decide for itself, until the council of Nice, 129 years later, acting for all the churches, declared in favor of the western custom. The Easter observance assumed greater proportions in the course of the third century. The chief points being the crucifixion, the resurrection,

and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the first was commemorated by fasting, the second and the third by festivals, and the interval between them as the Sabbath of the christian year.

Long continued, or at least, frequently recurring persecution had constrained the christians, in many quarters, to keep their times and places of worship secret. Secrecy began to be regarded as an essential element of some parts of their service, which were spoken of as mysteries. During the celebration of the Lord's Supper it was thought proper that all heathen, and unbaptized spectators should be excluded. At Rome, Naples, Syracuse, and some other places, christians found refuge in caverns beneath the ground, where they both conducted their worship and buried their dead. Some of those catacumbae (catacombs) have been opened within recent time.

Inordinate importance was now attached to martyrdom by the churches generally; Origen went the length of attributing to it a dignity and efficacy similar to the death of Christ. In his estimation, persecution was a real good, and its cessation contemplated as an evil. The intercession of martyrs was thought to be of avail on high.

Exorcism of those to be baptized is now mentioned, that is certain ceremonies and prayers were used for the purpose of casting out the evil spirits who were supposed to hold all unbaptized persons under their power.

The practice of asceticism was increasing, but was yet entirely a matter of individual choice.

4.—Beginning of Christian Literature in the Latin Language.

In the last years of the second century we first meet with christian writings in Latin. They belong to the church of Northern Africa, and are the earlier works of Tertullian. The history of the North African church begins with that eminent Latin father. Already it consisted of a great number of prosperous christian communities.

Tertullian appears first as an apologist about 190. He was a native of Carthage, son of a proconsular centurion, became a presbyter in the church of his native city, and wrote a great number of works in the christian cause, chiefly in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla, between 193 and 217. After he had passed middle life he embraced the opinions of Montanus, with which his later writings are imbued. About the same time Minutius Felix, a Roman lawyer, wrote an apologetic work in defence of christianity in form of a dialogue, which he called Octavius: and Caius, a presbyter at Rome, wrote a treatise against Montanism, while Novatian, also a presbyter in the same church, defended that faction, and introduced it into the west of Europe.

After the death of Tertullian, the most eminent leader of ecclesiastical opinion was Cyprian, also a native of Africa, and born about the beginning of the third century. Until middle life he was a heathen. His education had been careful. In his profession of rhetoric he was successful and amassed considerable fortune. Upon his conversion about 246, he sold all, and distributed the price to the poor. Next year he was ordained presbyter in Carthage, and in 248, elected bishop. In the persecution under Decius he was marked out for a victim, but succeeded in eluding arrest. Eight years later, in the persecution under Valerian, he was singled out with such purpose that escape, if practicable, was not within what he deemed the bounds of duty to his people. He suffered death for the profession of his faith in the year 258. Much of Cyprian's attention was constrained to the subject of church government and discipline, and to them do the most important of his writings pertain.

2. In the terrible persecution under Decius, and continued by Gallus, many christians fell away, and denied their faith in order to save their lives. They sacrificed to heathen gods, offered incense, or procured certificates from the magistrates that they were not christians, and were designated accordingly as *sacrificati*, *thurificati*, or *libellatici*. When the persecution had passed over, many who had thus escaped made application to be taken back

into the church. It became a matter of no little difficulty to settle the terms upon which they were to be re-admitted or rejected.

In the church of northern Africa, a difference in the presbytery upon the election of Cyprian to the bishopric of Carthage, led to the separation of a minority. Five presbyters, at whose head was Novatus, refused to approve of the election, and as Cyprian soon afterwards was driven from his place by persecution, they proceeded to conduct their affairs without him. They ordained as a deacon Felicissimus, who subsequently became chief of the party. The question of the lapsed widened the schism. Cyprian was in favor of imposing a severe probation upon those who wished to return to their place in the church; Felicissimus and his party would re-admit them upon the simple presentation of their petition. A synod of the African church, which met in 251, resolved to re-admit the lapsed upon condition of their repentance, and submission to such probationary exercises as the church might think proper in each particular case.

In the church of Rome, about the same time, a similar schism took place. On the election of Cornelius as Bishop, in 251, a minority of the Presbytery dissented on account of his leniency towards the lapsed, and chose Novatianus as their bishop. The course adopted by them touching the lapsed was that of refusing to admit them on any terms, holding as a general principle that great sins committed after baptism should exclude from the privileges of the church. A considerable number of both clergy and laity joined them, and formed that party, which either took or accepted the name of Cathari, or Puritans.

A synod at Rome, in 251 took action against that party, and in favor of such a moderate course towards the lapsed as that adopted by the synod of Carthage in the same year.

In the case of both the African and Roman schisms the dissenters defended their organization on Presbyterian ground in opposition to the high prelatical assumptions of the bishops of Rome and Carthage. But it was

then too late to organize a successful resistance to prelacy on that ground, directly or indirectly. The question of ministerial equality had already to be debated on a different level. Two Spanish bishops, Basilides of Leon and Martial of Merida, were deposed by a Spanish Synod, as being *libellatici*. They applied to Stephen, bishop of Rome for his influence in their favor. Stephen assumed to restore them, and received them into communion with his church. The Spanish church consulted that of Africa, which at a Synod in Carthage censured the bishop of Rome for participation in the disorderly conduct of the deposed bishops.

3. Again, the validity of baptism by heretics had been denied by the African churches, at a council held at Carthage, about the beginning of the century, and by those of Asia Minor, in a council at Iconium in 235.

In Rome, and some other places in the west, the opposite view was taken, and acted on. Persons having received heretical baptism were admitted into the communion of the church by laying on of the hands of the bishop. When Stephen became bishop in Rome, he undertook to constrain all churches to conform to the custom of his own, and threatened to excommunicate the churches in Asia Minor, if they adhered to their discipline in that respect. Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia responded by retorting the charge of schism upon Stephen, and sharply reproving him for his assumption. Stephen was also censured for that act by Dionysius of Alexandria. In Africa the same view of his conduct was taken by the synod which met in Carthage in 254, and again by that of 255. That decision was communicated to the bishop of Rome in a letter drawn up by Cyprian, who also defended the equality of all bishops. Stephen's answer to the African bishops was overbearing; and his threat was repeated that the Roman church would separate from their communion. In 256 another synod at Carthage affirmed the action of its predecessors; and Cyprian took occasion more fully to state the views which he and the other members of the synod held touching the equality of bishops.

From those statements it appears that a new epoch has been reached in the history of the ministry. The distinction between presbyter and bishop is not only clearly made, but the bishops of some great cities, especially of Rome, are beginning to assume superiority over other bishops. The opposition is mainly upon an episcopal basis. Rome is now spoken of as the chair of St. Peter, not in the sense that Peter was ever bishop there; but that during a visit he had directed the affairs of the church, as an apostle. The pretension of the Roman bishop is not admitted by the bishops of the east, of Alexandria, of North Africa or of Spain. But in opposing it on the equality of bishops, episcopacy as a separate rank in the ministry is more fully defined than ever before. By Cyprian the essentials of the church are held to consist in a particular organization, and a connection with bishops in the line of apostolic appointment. On this head he coincided with many others in his day; and in defending it constructed the foundation for the very evil he was controverting.

Still, a great number of the bishops, whose equality was defended by Cyprian, were only pastors of single congregations. But in the churches of great cities, the method of extension developed a new feature of episcopacy. The principle that all the christians of one city should form but one church, after the establishment of the rule of but one bishop in one church, inevitably produced prelacy. For when the church increased in numbers and had to divide into several congregations the one bishop was constrained to employ presbyter assistants to conduct worship at the different places of meeting. And these presbyters necessarily became the pastors of the respective charges over which they were set. The bishop of such a city church became the chief over a number of pastors, who in rank were only presbyters; while the bishops in small towns and country places, where there had been no such increase of numbers remained bishops over only their single respective congregations. It was natural that the bishop who presided over the pastors of several congregations should assume superiority over him who had pastoral charge of only one. Such is the juncture at the middle of the third century, when even

the bishop of Rome, who claims a place of superiority among bishops, has yet no episcopal jurisdiction over bishops, nor superior rank among them. It was a state of things which could not continue. No argument, however strong, for the equality of bishops, in circumstances so different, could withstand the tendency to further discrimination of ranks.

It is also within this period that regular provincial councils come distinctly to notice. In the second century mention is often made of councils in different provinces, as those in relation to Montanism, held at Hierapolis in Phrygia, and at Anchialus in Thrace; in relation to the Colarbasians, held at Pergamus in 152, on the Easter observance, held at Ephesus 196, and one at Rome in 197, also at Jerusalem, at Cæsarea, in Pontus, at Lyons, in Osrhoene, and in Corinth. Tertullian speaks of councils as habitually held in Greece, and Firmilian of Asia Minor mentions them as being of regular recurrence; but of very few in the second century have the dates been recorded. In the third century their history is more definite. There were councils in Carthage in 218 or 222, on baptism of heretics; 251, in relation to Felicissimus; 252, on early baptism; 253, on baptism by heretics; 254, in relation to the Spanish bishops, one in 255, and two in 256, relating to the controversy with Rome.

In the same period there were councils at Rome in 231, 251, 256 and 260. In Alexandria two are mentioned in 231 and soon after, touching the disputes of Demetrius with Origen. Others ars mentioned elsewhere, as one in Bostra in Arabia, in 244, one at Zambesa in Africa in or about 240, at Iconium in 230 or 258, at Ephesus in 245, in Achaia, in or about 250, in Narbonne Gaul in 255, or 260, and somewhere in Arabia in 247.

In the first instance Synods held in check the increasing pretensions of the bishops of great cities; but latterly, by defending ministerial equality on the basis of episcopacy, not of presbytery, they actually made the most effective support of that ecclesiastical aristocracy which was now assuming its position in the churches. For consistently with the municipal element of the ancient church, and which was fundamental in the ancient idea of government, the presidency of a council resided in

the bishop of the chief city of the province in which it was held.

From heathen mysteries some christians borrowed the idea of esoteric and exoteric doctrines. The written Word contained the exoteric, or public instruction, although it also beneath its obvious sense concealed a higher mystical meaning, which only those enlightened by esoteric instruction could descern. Certain things were also taught in secret to the more advanced in christian attainment, which were said to have been communicated by Christ to his disciples, but never committed to writing. When we equire after these *arcana*, there is nothing to be found but fanciful speculation, allegorical treatment of Scripture, or pretended facts of little account.

The sacrament of Baptism was now burdened with ceremonies giving it much of the character of initiation to mysteries. And in some churches none were permitted to witness its administration who had not been themselves baptized. In some churches, if not generally, the candidate for baptism was first exorcised, to drive away evil spirits from him. Then, after application of the water, the kiss of peace was given him, and a mixture of milk and honey was administered. He was then anointed and marked on the forehead with the sign of the cross. After which the minister laid his hands upon him, and bestowed the benediction.

The baptism of children was the common order of the church, although not universal. For some, as the Montanists and Cathari, holding that heinous sin after baptism could not be pardoned, opposed infant baptism, and even in the case of adults, encouraged the deferring of it until late in life, or the threatened approach of death.

Sponsors were also introduced in some churches in the time of Tertullian, who opposed the practice, as another objectionable consequence of infant baptism.

In the Lord's supper we read from Justin Martyr, that wine mingled with water was used, it was the common way of using wine at table; but in the third century, superstition recognized a mystery in that mixture. The water represented the people, the wine, the blood of

Christ, and their mingling, the union of Christ with the multitude of the faithful.

The notion of sacrificial efficacy in the elements had begun to prevail, as early as the time of Tertullian. And in some places the sacrament was observed daily, under the belief that the elements were the spiritual food of the soul, to which the second petition of the Lord's Prayer referred, and which imparted to the material frame of the believer the germ of immortality.

In earlier times the preparation of catechumens was merely their instruction and that fraternal treatment which elicited evidences of their piety; but by and by, it began to assume the color of austerities, after the manner of initiation to heathen mysteries. Then the re-admission of those excommunicated for great sins was thought to require a discipline still more severe. The numerous cases of the lapsed, about the middle of the 3d century seemed to render that course necessary to the purity of the church. Thus was the practice of penance fully inaugurated before the death of Cyprian; and even those who dissented from it contributed to define it. The Cathari would readmit none who had been guilty of great sin after baptism; they had therefore to distinguish between sins deadly and venial.

In the large churches it was thought expedient to appoint a presbyter to examine penitents and hear from them what they were willing to confess before the congregation, and to announce to each the penance demanded of him by the existing regulations. Such an officer was called the *Presbyter pœnitentiarius*.

It is plain that there was during the first half of the third century a great influx of error and of mistaken practice; and yet never did the history of martyrdom present a nobler roll of witnesses to the truth. And in the glimpse which we obtain into the private character of christians, both men and women, we behold the most beautiful fruits of the life in Christ. The leading minds in the christian literature of the time were the great teachers in the school at Alexandria, Pantaenus, Clement, Origen, Heraclas, and Dionysius, secondly, the African fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian; thirdly, those of the Syrian School, of whom Julius Africanus was the most

illustrious, nor ought Beryllus of Bostra to be overlooked in the history of doctrinal development, fourthly those of Asia Minor, represented by Firmilian and Gregory Thaumaturgus, and some of the earliest Monarchians, fifthly, those of Rome among whom Minutius Felix, Cornelius, and Stephen were the most eminent; Hippolytus was an illustrious Christian author in connection with that Church, but he wrote in the Greek language; and sixthly, some bishops of Spain and of Gaul appear as leaders of opinion, of whose writings little or nothing remains. By far the most valuable writings of the time are those left by the great christian scholars of Alexandria and Carthage.

IV.—261 TO 325 A.D.

Growth of the Hierarchy.

From the legalizing of christianity in 261 a new stage of christian history began, and continued until 325, when Constantine, carried to the throne of the empire by Christian arms, commenced the reconstruction of the whole, not as a dominion of annexed provinces, but as one organic whole, into which christianity was interwoven as the state religion, and called the first general council of the church.

1. It was the last period of persecution inflicted by authority of the Roman government.

2. Secondly, its issue was the triumph of christianity as the stronger power in the empire.

3. It was the period of diocesan aristocracy, during which bishops, claiming equality among themselves, held in common superiority over the other clergy, while some were gradually establishing their superiority among bishops.

4. Fourthly, it was the period of controversy with the ablest leaders of the Neo-Platonic philosopy.

The time when the imperial office was entirely in the gift of the army, and which began with the death of Commodus, lasted until the accession of Diocletian in 284. Its latter years exhibited the empire almost in a state of anarchy. Division was as active in the state, as organization in the church. Gallienus reigned from 260

until 268; but so many were his rivals that they have in a general way received the name of the thirty in reference to the Thirty tyrants in Athens. Gallienus was himself murdered by one of them, who was defeated in his expectation of the throne by the fact that Gallienus had already designated Claudius as his successor, and by the superiority of Claudius on the battle field. Claudius died in 270. His successor retained the honor only 17 days. Aurelian conquered the rebel Kingdom of Palmyra, and all his military rivals, re-established the subordination of the empire, and repelled its foreign foes; but at the end of five years of extraordinary activity he also fell by assassination, 275. The senate elected M. C. Tacitus, a good man and able prince, but of advanced age, who sank beneath the toils of office in about seven months. Florian, and Probus were set up, the former by the Senate, the latter by the army in Syria. Florian was early put to death by his soldiers; Probus, reaping the fruits of Aurelian's victories, carried his arms successfully against invasion from the north. But he also fell by the hand of violence. Carus was immediately, in 282, set up by the soldiers. His reign, though eminently successful, ended in about a year. His successor Numerianus was murdered in a few months. And in 284, Diocletian was proclaimed by the army.

The accession of Diocletian constitutes an era in the history of both church and state. In the former it long continued to be used as such, under the name of Diocletian, or of the martyrs. That illustrious ruler devised a plan to regulate and control the imperial succession, and to secure efficient government in every part of the empire.

1. First, in 286, he chose Maximian one of his generals as a colleague, and assigned to him the government of the west, the seat of which was at Rome. They were to be equal in power, both to have the title Augustus, and to co-operate in all affairs of the whole empire.

2. Soon afterwards, they both chose assistants, who were to be emperors of a second rank under the name of Cæsar. Diocletian chose Maximin Galerius, to whom was assigned Thrace and Illyricum; all the rest of the East being under his own immediate rule. Maximian chose Constantius Chlorus, and gave him authority over

Spain, Gaul and Britain, retaining the other parts of the West for himself.

3. The Cæsars were to be as it were lieutenants of the Augusti, and when an Augustus died or resigned, his Cæsar was to take his place, and select another Cæsar. Thus it was hoped the empire would always have rulers present in all its four great quarters, always have men, in its two highest places, in the ripeness of experience, wise heads to guide or at least to counsel with the younger emperors while acquiring their experience, and there would be a regular lawful and reliable order of succession.

4. It seems to have been a part of the plan that, unless death should work the change sooner, the Augusti after the lapse of a certain time, or the attainment of a certain age, should abdicate and leave the supreme authority to their Cæsars.

It was a beautiful scheme, but presumed upon disinterested virtue in ambitious men,—a fatal presumption; and yet it secured twenty years of orderly government, and perhaps suggested to him who overthrew it the conception of one which proved more durable.

It was no whim, nor mere weakness which at the end of twenty-one years, led Dioletian, in 305, to abdicate and go into retirement. His colleague Augustus, Maximian, also complied with the rule. Their Cæsars, accordingly became Augusti, and new Cæsars were appointed.

Galerius was now Augustus of the East, and Constantius of the West, while the Cæsar of the East was Maximin Daza, and in the West, Severus.

Constantius died at York in 306. Thereupon the soldiers arrogated to themselves the power so long kept out of their hands. The army of Britain insisted upon making Constantine, the son of Constantius, Augustus. And the young prince accepted their nomination without regard to Diocletian's scheme. Other pretenders arose elsewhere. Galerius maintained the scheme in the East, and Maximian returned to defend it in the West. But the case was decided by the sword. Severus was defeated and slain, and Constantine marched in victory from Britain to Rome. In the neighborhood of the city

he fought the decisive battle of Saxa Rubra in 312. It was in that campaign that he saw, as he thought, the luminous cross in the heavens.

Galerius died in 311, and Maximin Daza succeeded to the place of Augustus of the east, with Licinius as Cæsar, Constantine being sole emperor of the west.

From the time of Gallienus, Christians had been free from persecution by governmental order, until the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, when persuaded, it is said by the urgency of his Cæsar, the senior emperor gave his sanction to a new attempt to suppress their worship. He soon after abdicated, but the persecution was continued by his successor, who as Cæsar had instigated it. Just before his death in 311, Galerius revoked the edict of persecution. After his death it was again put in force; but could now take effect only in the east. In the west, from its beginning under Maximian, it was light, and lasted not quite two years.

No sooner had Constantine secured himself in command of the west than he issued, in conjunction with Licinius, the Cæsar of the east, whose jurisdiction covered the European east, an edict proclaiming freedom to all christians within their dominions. It was published at Milan in 313.

During the absence of Constantine in war with the Franks, Maximin, Augustus of the east, from hatred to Christianity made war upon Licinius. The issue of that conflict was his own defeat, followed by his death in the same year, 313.

Licinius now as master of all the eastern empire assumed the attitude of competitor with Constantine for the dominion of the whole. He was worsted in the war waged in that cause, in 314, and constrained to cede the European east to Constantine.

Eight years later, Licinius, having deserted the cause of the Christians, concluded to try the fortune of war at the head of the heathen interest. The war which ensued was clearly a trial of military strength between the Heathen and Christian parties in the empire. The two armies met near Adrianople, 324. Constantine displayed the banner of the cross, Licinius raised the old idolatrous standards of Rome. The issue of that hard fought bat-

tle, one of the most momentous in the world's history, was the overthrow of Licinius, and of the cause which he had adopted. Another, but a feeble attempt completed his ruin. To Heathenism the defeat was final. The empire came under the rule of the Christian leader. An edict of general toleration was issued. The next step was to recognize the churches as in their organization holding relations to the new constitution of the civil government.

Ecclesiastical tradition, reckoning from the first under Nero, counts ten heathen persecutions, namely under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian. But that number is arbitrary. With equal justice they may be said to be more or fewer, according as attention is confined to general persecutions, or extended to comprehend the local; to those which were ordered by an emperor, or including those which he failed to repress. Imperial general persecutions were few; local persecutions were of frequent occurrence in one quarter or another.

Episcopal equality, defended by Cyprian in the middle of the third century, was suffering infringement even then; in the succeeding generation a new and higher rank among bishops, boldly claimed and received general recognition. Under the method of church extension then pursued, it was not easy to withhold an unequal weight of influence from the bishops of the large cities. At first the most important cities were Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. In course of time Jerusalem was overthrown, Corinth and Ephesus became relatively of less importance, while Alexandria and Carthage rose each to a proper distinction of its own. During the third century the largest and most influential churches were those of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome and Carthage. Several causes co-operated to confer a predominant influence upon the churches in those chief cities; the number of their congregations, the extent of their suburban missions, the talent developed by the great demands upon their bishops, and their place in relation to the imperial government, and commerce of the empire.

A great number of cities not so important as these, were yet large enough to work similar effects in the history of the church.

From the municipal principle of one church for one city and only one bishop for one church proceeded several effects at variance with ministerial parity. First, one bishop as the presiding officer over several pastors of city congregations, who could be only presbyters. Secondly, a mission from a great city church to a neighboring town was at first a mere branch of the city church; but when it increased to more than one congregation, its pastor became to its congregations what the bishop of the city was to the city congregations; but that he should be still esteemed a dependant and inferior of the latter could not be avoided; and recognized as bishop, he was a bishop of humbler rank. Thirdly, there was strength and support expected by the churches in the smaller towns from such connection with the larger: and in course of time many small country churches and bishops, at first independent, applied for, and were accepted into such filial relations to some great city church.

Thus, before the end of the third century, the jurisdiction of some of the great city bishops extended very far. That of Rome included not only her proper missions, but the greater part of central, and all the south of Italy, and perhaps the adjoining islands Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Carthage had also become head of the churches in North Africa; Alexandria of most of those in Egypt, and Antioch, now the oldest of the large churches held a similar position in Syria and the further east.

Consequently, a new rank was established among ministers, in those bishops over bishops in the jurisdiction of the metropolitan cities. Still it was a system not formally and legally established during the third century. The superior bishops were styled simply bishops of the first seat, *Primae sedis episcopi*, or *Primi*, or *Primates*. Such a one was considered as having the right to convoke a council of the bishops of his province, and to preside in it; and, in the interval, the right of judicature in matters affecting any bishop of the province.

Obviously, in those days, provincial councils tended to consolidate the metropolitan system in all its parts.

A marked distinction was now made between the clergy (*clerus*) and the laity, (*laïci*), the former being viewed as a sort of spiritual aristocracy. They were sometimes spoken of in terms of the Mosaic economy, as Priests and Levites. Ministers of the gospel were, at the great centres of population, about the beginning of the fourth century, losing sight of their simple evangelical vocation, and taking upon them the features of a sacerdotal order. A profession of sanctity was demanded of them above other men; and many things which were not sinful in other men were held to be sinful in them.

Among the opponents, whom christianity had to encounter in argument, the ablest were still the Neo-Platonist philosophers, of whom by far the most learned and gifted were Plotinus and Porphyry, especially the former, to whom the so-called Neo-Platonist philosophy was indebted for its utmost completeness. His own work was done chiefly in the former period; but his influence against christianity was stronger after his death, through some of his pupils. Plotinus lectured in various places, from Persia to Rome, and wrote many books, which were highly esteemed, and some of which still survive. He died in or about the year 270. The Neo-Platonic sect had already spread over most of the civilized world; and its style of thinking as molded by Plotinus was that which opposed itself with most effect to the christian apologist, through the rest of the period.

Porphyry of Tyre, a pupil of Plotinus, flourished between 260 and 305. His argument against christianity was a large work, extending to fifteen books. It is no longer extant as a whole; but portions of it remain as quoted in the writings of christians who encountered its attacks.

Of Hierocles, an eclectic philosopher, we learn chiefly from the notice taken of his book against christianity by Lactantius, and the reply to it by Eusebius. It was composed during the final persecution, and called "Words of a truth-lover to the christians." Hierocles not only wrote against christianity, but also bears the blame of

having instigated that persecution which has branded the name of Diocletian. He was governor of Bithynia under that emperor.

Iamblichus of Chalcis, in Coelo Syria, wrote a work on the life and philosophy of Pythagoras, in which he introduced arguments designed to resist the progress of christianity. Iamblichus enjoyed the highest philosophical reputation in his time, which was the first thirty years of the fourth century.

In the field of theological discussion the Alexandrian school still exerted the widest influence. Theological writers were divided for and against the doctrines of Origen, and later in the period, with more intensity, respecting those of Arius. Latin writers were inferior, as compared with the Greek, in analytical power, and subtlety of discrimination. Their theology was more practical, but ruder in its structure. Lack of speculation gave greater stability to their doctrines and style, and their thoughts turned more upon points of discipline and government. It was from Greece that Roman philosophy was derived, and from Greeks came also the first part of systematic theology.

The principal christian authors in Latin were Commodianus and Arnobius, both of North Africa, and Lactantius who studied with Arnobius. Commodianus, the earliest christian poet in Latin, was author of a poem on the evidences of christianity, written about 270. Arnobius, about 305 published an apologetic work called a "Disputation against the Gentiles." The writings of Lactantius are of much more importance, and in more elegant Latin than any of his predecessors had been able to command. They are chiefly controversial, in defence of christian doctrine, against heathenism and heathen philosophy. Lactantius died between 325 and 350.

Among errorists Paul of Samosato, bishop of Antioch, was charged with preaching a variety of monarchianism, similar to that of Sabellius, and with conduct otherwise unbecoming a minister of the gospel. In a council at Antioch 268 he was tried and deposed, but protected by Zenobia Queen of Palmyra, he continued in office. When Aurelian had defeated Zenobia 272, he constrained

Paul to give place to the bishop appointed by the council.

In Egypt, a schism took place during the Diocletian persecution. Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebaid, for some cause which is not satisfactorily explained, broke off his connection with the bishop of Alexandria. Several other Egyptian bishops joined him, and resisted all attempts to bring them back to allegiance to Alexandria. It was one of several cases of resistance on the part of parochial bishops to the aggressions of the metropolitans.

In the Diocletian persecution, it was exacted of christians to surrender their copies of the Scriptures to be destroyed. Those who submitted were counted among the lapsed, as *Traditores*.

The most remarkable heresy of the last half of the third century came from the side of Persia, and consisted in a combination of some elements of christianity with some of later Avestanism and of Buddhism. Its author was Mani, Manes, or Manichaeus, a Persian, who appeared as a religious teacher about 270.

1. Mani taught the doctrine of two spiritual kingdoms of good and of evil, and also of one supreme power comprehending both. Good was identified with light, evil with darkness.

2. The kingdom of light was internally harmonious; that of darkness, in perpetual disorder, and internal war.

3. The evil spirits assaulted the kingdom of light. The One Supreme God brought man into existence and bound him in matter that he might resist the forces of evil.

4. Man was originally joined to the five pure elements of nature,—fire, light, air, earth and water. But in the war with the demons and the impure elements, he was worsted, and held in fetters of matter.

5. The Almighty sent the living spirit, an emanation from himself, who raised man once more to the kingdom of light.

6. Meanwhile the powers of evil had succeeded in retaining a part of man's light-essence involved in mat-

ter, an element which has to go through a process of purification and development towards liberation.

7. To that end, the spirits of light still bound up with matter are through the process of generation into human nature, rendered conscious and intelligent, and by the means of religious purification, eliminated from matter in man, and restored to the realm of pure spirit, in the kingdom of light.

