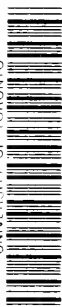
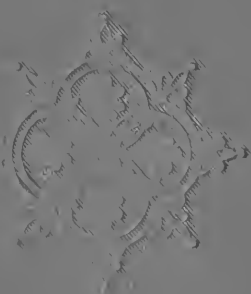


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A POPULAR INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

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POPULAR INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

BY

REV. T. G. CRIPPEN.

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T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.
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P R E F A C E.



THE following pages are designed to supply a want in popular theological literature. They do not appeal to professed students, or to readers able to appreciate the scholarly works of Hagenbach, Shedd, and Cunningham. But there are many Sunday-school teachers, village preachers, etc., who have a fair general acquaintance with the leading facts of the Church's external history, and yet have not, and know not where to obtain, more than the vaguest notion of the development of the Church's Creed. The popular manuals of Church history, almost without exception, assume, tacitly or openly, that their author's personal or sectarian creed was that of the apostolic age; and the whole history of doctrine is, for them, a record of the defence or perversion of this cherished system. The present work, on the contrary, aims at strict impartiality; and although it is perhaps impossible that any treatise of the kind should be theologically colourless, the writer deems himself to have failed of his purpose wherever he has departed from a neutral attitude, or betrayed his own doctrinal or ecclesiastical opinions.

Attention is invited to the Appendices, which contain a large amount of information that is nowhere else to be found in so condensed a form, and some of which can only be obtained from rare and costly books.

The work is now sent forth in the hope that its perusal may tend to promote Christian unity, by exhibiting the wide diversity of opinion upon hotly contested points which has obtained among men of unquestionable saintliness. When the recognition of this fact shall so far prevail among Christians as to permit the freest and closest intercommunion among those who, differing widely on subordinate points of metaphysical divinity or ecclesiastical tradition, yet hold with a stedfast faith the essential verities of the gospel; then, and not till then, will the Church below and the angels above "Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready."

T. G. CRIPPEN.

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HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

I.—SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

Pre-Christian Ideas.

FROM the remotest antiquity of which there has come down to us either record or tradition, men have constantly endeavoured by searching to find out God. Yet it is scarcely too much to say, that at the time of our Lord's nativity religious knowledge had no real existence, except among the chosen people of Israel. In India and China, in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the choicest intellects had long been seeking after God, if haply they might find Him; but even Socrates, the noblest of them all, could never advance beyond aspirations and probabilities. A few poets enshrined lofty and devout ideas in deathless verse, and did something, no doubt, as far as their influence extended, to raise and purify the religious sentiment; but they could never speak with such authority as to command an intelligent faith. And among the masses there was either a blind acceptance of ancestral superstitions, of which the underlying verity had long been forgotten, or a reckless self-abandonment to the course of this world, in despair of any reliable teaching about another.

Among the Jews, indeed, the revelation made by God of old time to Moses and the prophets was devoutly cherished, and the books in which it was recorded were venerated in a manner almost idolatrous. Since the age of the Maccabees a theory had grown up that not merely every word, but every jot and tittle, at least of the Pentateuch, had been expressly dictated by God. By some this notion was extended to the

remainder of the sacred books, and even to the Greek translation (Septuagint), by a ludicrous fable which consecrated its very errors. Believing these books to contain all the religious truth God had yet made known, and expecting the coming of One who should reveal whatever yet remained obscure, they searched the Scriptures daily. Yet so faulty were their methods of interpretation, that they generally failed to recognise the Christ "to whom gave all the prophets witness," and were charged by Him with "making the word of God of none effect by their tradition."

Canon of Scripture.

The apostles and their associates, remembering that Jesus came "not to destroy, but to fulfil," steadily maintained the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. The truths embodied in these they supplemented with new truths, derived from the spoken words of Jesus, or revealed to themselves by the Holy Ghost. Wherever these truths were received, the converts were at once organized into churches; and for the instruction of these converts the more distinctly doctrinal parts of the New Testament were written, as occasion arose, in the form of Epistles. The earliest apostolic Epistle is usually referred to the year A.D. 54, at which date churches existed in Judea and Samaria, Syria, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Macedonia, Greece, and (probably) Rome. A few years later the Gospels were composed, to record for all future ages those words and acts of Jesus which the first Christians learned from the lips of His immediate disciples. As the ministry of the apostles came to an end, the churches appear to have instinctively accorded to their writings very much the same authority as was already ascribed to those of the prophets. This authority may have been gradually conceded, but as early as A.D. 120 we find a writer under the name of Barnabas quoting the Gospel of Matthew as Holy Scripture, with the formula "it is written."

At first the churches were probably content to receive the words of our Lord and His apostles as a tradition embodied in writing. But soon a number of fictitious writings

began to appear, bearing the names of the apostles and their companions. It therefore became a matter of importance to distinguish the true from the false; and for this purpose catalogues of accredited Scriptures were compiled. The oldest of these, the Muratorian Canon, is believed to have been drawn up by Caius, a presbyter of Rome, about A.D. 196. It specifies as genuine the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, two of John, Jude, a writing of Peter, and the Apocalypse. In extant writings prior to this date we have quotations from twenty of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament; and all the rest are quoted as Holy Scriptures by writers of the following century. From about A.D. 180 the four Gospels were all but universally acknowledged as authentic; the exceptions being the Jewish sect of Ebionites, who used chiefly or exclusively the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," which seems to have been an imperfect Hebrew recension of Matthew; and the Marcionites, a Gnostic sect, who tolerated only a mutilated copy of Luke. In the third century a multitude of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Apocalypses, etc., were in circulation; but these were soon detected as clumsy forgeries, and their use in the Church was prohibited by Councils. Some other books, the Epistles of Clement of Rome and pseudo-Barnabas, the "Shepherd" of Hermas, etc., long competed for canonical recognition, and were quoted as Scripture by several of the Fathers.

An important contribution to the settlement of the Canon was made in 332, when the Emperor Constantine directed Eusebius to form a complete collection of the accredited Scriptures for the churches of Constantinople. Fifty copies of this collection were transcribed; and some antiquarians are of opinion that one of them still exists—the well-known Sinai MS. This MS. contains the whole of the New Testament, together with Barnabas and the Shepherd. The Canon of the Syrian Church assigns 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse to a subordinate place; these books are wanting in the most ancient Syriac version, and are excluded from the Church lectionary, but they are *all* quoted as Scripture by Ephræm of Edessa (375). There are fourteen catalogues of authentic Scriptures belonging to the third

and fourth centuries; ten of these are identical with our present New Testament Canon, though four of them mark the Apocalypse, the Hebrews, or some of the Catholic Epistles as doubtful; three omit the Apocalypse; and one both it and the Hebrews. The Canon was virtually settled in its present form by the Councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). From that time to the Reformation there was practical unanimity on the subject, except that the Armenian Church accepted, doubtfully, a "Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians."

With respect to the Old Testament the case was far otherwise. Most of the Gnostic sects, and some of their later descendants, rejected it bodily; not from any doubt as to its authenticity, but from a belief that it was inspired by "the God of the Jews," whom they distinguished from, and deemed hostile to, "the Father of Christ." Within the Church there was, till very recent times, but little dispute about those books which were extant in Hebrew, and which were held sacred by the Jews of Palestine. Theodore of Mopsuestia (429) rejected Chronicles, Job, and the Song of Solomon;¹ and some monks of St. Gallen in the ninth century disputed the canonicity of Chronicles and Esther: this was all. But much uncertainty prevailed about the Jewish-Greek books rejected by the Palestinian Jews but held sacred by those of Egypt. These were usually associated with the Septuagint; and most of the earlier Fathers, being unacquainted with Hebrew, accepted them as a matter of course, and quoted them as Holy Scripture. Of the Councils in the fourth century, some accepted and some rejected them. The Greek churches, following the example of Athanasius (373), relegated them to a secondary place, deeming it safest "to receive nothing which had not apparently a good attestation of divine origin and apostolic authority."² Rufinus (410) and Jerome (420) vainly endeavoured to establish the same rule in the West; but the tendency there was "to exclude nothing hallowed by descent and proved by custom."² From the time of Augustine (430) to the Reformation the Latin

¹ He is said to have also rejected some of the Catholic Epistles.

² Dr. S. Davidson in *Encycl. Brit.*

Church generally accepted most of the disputed books as canonical. Other books were locally received; as 3 Maccabees and 4 Esdras by the Armenians, and Enoch, 4 Esdras, and 4 Maccabees by the Abyssinians.

At the Reformation the old dispute broke out with violence. The abuses by which that movement was precipitated, if they could pretend to any sanction from Scripture, derived it from the "apocryphal" books rather than from those which were undisputed. Hostility to the abuses, rather than any critical appreciation of the Scriptures by which they were defended, appears to have determined the judgment of the Reformers; but, perceiving that our Lord had quoted only from the books of the Hebrew Canon, they conceived that He had bestowed upon *it* a divine sanction. Accordingly, the Lutheran and Anglican Churches remitted the disputed books to a subordinate place; while the more advanced Reformers of Geneva rejected them altogether, and unduly disparaged their literary merit. The Roman Church held to the apocryphal books, appealing in support of their authority to the uniform tradition of the West for a thousand years; and, at the Council of Trent (1545), anathematized whomsoever should dispute their canonicity. The dispute extended to the Greek Church, where it was long continued. Metrophanes Critopulos, patriarch of Alexandria (1625), and Cyril Leukaris, patriarch of Constantinople (1638), especially insisted on the distinction of canonical and apocryphal books; but the entire Apocrypha was canonized by a Synod at Jerusalem in 1672. Antagonism to the unreformed Churches has since given an unmistakeable bias to Protestant criticism of these writings.

The New Testament was freely, if not always judiciously, criticized by the Lutheran Reformers. Luther (1546) did not regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as on an equality with the apostolic writings, esteemed James and Jude very lightly, and spoke of the Apocalypse as "neither apostolic nor prophetic." Ecolampadius (1531) endorsed this opinion; and Zuingli (1531) rejected the Apocalypse. But the overwhelming preponderance of Protestant opinion, led by Calvin (1564) and the Genevan Reformers, was in favour of the traditional Canon of the New Testament, and against any such

discrimination as was made in several of the early catalogues between disputed and undisputed books. There was practical unanimity on the subject until the question was reopened by Semler (1791).

The science of Biblical criticism may be said to have begun with the editing of the London Polyglott, 1657. Since that time the literary history of the Bible has been carefully studied; and in consequence it has come to be generally acknowledged that the respect due to ancient writings must be determined by other considerations than those which prevailed in the fourth or sixteenth century. This recognition is largely due to the labours of German scholars, who, during the last hundred years, have applied to the sacred writings the same principles of research as are deemed proper in the study of secular literature. The earlier results of this method, announced with much assurance, were sufficiently startling, but were soon left far behind. The Tübingen school, in particular (from 1830), proclaimed nearly the whole of the New Testament to be spurious; and their later followers have done as much for the Old. This destructive criticism has elicited a brilliant series of critical apologetics, with the result of establishing the authenticity and authority of the New Testament on a firmer basis than before. The problem respecting the Old Testament is more difficult, and its conditions are by no means the same. But it may be safely affirmed that, however much traditional opinions may be modified as to the date and authorship of some parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, nothing has yet been established which can diminish their value as a contribution towards the settlement of Christian doctrine.

Inspiration of Scripture.

Scripture having become, by the death of the apostles, the chief available source of religious knowledge, it was natural to inquire wherein its authority consisted. It was universally believed that the prophets and apostles taught and wrote by inspiration of the Holy Ghost; but the patristic theories as to the manner of this inspiration were various and inconsistent.

Justin (165) and Athenagoras (177) supposed the sacred writers to be passive under the divine influence, like a lyre or flute in the hands of a musician. Clement of Alexandria (220), Tertullian (220), and others affirmed that the same inspiration was common to the Old and New Testaments, and that both were infallible. Others, as Origen (254), strongly protested against the theory of passive reception, and understood inspiration to be an illumination of the prophet's mind, "as far as is necessary." The Church creeds did not dogmatize on the subject; that of Constantinople (381) simply expressed belief in the Holy Ghost, "Who spake by the prophets."

There is a widespread tendency, alike among Christians and heathens, to bestow on religious books an unintelligent veneration in proportion to their antiquity. Accordingly, from the fourth century, notwithstanding the silence of the Church creeds on the subject, verbal inspiration became more and more the prevailing theory. Eusebius (340) thought it presumptuous to admit the *possibility* of error in the sacred books. Chrysostom (407) called the prophets "the mouth of God;" and Augustine (430) spoke of the apostles as hands which noted down what Christ dictated. Gregory the Great (604) regarded the personality of the human writers as of secondary importance, the Holy Ghost being the real Author. Notwithstanding all this, the personal peculiarities of the sacred writers received a fair share of recognition.

That inspiration was confined to the pages of Scripture was never dogmatically asserted. Indeed, from the first, a certain degree of inspiration was generally regarded as the privilege of all believers. Some sects, as the Montanists (second and third century), believed in the continuance among themselves of the gift of prophecy. Special divine revelations were believed in all ages to be granted to holy men; and from the fourth century to the Reformation, Church Councils were supposed to be under such control that their decisions exactly interpreted the mind of the Spirit. This opinion was a natural outgrowth from the sacerdotal theory of the Christian ministry, and it tended greatly to the advancement of hierarchical pretensions; the pastors, especially the bishops, being

thought of as "the Church representative," and therefore entitled to claim that promise of being "led into all truth" which had been made to the Church as a whole. During the Middle Ages some of the schoolmen endeavoured, with little success, to elaborate theories of inspiration; but most of them agreed that the manifestation of the Spirit extended far beyond the pages of the Bible. The Mystics, such as Tauler (1361) and Gerson (1429), showed a disposition to confound Biblical inspiration with those more general influences of the Spirit of which all holy persons are partakers.

The Reformers, while they unanimously insisted on the infallibility of inspired Scripture, mostly held broad and comprehensive views on the subject of inspiration. This is especially true of Luther (1546), who says: "The Gospel of John is the true and pure gospel, the chief of the Gospels, inasmuch as it contains the greatest portion of our Saviour's sayings; thus also the Epistles of Paul and Peter are higher in authority than the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke."

The Lutheran and Anglican Churches defended the authority of the sacred books by an appeal to the historical evidence of their authenticity, and to the universal tradition of the Church. The Calvinistic churches, keenly jealous of traditionalism in every form, were unwilling to concede so much importance to human testimony. "These divine writings," says Calvin (1564), "cannot have a plenary authority in regard to the faithful by any other right than this: the firm persuasion which these establish in themselves that they are come from heaven, as if men heard God Himself speak in them with His own mouth."

The following century witnessed a keen controversy on the subject. It was an age of theological debate, and the value of proof-texts was evidently the greater as they were deemed the more purely divine. In the Roman Church, therefore, the Jansenists (whose doctrinal peculiarities were not favoured by ecclesiastical authority) contended earnestly for verbal inspiration, which was denied by Bellarmine (1621) and the Jesuits. The Protestant Mystics, as Arndt (1621) and Böhme (1624), insisted on the importance of the spirit rather than the letter of the word. But the orthodox Protestants of

the next generation, in whose early days the Arminian controversy had raged with furious heat, developed a more rigid theory than had ever been heard of before. In the *Formula Consensus* of the Swiss Reformed Church (1675), it was affirmed that even the Hebrew vowel-points were an essential part of the inspired text!

The progress of Biblical criticism effectually undermined these rigid theories of verbal inspiration. For a while, difficulties were evaded by arbitrary explanations; but in 1766 J. G. Töllner enunciated the principle that Holy Scripture *contains*, rather than *is*, the word of God. This principle has been accepted, in substance, by most orthodox theologians of recent times, though some of them have loudly protested against it in form. Even those who reject it usually recognise a diversity of kinds or degrees of inspiration, such as direction, elevation, revelation, etc. The unmistakeable tendency of modern Christian thought is to regard the Bible as *a Record of Successive Revelations*, each presenting a clearer view of divine things than those which went before it. Not a few professedly orthodox believers think of inspiration as differing in degree, rather than kind, from the afflatus of the poet or philosopher; while the rationalistic school decline to acknowledge *any* difference, accounting the Bible to be merely a record of men's thoughts concerning God. There are still, however, many who hold that the inspiration of the sacred writers "was plenary, and their writings are in every part infallible truth."

Interpretation of Scripture.

The prevailing doctrine concerning inspiration naturally had a great influence on methods of Biblical interpretation. Very few of the Fathers were content, like Irenæus (202), to allow Scripture always to bear its plain and natural sense. The majority, influenced by theories of verbal inspiration such as found their ultimate development in the Jewish Cabala, or by a desire to evade historical and moral difficulties, indulged in allegorical explanations to an unlimited extent, sometimes to the exclusion of the literal meaning. Origen

(254) especially reduced this practice to a regular system, ascribing to Scripture a *threefold* sense — literal, allegorical, and mystical.

From the fourth century the methods of interpretation in the East and West began widely to diverge. About the end of this century a notion arose that Origen had been a dangerous heretic. This tended to discredit the allegorical method among the Eastern theologians, who thenceforth, though not unmindful of the fulness of meaning contained in the sacred writings, endeavoured to elucidate it by a sober grammatical method. They were thus preserved from a slavish Bibliolatry; and, as late as 1107, we find Euthymius recognising the existence of discrepancies in the Bible. In the West, on the contrary, the authority of Augustine (430) led to the acceptance of a *fourfold* canon of interpretation, regarding the facts of the narrative, the reason of it, the analogies it suggests, and its mystical sense. This rule was still more fully developed by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

From the eighth to the fifteenth century the Greek language was disused and practically unknown throughout the West. The study of Scripture was therefore mainly confined to the Latin translation, called the Vulgate, which had been made or revised by Jerome (420). By many this was accredited with the same verbal inspiration which they ascribed to the original, and Agobard of Lyons (840) was charged with irreverence for asserting that it contained grammatical errors. The Biblical interpretation of this period was either restricted to collating the opinions of the Fathers, or consisted of the wildest allegorizing. Adam of St. Victor (1192) identified the four rivers of Eden with the four evangelists! Another writer of the same age found a type of Christ in the worm that smote Jonah's gourd! A multitude of "pious opinions" were based on uncertain traditions, or developed by the scholastic philosophy, without even a pretence of scriptural authority; but when, as often happened, these opinions were formulated into dogmas, such authority was eagerly sought, and was discovered in any Biblical phrase which, being divorced from its context, might seem to assert the dogma in question, or might be pressed into that service

by an allegorical explanation. So much was this the case that Thomas Aquinas (1274) thought it necessary to prescribe, as a rule of interpretation, that the historic fact should be the basis on which to rear spiritual expositions. Savonarola (1498) insisted that the interpreter needed to be filled with the same spirit in which the sacred books were written.

The study of Scripture by the laity was discouraged by Hildebrand (1085); it was also forbidden by a local Council held at Toulouse against the Albigenses in 1229, and by another at Tarragona in 1234. But it is a vulgar error to suppose that such prohibition was usual and systematic on the part of the mediæval clergy. In fact, from the eighth century to the fourteenth, the languages of Western Europe were in course of formation, and vernacular translations, if made, would have become unintelligible within a hundred years; so that the Latin Bible was more generally available than a French, Italian, or English version could have been. As soon as the Western languages assumed a form fit for literary purposes, late in the fourteenth century, translations of the Bible into the vulgar tongues began to be made by Wickliffe (1384) and others. But by this time the moral corruption of the papacy had almost reached its height; it soon became evident that this corrupt ecclesiasticism was endangered by the diffusion of Biblical truth; and an instinct of self-preservation then led the priesthood to assume, almost universally, an attitude of hostility toward the Book, which has continued to this day. In the fifteenth century, the invention of printing rendered possible the general study of Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and, this once accomplished, a reformation would have been inevitable.