8. This process is now going on. Meanwhile, the liberated souls are placed in the sun and moon, from which they exert an influence to draw upwards to themselves the spirits still connected with matter, by the process of evolution in vegetable and animal life.

9. Matter, after being exsiccated of all the elements of light and pure life, was to be reduced by fire to an inert mass. And souls who still submitted themselves to sin were to be banished forever to its inhospitable desolation.

10. Mani was regarded by his followers as the incarnation of the Paraclete. All his writings were in their estimation, holy scripture. Only such parts of the New Testament as suited their views were accepted by him and his followers. They had also their exoteric and esoteric instructions, for two different classes of their people, their *Auditors* and their *Saints*, or *Elect*.

The Elect constituted their sacerdotal class, in the highest stage of purification. The Auditors were their common members, who were taught that their imperfect righteousness could be raised to completeness by obtaining an interest in the superabundant righteousness of the Elect.

From the Elect were chosen the presiding officers of the Manichæan church, the orders of which were first, Mani, (the embodied Paraclete), after his death represented by a sacerdotal chief; second, twelve *magistri*; and third, the seventy-two bishops of the Manichæan churches.

After their founder's death, this sect found many adherents, especially in the East and in North Africa, although they suffered much persecution from both Persian and Roman authorities. Mani was himself put to death by order of King Baharam I., of Persia, some time between 272 and 277.

The principal theological question of the time still related to the Person of Christ; but now chiefly as a person in the Godhead, thereby involving discussion of the whole subject of the divine Trinity; and that now more closely determined by the bearings of the Alexandrian theology.

By the beginning of the fourth century a large amount of property had come into the hands of christians; and in some places their church edifices were of great elegance. No pictures or religious symbols were allowed in them, although such were used on tombs, and on household utensils. In the catacombs are found the monogram of the name of Christ, the dove, the fish, the cross, and other christian symbols. And in christian worship and observances certain symbolical numbers were of frequent occurrence.

THIRD PERIOD—325 TO 1517 A. D.

With the accession of Constantine to the undivided throne begins the third of the grand periods into which the history of the christian church divides itself. It covers the time in which the church, first united with the Roman empire as the state religion, in course of progress, took to itself the features of Roman government, and when the Western empire fell, assumed its place of superiority among the nations; and when the Gospel was bound in fetters of human law.

Within that long period, extending to the early part of the sixteenth century, various changes took place, marking several subordinate steps of progress or decline.

I. 325—395.

First Union of Church and State.

First of those sections is that of the rapid decline of Heathenism, in the end of which its principal rites were suppressed by law. When christianity became the ruling religion Heathenism had no fortitude to withstand

the disfavor of government; and when its ceremonies were made unlawful it rapidly dwindled away. The emperors henceforth become the external defenders of the church.

With Constantine's victory at Adrianople, the last vestige of Diocletian's plan of government disappeared; a wiser, and a more effective one was constructed by the new emperor. While the sovereign was to be one, the division of territory was retained, under the names of the Prefectures of Gaul, of Italy, of Illyricum, and of the East, over which were appointed officers called Prefects. The Prefectures were divided into Dioceses, which were governed by Vicars, and the Dioceses, into Provinces, under the administration of Rectors, or Presides; and each Province was divided into smaller districts with a corresponding distribution of civil officers. A similar disposal was made of the army, under its own proper commanders. And honors and titles of honor were graduated in like manner, from the Emperor down to the humblest who had any claim to distinction. The reins of these ramified authorities were to be gathered together in the hands of one monarch whose office was to be hereditary.

In this system christianity took its place, and adapted its government to the arrangements for the state. During the preceding fifty or sixty years, the order of the church had been growing into such a shape that no act of violence was needed to effect conformity. Yet it took some time to complete the correspondence, on the part of the church, and as respects the distribution of her higher jurisdictions, it was never precisely fitted, though every where approximate to the civil. A general council at Constantinople, in 381, established the superiority of the bishops of a diocese over the bishops of the Provinces within the Diocese, and of the Diocesan synods over the Provincial synods; and both were regularly appointed church courts, and met at the call of their respective superior bishops.

The head of that church system of government was the emperor, who alone convoked general councils, and presided in them, personally, or by his commissioner,

and gave the force of law to their acts. The first ecclesiastical council called by an emperor was the synod of Arles in 314. And the first general council of the church met at Nice in Bithynia, in 325, at the command, and under the presidency of Constantine.

The order of ranks, in the ministry recognized under the new constitution were those of Exarchs, otherwise, Archbishops, ruling each a Diocese of the empire; second, Metropolitans, also sometimes called Archbishops, ruling each over a province; thirdly, Bishops ruling over smaller sees consisting of various congregations, ministered to by Presbyters; and fourth the Presbyter pastors of congregations; and within the congregation its Deacons and other Parochial officers.

Presbyters and the lower clergy, according to this system, were no longer to be chosen by the people of their respective churches, but appointed by the bishop. The election of a bishop depended mostly on the other bishops of the province. Still the consent of the people was required; and especially in the West, was often decisive, if not imperative.

Constantine died in 337, having received christian baptism only a few days before. He was baptized between Easter and Pentecost, and died on the latter. His sons Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, divided the empire among them; but in the course of successive civil wars, it came in 350 into the hands of Constantius alone. In 361 Julian, a nephew of Constantine I., came to the throne. An admirer of heathen literature and philosophy Julian attempted to re-establish polytheism, and the old heathen worship. But his reign was too brief to effect his designs. He fell in battle with the Persians in 263. Jovian who succeeded him was a zealous christian; in his brief reign of seven months, he repealed all the laws of Julian adverse to christianity. After his death, the empire was again divided into Eastern and Western, with much irregularity for about fifteen years. In 379, Theodosius became emperor of the East. In the West disorder continued thirteen years longer, until 392, when Theodosius united the whole empire under his own hand, and held it until his death in 395. By his legislation all kinds of idolatry were forbidden under severe

punishments. The emperor Constantius had prohibited sacrifice; but this law could not be carried into effect at the centres of concourse, Rome and Alexandria. After Theodosius interdicted the payment of their expenses from the public treasury sacrifices were no longer observed.

It is in the beginning of the fourth century that we first come in sight of monasticism, as a recognized style of religious life within the christian church. Not that the church ever originated a monastic order, but that the body of christian people esteemed that way of life as one of eminent sanctity. Its institutions organized by other means came to the church for sanction, and generally received it; although, from the first they were more in the spirit of Buddhism than of christianity. Monasticism is an essential institution of Buddhism, but not of the Gospel of Christ. At the beginning of the fourth century, Buddhism was in its prime, and pouring its influences in upon the population of the eastern empire in various ways.

Asceticism had been practiced, to some extent, as early as the second century; but then, and during the first half of the third, ascetics had lived among other christians, without external distinction. During the Decian persecution, some christians of Egypt fled to the desert, and there gave themselves up to austerities. They were called ἐρημίται, Eremites, or μοναχοί, monks. Public attention was turned to the subject in 311, by the appearance of the hermit Antony in a procession in Alexandria. He had begun to preach his doctrines as early as 305, and found many to admire and imitate him. After a number of hermits had been brought together, a place of habitation was founded for them by Pachomius, where they could dwell together, on the island Tabenna in the Nile. Soon afterwards similar societies were formed in the deserts of Sketis and of Nitria in Egypt, in the desert near Gaza, and elsewhere in Palestine and Syria. Thence the example extended to Armenia and Asia Minor, chiefly in desert places; but ere the end of the fourth century, sometimes also in the neighborhood of cities. Some ascetics lived solitary; others in associations according to some common rule. Such

an association was called *κοινόβιον*, or *μάνδρα*, in Greek, and *Claustrum* in Latin; a member of it was, *κοινοβίτης*, or *Συνοδίτης*, and the president, *Ἀββᾶς*, or *Ἀρχιμανδρίτης*. Monachism, as a system, came into the church, did not grow out of it. Laymen, not ministers, were the first monks. It was introduced by individuals, not by church order. But to christians of the fourth century the practice seemed eminently holy, and monks held in such esteem, that ere the end of the century clergy of the highest rank belonged to their number.

Questions relating to church order and doctrine were chiefly the schism of the Donatists and the heresy of Arius.

The fanaticism of seeking persecution was reproved and resisted by Cæcilianus who was elected bishop of Carthage in 311. A strong party opposed him, and set up Majorinus and afterwards Donatus as their bishops. The controversy continued long. In 313 the case was submitted to the Emperor Constantine, who appointed three Gallic bishops with the bishop of Rome to investigate the matter. The decision was unfavorable to the Donatists, who expressed their dissatisfaction. The emperor then in 314, called a council to meet at Arles, whose decision was also adverse to them. Notwithstanding, the party maintained its existence in Africa until that province was overrun by the Vandals.

The Meletian schism also continued in Egypt, and several persons in different quarters protested against the growing prelatical aristocracy. Such were Aërius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius. But the great body of the church was well pleased with the new relations to the state, and with the hierarchical order, by which it seemed so well balanced with the civil authorities.

The most momentous doctrinal controversy was that concerning Arius. Origen had taught that the Divine Logos proceeds from the will of God the Father continually and from all eternity, that he is inferior to God and different as to substance. Dionysius at one time taught that the relation between Christ and God was that of eternal creation. He afterwards saw his error and withdrew from it. But Arius, a pupil of the Syrian school, and a Presbyter in Alexandria, boldly accepted

the doctrine of creation, but not as eternal; teaching also that the Divine Logos was the only created of the Father, that all other things were created by him, that he is perfect, and as like God as a created being can be.

This view was condemned by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in 318; but many bishops in Syria and Asia Minor declared themselves in favor of it. The controversy soon extended to the whole East. Attempts were made by the emperor to bring it to an end, through means of friendly correspondence with leading men, but without effect. Finally he called a council of the whole church to meet at Nice in Bithynia in 325 for the purpose of settling the dispute. The cause of the bishop of Alexandria was pled by Athanasius, then a deacon of that church, and by others. Arius was defended by a strong party, but was condemned as guilty of heresy. And the faith of the church was defined to be that the Divine Logos is uncreated. The council also drew up a brief confession of orthodox faith. In that symbol called the Nicene Creed were summed up the results of theological discussion so far as then settled.

The council also undertook to terminate the schism of Meletius, and the difference between the practice of the Eastern and Western Churches in the observation of Easter, by giving judgment in the former case against Meletius and deciding the latter in favor of the West.

Touching the number of bishops assembled at Nice statements differ. It is commonly given as 318. Most of the Arian members submitted to the doctrinal decisions, though with reluctance, on some points, especially on the consubstantiality of the Father and Son in Deity. A minority preferred to say that the Son was of nature similar to the Father. Instead of *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί* they defended the doctrine of *ὁμοιούσιος τῷ πατρί*, and on that Semi-Arian ground took their stand in opposition to the council, and obtained many adherents, chiefly in the East. In the course of ten years they were strong enough to depose Athanasius from the bishopric of Alexandria, to which he had been elevated, after the council. He found refuge in the West.

On this question a council was called in 347 to meet at Sardica; but it divided into two councils, and accom-

plished nothing. After long continued controversy, the emperor Theodosius called a general council to meet at Constantinople in 381. One hundred and fifty bishops assembled. There the Nicene creed was revised; its doctrine of the Trinity confirmed, and articles added touching heresies which had arisen since it was framed. In this latter form the creed became the universally recognized symbol of orthodoxy. Pure Arianism subsequently declined within the empire, but maintained itself among the Germanic nations. Semi-Arianism prevailed among the Eastern churches; while the Nicene doctrines were accepted in the Western empire. Antioch, as the head of the Syrian school, became deeply leavened with Semi-Arianism, Alexandria continued long to be the chief school of orthodoxy. Theologians took their stand with one or the other.

Theodosius was the last who held the reins of the united empire. Upon his death in 395, it was divided between his two sons, Arcadius taking the East, and Honorius the West. In the same year the Huns upon the North broke into the provinces of Panonia and Moesia, and the Goths took up arms for invasion of Thrace, Macedonia and Greece, which they effected next year. Ere that time the church government, under the constitution devised by Constantine, had become solidified into an organic self-sustaining structure imbued with the spirit of a new and vigorous life, to which the civil government had nothing to correspond. The latter began to break apart into irreparable decay; the former to increase towards completeness of organization.

II. 395—451.

Doctrinal Definition.

Another period of church history, which ought to be studied by itself, is that which extends from the death of Theodosius to the general council of Chalcedon. It was within this period that the doctrines of the church, defined by the ancient classic fathers, were digested into a philosophic system. It was also that during which the Arian Goths, Suevi and Vandals made themselves masters of the sea coast countries of the western empire, and the

heathen Franks and Saxons took possession of Northern Gaul and South Britain.

Britain was abandoned by Roman arms about 428, and Anglo-Saxons commenced their settlements there in, or before 449. Ere that date the Franks had established for themselves an independent government in Gaul. Spain from the beginning of the fifth century had been overrun by Suevi and Vandals, and was now completely given up by the emperor of the West. In 427 the Vandals, worsted by the Suevi in Spain, passed over to Africa, and conquered the whole of that province before 439. They also reduced Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily and the Balearic islands. The Alemanni and Burgundians had taken possession of Helvetia, and districts adjoining, and the Goths, of Southern France. At the middle of the fifth century little remained to the Western empire beyond the confines of Italy. Panonia, Dalmatia and Noricum had been taken by the Eastern empire. The Eastern empire itself had, in 528, divided Armenia with the Persians; in 441, it had been ravaged by the Huns under Attila from the Danube to Constantinople; and in 446 had submitted to pay a yearly tribute for the privilege of peace. The period was covered entirely by the two successive reigns of Arcadius (395—408) and Theodosius II., (408—450), emperors of the East, parallel with those of Honorius (395—423) and of Valentinian III. (423—455), emperors of the West.

Although the Western empire was, by the middle of the fifth century, broken to pieces, and only a fragment of it remaining under the old dominion, the church stood firm, and had received a large addition to her subjects. The old inhabitants of the provinces were not removed, or extinguished; they were only subdued and governed by German invaders instead of by Romans; while the invaders, for the most part, professed christianity and acknowledged the jurisdiction of the church. The old population was mostly orthodox; the Germanic incomers mostly Arian. Among the Goths that doctrine was taught by Ulphilas in the fourth century. A Gothic bishop was present at the council of Nice. The Burgundians, in 413, came into the church with profession of orthodoxy; but about 450 adopted Arianism.

As a general thing, those Arian masters did not interfere with the religion of their orthodox subjects; but the Visigoths in the South of France, and the Vandals in Africa were exceptions to the rule.

Christianity received an additional load of corruption from those imperfectly converted nations. During this time, the British isles were cut off from the jurisdiction of Rome, by the withdrawal of Roman arms, by the interposition of heathen Franks in the North of Gaul, and also in the succeeding period by the establishment of heathen Saxons in the East and South of Britain. Meanwhile the old British churches maintained their ground in the Southwest of Scotland; from which Patricius, about 430, carried the gospel into Ireland. It spread with great rapidity over the island.

On the extreme East, christians were subjected to much oppression under rule of the Persian kings. From 343 a persecution was commenced in that quarter which lasted thirty-five years, in which thousands of christian people with their ministers were put to death. It was relaxed about 398; but revived in 418 and continued until nearly the date of the council of Chalcedon.

Subsequently having adopted the doctrines of Nestorius, Persian christians, finding themselves under censure of the churches in the West, and separating from them and their relations to the Roman empire, received protection from Persia, as loyal subjects. It was not however until 498 that the whole Persian church declared, by formal action, in favor of Nestorianism.

In that part of Armenia, which in 428 came under Persian rule, attempts were persisted in, for more than forty years, to establish the doctrines of the Avesta instead of those of the gospel. In 485 that effort was abandoned as hopeless. In that same century Mesrop formed the Armenian alphabet and translated the Bible into the popular tongue.

Theodosius II., emperor of the East issued, in 423, an edict in which he expressed his belief that no heathen were to be found within his dominions.

In the process of framing such an expression of christian belief as should be satisfactory to the church, it was impossible to avoid controversy. It was by controversy

that the work had to be done. The Arian and Semi-Arian controversy led to the clearest statement of orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity.

In the Nicene Creed, as revised and extended at Constantinople, were summed up the best results of previous theological discussion. That was the work chiefly of Greek theologians. Latin writers make comparatively little figure in it. Law, civil and moral, was the field of thought in which those who spoke the Latin tongue had proved themselves superior to all rivals. And now a work remained to be done for the church which they were better than any others qualified to do. That was twofold; first, definition of the Scriptural doctrine of man's relations to God; and second, the complete systematic and practical statement and exposition of the whole body of truth as then defined or accepted. And that was also effected through controversy.

When Alaric the Goth was threatening Rome in the year 410, Pelagius, a native, it is thought, of Britain, and who had been residing in Rome, was among the refugees to Sicily. He thence proceeded to Africa accompanied by his friend Cœlestius and others. From Africa he soon afterwards went to Palestine leaving Cœlestius at Carthage. Cœlestius applying to be ordained Presbyter, was charged with errors tending to exalt unscripturally human free will. He was excluded from the church at Carthage, and went to Ephesus. His doctrines were understood to be the same as those taught by Pelagius. Accordingly, Pelagius was himself accused before the bishop of Jerusalem, within whose jurisdiction he was then residing, and afterwards in 415 before the synod of Diospolis, as Lydda in Palestine was then called, but without being condemned. Other councils, in various quarters, rejected his doctrines. Zosimus bishop of Rome first approved, and afterwards condemned them. But they also found acceptance and defence, especially in the East. In the West their principal advocate was Julian of Eclanum in Italy.

Those theologians held that man's moral nature received no injury in the fall of Adam; that man is now born, as fully as Adam was made, able to do the will of God; that all sin consists in the intelligent choice of

evil; and that in order to turn from sin unto righteousness nothing is needed but a change of purpose on the part of the sinner. A higher degree of blessedness and greater facility in attaining it are accessible through christian sacraments and instruction. As the law was formerly given to facilitate the attainment of goodness, so latterly, the gospel and example of Christ, and particular operations of grace. The Divine purpose for man's salvation is founded on the Divine foreknowledge of human action; and makes no demand which man has not full ability to comply with.

Among the opponents of Pelagius were Jerome and Augustine. The latter, especially, in this controversy, wrought out those statements of the doctrines of grace which lie at the foundation of orthodox theology. The views of Augustine were ecclesiastically confirmed by the African synods, and the Western church generally. Pelagianism under the name of Cœlestius, was condemned at the general council of Ephesus in 431, although the Augustinian doctrines of grace and predestination were not adopted by the eastern christians.

Pelagianism is the root of a number of heresies within the field of Anthropology, like Monarchianism in that of theology. Under the head of theology error lies on the one hand to Monarchianism, on the other to Polytheism; under that of Anthropology, in the direction of Pelagianism, or fatalism. Ancient orthodoxy lay between the extremes, although not orthodox for that reason, but for accordance with Scripture and christian experience. It was expressed in the creed for Theology, and by Augustine for Anthropology.

After the action of the council, complete Pelagianism ceased to be professed to any great extent, while an intermediate ground between that doctrine and Augustinianism, which may be called Semi-Pelagian, was taken by many of the churches in the east. It was also accepted in some places in the West, as introduced by John Cassian, a pupil of Chrysostom.

Augustine was a native of Africa, born at Tagaste in Numidia, about 354, studied and practiced the profession of rhetoric, was not converted until over thirty-three years of age, became bishop of Hippo in 395, and died

in 429. His writings were numerous, but his great work, stating and defending the essential doctrines of christianity is his "*De Civitate Dei.*"

The controversy touching the sonship of Christ in Godhead was followed by one concerning the relation of the Divine Logos to the human nature of Jesus.

Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, from 362 to about 392, holding that natural man consists of three constituents, body, spirit and soul, taught that Jesus had no human soul, and that the Divine Logos took its place. Some theologians were the more disposed to accept that view, that they believed the soul of man to be a part of God. In that case, if it was proper to speak of an ordinary man's mother as the mother of his soul, it might be equally proper to speak of the Virgin Mary as the mother of God, *Θεοτόκος*. And that fell in with, and sustained a practice already common in many congregations.

Apollinarianism was rejected by the general council at Constantinople in 381. It had contributed however to that element of definition, which recognized the perfect humanity of the Savior.

In making clear distinction between the human and divine in Christ, some felt constrained to condemn the growing practice of paying reverence to the Virgin Mary, as the mother of God. Such was the ground taken by Nestorius, who was made bishop of Constantinople, in 428. Dorotheus, one of his clergy when preaching one day, denied that it was proper to call Mary *Θεοτόκος*. The congregation raised an outcry of disapprobation and left the house. Nestorius defended the presbyter. Others of his clergy deserted him; and some of them he deposed. The question soon became one of general concern.

The doctrine defended by Nestorius was that of the separate existence of the divine and human natures in Christ. And according to his view, to speak of Mary as mother of the divine nature was blasphemy.

Nestorianism was condemned by the general council at Ephesus in 431, and Nestorius was deposed. The minority was so strong, and both parties so violent that appeal was made to the emperor. In the end, Nestorius was banished to an oasis of upper Egypt, about 435.

He died in exile. But a large part of the Eastern church, chiefly that lying to the east of the Euphrates, sustained his doctrines. In 498, they were accepted as the professed creed of the churches in Persia and the further east, which thereby separated for ever from the Catholic connection.

In the controversy with Nestorius, some disputants, at whose head was Cyril bishop of Alexandria, defended the opposite doctrine to an extreme. The successor of Cyril in the see of Alexandria, Dioscorus, from 444 till 451, was still more violent in the same cause. Eutyches, an abbot in Constantinople, was in 448, condemned by a local synod in that city for teaching that the human in Christ was so merged in the divine as to make only one nature. A letter from Leo I. of Rome to Flavian of Constantinople approved of that action and defined what he thought the true doctrine of the two natures in Christ.

The censure of Eutyches bore hard upon Dioscorus also. A general council was summoned to meet at Ephesus next year (449). Dioscorus, as president, procured a resolution in favor of Eutyches, and the Alexandrian doctrine, and an act of deposition against Flavian. From its violence that council was branded as the Robber Synod; but it was sustained by the emperor, Theodosius II. Next year Theodosius died. The new emperor, Marcian, took the other side, and strongly disapproved of the conduct and doctrines of Dioscorus. A new general council was called, to meet at Chalcedon in 451. It is counted the fourth.

Dioscorus was deposed, Eutyches was condemned, Nestorianism was also rejected, Leo's letter to Flavian was approved, while the council gave their own statement of the doctrine of "One Christ in two natures, the two natures united, without confusion, without conversion, inseparably and perpetually."

The council also recognized the existing Metropolitan and Patriarchal ranks of bishops, and sanctioned the latter as a higher rank, and as endued with higher powers of jurisdiction. At that date the Patriarchs were five; those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Reference is also made, in the canons of the council, to the Patriarchs of the two

imperial capitals as entitled to higher honor than the rest. The great church of Carthage was now humbled to the earth by the conquest of the Vandals.

Both forms of the creed, namely, those of Nice and of Constantinople, were confirmed; as that of the 318 fathers of Nice, and of the 150 fathers of Constantinople, and Nestorian and other variant doctrines, which had arisen in the interval, were condemned by re-statement of doctrines professed, or implied in those symbols.

That council also confirmed certain canons of five provincial councils, namely of Ancyra 315, of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, 315 or 316, of Gangra, between 325 and 341, of Antioch in Syria, 341, and of Laodicea, somewhere about 365.

RECAPITULATION OF CONTROVERSIES.

The Person of Christ is the first and cardinal point of christian doctrine. The principal controversies concerning it are

1. With Judaism, establishing the sufficiency of Christ in himself as the savior, and his true Godhead.

2. With Docetae, in defence of his true humanity.

3. Of his divine nature as related to God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, as well as to the whole system of the universe; discussed in the theories of Gnosticism and the debates concerning Montanus; and the subsequent system of the Manichees.

4. With theories of Monarchianism—Humanitarian, Patripassian, Sabellian.

5. With those which sprang out of the theology of Origen, especially that of Arius.

6. With the Semi-Arians.

7. With the Apollinarian doctrine on one side and the Nestorian on the other, touching the relations of the divine to the human in Christ.

8. And with that of Eutyches and Dioscorus.

9. Questions of anthropological doctrine were brought out chiefly as related to the prime question of Christ, but also in treating points of discipline, controversies on the subject of the lapsed, on the schisms of Novatian, Felicissimus, Donatus, until the rise of Pelagianism.

10. The rejection of Pelagianism left behind the more widespread and enduring heresy of Semi-pelagianism.

So far, christian controversies were marked by features of ancient classical thinking, even when dealing with oriental speculation; from the council of Nice to that of Chalcedon is the golden age of Patristic literature. Those which followed, for several hundred years, were in the spirit of the mediæval.

Christian sacraments and originally simple customs were now surrounded with a parade of ceremonial forms, pictures were introduced into the churches, not as objects of worship, but as helps to piety, and some things were retained from the old state religion, and as converted to Christian meaning, under the plea that people accustomed to see them, would thereby be attracted to come to church. Preaching, in the fifth century, had also assimilated in some respects to the character of secular harangues, and in some of the city churches, at least, it was not unusual for the congregations to give noisy demonstration of their disapproval or applause. The memory of martyrs had come to receive such a degree of veneration that preachers would appeal to them in their sermons, and invoke their intercession with God. Their relics were collected and deposited in churches. The Virgin Mary received peculiar reverence; and the cross, all along honored as a symbol, had now become an object of idolatrous veneration. That feeling was intensified after Helena, the mother of Constantine, had discovered, as she thought, the true cross, on which the Savior died. In the fifth century the crucifix, that is, the cross with a figure representing the Saviour suspended upon it, began to be used.

It was also during this period that the clergy began to wear a peculiar costume, while engaged in divine service; and after heathen fashion in some of the churches artificial lights were used in the day time. Burning of incense was also introduced.

Singing in responses was first practiced at Antioch, spread to other places in the east, and was transferred to the west by Ambrose.

Festival days increased in number, and some formerly of only local observance, became general, or were

appointed to be held with more regularity. In the west, the 25th of December was appointed by Julius, bishop of Rome between 337 and 352, to be observed as the birth-day of the Lord. From Rome the practice extended to different provinces, to Antioch about 376 and to Alexandria about 430. Heathen literature and science had still their devotees. At Athens and Alexandria the polytheistic schools of philosophy were still in existence.

By the middle of the fifth century the schools of the church had begun to decline, with the interest in education which maintained them. Monks had already increased enormously, and their extravagances and barbarism had become the disgrace of the christian name. The emperor Valens attempted to restrain their increase by authority, but without effect. Some of them were men of learning, but as a general thing they were ignorant, despised learning, and wielded a powerful influence against it. To them, more than to Goth and Vandal, was the degeneracy of public intelligence due. The stoppage of education bears its fruit not immediately, but needs for it only one generation.

As early as the second century tales had been fabricated of the Savior and of his apostles, and heathen prophecies of Him and his work, either fabricated or interpolated, as in the case of the apocryphal books of the New Testament, and the Sibylline oracles. The most remarkable of such productions were the books called the Clementines. They consisted of two epistles addressed to the apostle James at Jerusalem, and twenty homilies professing to be the doctrinal and polemical discourses of the apostle Peter. Clement bishop of Rome appears as the author. They are thought to have been composed at Rome about the end of the second century. Of these homilies there is an epitome also in Greek. There are other writings of the same kind ascribed to Clement, especially the Recognitions, which we have in a Latin translation, made by Rufinus who died in 410, as a connected narrative in ten books. Among the manuscripts found in the desert of Nitria, which are now in the British Museum, there is an unprinted Syrian translation of the Clementines, which is said to differ greatly from both the Greek and Latin. The subject

seems to have been a theme of religious romance upon which successive writers felt free to compose variations.