The Reformation, however, anticipated the printed vernacular Bible, the Bohemian, Flemish, and Servian versions alone excepted. The testimony of the Waldenses, the Lollards, the Hussites, and the Friends of God had prepared the way for a more intelligent faith than that which generally prevailed in the Roman Church; but before this was sufficiently developed to assert itself openly, a revolt was provoked by ecclesiastical abuses. These abuses grew out of dogmas based, not on Scripture, but on tradition, or at best, on

apocryphal writings. Opinions, of which the outcome was so manifestly evil, were self-condemned; the traditions on which they rested must be abandoned; the Reformers appealed from an infallible Church to an infallible Book, and adopted in spirit the maxim long afterwards formulated by Chillingworth, "The Bible only is the religion of Protestants." They therefore encouraged the study of Scripture, both in the original tongues and in the vernacular, insisting on the authority of common sense, rather than of tradition, in its interpretation. The unreformed (Roman) communion, on the other hand, held by tradition and the Apocrypha; discountenanced both the originals and the recent translations, affirming the sufficiency and authority of the Latin Vulgate; and claimed for the Church, through its ministers, the sole right of interpretation—hampered, however, with the impossible condition that the interpretation should only be "according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

To the Reformers belongs the honour of generally adopting the common-sense principle that Scripture, like everything else, is to be understood in its plain, literal, and grammatical sense, except where its language is obviously figurative. The root-principle of Protestantism was, in brief, the supreme authority of Scripture, and the right of private judgment in its interpretation. No doubt this principle was not always consistently followed; and certainly the Reformers and their successors often allowed their doctrinal prepossessions to colour their interpretations, of which there are several examples in our own generally excellent "Authorized Version." In the seventeenth century, too, the controversies that arose among Protestants fostered a habit of looking at the Bible chiefly as an armoury of proof-texts; a habit that was strengthened by the then prevailing theory of verbal inspiration. The notion soon gained ground that the Bible was chiefly designed to reveal an elaborate system of doctrines; and under the influence of this idea, Cocceius (1669) laid down the rule, that "the words of Scripture must everywhere be supposed to signify *just as much as they may signify*, so as to be consistent throughout the same discourse." This theologian, moreover, gave a new impetus to the allegorical method

of interpretation, by practically ignoring the historic and literary characters of the several sacred books, and treating the entire Bible as a single treatise. The gradual abandonment of these fancies, under the influence of a more intelligent criticism, has of late discredited the allegorical school, and restored to general acceptance the common-sense method of the Reformers.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, attention began to be directed to the multitude of various readings revealed by the comparison of ancient Biblical manuscripts. The first announcement of this fact was greeted with loud cries of heresy and profanity, by which, however, it could neither be altered nor long concealed. From this time the settlement of the actual text of Scripture became a question of prime importance; a question which, so far as the New Testament is concerned, has been approximately settled by the labours of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholtz, Hahn, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott, Hort, etc., but which, as regards the Old Testament, is still in process of solution.

Since 1743 the disciples of Swedenborg have energetically commended a new instrument for the attainment of divine truth, in the shape of the so-called *Science of Correspondences*; a method of interpreting mystically certain parts of the Bible, said to have been miraculously revealed to that eccentric genius. The results of this system of interpretation differ widely from the opinions generally prevailing both in the reformed and unreformed Churches.

Tradition and Philosophy.

Until the Reformation, the canonical Scriptures were never regarded as the *only* source of religious knowledge. So long as men survived who had listened to the teachings of the apostles, there would be a genuine apostolic tradition available to decide questions of interpretation and ecclesiastical practice. To such traditions Irenæus (202) appeals in the controversy about the proper time to keep Easter, and Tertullian (220) in his book of *Prescription against Heretics*. In the contro-

versies about the Trinity in the fourth century, at least as much importance was attached to the traditions of the several local churches as to the words of Scripture. Thus, forgetful of the corruptions that invariably creep into traditionary opinions and practices in the absence of an authoritative standard, men came to regard tradition as a source of knowledge co-ordinate with Scripture. To check the excessive growth of tradition, Vincent of Lerins (433) established the famous test of orthodoxy, as that which was received "always, everywhere, and by all." But in an uncritical age it was easy to pretend that the silence of ancient authors about a recent tradition arose from its universal and unquestioned acceptance, and to qualify "by all" with the explanation "except heretics." Then such traditions were endorsed by Councils, and to dispute them was accounted heresy. It thus came to pass that by the fourteenth century the popular creed was at least as much traditional as scriptural.

Not only Scripture, Tradition, and Decrees of Councils, but also Heathen Philosophy had a large share in the formation of Christian opinion. The Alexandrian theologians of the third century, in common with their heathen contemporaries, were largely influenced by the writings of Plato. In the ninth century, John Scotus Erigena, largely imbued with the Platonic spirit, endeavoured to prove that a true theology and a true philosophy are virtually the same, differing only in form, as faith and knowledge; and for three hundred years his writings exercised a considerable influence on religious thought. This influence was supplanted in the thirteenth century by the rediscovery of the works of Aristotle, whose philosophy had almost as great a part in forming the systems of the later schoolmen as Scripture itself.

The Reformers renounced alike the authority of tradition and philosophy. They unanimously accepted the position subsequently expressed in the Articles of the Anglican Church, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith." But they

usually attached great importance to the opinions of the Fathers, and the decrees of the first four General Councils, as confirmatory of their interpretations of Scripture. This holds good of the German and English, more than of the Swiss and French Reformers.

The exclusive authority of Scripture, however, was not universally maintained in the Reformed Churches. There are few minds altogether free at once from Mysticism, Traditionalism, and Rationalism. As early as 1527, the Lutheran Schwenkfeld asserted that faith does not proceed from external things, such as the written word, but from an Internal Revelation. The early Anabaptists laid claim to special revelations that were denied to the Reformers. And in the next century the Quakers insisted on an Inward Illumination, which gives authority to the written word, and makes it intelligible. On the other hand, the controversies between Romanists and Protestants, from 1530 to 1600, gave birth to a great number of creeds and confessions of faith, which, in the later controversies among Protestants themselves, were really (though not avowedly) accredited with much the same authority as the Romanists ascribed to their older traditions. Their influence is not yet extinct.

Side by side with this Protestant Mysticism and Dogmatism, a spirit of Rationalism began to prevail. The early Socinians, for example (1550–1620), while they acknowledge the need of external revelation, and the authority of the New Testament, affirmed that Scripture, rightly understood, could not contain anything either incomprehensible or contrary to reason.

Francis Bacon (1626), the founder of the Inductive Philosophy, sharply distinguished between the spheres of philosophy and theology, affirming that experience in the former, and revelation in the latter, are the only possible sources of knowledge. But the rapid growth of intellect, when emancipated from traditional fetters by this new philosophy, speedily brought about the application of its methods to the credentials of revelation.

The philosophy of Descartes (1650) had no immediate connection with religion or theology, but its fundamental

principle, that all true knowledge proceeds from doubt, excited the suspicion of orthodox divines, and gave rise to an angry controversy. This was chiefly localized in Holland, where Voet (1634-76) was conspicuous as the leader of an anti-Cartesian party. In 1657, a Synod at Delft required all candidates for the ministry to repudiate the obnoxious system, which nevertheless, in the end, secured toleration and even popularity.

The English Deists, from Herbert of Cherbury (1648) to Chubb (1747), declared that revelation, inspiration, prophecy, etc., were philosophically impossible; and denied, on critical grounds, their actual existence in the Bible and in history. In Holland, the Pantheist, Spinoza (1677), critically assailed the Christian idea of revelation, attacked the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures, and vindicated absolute freethinking. In France, the flippant sceptic Bayle (1706), without directly assailing the facts of revelation, treated them in so frivolous a manner as to invite ridicule, and thus prepared the way for that outburst of sarcastic wit which, provoked by the tyranny, hypocrisy, and licentiousness of the age of Louis XIV., found free expression in the notorious *Encyclopaedia*. Translations and feeble refutations of this mass of antichristian literature gave the first impulse to the flood of rationalistic unbelief which afterwards overwhelmed the churches of Germany.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leibnitz (1716), and after him Wolf (1754), endeavoured to demonstrate the elements of religion in a philosophic manner, independent of, but in harmony with, the Bible. From their speculations grew numerous systems of Natural Theology, the effect of which on the popular mind, however little intended by their authors, was to encourage the spirit of Rationalism, and to discredit Revelation as unnecessary. This tendency, even within the Church, was fostered by the subtle influence of avowedly antichristian literature, and especially of the Rationalistic philosophy of Germany. But when Kant (1781-94) had proved the insufficiency of Reason to investigate the Divine,—even though God, Liberty, and Immortality were accepted as “postulates of practical reason,”—a sharp

line of demarcation was drawn between Rationalists and Supernaturalists; the former declining to accept the authority of any supernatural revelation, the latter perceiving the necessity of such revelation to supplement the deficiencies of reason.

It is no part of our design to present a history of Christian Apologetics, or to trace the effects of non-Christian literature and philosophy upon the Church of the present day. It must suffice to remark that the prevailing tendency in all Protestant Churches, at present, is to accept *the words of Christ*, and of the apostles and prophets whom He accredited, as the chief and only reliable source of religious knowledge, beyond what is involved in Kant's postulates. The authenticity and authority of these words is understood to depend on the historic accuracy of the documents in which they are embodied, and on their adaptation to man's moral and spiritual necessities; and it is generally agreed to interpret them by substantially the same rules as are applied to ordinary literature, remembering that such interpretation will be more or less successful as the student is more or less imbued with the spirit of the author.

II.—BEING AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

Christianity and Paganism.

The Existence, Unity, and Personality of a Supreme Being are doctrines so fundamental to every form of Christianity, that no difference of opinion on such matters could ever be tolerated within the Church. Yet it is scarcely surprising that the refusal of the early Christians to honour the gods of the heathen should cause them to be looked on as Atheists; and that it became necessary, therefore, not only to assert those doctrines, but to prove them. This need was the greater when the Church found itself opposed by philosophic sects and systems in which these fundamental truths were denied. And it was no less important to show that the objects of heathen worship were utterly unworthy of the regard paid to them by their votaries.

The methods by which the early Christian apologists assailed idolatry were various, according to their several opinions about the nature of the pagan deities. Some, as the author of the Epistle to Diognetus (ascribed, with some probability, to Dionysius the Areopagite¹), refused to see in them anything but the wood, stone, or metal of which the idol was fashioned. Others, especially those who had been subjected to Jewish or Oriental influences, conceived of them as demons or fallen spirits; thus Justin (165). Others again, as Melito (170) and Minucius Felix (235), regarded them as deified kings or heroes. Clement of Alexandria (220) went far toward anticipating modern conclusions on the subject, arranging the objects of heathen worship in seven classes, viz. The Heavenly Bodies, The Fruits of the Earth, Various Aspects of Divine Beneficence, Various Forms of Retribution, Human Passions, Personified Events, and Legendary Heroes. Most of the apologists laid much stress on the infamous acts of cruelty, lust, and deceit ascribed to the pagan deities, of which a horrible catalogue is given by Arnobius (297). And, in contrast with the popular belief, they delighted to adduce the sentiments of ancient Greek poets and philosophers concerning "the one and universal King, from whom all things, and we ourselves, have sprung."

The Being of God.

When the earlier Fathers attempted formal proof of the being of God, it was usually either from the testimony of conscience, as when Justin says, "The appellation God is not a name, but an opinion implanted in the nature of men of a thing that can hardly be explained;" or else from the witness of the material universe to its Creator, thus Minucius Felix, "For this reason we believe Him to be God . . . for in His works, and in all the movements of the world, we behold His power ever present." More artificial proofs of the divine existence were unknown at that early period; and, indeed, by such profound thinkers as Clement of Alexandria and Origen (254), its demonstration without the aid of revela-

¹ See B. H. Cooper's *Free Church of Ancient Christendom*, App. A.

tion was deemed impossible. Nay, Arnobius thought it almost as impious to attempt to prove the being of God as to deny it.

The downfall of paganism in the Roman Empire, early in the fourth century, necessitated a different kind of Christian apologetic from that which had formerly been in vogue. Belief in the old gods had perished, but "the offence of the cross" was still, with many, as potent as in the apostolic age. There ensued a chaos of conflicting doubts and speculations, amidst which heathenism, under the forms of Neo-Platonism, etc., made some feeble attempts at self-preservation, but in which the general tendency was towards universal scepticism. It became, thenceforth, a favourite problem to demonstrate philosophically the existence of the Most High; not, however, without protest from some illustrious theologians, as Athanasius (373) and Gregory Nazianzen (391), to whom such demonstrations appeared irreverent.

Diodorus of Tarsus (about 384) argued that as everything in the universe is subject to change, and change itself must have had a beginning, there must have been before that beginning a self-existent Author of change. This argument was afterwards more fully developed by John Damascene (about 750).

Augustine (430) propounded a very abstruse metaphysical proof of the being of God, from the existence of general ideas. Boethius (524) suggested that the idea of imperfection points directly to a perfection which must needs be realized in God. The arguments of Augustine and Boethius were established with philosophic precision by Anselm of Canterbury (1109); they were the delight of the mediæval Schoolmen, and were yet further elaborated by Descartes (1650).

Arguments of a more practical character were also adduced by the great scholastic theologians. That of Hugh of St. Victor (1141) is, in brief, as follows: "Every man is aware that there was a time when his own reason did not exist, it therefore had a beginning; and, seeing that it is spiritual, and so altogether unlike his bodily nature, it could not have originated in that nature, but must have had an external Author. But no creature can create; there must be, there-

fore, an Independent and Eternal Being as First Cause." Abelard (1142) found evidence of a Supreme Ruler in the dictates of conscience, an argument which was thus improved by Raymond of Sabunde (1350): "Man feels himself to be accountable; there must therefore be One superior to himself, able to reward and punish; else the nature of man would be a contradiction." Yet, even among the Schoolmen, there were some who held that these arguments, however practically sufficient, did not amount to absolute demonstration. Such were Duns Scotus (1308) and Ockham (1327).

The revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century was followed by a contemptuous rejection of the entire scholastic philosophy; and, in Italy at least, by a tremendous outbreak of real, though generally unavowed, Atheism. Savonarola (1498) therefore deemed it necessary to prove the existence of God from the universal consent of mankind. This method was also employed by Grotius (1645). The argument from design in nature seems to have been first insisted upon by Boyle (1691); it was popularized by Ray (1705), further elaborated by Derham (1714), and perfected by Paley (1794).

Meanwhile, it was felt that no effort to establish a strictly philosophical proof of the being of God had hitherto been quite satisfactory. In 1704, however, Samuel Clarke advanced his celebrated *à priori* argument, which, if not absolutely perfect, has at least never been refuted. It may be summarized as follows:—"Whatever *is* must either have a cause or be self-existent. The world as it now is cannot, for several reasons, be deemed self-existent; it must therefore have a cause. This cause may be either self-existent or derived; but if the latter, we are simply led back step by step till at length we reach a cause that is underived and self-existent. Extent and duration cannot be thought of as other than infinite; but these are mere properties which must belong to a commensurate, *i.e.* an infinite and self-existent substance. Such a substance can only be found in the Ultimate Cause of all things, whose immensity and eternity are thus demonstrated. A similar argument applies to His wisdom, freedom, goodness, etc."

After the outbreak of Pantheism, Materialism, and undisguised Atheism in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Kant (1804) undertook to expose the weakness of *all* metaphysical proofs of the divine existence. He attached more importance to the argument from design; an argument, the value of which is increasingly shown by the persistent efforts of recent materialists, not to refute, but to evade it, in some cases even by denying the reality of causation! Within the present century, too, Schleiermacher (1834), Coleridge (1834), etc., have striven to prove the being of God from what they call "the feeling of absolute and universal dependence." In our own day a new school of scientific apologists has been called into being, to meet the assertions of atheistic evolutionists; this task they have successfully accomplished, by showing the failure of evolution to account for the origin of life.

At present it seems to be generally allowed, on the one hand, that the divine existence is a doctrine which, from its very nature, does not admit of *logical proof*; and, on the other, that the *cumulative force* of the evidence is such as can scarcely be resisted, unless by mental or moral obliquity.

Unity of God.

The Christian conception of God was so radically different from that of the pagan divinities, that the early apologists shrank from any kind of argument which might suggest that He was one of the crowd, competing for exclusive recognition. They usually preferred appealing to the primæval tradition of one God, preserved by the ancient poets; thus Justin (165). Sometimes they argued the impossibility of conceiving more than one God, from the relations of space; so Athenagoras (177). At other times they insisted on the hopelessness of permanent agreement between joint holders of divine power, urging the harmony of the universe as proof that its Ruler is one; see Minucius Felix (230).

But there were two theories abroad in the early Christian ages, both distinctly hostile to the Christian doctrine of Divine Unity. These were Gnosticism and Manichæism, both

of them attempts to solve, in connection with a theory of the world, that problem which has ever been the *crux* of philosophers, the Origin of Evil. Both were characterized by the conviction that the old world had run its course, and that the time was come when it should be renovated; and both sought to accomplish this end by blending antiquated heathen philosophy with some Christian elements.

GNOSTICISM (the creed or system of *them that know*) is difficult to define; it is rather a general term for a number of systems, in which heathen theories about the origin of the world are associated with the Christian idea of salvation. More than twenty Gnostic sects are described, some ascetic, some grossly licentious. They mostly agree in regarding matter as essentially evil, and in ascribing its origin or control to a World-maker (*Demiurgos*, i.e. *Artificer*), distinct from the supreme God. This supreme God they generally regarded as unknowable; but they asserted that from Him, or It, proceeded a number (varying in different systems) of Æons or Emanations. One of these was the World-maker, who was usually regarded as malevolent, and hostile to the supreme God, and was frequently identified with the God of the Jews. Another was Christ, who was said to have attached Himself to the man Jesus, to restore the broken harmony of the universe. The various sects allegorized various parts of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and generally pretended that Jesus had taught their peculiar "gnosis."

Some allusions to incipient Gnosticism are to be found in the New Testament; but the evil only reached its full development towards the middle of the second century, when it spread over Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. The Fathers who chiefly combated these vagaries of "science, falsely so called," were Irenæus (202), Tertullian (220), and Hippolytus (236). They showed that the World-maker, the God of the Jews, and the Father of Christ were alike supreme, and that two or more supreme beings could not co-exist. They gave modest and intelligible explanations of those portions of Scripture which the heretics quoted in support of their opinions, and invited the decision of common sense which was most like truth. They also exposed the licentious

practices of *some* of the Gnostic sects, and sometimes appealed to the uniform teaching of the Church. By the fifth century, if not earlier, Gnosticism had disappeared; but its influence long survived in the tenets of obscure sects, some of which still exist in Russia and the East.

MANICHÆISM was an attempt to combine Christianity with Parseeism, or the doctrine of Two Eternal Principles, which had long been the prevailing religious philosophy of the East. Its author was Mani, a Persian, who about 270 gave himself out for the Paraclete promised by our Lord in John xiv. 16. He was put to death by Berham, king of Persia, in 277; but his system spread almost everywhere, and long continued to flourish in spite of persecution both by heathen and Christian rulers. It seems to have absorbed or assimilated much of the Gnosticism of the day, so that later writers confounded the two heresies.

The Manichæan doctrine is, briefly, as follows: The Good and Evil Principles, *i.e.* God and Satan, co-existed, and were mutually opposed from all eternity. God, by the instrumentality of "the Mother of Life," made "the *Ideal Man*," who entered into warfare with Satan, but was defeated and partly swallowed up. God caused "the Living Spirit" to form, from this mixture, the visible world, and took up what remained of the Ideal Man to the sun, whence It should superintend the strife in which each man's "Soul of light" contends against the kingdom of darkness. At length the Ideal Man descended, in a phantom body, as Christ, to liberate the souls of light by His teaching. This teaching had been misunderstood by the apostles, and restored by Mani. The sect included an inner circle, "the perfect," who abjured marriage, and practised strict asceticism.

The earliest formal opponent of Manichæism was Archelaus of Casarea, who held a *viva voce* debate with Mani himself, insisting chiefly on the harmony that prevails between the body of man, which Mani ascribed to the Evil Principle, and the soul, of which he admitted the Good God to be the author. This heresy was also refuted by Titus of Bostra (362), Gregory of Nyssa (395), and Augustine (430), who in early life had held the opinions of the sect. Augustine's

later philosophy seems to have been, in some respects, unconsciously influenced by his early Manichæism, which may thus, through the excessive regard paid to him by the Reformers, have indirectly affected much of the Protestant theology. However this be, it is certain that sects whose opinions were strongly tinged with Manichæism continued far down into the Middle Ages. Such were the Priscillianists in Spain (fourth to sixth century), the Paulicians in Asia Minor, etc. (seventh to tenth century), the Bos Homes in France, and Gazari in Italy (eleventh century), and the Bogomiles in Bulgaria (twelfth century).

Feeble attempts to combine heathen polytheism with some Christian elements led to the formation, in the fourth and fifth centuries, of short-lived sects of Messalians or Euchetes, Satanians, Euphemites, Cœlicolæ, Hypsistarians, etc. The incongruity of their tenets led to their speedy dissolution; and from the fifth century there has been little occasion argumentatively to maintain the divine unity, except in systematic theologies, and in direct appeals to the heathen.

Nature of God.

Arguments in proof of the being and unity of God led inevitably to speculations concerning His nature. The practical piety of simple souls might shrink from such inquiries, as when the martyr Attalus (about 177) declared that "God has not a name, as men have;" but the very idea of revelation involved the possibility of some knowledge on the subject. Jesus had distinctly taught, and the Church from the beginning had steadily held, that "God is a Spirit;" but much controversy arose, age after age, from the difficulty of conceiving spiritual existence apart from the most refined material substance. This difficulty was less felt by the Jews, whose law forbade visible representations of God; by some Oriental peoples, whose deities had been vague personifications of natural forces; and by those whom the higher Greek philosophy had familiarized with the idea of a supreme mind, distinct from and superior to the gods. But it was no easy task to impart the notion of pure spirit to the rude

multitude, with whom the deities were simply exaggerated men and women, capable of representation by the sculptor's art.

Accordingly, some of the Fathers ascribed to God a bodily form. The earliest of them who is charged with this opinion is Melito of Sardis (170), but the fragments of his works do not support the assertion. Tertullian (220) was undoubtedly of this mind; it was an essential part of his peculiar philosophy. "All that exists," he says, "is a body of its own kind;" and elsewhere, "Who will deny that God is a body, although God is a Spirit, for Spirit has a body of its own kind, in its own form." He endeavours to guard this doctrine against abuse by saying, "We read, indeed, of God's right hand, and eyes, and feet; but these must not be compared with those of men, because they are associated in the same name." A grosser Anthropomorphism occurs in the Clementine Homilies (about 215): "He has shape, and He has every limb primarily and solely for beauty's sake, and not for use. . . . He moulded man in His own shape."

Others of the Fathers vehemently protested against these representations. Irenæus (202) was so fearful of sanctioning an unworthy conception of God, that he could barely tolerate the application to Him of the terms "Light" and "Understanding." Clement of Alexandria (220), more familiar with Plato than most of his Christian contemporaries, wrote, "Let no one imagine that hands and feet, and mouth and eyes, and going out and coming in, and resentment and threats, are said by the Hebrews to be attributes of God. . . . God is all ear and all eye, if we may be permitted so to speak." Novatian (251) is still more emphatic: "The divine agencies are exhibited by means of members; it is not the appearance of God or the bodily lineaments that are described. . . . He is all eye, because He all sees; and all ear, because He all hears; all hand, because He all works; and all foot, because He all is everywhere." And Origen (254) claims to have "refuted every notion that might suggest an idea that God is in any degree corporeal."

Side by side with the decline of belief in *the gods*, we may trace the growth of a more purely spiritual concep-

tion of GOD. Accordingly, from about the fourth century Anthropomorphism was generally deemed heretical. Yet the controversies that ensued about the Trinity, and about the Person of Christ, often led orthodox writers to apply to God language which properly refers to the entire person of Christ, or even solely to His humanity. Hence often strange confusion of thought, as when an anonymous writer of the fifth century says, "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me, even those hands which for me were nailed to the cross!" To guard against this tendency some of the later Fathers insisted on what they thought to be metaphysically correct terms to describe the Godhead. Athanasius (373) calls Him "beyond being, superexistent;" Augustine (430) thought the word "essence" preferable to "substance," in speaking of God; and Gregory the Great (604) would even have replaced the Latin word for God by the equivalent of "I Am."

When the Arian Eunomius (about 358) declared that "Christ had opened unto us a way to the perfect knowledge of God," so that "we may know as much of the nature of God as the Creator Himself," the statement was regarded as impious. But with the rise of Scholasticism in the Middle Ages, the endeavour "by searching to find out God" began to be pursued with ever-increasing eagerness. The controversies of the Schoolmen about entity and quiddity are totally unintelligible to ordinary mortals, but seem to have been very important to those who indulged in them. A few of their more striking utterances may be of interest. John Damascene (750) said, "God is altogether above knowledge and above being;" a statement closely resembling that of Athanasius. Erigena (850) boldly asserted that "God does not know what He Himself is!" Anselm (1109), more modestly, that "God alone knows His own nature." "If anything is spoken relatively of the Supreme Nature, it is not significant of His substance." Albertus Magnus (1257) deemed it possible for creatures "to attain to God by the intellect, but not to comprehend Him." Aquinas (1274) taught that man cannot know God as He is in Himself, but may know what He is to His creatures. Duns Scotus (1308) taught the contrary.

After long controversy it was agreed, in the jargon of the day, that "man may know the quiddity of God, but cannot know Him quidditatively;" which seems to mean, in plain English, something like this, "We may, in a certain sense, know *what God is*; but our knowledge cannot be adequate, we cannot know Him *as He is*," see Cajetan (1524).

Anthropomorphism being finally discredited, there grew up an opposite tendency, towards Pantheism. So essentially pantheistic are several of the Eastern systems of philosophy, that it is somewhat surprising how little of this element appears in the early Christian and semi-Christian sects. The speculations of Erigena (850) are decidedly pantheistic in their tendency; but they had little effect on the popular intelligence, until developed by Amalric of Bema' (1204), a professor at Paris, and David of Dinant, his disciple. These took the decided step of identifying the universe itself with God; and so prepared the way for the strange outbreak of pantheistic sects—the "Sect of the Holy Ghost" in France, the "Brethren of the Free Spirit" in Germany—which soon afterwards rose in opposition to the prevailing ecclesiasticism. From speculative Pantheism to practical Atheism the transition is not difficult. Cæsar of Heisterbach (1222) argued that "as he who loves is in God, whatsoever is done in love, though it be theft or fornication, is no sin!" The morals of the sects just named, and of their offshoots, Adamites, Turlupins, Men of Understanding, etc., were worthy of such a doctrine.

Some of the Mystics, who kept clear of these extravagances, approached very near to Pantheism. Thus Eckhart (1329) said, "God has the nature of all creatures in Him. . . . After the creation God was not God in Himself, but He was God only in His creatures." Against such expressions not only the great Schoolmen, like Albert the Great and Aquinas, but the more sober Mystics, such as Suso and Tauler, protested. Yet these laid firm hold of the fact that God is "not far from every one of us." Tauler (1361) said, "God is nearer to me than I am to myself." Another of the same school called God "a circle, whose centre is everywhere, and His circumference nowhere." Wessel (1489)

wrote, "God alone exists; all other things are what they are through Him."

In the Greek Church a curious controversy arose during the fourteenth century. Certain monks of Athos, cultivating the contemplative state, fancied they saw a bright light surrounding them. This they identified with the Uncreated Light which surrounded Christ at the Transfiguration; and it was gravely debated whether or not this Light was God Himself! Several Councils were held on the subject at Constantinople; at last, in 1351, the "Hesychiasts"—as these visionaries were called—were pronounced heretical.

Since the Reformation there has been little dispute within the Church about the divine nature. Even Deists, who reject the authority and deny the fact of revelation, generally agree with the orthodox Fathers and Schoolmen; regarding God (in contradistinction alike from Anthropomorphism and Pantheism) as an Immaterial Essence, Self-existent, Self-conscious, the Author of the Universe, therefore distinct from it, and incapable of being fully comprehended by any created mind.

Some sects, however, as the Libertines of Geneva and the Anabaptists of Munster (1535), likewise the English Ranters (1640), held decidedly pantheistic opinions. Servetus also (1553), and some Protestant Mystics, as Böhme (1624), indulged in speculations that savoured strongly of Pantheism. Moreover, a complete pantheistic system was developed by the Jewish philosopher Spinoza (1677), who maintained "that God is nothing but the universe, which thinks in man, feels in animals, vegetates in plants, is inanimate in the earth; that there is but one substance variously modified, infinite in every sense; and that the existence of beings is necessary and eternal!" It is needless to say that this philosophy found little acceptance within the Church. It has had, nevertheless, an undeniable influence on some recent phases of Christian thought; so that we hear, in the present generation, of "Christian Pantheists," and of "the divine totality of being." Moreover, Pantheism is perhaps the most formidable element—because less easily disposed of than a gross materialism—in those antichristian speculations with which, of late years, the Church has had to

contend. It is scarcely necessary to mention, as an opposite extreme, the crude and gross Anthropomorphism of the petty sect of Muggletonians, about 1630, or of the more modern sect of "Latter-day Saints."

Attributes of God.

From the very first there entered into the Christian conception of God the natural attributes of Immensity, Eternity, Omnipresence, Omniscience, and Omnipotence, together with the moral attributes of Infinite Wisdom, Benevolence, Justice, etc. All these are distinctly affirmed in the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, and any opinion at variance with their full recognition was promptly rejected. But there was some difference in the manner in which these divine attributes were regarded by various schools of theologians.

The earlier Fathers found it necessary to vindicate the natural attributes of the one God against the heathen, whose ideas on the subject were cramped by the habit of adoring very finite deities. Thus, concerning the Divine Omnipresence and Immensity, Theophilus of Antioch (180) says, "It is the attribute of God not only to be everywhere present, but also to see all things and to hear all. . . . For God is not contained, but is Himself the Place of all" [other copies read "His own place"]. Clement of Alexandria (220) says, "God is not in darkness, or in a place, but above both place and time, and the properties of things that are; therefore neither does He ever dwell in a part, either as containing or contained, either by any limitation or division." Origen (254) thought of God as rather "filling and holding together the world with the plenitude of His power" than with His actual presence. But Cyprian (258) expressly asserts that "the whole of Him is everywhere diffused." Augustine (430) has this remarkable statement: "God is not anywhere, for whatever is anywhere is contained in a place, whatever is contained in a place is a body. He is not, then, anywhere; and yet because He *is*, and is not in a place, it is rather the case that all things are in Him than that He is anywhere."

As to the Omniscience of God, Justin (165) connects it

with His Omnipresence: "For the ineffable Father and Lord of all neither arrives anywhere, nor walks, nor sits down, nor rises up, but remains in His own place, wherever that is; quick to behold and quick to hear, not with eyes or ears, but with an indescribable power; and He sees all things and knows all things, and none of us escapes Him." Clement of Alexandria says, "God knows all things; not only those that are, but those that shall be . . . seeing the soul naked within; and He has from eternity the idea of each thing particularly. . . . In one glance He views all things together, and each by itself." Origen has been thought to imply some limitation of the Divine Omniscience, when he asks, "Can God comprehend all things? It were impious to say that He cannot; but if He can, they must have a beginning and an end, for what has no beginning cannot be comprehended." Augustine views the matter differently: "The world could not be known to us unless it were; but if it were not known to God, it could not be."

The same love of wire-drawn speculation which suggested to Origen a metaphysical limitation of God's knowledge suggested a similar limitation of His power. "We must say that the power of God is finite . . . for if the divine power be infinite, it must needs be able even to understand itself; but that which is naturally illimitable is incapable of being comprehended." Elsewhere he is more practical: "With God all things are possible; we know how to understand the word *all*, as not referring to things non-existent or inconceivable. But God cannot do what is disgraceful, for then He would cease to be God."

Of the Eternity of God Augustine has a sublime conception. "There is not, in the divine life, either past or future, but only present, because it is eternal. For *to have been* and *to be about to be* is not eternal."

The moral attributes held a prominent place in the theology of the Fathers, and with good reason, considering the immoral character of the gods whose worship was to be supplanted. Clement of Alexandria, in particular, delights to dwell on the compassion and love of God. "In His ineffable essence He is Father, in His compassion to us He became

Mother; the Father by loving became feminine; the great proof of this is the One whom He begat of Himself, and the fruit brought forth by love is love." Even penal inflictions Clement resolves into manifestations of divine love. "He who loves anything wishes to do it good. . . . How, then, if the Lord loves man and is good, is He angry and punishes? . . . This mode of treatment is advantageous to the right training of children, indeed a necessary help. For many of the passions are cured by punishments. . . . Reproof is the surgery of the passions of the soul."

The reconciliation of punitive justice with divine goodness was a difficulty with the Gnostics; some of whom, as Marcion, offered a plausible solution by discriminating between the just and the good God. Against these Irenæus (202) argues, "If the Father does not exercise judgment, He consents to all those actions that take place. But on as many as by their own choice depart from God He inflicts that separation which they have chosen. God does not punish them immediately of Himself, but punishment falls on them because they are destitute of all that is good." Tertullian (220) deals with other aspects of the question. "From the first the Creator was good, and also just; and both His attributes advanced together. . . . But when evil broke out, and God's goodness began to have an adversary to contend against, His justice acquired another function—that of directing His goodness according to men's application for it." And again, "He owes the infliction of chastisement to whatever He promulgates, for the vindication of His authority and the maintenance of submission." Origen goes farther, proving that justice is a necessary part of goodness; his universalism, however (of which more hereafter), compels him to argue that *all* penal inflictions are intended for reformation. Lactantius (320) devotes a whole treatise to the anger of God, proving that it is not inconsistent with benevolence; he says, "If God did not hate evil, He could not love good." Augustine writes, "The just punishment of sin shows even more of the Lord's clemency than of His severity . . . and the beauty of justice is in accord with the grace of benignity, in that when we are deceived by the sweetness

of inferior good we are taught by the bitterness of punishment."

The task of reconciling the omniscience and sovereignty of God with human liberty was undertaken by several of the Fathers. Chrysostom (398) solved the problem by ascribing to God an antecedent and a subsequent will; according to the former all creatures should be happy, according to the latter sinners must be punished. Augustine, too, in his earlier writings contributed to the discussion; but the exigencies of his controversy with Pelagius led him to deny human liberty altogether, and to resolve the divine foreknowledge into absolute predestination.

The interminable discussions of the Middle Ages threw little real light on the divine attributes. John Damascene (750) says, "This only can be comprehended of Him, His infinitude and incomprehensibility." The reverential caution of this Father was generally imitated by the later Greek divines.

In the West it was quite otherwise. The intellectual torpor of the tenth century, "The Dark Age," was followed by that marvellous awaking which gave birth to the Scholastic Philosophy. The Schoolmen found an intense delight in investigating the Unsearchable. Their object was, without reference to the authority of Scripture, and by pure reason, to demonstrate the doctrines of Christianity; to arrange them into a compact system; and to combat all possible objections raised by scepticism. From the latter half of the eleventh century they were divided into the opposing [philosophical] sects of Realists and Nominalists, according as they supposed "Universals," *i.e.* the general conceptions of things, really to exist or not to exist apart from the mere *thinking* of man. Their opinions on this knotty question greatly influenced their speculations about the divine attributes. But the realist Anselm (1109) and the nominalist Abelard (1142) agreed with the proposition laid down by Augustine, that the attributes of God form one whole, and are so identical with His Essence that they cannot be regarded either as manifold or as merely attached to Him. Abelard says, "Wisdom is not *in* God . . . His wisdom *is* God Himself."

Hugh of St. Victor (1141) discussed the unity of God, which he regarded as involving immutability. He also speculated about the manner of the divine omnipresence: "God is substantially and really in every creature and nature without being defined, and in every place without being circumscribed." Alexander Hales (1230) agreed with this; he, however, thought that God was not in all things in the same manner, but variously, "by His essence, by His presence, and by His power." Aquinas (1274) is more explicit: "God is in all things, not as part of their essence, nor as an accident, but as he who does anything is in what he does. He fills every place, not as a body, but in that He everywhere gives being to those things which fill all places. His substance is present in all things as the cause of being."

The manner of God's omniscience was likewise debated. Hugh of St. Victor expressed his views as follows: "All things that were created by God in time *existed in Him from eternity*, and were known to Him because they existed in Him." This is substantially Plato's theory of archetypal ideas, and affords an intelligible illustration of the root-principle of scholastic realism. Bonaventura (1256) says: "God knows all things as if present, and at once, perfectly also, and immutably. . . . He knows things temporal eternally, things changeable unchangeably, things contingent infallibly, things created uncreatedly, things other than Himself He knows in and by Himself."

About the power of God the Schoolmen indulged in the wildest speculations. They debated whether God could lie? Whether He could make undone that which was done, *e.g.* change a harlot into a virgin? and questions even more outrageous and indecent! Even the love of God did not escape their irreverent discussions. It was sometimes represented as at variance with His justice and omnipotence, and needing to be reconciled. They inquired whether He loved angels or men the most? Whether His love toward His creatures was of the same kind with His love toward Himself, etc. Erasmus (1536) satirized these impertinences in his *Praise of Folly*; and Luther (1546) wittily rebuked them when, being asked where God was before the creation, he

replied, "In the birch wood, cutting rods to chastise presumptuous inquirers."

The Reformation put an end to these extravagances. Nevertheless, Protestant writers of the sixteenth and following centuries have devoted much attention to systematic theology, and in their treatises have elaborately defined the divine attributes; asserting them, indeed, on the authority of Scripture, but adopting, in general, the scholastic method of demonstration. The Lutheran Hollaz (1713) affords a fair example of their usual mode of treating the subject: "The divine attributes are distinguished from each other, and from the Divine Essence, not merely by name, nor yet in reality, but formally, according to our method of conceiving, and not without a certain ground of distinction."

It has been necessary, now and again, to defend the divine attributes against antichristian speculations; and debates have arisen within the Church about the harmony of divine justice and mercy in connection with the pardon of sin, and about the old difficulty of reconciling divine foreknowledge with human freedom. This last question has been very variously treated. The Jesuits, following Molina (1588), supposed a peculiar kind of knowledge,¹ *intermediate* between predestination and observation, whereby God foresees the voluntary actions of free creatures. The Socinians denied God's absolute foreknowledge of human actions; and some of them, as Crell (1633), went so far as to limit His natural attributes of eternity and immensity. The Calvinists, on the other hand, followed Augustine in denying the freedom of the will; and were so fearful of degrading the conception of God to a mere exaggerated humanity, that they have sometimes declared Him to be "without passions" (see *Anglican Articles*, 1553, and *Westminster Confession*, 1647). On the whole, the discussions of the last three hundred years on the divine attributes have added very little, if anything, to the doctrine of the early Fathers.

¹ "Scientia media."

III.—THE TRINITY.

Divine Plurality in Unity.

Notwithstanding the divine unity is witnessed alike by primæval tradition, by revelation, and by the ripest thought of the greatest philosophers, there yet seems to be in the human mind an instinctive disposition to conceive of some kind of divine plurality. This disposition appears not only in heathen Polytheism and in the vagaries of Gnosticism, but in some of the most refined forms of philosophic speculation. All these conceptions, however, fail to harmonize the two seemingly contradictory notions of unity and plurality; and it may be fairly claimed that the difficulty has never been met except by the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

So essential has this doctrine appeared to the orthodox Christianity of sixteen centuries, that one is startled at being reminded that it is nowhere formally laid down in Scripture. In the baptismal formula, in the apostolic benediction, and in one or two other places less pointedly, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are mentioned as co-ordinate; but the only dogmatic assertion on the subject (1 John v. 7) is well known to be interpolated. Of the Fathers, the first who *certainly* uses the word "Trinity" in the orthodox sense is Tertullian (190-220). There is, indeed, a well-known passage in Theophilus (180) where a Divine Trinity is mentioned, but the exact meaning is doubtful.

But though the *doctrine* is not formulated in the New Testament, the *facts* of which it is a convenient expression are clearly there asserted. Not only so, even before the advent of Christ these facts were being felt after both by Jew and Gentile. No great importance is to be assigned to triplets of gods that appear in several mythologies; the only one of them which presents any considerable analogy to the Christian doctrine is the Indian triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; and this is rather a figure of divine energy in its various aspects, as creator, preserver, and destroyer. But as soon as men began to think of God as a Being purely spiritual, it was necessary to think also of a Medium by

which He creates and governs the world, and manifests Himself in it. Some thought of this Medium as distinct from, others as subsisting within, the Divine Essence; and thus, even before the Christian era, we perceive two germs of thought, tending respectively towards Arianism and Trinitarianism.

Doctrine of the Word.

It is a singular fact that in ancient Indian legends Brahma is represented as creating the world by a mystic *word*, "Om!" In the system of the Parsees, too (ascribed to the semi-mythical Zoroaster), the good God Ahuramazda is evolved out of Absolute Being by a *word*, "Honover." And Plato imagined the Creative Intelligence (*Nous*) to stand in a relation towards God somewhat analogous to that which St. John assigns to the Word (*Logos*).

In several places of the Old Testament the Word of God is poetically personified, see Ps. cxlvii. 15, Isa. lv. 11; and the Divine Wisdom still more strikingly in Prov. viii. To these personifications a more definite form was given in the Apocryphal Books; see especially Ecclus. i. 4-10, xxiv. 1-22; Wisd. vii. 22-viii. 4, xviii. 15. In the Targums—the earliest of which dates at least a generation before Christ—"The Word of the Lord" is constantly spoken of as a person; and though, no doubt, it is often merely equivalent to "The Lord Himself," there are many cases in which it cannot be so understood. Moreover, the phrase, when most decidedly personal, is used as denoting the medium whereby God communicates with men. The way was thus prepared for the speculations of Philo, a contemporary of our Lord, who teaches a doctrine wonderfully like that of the beloved disciple. He speaks of the Word (*Logos*) as God; as "a second God," as "the only-begotten Son, first-begotten, image, shadow, glory, wisdom, etc., of God;" as the Mediator by whom the revelations of God were brought about, and by whose instrumentality the appearances of God became possible. Yet he regarded this Word of God as holding much the same relation to the Supreme Intellect as speech does to the human; and it is by no means certain that he meant to

ascribe to it a *distinct* personality. In the Book of Enoch, however, such personality is plainly ascribed to a "Son of Man," called also "the Chosen One and the Hidden One," of whom it is said that "before the sun was created His name was called upon in the presence of the Lord of Spirits. . . . All who dwell on earth will fall down and worship before Him." This book was probably written a few years before the birth of Jesus; and though it seems to contain later interpolations, they are of Jewish, not Christian origin.