To the same period with the translation of the Recognitions are the Apostolic Constitutions probably to be referred. That collection of ecclesiastical rules is put forth as the work of the apostles, collectively, who also speak in their own names separately of what they were taught by the Lord. It is found in use at the end of the fifth century, and no mention of it occurs earlier than the end of the fourth. By gross anachronisms much of it is convicted of forgery. The Apostolic canons, a smaller collection of similar kind, came also into use towards the end of the fifth century, and is obnoxious to the same charge.

Many of the evils of the time were due to the haste with which multitudes of half converted heathen were received into christian communion upon simple profession, made in many cases only because their kings had been converted. After the full establishment of christianity as the state religion, and the profession of heathenism was made unlawful, it came to be the practice of the church to comprehend all the population of the empire as in some shape or other its proper charge. The strict rules of the early christians touching admission to their communion were thus done away or rendered inoperative. It was a stupendous effort, for which the early church was called upon,—the regeneration of a world lying in iniquity, such deep and almost hopeless iniquity. It is not strange that the human agency was sometimes at fault, that mistakes were made, and that some of the overflowing corruption invaded her own bounds. The subject of wonder is that the good was not entirely swamped in the billows of evil raging on every side. Among the christian writings of that time copious evidence is found of warm scriptural piety, and most of the acts of councils testify to the same purport, as well as the lives of many devoted men and women.

III. 451—607.

Christianity in Pride of Dominion.

Another section of Church History is very distinctly marked by important changes between the council of

Chalcedon and the death of Boniface III. bishop of Rome, that is from 451 to 607. It is the period of rivalry for dominion in the church between the Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Rome. At the council of Chalcedon they had been recognized as entitled to higher honor than the rest. From that date it became an object of ambition with both to secure each for his own see the honor of sole superiority. The Roman Patriarch had the advantage in that his capital was possessed of the older prestige and associations. On the other hand, during most of the period Constantinople was the sole capital of all the dominion that remained to the empire. But the east was divided among four Patriarchs; in the west there was only one. The Roman Patriarch had no Patriarchs in the west to look to him as superior. The Patriarch at Constantinople was recognized as higher in honor than the three other Patriarchates of the east; it was not unnatural that he should wish to add the Patriarch at Rome to the list. One sovereign, or universal bishop, with four Patriarchates was needed to complete the system of church government after the model of the state. The eastern domain of christianity was by far the most extensive, and populous. But the Roman Patriarch had already learned to add some of the duties of a civil ruler to his ecclesiastical functions. Rome was still the imperial city in the eyes of western nations, and the claim of apostolic descent had more weight in that quarter than in the east, where all the principal churches held to it. Notwithstanding the difficulties in his way it was the Patriarch at Constantinople who succeeded in having his rank of universal bishop first recognized by imperial authority. Rome then condemned the iniquity of episcopal ambition.

The cruelty of the usurping emperor Phocas alienated from him all good men in Constantinople. He received approval from Gregory I., bishop of Rome, and from Boniface who was afterwards raised to that dignity. Boniface solicited and obtained from Phocas the transfer of the title of universal to the see of Rome. Boniface III. became Pope in 607, and died before the end of that year. Eastern prelates did not admit the validity of that act of a usurper; and the alienation between the two great Patriarchs became wider than before.

In the state, the period thus defined was no less momentous. After their defeat at Chalons in 451, the Huns fell back upon Italy, and the last remnant of the western empire was spared for a few years only by the death of Attila. In 455, the Vandals crossed over from Africa to Italy, took Rome and plundered it. Until 472 the holders of nominal empire in that quarter were set up by German leaders. Finally in 476, Odoacer, king of the Herulians, and leader of the German troops in Roman pay, assumed the sovereignty himself under the title of King of Italy. In 492, Odoacer was overthrown, and the Gothic kingdom of Italy set up by Theodoric. That Kingdom was extinguished by the forces of the eastern empire under command of Belisarius in 539, and afterwards of Narses. Italy thereby became a Byzantine province, until the invasion of the Lombards in 568, when it was divided between them and the eastern empire; the capital of the former being Pavia, and the seat of the Greek exarch, Ravenna. Rome had ceased to be of any general political importance.

In Gaul the Franks secured supreme dominion. The Visigoths, whom they drove out of the South of that country in 507 had before that date subdued the Suevi, and set up the Gothic kingdom of Spain. The Saxons in Britain had established their dominion over all the best of England, and driven the Romanized Britons to the north and extreme west.

On the other hand, the Vandals in Africa and Sicily were reduced by the arms of Belisarius and those countries annexed to the eastern empire.

In Constantinople, the imperial authority after 454 passed through a succession of feeble hands, until Justinian, who, from 527 to 565, by the wisdom of his legal digests, and the success of his arms, went far towards a restoration of the imperial dignity. His successors until 602 were good men, but did not maintain the same course of prosperity. Mauritius, in 602, was murdered with his family, by the centurion Phocas, who in a mutiny of the soldiers had usurped the throne.

From Apostolic times the church needed, and possessed certain rules whereby those who joined her communion were to regulate their conduct. The wisdom of

the early fathers increased the number. To these were added the decisions of councils. Collections were subsequently made of such. In the fifth century we find mention of the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Apostolical canons. In the sixth century, appeared the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, in the west, and of Johannes Scholasticus, in the east, laying the foundations upon which afterwards arose the structure of the canon law.

In the history of theology the principal feature of the time was the prolonged Monophysite controversy. The council of Chalcedon, after deposing Dioscorus from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, appointed Proterius in his room. But a large party in Egypt refused to acknowledge the new bishop, or the doctrine of the council. They denied the existence of two natures in Christ, or rather, held that the two natures, human and divine, are so united as to constitute but one nature, yet without conversion of one into the other and without confusion of both. Various names were given them, but the most common was that expressive of their doctrine of oneness of nature in the Savior, *Μονοφυσῖται*, while they called their opponents *Δυοφυσῖται*, or *Διφυσῖται*. The headquarters of the controversy were Antioch and Alexandria, the two great theological schools of the east. Both parties carried violence to an extreme, disgraceful to their christian profession. Emperors several times stepped in to allay the ferment, but with little success. Zeno Isauricus, in 452, issued a creed called the Henoticon, which he thought both parties might agree upon. Instead of effecting union, it raised a new subject of dispute. The bishop of Rome, and the western churches in general took part in opposition to the Monophysites. Justinian defended the council of Chalcedon, but endeavored to restore unity and peace. The empress, Theodora, favored the Monophysites, and also professed to labor for conciliation. Neither of them had much success. After several fruitless attempts, the emperor called a general council to meet at Constantinople in 553. The council condemned Monophysite doctrine as heresy. In that action Pelagius I. of Rome coincided, but thereby created a tedious schism in the west. In the east the result was a final secession of a great number of churches covering

a belt of country from the northern borders of Armenia, through Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, southward to the southern extremities of Ethiopia. It did much to reduce the importance of both Alexandria and Antioch, as schools of theology, a loss which they never retrieved.

The disgraceful scenes, which occurred in the course of this controversy, were chiefly due to the part taken in it by monks, who now swarmed in all oriental christendom in such numbers as seriously to diminish the ranks of industry. If merely to be in earnest were true godliness, the highest merit could not be denied to most of them; but so to judge would be to transform christianity into fanaticism. Some of their extravagancies would be incredible, were they not testfied to by eye witnesses. Such were the stylite saints, one of whom called Simeon died in 459, after having lived 37 years on the top of a pillar. In the west such wild extremes of asceticism never met with much favor. For that, something was due to Benedict of Nursia, who in the year 529, founded a monastery on Mount Casinus in Italy, with a greatly improved system of rules. That system distributed the time of the monks, in a strict and sensible way, between devotion, study and manual labor: and for several generations its working was enforced with more than military severity. The rule of Benedict was the true foundation of western monasticism, as distinguished from the eastern.

And yet we must not include all the ascetics of the east under one indiscriminate censure. Among them are to be found cases, like that of Isidore of Pelusium, marked by true scriptural faith and warm love to the Savior, a real hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

It was in 534 and 535 that the arms of Belisarius overthrew the Arian Vandals in Africa and Sicily, and gave freedom to the Orthodox. A similar service was done for Italy in the final defeat of the Gothic Kingdom there, in 553.

In 496 Clovis King of the Franks, induced by the entreaties of his queen, a Burgundian princess, and certain circumstances of his life, assumed the profession of christianity. A great number of his people followed his

example immediately. His sister and three thousand of his army were baptized on the same occasion, and came into the church professing the orthodox faith. In 596, a mission from Rome, sent out by Gregory I., to the Anglo-saxons in England, planted itself in Kent, where it met with favor from king Ethelbert, through the influence of his wife, who was a Frank.

In receiving the title universal, the bishop of Rome enjoyed the imperial gift of the highest honor as a minister of religion. It was an empty honor. Because the Byzantine Patriarch never withdrew his pretension, and the eastern church never admitted that of Rome; but it was a ground whereon every effort to reach a real ecclesiastical monarchy could be justified. To that rank the Roman hierarch had risen by several successive steps. First, that in which he was pastor of one congregation; second, that in which he was the presiding officer of several congregations ministered to by presbyters; third, in the process of church extension, and annexation of mission and other congregations in neighboring towns, whose ministers were bishops, he became the chief bishop over some other bishops, their *Primus;* fourth, under the constitution of Constantine, he received the importance assigned to bishops in the chief cities of Prefectures, becoming thereby one of the four great metropolitans; fifth, when their rank, with that of the bishop of Jerusalem, was recognized under the title of patriarch, as superior to that of the exarchs of dioceses, at the Council of Chalcedon, the patriarchs of Rome and of Constantinople were assigned a higher honor than the other patriarchs; and sixth, when both these dignitaries aimed at being sovereign, the title of that rank first conferred by imperial favor upon the Byzantine Patriarch, was subsequently by the same authority transferred to the Roman. That the jurisdiction of the latter subsequently increased, and that of the former diminished, was due to other than ecclesiastical causes. That growth was a natural development. No stage of it, except the last, was a preconcerted imposition upon the church, although unjustifiable means were sometimes used to sustain them all when once reached. They successively grew naturally out of original mistakes, in adopting certain principles from the muni-

cipal idea in the heart of the civil government; especially the method of church extension, and in admitting of only one bishop in one city.

During the frequent invasions of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries and the separation of Rome from other dominions of the empire, the bishop of that city had often to take upon himself the execution of civil duties, not from ambition, but from the necessities of the case. His office thereby became, in course of time, associated with civil authority, although only incidentally. The pretension that it has always been from the days of the apostles what it is now, or rather what it was in the thirteenth century, is clearly and positively contradicted by history.

In the course of the fifth century we enter upon the period of time commonly called the middle ages. Its true limits are on one side, the extinction of the western empire, in 476, and on the other, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. That is, politically considered, the middle ages are those which intervened between the termination of the western empire and that of the eastern. During all that time there is an emperor in the east; but during most of it, none in the west; and only for brief periods, one whose authority extended over Rome. The bishops accordingly, who would otherwise have been second, became first in government from that city: while at Constantinople, the bishop continued to be a subject of the emperor. Still, the superiority of the popes over the civil rulers in the west was never admitted by the latter, when strong enough to resist it.

In taking a general view of the middle ages, we shall find first a process of dissolution, extending to all the structure of civilization; secondly, a process of settlement of new peoples, and by new methods; and thirdly, a process of growth, in a new style of culture.

The middle ages are not all equally dark ages. Gloomiest, I think, are the latter years of the fifth century, the sixth, the seventh, most of the eighth, the whole of the tenth and first half of the eleventh.

At the beginning of the seventh century, the popularity of christian profession was at its highest. Heathenism had long ago become utterly unfashionable, within the bounds of what had once been the empire; and was

fast melting away before the outward progress of at least nominal Christianity, in all directions. We may contemplate the church, at that date, as consisting of three grand divisions; first, the Latin Church, comprehending all the southwest of Europe, and north of Africa; second, the Greek Church; and third, the Oriental Churches, consisting of the two great divisions of Monophysite, and Nestorian, extending over all north eastern Africa, and western Asia, and as far east as India and China. Never perhaps did the pride of power, of pervasive and all-absorbing popularity so fill the mind of the church. That success had not been attained without earnestness and truth of faith; but unhappily also with the introduction of many an error through the haste to be great, and to have nations born in a day.

IV. 607—752.

Humiliation of the Eastern Churches. Increasing Power of the Western Patriarchate.

The period intervening between the death of Boniface III., and the accession of Stephen II., that is; from 607 until 752, includes another stage in the development of Papalism. The former date is that of the death of the first bishop of Rome, who enjoyed the title of universal, the latter is that of the accession of the first who took his place as a temporal prince. Moreover it was a time of great adversity to the church. Both of the chief patriarchs suffered diminution of jurisdiction, but the eastern most.

Khosru king of Persia, who had been restored to his throne by the aid of the emperor Mauritius, now prepared to take vengeance upon Phocas for the death of his benefactor. But ere his army could reach Constantinople, Heraclius exarch of Africa, in 610, had seized the government and put Phocas to death. Khosru continued his march until he reached the Bosphorus, and retained for twelve years his hold upon Asia Minor. Heraclius finally, by an invasion of Persia, compelled him to return. By so long a war both Persia and the empire were weakened.

Meanwhile, about 611, Mohammed began to teach his doctrines in Mecca. His object was to overthrow

idolatry, and restore the worship of the one unseen God of his father Abraham. The different portions of his system were announced from time to time, as occasion called them forth, and combined in one book after his death.

Mohammed did not receive Christ as the eternal son of God; but as a divine teacher, and the greatest of the prophets, and as miraculously born of the Virgin Mary. He also believed in Christ's divinely appointed death, resurrection and ascension, and taught that all should believe in him as the apostle of God; but not to accept him as a sufficient Savior.

It was the deplorable corruption of the eastern church, not so much in doctrine, as in life and worship, and especially its practical idolatry, which lent the single, but sublime truth of Mohammedanism its early power.

Little progress, however, was made by Mohammed in obtaining converts until he was constrained by persecution in Mecca, to flee to Medina. This event which occurred on the 15th of July, 622, is the starting point of the Mohammedan era. From that date his notoriety increased, and converts multiplied, and attached themselves to his cause with great enthusiasm. At first he used only persuasion; latterly he received authority to compel assent to his doctrines by force of arms. He died in 632, asserting that God had given the world to be conquered for Islam. That very year the arms of his followers were carried beyond the bounds of Arabia.

The successors of Mohammed in office were called Kalifs. The first was Abubeker. In his reign of two years he reduced all the countries between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean sea. In 636, the last of the imperial troops were driven out of Syria. Next year Jerusalem was taken. Egypt was reduced in 640, the greater part of northern Africa in 647, and Persia in 651. By that date Mohammedan conquest had extended to the opposite extremes of Armenia and Nubia. It took in also Cyprus and Rhodes, and advanced against Constantinople, which was saved by the use of the Greek fire. From Mauritania it passed into Spain, overran almost all the Peninsula, crossed the Pyrenees into the heart of France, and met its first check in the valley of the Loire,

in 732, from the army of the Franks under command of Charles Martel.

Thus, within one hundred years, the christian church was overrun, and trampled down in Arabia, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, part of Asia Minor, and the greater part of the Spanish peninsula. The Patriarchate of Constantinople was shorn of a large part of its jurisdiction; that of Rome, if we count in her claims to north Africa, was diminished by nearly one half, those of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, were entirely reduced to dependencies of the Saracen, and the Nestorian churches of the further east were overwhelmed, and for centuries, many of them forever, disappeared from history.

Of what remained under christian dominion, in Italy, the Greek exarchate gradually broke down before the increasing strength of the Lombards, until in 752, it came entirely into their possession. During the period of its existence the capital had been Ravenna. Rome was only the head of an inferior province of the Greek empire, of which the bishop was the chief authority, a serious diminution of jurisdiction, but combined with circumstances, which ultimately went to enlarge it. Christian Spain was not crushed; but laid under domination of an anti-christian power. In France, the military chiefs had assumed to a great degree the control of the church. In Northern Africa christianity was not extinguished, but, it was prostrated under the Saracenic rule, without hope of relief.

The churches of the west in view of such danger and loss, turned their eyes with the more interest to their religious chief at the old capital. Rome, now feeble, still possessed a great inheritance of prestige, the superiority of a thousand years, the source of empire in the west, of religious observances, many of which had come down to christian, from heathen times. The title, and rank of sovereign pontiff, which had been worn by the heathen emperors as chiefs of the old state religion, and also by the first christian emperors, was now assumed by the bishop of Rome. Still the churches in Spain, Gaul and Britain had little connection with that patriarchal capital, being governed by their own episcopal authorities in relation to the civil powers under which they lived.

The pope was still a subject of the eastern emperor, and had to be confirmed in office by him, and to pay him taxes. And sometimes the imperial hand fell heavily upon a refractory pope. Such an act was always treasured up in memory and handed down to succeeding Popes for payment. And every advantage secured was thence forward claimed as a right. Thus, Pope Sergius rejected the canons of the second council in Trullo, 692. The emperor, Justinian II., sent an officer to arrest him; but the pope escaped through an insurrection in Ravenna. The emperor was deposed in 695, for reasons unconnected with the church, but the victory remained with the Papacy. Justinian II., after his restoration in 705, received Pope Constantine in his capital, overloaded him with extravagant honors, and set the example, of kissing his foot.

As the weight of the empire continued to diminish in Italy, the popes began to turn their eyes towards an alliance with the Frank leaders. Gregory III., applied to Charles Martel, the hero of Poitiers, for that protection against the Lombards, which his own monarch was unable to furnish. Gregory III. was followed by Zacharias in 741, in whose pontificate the policy of Gregory became a necessity. From the utter failure of the secular arm to defend Rome, the Pope was constrained to take upon himself entirely that state business, which his predecessors had long been more or less sustaining. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel in 751 usurped the throne of France, and applied to the Pope for his sanction. It was given. Pepin was anointed King, and the last Merovingian went into a cloister. Zacharias died early next year. His successor was Stephen II. The Lombards were making war upon the exarchate of Ravenna. Before the end of the year they had reduced it. They next turned their arms against Rome. Stephen applied to the new King of France for aid. In the name of the empire, and as defender of its territory, Pepin led his forces into Italy, defeated the Lombards and saved Rome. Taking from the Lombards what they had recently conquered from the emperor, he gave it to the pope. The districts contained in that gift constituted the skeleton of what was afterwards embraced under the name of the States of the

church. Thus the Pope took his place as a secular prince. He had also allied himself with a new and powerful dynasty in the west, whose influence was exerted to bring the Gallican church into closer relations to Rome. A point of authority was also established, in that the first king of the new dynasty had solicited papal sanction, and accepted anointment at the hands of the Pope. The Papacy was put into possession of great wealth. Allegiance to the emperor was still recognized, but it had ceased to be more than nominal.

During this period the principal theological question was that concerning the singleness or duality of will in Christ.

When the emperor Heraclius was in Syria, from 622, he became acquainted more intimately with the condition of the Monophysites, and was persuaded that the principal obstacle to their returning into the Catholic church might be removed, by a statement of doctrine representing the nature of Christ as two-fold, but the will as one. Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople was consulted on the subject, and expressed his opinion that such a view was not inconsistent with the creed of the church. Several theologians of the east coincided with him. Cyrus patriarch of Alexandria accepted the doctrine, and made some progress in reconciling the two parties within his diocese. Action to that effect was taken by a council in Alexandria, in 633. But Sophronius, a clearer thinking Palestinian monk, happened to be there at the time, and declared his opposition. He became patriarch of Jerusalem next year, and used his increased influence to promote the rising excitement of controversy. Sergius of Constantinople succeeded in enlisting Honorius, bishop of Rome, on his side. Thus the Patriarchs of Constantinople, of Rome and of Alexandria were arrayed on the Monothelite side, against the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Sophronius however had the advantage of his opponents in point of logic, and his reasoning soon convinced the greater number of theologians. But he was silenced by the Mohammedans, into whose hands he and his patriarchate fell in 637. He died soon after. Next year, the emperor finding that instead of harmony, only greater division of opinion was produced by his doctrine, issued

what he called the *Ecthesis*, prepared by Sergius, with the hope of allaying the excitement. In that proclamation he stated the doctrine of one Christ in two natures, and that the one Christ works both what is divine and what is human; but urged that the phrases expressive of one energy or of two energies, which had been used in controversy, should be avoided. Both parties were dissatisfied. Succeeding bishops of Rome rejected the *Ecthesis*, and in the east orthodoxy was ably defended by the monk Maximus, while Theodore bishop of Pharan in Arabia upheld the cause of the Monothelites. In 648 the emperor Constans II. issued an edict called the Typus, (*τύπος*) by which the Ecthesis was revoked, and without taking the part of either side, an attempt was made to restrain violent disputes, and effect peace in the church. Of course it did not succeed. Pope Martin I. called a council in Rome, the first Lateran, the next year, at which twenty canons were drawn up condemning Monothelitism, thereby putting himself in opposition to the imperial policy. For that he was, in 653, arrested, deposed, and taken to Constantinople, on charge of high treason. He was banished, 654, to Chersonesus in the Crimea, where he soon afterwards died.

Maximus met with a similar, but severer fate. His trial effecting no disposition in him to comply with the imperial edict, he was imprisoned several years, then publicly scourged, his tongue cut out, and his right hand cut off; after which he was banished to the country of the Lazians, where he died, in 662.

As another means of reconciling the long standing dispute, the emperor Constantine IV. called a general council to meet at Constantinople, in 680. It assembled in a hall of the palace called Trullus. The emperor presided. The doctrine of two wills was accepted as scriptural; that is, that in Christ there are two natures in one person; each nature possessing a will of its own; and the Monothelite doctrine of two natures in one person, with only one will, was condemned.

Under the emperor Philippicus Bardanes, 711—713 the controversy was revived, in the east, but for only a short time. Monothelites diminished in number, and ultimately became limited to a small dissenting party

who residing chiefly in the region of Lebanon, chose a patriarch of Antioch for themselves. Their remnant still survives under the name of Maronites.

It was probably during the seventh century that the Symbolum Quicunque, erroneously called the Athanasian Creed was framed, taking its origin in Spain. It is the third of the old Catholic Symbols, the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan being the first and second.

In outward progress of the church the most important steps were those of mission work in the British isles.

Augustine with Laurentius and other Benedictine monks, sent by Gregory I. to the Anglo-Saxons, landed on the coast of Kent in 597. Their success proved to be great beyond expectation. The king of Kent soon professed himself a christian, and was followed by his people, ten thousand of whom were baptized in one day. Canterbury was constituted an archbishopric, and Augustine its first incumbent, in 604. At the end of five years, he was succeeded by his companion Laurentius; and the work went on prosperously.

The latter years of the sixth century and the seventh were marked by great missionary zeal on the part of British christians of the older connection. The church in the south of Scotland was early cut off from Rome, by the withdrawal of Roman troops further south, long before they were entirely removed from the island. Subsequent interposition of heathen Saxons increased that isolation. About the year 430, the gospel was carried from the south of Scotland into the north of Ireland by Patricius. Others had preceded him, yet so far superior was the success which attended the preaching of Patricius, that Ireland refers the planting of her church entirely to him. It was in the counties Down and Armagh that he commenced his labors, which soon extended to all the north, and thence, by the hands of others the gospel was carried to the rest of the island. Armagh was subsequently constituted the seat of primacy for Ireland.

From about the middle of the sixth century, the Irish clergy were distinguished for learning superior to the age in other quarters, and for missionary zeal. Their principal school and centre of operations was Bangor, in the

county Down. About 563, Columba left Ireland to carry the gospel into the northwest of Scotland, where it had not then been preached. With his companions he was favorably received by a chief of the Hebrides, who gave him the island of Iona. There he erected a church, and a house for himself and his missionaries, who from that centre extended their excursions to various parts of the mainland and neighboring islands. In 635, Oswald king of Northumbria, obtained a missionary from Iona to preach within his dominions, and gave him for residence the island of Lindisfarne. The success of that mission was rapid, and churches were soon planted as far south as Yorkshire and even in the centre of England. At the same time the Romish missions from the south were rapidly advancing northward. In the conflict of authorities which ensued, the power of Iona could not withstand that from Rome. The churches of the northern mission were, before the end of the seventh century, comprehended within the jurisdiction of the southern. Lindisfarne became a Romish monastery, and its episcopal authority was transferred to Durham. York was the seat of an archbishopric; but Canterbury was honored with the primacy of all England. Articles enforcing obedience of the churches in the north of England to the Romish practices were proposed by Theodore of Canterbury in a provincial council for the north, in 674.

It was also in the early part of the seventh century that Columbanus and Gallus left Ireland at the head of another little group of missionaries to preach in Burgundy, France and Switzerland. Columbanus died in 615 and Gallus in 627.

V. 752—880.

Resettlement. Early Papal Success. Organization of the National Churches of the West.

Leagued with the great Carolingian kings of France, the Papacy now entered upon the first period of its real supremacy in the west. That period extends from the pontificate of Stephen II., until 880, the date of the difference, which was never reconciled, between the Pope and the Patriarch, and the beginning of the medieval de-

cline of the Papacy. Another feature of the time was the settlement of the new nations, the chief work of Charlemagne, who also forced upon his heathen subjects the profession of christianity, by having them baptized.

It was within the same period that the Iconoclast controversy ran the most exciting part of its course. By the beginning of the seventh century the worship of images had become common throughout the church both east and west. Opposition to it was the strong point of Mohammedanism. A few intelligent christians also perceived its unchristian character; but the greater number were devotedly attached to their images. In 726, the emperor, Leo Isauricus issued an edict forbidding the practice; and in 730 he ordered the images or pictures to be destroyed. The opposition of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, was overcome by deposing him, and setting up Anastasius. Rome defended the worship of images. And Catholic christians under Mohammedan rule adhered to the practice as a distinctive badge of their religion.

The course of the Emperor Leo was also pursued by his successor Constantine, in whose reign the council of 754, at Constantinople, condemned the worship of images, but not to the satisfaction of the Catholic public, nor of the bishop of Rome, who did not recognize the council. A new stage of the controversy opened, the imperial authority being generally arrayed against images, and the popes in favor of them, until in the minority of the Emperor Constantine VI., his mother Irene became, in 780, empress regent, and sustained the cause of the image-worshipers. Irene called a general council to meet at Nice, in 787, which, with her support, declared image-worship to be orthodox, and defined and prescribed the practice. That council is accepted by both east and west Catholic churches, and remains their authority on the subject.

The controversy was opened a third time by the Emperor Leo V. who, in 813, called a council at Constantinople, in which image-worship was condemned. But finally, when another empress came into power, namely Theodora, a fourth council, convoked at Constantinople, in 842, sustained the image-worshipers, confirming the

second council of Nice. And the controversy closed with a grand festival in honor of that decision, which was called the festival of orthodoxy.

In the west, during part of the eighth century, some controversy was created by the opinions of two Spanish bishops, Elipand of Toledo, and Felix of Urgel, that Christ in his divine nature was the true Son of God, but as a man, only the adopted son. The opinion was rejected as heretical by the council at Frankfort in 794.

Transubstantiation of the elements in the Eucharist was first formally taught and defended by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey, from 844 to 851. Though practically held by very many in the church, from earlier time, it encountered strong opposition, when first proposed as a dogma, and was not accepted authoritatively, nor was the term transubstantiation introduced, until long afterwards. Rabanus Maurus, John Scot Erigena and Ratramnus, the ablest theologians of the ninth century, all wrote against it.

Controversy was revived on the subject of predestination by the writings of Gottschalk, a monk of Fulda, who from about 840 taught that there is a two-fold predestination of the elect to blessedness, and of the rest of mankind to punishment. He was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. After years of controversy, Gottschalk was condemned to imprisonment, in which he died, in 868.