Coming now to the Gospel narratives; it is certain, if these are in any degree trustworthy, that Jesus Christ claimed to hold an entirely unique relation toward God. Not only did He use language which in an ordinary man would be quite inconsistent with exemplary goodness,—as when He asserted His own power to forgive sins, and claimed to be Lord of the Sabbath,—which His hearers believed to have been ordained by God; but, when solemnly adjured by the highest civil authorities, He avowed Himself "The Son of God" in so peculiar a sense as to leave them no alternative but either to admit His claims or adjudge Him guilty of blasphemy. These claims were fully recognised by His most intimate associates; in particular by John, who, adopting in substance the same doctrine of the Logos which had been hinted in the Targums and speculatively developed by Philo, identified this Logos with the superhuman element in the person of Jesus. The basis of John's theology is, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

Though the word "Logos" is not used by Paul in the same sense as by John, he nevertheless repeatedly asserts the pre-existence of Christ, and ascribes to Him divine acts and attributes, especially in Col. i. 15-17, ii. 9. The same doctrine is clearly taught by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and the other New Testament writers, though less dogmatic than Paul and John, all use language which agrees perfectly with their teaching, and cannot without violence be reconciled with the denial of it.

The doctrine of the Word, in the New Testament, is treated in a thoroughly practical manner. Alike in His words and in His acts Christ is the revealer, nay, the manifestation of

God. But in the age following that of the apostles, the practical treatment of the doctrine gave place to unlimited speculation. The Gnostics represented the Word, or "the Christ from above," as one of the many *Æons* or Emanations from the Supreme God. Opposed to them were the Ebionites, a Jewish sect, who acknowledged Jesus as the expected Messiah, but regarded Him as a mere man, and rejected the doctrine of the Word altogether. Still, neither Gnostics nor Ebionites can be fairly accounted Christians; at most they occupied a sort of borderland, verging on heathenism and Judaism respectively.

But about 170 there sprang up a sect or school within the Church, to whom, from their rejection of the doctrine of the Word, the name "Alogians" was applied. They acknowledged that Jesus was preternaturally conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. But they denied that there was anything superhuman in His nature, until, at His baptism, a certain divine element entered into Him, by virtue of which He then—or, according to others, only at His resurrection—was made God. This sect originated in Asia Minor, and gained some adherents at Rome, where its leaders, Theodotus and Artemon, were excommunicated about the end of the second century. The same judgment was passed on Paul of Samosata, who, about 260, propounded a similar heresy at Antioch.

Monarchianism and Subordination.

The Logos being identified with the superhuman element in the person of Christ, it was difficult to maintain Its essential deity and distinct personality, without seeming thereby to assert the existence of two Gods. To avoid this difficulty the Monarchian or Patripassian theory was advanced. Its chief advocates were Praxeas at Rome, Noetus of Smyrna, and Beryllus of Bostra in Arabia (between 190 and 240). The opinions of these speculators varied somewhat in detail, but they agreed in acknowledging the true Godhead of Jesus Christ, while they rejected the personal distinction between the Father and the Word. It was thus implied that the

passion of Christ was actually endured by God the Father. These views were vigorously combated, from various points of view, by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Callistus, and Origen; but, though denounced as heterodox, their supporters were not always excluded from the Church.

The prevailing opinion, down to the end of the second century, seems to have been that the Word existed from eternity within the Divine Essence, as a thought within the mind; and that Its personal distinction from the Father was not necessary and eternal, but originated in a free act on the part of God, and was somehow connected with the creation of the world. There was thus a tendency to subordinate the Word to the Father, as if the expression, "My Father is greater than I," referred to Christ's state of existence before His incarnation.

A few extracts may render this more intelligible. Justin (165) writes: "To the Father of all, who is unbegotten, no name is given; and His Son, who alone is properly called Son, the Word, who also was with Him and was begotten before the works, when at first He created and arranged all things by Him, is called Christ." And elsewhere, "This power was begotten from the Father by His power and will, but not by severance, as if the essence of the Father were divided." And he illustrates his meaning by the case of one fire kindled from another. Tatian (166) uses the same illustration, and says, "With God, by Word-power, the Word who was in Him subsists, and by His simple will the Word springs forth; and the Word, not coming forth in vain, becomes the first-begotten work of the Father. Him we know to be the beginning of the world. But He came into being by participation, not by severance." Athenagoras (177) writes: "The Son of God is the Word of the Father, in idea and in operation; for by Him and through Him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one. For from the beginning God, who is the Eternal Mind, had the Word in Himself." Theophilus (181) develops the same idea more fully: "God, having His own Word inwardly within His own bowels (!), begat Him, emitting Him along with His own wisdom before all things. He had this Word as a helper in the things that

were created by Him. . . . The Word . . . always exists, residing in the heart of God; but when God wished to make all that He had determined upon, He begat this unuttered Word, the First-born of all creation, not Himself being emptied of the Word, but having begotten the Word and always conversing with the Word." Irenæus (202) strongly disapproved of all speculative explanations, and especially of all material illustrations, of the doctrine of the Word. He says: "None can understand that production, or generation, or calling, or revelation, or by whatever name one may describe His generation, which is in fact altogether indescribable." Elsewhere he speaks of God as "All Mind and all Word."

The tendency to subordinate the Word to the Father, as well as the fear of seeming to recognise two Gods, excited opposition in the form of Patripassianism. The earlier assailants of the last-named theory distinctly affirmed the subordination of the Word. Tertullian (220), in an elaborate treatise against Praxeas, writes: "We believe that there is one only God, but that this one only God has a Son, His Word, who proceeded from Himself. . . . For God sent forth the Word as the root puts forth the tree, the fountain the river, and the sun the ray. But the tree is not severed from the root, nor is the Word separated from God." In Clement of Alexandria (220) the doctrine of the Word assumes a more practical aspect. "The Word both does, and teaches, and instructs in all things." He is the image of God, by means of which God is perceived. He is superior to men and angels, but subordinate to the Father. Nevertheless, "we are to love Him equally with God;" indeed, Clement distinctly calls Him "God the Son." Hippolytus (236) maintained a similar doctrine against Noetus; whilst Callistus, bishop of Rome (223), conceived that both Monarchianism and Subordination contained elements of truth and of error. He seems to have taught—though in a crude and confused manner—the eternal and personal distinction of the Father and the Word within the inseparable unity of the Divine Essence.

"The Word" was at first spoken of with reference to a subsistence within the Divine Essence; the title "Son" being used with reference to the incarnation. In Tertullian this

distinction vanishes ; and its surrender prepared the way for an important doctrinal development. This was the doctrine of the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, which, having been vaguely anticipated by Callistus, was first clearly propounded by Origen (254) in opposition to Beryllus. Having identified the Son with the Wisdom of God (Prov. viii. 22) and the Power of God (1 Cor. i. 24), he says, "The only-begotten Son of God is His Wisdom hypostatically existing. . . . Who can suppose that God the Father ever existed even for a moment without generating this Wisdom? For in that case He must say either that God was unable to generate Wisdom before He produced her . . . or that He possessed the power indeed, but was unwilling to use it ; both which suppositions are absurd and impious. . . . Let him that assigns a beginning to the Word or Wisdom take heed that he be not guilty of impiety toward the unbegotten Father Himself. . . . His generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun." On one point Origen is uncertain, whether this Eternal Generation of the Son is to be referred to the *nature* or the *will* of the Father ; but his doctrine on the subject, except as to that subordination of the Word which he held in common with his predecessors, came in a short time to be regarded as exclusively orthodox.

Doctrine of the Holy Ghost.

Meanwhile the doctrine of the Holy Ghost was much more slowly developed ; indeed, the ideas on this subject which prevailed throughout the Ante-Nicene period were exceedingly vague. The earlier Fathers, while they insist largely on the work of the Spirit as inspiring the prophets, and, to a less extent, on His witness and operation in the hearts of believers, have nothing definite or intelligible concerning His nature. Some seem to confound the Spirit with the Word, as Justin (165), who says, "It is wrong to understand the Spirit and the Power of God as anything else than the Word." Elsewhere he speaks of the Spirit as a mere gift or influence bestowed on men by God, which, he says, "was announced under another name by Plato . . . who does not

think fit to name it the Holy Spirit, but Virtue." Yet in another place Justin says, "The Father of righteousness, and the Son who came forth from Him, and the prophetic Spirit . . . we worship and adore." Others, making a distinction between the Word and the Wisdom of God, seem to identify the latter with the Spirit; thus Theophilus (180) speaks of "The Trinity [more correctly, Triad] of God, and His Word, and His Wisdom;" and Irenæus (202) says, "With Him were always present the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit . . . by whom He made all things." Even Tertullian (220) sometimes confounds the Word and the Spirit; as where, commenting on Luke i. 35, he says, "The Spirit of God in this passage must be the same as the Word;" though in other places he carefully distinguishes them. Indeed, Tertullian asserts the personality of the Holy Ghost with much greater explicitness than any earlier writer, distinctly subordinating Him both to the Father and the Son.

Tertullian, as has been already mentioned, was the first to use the word "Trinity" to denote at once the personal distinction and essential unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and the term, thus happily chosen, was soon universally adopted. The doctrine is distinctly formulated, and defended in all essential points, in his treatise against Praxeas (about 208). "The mystery of the dispensation," he says, "is still guarded, which distributes the Unity into a Trinity, placing in their order the three—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: three, however, not in condition, but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in aspect; yet of one substance, and of one condition, and of one power, inasmuch as He is one God, from whom these degrees and forms and aspects are reckoned under the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The same doctrine is more clearly defined by Hippolytus (236). "The Father indeed is one; but there are two persons, because there is also the Son; and then there is the third, the Holy Ghost. . . . The œconomy of harmony is led back to one God, for God is one. It is the Father who commands, and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Ghost who gives understanding; the Father who is above all, and the

Son who is through all, and the Holy Ghost who is in all. And we cannot otherwise think of one God, but by believing in truth in the Father and Son and Holy Ghost . . . for it is through this Trinity that the Father is glorified."

Origen (254) still further developed the doctrine of the Spirit, giving it as his opinion that "the working of the Father and the Son takes place as well in saints as in sinners, in rational beings and in dumb animals, and even in things without life . . . but the operation of the Holy Ghost takes place only in those persons who are turning to a better life, and walking along the way that leads to Jesus Christ." As to the nature of the Spirit, he frankly acknowledges that "in His case it is not clearly distinguished whether He is to be regarded as created, or uncreated, or also as a Son of God, or not." Origen, like Tertullian, subordinates the Spirit both to the Father and the Son.

This idea of subordination among the three divine subsistences soon became a fruitful source of controversy. Meanwhile Sabellius, an Egyptian residing at Rome (about 256), devised a modified form of Monarchianism, which was widely accepted in Egypt and elsewhere. His system differed from those of Praxeas, Noetus, etc., in assigning a distinct and necessary place to the Holy Ghost; while, in common with them, it repudiated personal or hypostatic distinctions within the Divine Essence, affirming that God is a simple unity. According to Sabellius, the divine unity, as "a silent God," rested in Himself, until, being about to create the world, He came forth from Himself as God the Word. During the development of the world, the Word presented Himself under three forms or personations, each of which contained the entire Deity. In the character of Father He gave the law, and at the close of the Old Testament dispensation returned to His absolute state. Next He appeared in the incarnation as the Son, and after His passion and ascension again returned into Himself. Once more He manifests Himself as the Holy Ghost, that when the whole Church shall have been sanctified He may again return to His essential unity, and remain indistinguishably one for ever. These successive acts Sabellius called "expansion and contraction;" and he illustrated his

idea of the Godhead by the sun, "which is one in substance, but has three energies, motion, light, and heat." The views of Sabellius were energetically combated by Novatian, Dionysius of Rome, and his namesake of Alexandria. No sect of Sabellians was ever formed; but in all ages the speculations of the Egyptian theologian have commended themselves to many who found it difficult to reconcile unity with tri-personality.

The Arian Controversy.

Hitherto, in all the disputes which had agitated the Church respecting the medium whereby God creates and manifests Himself to the creature, that medium had been considered as subsisting within the Divine Essence. But about 318 the assertion of a contrary opinion led to a far more serious controversy. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, affirmed that "the Son is not unbegotten, nor yet in any sense a part of the Unbegotten; but neither [is He made] of anything subsisting, but He subsisted by will and counsel [of God] before times and before ages; fully divine, only begotten, unchanging: and before He was begotten, or created, or defined, or founded, He was not, for He was not unbegotten." This is somewhat ambiguous, but the following is unmistakeable: "God was not always a Father, but became so at length. The Son was not always, for before He was begotten He was not. He is not of the Father, for He was constituted out of non-existence; He is not of the Father's proper essence, for He is created and made, and Christ is not very God, but He was made God by participation."

This doctrine, which runs to the opposite extreme from Sabellianism, was at once challenged by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and in a very short time all Christendom was involved in the controversy. The Emperor Constantine, who avowed himself a Christian in 323, seems to have inclined at first to the Arian doctrine. Having vainly endeavoured to conciliate the opposing parties, he was advised by Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to call a General Council to settle the dispute. Accordingly, in 325, there assembled at Nicea three

hundred and eighteen bishops, under the presidency of Hosius, or, by other accounts, of the emperor himself. It is to be regretted that the acts of this famous council have only come down to us in an incomplete form; but the following particulars are certain. The Arians formed a considerable party, headed by Eusebius of Nicomedia. A larger number, probably a majority of the whole council, led by Eusebius of Cæsarea (the historian), held to the views of Origen—the eternal generation of the Son, together with His subordination to the Father. A decided minority at first favoured what was ultimately defined as the orthodox doctrine; but what they lacked in numbers was more than made up by the logic and eloquence of Athanasius, a deacon who accompanied the bishop of Alexandria. The arguments of the Athanasian party convinced Constantine; and it has been asserted, justly or unjustly, that his imperial authority had no small weight in determining the issue. However that may have been, the deliberations were earnest and long continued; and, after several confessions had been proposed and rejected, the views of Athanasius were embodied in a formula which was adopted almost unanimously. This formula expresses belief “In one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten [that is] of the essence of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, *of the same essence (homoousion)* with the Father. . . . But those who say that there was a time when He was not, and that He was not before He was begotten, and that He was made out of nothing, or affirm Him to be made of any other subsistence or essence, or that the Son of God is mutable or changeable, the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church declares them accursed.” Only two bishops refused to subscribe to this creed; and two others, one of whom was Eusebius of Nicomedia, to its condemnatory clauses.

The Arian controversy was by no means settled at Nicea. For more than half a century it continued to rage, and was complicated by political entanglements, and by well-meant efforts at reconciliation made by the party of Eusebius of Cæsarea. This party, known as Eusebians or Semi-Arians, proposed several formularies, declaring the Son to be *of the*

like essence (homoiousion) with the Father. To this the Arians assented; but the Athanasians naturally rejoined that what is like is not the same, and what is not the same is another; if, therefore, the Eusebian doctrine were true, the Son must be *of another essence (heteroousion)*. This the Eusebians would not assert, while the Arians, now led by Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicum, and Aetius, a deacon of Antioch, eagerly affirmed it. Opinion in the East was much confused, the Arian and Eusebian doctrines dividing the majority; while in the West the doctrine of Athanasius was predominant. In 357–8 two councils at Sirmium, in Servia, discarded the unbiblical term *ousia*, and declared that the Son was “like the Father (*homoios*) in all things, as the Holy Scriptures say.” The following year the Eastern bishops, assembled in council at Seleucia, rejected the formula of Sirmium in favour of a more distinctly Arian confession; while those of the West, at Rimini, rejected it as inconsistent with the decisions of Nicea. The strife was still further embittered by political complications. Its details belong to general Church history. Suffice it here to say, that within fifty years about sixty councils and synods were held on the subject, the members of which anathematized each other with strict impartiality. With equal impartiality did each party, when for a while it enjoyed imperial favour, persecute the others. Nearly all the leading controversialists suffered banishment in turn. The principal writers on the orthodox side were Athanasius (now bishop of Alexandria), Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Ephraem, Lucifer of Cagliari, Hilary of Poitiers, and Ambrose. On the Arian side were Asterius, Philostorgius, Aetius, and Eunomius. Among the Eusebians were Basil of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, and Cyril of Jerusalem. Meanwhile Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus of Sirmium, in opposition to Arianism, adopted in substance the theory of Sabellius, differing in this, that they applied the title “Son of God” only to the incarnate Christ. All these writers flourished in the half-century following the Council of Nicea.

Controversies respecting the Holy Ghost led to the assembling of a second General Council, at Constantinople, in 381.

This council marks the definite triumph of Trinitarianism over Arianism within the Roman Empire. For a while the latter opinion struggled to regain its ascendancy, but always in vain; and at length it succumbed to the combined force of argument and persecution.

But during the temporary triumph of Arianism, in the middle of the fourth century, Christianity made its first great conquests among the German tribes. It may be that the Arian doctrine, as preached by Ulfilas ("the apostle of the Goths") and his fellow-missionaries, was more intelligible to a rude people than the refinements of Athanasian orthodoxy; it may be that political considerations had weight in determining the profession at least of some of the tribes. However, by the end of the fifth century more than half the German race professed the religion of Christ in the Arian form. Unhappily the hostilities which had broken out between these barbarians and the Empire induced a combination of national hatred with sectarian animosity, so that German Arianism came to be of the most fanatical character. This was especially the case with the Vandals, who in 430 conquered Northern Africa, and commenced a cruel persecution of the orthodox, which continued till 485. The Goths conquered Spain in 475, and for more than a century they, too, persecuted the orthodox. But the conversion of Clovis, king of the Franks, in 496, gave political predominancy to orthodoxy; and by the middle of the sixth century Arianism was on the decline. The Goths in Spain abjured Arianism at the third Synod of Toledo, in 589. The last German tribe in which it was held as the national faith was that of the Lombards, amongst whom the efforts of orthodox missionaries from Rome were powerfully seconded by the celebrated Queen Theudelinda (about 600), but their conversion was not completed till about 670.

Personality and ProceSSION of the Holy Ghost.

Notwithstanding the clear dogmatic statements of Tertullian and Hippolytus, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost remained indefinite for at least a generation after the Council of Nicea.

Lactantius (325), whose theology is in several respects peculiar, seems, like some earlier Fathers, to identify the Spirit with the Word. The Arians are said [by Athanasius] to have maintained that the Spirit held the same relation to the Son as the Son did to the Father, and that He was the first creature made by the Son. The Eusebians also regarded the Spirit as subordinate both to the Father and the Son. Many who held the consubstantiality (*homoousion*) of the Son with the Father hesitated to ascribe the same to the Holy Ghost. The opinions even of such distinguished theologians as Hilary (355) and Cyril of Jerusalem (375) are vague and difficult to ascertain. Some regarded the Spirit as a mere energy of God, others frankly admitted that they knew not what to think on the subject.

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople (about 362), spoke of the Spirit as a creature and servant of God. Athanasius (373), Basil the Great (379), and Gregory of Nyssa (394) taught that, as the Son, so also the Spirit is a distinct subsistence within the Divine Essence. Gradually this view prevailed, those who rejected it being distinguished as "Macedonians." Against these Macedonians an energetic controversy was maintained by Gregory Nazianzen (391), who undertook to prove that the Spirit is neither a creature nor a mere energy, and therefore must be truly God. It is noteworthy, however, that Gregory thought this doctrine to be *intimated*, rather than *revealed*, in Scripture; and that the Spirit, dwelling in the Church, manifested Himself more fully since the doctrine of the Son had been fully established. We have here that notion of a gradual development, within the Church, of orthodox doctrine not clearly revealed in Scripture, which has had such startling results in subsequent ages. In 381 the Council of Constantinople, adopting the views of Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, added the following definition to the Confession of Nicea: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is to be worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets." The so-called Nicene Creed, in its present form, was really the work of this Council. The Macedonians were excommuni-

cated, and nicknamed "Pneumatomachoi," *i.e.* fighters against the Spirit. They continued as a separate sect for more than a hundred years afterwards.

The Council of Constantinople had left unsettled the relation of the Spirit to the Son; and forthwith a violent controversy broke out, whether the Spirit "proceeds" from the Father only, or from the Father and the Son. The dispute referred, not to the sending forth of the Spirit among men, but to what may be called the internal œconomy of the Godhead. Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa were quite indefinite on this point. Theodore of Mopsuestia (429) and Theodoret (441) maintained that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only, an opinion favoured by most of the Greek theologians, and defended and enforced by John Damascene (750). Epiphanius (403) insisted that the "procession" of the Spirit was both from the Father and the Son; with him agreed Augustine (420) and nearly all the Latin theologians. The controversy was embittered by a Synod of Latin bishops, at Toledo (589), who interpolated the word "*filioque*," *i.e.* "*and the Son*," after "proceedeth from the Father" in the creed of Constantinople, and anathematized all who held the contrary opinion. This act tended, more than any other single cause, to bring about and perpetuate the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which, however, did not actually take place till the ninth century.

The doctrine of the Western Church on the subject of the Trinity is presented in its most definite form in the *Symbolum* "*Quicumque*," commonly called the Athanasian Creed. The origin of this creed is uncertain. Undoubtedly it is not the work of Athanasius, but originated in the West, among the followers of Augustine. It has been variously ascribed to Vincent of Lerins (450), Hilary of Arles (454), Vigilius of Tapsus (485), and others. It was not generally adopted as a Church creed till the seventh century, and is only so recognised by the Roman and Anglican Churches. From the paradoxical character of its definitions, it has been thought by some to be an Arian caricature of the orthodox faith; but this opinion is quite untenable, as it does not contain

a single paradox which is not to be found in other writings of the same age, and of undisputed authenticity.

Mediæval and Modern Opinions.

The history of the doctrine of the Trinity during the Middle Ages is of very limited interest. As if the subject were not of itself sufficiently difficult, salvation was declared to depend on "keeping whole and undefiled" the faith defined in the Athanasian Creed, with some statement of which every attempt to explain its mysteries must inevitably come in collision. Accordingly, all such attempts involved their authors in the suspicion of heresy. The speculations of Erigena (850) were said, with some reason, to savour of Pantheism. Roscellin (1092), the founder of the "Nominalist" school, was charged with Tritheism; "God" being, as his views were reported by his opponents, a mere general conception, like "man" or "thing," under which the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were comprehended as individuals. Abelard (1142), also a Nominalist, seems rather to have inclined to Sabellianism; Power, Wisdom, and Love were, in his opinion, the three Persons of the Trinity, the difference being merely nominal. Yet this statement cannot *fully* represent the views of Abelard, as he illustrated the Persons of the Trinity by the persons in grammar, "I, Thou, He." Gilbert de la Porrée (1154), a Realist, distinguished the divine essence from God, as humanity is distinguished from man; not only, therefore, did his views bear the semblance of Tritheism, but he was charged with transmuting the Trinity into a quaternity! Alan of Ryssel (1203) represented the Father as matter, the Son as form, and the Spirit as the union of both.

It was usual to regard power as the special attribute of the Father, wisdom of the Son, and love of the Holy Ghost. Hugh of St. Victor (1141) insisted on the necessity of this distinction, lest misconceptions of the divine character should be fostered by the names of the three Persons. He also associated the Trinity with the course of the world's history. The law, given by the Father, was a dispensation of fear; the manifestation of the Son, a dispensation of truth; and the

outpouring of the Spirit, a dispensation of love. This idea was further developed, in a mystic and prophetic strain, by Joachim of Flores (1202).

The later Schoolmen altogether subordinated the practical bearings of the doctrine to subtle speculations and absurd questions. They debated, Why there are not more or less than three Persons in the Godhead? Why should God be called "the Father," and not "the Mother"? Why did the Son, rather than the Father or the Holy Ghost, become incarnate? Could the Father, if He had so willed, *not* have begotten the Son? Is it lawful to vary the order, in speaking of the Divine Persons, etc.? The Mystics not only repudiated these impertinences, but generally admitted the impossibility of explaining the doctrine. Tauler (1350) says: "If we attempt to speak of it, it is as impossible to do so properly as to reach the sky with one's head." Wessel (1489) discovers a resemblance to the Trinity in the constitution of man, who was made in the likeness of God, and in whom coexist understanding, intelligence, and will.

At the Reformation Protestants and Catholics were at one about the Trinity, and accepted the same ancient creeds on the subject. Yet both Luther and Melancthon expressed their dislike of the excessive importance attached to scholastic definitions. And, side by side with the Reformation, there was at work a spirit of scepticism, begotten of disgust at ecclesiastical corruptions on the part of men enthusiastically devoted to the newly-revived classical learning. These "Humanists" looked on the whole scholastic philosophy with avowed contempt; the name of the illustrious schoolman Duns Scotus they applied as a byword to an ignorant person — *a dunce*; and, being mostly destitute of deep religious feeling, they cast aside the definitions of the earlier Councils with the later absurdities of the schools, and adopted a crude Unitarianism. A few speculative minds inclined to Arianism, but their influence was small. A more commanding figure is that of Michael Servetus. His views have been described as "Pantheistic Unitarianism;" but in respect of the Trinity he appears to have approached the modified Sabellianism of Photinus. By the merciless ridicule with which he assailed

the orthodox doctrine, he incurred a charge of blasphemy, in consequence of which he was burnt, not indeed at the instigation, but with the acquiescence of Calvin, in 1553. Lælius Socinus (1562), and his nephew, Faustus Socinus (1602), advanced opinions resembling those of Artemon and the Alogians, denying altogether the Trinity and the Godhead of Christ. Their views, which for a while had great popularity in Poland and elsewhere, will be more conveniently treated of hereafter. On the breaking out of the Arminian controversy, about 1603, some of the Remonstrants reverted to the theory of Subordination, which had so generally prevailed in the earlier centuries. Their opponents eagerly charged them with Socinianism, but the charge was altogether void of truth.

In England, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a considerable revival of Arianism in a slightly modified form. This doctrine had been held by Milton (1674), but not avowed by him in his lifetime. Its chief advocates were Samuel Clarke (1729) and William Whiston (1752), the latter of whom endeavoured, by an elaborate collation of documents, the antiquity of which he greatly over-estimated, to prove that Arianism had been the prevailing creed of the Ante-Nicene age. Arianism found no tolerance within the Anglican Church, Whiston being excommunicated as a heretic, but it spread widely among Presbyterian and Baptist congregations. These, however, lapsed into Socinianism and Deism, so that Arianism is now all but extinct. Throughout the eighteenth century the denial of the Trinity was a crime against English law, though the law was not practically enforced. In 1813 legal toleration was granted to Unitarians, and their congregations thenceforth rapidly increased in number. At present their prevailing tenets are rather Deistical than Socinian. The same may be said of American Unitarianism, which received a powerful impulse from Priestley, a distinguished natural philosopher, who, being persecuted in England, emigrated to America in 1794. His views appeared to find little favour during his lifetime; but soon after his death (1804) hundreds of Unitarian congregations came into being. Unitarianism chiefly prevails in the

New England States. It has progressed from a devout Socinianism, as represented by Channing (1842), to a pure Rationalistic Theism, as represented by Theodore Parker (1860).

The Moravians (from 1727) were charged with heterodoxy in an opposite direction, that of paying exclusive homage to the Son. Some of their hymns so far warrant the charge, that in them the Father and the Son seem confounded; but the Moravians have always accepted the definition of the Trinity contained in the Augsburg Confession, which agrees with the ancient creeds.

The views of Swedenborg (1772) on the Trinity were peculiar. Rejecting altogether the ecclesiastical doctrine, he asserted that "God is only one Person, and this one Godhead is Christ, who manifests Himself in a threefold form: the Father is the principle, the Son the form, and the Spirit the activity of the manifested God." This doctrine has a strong affinity to Sabellianism.

It has been already intimated that the standards of the Reformed Churches agree in substance with the confessions of Nicea and Constantinople. It is nevertheless true that, from about 1750, the Protestantism of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France became largely imbued with the spirit of Rationalism, so that, in spite of the standards, a bare Theism had almost displaced the doctrine of the Trinity. Within the last half century, however, there has been a reaction. An "Evangelical" school has sprung up beside the Rationalistic school in the continental Protestant Churches, and its theologians have energetically contended for orthodoxy as embodied in the ancient formularies. Meanwhile, many throughout Protestant Christendom adopt the suggestion of Schleiermacher (1834), and refer the Trinity rather to the work of redemption than to the nature of the Deity; and these, naturally adopting opinions more or less akin to those of Sabellius, find general toleration within the Churches.

IV.—CREATION AND PROVIDENCE.

We have already seen that the Church from the beginning accepted the Old Testament Scriptures as the record of a

divine revelation. A necessary consequence of this belief was the recognition of God as Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of heaven and earth, *i.e.* of the entire universe.

Doctrine of Absolute Creation.

The early Fathers found themselves confronted with a variety of speculations about the origin of the world. In the East opinions were divided between the pantheistic philosophy of India and the Persian cosmogony, which derived the universe from the mixture or conflict of two eternal principles, light and darkness. In the West conjectures were far more numerous. Matter was universally regarded as eternal, and from it some (the Epicureans) supposed all things to have been unintelligently developed by a "fortuitous concourse of atoms;" while others (the Ionic school) spoke of water, or air, or fire, as the first principle of all things. The vulgar loosely ascribed the fashioning of the universe to "the gods;" and of those who rose to the conception of a presiding Deity, some (the Stoics) thought of Him as the "Soul of the world," or pantheistically regarded all things as a part of Him, supposing in either case that God and His works were alike subject to a fatal necessity; others (the Peripatetics) thought of Him as eternally self-active in organizing the world out of matter, and therefore of the universe as eternal, as well as the matter of which it is formed. Only a few nobler souls, like Plato, conceived of God as *freely* moulding matter into forms which image His own infinitely perfect and eternal ideas; and thus, although still entangled with the conceit of the eternity of matter, they almost reached the truth so clearly enunciated on the first page of the Hebrew Scriptures, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

As to the fact of absolute creation, the earliest Fathers were clearly decided. Hermas (140) says, "First of all, thou shalt believe that God is One, who created and finished all things, and out of not being made all things to be." About the end of the second century, Hermogenes, a painter at Carthage, endeavoured to reconcile the Christian belief with the philosophic doctrine of the eternity of matter, arguing from the unde-

niable existence of evil in the world, which, he urged, would have been perfectly good if created out of nothing by a God who is only good. To him Tertullian (220) replied, showing very skilfully that the theory of Hermogenes involves greater difficulties than that held by the Church; in short, that it amounts to a deification of matter. Clement of Alexandria (220) is said to have taught that matter had no beginning; but the statement seems based on a misunderstanding of his language. Origen (254) plainly intimates his belief that matter was once non-existent; but yet, being unable to conceive of the Creator as unemployed, he supposes an indefinite number of worlds to have succeeded each other and passed away before the present world came into being. This was understood to involve the coeternity of the universe with God, a notion which has much in common with that of Aristotle and the Peripatetics, and which was energetically combated by Methodius (302).

Some account has already been given of the Gnostics, who, in the multitude of their fantastic conceits, agreed to distinguish the Maker of the world from the Supreme God. It may here be further mentioned that some of the Gnostic theories embody a pantheistic element; all existences, or at least the authors of existence, are represented as emanating from the unknown God; the World-maker (*Demiurgos*) being the lowest or remotest of these emanations. Others are more distinctly dualistic, matter being regarded as coeternal with the Supreme, and as being either essentially evil or under the dominion of Satan. None of the Gnostic cosmogonies admit absolute creation; in every case it is either a pantheistic evolution or a mere fashioning the world out of pre-existing material. The same may be said of the Manichæan system, already briefly described. According to its exponents, the world was not created at all, but was formed by "the Living Spirit," at God's command, from the "mixture" which had been produced when the Prince of Darkness overcame and partly swallowed up the divinely-begotten "Ideal Man." Speculations of the Gnostic and Manichæan type continued to be indulged in by various sects as late as the twelfth century.

The system of Erigena (850) may perhaps be most aptly

defined as "Christian Pantheism." According to him, all things were not so much created as developed out of the Divine Essence. But throughout successive ages the orthodox Fathers and Schoolmen held firmly to the idea of creation out of nothing. "God," said Hugh of St. Victor (1141), "is not only the Former, but the Creator and Author of matter." The later Schoolmen thought it needful to define this doctrine with great precision, partly lest it should be imagined that *nothing* could be a cause of existence, and partly in opposition to that revival of Pantheism, early in the thirteenth century, which is exemplified in the teachings of Amalric of Bema.

The same doctrine of Absolute Creation was maintained by the Reformers, and continues generally to prevail both in the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Nevertheless, pantheistic speculations have never been entirely laid aside. The philosophy of Servetus (1533) was decidedly of this order; and the same may be said of the reveries of many Protestant mystics. For example, Böhme (1624) says, "The creation is nothing but a manifestation of the Almighty; it is all that which He is in His eternal generation, but not in His omnipotence." Similar ideas are still entertained by a few within the Church; while others deem it possible to reconcile the eternity of matter with the distinctive articles of the Christian faith.

Work of the Trinity in Creation.

As the doctrine of the Trinity assumed a definite shape, it was natural to inquire what part of the work of creation belonged to each of the Divine Persons. On this point the earlier writers were indistinct, sometimes the Father, sometimes the Word being spoken of as the Creator of the world. Thus Irenæus (202) in one place says, "These are the first principles of the gospel, that there is one God, the maker of this universe; proclaiming the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ignoring any other god or father but Him." While in another place he says, "The Creator of the world is truly the Word of God; and this is our Lord, who in the last time was made man."

Generally, however, creation was regarded as the act of the

Father, wrought through, *i.e.* by means of, the Son. Theophilus (180) says, "That in His Word God made heaven and earth, and whatsoever is in them, it is said, 'In the Beginning God made, etc.'" He thus identifies the Word with the Beginning, an idea seemingly derived from Rev. iii. 14. Even the Arians acknowledged that God effected creation by His Son. The Nicene Creed (325) calls the Father "Maker of all things, visible and invisible;" but says, in reference to the Son, "by means of whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those in earth." The Church thus assigned to the Son, as the Father's agent, a function analogous to that which was undertaken, independently, by the malevolent "World-maker" of the Gnostic systems.

The Creed of Constantinople (381) assigns a part of creation to the Holy Ghost, calling Him "the Life-giver." Similarly Gregory of Nazianzum (390) speaks of the creative work as "an idea accomplished by the Word, and completed by the Spirit." It is presumably in this sense that Augustine (430), and several Western theologians of the same period, referred the work of creation to the whole Trinity. A celebrated hymn of the eighth or ninth century commences, "Veni, Creator Spiritus;" but in thus ascribing creation to the Spirit, the author could scarcely have intended more than was expressed in the Creed of Constantinople. The same is obviously the intention of the Anglican Church, which includes the hymn just quoted in its ordinal, while in its catechism it distinctly ascribes creation to the Father. In short, from the fourth century downwards the doctrine of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds has found universal acceptance, except among the sects which were tainted with Manichæanism, and among modern Unitarians.

Purpose of God in Creation.

Very diverse opinions have been held as to the ultimate purpose of God in creation. The primitive Christians seem generally to have deemed it a voluntary act of divine beneficence, designed to bestow happiness on intelligent creatures. Justin (165) writes, "He in the beginning did, of His

goodness, for man's sake, create all things out of unformed matter." So also Tertullian (220), "God has made nothing unworthy of Himself, although it was for man, and not for Himself, that He made the world." To the same effect Athenagoras, Irenæus, and Origen. Similar views were held by the later Fathers, both in the West and East, as Augustine, Chrysostom, John Damascene, etc., and by the great majority of the Schoolmen. Aquinas (1274) says that God "intended only to communicate His own perfection, which is His goodness; so that the divine goodness is the end of all things."

But after the Reformation entirely different ideas on the subject began to prevail. Half Christendom being in revolt against a spiritual despotism wielded by ecclesiastics, it was natural that the sovereignty of God should be insisted upon in opposition to the authority of priests. In fact, the divine sovereignty occupied the minds of the Reformers, almost to the exclusion of the milder aspects of Deity. That the universe should have been made chiefly with a view to the happiness of the creature was a supposition quite inconsistent with the humility proper to finite and sinful beings. Indeed, in the theology of the "Reformed" (Calvinistic) Churches the bestowal of happiness was a very subordinate element in the divine purpose. The Calvinistic doctrine is stated in the most absolute manner in the Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly (1643-49): God has "*for His own glory* unchangeably foreordained whatever comes to pass," both in creation and providence. Even the Lutheran Calovius (1686) thus defines the ultimate purpose of creation: "that the goodness, wisdom, and power of God should be celebrated by rational creatures, and made known in all creatures." This novel doctrine was controverted both by Socinians and Arminians, who were accustomed to ask, "Is God proud or vain?" Of late the general tendency has been, if not altogether to revert to the early patristic opinion, at least to regard the happiness of the creature as an object co-ordinate with the glory of the Creator.

Method of Creation.

As to the method of creation, speculation has been rife in every age. Some of the early heretics are said to have ascribed the making of the world to angels, either as the agents of God, or (as some Gnostic sects) in opposition to His will. These notions found no acceptance within the Church.

It being evident that no real knowledge on the subject was attainable from the imperfect science of their day, the Fathers devoted special attention to the Mosaic narrative of creation. They unanimously accepted it as the record of a divine revelation, but differed much as to whether it should be understood literally or otherwise. Theophilus (180) received it literally; whereas Origen (254) thought it impossible that the narrative should be so understood by "any person having sense and reason," and treated the whole as allegory. But as the allegorical system of exegesis fell into disrepute, the tendency was to regard the account as historical; and such was the opinion of Athanasius (373) and Augustine (430), the great champions of orthodoxy. Yet Augustine endeavoured to spiritualize the literal as far as might be, frankly admitting the difficulties of a purely historic interpretation, and saying of the six creative days, "Of what sort they could be it is difficult, or rather impossible, for us to think, much more to tell." He endeavoured to dissociate the notion of time from God, and still to retain the truth that creation had a beginning, by representing God as the Author of Time.

In the Middle Ages the same diversity of opinion is found, though the greater number of the Schoolmen accepted the Mosaic narrative as a literal statement of facts. Generally, however, they held that these facts had a mystical or allegorical significance, thus especially Hugh of St. Victor (1141). These views prevailed down to the time of the Reformation, after which they gave place for a while to the baldest literalism. This was due to the prevalence of a hard mechanical theory of verbal inspiration, and to the difficulty of allegorizing the narrative so as to be useful in the controversies of the day. This excessive literalism sustained some curious developments in the "Reformed" Church of the seventeenth century. It

was seriously debated, Whether there had been time before the world was created? and, if so, At what period of time the creation had taken place? Some German divines gravely decided that it was in the spring; others in autumn. Calovius (1686) more reasonably affirmed that God created "not properly in time, but at the first instant and beginning of time."

The growth of natural science reawakened doubts as to the possibility of accepting, in its literal sense, the Mosaic story of creation. It had been assumed as unquestionable that the truth of Scripture was firmly bound up with the Ptolemaic theory, which represented the earth as the centre of the universe. The discoveries of Copernicus (1543), being confined to a narrow circle of philosophers, excited at first but little general interest. Their importance was perceived by Tycho Brahe (1601); and he, as a zealous Protestant who "worshipped the very letter of every part of Scripture," endeavoured, by an ingenious theory of his own, to reconcile them with the centrality and fixedness of the earth. But when Kepler (1630) and Galileo (1642), both devout Catholics, had not only demonstrated the earth's motion, but popularized their discoveries, the cry of heresy was loud and long.¹ Kepler was excommunicated; Galileo was compelled, by imprisonment and the threat of torture, to abjure; and their books, together with those of Copernicus, were prohibited.

Still, the new astronomy found general acceptance, sooner with philosophers than among theologians. Even when it had been established beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt by the observations and experiments of Newton (1727), it was feebly resisted by the school of Hutchinson (1737), who denied the discoveries, set Moses against Newton, and imagined that all science, natural and divine, was contained in the Bible.

As early as 1655, Isaac de la Peyrère suggested that there might have been human beings before Adam. His "heresy" soon reached oblivion; but toward the end of the eighteenth century the then infant science of geology convinced many

¹ Especially offensive was the dictum of Galileo, that Scripture was designed, not to explain the motion of the heavens, but to guide men thither.

that a bare literal interpretation of the Mosaic record was no longer tenable. Herder (1803) regarded the whole story as a myth, of which the internal truth is clothed in a poetic dress. During the present century many have been induced to follow this opinion by the numerous unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the Bible narrative with the provisional hypotheses of scientists. On the other hand, as recently as 1850, some conservative theologians were to be found identifying geology with infidelity, denying the reality of fossil remains, or ascribing them generally to "the flood," and insisting, with Hutchinsonian pertinacity, on the scientific accuracy of the Mosaic record, literally understood. Very few educated persons, however, are now satisfied with this bare literalism, or even with the ingenious theory of a *local* creation. Those who reject every form of the mythical theory usually accept the opinion of Cuvier, that the creative "days" represent geological periods of great but indefinite length. Many adopt, with variations of detail, the idea first suggested by J. H. Kurtz in 1849, and since developed by Hugh Miller, D. Macausland, etc., viz. that the Mosaic narrative describes a series of visions, in which successive stages of God's creative work were exhibited to some ancient seer.

Providence.

The speculations of the heathen about the government of the world differed as widely as their notions of its origin. By the vulgar "the gods" were supposed to preside over various departments of nature and conditions of life, and at their varying pleasure to dispose of the affairs of men. The Epicureans thought of them, if at all, as sublimely indifferent to sublunary cares. The Stoics deemed gods and men to be alike subject to an inexorable fate. This notion of a dread impersonal fate ruling over all was very widely prevalent, and its decrees were thought to be written, intelligibly to those who knew the celestial alphabet, in the motions and configurations of the stars; while by some (as afterwards among the Gnostics) the stars themselves were supposed to control the fate of men. Very rarely some noble spirit, like Socrates, rose to the con-

ception of a God "having an admirable regard" for His creatures.

The truth, thus dimly seen by Socrates, was plainly taught in the Hebrew Scriptures, and strongly enforced by Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Fathers were unanimously opposed alike to Epicureanism and Fatalism. Clement of Alexandria (220) says: "In one glance He views all things together and each by itself." "Health by medicine and wealth by trade have their origin in Divine Providence, but also in human co-operation." Minucius Felix (235) says, "Neither does God have care alone for the universe as a whole, but also for its parts. . . . Kings only know all the affairs of their kingdom by the ministration of their servants; God has no need of information; we live not only in His eyes, but also in His bosom."