A controversy concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit had more immediate effect upon the history of the church. The creed of the general councils states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. A conviction, which appeared first in Spain, in the acts of a council at Toledo, in 589, and again in other Spanish councils of the seventh century, that He proceeds from both the Father and the Son, was, sometime in the early part of the ninth century, introduced into the Latin version of the Creed. The proposal to insert it in the original Greek was rejected by the council of Constantinople in 879. On the subject of *filioque*, the eastern and western Catholic church established a permanent difference of opinion.

In Armenia, Parsism became blended with Christianity, giving rise to that sect called by other Christians

"The children of the sun." "On the other hand a class of reformers arose in the east, about the middle of the seventh century, who sought to conform closely to the teachings of the apostles, especially of John and Paul. From the frequent use among them of the name and writings of the last mentioned, it is thought, they received the name Paulicians, by which they are known. Their leaders, in many cases, assumed the names of persons connected with Paul in his labors. They suffered much persecution. Constantine, who took the name Silvanus, an eminent teacher among them, in the neighborhood of Samosata, between 657 and 684, was stoned to death by order of the emperor Constantine IV. But the officer who executed the order became a convert to the cause, and a preacher of it under the name of Titus, and died at the stake under Justinian II. The Paulicians were opposed to image-worship, and for that reason were protected by the emperor Leo Isauricus. Through the latter part of the eight century and until 811, they increased in number, and spread their churches over Asia Minor. From 811, persecution was revived and continued many years, especially under the rule of the zealous image-worshiper Theodora, from 841 to 855, who with a fanatical fury resolved to extirpate them. Not less than a hundred thousand of them are said to have been slain in Armenia by her officers. Many of them fled for refuge to the Saracens, and finding protection added their force to the enemies of the empire. But notwithstanding persecution, their converts also increased to the westward, and Paulician churches were founded in Thrace and Bulgaria, and thence, at a later date, their doctrines spread under various names, into the west of Europe.

The last years of the eighth century, and earlier part of the ninth, were marked by a highly laudable effort at reform and restoration of learning, made by both Christian and Mohammedan princes.

Among the Saracens, it was the time of the great Abbasside Kalifs of Bagdad, a dynasty elevated in 750, at Damascus, by the cruel success of Abul Abbas, called Al Saffah. Their seat of government was subsequently removed to Hashemiah, and in 762 to Bagdad. Al Mansur and Al Mahadi successively reigned after Abul

Abbas until 785, when it reached its highest excellence under Harun Al Raschid. Upon his death in 808, his sons Al Amin and Al Mamun reigned successively until 833. From that date Bagdad began to decline, and succeeding barbaric invasions rendered decline irretrievable.

In Spain the Moors within this period began their career of civilization, which they continued until the rise of modern learning.

In the Greek empire, the state of culture was little improved; but one or two authors flourished there greatly superior to any of the foregoing period.

In the west of Christian Europe, the effort towards restoration of learning and of ecclesiastical order was earnestly made, by those at the head of the civil government, Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis, from 751 to 840. For the time then being, their success was not equal to that of the Mohammedan princes; but the seeds they planted bore more abundant fruit, in a far distant future. The sons of Louis divided their father's dominion, and enfeebled their resources; but they also patronized letters in some degree. With the death of Charles the bald in 877, such patronage ceased in that quarter. But almost at the same time commenced the reign of Alfred the Great in England, extending from 871 until 900.

With all the encouragement of Charlemagne, the improvement in learning was very slender. Few cared to study, and the course of instruction even in the improved schools was scanty. The topics of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* were briefly and superficially treated. The Scholars who illustrate the time were Alcuinus, Eginhard, Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar, Ratramnus, John Scot Erigena, and Claudius of Turin. Among the Greeks the principal name is that of Photius.

For thirty years Charlemage made war on various nations of Saxons, the Bohemians and Huns, whom he subdued, and constrained to profess Christianity. He also invaded the Mohammedans of Spain, and drove them from that part of the peninsula north of the Ebro. In 772 he went into Italy to protect the Pope from the Lombards, and before the end of two years, put an end to the Lombard kingdom. And in 786, the duke of

Benevento submitted to hold his duchy as a fief of Charlemagne. The kingdom thus built up, before the end of the eighth century, extended from the Ebro and south of Italy to the Elbe and Eider in the north, and from the Atlantic to Panonia, a great part of which it included, and the valley of the Theis in Hungary.

Pope Leo III. seeing all this, determined to break off the last show of allegiance to Constantinople, and connect his office, on different terms, with the new monarchy of the west, by reviving the western empire. On the 25th of December, 800, Charlemagne was at Rome in the church of St. Peter. When kneeling at the altar, he was approached solemnly by the Pope, who placed on his head a golden crown, and pronounced him emperor of Rome: and from the vast congregation burst forth the exclamation, "Life and victory to Charles, crowned by God emperor of Rome."

There was now again an emperor of the west, and Rome and the Papacy were finally separated from the emperors of the east, and from the Byzantine system. This is the point at which the popes became legally independent. For ecclesiastical supremacy was never recognized as belonging to the new imperial line of the west. The idea of being free from civil allegiance, however, did not at first occur to the successors of Leo III. But not quite half a century had elapsed ere that also was claimed. Eugenius II., in 824 took an oath of allegiance; but Sergius II., in 844 ventured to neglect it, advantage being taken of the divided state of the secular power. And in 847 Leo IV. was not only ordained without imperial sanction, but also assumed precedence of princes in putting his name to documents. An attempt was made by Nicholas I. in 858 to impose papal superiority upon Constantinople. The emperor Michael III. having removed the patriarch Ignatius, and appointed Photius in his stead, Ignatius applied to the pope, who having first in vain demanded the restoration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Achaia, and Sicily, with the addition of Bulgaria, took revenge by excommunicating Photius. Photius retaliated by excommunicating Nicholas. Ignatius was restored by the succeeding emperor Basilius, 867,

but neither of them complied with the pope's demand. A general council at Constantinople in 869, condemned Photius. After the death of Ignatius in 878, Photius was restored. And another council at Constantinople in 879, labored to reconcile the two hierarchs, but without effect. Because among other things it could not recognize Rome as the last court of appeal, nor assent to the western doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit, nor to the claim of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria and other provinces above named. Consequently the council of 879 was anathematized by pope John VIII., in 880. The bishops of the east and west never again met in a general council of both churches. For the eastern Catholic church recognizes no council as general since that of 879.

With the reign of Charlemagne begins the true settlement of the nations of western Europe, and the period of dissolution comes to an end.

In the constitution of his empire, Charlemagne had special regard to the interests of the church. And that of Rome was the model which he endeavored to follow; but without recognizing its supremacy. The highest authority in affairs of government was retained for the monarch, who summoned ecclesiastical as well as civil assemblies, and whose sanction was needed to confirm their decrees. And in the administration of law, bishops and counts were associated, and instructed to support each other. Neither Pepin nor Charlemagne, though paying great honor to popes, ever allowed them any other influence in affairs of state than that of advice or remonstrance. Thus, the Gallican church obtained, in its reconstruction under those great princes, a degree of freedom from papal domination, which no other western church could claim.

In the reign of Louis, papal influence was suffered to increase, and every advantage was taken, by the popes, of the division and enfeebling of the empire by his sons.

The Anglo-Saxon church of Britain was most faithfully attached to Rome. It had no antiquity of greater purity to regret. In Spain, christians living under Moorish rule were allowed the privileges of worship, and of internal church government and discipline, but suffered

in many ways from the Mohammedan populace. Gothic Spaniards were independent, and almost continually at war with the Moors.

Mission work was confined chiefly to the north of Europe. That of Anschar, commenced in 826, carried christianity into Denmark and Sweden, and laid the foundation for the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, which was constituted in 831. And what Anschar and his companions were to the northwest of Europe, Cyril and Methodius were to the northeast. Through their efforts, the Moravians were added to the eastern church, about the year 862, the Bulgarians about 864; and in subsequent years the same labors were extended to the Chazars, a people living to the north of the Black sea. From Moravia the cause was carried, in 871, into Bohemia.

The discipline of the church had undergone a change. Private confession was now completely established; and the priest was empowered to grant absolution under condition of a penance to be performed. Excommunication was not often inflicted, but from the civil forfeitures, and the social exclusion connected with it, had become greatly intensified in its terrors.

Superstitious rites and observances were greatly multiplied. Saints and their relics increased on all hands, and legends of their virtues and miracles, manufactured chiefly in the east and at Rome, were greedily accepted by an ignorant public everywhere. The festival of All Saints gradually grew into use in the seventh and eighth centuries, and in the ninth, was regularly appointed by Gregory IV., for the first of November. A festival was introduced in honor of the birth of the Virgin Mary on the 8th of September, and for her ascension, on the 15th of August. For it had now been decided that Mary was taken up bodily to heaven. Certain writings were presented by the eastern emperor Michael II. to the western emperor Louis the pious, as the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. The French scholars and people, taking the pretended author to be the founder of their church, accepted Dionysius as their patron saint. Within the same period the christian Spaniards discovered among them the wonderfully preserved body of the apostle

James the brother of our Lord, which forthwith became their Palladium in war with the Moors. But every country, almost every family, had its patron saint, embellished with his, or her, miracles.

In the growth of the papacy in the ninth century above all that it had previously been, attempts were made to fortify the ground taken, and construct the weapons for conquering more by the fabrication of certain authorities. Certain canons of councils unheard of before, and forged epistles of early popes were inserted into the collection of ecclesiastical laws, which went under the name of Isidore of Seville. They were of a nature, if enforced, to make the clergy independent of the state, with the Roman see the centre of their system. They were used as law from the time of Pope Nicholas I. or about 860, until their exposure in the eighteenth century. Another similar forgery, which came into operation within the same period, was the pretended donation of Constantine, whereby the Papacy endeavored to sustain its assumption of a rank above all civil potentates and powers. This also continued to be adduced as legal authority until exposed by modern criticism.

Amidst accumulating errors and corruptions there were still numerous examples of pastoral fidelity and of true christian life among both clergy and laity. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, in the reign of Louis the pious, finding the worship of his church debased by the superstition and ignorance of his predecessors, upon his own judgment, removed from it everything inconsistent with scriptural doctrine, and confined himself as much as possible to scriptural forms of expression. A still bolder reformer, in the spirit of Christ, was Claudius bishop of Turin, who contended earnestly for the simplicity of Christian faith, in opposition to the sensuous and idolatrous practices of the age. He exerted an influence upon the church of Turin which honorably distinguished it long afterwards.

VI. 880—1054.

Papal Degeneracy.

In the pontificate of John VIII. the Papacy had reached the prime of its early success, having succeeded

in gathering together in itself all the elements of Romanism. By the same time a long succession of emperors and patriarchs in Constantinople had matured the system of Byzantinism. It was impossible that they could live together in harmony, diametrically opposite as they were to each other. Some of the points on which the Pope and Patriarch differed in 879 and 880, were such as could not be compromised. Still, they continued for one hundred and seventy-four years, to hold relations to each other as ministers in the same Catholic church, although in a state of bitter rivalry, until in the year 1054, they separated entirely, rending the Catholic church in two. The intervening period is the lowest in the history of civilized Europe. It is marked by papal degeneracy; by the decline of the western empire, and its revival as German, and by the darkest shades of popular ignorance.

1. Louis the pious having divided the empire among his three sons, died in 840. His sons immediately rushed into war with each other, and made a new division, by the treaty of Verdun in 843, whereby the general outlines of France and Germany were assigned. But between these two countries there was left a belt of territory, which united to the Netherlands on the north, and Italy on the south was given to Lothaire with the title of emperor. Germany was assigned to Louis the German, and France, to Charles the bald. In 875, the whole, with the imperial title, came into the hands of Charles the bald. From his death in 877, the Carolingian dynasty broke down. The German branch of it became extinct in 912. Conrad of Franconia was elected emperor, but died in 918. The next was Henry the Fowler of Saxony. From his accession in 919, the western empire, as a German power, entered a new career of prosperity, in which it was carried forward chiefly by Otho I., the successor of Henry, from 936 to 973. In 1024, it passed again into the house of Franconia, beginning with Conrad II., followed successively by Henry III., and Henry IV. The last commenced his eventful reign, as a child of six years old, under the guardianship of his mother, in 1056.

The Saracens from Africa, after having conquered Sicily and Naples, were, in 877, threatening Rome, when

the death of Charles the Bald deprived the Pope of his strongest protector. None of the other princes were in condition to help him. He bought the safety of his capital by promise of tribute: and then found himself in the hands of refractory Italian princes. He took refuge in France in 878. John VIII—died in 882, and was followed, for nearly a hundred and seventy years, by a series of popes, of whom, with only one or two exceptions: it is fair to say that whatever their abilities might be, they were less conspicuous than their vices. The papal office became an object of political ambition, to which the elections were managed by parties among the Italian nobles. From about 898, if not earlier, the principal power was wielded by certain infamous women of high rank, and by their descendants and kindred for a hundred years. A brief interval occurred in the pontificate of Gerbert (Silvester II.,) a good man, and the only good scholar the age could boast, and whom it could not understand. But his term of office, from 999 to 1003, was too brief to apply any important check to the downward career of papal history. In the early part of the eleventh century Rome both ecclesiastical and civil, was under the domination of the noble house of Tusculum, a branch of the flagitious stock to whom it had been subject in the tenth century. So low had the papacy descended, that men were put into it without the pretence of being clergymen. John XIX, a layman and a brother of the count of Tusculum, was carried to the Papal chair, in 1024, if not by purchase, at least by the political management of his family. He was succeeded in 1033, by his nephew, Benedict IX., also a layman, for whom the papal office had been purchased when he was but a boy of ten years. The dissolute life of Benedict matched the scandalous manner of his election. Rome endured him ten years, and then in 1044, drove him from the city, and set up Sylvester III. In the course of the strife which ensued, Tusculum prevailed and restored Benedict. Sylvester under excommunication betook himself to flight. But the violence of parties did not cease. Benedict concluded to sell his office. It was purchased in 1046 by John Gratian, a priest, who took the papal name of Gregory VI. Subsequently Benedict changed

his mind, his party again rallied round him, and enthroned him once more in the Lateran palace. One of his rivals, Gregory, held his place in the Cathedral of St. Maria Maggiore, while the other, Sylvester, retained St. Peter's and the Vatican. The streets of Rome were harassed by the deadly strife of their partisans.

News moved slowly in those days, and the stolidity of ignorant superstition took long time to accept the conviction of anything wrong in the papal court. But it was now impossible that the christian public could be ignorant of such a scandalous schism. It would not have been well for the church, or the world to have seen the papacy submerged in such a way and at such a juncture. The emperor Henry III., came from Germany to restore order, and advanced to Sutri, where he called a council. All three popes were cited to appear. Benedict abdicated, the other two were deposed; and a new pope was elected from the German clergy, who took the name of Clement II. Henry then marched to Rome and inducted his pope into the papal throne, with the apparent consent of the Roman clergy, and received, for himself and his queen, imperial coronation at his hands.

But it was not the emperor who was to be the reformer of the papacy. Clement's attempt to reduce the irregularities of bishops and other clergy utterly failed; his council called at Rome could accomplish nothing, from the gigantic extent of the evils. His pontificate was brief. He died within a year. Benedict IX took occasion of the absence of any higher authority to renew his usurpation once more, and maintained it nine months. A new party in favor of imperial interference, united in an application to the emperor to nominate a pope according to his own judgment. He sent them Poppo, bishop of Brescia, who reigned as Damasus II., only twenty-three days. Again the vacant chair awaited the emperor's nomination. He appointed his kinsman Bruno, bishop of Toul, a man of learning and humble piety. At a great assembly at Worms, in presence of the delegates from Rome, the emperor had him invested with the badges of Pontifical office. Thus the Papacy, through necessities imposed by its own corruptions, was coming distinctly under control of the secular power; and so

loosely had the elections been latterly conducted that the secular power was needed to give them some regularity.

It was at that juncture that one of the most extraordinary characters of the middle ages appeared. The newly elected Pope was encountered at Besançon, on his way to Italy, by a young monk from Cluny, who was destined to wield a more than imperial influence over him. Hildebrand was a native of Tuscany, born about 1020, educated in Rome, and afterwards in Cluny, where the monks regarded him as a prodigy of gifts, application and sanctity. His education was entirely monastic, and his ideas of papal reform were drawn from the monastery. About the age of twenty-four he returned to Rome, at the juncture when the strife between rival popes was the fiercest, and attached himself to Gregory VI. When all three popes were deposed, Hildebrand followed Gregory into retirement, and after his death, returned for a short time to Cluny, He had kept himself well informed of the course of events in Rome; and now greatly dissatisfied with the act of investiture at Worms, he presented himself, in company with Hugh Abbot of Cluny, to the Pope elect at Besançon, and persuaded him to consider his investiture by imperial authority null. Bruno dismissed his papal equipage, and in company with Hildebrand, pursued the rest of his journey in the manner of a pilgrim. At Rome he submitted to election by the clergy, and assumed the papal office, as Leo IX., upon purely ecclesiastical investiture.

2. Bishops very generally disapproved of papal intermeddling with the domestic affairs of their dioceses. From the latter part of the ninth century, the False Decretals operated to bring them under that control. Another means was perhaps not less effective. The Popes had long been in the habit of conferring archiepiscopal office by giving the Pallium, or official robe; and from the time of Nicholas I., (858—867) that had been given only on condition of the receiver taking an oath of obedience to the Romish see. According to the False Decretals, the Pope was universal bishop. It was by the common people that, in those days, papal claims were supported. They, with a superstitious reverence, conceived that the Pope exercised the powers of divine law,

and were ready to submit to him, rather than to any authority, which they deemed merely human.

The metropolitans, or archbishops of the west, gradually brought under papal dominion, were also connected in other relations with the civil government. In the temporalities of their sees, they were involved in the generally prevailing feudal system, their tenants being feudally dependant on them, and they feudally related to the monarch. They had to take the oath of allegiance to him, and to receive from him investiture in their estates and civil honors. Thus were planted the seeds of quarrel between the royal and papal authorities.

It inevitably followed that numbers of ambitious persons obtained high places in the church through royal favor or political manœuvring or by money. Inferior places of course went the same way; and simony became a prevailing vice of the clergy.

3. The ministrations of the church conducted by such men had ceased to contain instruction. Preaching in most places was obsolete. The service was in Latin; and that was no longer spoken or understood by the people. Religion itself became a dead language to the greater number,—a mere system of observances and repetition of chanted or mumbled sounds.

4. The monasteries, in which piety and intelligence did find some refuge, were always difficult to regulate. Houses on the system of Benedict, after many fluctuations, before the beginning of the tenth century, had all degenerated. Monks had become irregular, idle and dissolute. As a measure of reform—the only reform belonging to the tenth century,—the convent of Cluny was founded in 910 by William of Aquitaine. The rules of Benedict were there revived and some were added, especially by the second abbot Odo, who by the strictness of his discipline secured for his convent a reputation of eminent sanctity. After its example, other monasteries were founded or reformed, and its abbots were sometimes invited elsewhere for that purpose. The association of monasteries, looking to Cluny as their exemplar, was spoken of as the *Congregatio Cluniacensis*, and its abbots sometimes, as archabbots. Many persons who were not monks so connected themselves with them as to be

allowed, according to the then prevailing ideas, a "share in the spiritual blessing of the brotherhood," and were called *Fratres Conscripti*, or *Confratres*. Cluny was assigned to the immediate care of the pope. In that respect also many other monasteries followed its example.

5. The reign of ignorance and superstition continued. God was concealed from the view of worshipers by a multitude of saints held up for adoration in his stead. Every place of worship was supplied with their relics, which were bought and sold for their miraculous virtues. And popular instruction, consisted almost solely of legends designed to set off such wares. The Virgin Mary was honored most of all. Saturday was set apart to her, and a daily office introduced in her worship.

The Lord Jesus Christ was not entirely left out of view, but together with other persons of the Godhead was put at a great distance off, when he was not represented as a child or a corpse. Access to him as God was held to be through his mother.

In doctrine, the church still professed the creed of the general councils; practically, reliance for salvation rested upon good works, penance and the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints. By good works were understood works of mercy, but also, to a great extent, acts of asceticism, or of attendance on formal observances, or donations to the church. Penances were now reduced to a system, regulated by written rules. It was an act of great merit to exceed those rules, by voluntary infliction. It was now practically admitted that pardon of sin could be granted by the priest, upon confession to him, and compliance with the penance imposed. Excommunication, as a means of coercion, now reached its extremest severity; and was carried to its widest application, in the form of the interdict.

A signal confession of judicial incapacity was implied in trial by ordeal, a heathen custom introduced from Germany, and now superintended by the clergy; of similar nature was that of trial by battle, the most degenerate effects of which have lasted longest.

One institution of the time for which the clergy deserve credit was the Truce of God, an attempt to put

some check, though only partial and brief, upon the prevalence of private wars.

Popularly it was believed that all things were sinking towards dissolution, and that the world would come to an end in the year 1000 after Christ.

The very missionary enterprises of the time partook of its wild half heathenish character. In Norway christianity was established by force of arms. By the same means it obtained the mastery in Bohemia and was forced upon the Wends by the German Empire, upon the Hungarians by their Kings, and upon the Russians by their Grand Duke. That the gospel of Christ survived such extravagant misrepresentation is almost miraculous, and due chiefly to the preservation of the written Word, and the fact that there was always somewhere a remnant true to the spirit of its instructions.

6. In order to a just apprehension of the church in the Middle Ages, it is important to distinguish between the church and the hierarchy, and in the hierarchy itself, between the episcopal authorities and the papal.

The church of God was oppressed, crushed beneath the weight of powers which had assumed to govern it, and were making their gain thereby; but it was never extinguished. Prevented from demonstrating itself outwardly in any proper organic form, it existed in the hearts of individuals and in their spiritual sympathy and understanding with one another, in as far as they had any knowledge of each other's faith. In that state of things a pious clergyman or prince was of great service in giving centralization to some extent to the scattered piety of the christian world. The most conspicuous example of that kind, within the period of which we are now speaking, was that of Alfred, King of England, with his immediate successors, Edward and Athelstane. Alfred was king from 871 to 900, and his son and grandson successively maintained his improvements until 940. Subsequently England was harassed by Danish invasion, under which state and church alike suffered a new and deeper depression, until all England, came under the rule of the Danish king Canute. A brief attempt at better government by that wise monarch was followed by new

disorders, until the kingdom was overwhelmed by the Norman conquest, in 1066.

7. In the same year in which Leo IX. died, 1054, all intercourse between the eastern and western catholic churches came to an end. A letter from the patriarch of Constantinople to a friend, commenting on the errors and abuses of the west, was responded to with great bitterness. Papal delegates were sent to Constantinople who attempted to treat the Patriarch as a subject of the Pope. Their pretensions were not allowed. They laid an act of excommunication upon the great altar of St. Sophia, to which the patriarch responded with an anathema. And thus, on the 16th of July, 1054, the two great hierarchs parted forever.

8. It was at the same juncture, when the Popes entirely separated from the eastern church, that they began to adopt those measures of policy which eventuated in maturing the Papal system, and in carrying it to a real domination over the west. The next period is that of the highest papal prosperity.

VII. 1054—1305.

The Revived Papacy Reaches the Summit of its Prosperity.

In the year 1054, upon the death of Leo IX., Hildebrand first undertook to manage the papal elections. The policy of his adoption continued, in the main, successful until the quarrel with the King of France, which issued in removal of the papal residence to Avignon, in 1305. The interval is a true historical period possessing features of its own, to be found no where else. It presents the maturity of the Papacy, within which that system exercised the highest and widest authority it was ever permitted to wield. Secondly, it was the time of controversy between the German Emperors and the Popes. A third feature was the scholastic theology; a fourth, the Crusades; and a fifth, the progressive quickening of intellect, as manifested in the increase of dissenting religious sects, incipiency of popular song, and rise and progress of schools and universities.

1. During the pontificate of Leo IX., Hildebrand,

now a cardinal subdeacon, improved every opportunity to increase his influence; and succeeded in putting himself at the head of a party seeking to correct abuses in the church, which had long been found incorrigible. Three objects he had in view; first the removal of Simony, and lay interference in church matters; second, to repress the immorality of the clergy, and third to bind all the elements of the papacy into such a system as to realize the supremacy to which it aspired. A grand conception that of a dominion constructed, by means of a perfectly organized hierarchy, upon the basis of religion and morals, and subordinating to itself all the other powers and dignities of earth, but it had only a mechanical relation to the kingdom of Christ. It was not entirely new. It had certainly been entertained by some of the gifted popes of the ninth century. But Hildebrand recognized and retrieved its elements from the degradation to which they had been reduced in a long career of papal profligacy, and reconstructed them, under the most favorable circumstances, with the greatest effect.

Execution of the design began with enforcing the celibacy of the clergy; and much to that end was done by Leo IX.; but the pivot of the whole was in the papal elections, which Hildebrand never suffered to escape from his control. By application to the emperor he obtained the appointment of the candidate of his choice as successor to Leo. Gebhardt bishop of Eichstadt, an influential counsellor of the emperor, and centre of an antipapal party in the north, was a manifold gain to the cause of papal reform. He assumed the name of Victor II., and continued in office until his death in 1057. Meanwhile in 1056 the Emperor Henry III. died, leaving his oldest son, a child of six years, under the regency of the Empress. In those circumstances, the reforming party had no difficulty in electing their own candidate, who took the name Stephen IX. During Hildebrand's absence from Rome, Stephen died; and the opposite party elected Benedict X. Hildebrand, on his return succeeded in reversing that action, and in setting up Nicholas II. Under Nicholas a law was enacted to regulate papal elections, ordaining that the pope should be elected from the cardinals, and by the college of car-

dinals. At this juncture the reforming party secured the support of the Normans, who had recently taken possession of Naples and Sicily.

When Nicholas II. died, in 1061, the pope elected by the opposing party with the sanction of the empress was constrained to give place to Alexander II. elected by the cardinals alone. In 1073, after the death of Alexander, the choice of the cardinals fell upon Hildebrand who took the name Gregory VII. The young emperor Henry IV. was now on the throne. Pope Alexander had excommunicated some of the imperial counsellors, and demanded their removal from court. But they had been retained in favor. Hildebrand took up the cause, and called upon the emperor to comply with the papal demand. Henry, at the first admonition, was engaged in war, and replied by a submissive letter. And so the matter rested for that time.

But the authority assumed by the new pope was such as upon being more fully unfolded, the emperor perceived he could not allow. The policy of Gregory VII., not declared all at once, but evinced in the course of his pontificate, and abundantly stated in his epistles, and succinctly epitomized in the *Dictatus Gregorii*, aimed at establishing the Papacy as an absolute despotism over all the powers and potentates of earth, ecclesiastical and civil, and arrogated for it, even from monarchs, the profession of homage by acts the most abject and degrading. But the office, during the twenty years of his preceding counsels, had gained immensely by the removal of moral corruption, by the systematizing of its business, by the dignified regularity of elections, and frequent and consistent assertion of its sovereignty before a public well prepared to admit them. The subjection of the clergy, on the footing of celibacy, and isolation from the common interests of society, had been, in the main, effected. And the Reformer was now prepared to enter upon the third part of his project, namely the removal of simony, and of lay interference in the church. To achieve that he must begin with the source from which that widely ramified evil proceeded, at the court of the emperor, and with the case of episcopal investiture. The occasion which led to actual hostilities was the excommunication

of certain imperial counsellors for simony, and the emperor's failure to remove them from his service.