The later Fathers also devoted special care to this doctrine. Augustine, in particular, taught that the actual presence of God is as necessary to the preservation of the world as to its creation; "nothing would be able to exist without Him." Chrysostom, Theodoret, Salvian, and others wrote distinct treatises on the subject, showing that God's providence extends to the minutest particulars. Nemesius (400) proved this from the social instincts of bees and ants. He defined Providence as "the goodwill of God, by which all beings receive their proper guidance to an end."

Jerome (420), however, held a different opinion. While admitting a special providence in all that concerns mankind, he thought it "absurd to bring down the majesty of God to this, that He should know each moment how many gnats are born or die . . . how many fishes are in the sea, and which of the small ones shall be the prey of the larger." He thus prepared the way for the speculations of Junilius, an African bishop in the sixth century, who distinguished between the particular providence which God exercises over angels and men, and the general providence which, he thought, suffices for other creatures in merely preserving the race.

The views of Jerome and Junilius found little favour in the Church; and the pious Schoolmen of the Middle Ages believed in the universality of God's particular providence. The same

belief is likewise conspicuous in the writings of the Mystics of the same period. Suso (1365) recognised the act of God in the blooming of flowers, the frisking of lambs, and the song of birds. "O tender God," he says, "if Thou art so loving in Thy creatures, how beautiful and delightful must Thou be in Thyself!"

The doctrines of Augustine, Chrysostom, etc., were adopted and developed by the great theologians of the Reformation. They regarded the preservation of the world as "a continuous or perennial creation." The words of Melancthon (1560) are worth remembering: "God is present with His creatures; not present as a Stoic God, but so that He acts most freely, sustaining the creature, and of His unbounded compassion controlling, bestowing good things, helping or hindering second causes."

The prominence which the Reformers gave to the divine sovereignty had a great and necessary influence on their views of providence. In the opinion of the Calvinistic school, God did not so much provide *for every* contingency, as provide *against any* contingency. Nothing could be contingent or uncertain if, as they maintained, the Divine Will had irrevocably foreordained, from all eternity, even the least thing that should come to pass. The technical term by which they described this foreordination was "The Divine Decrees." The only point in which their doctrine can be logically distinguished from the fatalism of the ancient Stoics is, that the Stoics subjected God Himself to a fatal necessity, while the Calvinistic theologians supposed "the Decrees" to have originated in a free act of the Divine Will. It is interesting to notice how much their theory has in common with the modern non-Christian necessitarian philosophy; according to which, everything that is, or happens, is the inevitable result of things that have happened before; and so on *ad infinitum*.

The anti-Calvinistic theologians generally regarded God as infallibly foreseeing and providing for every contingency; and were content to leave the question, how the contingent could be foreseen, (the "Scientia Media" of the Jesuits,) as an insoluble mystery. The theological systems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries abound in subtle distinctions between

general, particular, and special providence; between that which is natural or mediate in God's working, and that which is supernatural or immediate; and between His permitting, directing, limiting, or restraining the actions of men. In the present day the prevalence of a not always intelligent rationalism has induced a widespread tendency to admit a general divine superintendence, such as Jerome thought might be exercised over gnats and fishes, but to doubt the probability of any special interference on the part of God with the prescribed course of the world.

Miracles.

It may be well here briefly to mention the phases of opinion that have succeeded each other in the Church concerning miracles—understanding by “miracle” a departure from the ordinary course of nature by reason of the special interposition of divine power.

The miracles of Christ and His apostles were in no case mere sportive exhibitions of supernatural powers, like those ascribed to magicians and enchanters; but were, all of them, either acts of beneficence for the confirmation or reward of faith, or lively illustrations of spiritual truth. That miraculous powers survived in the Church for one or two generations after the apostolic age seems indisputable, unless we reject the whole weight of contemporary evidence. But at a later period we meet with narrations, rarely purporting to be contemporaneous, of innumerable miracles, often of the most purposeless, grotesque, and childish character. These are multiplied as we advance into the dark ages; and at length every unusual event was deemed miraculous,—say the appearance of an ignis-fatuus, or the sudden removal of a pall from a tomb by a gust of wind. Credulity was further stimulated by religious romances, based on traditions of real or fictitious saints, in which the miraculous element abounded. The power of working miracles was thought inseparable from the character of a saint; and supernatural virtues were ascribed to the bones, garments, and other relics of persons who died in the odour of sanctity. These opinions continue to prevail, with some-

what less of extravagance than formerly, in the unreformed Churches.

Among Protestants a disposition toward scepticism on the subject of miracles was early developed. By them the bulk of the ecclesiastical miracles were summarily rejected, often not much more intelligently than they had been credited by the preceding generation. The argument was often, in brief, much like this: Saint Such-a-one was a benighted papist, or a champion of the papacy; that God should have empowered him to work miracles is therefore incredible. Indeed, little judgment seems to have been exercised by either party, in the sixteenth century, in receiving or rejecting miraculous stories; party spirit took the place of criticism.

With the rise of the Inductive Philosophy a still more general incredulity on the subject of miracles began to prevail. They could not, usually, be subjected to the test of experiment,—general observation pointed rather to the uniformity of nature; the English Deists, without venturing to deny their possibility, dismissed them as utterly improbable; and orthodox Protestants were so far influenced by the spirit of the age as to limit, as much as the then prevailing theories of mechanical inspiration would permit, the miraculous element even in sacred history. But the miracles of Scripture, being embodied in an infallible record, were insisted on as evidences of the doctrines with which they were associated, not merely for those who beheld them, but for all ages.

Hume (1776) undertook to prove the incredibility of all miracles whatsoever. His argument was, That the uniformity of nature, and the frequent unreliableness of testimony, are matters of daily observation; it is therefore, on the whole, more likely that any amount of testimony should be fallacious, than that there should be a departure from the uniformity of nature. To this Paley (1794) replied, That the testimony by which the principal Christian miracles are supported acquires exceptional force from the fact that the witnesses had nothing to gain by persisting in falsehood; and that they deliberately chose to suffer the loss of all things, and of life itself, rather than disavow the alleged facts.

The tendency of the present day is to regard the credibility

of miracles, and of the Christian religion itself, as dependent on the supreme miracle of Christ's resurrection from the dead. It is seen that the possibility of this event cannot be called in question without the denial of divine omnipotence; and its actuality is held to be established by sufficient testimony. As to the probability of miracles, either in ancient or modern times, this is estimated by the importance of the occasion and the character of the agent, as well as by the weight of evidence. But there are many within the Church whose views of the uniformity of natural law make it hard for them to repress doubts of the reality of the subordinate miracles, and urge them to take refuge in rationalistic explanations.

Meanwhile the antichristian philosophy of our day claims the argument of Hume as irrefragable, sneers at Paley, and disposes of all miraculous narratives as legendary or mythical. The latest scientific apologists, on the other hand, propose to relieve both miracle and particular providence from the charge of antecedent improbability, by regarding the divine energy, not as exercised on matter from without, but as immanent in the whole creation. According to this view, the only distinction between the natural and supernatural is that of usual and unusual.

Origin of Evil.

How to reconcile the supremacy of a benevolent God with the existence of evil is a problem which has perplexed mankind in every age. To the thoughtless multitude among the heathen, whose superstition divided the rule of the universe amongst a multitude of deities of like passions with themselves, it presented but little difficulty. But to those who dimly descried a God, above and beyond the gods, it was a saddening mystery. Nearly all their conjectures found an echo among the early heretical sects. The Stoics ascribed all evil to the inscrutable decrees of Fate; and most of the other philosophic sects of the West to a property necessarily inherent in Matter. These notions were adopted, with various modifications, by the Gnostics; of whom those who did not ascribe evil, as a property, to Matter itself, usually attributed it to the malevolence

of the ruler of Matter, the *Demiurgos*. The pantheistic philosophy of the East, regarding personal existence as a kind of temporary severance from Deity, thought of evil as the necessary effect of such severance, and therefore as inseparable from personality; an idea that has been variously reproduced by the Mystics of all ages—Christian and non-Christian alike. While the Zoroasterian doctrine of two Eternal Principles offered an easy solution of the problem, which was adopted partially by the Gnostics in their figment of the World-maker, entirely by the Manichæans, and with more or less of modification by the various sects which sprung from them,—Priscillianists, Cathari, Bogomiles, etc.,—who in successive ages represented Satan as co-ordinate with God or Christ.

The same perplexity has been continually acknowledged within the Church; and the various solutions of the problem of evil which have been proposed may be generally reduced to these three,—the free-will of the creature, the necessary defectibility of all finite existence, and the mysterious decree of the Creator.

The first of these views prevailed in the earlier ages. Irenæus (202) observes that through the contrast of good and evil in the world, the good appears more excellent: "But if thou wilt not believe in Him, and wilt flee from His hands, the cause of imperfection shall be in thee who didst not obey, not in Him who called thee." Origen (254) writes to the same effect: "Since rational creatures were endowed with the power of free-will, this freedom of will incited each one to progress by imitation of God, or reduced him to failure by negligence." He draws special attention to the connection between physical and moral evils, and explains those which cannot be accounted for by the free-will of man—being born blind, for example—by supposing that they are inflicted by God in just recompense for defection in a former state of being! Lactantius (325) ascribes all evil, physical and moral, to the devil, whom he regards as a second son of God, who rebelled through envy of the First-begotten.

According to Augustine (430), nothing is evil by nature; evil is only the absence of good. Things good in themselves become evil when improperly used, as fire or poison. Suffering is beneficial as a punishment; "by the bitterness of

punishment we are instructed." They who love God are lifted above the reach of evil; "A mind that dwells in God is altogether higher than the whole world."

The Schoolmen generally adopted the views of Augustine. Anselm (1109) went so far as to assert that "whatever is, is right." Abelard (1142) held that "God could not have made a better world than He has made." Others objected to this optimism on the ground that it made God the author of evil; either directly, by His will, or indirectly, by defect of power. Hugh of St. Victor (1140) thought that not indeed the actual existence of evil, but the mode of its existence, depends on God; He does not do evil, but when it is done He overrules it. This view tacitly ascribes evil to the will of the creature. Aquinas (1274) taught that the imperfections of individual things belong to the perfection of the world; in this sense evil may be said to proceed from God "as if by accident." Most of the scholastics distinguished between the antecedent will of God, which is wholly good, and His subsequent will, which takes account of existing or foreseen evil.

Some Protestant divines, as Calvin (1564) and Beza (1605), were led by their views of divine sovereignty to suppose that even moral evil was predestined by God, for the glory of His justice in punishing sinners. The Remonstrant theologians, on the other hand, ascribed moral evils to the free-will of the creature, and physical evils to the punitive justice of God. It was commonly supposed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that pain and death among the lower animals, and even the phenomena of earthquakes and avalanches, and the extremes of climate, were the effects of human guilt. And when it had been proved that these things existed before the appearance of man on the earth, there were theorists who affirmed that they were to be connected with sin by anticipation!

An ingenious theory was advanced by Edward Williams (1813). He argued that as finite creatures are of necessity capable of defection, this defection must inevitably be reached by some of them sooner or later, unless prevented by divine interference. B. H. Blasche (1827) revived the earlier notion, that evil is necessary to form a contrast with good.

Somewhat similarly a recent poet has said, "Evil and good are God's left hand and right." But the problem of evil is still acknowledged to be as far from solution as ever, and no theory on the subject can be said to have gained general acceptance in the Church.

V.—ANGELS AND SPIRITS.

The Holy Angels.

The present seems a convenient place for reviewing the doctrine of the Church concerning intelligent creatures other than men. The existence of such beings, both good and evil, is clearly intimated in the earlier Hebrew Scriptures; but there is reason to believe that the Jewish notions on the subject, after the captivity, were strongly coloured by Babylonian and Persian traditions. Some later Jewish writers, as Philo, thought of the angels as divine powers, related to God as rays to the sun. Others, especially the Talmudist and Cabbalistic Rabbins, developed a very elaborate angelic hierarchy. Many of their notions are reproduced—or *vice versa*—in the speculations of several Gnostic sects. These regarded the angels, not as created beings, but as emanations from the divine substance. Some spoke of them as taking part in the work of creation.

The early Christians assumed the existence of angels as a matter of course; and, no doubt, their conceptions of their nature included many traditional Jewish elements. But all the orthodox Fathers insisted that they were created beings, not divine emanations. Justin (165) says, "There are angels, who always exist, and are never reduced to that out of which they sprung." Irenæus (202) says, "All things, whether angels, or archangels, or thrones, or dominions, were both established and created by Him who is God over all."

About their nature opinions differed. Justin seems to have assigned to them some kind of ethereal bodies needing food, which was manna. Tertullian (220) says, "Their nature is a spiritual substance, though, in some sense peculiar to themselves, corporeal. . . . A property of angelic power is this, to

assume to themselves bodily shape out of no material substance." Clement of Alexandria (220) seems to regard them as incorporeal. He has a remarkable passage about their subordination: "At the highest extremity of the visible world is the blessed band of angels, and down to ourselves there are ranged, some under others, those who, from One and by One, both save and are saved." Origen (254), with his usual frankness, admits his ignorance "when they were created, of what nature they are, or how they exist."

As to their offices, Athenagoras (177) recognises "a multitude of angels and ministers, whom God . . . distributed and appointed to their several posts by His word, to occupy themselves about the elements, and the heavens, and the world, and the things in it, and the goodly ordering of them all." Clement of Alexandria affirms that "regiments of angels are distributed over nations and cities; and, perhaps, some are assigned to individuals." This latter notion of special guardian angels may have originated in the heathen belief in tutelary genii; however, it is found as early as Hermas (140). He says: "There are two angels with a man, one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity. When the angel of righteousness ascends into your hearts, he talks to you . . . of every righteous deed and glorious virtue." Origen (254) writes: "They ascend, bearing the supplications of men, to the purest of heavenly places; . . . they come down from thence, conveying to each one, according to his deserts, something enjoined by God. . . . As if by common agreement, they visit with all manner of kindness and deliverance those who pray to God."

In apostolic times Paul thought it necessary to express disapproval of the worshipping of angels (Col. ii. 18). There is a passage in Justin (165), the most obvious sense of which is, that "the host of the other good angels, who follow and are made like to Him," are, together with the Father, Son, and Spirit, objects of Christian worship; but in another part of the same book he says expressly: "We ought to worship God alone." No other early Father gives the slightest sanction to angel-worship; and Origen repeatedly disallows it as unwarranted and unreasonable.

In the fourth and following centuries opinion concerning the angels became increasingly definite. Gregory of Nazianzum (390) says: "They act according to the One Will of the Creator. They praise God incessantly, and always behold His glory." He ascribes to them great power, partly original and partly derived; and inconceivable swiftness, by reason of which, and of their multitude, they may be thought of as everywhere present. It was disputed whether they were capable of sinning. Cyril of Jerusalem (386) thought that not only was this the case, but that they actually needed pardon. Augustine (430) supposed that they *had been* in danger of falling; but that when some had actually fallen, the rest, who remained faithful, were confirmed in immutable holiness. It was debated whether they were created before the rest of the universe, as was supposed by Nazianzen, or on the first day of creation, which was the opinion of Augustine. About the sixth century appeared an apocryphal treatise, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, in which the hint of Clement about their subordination was improved into an angelic hierarchy of nine orders, arranged with military precision. This forgery probably originated in Syria or Asia Minor, and is largely imbued with Neo-Platonism; while in Northern Africa the difficulty of conceiving pure spirit, which had determined the peculiar philosophy of Tertullian, still prevailed. Accordingly, Fulgentius of Ruspè (533) affirmed that angels are composed of body and spirit.

During this period the worshipping of angels became rapidly popular. It was forbidden, indeed, by a Synod at Laodicea (364), and discouraged by Augustine (430), Theodoret (456), and even Pope Gregory I. (604). But it was sanctioned by Ambrose (397), and the practice of dedicating churches to angels [or more properly, "to God in honour of angels"] gave a great impulse to angel-worship.

Towards the Middle Ages stories of angelic apparitions were multiplied, and about the eighth century the festival of St. Michael and All Angels came to be regularly observed throughout the West. At the fourth Lateran Council (1215) the purely spiritual nature of angels was laid down as an article of faith. The Schoolmen indulged in innumerable discussions

about their powers, faculties, and capacities; some of these speculations have much poetic beauty, others are wildly absurd. Belief in guardian angels was almost universal, and found sanction in the authorized service-books of the Church.

At the Reformation the worship of angels was abandoned as unscriptural. By a natural consequence, speculations on their nature and functions became of less interest, and gradually ceased. In the Protestant confessions we have only passing allusions to their existence; while theologians have contented themselves with adopting the definitions of the Schoolmen, pruned of their extravagances. With the rise of Rationalism there has been a tendency to ignore, and even to disbelieve in, angelic ministrations, regarding the language of Scripture as either mythical, or poetic, or symbolic of the forces of nature. Among orthodox Protestants the prevailing opinions on the subject are vague and uncertain. Swedenborg (1772), on the contrary, pretended to a close acquaintance with angels, whom he supposed to be the glorified spirits of righteous men; a notion that has found a place in popular divinity. In the unreformed Churches the mediæval beliefs and practices still survive.

The Powers of Darkness.

In all ages there has been a widespread conviction that evils, not accounted for by human agency, are the result of an intelligent purpose. Hence the Manichæans imagined an Evil Principle co-ordinate with God; and the Gnostics a malevolent World-maker, at once subordinate and hostile to Him. In opposition to both these, the Fathers adopted and developed an opinion already prevalent among the Jews, for which they found warrant in the New Testament. They believed that a multitude of angels, created by God in a state of innocence, had revolted from their allegiance under the leadership of one of superior rank or power, whom they distinguished as the devil, or Satan. They disagreed as to when and how this revolt took place. The prevailing opinion was that it occurred after the creation of the world, and before the fall of man. Tatian (170), however, seems to regard the

fall of Satan as a consequence of his part in man's first sin; while Augustine (430) imagines that men were created to fill the void left by the fall of the rebellious angels. Many of the early Fathers, by a strange anachronism, associated Gen. vi. 2 with the fall of the angels, whose sin they supposed to be lasciviousness; others defined it as pride or envy, either of man or of the Son of God. Gradually this latter opinion displaced the former.

To these fallen spirits the Fathers applied the name of "demons," which, in the Greek mythology, had denoted a kind of spiritual beings intermediate between gods and men. To the acts or influence of these demons every kind of ill was ascribed: disease, famine, and other physical evils; the entire system of paganism, particularly the heathen oracles; the persecutions of the Christians, and even heresy. Special reference is needless, as allusions of the kind abound in most of the early Fathers, many of whom identified these demons with the pagan deities. Hermas (140), Clement of Alexandria (220), and Origen (254) supposed that particular vices were promoted by individual evil spirits; one demon provoking to envy, another to lust, etc. But all the Fathers agreed that, while the devil and his subordinates may tempt and allure, they cannot compel any one to sin without his own consent.

Throughout the patristic period there was a widespread belief in the frequency of demoniacal possession, which was supposed to simulate disease, madness, or inspiration. Accordingly, the office of exorcist had a recognised place in the ecclesiastical system. Adjuration in the name of Christ, and especially the sign of the cross, were thought to be effectual means of expelling or exposing demons; and by the fourth century exorcism had become a usual preliminary of baptism.

The fallen spirits were believed to be consciously under the wrath of God, even though they might be employed as God's executioners; an opinion which has survived in the vulgar belief to the present time. It was disputed whether their fall was irretrievable. The general opinion was that they could have no place of repentance. Justin (165) thought they would be unchangeably wicked, not of necessity, but of their own free-will. Clement of Alexandria (220) asserts that the

devil is able to repent, but does not intimate any hope of his actual repentance. Origen (254) cherished a hope that all fallen beings, even the devil himself, might ultimately be restored. Gregory of Nyssa (394) and Didymus of Alexandria (395) ventured faintly to indulge the same hope; which was combated by Cyril of Jerusalem (386), Jerome (420), and Augustine (430), and condemned in the sixth century by the imperial theologian, Justinian.

The theologians of the Middle Ages indulged in various speculations about evil spirits, which are of little permanent interest. It was debated how far they could exercise power over the material world, and the conclusions of the Schoolmen on this subject were far more rational than the vulgar belief. Aquinas (1274) thought the power of the demons has been much limited since the coming of Christ. It was believed that they were rendered miserable by their knowledge of God's perfect happiness, and of the triumph of Christ, but that they found pleasure in the torments of the damned! The popular belief tended in two different directions. On the one hand, it assumed a gloomy and terrible form in connection with magic and witchcraft; every person distinguished by extraordinary acquaintance with mathematics or the laws of nature was vulgarly reputed a wizard, *e.g.* Michael Scot (1291), the translator of Aristotle, and Roger Bacon (1294), the inventor of gunpowder. On the other hand, there was a disposition to confound the fallen angels with the imps, trolls, elves, brownies, and goblins of popular mythology; and to think of the devil as "a cunning impostor, and merry fellow, fitted to excite laughter rather than fear;" see the mysteries and miracle plays of the fourteenth century. Demoniacal possession and obsession were still believed in, and the *rituale* of the Roman Church still affords sanction to the belief, by providing forms for the exorcism both of persons and places.

The Reformers generally acquiesced in the prevailing opinions about fallen spirits. Luther, especially, had an intense conviction of the personal agency of the devil, who, he believed, had actually appeared to him. In the Protestant confessions, however, the whole subject is treated in the most cursory manner.

From the remotest ages a belief in witchcraft and sorcery had been everywhere more or less generally entertained; but from the fifteenth century onward, throughout Western Christendom, it attained a frightful development. The popular belief was assailed by Cornelius Agrippa (1535) and a few other writers, of whom Reginald Scott (1584) is the most distinguished. In reply to the latter, James VI., king of Scotland, wrote his *Demonology* (1597), which stimulated the prevailing superstition till it became a perfect mania. In Germany, Scotland, England, and America many thousands of innocent persons—chiefly aged women, and many of them lunatics—were burnt or otherwise tortured to death as witches, on evidence such as should not have convicted a known thief of larceny. Catholics, Protestants, and Puritans were equally infatuated. At length the superstition was successfully combated by Balthazar Becker (1698) and Christian Thomas (1702); the former of whom advised men to fear God instead of fearing the devil, “who is of less consequence than people generally believe.” He even suggested doubts as to the existence of fallen spirits, explaining the assertions of Scripture as “accommodations to the prejudices of the people.”

The rapid decline of belief in Satanic influence, which set in from this time, is treated by Lecky as the first chapter in the history of Rationalism. In fact, as the laws of nature began to be understood, it was perceived that many things which had been mistaken for witchcraft were simply the effects of natural causes, and that other things, alleged to have been effected by diabolic agency, were either delusion or imposture. Soon, among the advocates of what were called “enlightened views,” the devil became an object of derision; his existence was doubted or denied; and in the present day there is not a little scepticism on the subject within the Church. Swedenborg (1772) denied the personality of the devil, and maintained that all fallen spirits derive their origin from the human race. Popular belief in the prince of darkness has been rather weakened than confirmed by the mutually inconsistent representations of the poets—Milton’s “Satan,” Goethe’s “Mephistopheles,” Byron’s “Lucifer,” etc. On the

other hand, much attention has been lately directed to the subject in connection with alleged spiritualistic manifestations. Most of these are, doubtless, mere impostures, while others may possibly be due to the operation of unrecognised natural forces; but there are multitudes within the various sections of the Church, both in Europe and America, who believe that some, at least, of the phenomena are produced by spirits both good and evil. Closely associated with these are the phenomena of mesmerism, which, though purely natural, are thought by many to prove the possibility and illustrate the manner of demoniacal possession.

VI.—NATURE OF MAN.

To summarize the history of Christian Doctrine concerning the nature of man would involve a review of almost the entire history of philosophy; for there is scarcely any opinion on the subject, except the grossest Materialism, that has not at some time or other found a home within the Church. It is necessary, therefore, to restrict our inquiry to those topics which are closely related to the peculiar doctrines of Christianity.

Man, Corporal and Incorporeal.

That man consists of body and of something which is not body is usually deemed self-evident; and it is with the doctrine concerning this incorporeal something that we have chiefly to do. Indeed, the only controversies respecting the physical nature of man which have any great religious significance are these: first, the old dispute as to how far the body was deteriorated by the intrusion of sin—of which anon; and, secondly, the very recent question whether Christianity can admit the modern scientific theory of evolution as the divine method in creation, so far as to suppose that the bodily or animal nature of man was developed out of some inferior creature. This question has not yet passed into the domain of history.

Most of the early Fathers distinguish between the *soul*, the

principle of life, and the *spirit*, the higher principle of reason. This distinction they held to be established by the frequent use of the dissimilar words *nephesh* and *ruach* in the Old Testament, and *psyche* and *pneuma* in the New; but especially by such scriptures as 1 Thess. v. 23 and Heb. iv. 12. Justin (165) says: "The body is the house of the soul, and the soul is the house of the spirit; these three, in those who have sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved." Tatian (166) says: "We recognise two varieties of spirit, one of which is called the soul, but the other is greater than the soul, an image and likeness of God." Irenæus (202) says: "There are three things out of which the complete man is formed—flesh, soul, and spirit. The soul, when it follows the spirit, is raised up by it; but sometimes it sympathizes with the flesh, and falls into carnal lusts." Clement of Alexandria (220) distinguishes between "the spiritual principle communicated at our creation" and "the ruling faculty of the soul." Some of the Gnostic sects so perverted this distinction as to divide men into three classes, earthly, psychic, and spiritual, according to the elements which severally predominated in them.

The threefold nature of man, however, was not universally recognised. Tertullian (220) in particular energetically combats the distinction between soul and spirit. "It is essential to a firm faith (he says) to declare that the soul is simple." It is "sprung from the breath of God, immortal, corporal, having form, simple in substance, intelligent, developing its powers in various ways, free of will, subject to accidents; in its faculties mutable, rational, supreme, capable of presentiment, evolved out of One." He discusses its situation, and locates it in the heart. This language exactly agrees with his anthropomorphic views of the divine nature, before mentioned. Indeed, Tertullian seems to have been quite incapable of conceiving the idea of pure spirit. Origen (254) expounds both opinions with considerable fulness, but does not definitely commit himself to either.

Subsequently the distinction between soul and spirit was in general ignored or repudiated. This general departure from the earlier patristic psychology is not easily explained.

It might have been supposed that the seeming analogy of body, soul, and spirit would be valued by those who had to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, but such was not the case. Something may be due to the antagonism excited by Apollinaris (about 370), who explained the incarnation by supposing that the Godhead of Christ took the place of a human spirit. Still more important is it to observe that the religious instinct was regarded by Irenæus, Clement, etc., as a function of the spirit, not of the soul; whereas from the time of Augustine (430) most of the Western theologians virtually denied the existence of a religious instinct, making a sharp distinction between "nature and grace," and refusing to discern any relation between God and the heathen world. The spread of Augustinism carried with it the Tertullianic philosophy, which had all along prevailed in Northern Africa. Augustine says: "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ;" and the phrase was transferred almost verbatim to the pseudo-Athanasian Creed, thus ascribing to Athanasius a psychology which he would certainly have repudiated. The adoption of the "*Quicumque*" as a Church creed in the eighth century gave to this opinion the stamp of orthodoxy throughout the West, and in the East it was commended by the great authority of John Damascene (750), so that in the Middle Ages it became almost universal. A few of the Schoolmen, indeed, especially Thomas Aquinas (1274), endeavoured practically though not formally to revive the earlier doctrine, by distinguishing between the sensible and the intellectual soul. But mediæval views continued generally to prevail throughout the Reformation period, and down to our own day.

To this, however, there have been notable exceptions. Luther (1546), in particular, compares the nature of man to the tabernacle of Moses; his body, like the court, is manifest to all; his soul, like the holy place, is illumined by the sevenfold light of knowledge and understanding; "his spirit is the holy of holies, God's dwelling-place in dim faith without light." And of late there has been a considerable tendency to revert to the psychology of the early Fathers. This is due, in part, to the decline of the Augustinian

dogmas about nature and grace, which have so long prevailed under the name of Calvinism; but also in part to the exigencies of modern apologetics. The distinction between man and beasts has usually been found in the possession of reason; but as, in the opinion of some philosophers, the dividing line between reason and instinct is less clear than was formerly supposed, it has appeared to several recent apologists that a better distinction is presented in the sole possession of a self-conscious spirit, in which a moral sense is inherent, and which alone is capable of apprehending God.

Origin of the Soul.

It is plainly asserted in Scripture, and has been uniformly held throughout the Church, that the element whereby the first man was distinguished from the brutes, whether it be called soul or spirit, derived its being immediately from God. But very diverse opinions have been entertained as to the origin of souls in general. Tertullian (220) held the theory of *traduction*, that the soul is propagated together with the body by the joint agency of both parents. This opinion he supported by arguments rather too plain-spoken for literal quotation. Clement of Alexandria (220), on the contrary, regarded every soul as a distinct *creation*. "You men," he says, "are God's handiwork, who have received your souls from Him. The Maker of the universe alone, the exalted Artist and Father, has formed us such a soul-containing image as man is." He expressly repudiates the idea, mentioned doubtfully by Justin, that "the soul is a part of God." Origen (254) maintained the *pre-existence* of souls, which, he thought, had descended to a lower condition on earth, either on account of ill-desert, or in order to serve the world. They were created indeed, but "in the beginning." This opinion did not find very wide acceptance; it was defended by Nemesius (400) and Prudentius (405), and thenceforward seems to have been almost forgotten, except as it was condemned by a Council at Constantinople in 538 or 541.

From the fourth to the sixth century the question of traduction or creation was keenly debated. The former was

advocated not only by reputed heretics, such as Eunomius (358) and Apollinaris (370), but by orthodox writers of the highest repute. Gregory of Nyssa (394) says: "Man being one, consisting of soul and body, the common beginning of his constitution must be supposed also one; so that he may not be both older and younger than himself; that in him which is bodily being first, and the other coming after." Jerome (420) rejects this doctrine, but admits that it was the one generally prevalent in the West in his day.

Lactantius (325), on the other hand, affirms that "a body may be produced by a body, but a soul cannot be produced from souls; souls are not given by parents, but by one God and Father of all, who alone produces them." Hilary of Poitiers (368), Pelagius (420), and Jerome were of the same opinion; the latter speaks of God as "making souls daily."

Augustine (430) agreed with his great adversary, Pelagius, in denouncing the notion that souls are "part of the divine substance;" but declined to enter on the question of creation and traduction. Gregory the Great (604) puts the difficulty very forcibly: "If the substance (of the soul) is begotten of Adam with the flesh, why does it not also die with the flesh? But if it is not begotten with the flesh, why is it held in bondage to sin in that flesh which is derived from Adam?"

In the Middle Ages the Schoolmen almost unanimously adopted the creation theory, which Odo of Cambray (1113) designated "the orthodox opinion." Aquinas (1274) sought to reconcile the two, by suggesting the traduction of the sensitive and the creation of the rational soul.

At the time of the Reformation, Calvin and most of the Reformed theologians defended creationism, as did Bellarmine (1641) in the Roman Church, and Calixtus (1661) among the Lutherans. The majority of the Lutheran divines, as Gerhardt (1637), Calovius (1686), and Hollaz (1713), adopted a modified theory of traduction. Both opinions find general tolerance in the present day, it being perceived that the question is philosophical rather than religious. The eccentric Joseph Glanvill (1682) tried to revive the notion of the pre-existence of souls as "a key to the mysteries of Providence;" but he gained very few disciples.

The Image of God.

It is written that God created man "in His own image." Wherein did that image consist? The answers to this question have been various and curious; and some of the Fathers had very wild notions on the subject.

Tatian (166) limits the divine image in man to those in whom God dwells by His Spirit: "But if one be not such a habitation, man excels the beasts only in speech; in other respects his life is like theirs, as one who is not a likeness of God." Melito of Sardis (180) could not limit the divine image to a part of mankind. He says: "Thy mind itself is His likeness; for it, too, is invisible and impalpable, and not to be represented by any form; yet by its will the whole bodily frame is moved." To much the same effect writes Clement of Alexandria (220): "Conformity to the image and likeness is not meant of the body, but of mind and reason, on which fitly the Lord impresses the seal of likeness, both in respect of doing good and of exercising rule." "The Image of God is the divine and royal Word, the Impassible Man; and the image of the Image is the human mind." Tertullian (220), on the contrary, seems to think of the divine image as something external and bodily: "There was One," he says, "in whose image God was making man, that is to say, Christ's image; who, being about one day to become man, had already caused the man to be called His image, who was then going to be formed of clay." It must be remembered that Tertullian supposed soul and body to be related as form and essence; the soul, in his opinion, was the formative principle of the body; and even when separated from the body it retained a certain shadowy form. These ideas appear more grossly in the Clementine Homilies (third century), which ascribe to God both form and beauty, and add, "He moulded man in His own shape, as in the grandest seal, that he may be lord and ruler of all."

Some of the Fathers distinguish between image and likeness. Irenæus (202) says, "When the Word became flesh, He showed forth the image truly, and re-established the likeness after a more sure manner, assimilating man to the

invisible Father through the visible Word." Clement of Alexandria speaks of "the pious Christian alone" as "God's image, and also His likeness, having become righteous, and holy, and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far already like God." Tertullian associates restoration to the likeness of God with baptism, explaining that "the image is counted in His form, the likeness in His eternity." Origen (254) says, "Man received the dignity of God's image at his first creation, but the perfection of His likeness has been reserved for the consummation, that he might acquire it for himself by the exercise of his own diligence in the imitation of God." This opinion found some acceptance down to the end of the fifth century.

Gradually the more extravagant of the above-mentioned ideas passed into oblivion. Gregory of Nyssa (394) says, "Not the passions are to be taken for the image of God, but reason, the master of the passions;" and in another place, "Where there is the power to rule, there is the image of God." Such was also the opinion of Athanasius (373), Cyril of Jerusalem (386), Chrysostom (407), and Theodoret (457). Gregory the Great (604) understood by the image of God that "natural perfection" which was forfeited by sin.

Later theologians, and the Schoolmen generally, combined the views of Gregory of Nyssa with those of Gregory the Great, distinguishing, however, the image from the likeness. Thus Hugh of St. Victor (1140) and Peter Lombard (1150) say, almost in the same words, "The image is to be understood as knowledge of truth, the likeness as love of virtue." The mediæval divines indulged in many conjectures as to what man would have been if sin had not effaced the divine likeness; but their speculations are of no practical interest.

At the Reformation, the Protestant divines usually regarded the image of God as consisting in "righteousness and true holiness;" to which many of them added free-will and natural immortality, which they believed to have been lost by "the fall." The Arminians (from 1610) held less exalted notions of man's original condition, regarding him as innocent, rather than positively holy, and resembling God

chiefly in intelligence and freedom. The Socinians went farther, considering that man—even though he had not sinned—would have been mortal unless sustained by divine grace, and reducing the image of God to dominion over the inferior creatures. All these opinions, as well as those which prevailed in the Middle Ages, find a home within the Church at the present time.

Liberty.

The freedom of the will is unquestionably either a fact of consciousness or a universal illusion. It was denied by the Stoics, the Manichæans, and some Gnostic sects, which ascribed to the stars a controlling influence over human actions; but was maintained against them by the unanimous consent of the Fathers during the first four centuries. Not a single passage, bearing a contrary sense, can be honestly quoted from any Father previous to Augustine. So strong an assertion needs to be strongly supported; but a few examples must suffice.

Justin (165) writes: "Not like other things, as trees and quadrupeds, which cannot act by choice, did God make man; for neither would he be worthy of reward or praise if he did not of himself choose the good; . . . nor if he were evil would he be worthy of punishment." Tatian (166): "Each of these [angels and men] was made free to act as it pleased; that the bad man may be justly punished, having become depraved through his own faults; but the just man may be justly praised for his virtuous deeds, since, in the exercise of his free choice, he refrained from transgressing." Theophilus (188): "God made man free, and with power over himself." Irenæus (202): "Man, having been made free in his will, and with power over himself, is the cause to himself that sometimes he becomes wheat and sometimes chaff." Origen (254): "This is clearly defined in the teachings of the Church, that every rational soul is possessed of free-will and volition." The great theologians of the Eastern Church were equally unanimous on this point, though they admitted that the moral faculties of man had been impaired by the intrusion of sin. Such were the views of Athanasius (373),

Ephræm of Syria (375), Basil (379), Cyril of Jerusalem (386), Gregory Nazianzen (391), Chrysostom (407), etc.

Even Augustine himself, in his earlier writings, maintained human freedom against the Manichæans. But afterwards, being led to adopt the theory of predestination by the exigencies of his controversy with Pelagius, he conceived that the freedom of the will—except for evil—had been altogether lost to man on the occasion of the fall, and was only restored to the elect by the special grace of God. This opinion rapidly gained ground throughout the West, and was held, with some variations, by the great majority of the Schoolmen.

It is natural to ask, what causes could lead to the general acceptance of a doctrine which, whether true or false, was at that time undoubtedly novel, which is by no means flattering to human pride, and which seems to be contradicted by daily experience? Its prevalence cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the authority of the Church, by the personal influence of Augustine, or by the unpopularity of Pelagius—against whose heresy it was maintained. A more probable cause may be found in the history of the times. The glowing anticipations excited by the conversion of Constantine, in 323, had been cruelly disappointed. Instead of a visible kingdom of God upon earth, the Empire had exhibited a lamentable scene of dissension, sectarian strife, and political degradation. The ancient glories of Rome were irretrievably lost; and the entire Empire was overrun by the barbarians,—Goths, Vandals, Huns, etc.,—who spread devastation and misery on every side. Rome was plundered by the Goths in 410; and in 430, the year of Augustine's death, the Vandals made themselves masters of Africa, executing vengeance on a community whose morals (if we may accept the testimony of Salvian) were comparable to those of Sodom. Within fifty years from this time the whole of the West was in the hands of the barbarians, the Roman Empire being extinguished in 476. It seemed as if the triumph of the cross, instead of establishing "peace on earth, and goodwill to men," had simply broken up the fountains of the great deep. In the presence of distress more universal, if not more severe, than the world

had yet seen, it is scarcely surprising that pious souls should find rest in a theory which referred all things to the irresistible will, and to the unerring though inscrutable wisdom of God. The world at large, lying in wickedness, was free only to do such evils as were daily multiplied on earth; to the elect alone a higher freedom was imparted by divine grace. Not, however, without a struggle did the predestinarianism of Augustine attain supremacy in the Western Church. It was never accepted in the East; and in France and Italy was long confronted with the Oriental doctrine under the name of Semi-Pelagianism, of which more hereafter.

The early mediæval doctrine on the subject of human liberty is thus concisely expressed by Hugh of St. Victor (1140): "Man, before the fall, was both able to sin and able not to sin; after the fall, and before justification, he is able to sin, but unable not to sin; when justified but not fully sanctified, he possesses grace to do good, and infirmity to do evil; in the highest state of perfection he is able not to sin, and unable to sin, but only because he will never be deprived of assisting grace." Other mediæval divines endeavoured to reconcile Augustine's doctrine of predestination with a real freedom of the will. Anselm (1109) affirmed that *both* are taught in Scripture; therefore, he says, "No one maintains an acceptable rectitude but by willing it, neither can any one will it unless he have it; but to have it, except by grace, profits nothing at all." Peter Lombard (1164) distinguished between predestination and prescience; the latter may exist without the former, but not the former without the latter. "By predestination God foresaw those things which He Himself was about to do; but He also foresaw those things which He was not about to do, *i.e.* all evil things." This is the "*scientia media*" of the later Jesuit theologians. Bonaventura (1274) spoke of man's free-will as a contingent cause included in God's prescience.

Duns Scotus (1308) went much farther in asserting human liberty: "A meritorious act is in the power of man (a general influence being supposed), if he shall have had the use of free-will and grace." His views were eagerly

adopted by the Franciscans, and speedily became so popular that Thomas of Bradwardine (1349) said—misrepresenting his opponents after the manner of controversialists—that “almost the whole world had fallen into the errors of Pelagianism.”

Bradwardine’s views on the bondage of the will were more rigid than those of Augustine himself. “The divine will,” he says, “is universally efficacious, invincible, and necessary in causation; it can neither be impeded nor frustrated by any means . . . [otherwise] men would dispose their wills, antecedently and causatively, to this or that; so that God would subserviently and executively dispose the number of the elect thus and thus.” Wickliffe (1384), a pupil of Bradwardine, was not less absolute; he is represented as affirming that “all things that happen do come absolutely of necessity;” and that man, who believes himself to possess free-will, is like a child in leading-strings, who thinks he is walking alone. Similar views were entertained by Huss (1414).

The views of Duns Scotus and the Franciscans unquestionably tended towards “Semi-Pelagianism.” They found increasing favour with the more conservative members of the Roman Church, especially the prelates, as it became evident that reformatory movements were chiefly promoted by the advocates of Augustinism. Meanwhile the Greek Church steadily adhered to the earlier belief in human liberty, which had been defended by John Damascene (750), Theophylact (1070), Nicholas of Methone (1089), etc.

The leaders of the Reformation, Zuingli (1531), Luther (1546), Melanchthon (1560), Calvin (1564), and Beza (1605), were all predestinarians, as were the most distinguished of their coadjutors, with the single exception of Castalio (1563). This was owing, in part, to the influence of Augustine, whose writings, as an acknowledged authority, were of great importance for the establishment of salvation by grace, in opposition to the work-righteousness of the Roman Church. Another cause was, doubtless, the necessity of insisting much on the sovereignty of God in opposition to the authority of the Church. It was thought derogatory

to the honour of the Universal King to suppose that anything should take place otherwise than as He willed it. Accordingly, several of the Reformers fairly exhausted the powers of language in their denunciations of free-will.

As if by a natural consequence, the opposite doctrine gained strength within the Roman Church, and was energetically supported by the Jesuits (from 1540). As Augustine was a canonized doctor of the Church, his theology could not well be pronounced heretical; but it fell into almost universal disfavour. An attempt was made to revive it by Jansen, Bishop of Ypern (1638); and the controversy which ensued led to a bitter persecution of the Jansenists in France (1665-1709). From 1704 these formed a separate sect, chiefly located in Holland; they are now absorbed in the "Old Catholics."