That case stood in suspense for over two years. Meanwhile at a Synod in Rome (1075,) it was decreed that if any person should accept a bishopric, or an abbacy from the hands of a layman, he should not be regarded as a bishop or an abbot, nor allowed to enter a church, until he had given up the illegal claim: and all laymen, of whatever rank, who should bestow such investiture, were to be excluded from church communion. Next year, Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him in Rome, on pain of anathema, if he failed to obey. He did not obey; but on the contrary, called a council of German bishops at Worms, and had a sentence of deposition passed against the pope. Gregory forthwith issued his excommunication of the emperor, declaring him incompetent to reign any longer, and forbade his subjects to obey him. He also excommunicated the assembly at Worms. The subjects of the emperor were divided. The princes met at Tribur, and resolved that he should not reign until he had obtained removal of the excommunication; and appointed a council to meet at Augsburg to try him, in which trial the pope was to preside. Henry hurried into Italy, and met the pope at Canossa; but obtained admittance to his presence only after a most humiliating penance of three days before the door of the castle. He obtained remission of his punishment, and then, once more emperor, thought of revenge for his humiliation. The pope was now in danger. His party in Germany elected a new emperor, Rudolph of Suabia. War ensued, which lasted several years. The pope renewed the excommunication. The emperor renewed his act of deposing the pope, and added to that the election of another pope, Clement III., whom he took to Rome, and enthroned by force of arms. Meanwhile Rudolph died. The full weight of the imperial arm now fell upon the pope, who found refuge among the Normans of Naples, and died at Salerno, May 25, 1085. Thus the first attempt at coercing the emperor failed.

Pope Clement III., reigned in Rome. But the Gregorian party elected their own pope, Victor III., and when he died, in 1087, continued the succession by elect-

ing Urban II. For more than ten years the emperor retained his advantage, and the Gregorian party remained under depression, until the enthusiasm of the first Crusade swept away everything before it. Of that movement Urban was the organizing power. On its tide he was carried to Rome in triumph. Military resources were withdrawn from the emperor by the irresistible attraction of the Crusade. Pope Clement unsustained ceased to be of any importance. He survived his rival a few months, but in such reduced circumstances of his party that upon his death no successor could take his place. The first Crusade was the real triumph of Hildebrand. From that juncture the fortunes of Henry IV. declined. Urban II., died July 29, 1099, just fourteen days after the Crusaders had entered Jerusalem. But his successor, Pascal II., pursued the same policy. The emperor, reduced in resources, was persecuted with anathemas, his son encouraged to rebel against him, and his subjects to revolt, until broken down in health and spirit, he retired to private life, and died in poverty, 1106.

The same year, the controversy about investitures in England was settled by the pope giving his sanction to the practice of churchmen, holding benefices, taking the oath of fealty to the king. The king of France also fell under papal excommunication. to which he submitted, and was absolved.

In the history of the papacy, the next two hundred years were occupied with a struggle to maintain that elevation of supremacy secured in the end of the eleventh. In some quarters it was held with great difficulty; in others it was increased; sometimes the pope seemed on the verge of failure; for his supremacy over the state was, even in its best days, of precarious tenure; but some favorable event always turned up to restore him to his vantage ground; and in the last emergency, his refuge was in popular superstition and commotion, especially a crusade, in which he was always looked to by western Europe as the head of Christendom. The question of investitures was settled with the empire, 1122, by a compromise, in which the monarch invested with the temporalities, and the pope with the spiritual office, and symbols were chosen accordingly.

With the death of Henry V., in 1155, the imperial dynasty of Franconia came to an end. Lothaire of Saxony was elected in the papal interest. During his reign the papacy enjoyed the full support of the civil power, but was divided by a schism within itself most of the time. Lothaire III. died in 1137, and the new and more potent dynasty of the Hohenstaufen, the ducal line of Suabia, came to the throne in the person of Conrad III. In the interest of that imperial house, a party was formed, which received the name Waibelingen, or Ghibelline, opposed to the Guelphs, or Saxon party, which sustained the pope. For ages these two factions distracted Italy and the empire.

Arnold of Brescia, a young priest, had come from study of Scripture to the conviction that the clergy should hold no estate; but live upon the free will offerings of the church; and that priests of corrupt morals were by that fact no longer priests at all. Some of his views accorded with the efforts at that time made by some Italian cities to secure their independence, and were accepted very extensively. Arnold was condemned by the Lateran council of 1139. But his opinions prevailed with a great majority of the people even in Rome. A revolution was contemplated, in which the temporal sovereignty of the pope was to be abolished, and the ancient republican government restored. The insurgents occupied the Capitol. Pope Lucius II was killed in the attempt to reduce them by force. His successor Eugenius III. fled to France, and awaited some favorable turn of affairs. He had not long to wait. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, hard pressed by the Saracens, who had taken the city of Edessa, was calling aloud to Europe for relief. By the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, and others, the crusading frenzy was aroused once more. A vast army was raised and marched off to Palestine in 1147, under command of the Emperor Conrad III., and King Louis VII. of France. Inferior interests lost their hold upon the public mind. Zeal for the crusade absorbed all. Once more the Pope was the highest dignitary in Europe. Eugenius was restored to Rome and protected by the arms of Roger of Sicily. The second crusade failed in the east; but it buoyed up the papal cause at

home. By the address of Adrian IV., who came to the papal chair in 1154, the Romans were induced to banish Arnold. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa marched an army into the north of Italy and reduced the Lombard towns. Arnold was surrendered into his hands, and by him transferred to the pope. The pope hanged him, burned his body, and cast the ashes into the Tiber. Arnold was the victim, over whose immolation the Emperor and the Pope held a common rejoicing and for the time reconciled their differences.

It was Pope Adrian IV., who in 1155 granted to Henry II. of England to conquer Ireland, on the condition of annexing it to the Roman See. A few years later, a papal attempt to make the clergy of England independent of the crown to connect them more intimately with Rome, gave occasion to the meeting at Clarendon, in 1164, which drew up the celebrated Clarendon Constitutions, one of the oldest documents lying at the basis of English freedom. The articles were sixteen, designed to limit Papal aggressions, and make the clergy amenable, in some degree, like other men, to laws of the land. Becket the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole body of the English clergy, took oath to observe them. But the articles being condemned by the Pope, Becket changed his mind and broke his oath, upon obtaining papal absolution. His subsequent conduct was that of rebellion against the king, and directed to sustain papalism in England. It led to a dispute between him and the king in which he fled to the continent. A reconciliation took place. But after restoration, Becket returned to his former practices. Four English knights, hearing the king express himself angrily about the matter, went to Canterbury and slew Becket while at service in church. (1170). The king was blamed, and four years later was constrained to do penance at Becket's tomb.

Pope Alexander III. (1159-1181) assumed, in recognizing the independence of Portugal, to grant to the kings of that country the right to as much land as they could conquer from the Mohammedans.

In 1183, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa made peace with the Lombards, secured the favor of the German clergy, and by the marriage of his son to the heiress

of Sicily, attached that wealthy island to his dynasty. The strength of the papal support was thereby divided, while insurrection raged within the papal estates. Lucius III. and Urban III., were successively expelled from Rome.

But again the papacy was saved by a crusade. Saladin had taken Jerusalem, (1187), and all Europe was roused to a new effort for recovery of the holy places. The Emperor put himself at the head of it, May, 1189, marching by land. He lost his life in Asia Minor, and his army perished at the seige of Acre. Two other portions of the great army were led by Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I. of England. With all the armies led out, and prodigies of valor, on the part of the crusaders, little was effected. Philip Augustus, soon after the seige of Acre, returned home; and Richard, after taking Joppa and Askelon, learning that the King of France was projecting an invasion of England, concluded a peace of three years with Saladin, and left Palestine, Sept. 1192. Meanwhile the pope had brought Rome to submission, and re-established his authority, and the early death of the new emperor, Henry VI., removed the danger threatening from his possession of Sicily in right of his wife. The heir of the imperial house was a child only three years of age, when the most successful of all popes began his pontificate. Henry VI. died Sept. 28, 1197, and Innocent III. ascended the chair of the papacy, on the 8th of January following.

Circumstances favored the new pope in a remarkable manner. Rome had been pacified. The death of the emperor gave place to a long contested succession, the empress Constantia, heiress of Sicily, to secure that dominion for her son, accepted investiture from the Pope, and on the eve of her death which took place before the end of 1198, constituted him guardian of the infant prince, while both France and England were enfeebled by the crusade, and by mutually threatened war. No other pontiff ever realized to the same extent the Gregorgian idea of the papacy. King John of England who attempted to disregard his mandate, was brought to submission by an interdict, laid upon his kingdom, and was restored only upon accepting his crown as a gift of the

pope, and recognizing England as a province of the Roman See. This led to the meeting of the barons at Runnymede, 1215, and the drawing up of the *Magna Charta*, which they compelled their unworthy king to sign, as some security then and afterwards against such alienation of themselves and their country.

Innocent III. also organized a crusade. It never reached Palestine, but instead of that, beseiged and took Constantinople, in 1204, and set up there a Latin King. Whereupon the pope reasserted his jurisdiction in the eastern empire; but without obtaining acknowledgment by the Greek church. The most successful crusade of Innocent III. was that against the Albigenses; a numerous dissenting sect, in the south of France. Romish arguments failing to convince them, armies were marched into their country, which in successive years, from 1209, covered it with slaughter and desolation.

In 1215, Innocent called a council in Rome, the fourth Lateran, or, according to Romish reckoning, the twelfth ecumenical, at which various important questions pertaining to Romish doctrine and practice were authoritatively settled. At that point Papalism reached the apex of its prosperity. Innocent died next year, but where he left it the elevation of success remained stationary through all the reign of his successor, Honorius III., that is until 1227. The imperious ill temper of Gregory IX., renewed the vexatious quarrel with the empire, and led the way in a course of policy which ultimately reduced it, but also dragged into humiliation his own office.

Frederic II. was constrained to undertake a crusade. Because he delayed in carrying it out Gregory excommunicated him: and after he set out followed him with excommunication. Frederic was successful, recaptured Jerusalem, and secured a treaty of peace for the christians of Palestine for ten years; but found, on returning home, that he had to wage war with the Pope. From this time, it was the papal purpose to break down the Suabian dynasty, and secure the election of more compliant occupants of the imperial throne. Unrelentingly was that policy pursued until, after the early death of Frederic's successor, Conrad, in 1254, another minority and regency occurred. Advantage was taken of that

juncture to invite Charles of Anjou to assume possession of Sicily. The attempt of the young Conradin to defend his father's dominion failed. And the last heir of the Hohenstaufen taken prisoner perished on the scaffold, (1268), and Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, of France, became king of Sicily in the papal interest. Five years later, the equally papal house of Hapsburg was elevated to the throne of the greatly reduced empire, in the person of Rudolph.

But already the long train of papal losses had begun. In 1261, the Greeks, under Michael Palæologus, recovered possession of Constantinople and expelled the Latin government. A subsequent attempt, at the council of Lyons, 1274, to establish papal jurisdiction in the east, was agreed to by the eastern emperor, but defeated by the refusal of the Greek Church to comply. The attempt gave rise to other fabrications in support of the Papacy.

French rule in Sicily proved intensely unpopular. It was expelled by the insurrection, called the Sicilian Vespers, March 30, 1282, and the government put into the hands of the King of Aragon.

The seventh and last crusade to Palestine was led by Louis IX. of France and Prince Edward of England, in 1270. Louis died at Tunis. Edward reached Palestine, but could only delay the fate of Acre, by extorting a truce of three years. In 1291 Acre fell into the hands of the Mohammedans, and the whole was over.

The crusades were the wars of the Papacy for its own cause, when that cause was identified with the interests of Christianity in the west. Their termination was not only the loss of an effective weapon, but also a symptom of declining influence over the christian public.

But a more serious calamity befel the Papacy in the dispute which arose between Boniface VIII. and Philip the fair, King of France, in which the King, on principles of law, resisted a Papal mandate, and when the Pope attempted to enforce it, sent a commission into Italy, which arrested him. The indignity so affected Boniface as to throw him into a fever, of which he died Oct. 11, 1303. The next Pontiff, Benedict XI., did not press the offensive demands; and after his death, King Philip suc-

ceeded in getting his own candidate elected who was pledged to remain in France. Clement V. took up his residence at Avignon, in 1305. And the proudest days of the papacy were over.

In the Papal history of this period there was more concerned than superstition and submission, on the one hand, and ambition on the other. There was extraordinary intellectual power, and an unscrupulous use of both force and fraud, and that continued with little abatement, or exception, for two hundred and fifty years. The series of events may be comprehended under the following heads.

1. Reform and reorganization of the Papacy, 1054—1085.

2. Its first success, in war with the Empire, by means of the first crusade, 1099.

3. Its success in the controversy about investitures, 1122.

4. A long period of power balanced between the rising free spirit of Northern Italy, the Normans of the South, and the German empire, sustained at great junctures by the second and third crusades, until 1198.

5. The summit of success under Innocent III. and Honorius III., 1198–1227.

6. The strife for supreme temporal power with the imperial dynasty of Suabia, until the overthrow of the latter, and elevation of the obedient house of Hapsburg, 1227–1273.

7. Papal losses—loss of Constantinople, 1261.
Failure of the plan of union devised at the council of Lyons, 1274–1282.
Loss ensuing from the Sicilian Vespers, 1282.
Final failure of the Crusades, 1291.
The disastrous controversy with Philip the Fair, ending in the removal from Rome, 1305.

2. With the schools founded and patronized by Charlemagne, there were always connected some men of letters. During the tenth century, and first half of the eleventh, the series was very slender. Through Erigena, Gottschalk, Paschasius Radbert, and a few others, in the middle of the ninth century, Hincmar and Ratramnus, in the latter part of it, the line is barely continued by a

few such men as Luitprand of Cremona, and Ratherius of Verona, to Gerbert, (Pope Sylvester II.) who died in the beginning of the eleventh century, and Fulbert of Chartres, who flourished in its first quarter. Towards the middle of the century, a little more literary effort began to appear. Then we read of Humbert, Peter Damiani, Lanfranc, Berengarius, and Hildebrand, (Pope Gregory VII.), in the course of whose lives, we come to that class of writers called Schoolmen, or Scholastics, and who were, at the same time, the philosophers and theologians of the Middle ages.

True scholasticism was the application of logic, with a peculiar subtlety to the dogmas of the Romish church. Earlier christian writers had drawn their philosophy chiefly from Plato; now the Platonic elements were comprehended in and subjected to Aristotelian methods, as far as the latter were known through the partial translation of Boëthius: for Aristotelian induction seems to have been unknown.

Augustinian theology was their recognized orthodoxy. But the practical teaching of the church, which, on some points had departed from that standard, controlled the arguments of most of them. Some advanced doctrines which were censured as heretical, but in the main, scholastics were the advocates of the church as it then stood.

The history of that class of writers begins properly in the course of controversy on the Eucharist, in the latter half of the eleventh century. At that date, a zealous opponent of transubstantiation was Berengarius bishop of Tours. The subject was still an open question, in as far as any adequate authority was concerned. It had been decided only by popular consent. Berengarius, from about 1045, publicly taught that the bread and wine in the Eucharist are only external symbols of Christ's body and blood. His argument was immediately controverted by several writers, who advocated the popular belief that in consecration by the priest, the sacramental elements became the real body and blood of the Lord. Berengarius was condemned in 1050, by no less than three councils, at Rome, Vercelli, and Paris. He was deprived of his revenues and degraded. Subse-

quently, Pope Victor II. was induced to send legates to Tours to investigate the matter. On one of those occasions, the legate was Hildebrand, who seems to have been disposed to treat the subject leniently. But the clergy as a whole were not satisfied. Berengarius was afterwards brought to trial before a council at Rome, where a definite statement of doctrine was prescribed for him to sign. He submitted; but afterwards repented of the submission, and held to his former doctrine. He died in 1088.

It was in this controversy that Lanfranc, prior of Bec, and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury, taking up the defence of transubstantiation, employed that subtlety of dialectics, which was carried to greater length by a long array of writers who came after him. In the hands of Anselm, his immediate successor in Canterbury, 1093—1109, it reached its early maturity and perhaps its best.

The history of scholasticism divides itself into three periods: from 1045 to 1164, from 1164 to 1308, and from 1308 until the eve of the reformation. The first, from the beginning of the controversy with Berengarius, until the Death of Peter Lombard, 1164, labored in lectures and controversial tracts. A new period opened in the very general adoption of Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences as a guide for lecturers on theology, whereby scholasticism was turned to the systematic treatment of the whole body of theology. In that direction its highest results were reached in the works of Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. With the death of the latter, 1308, begins the period of scholastic decline, during which it was also gradually overmastered by the reviving classic, and the broader growth of modern literature.

An inner controversy, on Philosophic ground, early divided scholastics into two parties as Realists and Nominalists. Nominalism soon fell under censure of the church, and gave place to a modification, which is better named conceptualism. Realism was favored by the church.

Another division, on the ground of faith, separated among them, the Rationalist from the Mystic, as, for example, Abelard from Bernard, and from both, a mediating party, as the Theologians of St Victor. In their

later history, they were divided also between Franciscan and Dominican monks.

The progress of Scholasticism carried with it the improvement of the schools, which from the poor conventual instruction of the eleventh century was expanded until it blossomed into the Universities of the twelfth and thirteenth.

Scholastic freedom of speculation lay in treatment of points concerning which Scripture gives only indistinct hints, and the church had yet pronounced no positive dogma, but they also analyzed with apparent freedom every doctrine of the creed. And some ventured into a bolder freedom, which exposed them to heresy. David of Dinant, for example, and Amalric of Bena were by their method of thinking led into Pantheism, and other philosophical errors.

On some points their conclusions prepared the way for the authoritative adoption, as dogmas, of what had previously been only optional beliefs; as in the case of works of supererogation; the number of the sacraments, definition of the doctrine of penance, and of priestly absolution, and transubstantiation.

The more eminent Scholastics carried forward philosophy in a real progress, beyond all that had ever been done before, in its relations to theology; profoundly weighing the philosophical import of doctrines: and although much trifling may be quoted from their later writers, yet to the labors of Abelard, of Peter Lombard, of Bonaventura, of Thomas Aquinas, and others, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we owe the first kindling of modern Europe to intellectual pursuits, the first scattering of light into the depths of mediæval darkness, the first philosophy which western Europe could call her own, and the first classification in scientific form of christian theology.

Some of the Scholastics also opened the way to modern scientific investigation. Such were Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon.

3. During the same period the principal part of the work was done for the Canon Law which conferred upon it the completeness of its form. About the middle of the 12th century, the Decretum of Gratian issued from the

celebrated law University of Bologna. Subsequently large collections from the decretals of later popes were added to it, under the names of Decretals and Extravagantes. And thus grew up the Corpus Juris Canonici.

4. Various councils successively gave their sanction to elements of doctrine, discipline and worship, which had previously grown up among the people, and in ecclesiastical practice. Of those the most important was the Fourth Lateran, which confirmed the policy of Innocent III., established the practice of indulgence, and the doctrine of works of supererogation, of confession to a priest as indispensible to obtaining pardon of sin, and of transubstantiation as belonging to the creed of the church, and the duty of exterminating heretics.

5. Attempts were made, from time to time, to restore union between the Greek and Roman catholic churches, but without effect. The most strenuous effort to that end was made at the council of Lyons, in 1274. The Pope and the Greek Emperor with some bishops were agreed. But nothing could bend the Greek church into compliance. After trying for a few years by severe measures, to constrain his people, the Emperor acknowledged his discomfiture; and Rome ignored the compact which could not be carried into effect. As soon as the emperor died, 1282, the Greek church formally repudiated the whole plan of reunion, and severely censured all who had in any way been concerned in it.

6. During the period of the schoolmen, the literature of the Greek church continued in a depressed condition. The scholastics were the fruit of reviving intellectual activity in the west; were themselves the beginning of a process of improvement. But no such process had yet begun in the east. Literary culture had not descended so low in that quarter: but it exhibited no such signs of a new vitality. The Eastern Empire was still protracting its long decline, struggling for existence with the Mohammedans. And the energies of the Greeks were crushed under the discouragements of their adverse fortunes. Several literary names of distinction appear among them; but none as connected with any original line of thought. Most worthy of mention were Theophylact archbishop of Bulgaria, d. 1112, commentator on several books of

Scripture; John Zonaras, one of the best Byzantine historians, and Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, (d. 1198) who, besides sermons, wrote a copious and valuable commentary on Homer.

7. Among the churches of the further east there were also some writers of distinction. Such were Ebed-Jesu (d. 1318) metropolitan of Nisibis, among the Nestorians; Nerses (d. 1173) among the Armenians, and Dionysius Bar Silibi, bishop of Amida, (d. 1171,) among the Jacobites; in which connection appears also the more illustrious name of Abulfarage (Bar Hebraeus) (d. 1286), and that of George Elmacin, historian of the Saracens.

8. With the Jews this was a period of great scholarship, when Solomon Iarchi (d. 1105) of Troyes, Aben Ezra of Toledo (d. 1167), David Kimchi of Narbonne (d. about 1230), and Moses Ben Maimon, or Maimonides, (d. 1205) of Cordova, labored in the interpretation of the Old Testament.

9. It was also the flourishing period of that Arabic philosophy, which had no little to do with the revival of philosophical studies in the christian west, Avicenna died 1036; Al Gazali in 1127, and Averoes in 1217. Upon ths whole there was an extensive quickening of intellect in the direction of philosophy.

10. Among the monasteries irregularities again prevailed. Before the twelfth century had far advanced, even Cluny itself had begun to degenerate. Great efforts were made to restore discipline, and to set up new monasteries with severer rules. Some of the orders were suppressed on account of their scandalous immorality. Still, the conviction prevailed that the proper way to correct these evils was to establish new orders on a better plan. Pope Innocent III., thought proper to interfere, and forbade the creation of any more orders; and the Lateran council of 1215 took action to same effect. Notwithstanding, two other orders were sanctioned under his rule, and established soon afterwards, which proved of more influence in the church and in the world than all the preceding had been.

The active apostolic piety and missionary labor of the poor Waldensian ministers, and the progress of dissenting opinions in the south of France, and adjoining dis-

tricts, arrested the attention, and alarmed the fears of the Romish ecclesiastics. Dominic of Osma in Spain, and Francis of Assisi, in Italy, about the same time conceived of similar plans for the conversion of those so called heretics. Francis began in 1207 to assemble about him a body of men, whom he solemnly laid under obligations to forego all earthly possessions, enjoyments and knowledge, and devote themselves solely to travelling, and preaching the doctrines of Rome. They were to be called the *Ordo Fratrum Minorum*. As such they received the oral sanction of Innocent III., 1209, and were fully established by Honorius III., in 1223. After their example, an order of nuns was instituted, that of Sta. Clara, with a *regula* drawn up by Francis. He also organized an *Ordo tertius de Pœnitentia*, for pious laymen, who living in their own houses, and enjoying their own property, with their families, maintained a sort of spiritual union under a superior.

Dominic, who had been employed from 1205 in trying to convert the Albigenses, by preaching, conceived a similar idea. It was that of an order, which, unincumbered by property, should travel through that country preaching the doctrines of the catholic church. In 1215 the plan was proposed to Innocent III. who would grant it nothing more than his oral permission. But it was fully sanctioned next year by Honorius III., under the name of the *Ordo Predicatorum*. Monks of that order are more commonly called, by the name of their founder, Dominican, or from their garb, Black Friars; as the order of Francis is generally called Franciscan, or Minorites, or Grey Friars. The Dominicans also constituted Tertiaries.

These were the principal mendicant orders, by whom preaching, long neglected in the catholic church, was revived. Indirectly they conspired with the lecturers in the schools to promote the awakening spirit of inquiry, relatively doing for the populace a work similar to what the lecturers were accomplishing in the schools. Ultimately, they became also the lecturers, and occupied the most prominent places as scholastic writers. Departing in course of time from their original design, they departed also from the rule of poverty. On that subject

the Franciscans divided. The stricter party adhering to the rule, formed themselves into a separate order, which received the name of *Fraticelli.*

11. About the end of the twelfth century there sprang up, in some towns in the Netherlands, societies of women, who without monastic vows, lived together under rules of their own adoption, and maintained themselves from their own property. They were called Beguinae. During the thirteenth century, they increased in France and Germany, as well as in the Netherlands, to a great number.

Similar societies were also formed of men, and those who belonged to them were called Begnini, or Beghards. Latterly they connected themselves with the tertiary orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

Through the mendicant preaching orders and their tertiaries, the cloister opened its doors to the world.

12. The clergy claimed exemption from trial by civil tribunals, and the popes labored zealously to withdraw them altogether from secular jurisdiction. Only ecclesiastical courts were held competent to try them. And from all tribunals they claimed the right of appeal to the pope. In few countries were those claims fully realized.

13. From various causes, great wealth came into the hands of ecclesiastics, leading to much conflict between the spiritual and temporal authorities.

14. In the course of the twelfth century, the Latin church, in administering the Eucharist, gradually, in one place after another, adopted the practice of withholding the cup from the laity. Pope Pascal II. opposed innovation, and ordered that the bread and wine should be both administered. After his time, the opposite opinion gained ground. By the Greek church the sacramental elements were mingled.

15. Signs of intellectual activity began to appear among the people, as well as in the church schools. They consisted chiefly in the rise of religious dissent, and of an incipient popular literature.

The varieties of religious dissent may be classed under the heads of Paulicians, Cathari, Waldenses, and independent orders.

16. The Paulicians, in their long persecution in the

ninth century, were scattered to both east and west, beyond the bounds of the Greek empire. At the end of those sufferings, a considerable number of them, were found resident among the Slavic population on the lower Danube. Whence it is probable they spread their doctrines further west, and in more tolerant times found their way back into the empire. In the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) the city of Philippopolis in Thrace was entirely under their influence. That emperor undertook to convert them; and removed his residence, for a time, to Philippopolis, with that view. By force of authority, by persuasion, and rewards to those who professed themselves convinced by his arguments, he succeeded in reducing the heresy in that region. But instead of it another arose. For a long time before, a party had existed among them, called Euchites, or Messalians, who had exercised some influence upon the development of Paulician doctrine. From that connection arose the Bogomili, who made their first appearance in the latter years of the same Emperor. In 1116 Alexius obtained the confidence of their leader Basilius, by a treacherous artifice, and put him to death. But the sect maintained its ground within the empire, especially about Philippopolis.

17. In their peculiar doctrines and customs, the Bogomili agreed closely with those of the Cathari of the west of Europe. That relationship is also sustained historically. It is admitted that the Cathari proceeded from the Sclavonians of Bulgaria, at least as early as the middle of the eleventh century: and had extended their societies to almost every country of Europe, before they were discovered. From Bulgaria they spread into Thrace, and became a large sect even in Constantinople. Also into Dalmatia and Albania, where they were called Albanenses. Westward they gained converts in large numbers, as far as the Netherlands, England, France, Spain, and Italy. In France, they were frequently called the *Ordo Bulgariæ*, or *Bulgari*, Gallicised into various abbreviations. In some places they were called *Poplicani*, *Patarini*, or *Passagieri*. They divided the popular faith in Provence with the Waldenses. In Lombardy and Florence, in the States of the Church, in Calabria and Sicily, Catharian

congregations existed for a long time. But it was in Lombardy and the South of France where they were strongest. The Albigenses were both Waldensian and Catharian. As early as 1022, persons of Catharian views were burned to death at Orleans.

18. Touching the origin of the Waldenses, there is difference of opinion. But we know that they are mentioned as existing among the Alps in the twelfth century, and not as a new sect at that time. Their name is not derived from that of a man, but from their place of residence in certain valleys of the Cottian Alps, on the Italian side. Their eastern border is about thirty miles in a southwest direction from Turin. Their records have been sought out to be destroyed, with persevering malignity by their enemies.

By Catholic writers their doctrines were greatly misrepresented. But more favored than most sects of that time, they survive to speak for themselves. They hold substantially the same views of Scripture truth as are held by Evangelical Protestants.

In Northern Italy, Catharian doctrine together with the opinions of Arnold of Brescia, coincided with the efforts of the Lombards to wrest their freedom from the Pope and Emperor.

19. Among dissenting orders we must include the stricter branch of the Franciscans, the Fraticelli, who opposed as firmly as any others, the worldliness and luxury prevailing in the church, and incurred as much persecution, with the Beguinæ and Beghards, and Apostolicals, besides certain fanatical orders, which were early suppressed.

20. In order to complete the work of exterminating heretics, begun with such fearful scenes of bloodshed in the crusade against the Albigenses, and to organize a system whereby the church should always eradicate the first appearance of heresy, it was made the business of the Diocesan Synods to search out and punish every beginning of divergence from the faith of Rome. Every archbishop and bishop was directed to visit, either personally or through some suitable agent, the parish of his diocese, in which any heretics were reported to be, and to put under oath any of the inhabitants whom he chose,

to point out the suspected. Refusal to take the oath justified the suspicion of heresy. This first form of the Inquisition was the plan of Innocent III., and enacted as law by the fourth Lateran council, 1215. An important change was made under Gregory IX., by the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, whereby the task was taken out of the hands of the bishops, by the appointment of Dominican monks to be permanent inquisitors.

21. The Holy Scriptures were now forbidden to the laity. In the ancient church their use was free to all, and to part with them was held by Christians as almost equivalent to denying their Savior. But in the lapse of ages, Catholic practice had departed so far from gospel precept, that it was deemed expedient to withhold from the people the means of comparing them. That step was first taken by the Greek catholic church in controversy with the Paulicians, in the ninth century. In the west, it was ordered by Innocent III., in 1199, and by the council of Toulouse in 1229.

22. It was in that belt of country consisting of northern Italy, southern France, and the north of Spain that the modern languages of continental Europe were first trained to the service of literature. That early literature consisted chiefly of songs; called lays, and sung to the accompaniment of the harp; and those who composed them were Troubadours. The south of France was its centre, and its headquarters were the courts of the counts of Provence and of Toulouse. The dialects throughout that belt of country were intimately related. From as early as the beginning of the eleventh century the Troubadour literature had been unfolded towards its proper maturity. The twelfth century was its meridian; and it was apparently about to issue in something greater, when it was abruptly terminated by the crusade against the Albigenses. A modification of it was patronized, until a later date, at the court of Arragon, and by some of the kings of Castile, and some of the princes in northern Italy.

23. The forms of that style of popular song were transferred to the Latin, and used in the service of religion. Specimens of rhymed Latin verse can be adduced from earlier time; but the true history of rhymed Latin hymns

begins with the eleventh century, and the best of such productions belong to the twelfth and thirteenth.

The latest lays of the Troubadours fell upon the youthful ear of Dante, who deeply imbued with their lyrical spirit, and versed in the Latin hymnology and philosophy of the schoolmen, concentrated the best literary fruits of all in his great poem the *Divina Commedia*, and therein the history of modern literature began. Dante was in his prime when the papal court was removed to Avignon.

VIII. 1305—1418.

Papal Decline—Superiority of Councils—Revival of Learning.

From the middle of the eleventh century to the beginning of the fourteenth was the period of mediæval growth, purely and characteristically mediæval. The fourteenth begins to present some features of the modern world. From the removal of the seat of the papacy to Avignon, a new era in the history of the church extends until the close of the council of Constance, that is, until 1418. The period thus bounded has also some peculiar features of its own. Of these some of the more remarkable are, the declining and latterly divided state of the papacy; secondly, the increase of dissent; thirdly, the decline of dialectic scholasticism, and increase of mysticism; fourthly, the increasing power of national hierarchy over the papal; the revival of classical learning and taste, and sixthly, the rise of modern literature in the Italian, Spanish and English languages.

1. By means of reducing the German empire, the popes had done much to liberate the cities of northern Italy, and to build up the growing monarchy of France. At the beginning of the 14th century, France had no well matched rival, among the monarchies of the continent, whom the popes could array against it. At Avignon they were in no condition to assert their supremacy over it. In some of the measures of King Philip, as in the suppression of the Knights Templars, Clement V. was constrained reluctantly to concur. Seven Popes reigned successively in Avignon, before the schism, that

is, between 1305 and 1378, Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI.

In those circumstances, the conflict which arose between the Popes and the Emperor Louis of Bavaria was really more to the interest of the French monarchy than to that of the papacy. The people of Germany now sustained their emperor, and Charles IV., elected through papal means, was constrained to take refuge in France. The interdict was laid upon Germany, but took little effect. When Louis died in 1347, Charles had to regard his former election invalid, and submit to be elected a second time.

In 1347 another of those risings took place in Rome which have at several times aimed at restoring the glories of the ancient republic. Nicholas de Rienzi, by his eloquence and enthusiasm, made himself tribune of the people, and actually governed the city for a few years. He was assassinated in 1354, and the whole fabric he had erected dissolved. Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz reconquered the states of the church, and brought them back to papal obedience. But the existence of an antipapal party in the papal dominions was thereby declared with even more boldness than in the days of Arnold of Brescia.

Urban V., in 1367, attempted to remove his residence back to Rome. Various causes were now making that step desirable. England had recovered strength under the vigorous rule of Edward III., and declined payment of the required submission to the Pope, and of the tribute imposed by Innocent III. And the Pope's position in relation to France went to justify with the English public the acts of the party which questioned his right to interfere in their national affairs. And that party contained another advocating also an ecclesiastical reform. After thirty-three years, in which the tribute had not been paid, Urban V., in 1365, made a demand upon the King for it with all the arrears. Edward referred the question to his parliament, which denied the validity of the papal claim. It had been imposed without the consent of Parliament; and was therefore unlawful. That action was defended by a learned ecclesiastic John of Wycliff. The victories of Edward III., and of his son

the Prince of Wales, had reduced the French monarchy and stripped it of nearly half its dominions, and of more than half its power. For a time England was the strongest power in western Europe. The Pope had purchased Avignon; but the condition of his estates in Italy seemed to demand his presence there. Urban V. removed thither in 1367, but soon returned to Avignon, and remained there until his death. During his pontificate another effort was made, in compact with the eastern emperor, John Palæologus, to connect the Greek with the Latin church, which was rejected by the Greeks.

Urban V. died in 1370, and was succeeded on the papal throne by Gregory XI. Disorder in the states of the church continued to increase. Gregory became fully convinced that at all hazards he ought to return to Rome; which he did in 1377, but had to submit to open negotiations with his enemies. Peace was scarcely effected at his death, which occurred in 1378.

The cardinals were divided in opinion on the subject of returning from France. Urban VI. was elected Pope on the 9th of April, 1378 by 16 cardinals, and took up his residence at Rome. But his intolerable temper and bearing soon alienated those who had been his friends. When they resisted him, he created 26 new cardinals to outvote them. Whereupon all but one of those who elected him throwing themselves into the interest of the French party, and withdrawing to Fondi, in the Kingdom of Naples, elected Robert of Geneva, on the 21st of September that same year. The new Pope, as Clement VII., resided at Avignon, and was recognized by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily and Cyprus. To Urban VI. adhered Italy, England, Bohemia and Hungary. In this case not only the papacy was divided, but also the Latin church. Each of the two Popes held his ground in the hope of suppressing the other. The schism gave occasion to great increase of corruption, and disgraceful exhibition of animosity between the parties; and both maintained their respective papal lines by subsequent elections. At Avignon Clement VII. was, in 1394, followed by Benedict XIII.; and at Rome, in 1389, Boniface IX. succeeded Urban VI. and reigned until 1404. The interval to 1406 was filled by Innocent VII. Gregory XII.

was then elected and continued in office until deposed by the council of Constance, 1415.

These papal disputes, in which the parties were always under anathema of each other, were felt, in many quarters, to be a scandal, and demands for the adoption of some measures of reform became numerous and importunate. In that movement the university of Paris took the lead. But in England and Bohemia there were parties more radical still, who talked of rejecting the papal yoke altogether. Both Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., on their election, promised to take the steps necessary to bring the schism to an end; but both declined to abide by the engagement. In 1408, their respective councils of cardinals abandoned both Popes and appealing to Christ, a general council and a future pope, assembled at Leghorn. Thence, with advice of the Universities, they issued a call for a general council to meet at Pisa in 1409. In that council there were 24 cardinals of both papal connections, 200 bishops, 300 abbots, the Universities were represented by 120 Masters in Theology, and 300 graduates of civil and canon law, and the state, on both papal interests, by the envoys of France and England. The council took the ground defended by Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, that by its constitution under Christ, the church was independent of the Pope, and acting thereupon, after a regular form of trial, deposed both the rival Popes for violation of their solemn obligation, and elected a new candidate, Alexander V., to be sole Pope. But ofter the adjournment of the council, Gregory and Benedict both denying its validity adhered to their claims, and Alexander could not withdraw from his, without betraying the cause of the council. And so, from June 26, 1409, there were three Popes, all regularly elected, according to one or other of the methods which had at different periods been accepted as valid in the catholic church.

Alexander V. died May 3, 1410, and John XXIII. was elected in his stead by 26 cardinals at Bologna, within the same month. Thus the Pope of Avignon, though then residing in Spain, the Pope of Rome, and the Pope of Bologna, maintained their courts, in the bitterest hostility to each other, for seven years.

Constrained by the Emperor Sigismond, the Pope of Bologna, John XXIII., consented to convoke a council on the north side of the Alps for the purpose of settling this difficulty and of meeting generally the urgent demand for ecclesiastical reform, which came from all parts of Latin Christendom. That council met at Constance on the 5th of November, 1414. Not much was effected for reform, but the papal schism was brought to an end. All three Popes were deposed, and another was elected, who took the name of Martin V. The election took place on the 11th of November, 1417, Gregory's resignation had been secured as early as 1415, John, who insisted upon retaining the portion of papal dominion which adhered to him, was brought to trial for positive crimes, thrown into prison and deposed. Benedict, in exile, was inaccessible, and although deposed by act of the council, held his ground tenaciously; and when he died in 1424, two Cardinals set up a successor to him, as Clement VIII. The new antipope resigned in 1429, and thereby the great papal schism was brought to an end.

During that period of division, the papal list follows the Roman line, until 1409. It then passes to the Pope set up by the council of Pisa and his successor, until the deposition of John XXIII. May 29, 1415. From that date there is no Pope recognized as true until the election of Martin V. November 11, 1417.

The council of Constance, like that of Pisa, was constituted on the principle that a council of bishops, representing the church in general, is independent of the Pope, and a superior authority. The members adopted the rule, in the beginning, that they should vote by nations, whereby a check was applied to the numerical majority of the Italian prelates. The nations thus represented were the German, the Italian, the French, the English, and the Spanish; the cardinals constituted a section by themselves.

Inasmuch as John XXIII. was deposed by that council, and Martin V. set up by it, and accepted as a true Pope by all the Latin church, it cannot be denied that practically the council was admitted to be lawfully competent to do what it had done, and therefore was a higher power than the Pope; a court before which Popes could

be legally tried. And if that is true of the council of Constance, it must be true of any council so constituted. All later popes are in the line of succession from Martin V.

2. Great corruption invaded the papal court at Avignon. The guilt of simony was common. Everything was venal. And the schism instead of contracting the extravagance, doubled it. Popes turned the revenues of the church to the account of their own ambition. Fees were exacted of prelates upon their consecration; from many benefices the income of a year, call Annates, was exacted by the Pope before a new incumbent could receive investiture; and taxes were levied upon the public generally, under various pretenses. Money was also raised by sale of indulgences. Papal infallibility had already been advocated by a numerous party, but was strongly opposed by the better informed, and by the church in general.

3. Episcopal authority was fortified by the division of the papal. Different countries chose their own papal allegiance. Councils became of greater importance, and freedom of opinion obtained a certain latitude. Criticism of at least one Pope was always safe. Men of reading could not fail to compare the records of earlier christianity, with what was taking place around them. The universities were almost unanimous in their demand for reform, and the public generally looked for it. But the heads of the hierarchy, to whom the application was made, regarded it with aversion.

4. Meanwhile dissenting sects continued to increase. And a greater number without dissenting from the doctrines of the church were dissatisfied with the conduct of her clergy. No one fact appears more frequently in the literature of the 14th century than this. It is embodied in the most terrific passages of Dante, it is exposed in the letters of Petrarch, and the tales of Boccacio, it is declared in various forms in Chaucer, and in the poem called the visions of Piers Plowman. But who were to be the reformers? The strength of the mediæval Puritans, the Cathari, was broken; the Albigenses were almost extinguished. Nor is it certain that they, if successful, would have made the reformation which was

needed. The seat of dissent was removed further north, to the Netherlands, to Bohemia, and especially to England, where it found a leader in John Wycliff, professor of theology in the university of Oxford.

It was in 1360, when he was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, that Wycliff first came forward as the champion of the university in dispute with the mendicant monks. In 1366 he defended the King and Parliament in rejecting the papal demand of tribute. He was made professor of theology in 1372, and rector of Lutterworth in 1375. He was accused of heresy in 1376. Gregory XI. instituted an inquiry against him. He was protected by a strong party among the nobility, and by the Duke of Lancaster, one of the sons of Edward III. The succeeding papal schism furnished an occasion of which he availed himself to publish scripture truth among his countrymen. His pupils, whom he sent on that work, he furnished with the true evangelical armor in his translation of the Scriptures. In 1381 he was constrained to leave Oxford. He retired to his parish of Lutterworth and continued his work of translating the Bible, and otherwise carrying forward the reformation of the church, until his death in 1384.

The followers of Wycliff, generally called Lollards, were protected, or were not harrassed during the reign of Richard II. But in 1399 Richard was constrained to resign by Henry of Lancaster, who to secure the throne he had usurped, threw himself into the interest of the Papalists. Parliament in 1401 passed a law that persons convicted of heresy should be burned to death; and executions forthwith began. Still within the reign of Henry IV., the papacy was in a divided and comparatively feeble condition. It recovered in the time of Henry V. who came to the throne in 1413. Then was the cause of reformation persecuted with more persistent cruelty. Wycliff's doctrines were condemned at Constance, and ten years later, 1428, his bones were taken out of the grave and burned, and their ashes cast into a neighboring brook. But the doctrines of Wycliff were never extinguished in England. They also crossed the sea and met with acceptance in Bohemia. The wife of Richard II., who was a sister of Wenceslaus, king of

Bohemia, partook of the spirit of the reformer. Her life as Queen of England was such as to sanction the most important of Wycliff's labors. The communication thus established between England and Bohemia greatly promoted the interests of reformation in both countries.

Among the earliest reformers in Bohemia were Conrad of Waldhausen, pastor in Prague, and Milicz of Kremsier. Further advance was made by Matthias of of Janow, preacher in the cathedral church of Prague (d. 1394.) John Hus, teacher of theology at Prague followed their example by taking his own lessons of divine truth from the Bible. He soon, together with his friend Jerome of Prague, stood at the head of an almost national movement of reform, which was too strong to allow persecution to seriously injure them at Prague. When the council met at Constance, they were summoned to appear before it. Hus went under a letter of safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismond. Notwithstanding, he was condemned by the council and burned at the stake, July 6, 1415. Jerome suffered the same fate on the 30th of May following.

5. During the 14th century a change was introduced into the philosophy of scholasticism by William Occam, professor of theology at Paris (d. 1347). That change consisted in a new style of nominalism, according to which the common understanding does not apprehend truth, but only phenomena, that is, not general principles but particular things, including forms of expression in language. The truths of doctrine could not be demonstrated philosophically. They were based on the words of Revelation, which the Holy Spirit continues to make to the church. The human mind knows only the particular; to general ideas there is no corresponding objective reality; and divine truth was just the truths of different revelations. But consistently with the growing system of Romish dogma, Occam taught that revelations had been made to the great doctors of the church as well as to the apostles. His views, after a bitter controversy, prevailed in Paris; but were rejected at the university of Prague. In the violent debates, carried on through the 14th century between Realists and Occamists, the

greater part of the warfare was waged within the domain of philosophical notions preliminary to theology.

Other eminent scholastics of the same period where Durand, Bishop of Meaux, (d. 1333) Thomas Bradwardine, (d. 1346) Arch-bishop of Canterbury; Peter A'Ailly (1425), John Charlier de Gerson of the university of Paris, (1375–1425), Nicholas de Clemangis, (1440). The writings of Gerson and some of his contemporaries give evidence that scholasticism had lost its power to satisfy the demands of the human mind.

Biblical learning among Christian scholars of the west, had for centuries been almost confined to the Latin version used in the church. A professorship of Oriental languages was established by Clement V., 1311, but only for the instruction of missionaries. Nicholas de Lyra, prof. of theology in Paris, (d. 1340) was the only man of his time distinguished by a knowledge of Hebrew. Greek scholarship was not quite so rare.

6. It was in the 14th century that the Mystics carried their doctrines to the greatest extreme, and to a positive antagonism to the teaching of the later Scholastics. A certain class of them, who were called the Friends of God, became of great weight among the reforming agencies of the church, especially in southwestern Germany. God they believed to be the only reality; all finite things were only seeming. This view, if developed philosophically, might have amounted to nothing more than a commonplace pantheism; but they thought only of nearness to a real and everywhere present God. The soul of man must separate itself from the finite, as Christ did, that it may become, like him, a son of God. This is to be done by contemplation upon God, and renunciation of the world. They also lamented the corruptions of the church, and advocated a reform, and especially longed for a spiritual revival, which they also did no little to promote. Henry Eckart of Strasburg, who lived in the first quarter of the 14th cent., was the earliest to advocate this doctrine. It was zealously accepted by Nicholas of Basil, from 1330, who believed that by ascetic exercises he had, through visions and revelations, attained to a complete renunciation of the world and of his own will, and to an intimate communion with God.

Several others adopted more or less of the same views, among whom John Tauler, a Dominican Monk, became eminently distinguished. (d. 1361.) To the same religious connection belonged Henry Suso of Ulm, Ruysbroek of Brussels (d. 1381,), thought by some to be the author of the Theologia Germania. The succession continued through the fifteenth century, including also such men as Dr. Gerson, Thomas a Kempis, and several who proceeded from the school of Gerard at Deventer, and whose preaching and writings were eagerly sought after, greatly to the increase of practical piety, until as a religious revival, their work merged in the greater one of the Reformation.

The mystics were not limited to a particular order of clergy, or class of society; they were of all classes. They did not escape the persecution which was levelled at heretics. Not a few suffered death. Nicolas of Basil was burned in 1382.

The theological school of Gerard Groot, at Deventer was designed to promote true spiritual attainments in uniting sound knowledge to genuine piety. He died in 1384. Two years afterwards, one of his disciples founded near Zwoll, a chapter of regular canons with a similar purpose.

The rationalizing scholastics, as distinguished from the mystics were subtle dialecticians, in some cases eloquent preachers, and in more they were laborious writers, but dealt most generally with the superficies and forms of thought, mapping, and dividing and subdividing the surface of that concrete, which consisted of philosophy and theology and practical morals and religion as one science. The mystics penetrated deeper into the human heart, its feelings, its hopes, the basis of its faith, and its relations with the unseen world. In some cases the style of their thinking may be characterized as visionary; but with all their defects, the most profoundly exercised Christian will enjoy their writings most, finding in them much, which though dialectics could never expound, he knows to be true. The writings of Tauler were much esteemed by Luther, and the *Theologia Germanica*, and the *De imitatione Christi*, though burdened with heavy faults, have been cherished by the pious among the educated, ever since the days of their publication.

7. Another feature which distinguishes this from all other periods of history, is the revival of ancient classical literature and taste. In the history of the church, literary art is a matter of very great moment. For it is the medium of addressing instruction to the common mind. Scholasticism laid no claim to attractive composition. It spoke the language of students, and addressed students alone. It knew nothing of a reading populace, but only theologians. Immediately it did little or nothing for improving the people. Another style of literary men was needed to execute that work. And such a class had arisen, men who employed the popular dialects in their productions, and who for enlisting of public attention and interest relied upon those principles which long ages of classical experience had proved the best. Their models, and guides to those principles were the best authors of classical antiquity. In that movement the literature of modern Europe began. Dante was the transition; his *Divina Commedia* is the fruit of the Middle ages as to its substance and form; but his poetic exemplar was Virgil. But the true reviver of classical taste in literature was Petrarch. (1304–1374.) In that pursuit he was early joined by his friend and pupil Boccacio. Zealously did they both labor in searching out works of ancient classical authors and in having them copied and republished, as well as in recommending the study of them to others.

Study of classical Latin naturally led also to the Greek. And Greek literary men fleeing before the advance of Turkish conquest, and finding refuge in Italy, furnished those progressive scholars with Greek teachers. The work thus begun was taken up by many others, their number increasing as the interest and richness of the rediscovered mine became better known.

Under the force of classical example, some of the modern languages, first of all the Italian, and then the English, began to assume the dignity of letters. And popular treatment of interesting topics took a wider range. The author of Piers Plowman, Mandeville, Chaucer, Wycliff, Gower and Barbour, in Great Britain, were the contemporaries of Petrarch and Boccacio, in Italy. And Wycliff, Chaucer, and the author of Piers

Plowman were all advocates of ecclesiastical reform. English literature opened in the most important and successful effort for reformation made in the 14th century.

In Germany, the Minnesingers of the 13th century had given way to a class of poets called Master-singers, who organized themselves into societies for the purpose of promoting their art. But their rules were unproductive of any great work capable of standing the test of time.

Neither did French literature advance as might have been expected. In the south, the Troubadours suffered with the Albigenses. In the north the Trouvère literature existed chiefly among the Normans. And those who produced it, after the pacification of England, made that country their principal residence. The best works of the Trouvères, though in the language of northern France, were written in England. Civil war and foreign invasion also stood in the way of any literary culture, which may have been incipient among the people.

Italy and England were, in respect to vernacular literature, greatly in advance of all other nations. The English took the bent of religious reform; the Italian that of art.

8. The eastern empire was now contracted to a small space, and that continually threatened by the new power of the Ottoman Turks. Many earnest attempts were made by the Greek Emperors to re-unite the eastern and western churches, with the view of securing aid from the nations of the west. But every such plan was defeated by the unbending tenacity with which both parties held to their doctrines and practices, and rejected those of the other. Such was that of Andronicus III. Palæologus, in 1333; and of John V. Palæologus, who in 1356, went the length of swearing allegiance to the Pope; but without inducing his Greek subjects to follow his example. Controversy, and consequent alienation between the two churches, was rather increased by agitating the question of union.

In 1367 Armenia was conquered by the Mamelukes. Such fate also befell the Coptic Christians in Egypt. And the churches in both countries were subjected to a cruel oppression.

On the other hand, in the north, there was, gradually emancipating itself from foreign domination, a power destined in the course of ages to become the successful champion of the Greek church to the ends of the earth. But at that time, Russia was still struggling for existence in war with the Mongul.

IX. 1418—1517.

Progress of the Revival of Learning—Revival of Religion—of the Study of Scripture—of Preaching.

The various reform movements which took their rise, or emerged into notice in the 14th century, continued to make progress in the period which opened in the last weeks of the council of Constance, and closed with the publication of Luther's Theses, in 1517. Of that section of history in Europe one of the most important features is in the progress of the spirit of reform among the common people and the lower clergy, and the increase of Scriptural knowledge and general intelligence with which it was conducted. A second was the restored unity of the Papacy, and accelerated moral degeneracy of the Popes. A third was the question of the authority of councils over the Papacy and the church. A fourth, the continued decline, and final submersion of scholasticism, and the rapid growth of classical learning and popular literature. A fifth, the invention of printing. A sixth the maturity of Italian art. And a seventh must be added consisting of several remarkable events, which combined to change in an important degree the habits of industry and the channels of enterprise.

1. On the 11th of November 1417, the council of Constance elected Otto Colonna Pope, under the name of Martin V. He was acknowledged by all the nations, the first sole Pope in forty years. The council immediately lost its importance; and after having appointed a succession of general councils to keep supervision over the the interests of the church, it terminated its own sessions, on the 22nd of April 1418.

The first in that succession of councils was appointed to meet at Pavia, in 1423. By the Pope it was diverted to Sienna, and then dissolved, before it had transacted

any business. The next, appointed to meet seven years later, assembled at Basil, Dec. 14, 1431.

Martin V. died in February of that year, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV., elected by the Cardinals.

The council of Basil entered earnestly into the attempt to reform the church. In its first years the Pope was constrained to yield on all points. Some serious abuses were condemned and abolished, Papal prerogatives and revenue were seriously threatened. Eugenius, in order to exercise the more control over its proceedings, issued a bull, ordering the council to remove to Ferrara. Some bishops complied, but the greater number remained at Basil. Unfortunately, they passed sentence of deposition upon Eugenius, and elected Amadeus VIII. of Savoy in his stead, as Felix V. This introduction of a new schism, so soon after the church had, with much trouble, composed the disorders belonging to the former, prejudiced the cause of the council. Some of the members, in dissatisfaction, returned home, and after the month of May 1443, the council gradually fell apart. In 1148 it removed to Lausanne, and dissolved next year. Felix V. had already resigned.

During the early days of that council, while it was yet a real power, occasion was taken to revive the ancient liberties of the Gallican Church, and to extend and define them. France was then in one of her lowest periods of adversity, and the English were still in possession of Paris, when Charles VII., on the 7th of July 1437 executed the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, by which he accepted the decisions of the council of Basil. They continued to be law in France until December, 1513, when Francis I. sacrificed them to his concordat with the Pope.

Eugenius IV. persistently labored to undo the reforming acts of the council, and had some reason to be gratified with the degree of his success. Where he could not prevent their acceptance, he succeeded in embarrassing their operation, and on his death bed received, through her ambassadors the returning allegiance of Germany.

Meanwhile, at the Pope's council in Ferrara, and later in Florence, the principal event was another show of union with the Greek church; of all such the most

deceitful and humiliating to those concerned. The emperor John VII., Palæologus, reduced to the last extremity by aggression of the Turks, and the Pope striving to counteract the council of Basil, agreed in earnestly desiring the union; the former, in hope that western arms might thereby be brought to the aid of his own in repelling the Mohammedan; and the latter, believing that the weight of such a vast addition to his jurisdiction would enable him to overmatch his opponents, if not to overwhelm them by the torrent of a crusade. In Papal ships, and partly with Papal money, the impoverished emperor left Constantinople accompanied by the Patriarch and a number of Greek prelates. They were received with pomp and adulation at Venice, and afterwards at Ferrara. But the meetings of the council were thinly attended and business was delayed. After about two years, and after the removal to Florence, the act of union was passed. It was one, in which the necessities of the Greeks constrained them to yield enough to render the whole unavailing. They returned home to encounter a storm of disapproval. Their action was utterly rejected. A respectable minority of them, with Mark bishop of Ephesus at their head, had dissented from everything at variance with Greek orthodoxy. They were now the national heroes. Many of the majority regretted the part they had taken in the affair, and expressed their repentance in terms of profound contrition. The emperor, in attempting to save his country, had lost its confidence and support, and was denounced as a traitor to its most sacred cause. The pompously constructed union proved a nullity. As a constrained attempt at compromise, its statements of doctrine are of little value, as touching the real faith of the Greek church.

Upon the death of Eugenius IV., Feb. 7, 1447, Nicolas V. succeeded, without any reference to the antipope. Nicolas pursued the policy of his predecessors, in respect to the authority of his office, but was a man of superior liberality in other respects, and an eminent patron of literature and learning. Upon the fall of Constantinople, he issued a summons for a Crusade. But the time for such enterprises had passed. None responded to the

call. But the Papal treasury gained by collections of money for the purpose.

Calixtus III., who succeeded Nicolas, (1455–1468) adopted the same device for raising money, but created thereby much dissatisfaction, especially in Germany, and indirectly strengthened the hands of the reforming party.

Æneas Sylvius, a former adherent of the council of Basil, was elected Pope, under the name of Pius II., and turned out as high toned a defender of Papal prerogative as any of his predecessors. He also tried to organize a crusade: but no popular interest could be aroused in the cause. His successor, Paul II. in a pontificate of seven years, succeeded in making himself generally hated without accomplishing anything of importance.

The succeeding popes of this period were men of such character that it is amazing how they ever obtained election to any ecclesiastical office whatever. Sixtus IV., (1471–1484), although a man of public spirit, who enlarged the Papal library, and executed several improvements in the city of Rome, spent most of his time in measures to enrich himself and his kindred, and in petty Italian wars. Those who praise him boast that "no Prince ever offered him an injury, or indignity which he did not return with due revenge." Of Innocent VIII., (1484–1492) the principal facts recorded are his quarrels with Ferdinand of Aragon and Naples, and his rapacity in providing for his own illegitimate children.

Alexander VI. (1492–1503) may be said to have sounded the lowest depths of profligacy. He and his children have rendered their family name, Borgia, notorious in the annals of crime. He died from taking by mistake the poison, which he or his son Cæsar had prepared for others. Pius III. reigned only a few days. Julius II. (1503–1513) was more of a soldier than a minister of religion. As a man, profane and blasphemous, as a prince, taking delight in war, he sacrificed thousands to his ambition, "and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to posterity." Within his pontificate, a general council was summoned at Pisa, by the Emperor and the King of France. It met in September, 1511, for the purpose of once more attempting some reform of the generally admitted abuses in the church.

Julius, to counteract it, convoked a Lateran council to meet in April of the next year. The council of Pisa effected nothing towards the end for which it was called, and the emperor Maximilian gave in his adherence to Julius and the Lateran council, which was not intended to reform anything. Julius died amid plans for a league to carry a ruinous war into France. In 1513, Leo X. of the illustrious de Medici of Florence, succeeded Julius, and restored at least a decent decorum to the papal court. Leo X., had little claim to the character of a christian, but he was refined in his tastes, elegant in his pleasures, and an eminent patron of the fine arts. His first few years restored, to all appearance, the full harmony of the Papacy with the secular powers. Accordingly he could go on to gratify his taste for the grand and beautiful in art. The new cathedral of St. Peter's was his favorite enterprise; and money was to be collected for its completion by all available devices.

2. During the whole of this period, the opposing currents of events continued to advance with increasing rapidity: on one side, the practice of old abuses, and reckless development of their consequences; on the other, the effort to obtain some correction of them, though often defeated, was becoming better sustained by force and intelligence.

Restoration of papal unity brought with it the idea of restoring every thing to the standard of the thirteenth century. Practices and dogmas to which the one party objected, were set forth by the other in a bolder, and sometimes most reprehensible manner. Transubstantiation was urged in its grossest extreme; adoration of the Virgin Mary received additions, belief in her immaculate conception continued to gain ground; the rosary systematized the vain repetition of prayer addressed to her, and her house removed from Nazareth to Italy became the holy shrine of Loretto. Indulgences had been a saleable commodity for ages, but the traffic in them was now pushed to an unprecedented extent, especially by Dominican monks.

The principle upon which indulgences were justified was invented by the schoolmen out of pre-existing Romish practices, the granting of absolution by priests, belief

in purgatory, and the necessity of good works in order to salvation, the merits of saints, and the Papal power of the keys. The doctrines rationally accounting for these, and for practices springing out of them, were elaborated chiefly by Albertus Magnus, and Alexander Hales, and most of all, by Thomas Aquinas, whose doctrine was retained unaltered by the council of Trent.

The merits of Christ atone for original sin, and secure ultimately eternal happiness for all true Catholics. But the individual believer must account for his own actual sins by good works, or penances. If deficient in these latter, at the time of his death, he must suffer the adequate amount in Purgatory. When by that proportion of suffering his soul has been purified, it ascends, in regular order, to Paradise. But it may take thousands of years to reach that consummation. Most men come greatly short of the necessary amount of merit, and have to suffer long. The saints happily have accumulated more than enough for their own use. The surplus is laid up in store; and from it can be drawn what is needed for the lack of imperfect souls. And the Pope, by his power as vicar of Christ, can, for sufficient reasons, grant to the faithful, whether in this life or in Purgatory, indulgences out of that superabundance of the merits of Christ and of the saints. Where the Pope is not himself present, that favor can be extended through his properly commissioned agents, and by means of a written paper properly signed and sealed. "Those who have obtained such indulgences are released from so much of the temporal punishment due for their actual sins to the divine justice, as is equivalent to the indulgence granted and obtained." Temporal punishment means punishment in this life, or in Purgatory.

Such were the documents now multiplied enormously and offered for sale, carried into various countries and recommended to purchasers, in some places quietly, in others loudly and publicly, as peddlers vend their wares. And the plea for such activity in the traffic was, in some quarters put forth openly, to raise money to complete the church of St. Peter's. Such was the style in which things were conducted by the leaders of one party, which might be called the conservatist of that time.

With such facilities for obtaining pardon of sin, or indulgence in it, with such example as that produced among the clergy by celibacy enforced and concubinage freely connived at, what was to be expected of practical morals among the laity? No period in the history of christendom bears a deeper brand of moral license than the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth.

Circulation of the scriptures among the people in a language they could understand was prohibited, and actually prevented as far as the hierarchy could carry their purpose into effect. Church service was in Latin, of which the people did not now understand one sentence. Singing in Church had long ago been taken out of the mouths of the congregations and committed to choirs of priests; and what they sang, or chanted was also in a dead language.

Preaching as revived by the mendicant monks had not proved of the effect intended. It had not converted the dissenting sects, nor done much for general edification. The sermons of the monks were in the vernacular tongues; but most commonly consisted of legends of saints, commendations of indulgences, or of some superstitious practice.

To engage and occupy the increasing activity of intellect, various devices were employed, some of them the fruit of that activity itself. Such were the dramatic entertainments, called Mysteries, Miracle Plays, and Moralities, exhibited in the churches, which commenced at a much earlier time, increased in number and importance in the 14th and 15th centuries.

In the latter part of this period scholasticism proper reached its termination. The most complete and copious treatise on Theology produced in the 15th century was the *Summa Theologica* of Antoninus, printed at Nuremburg in 1479, twenty years after the author's death. And the last of the scholastics whom History may be concerned to record, was Gabriel Biel of Tübingen, who died in 1495. Still, the peculiar style of their disquisitions lingered long in some branches of study in the universities; and only gradually gave way before the advance of a more discrete philosophy.

3. On the other hand, the movement in the direction

of reform was proceeding by various channels. The restoration of classical learning continued to advance. Upon the fall of Constantinople, many learned Greeks took refuge in the West, where they maintained themselves by teaching their native tongue. With the progress of Greek scholarship, the philosophy of Plato was revived. The illustrious Cosmo de Medici founded a Platonic school at Florence. Help was thereby brought to the study of art, and a rival set up to scholasticism. By the end of the 15th century, Latin was once more written in classical purity, and the best Greek authors were familiar to the scholars of the west. It was inevitable that the original Greek text of the Scriptures should receive a large share of attention. In the beginning of the 16th century the Greek New Testament was one of the most saleable books.

The arts of painting, sculpture and architecture had grown up with reviving literature. Gothic architecture, like the poetry of Dante, was a fruit of the Middle Ages, and reached its prime in the 14th century, but the revival of learning rekindled a taste for the Roman. In the 15th century, Italy saw a great many buildings of that style erected. And greatest of all, the new St. Peter's was slowly rising from its foundations. It had been commenced by Nicolas V., in 1450. But although carried forward by architects of the highest talent, and with great expenditure of money, was, in the time of Leo X. far from complete. It was not finished until one hundred years later (1614). At the opening of the 16th century the excellence and renown of her arts absorbed the pride, and the best energies of Italy. In this respect, her example was followed in the Netherlands and some places in Germany. France and England were interrupted in their better progress by the wars with each other, and by the civil broils which long distracted them both.

Within the same period the christian Spaniards succeeded in finally expelling the Moors from Granada (1492). The Portuguese had driven them from their part of the Peninsula, at an earlier date, and extended their conquests to Africa. The mariner's compass had been introduced some time before. It was now employed by

daring Portuguese sailors, in explorations of the Atlantic ocean, off the African coast, until by successive attempts they ultimately rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed to India, (1498); while Columbus, in the service of Spain, with a still bolder daring, launched directly across the ocean and reached America in 1492. A new route was thus opened to India, and a productive trade reopened, which for centuries had been obstructed by the conquests of the Turks; and a new continent discovered. The commerce of the world was turned to the paths of the ocean. The countries on the Atlantic coast rose in importance, while those on the Mediterrranean declined: a change of the utmost importance in the great ecclesiastical controversy about to ensue.

The difference of exposure between the mailclad knight and his peasantry on the battle field was almost annihilated by the discovery of gunpowder, and its application to war; a change the moral effects of which are not easily computed. It became impossible to hold as serfs men in whose hands were the military fortunes of their nation, when increasing intelligence had sufficiently informed them of their importance. And when they also became enlightened by the gospel, their consciousness of power blended with Christian heroism.

The new, or revived arts were, in the first instance, exercised in the service of the Romish church. The only exception was that of printing, which from the first, was an agent of progress, on whatever side of the controversy it wrought. Its earliest productions were executed before the middle of the 15th century. And in the next sixty or seventy years the book upon which its labors were chiefly employed was the Bible. It was the first book of any importance printed with moveable metal types, by Faust and Guttenberg, at Mayence between 1450 and 1455. Several editions of the Vulgate followed each other at no great intervals. And many translations made from the Latin into the modern languages were printed before the end of that century. Hebrew scholarship had also commenced its career among christians of the west, and two editions of the whole Hebrew Bible were printed within the same time, one at Soncino in in 1488, and the other at Brescia in 1494. And by the

year 1517 the Complutensian Polyglot was finished, and printed at Alcala in Spain.

4. After all, the main stream of improvement, which carried all these agencies along with it, and made its own benign uses of them, was the increasing interest in evangelical religion. The influences set in activity by the mystic preachers, not so much from their theory of faith, as in that they preached Christ, operated in that direction within the bosom of the Catholic Church. Such, likewise, was the moderate mystic, or more properly, spiritual piety, tinged with monasticism, which perpetuated itself from the school of Gerard, through the Brethren of the common life, and the canons of Mount St. Agnes at Zwoll. But head and front of all was the great dissenting movement which, commenced in England, was now most conspicuous in Bohemia and Moravia, where in the face of persecution, the reformers organized themselves for defence, and under their brave and gifted leader, Ziska, held their ground against the Emperor, in successful war, for many years. Finally their enemies succeeded in dividing them by offering a compromise, which only a part of their number could accept. Those who submitted, called Caliztines, because the restoration of the cup in the Eucharist was one of the conditions of the compromise, finding that the conditions were not complied with, on the part of the Catholics, returned in considerable numbers and reunited with the uncompromising party, who were called Taborites, and formed with them the covenant of the *Unitas Fratrum.* About 1470 they published a translation of the Bible in the Bohemian language; and sent commissioners into various countries to inquire into the state of religion. About the beginning of the 16th century, they had still some two hundred congregations, by whom fraternal relations had been established with the Waldenses.

In Spain and Italy also voices were raised in advocacy of reformation; but Papal authority was too near in any part of the latter country, and the inquisition most unrelenting in the other.

At the beginning of the 16th century monarchy was in the ascendant. England, France, Spain were at last

completely consolidated—each one around its own regal centre; and the German empire was stronger than it had been since the downfall of the Hohenstaufen.

The civil rulers no longer admitted that they were subordinate to the Pope in temporal things. But Leo X. did not press that claim. And the collision into which he was brought with some of them was not for supremacy, but for the safety of Italy. His see was restored to strength, not quite of the same kind it had wielded in the 13th century, but of a kind apparently more stable and peaceful. Maintaining, as he did, manageable relations with the great monarchs, and enjoying a perfect agreement with them on the subject of religion, why should the murmurs of powerless dissenters be a cause of anxiety? They in fact occasioned none to the gay and accomplished Pope. From the Vatican point of view, the prospect was a flattering one, in the early years of Leo X. But the expenses of the Papal court were great, and patronage of the arts, liberal, and the work upon St. Peter's involved an enormous additional outlay. To meet these demands recourse was had, among other devices, to an increased activity in the sale of indulgences. The method of farming them out and peddling them over the country was pushed to a degree of recklessness, which was the more offensive as in the face of a greatly advanced popular intelligence.

In the prosecution of that traffic, "Germany was divided among three commissioners. The Elector Albert of Mayence, who was also archbishop of Magdeburg, assumed the chief management of commission for his own provinces. Among the venders of indulgences whom he appointed," John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, made himself imprudently conspicuous. The condition of repentence for the sins pardoned he ventured to omit. Such was the virtue of his indulgences, that they of themselves effected pardon of the sins for which they were purchased. It is surprising to read of the success which followed him. But there were multitudes all over Germany, who were shocked by the scandalous practice.

Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, and professor and preacher at Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony, who

had already opposed himself to certain doctrinal errors of the Romish church, was moved to condemn the whole system of indulgences, as having no authority from the Word of God. An arduous spiritual experience, and careful study of Scripture had already given him victory over many of the superstitions of his time. His duty was plain. He preached against indulgences, and warned his people about them, as an imposition upon their faith. Tetzel heard of it, and was furious against the heretic. Luther was not a man to be intimidated, or deterred from taking the most effective stand for the truth which he believed. On the evening of the 31st of October, the eve of the feast of All Saints, in the year 1517, a day on which all who should attend church and confess, should receive plenary indulgence, Luther went and affixed to the door of the great church of Wittenberg a list of ninety-five theses against indulgences, which he announced himself prepared to defend next day in the university against all opposers. That act was solely his own. He committed no person to responsibility for it but himself. Going forward in reliance upon divine truth, and fearless of danger in so doing, he took a step which however simple in itself, became, from the existing state of the church, and of the world, an era in general history, one of those great events by which we mark the progress of mankind.

FOURTH PERIOD. 1517 TO 1870.

When from A. D. 1517, we look into the future, it is not merely a new stage in the old controversy which appears; but a new question has arisen, a new party has taken the field, and a new aim is held up before the Christian world. That new aim is to emancipate the Bible from the restraints of ecclesiasticism, to maintain its freedom, and its right to be regarded as the only rule of faith and practice. On that subject professing Christians continue to differ. Men of the world, to some extent, take part with one side or the other, according to circumstances. And the whole of western Christendom is divided.

The Reformation was not the work of a man, not the fruit of a single act of daring. It was one of the steps of progress in the work of God, which had been going on in the heart of the people for three hundred years, slowly strengthening and unfolding itself, in the midst of persistent opposition from both ecclesiastical and civil authorities, since the first appearance of the *Cathari* or Albigenses, on the plains of Southern France. It assumed its place as a separate interest in history, when it could no longer be suppressed. Luther was one of the men whom God raises up to lead in such a crisis; but so far from the Reformation being created by him, it had long ago been proclaimed in England, and though there suppressed, was silently biding a more favorable time; it had already run a course of more than a hundred years in Bohemia, and opened simultaneously its career in Switzerland and France.

The bearing of this new period is the progress of the Gospel towards perfect freedom. The end at which it aims is that state of things, in which a freely published and preached Gospel shall address every man in his own language. Far from being completed, the warfare is still going on. But the Reformation crisis was that in

which the Gospel burst the fetters of Mediæval bondage, and stood forth in its own character before the world, with a power which proved successful in maintaining itself. Henceforward the history of western Christianity is divided into different channels: and yet there are certain common epochs, which like broad bars, run across them all.

The first of those epochs occurs in the year 1530, when the Theology of the Reformation first received a systematic shape, and the construction and conflict of confessions began.

The next occurs in and about 1648, when the period of confessions came to an end; and Protestant nations on the European Continent secured the recognition of their independence.

A third is marked by the outbreak of the French Revolution, a movement which had as much to do with religion as with politics.

And a fourth may perhaps be found in the Vatican Council of 1870, the effects of which I believe are destined to be greater than have yet appeared.

I. 1517—1530.

The Reformation Crisis. Reactionary Papacy.

Of the Reformation the fundamental doctrine was justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that from which it revolted was justification by any other way: and the ground on which the Reformers took their stand was that the Scriptures are the only sufficient rule of faith and practice. By the greatly enlarged publication of the Scriptures many persons were prepared intelligently to take that step, as soon as a trusty leader appeared.

The period, brief as it is, consists of different stages.

1. Luther's attack upon indulgences, and controversy on that topic, as a faithful subject of the Pope, conducted by public addresses, epistles and oral debates.

2. Denial of the absolute power of the Pope, leading, in course of controversy, to discussion of the whole structure of the Papacy, issuing in Luther's rejection of Papal allegiance, and appeal to a general council: and his defense at the Diet of Worms.

3. A third stage was marked by attempts to repress the Reformation by action of civil and ecclesiastical courts; and on the side of the Reformers, to defend it by clear statements of faith, as sustained by Scripture, and by careful instruction of the public in the nature of the case, issuing in the great Diet at Augsburg, and the confession presented there; and at the same time, the publication of the confessions drawn up by Zwingle and Oecolampadius for Switzerland; the earliest generally accepted confessions of the Protestant churches.

1. In 1516, while Luther was making his incipient attacks upon the doctrine of justification by goods works, Ulrich Zwingle, at Einsiedeln in Switzerland was preaching against the worship of the Virgin Mary. And in 1518 he dealt with Samson the vender of indulgences, in that country, as Luther with Tetzel, in Germany. In France, Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, had already organized a reformed congregation of 300 members. But Luther was peculiarly constituted and prepared to be the principal leader in that juncture. Certain external circumstances favored him. Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustinian order for Germany, was a man of kindred faith, and longer Christian experience, and was to Luther an invaluable adviser. Another staunch friend was the Elector Frederic of Saxony, whose subject he was. Thus encouraged and protected, reformation work had been going on in the University of Wittenberg, under Luther's instructions, before the attack upon indulgences made him known to the general public.

Copies of the Theses against indulgences were put in circulation, and rapidly and far dispersed. Luther himself sent one to the Pope. It was reasonable to think that Leo, would not justify such abuse of his own divinely conferred prerogative. Multitudes were fully prepared to welcome that declaration. What it expressed, they had already been thinking, and with its encouragement, now felt free to say.

Luther went on with his work. In the month of November, he defended the doctrine of the Theses in a Latin disputation for the learned, as well as in a vernacular discourse, for the general public. Tetzel responded. And Prierias, a high official of the Papal court, sus-

tained the cause of indulgences, on the ground of the infallible authority and absolute power of the pope. Luther, in reply, recognized no authority as infallible, save that of the Holy Scriptures. A new step was thus taken in the controversy.

2. The Dominican monks concerned in the indulgence business were the principal parties in the first step. The Papal court might have disowned and reproved their conduct. But now the whole structure of the Papacy was assailed.

Luther was summoned to appear in Rome August 7, 1518. By intercession of the Elector Frederic, an examination at Augsburg was substituted, which took place in October of the same year. Luther appeared there. Cajetan, the Papal Legate, demanded of him a full recantation, without any discussion. To that he refused to submit, and appealed to the Pope, when the Pope should be better informed of the case. But on the 9th of Nov., a Papal Bull was issued which assumed for the Pope the whole responsibility for indulgences. Luther condemned by the Pope, appealed to a general council.

Some of the church authorities now became alarmed, and attempted to stay the controversy. Luther, when appealed to, promised to observe silence on the subject, if his adversaries would do likewise. He also wrote to the Pope expressing his ecclesiastical submission, and exalting the Romish see above all except Christ. But the controversy could not stop. Dr. Eck of Ingoldstadt continued to pursue it, in his writings, on the Papal side. Between him and Carlstadt, one of Luther's fellow professors, a disputation took place which lasted several days, before a large assembly. By action of his opponents, the Reformer was constrained to self-defence.

It was now that Philip Melancthon entered the field with his treatise, *Defensio contra Eckium.*

A Papal Bull was issued. June 15, 1520, condemning 41 propositions of Luther's, and commanding him to confess his faults within sixty days. In case he failed to do so, excommunication was threated, and any magistrate, who could lay hold upon him was charged to arrest and send him to Rome. He replied with a treatise on christian freedom. In July he published his appeal to

the German nobles to enlist them in the cause of the Reformation.

Seeing that now, with the light he had attained, and the attitude he had been constrained to assume, he could no longer acknowledge allegiance to Rome, he determined upon a public declaration to that effect. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, 1520, after notice given, he publicly burned the Papal Bull issued against him, and with it the Canon Law, and certain Decretals of the Popes. This was Luther's Declaration of Independence, which he also abundantly maintained with his pen.

From Dec. 10, 1520 the Reformation stands by itself a separate interest in the church.

3. The truths proclaimed by the Reformers of Saxony and Switzerland were readily recognized where the good seed had been sown by Wycliff and his followers; and by the longsuffering church of the United Brethren in Moravia and Bohemia, who hailed the reformation with rejoicing, and sent a delegation to Luther, to express their fraternal sympathy and approval. They had subsequently frequent interviews with him. At first, they were not entirely in accord, because of the stricter Bohemian discipline, on one hand, and Luther's severer definition of doctrine, on the other. In a few years that difficulty was removed, and in 1542, Luther gave their delegates his hand as a pledge of perpetual friendship. In England, the monarch was still the firm defender of the Romish faith; but the executions under his reign, for conscience sake, were enough to prove that among his people there was a sympathy with the evangelical cause.

An important element in the course of events is the attitude towards the Reformation assumed by the secular powers, and the condition in which they then were to favor or resist it. The emperor Maximilian died in January 1519, and in July of the same year, his grandson Charles I. of Spain was elected to succeed him, and thereby became Charles V. of the Empire.

Accordingly, in the year 1520, when Luther threw off the Papal yoke, the government of Europe was chiefly in the hands of three men, Henry VIII. of England,

Francis I. of France, and Charles V., who now held a larger dominion than had ever, in Europe, been ruled by one man, Spain, Naples and other parts in Italy, Sicily and other important islands in the Mediterranean, the Netherlands, the German Empire with which were now connected the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and the hereditary estates of the house of Hapsburg, and all the lands discovered by Spanish navigators and explorers on both continents of America and the West Indies. The eastern portion of his European estates he conceded to his brother Ferdinand.

All three of these great monarchs were staunch supporters of the Romish Church, and within their respective dominions prohibited the reformation and persecuted its adherents, Henry VIII., renewing the severities against the people called Lollards of England, and writing against Luther, Francis I., by his concordat with the Pope, and burning of Hugenots, and Charles V., as inheriting the Spanish championship of Papal Catholicism, patronage of the worst type of the inquisition, and the command of armies which were the propagandists of Romanism over the world.

Outside of these monarchies to the east, the Ottoman Turks had reached the summit of their success under the reign of Suleyman, called the magnificent, who was then on the throne. Their empire bordered on that of Charles V., and their armies more than once penetrated far into the countries over which his brother ruled. Although they knew it not, those followers of the false Prophet exerted no little influence in helping forward the Christian Reformation. It was a time of great monarchs, every one of whom was an enemy of evangelical religion, and on several occasions the three of christian name banded themselves together with the Pope to destroy it. In no period of history are the Providential causes which defeated an overwhelmingly powerful party, and protected from step to step, and ultimately gave victory to the feebler, more wonderful and instructive. The compact of the King of England and the Emperor, the treaties of the Emperor, the King of France and the Pope, the ostentatious convention on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, proved to be only bubbles compared with the

simple pen-work of two or three ministers of the gospel.

The first assembly of the German States, after the accession of Charles V., was summoned to meet at Worms, Jan. 6th, 1521. It actually met three months later, attended by an unusual number of princes and nobles, lay and ecclesiastic, all desirous of presenting themselves before the young Emperor in a style as impressive as they could command. The Diet was one of great interest, as touching the policy of the new government in general, but the question of most importance was that of the Reformation.

Aleander, the Papal legate, called upon the secular arm to execute the recent Bull of excommunication against Luther. The Diet, at the instance of Frederick of Saxony, refused to proceed against him, without giving him a hearing. On receiving a pledge of protection from the Emperor, Luther went to Worms: and on the 17th and 18th of April, stood before the Diet. His defence on that occasion, conducted with great learning and prudence, had a most favorable effect upon his cause. Yet the majority decided against him: and the result of the deliberations, as far as he was concerned, was an edict, condemning his doctrines, and ordering the civil authorities to arrest him, as soon as the time of his safe conduct had expired, and bring him to punishment. It also enjoined the princes of Germany to suppress his adherents, and confiscate their property. His works were to be destroyed. And any one acting contrary to the spirit of that decree was to be laid under ban of the empire.

4. The edict of Worms was issued on the 26th of May. But Luther, whom it ordered to be arrested as soon as he arrived at Wittenberg, did not succeed in reaching home, on that occasion. As he was proceeding on his journey through a lonely place. a band of horsemen armed set upon him, overpowered his few attendants, seized him, threw over his monkish costume the cloak of a knight, constrained him to mount a led horse, and dashed off with him into the depths of the Thuringian forest. For ten months Luther was lost to the eye of the public. And those who wished his death learned what a commotion would have been produced had the

sentence passed upon him been actually executed. He was concealed by friends in the castle of the Wartburg, and spent his time in study and writing. There the greater part, if not the whole of his translation of the New Testament was made.

Meanwhile the edict against him and his fellow-reformers was not put in execution anywhere in Germany, except under the rule of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bavaria and the Duke of Saxony, and some of the ecclesiastical princes, who by their exceptional severity intensified the interest in the Reformation cause. The Emperor was prevented from taking any part in it, by the war, in which he was immediately involved with France; and his brother Ferdinand was entirely occupied with the cares of defence against the Turk.

At Wittenberg under the leadership of Melancthon, the structure of the new church order was carried forward. The first systematic exposition of Lutheran doctrine was made in Melancthon's "*Loci communes Rerum Theologicarum*," published during Luther's residence in the Wartburg.

But a party arose at Wittenberg, headed by Professor Bodenstein, called of Carlstadt, which carried the new liberty to a pernicious extreme. Disorders were created, which the mild Melancthon was unable to reduce. Unexpected by all, Luther again appeared among them (March 1522). By his prompt regulative power, his preaching and personal presence, people were won back to a peaceable prosecution of church work in the orderly unfolding and practical effect of the Holy Scriptures. His translation of the New Testament was published the same year. Two years afterwards the whole Bible was presented to the public in the German language, by rendering directly from the Greek and Hebrew.

Disorders, provoked by long continued oppression, and conducted by injudicious men, broke out about that time, especially an insurrection in Southern Germany, called the Peasant's war. At the battle of Frankenhausen, in 1525, its strength was broken by an overwhelming Catholic force.

From 1521 to 1530, the Reformation in Germany

having assumed a separate ground, but without a complete statement of its principles, was involved in controversies on every side. It still looked for reconciliation with the Catholic Church, through action of a council. And, with a view to that, various were the conventions held for statement of doctrine and of grievances. The Emperor Maximilian had drawn up a list of ten grounds of complaint in Germany against Rome. These, afterwards increased to one hundred, were presented to the Diet of Worms, and under the name of the *Centum Gravamina*, went to justify the cause of the Reformation with many, who otherwise would have taken no interest in it.

Leo X. died on the 1st of December, 1521, and was succeeded by Hadrian VI., a pious man, who recognized the existence of evils in the church, and promised to remove them, while he demanded the execution of the Edict against the heresy of Luther. He died Sept. 14, 1523. Clement VII. also made promise of satisfying the complaints of Germany, provided the Edict were put in execution. A Diet was held at Nuremberg in 1522–3 and another in 1524. At the first, the legate of Hadrian made that demand, at the second the legate of Clement. But the Emperor, in the existing condition of his affairs could not undertake it, and most of the German states were opposed to it.

Frederick the wise died May 5, 1525. His Brother John, a sincere christian and friend of Luther, came into his place, and consistently sustained the cause. Several important additions were made to the adherents of the Reformation about that date, of whom the most important were the Landgrave of Hesse, and Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, who in 1525, took his place as Duke of Prussia, and with his people and their bishops joined the Reformation.

Another Diet in reference to the subject was held at Dessau in July 1525, where the purpose of the Romanists appeared so threatening that the Reforming princes and states entered into a league for their common defence. It was formed at Torgau in May following. The war between France and Spain had ended in the defeat of the former, and capture of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia,

1525. In the treaty, whereby he was liberated, hostility to the Reformation was one of the conditions. That treaty was made January, 1526. The league of Torgau was only a prudent precaution. Yet ere it had occasion to operate, Providence interposed in a more effective manner. A new war arose, in which Francis I. and the Italian nobles, with the Pope at their head, arrayed themselves against the Emperor in the Holy League of Cognac, formed May 22, 1526. An invasion of the Turks alarmed the Empire and Hungary on the east, where the disastrous battle of Mohacs was fought, and Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia was slain, August 29, 1526. In May of next year, an imperial army took Rome by storm, and for several months the Pope was a prisoner, in the hands of Charles V.

Protection was thus, for about three years, afforded to the reformers, without any extraordinary effort on their part. They availed themselves of the favorable opportunity to put into fitting order the ecclesiastical institutions of their respective countries. Leaders in that work were Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector John of Saxony. The schools were put in a state of efficiency, and the University of Wittenberg was at the height of its prosperity. That of Marburg, in Hesse, was founded in 1527.

By 1529 the Reformation was already established in several states of Germany. A Diet, which met in Spires in that year, ordered that the Edict of Worms should be enforced, wherever the Reformation was not sanctioned by law. Against that act six Princes and fourteen cities presented a protest, April 19th, 1529. Hence the name Protestant came to be applied to all who agreed in carrying forward the reformation then in hand.

The Emperor, again successful in war, concluded a treaty with the Pope at Barcelona, June 29, 1529, and with France, the Peace of Cambray, August 5, of the same year; and in February following was crowned Emperor, and King of Lombardy. He had summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg, in which the religious dissensions of Germany were to be finally disposed of. Protestants felt that they must be prepared with a complete, precise and summary statement of their doctrines.

In compliance with that exigency, the articles of Torgau were drawn up by Luther, Melancthon, Jonas and Bugenhagen. Attempts were made to unite the Lutheran with the Reformed of Switzerland in confession of doctrine, which proved ineffectual, chiefly from difference of belief touching the Lord's Supper.

The Elector of Saxony took with him to Augsburg Melancthon and three other eminent theologians. Luther could not safely leave the protection of Saxony. While waiting at Augsburg for the arrival of the Emperor, Melancthon made good use of the time, in composing a more complete confession, which was the one read before the Diet, on the 25th of June, 1530. A confutation was prepared by Dr. Eck, and read on the 3rd of August. An apology for the confession in reply to Eck was also written by Melancthon, and subsequently published. A committee was also appointed to negotiate a reconciliation between the parties. But nothing came of it.

Four free cities, Constance, Strasburg, Memmingen and Lindau, presented a separate confession, which was called the Tetrapolitan. The Reformed of Switzerland had also a confession prepared for that occasion, but as they did not belong to the Empire, it was not called for.

The final decree of the Diet granted to Protestants until April 15, 1531, for consideration, and threatened violence, if they did not submit by that time.

5. In Switzerland the progress of Reformation was more rapid than in Germany, but completeness of doctrinal statement was not attained so soon. In Basil the sentiment produced by the general council seems to have retained its hold upon some leading minds, through the rest of the 15th century. In the first years of the 16th we find some of the professors and students in the University earnestly enlisted in the cause of ecclesiastical reform; among whom Thomas Wyttenbach was distinguished as early as 1505. Capito, Hedio, Erasmus, and others of like spirit, were students, teachers or residents there prior to 1517. Their attitude, in those days, was the preliminary one, in which men expected the church to reform itself by means of its own authorities; and was comparatively safe. Some of them never went further.

From Wyttenbach, Ulrich Zwingle received his first theological direction. Ten years of a quiet pastorate in the heart of the Alps, at Glarus, during which time he made himself well acquainted with the Greek New Testament, wrought full conviction in his heart that the Scriptures are the sole and sufficient standard of religion. In 1516, he was induced to reside as priest and preacher at Einsiedeln, where he began to encounter some of the prevailing errors. Einsiedeln was the seat of a favorite shrine of the Virgin Mary. Multitudes of pilgrims flocked there to pay their devotions. Zwingle was moved with compassion for them, and preached against the popular delusion. Christ, he told them, alone can save from sin ; and his atonement satisfies for all believers in all places alike. In 1518 he opposed the sale of indulgences in Switzerland, and had the satisfaction of seeing that abuse withdrawn. The same year he was elected preacher in the great church of Zurich where in order to promote the knowledge of Scripture among the people, he adopted the method of explaining certain books of the New Testament in regular course. The method proved attractive, and large congregations attended his preaching. The excitement about Luther at that date, caused Zwingle to be also suspected of heresy. He did not, however, enter the polemical arena of the Reformation until 1522, when his treatise on the obligation of fasting appeared. By that time, several other Swiss preachers were pursuing a similar course. In May of that year, the Bishop of Constance issued a pastoral letter to warn all against innovation ; and the Diet of Lucerne forbade preaching likely to produce disquiet. A brisk controversy ensued, but lasted only a few years before Zurich and several other cantons took their stand clearly and fully for the Reformation, as taught by their own preachers. A conference between the reformers and the Romish theologians was invited by the council of Zurich, and took place in January 1523. On that occasion, the council was so well pleased with Zwingle's defence of the doctrines he preached, that they charged him to persevere in his course, and recommended their other preachers to follow his example. All excesses were wisely held in check, and the work pro-

gressed quietly, but steadily. One after another, all objects and usages of superstition disappeared; "the monasteries were suppressed, and changed into schools and almshouse." The change in public worship was completed by the celebration of the Lord's Supper in its original simplicity, on the 13th of April, 1525, in the great minster of Zurich.

Meanwhile several other cantons were pursuing a similar course, at one stage and another, and some were hesitating. A disputation held at Berne in January 1528, decided the government of that canton to accept the Reformation; and other cantons, which had been wavering, followed that example.

The confederation was forthwith divided, the northern and western cantons being chiefly Protestant, and those on the eastern and southern side remaining attached to the Catholic religion. Each group sought their respective alliances, the latter with Austria, and the former with Strasburg and Hesse, carrying the Reformed alliance down the Rhine. At that juncture occurred the Diet of Augsburg. Zwingle was not present at that assembly, but prepared about that time his *Ratio Fidei*, for the Emperor, and his *Expositio Fidei Christianae*, for the King of France. And Œcolampadius, who was present, drew up that confession, which although not read before the Diet, was afterwards the basis of the first Basil Confession.

The great point of difference between the Saxon and Helvetic Reformers was in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther taught that the real body of Christ is present with the Sacramental bread, but does not take its place. Zwingle denied that to be the meaning of Scripture, and interpreted the Lord's words as instituting a memorial ordinance, in which his people, in partaking of bread and wine, should apprehend his body and his blood, which those signified, as actually broken and shed for them, and thereby receive through faith, the real blessing of the Lord's Sacrifice.

The Tretrapolitan Reformers stood on a different ground from both, and mediate between the two; but nearer to the Lutheran side, to which they, not long afterwards, passed over, by the Wittenberg Concord of

1536. Of that connection the leading theologian was Martin Bucer.

In the year succeeding the Diet of Augsburg the Catholic cantons of Switzerland made war on Zurich, and a battle was fought at Cappel, Oct. 11, 1531, in which the forces of Zurich were defeated, and Zwingle, who had gone out to attend to the wounded and dying, was slain. The death of Œcolampadius followed soon after, Nov. 23, of the same year.

Among the men of that time the most singly and directly Scriptural, and the most fully emancipated thereby from long prevailing superstition, was Ulrich Zwingle.

II. 1530—1648.

Confessions and Religious Wars.

From the date of the Confession of Augsburg, until the Peace of Westphalia, the history of the church in Germany consists of three periods: one, in which the parties labored in attempts to convince each other, or so to frame a creed that they might agree upon it; the second was a period of compromise, commencing with the Religious Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, and extending to 1618; and the third, beginning with the latter date, was one of open war, which did not come to an end, until after the lapse of thirty years.

In view of the final decree of Augsburg, the Protestants of Germany, having no intention to submit, began to prepare for the encounter of force. The league of Smalcald was formed March 29, 1531, and soon afterwards strengthened by alliance with Bavaria, and with the king of France, both of whom entered into that relation for political reasons. More cordial was the alliance with Denmark. The threat of Augsburg came to nothing. Next year, (July 23, 1532) the Religious Peace of Nuremberg provided that religious matters should remain as they were until settled by a council or a new diet.

The Augsburg confession proclaimed the doctrines of the Lutheran church, and prepared the way for large addition to the number of its adherents. It became a

standard of Lutheran doctrine, and gave union and harmony to the whole Lutheran Reformation; but it also determined the difference between that communion and the Reformed; the latter name being applied to all who, in various countries, coincided with the views of the Swiss Reformers.

From the two centres, thus constituted in Electoral Saxony and Western Switzerland, the influences of Reformation spread rapidly in all directions. The Saxon form of doctrine was soon accepted in central and northern Germany, in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, harmonized with the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and gained considerable numbers in Hungary. Several of the German States down the Rhine from Basil and following that line northward between the centre of Germany and the Netherlands, as far as the German sea, accepted Reformed doctrine. Such also became the creed of Protestants in the Netherlands, in France, in England, in Scotland, and of the Magyar population in Hungary.

Though differing to some extent in doctrine, these two grand divisions of the Protestant connection supported each other in their common defence against violence.

The severity which Charles V., never felt himself in condition to exercise upon the Protestants of Germany, he exemplified in his hereditary estates in the Netherlands. There had risen the school of Gerard, and there had flourished the evangelical agencies which proceeded from it. John Wessel of Gröningen anticipated almost every doctrine afterwards defended by Luther. That he died in peace, 1489, was due to the protection of the pious bishop of Utrecht, who also ought himself to be named among the forerunners of the Reformation. At first Lutheranism was accepted, but soon exchanged for the Reformed doctrine, which has retained its ground. In the Netherlands was the first blood shed for the cause, in the martyrdom of Henry Voes and John Esch at Brussels, July 1, 1523. From that date persecution continued in those provinces through all the reign of Charles V., and with more terrible infatuation under his successor Philip II.

Between 1532 and 1538, the Protestant cause was greatly strengthened by the accession of Würtemberg, of Pomerania, of the Count Palatine, the Princes of Anhalt, William of Nassau, and many free cities, as well as the kingdoms of Denmark (1536) and Norway, (1537). Meanwhile urgent and repeated application had been made by the Emperor to the Pope to call the council, to which Protestants had appealed, and which was expected by many to bring about a satisfactory settlement of all differences. The Popes had deferred that action, until the work, which it might have done in the beginning, was no longer practicable; and until the Protestants no longer took much interest in it. A Bull was issued convoking the council at Mantua. With a view to it, Luther drew up a statement of his views, which was accepted by the Protestant League at Smalcald, in February, 1537. It is known as the Smalcald articles. The council did not meet.

July 10, 1538, the Holy League was formed at Nuremberg for the purpose of sustaining the Imperial authorities in carrying the Edict of Augsburg into execution. War between the two parties seemed to be inevitable. But at that juncture the Turk again threatened the eastern borders of the empire. Peace must be kept with the Protestants some time longer. Imperial negotiations with them, at Frankfort on the Main, 1539, resulted in suspending all proceedings against them for eighteen months.

After the termination of the Frankfort suspension, various other diets and conferences were held to settle the differences of opinion; but without effect. The urgently demanded council at last assembled at Trent, Dec. 13, 1545. At that juncture, Luther died at Eisleben, the place of his birth, February 16, 1546. Very soon it became plain that the council would not answer the end for which it was called, that its purpose was not to conciliate but to condemn the Protestants. The Emperor opened a conference at Ratisbon, Jan. 27, 1546. That also failed. And feeling now in condition to apply force, he undertook to make a reformation on his own terms, which Protestants were to be constrained to accept. They resisted; but their confederation, called the Smal-

cald League, conducted the war feebly, and was constrained to submit. At a Diet opened by the Emperor at Augsburg Sept. 1547, a compromise between the Catholic and Protestant religions was agreed upon, as an *Interim*, or temporary measure, until the action of a proper council could be obtained. Though accepted by some of the Protestant princes, by the states and populations generally it was condemned. But military force imposed it. In a few months, pure Protestantism was suppressed in Germany. The city of Magdeburg alone maintained it.

That success of the Imperial arms was brought to a sudden termination. Maurice of Saxony who a few years before had deserted the Protestant league, to join the Emperor, and was trusted with command of a large force, becoming disgusted with the service in which he was employed, and indignant at the Imperial despotism, suddenly turned from Magdeburg, which he had been sent to reduce, and directed his arms against his master. Charles lay sick at Inspruck, and learned of his danger only in time to escape capture by a rapid flight. He was constrained (Aug. 2d, 1552) to sign a treaty granting freedom of religion to the Protestant States, until a new council could be convened. Maurice also secured the co-operation of the King of France, who prosecuted the war by invading the Emperor's possessions in the Netherlands. It was at some sacrifice that Charles secured a not dishonorable peace with his enemies on all sides. The act of settlement for Germany was concluded at the Diet of Augsburg Sept. 25, 1555, in granting to the Protestant religion, without limitation of time, a recognized place, and to the German states freedom of choice between the two religions. One month later, Charles V. abdicated the throne of the Netherlands, and a few weeks afterwards that of Spain with all its dependencies, in favor of his son Philip. The crown of the empire he retained six months longer. But when he had transferred all his claims of allegiance from Germany to his brother Ferdinand, the greatest monarch of his age withdrew from public life, and sunk himself in a monastery. Although courtesy, as long as he lived, still made use of his august name, he never again appeared in the world.

2. Freedom of religious profession was allowed, by the Peace of Augsburg, only to governments. The people were expected to follow the religion selected for them by their rulers, although they were free to remove to a state where that of their choice was established. It was further fettered by a stipulation that every prince prelate, passing over to the cause of Protestantism, should lose, with his ecclesiastical prerogatives, also his temporal power and dominion. But for this ecclesiastical reservation, it is thought that almost all Germany would have become Protestant. The Emperors Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. respected the peace, and made honorable efforts to hold the balance fairly between the two parties. And several additions were made to the number of Protestant states.

After the death of Luther, the divisions of opinion, which had existed before, among the theologians of his connection greatly increased. Melancthon had modified their theology on some points, such as the agency of man in conversion, and the Lord's Supper. In the former, though he denied all merit to man, yet he held to a certain co-operation of human free will; and respecting the latter he took a middle ground between the Calvinistic and Lutheran. The University of Wittenberg adopted his views. Subsequently that of Jena was founded in the interest of strict Lutheranism. Various other differences arose, which distracted theological opinion, for several years. At last a convention met at Bergen, near Magdeburg, 1577, and agreed upon a form of Concord, which seemed to give general satisfaction. The *Formula Concordiæ* constitutes the final symbol of the Lutheran church.

It was in the beginning of this period that a new enemy of the Protestant cause began to make itself felt in the controversy. The Jesuit order received Papal sanction in 1540, and in 1556 Ignatius Loyola died, after having completed his system, and seen it fully established in practice. Loyola was a Spanish soldier, who being disabled for military service by wounds, turned his attention to the construction of a new monastic order for the specific purpose of defending the Papal cause. His plans were gradually matured by the thinking of many

years and assistance of colleagues, among whom the first were Peter Faber and Francis Xavier.

The methods by which the order, which called itself the society of Jesus, sought to obtain power, was by popular preaching, by obtaining the place of confessors to Princes and persons of high rank and standing in royal courts, by controlling the education of the young, and establishing missions to operate upon the rulers of heathen countries. The vows of a professed Jesuit are those of chastity, poverty, obedience, and of implicit compliance with a command of the Pope, to go to any place in the world where he may send them. They are not under obligation of seclusion from the world, to practice the ordinary penances and macerations of the body. Not for asceticism, but for work is the order constituted. The selection of their men is careful, their education strict, and their probation searching. The first stage is that of novices on trial, second that of scholastics pursuing the education appointed them; third, that of coadjutors temporal and spiritual, of whom the former are not yet priests, but useful to the cause in secular occupations, and the other constitute the class from whom are chosen the highest, or fourth grade, who are also of two classes, the professed of three vows and the professed of four. Their government recognizes successive ranks of subordination, and superiors, with mutual espionage, and the supreme authority is vested in a general, elected by the professed members, and who serves for life.

In proportion as that new order increased in Germany, so did Catholic violations of the Religious Peace. First they succeded in suppressing Protestantism in Bavaria, and then in winning other states back to the Catholic connection. The Emperor Rudolph II. (1576–1612) sustained the re-action with all the weight of his authority, and in some cases with force. As the power of choosing the state religion belonged only to the rulers, little regard was paid to the wishes of the people. Success emboldened aggression. Threats of entire suppression of the Protestant cause began to be heard, and in some quarters steps were actually taken to that end.

A change had also taken place in the tone of the Catholic church, as well as of the Papacy, respecting the

reformation needed within their bounds. Clement VII. died in 1534. His successor, Paul III., deluded the reforming party for many years with the promise of calling a council, which should regulate the affairs of the church by proper authority. After many evasions, he finally called the council, which met at Trent, Dec. 13, 1545. In 1547, he removed it to Bologna, and soon after caused it to be adjourned. From the first, the Protestants perceived that it was to be a mere Papal agency, and declined taking any part in it. In Nov. 1549, Paul III. died. Julius III., at the instance of Charles V., reopened the council, May 1st, 1551, but closed it in April 1552. After his death in 1555, Marcellus reigned only 23 days; and was followed by Paul IV., who, having been long at the head of the inquisition in Rome, entered upon his pontificate in the spirit of stern hostility to all measures of reform, and with a determination to carry to the utmost possible extreme the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Papal office. During all his reign (1555–1559) the council was not called. By the next Pope Pius IV., it was re-assembled January 18, 1562, and was more numerously attended than before, but its acts were of less importance: and neither then nor before did it effect anything to meet the demand which had first brought it together. It however clearly defined the position of Romanism as over against that of the Protestants; and made manifest the fact that reconciliation was impracticable. It was finally dissolved on the 4th of December, 1563. In all, its sessions had covered about four years and seven months. Indulgences, and all the doctrines out of which they spring, and by which they are justified, were fully sustained by the council, and the practice of dispensing them defended, while the recklessness which had brought the sale of them into disrepute was censured. They were to be dispensed, not for gain, but for piety. The works of the council of Trent appear in the form of canons, and a catechism for the instruction of priests. And after its final adjournment, Pius IV. issued a profession of faith, in which he summed up the results of what it had done, and added to the Nicene creed a series of articles, which he pronounced part of the true and Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved.

From the close of the council of Trent, the demand for reform in the Romish church fell into disrepute, and the reaction against it continued to gain strength, until the very name of reformation was held equivalent to heresy. For that change the Catholic church is indebted chiefly to the Council of Trent, and the Jesuit Order, which at the death of its founder in 1556, consisted of one thousand active agents, and one hundred religious houses, divided into twelve provinces, reaching to the East Indies, on one side, and to Brazil on the other. It soon became a mighty engine, no less powerful among the politics of princes, than in the propaganda of Romanism.

Within the same period, the different churches of the Reformed connection on the continent had also matured their doctrinal symbols.

In 1535 and 1536, Geneva, sustained by the canton of Berne succeeded in wresting her independence from her Bishop and the Duke of Savoy, and in uniting with the Protestant confederation of Switzerland. Her reformers, Farel and Viret, were in 1536, joined by Calvin, who had already published the first edition of his Institutes of Theology. For the strictness of their discipline they were all banished from the city. Farel subsequently labored in Neuchatel, and Viret in Lausanne. Calvin was recalled in 1541 by the urgent entreaty of the people of Geneva, with the promise that they would accept the religious government which he proposed. Under the regulations thus established, Geneva became the head of the Helvetic Reformation, and the Seminary of Reformed doctrine. After the death of Calvin, May 27, 1564, that reputation and standing was maintained by Beza and other eminent scholars and divines.

In France the Reformed, under severe repression and sometimes the most cruel persecution, continued to increase in number; and in 1559 drew up their confession consistent with the doctrines taught in Geneva. Their cause was sustained by the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Coligny, and the Queen of Navarre, and later, by her daughter, and then by her gandson, Henry, King of Navarre. At the head of the Catholic party stood the ducal house of Loraine, and the royal family of

France, led by the policy of Catherine de Medici, wife of Henry II., and mother of the three next successive Kings. After repeated wars, a marriage of the young King of Navarre and the sister of King Charles IX., was negotiated as a means of securing peace. Great numbers of Protestants assembled in Paris to honor the nuptials of their leader. According to arrangements previously concerted, chiefly by the Queen Mother, they were attacked on the night of the 24th of Aug. 1572, and murdered to the number of many thousands. The orders were extended to the provinces, where they were also obeyed. But so far from being exterminated, the Reformed of France rallied around the King of Navarre, and carried him in victory to the walls of Paris, when he succeeded to the throne of France, 1589, and in the hope of uniting both parties, deserted his friends by professing the creed of his enemies. He granted, however, to Protestants, equal rights with Catholics, by the edict of Nantes, 1598. His own family were subjected to Romish education, and the real liberties of Protestants did not long survive his death, which occurred by assassination in 1610.

Among the Reformed of the Netherlands persecution, begun in the execution of the first martyrs of Brussels in 1523, was continued with varying severity through all the reign of Charles V., and under his successor Philip II., intensified to a degree which was equally inhuman and insane, resulting in the reduction to poverty of a once wealthy dependency, and the complete alienation of its allegiance from the throne of Spain. In 1579, the southern provinces submitted. But the northern declared their independence. In 1561 the Belgic confession was composed, presenting the same type of doctrine as that of Geneva. On that Platform the Republicans of the United Netherlands defended themselves against the forces of Spain, and after a long war, wrested from their enemy the peace of 1609. Then rose the controversy with Arminianism, leading to the Synod of Dort in 1618. Again the Provinces were involved in a war with Spain, beginning from 1621, in the course of which they were brought into relations with the Protestants of Germany.

Among German Protestants several princes and

states passed over from Lutheranism to the Reformed communion, such as the Duchy of Lippe, Hesse Cassel, and the Hanse city of Bremen. But of all German Reformed States most eminent was the Palatinate, which made the change under the Elector Frederick III. in 1560. Three years afterwards, under the same Prince, the Heidelberg catechism was published, which soon became the common standard of doctrine for the churches of that connection.

A sense of the danger to which they were exposed by the machinations of Jesuits, and the spirit of persecution which was exhibiting itself more and more extensively, led the Protestant states of Germany to enter into another league for their mutual defence. Thus was formed the Evangelical Union, at Ahausen, in May, 1608. An opposing Catholic league was constituted in July of the next year, at Munich. At the head of the former was the Elector Frederick V. of the Palatinate, and of the latter, Maximilian of Bavaria.

In Bohemia, the Reformers were the most numerous part of the population. But the religious Peace was of little benefit to them, because they were subjects of a Catholic German Prince, and dependent upon his strictness or liberality. Upon the death of the Emperor Matthias, who had been their King, the Bohemians resisted his successor on the Imperial throne, Ferdinand II., as being an intolerant Catholic, and offered their crown to Frederick V., electoral Prince of the Palatinate, and son-in-law of James I. of England. Ferdinand pursued his claim by war, and was supported by Spain and the Catholic league. Bohemia and the Palatinate, driven to self-defence, looked for support from the Evangelical Union, and from England. Thus opened in 1618 a war which, though sometimes interrupted for a brief space, was not brought to a close until after the lapse of thirty years, and in the prosecution of which some of the finest portions of Germany were trodden into desolation.

3. The aid expected by the Elector from England proved so feeble as to be deceitful. The cause of Ferdinand was victorious (1620). Protestant worship was abolished in Bohemia. The same fate befell Austria.

The lands of the Palatinate were seized by Spain and Maximilian of Bavaria. The Evangelical Union was dissolved, and the first act of the war terminated in the re-establishment of the Catholic religion everywhere by force.

In 1625, an attempt was made by the Protestants of lower Saxony, under command of Christian IV., King of Denmark, to resist that oppression. It also issued in defeat, before the imperial forces under Tilly and Wallenstein. A treaty was concluded at Lubeck, May 12, 1629. The long suspended Edict was put in execution, and nothing less was contemplated than extermination of the protestant cause.

But the completeness of imperial success brought about its overthrow. Such a preponderance of the Austrian Spanish power kindled the jealousy, if not the reasonable fears of France. The Italian princes, including the Pope, from various motives of local politics, sympathized with France. An alliance was accordingly formed by those powers together with Sweden for the purpose of pursuing the war more vigorously, to put a check upon the dangerously overbalancing weight of the Hapsburg dynasty. The new campaign opened June 24, 1630, in the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, as commander of the allied armies in Germany. By his prudence and energy he inspired the minds of Protestants with new hopes, which were fully sustained by his military success. On the 7th of September 1631, he fought a great battle, in which he defeated Count Tilly, at Leipsic, and cleared his way into the heart of Germany. Early next year, he again defeated the imperial forces, at the passage of the Lech, where Count Tilly was slain. Continuing his victorious march southward he penetrated into Bavaria, breaking, as he advanced, the fetters, which the Emperor had been so industriously riveting upon his Protestant subjects. In another great battle at Lützen, Nov. 6, 1632, he defeated the forces of Wallenstein. By these victories he removed the oppression which rested upon most of the German states, thereby enlarging his own resources, as he weakened those of his enemy. And, although he fell in the midst of victory, at Lützen, the change he had effected upon

the relative state of the belligerents gave an advantage to the cause he defended which was retained to the end. His policy was pursued by the Swedish minister Oxenstiern, and the Swedish generals Banier and Torstensen, and the Prince of Saxe-Weimer wrested repeated victory from the imperialist forces; while Spain, already reduced by her losses in the Netherlands, was humiliated by the victories of the French generals, Condé, Turenne and others. It was a long conflict, in which the reverses were not all on one side, but which issued in such decided advantage to the Protestant cause as to constrain the Austrian-Spanish enemy to come to reasonable terms. The Thirty years war closed in the Peace of Westphalia, October 1648.

By that Treaty, Sweden and some other Protestant states made a gain of territory, and only in Bavaria were the Catholics allowed to retain all the advantages they had conquered in the early part of the war; and the terrible oppression of Bohemia could not be undone; but the principal gain was in the establishment of equality between Catholic and Protestant states, in all affairs of the empire. As Holland had been one of the members of the alliance, the conditions of the treaty extended to both branches of the Protestant connection.

Among the Confessions called forth during this long period of conflict the most important are, for the Lutheran church, Luther's two Catechisms, Longer, and Shorter, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for the Confession, the Smalcald Articles and the Form of Concord; for the Reformed, the second Basil Confession, or first Helvetic, Calvin's Institutes, though not a confession, yet having much to do with all the Reformed confessions which succeeded, Consensus Tigurinus, by which German Switzerland accepted Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the second Helvetic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Gallic Confession, the Belgic Confession, and the Confession and canons of Dort. And by the same date, the English Church Articles had received their final form, and the work of the Westminster Assembly was complete.