In 1603, James van Harmen (Arminius), professor at Leyden, became convinced that the predestinarian theories of the Reformers were unscriptural. He asserted the freedom of the will, together with other doctrines respecting sin and grace, which will be more conveniently reviewed hereafter. The "Arminian Controversy," which followed, was by far the most bitter and long-continued of all that have arisen in the Protestant Churches. It still breaks out occasionally; as the freedom of the will is denied, at least by implication, in the written standards of several religious bodies whose individual members hold the contrary opinion. To the more thoughtful minds, however, it has become evident that the whole question belongs to the sphere of philosophy rather than of religion.

Immortality.

There remains the question of immortality. Except among the Pelagians and Socinians, it has been till very lately the universal belief of Christendom that "the wages of sin is death," in such a sense that man, if he had not sinned, would have been immortal. But man, as known to us, is naturally subject to death, having, however, a prospect of everlasting life through Jesus Christ. The question is, whether or not everlasting life, in its literal sense, is the exclusive privilege

of them that are saved; or whether the soul is *naturally* immortal? This question has been so generally answered in favour of the latter alternative, during the last 800 years, that recent assertions to the contrary are by many thought to be novel as well as heretical.

Nevertheless, the early Fathers were by no means of one mind on the subject. Tertullian (220) and Origen (254), who differed so widely on a multitude of questions, both philosophical and religious, agreed that immortality belongs to the soul's very essence; but others were of a different opinion. Justin (165) is somewhat uncertain. Tatian (166) boldly affirms that "the soul is not of itself immortal, but mortal; yet it is possible for it not to die." Afterwards, however, he seems to speak of immortality as bestowed not only on the righteous for reward, but on the wicked for punishment. Theophilus (188) is more definite: "Man," he says, "was by nature neither mortal nor immortal . . . but . . . capable of both; so that if he should . . . keep the commands of God, he should receive as reward from Him immortality; . . . but if he should turn to the things of death, disobeying God, he should himself be the cause of death to himself." Irenæus (202) speaks only of an immortality that is given to man; "but he who shall reject it, and prove himself ungrateful to his Maker . . . deprives himself of continuance for ever." Arnobius (305) says, "The souls of men are of a neutral character . . . made subject to the law of death . . . perishable; and they are gifted with immortality, if they rest their hope of so great a gift on God supreme." Lactantius (325) argues that "immortality is not the consequence of nature, but the reward of virtue;" elsewhere, however, he adjudges the wicked to "eternal pain." Nemesius (400) held the opinion of conditional immortality, which then disappears, until revived by Nicholas of Methone (1089). At length the fifth Lateran Council (1513), under Pope Leo X., pronounced the proper immortality of the soul to be an article of faith.

Most of the Protestant confessions have embodied the same doctrine, either formally or by implication; a remarkable exception being presented in the Articles of the Anglican

Church. Moreover, the apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries usually argued as if proving the survival of the soul after the death of the body were the same thing as proving its natural immortality: this is notably the case with Butler (1752). Yet from the Reformation downward there have always been those who thought of immortality rather as the gift of God than as a natural property of the soul. Such seem to have been the sentiments of Luther (1545), Milton (1674), and Locke (1704), though none of these controverted the opinion that all souls will actually endure for ever. Only in the present generation has the belief of Irenæus and Arnobius been extensively revived, chiefly as a means of meeting moral and philosophical objections to Christianity based on traditional views of eternal punishment.

VII.—SIN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Opinions of the earlier Fathers.

The doctrine concerning sin has been involved in much needless dispute, through the confounding together of the distinct though closely related ideas of sin, guilt, and depravity, as well as through the unfortunate habit of mistaking natural figures of speech for solid realities.

The universality of sin, as a habit, was early and fully recognised. Justin (165) says, "Every race knows that adultery, and murder, and such like are sinful; and though they all commit such practices, they cannot escape from the knowledge that they act unrighteously whenever they do so." And Origen (254) writes, "If by those who are without sin Celsus means such as have never at any time sinned . . . it is impossible for a man thus to be without sin."

As to whether this universal habit of sinning arose from an hereditary bias, there was some difference of opinion. Justin is ambiguous; he speaks of "the human race, which, from Adam, had fallen under the power of death and the guile of the serpent, and each one of which has committed

personal transgression;" but elsewhere he says, "They, becoming like Adam and Eve, work out death for themselves." Clement of Alexandria (220) regards each man as holding the same relation to the tempter that Adam did, and repudiates the idea of hereditary taint: "How can the newborn child be defiled? or how can that which has done nothing fall under the curse of Adam?" Tertullian (220), on the contrary, laid down a theory of natural depravity, which seems closely connected with his views about the traduction of souls. He is generally looked upon as the author of the doctrine of "Original Sin," which he formulates as follows: "There is, besides the evil which comes on the soul from the intervention of the evil spirit, an antecedent, and in some sense natural, evil which arises from its corrupt origin." This doctrine was afterwards elaborated by Cyprian and Augustine, and gave rise to much angry controversy. Origen (254) held a different theory of original sin. Believing in the pre-existence of souls, he supposed them to have sinned already in a former state of being. Lactantius (325) regarded the body as both the seat and cause of sin, a notion which he seems to have adopted from the prevailing heathen philosophy of the West, according to which evil was naturally inherent in matter. The same notion, it may be remarked, was variously developed by the Gnostics and Manichæans; and the prevalence of ascetic practices, with a view of "mortifying the flesh," proves how widespread and long-continued was its influence on Christian thought. Nearly all the early Fathers laid much stress on the influence of evil spirits in fostering the universal habit of sinning, but none of them, except Lactantius, seems to have doubted the ability of man not to sin, nor, except Cyprian, to have supposed him responsible for whatever natural bias he might have towards evil.

It being affirmed in Scripture that "God made man upright," and the universality of sin being undeniable, there was ample room for speculation about "the fall." The most contradictory notions were advanced as to the condition of unfallen man. Theophilus (180) speaks of him as "a baby;" Clement of Alexandria says, "He was not perfect in his

creation, but adapted to the reception of virtue;" while Tertullian ascribes to him the most exalted gifts: "Before he ate, he prophesied." Equally various were the explanations given of the Bible story about the garden, the serpent, and the forbidden fruit. By most it was taken as a simple historical narrative, but Clement of Alexandria treated it as partly allegorical, and Origen as wholly so. There was also a diversity of opinion wherein the sin of Adam consisted. Clement of Alexandria thought it was sensuality, Tertullian impatience, others credulity and disobedience. The fancies of the various Gnostic sects, Ophites, Cainites, Sethians, etc., are too extravagant to be treated in detail. They variously allegorized the Bible narrative, but most of them regarded disobedience to the World-maker as a virtuous act.

About the consequences of sin, opinion was but slowly developed. The Fathers of the first three centuries were generally content to trace death and physical evils to the sin of Adam. This was the case alike with those who asserted and those who denied natural immortality. Thus Irenæus (202): "Because of the sin of disobedience, infirmities have come upon men;" and Cyprian (258): "In that first transgression of the commandment, strength of body departed with immortality, and weakness came on with death." It has been already mentioned that Tertullian supposed not only these physical evils, but an hereditary bias toward ill-doing, to have been entailed on mankind by the sin of our first parents. Cyprian went farther: he conceived some kind of inherited or imputed guilt; and thought that forgiveness, to be imparted by means of baptism, was needed even by an infant, who, "being born after the flesh according to Adam, has contracted the contagion of death at its earliest birth." Somewhat later this doctrine found general acceptance in the West. It was maintained, in particular, by Hilary of Poitiers (368) and Ambrose (398). The latter argues at some length that "we are all born under sin, we men, whose very origin is in vice;" in proof of which he quotes Ps. li. 5.

The Eastern theologians generally contented themselves with saying that the mental and moral faculties of man had been impaired by the fall, and never admitted that "total

depravity of mankind" which soon became a prominent feature in Western divinity. Basil (379), Gregory of Nyssa (394), and Chrysostom (407) taught the existence of an universal tendency to sin; but their doctrine, which gave prominence to the liberty of man and his power of moral self-determination, differed widely from that which prevailed in the West. Cyril of Jerusalem (386) assumed that men are born in a state of innocence; and even Athanasius (373) supposed that such was the case with some individuals, as Jeremiah and John the Baptist. Down to the present day the Greek Church has steadily limited the spiritual effects entailed on mankind by the fall to the deterioration of the moral powers, and has been constant in the assertion of human liberty.

Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy.

To Augustine (430), more than to any other theologian, we owe that theory concerning sin which has passed current since his day throughout the West, both in the Reformed and Unreformed Churches. In his earlier writings, indeed, he appears in full accord with his predecessors: "I reckon sin to be nowhere but in the will;" "The will itself is the first cause of sinning;" sin is "a turning from the better to the worse;" "There is none to whom sin can be justly imputed, except the one who sins;" "We say that nothing is evil by nature, but every nature is good." But a controversy which arose about the beginning of the fifth century led him to adopt an entirely different opinion.

The views of Clement of Alexandria about the moral purity of infants were carried to an extreme length by Morgan, a British monk, better known by his Latin name Pelagius (420), and by Celestius, a Roman, or by other accounts an Irishman (411). These so-called heretics are believed to have come in contact with Rufinus in Italy, and through him to have become acquainted with the speculations of Origen, and with the opinions prevailing in the Eastern Church. The caution with which Pelagius opposed such popular opinions as seemed to him erroneous, makes it difficult to judge how far his views

are correctly represented by his antagonists. Celestius was more outspoken; but it is by no means certain that even he would have endorsed all the propositions ascribed to him at a Synod at Carthage in 412. These may be summed up as follows: "Adam would have died whether he had sinned or not; his sin affected himself alone, so that every new-born child is in exactly the same condition as Adam before his fall, and if it dies without actual sin, obtains eternal life independently of baptism; the law, if faithfully observed, leads as surely to the kingdom of heaven as the gospel, and in fact there have been men who did not commit sin; death is therefore the consequence neither of Adam's death nor of his sin, nor does man rise from the dead in consequence of Christ's resurrection." Against these assertions Paulinus of Milan (411), Paulus Orosius (416), Jerome (420), and Augustine (430) contended vigorously; and the issue of the controversy was the development and general acceptance, mainly on the authority of Augustine, of a doctrinal system as unlike to that which formerly prevailed as to that of Pelagius himself.

We shall best understand the controversy from the actual words of the disputants. "All good or evil," says Pelagius, "for which we merit praise or blame is not born with us, but wrought by us; for we are born capable, not full, of each; and are begotten, as without virtue, so without vice; and before the action of his own will, that only is in man which God put in him." Augustine, on the contrary, quoting Rom. v. 12, says, "Hereby is the young child guilty; sin he has not yet done, but contracted, for that sin did not remain in the fountain, but went through not this or that man, but all men. The first sinner begat sinners liable to death." It hence appears that Pelagius, more strongly than Clement, denied hereditary depravity; while Augustine, following the hint of Cyprian, asserted not only this, but hereditary guilt.

Pelagius admitted that man, in his moral efforts, both needs and receives direct help from God. "Being able," he says, "pertains to God, who bestowed it upon His creature; but willing and doing are to be referred to man. Therefore in will and work the praise is due to man, but also to God, who by His will and work gave the ability, and always

assists that ability by His grace in him who strives." "In all there is free-will equally by nature; in Christians alone it is helped by grace." Augustine, on the other hand, spoke of the freedom of the will as not only impaired, but lost by the fall. It is "a will, the slave of its own choice." If good is to be done, the grace of God must have the first place. "It goes before the unwilling, that he may will; it follows the willing, lest he will in vain." "Not by law and doctrine sounding from without, but inwardly and secretly, by a wondrous and ineffable power, does God work in the hearts of men, not merely the revelation of the true, but the willing of that which is good." Evidently, Pelagius traced the varying characters of men to the determination of their own will, and Augustine to the presence or absence of divine grace.

From such premises it would seem to follow that the bestowal or withholding of grace must depend on the absolute sovereignty of God. Augustine did not shrink from this issue; indeed, it was by such a train of thought that he was led to his doctrine of unconditional predestination. "God chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world, predestinating us to the adoption of sons; not because by ourselves we would become holy and spotless, but He chose and predestined us that we should be so. And this He did according to the pleasure of His will." To evade the obvious difficulty that the non-elect were thus virtually predestined to evil, he introduced the term "reprobation" to describe their condition, as *left alone* to bear the just consequence of their sins. Other difficulties he strove to meet by cautions more practical than logical.

Pelagianism (understanding by that term the denial of "original sin," and of the doctrine that death is the effect of sin) was formally condemned as heretical by the General Council of Ephesus (431). But the controversy was by no means ended. Augustinism was never received in the East, the Greek divines repudiating predestination, and asserting original sin side by side with human liberty. In the West, and especially in Northern Africa, the system of Augustine seems to have gained favour under the pressure of public

calamities. Some monks of Adrumetum so far exaggerated its leading features as to assert that God had predestined even the sins of the wicked.

Meanwhile, John Cassian (432), abbot of Marseilles, a disciple of Chrysostom, formulated a system known as the Massillian, designed as a compromise between the doctrines of Pelagius and Augustine. This system was substantially that adopted by the entire Eastern Church; but its Western opponents stigmatized it as "Semi-Pelagian." Cassian regarded man as morally infirm, and needing the co-operation of divine grace with his own free-will in order to his spiritual restoration. "It cannot be doubted," he said, "that there are in every soul some seeds of virtue, implanted by the beneficence of the Creator; but unless these be quickened by divine aid, they can never come to perfection." That such aid was limited by predestination he altogether denied, calling the notion that God would save but a few "a huge sacrilege." But he conceded that some—though not all who are saved—are "drawn to salvation against their will."

The opinions of Cassian were held, with slight variations, by Vincent of Lerins (450), Faustus of Rhegium (472), etc. They were opposed by Prosper of Aquitaine (450) and Fulgentius of Ruspè (533), the latter of whom consigned unborn infants, if non-elect, to everlasting fire! About 470, Semi-Pelagianism was the prevailing doctrine throughout Gaul. The following half-century was the era of the Frankish conquest, with its attendant strife and anarchy. During this period, indeed, the conversion of the Franks took place, but for several generations the French clergy were exclusively Gallic or Roman. It is probable, therefore, that there is something more than a mere coincidence between the prevalence of Augustinism in Africa during the miseries of the Vandalic invasion, and the growth of the same system in Gaul during a similar period of incursion and conquest. However this be, the Gallic Synod of Orange (529) formally sanctioned the theories of Augustine, with the important reservation that "we do not believe the rest [*i.e.* the non-elect] to be predestined to evil by divine power."

Mediæval Doctrines and Speculations.

This guarded Augustinism was adopted by Gregory the Great (604), and by him transmitted to later ages, not, however, without some modifications. Thus he distinguishes between prevenient and subsequent grace: the former is effectual, and at the same time co-operative; the latter is a means "that we may not will in vain, but may be able to fulfil." In one place he seems to represent grace as irresistible, but not in others; and certainly maintains that grace can be lost. He indulges in many wire-drawn speculations about the nature of sin, distinguishing between sins, faults, and crimes. "Sin is doing ill, fault is forsaking good." "None are without sin, many are without crime." "Sins only stain the soul, crimes kill it."¹ Iniquity, impiety, etc., are modifications of sin. The source of all sin is pride, etc.

From the sixth century to the sixteenth, the Bible narrative of the fall was usually taken as strictly historical. The Schoolmen found ample scope for their ingenuity in such questions as, Whether the sin of Adam or of Eve was the greater? What would have happened if Eve only had eaten of the forbidden fruit? or if Adam had sinned before Eve was created? Erigena (850) imagined that the distinction of sex was a consequence of sin! It was still debated, Wherein did the sin of Adam consist? Most of the scholastics decided that it was not in the single act, but in the pride and disobedience of which it was the expression; thus John Damascene (750): "The deceiver beguiled the wretch with a hope of Godhead; and, lifting him up to such a height of pride, brought him down to the like depth of misery." Some sought, by allegorizing the narrative, to justify their opinion that Adam's fall consisted in the awakening of carnal propensities, to which Anselm replied, "Not to feel them, but to consent to them, is sin."

Throughout this period, as we have already seen, the Eastern Church retained its belief in human liberty, regarding original sin merely as a weakening of the moral powers. In

¹ This last statement seems to be the germ of the later distinction between mortal and venial sins.

the West the Augustinian doctrine prevailed with various modifications. The most general opinion was this: That although God was willing that all men should be saved, yet by reason of sin the whole human race had become such a "mass of perdition," that none would turn to righteousness except those whom God, by grace, predestined to life; as to the rest, God did not predestine them to perdition, but He foresaw that they would perish, and by a just judgment "left them in the mass of perdition." Such were the views of Beda (735) and Alcin (804); and they were elaborately formulated at the Synod of Chiersy (853), against the predestinarian Gotteschalk (868). He, on the contrary, asserted that "as God has predestined all the elect to life by the unmerited beneficence of His grace alone, in exactly the same manner has He also predestined the reprobates to the punishment of eternal death by the most righteous judgment of His justice." Ratramnus, Servatus Lupus, and Prudentius of Troyes (all about 850) wrote in favour of the views of Gotteschalk, who was opposed by Erigena (850) and Hincmar (882). The persecution of Gotteschalk by Hincmar is one of the most disgraceful incidents in the history of the dark ages.

The Western theologians devoted immense pains to inquiry into the nature of sin, laboriously discussing whether it be something positive or negative. Anselm says, "Sin is nothing else than not to render to God His due." Abelard (1142) made it to consist in a disobedient intention. Nearly all these unpractical debates—in which the mystics were as eager as the scholastics—appear to have grown out of the neglect of these obvious facts: that sin is transgression of the law, law is an expression of the divine will, and the agreement and disagreement of the human will with the divine are simply *relations*, not *things*.

Abelard (1142) regarded consent as entering into the very nature of sin, and affirmed that by our free will, without the aid of grace, we can both will and perform that which is good. He really evaded the doctrine of original sin altogether, without formally denying it; but in this virtual Pelagianism he stands almost alone among the Schoolmen. Anselm

(1109), Aquinas (1274), and the Dominicans, as also most of the mystics, insisted strongly on the "entire depravity" of fallen man. Duns Scotus (1308), and the Franciscans generally, leaned toward the so-called "Semi-Pelagianism" of Cassian. An exception appears in the person of Bradwardine (1349), whose views were more rigid than those of Augustine himself, and to whom the more moderate opinions of his Franciscan brethren seemed downright Pelagianism. The Augustinian doctrine was also held by the "Reformers before the Reformation," such as Wickliffe (1384), Wessel (1489), and Savonarola (1498). The latter, speaking of the posterity of Adam antecedent to actual sin, says, "They have no reckoning of fault, yet they lack not guilt."

Mention has been made already of a distinction between mortal and venial sins. Much importance came to be attached to this distinction in the period now under review; but very diverse opinions were held as to the proper line of demarcation. Some considered voluntary sins as mortal, and those which are involuntary as venial. Others made the distinction coincide with that of more or less heinous transgression. Aquinas taught that every sin is mortal if committed by one who is not in a state of grace; and that every sin committed by a faithful man is venial.

The opinion advanced by both Athanasius and Pelagius, that some individuals had been actually free from sin, appears to have shared in the general disfavour of Pelagianism. But *one* exception to the universality of sin, original as well as actual, early commended itself to the mediæval divines. It was thought impossible to maintain the sinlessness of Christ without assuming the absolute purity of His virgin mother. Accordingly, Paschasius Radbert (848) affirmed that she was "sanctified in her mother's womb." Early in the twelfth century this opinion failed to satisfy some French theologians; but a belief in the "Immaculate Conception" of Mary became popular, and in 1140 a festival was established at Lyons in honour of this new doctrine. The novelty was rejected in strong terms by Anselm (1109) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1153); and it was discountenanced, if not formally opposed, by Bonaventura (1274), Aquinas (1274), and Albertus.

Magnus (1280). It was defended by Duns Scotus (1308), and was long a subject of debate between the Dominicans and Franciscans. The former opposed it, claiming the sanction of visions said to have been seen by St. Catharine of Sienna (1380); the latter affirmed it, claiming the similar authority of St. Bridget (1364). The dogma was sanctioned by the University of Paris (1387), by the Council of Basle (1439), and by Pope Sixtus IV. (1476) as "a pious opinion, which must on no account be deemed heretical." It continued to gain ground within the Roman Church, until, in 1854, it was declared an article of faith by Pope Pius IX.

Progress of Opinion since the Reformation.

As in mediæval times, so throughout the Reformation period, the story of the fall, as narrated in Scripture, found all but universal acceptance as a literal record of facts. A few eminent writers, especially Cornelius Agrippa (1535), adopted an allegorical explanation, regarding the forbidden fruit as sensual pleasure; an opinion which has lately been revived. But no such idea found favour with the Reformers. To them the early Bible records were simply historical; no other view of the matter would have been consistent with their "appeal from the infallible Church to the infallible book." They supposed man to have been, at his creation, not merely innocent, but positively righteous. Luther (1545) says, "The nature of Adam was to love God, to believe God, to know God." Calvin (1564), "The first condition of man excelled in these noble gifts, reason, intelligence, prudence, judgment, not merely for the conduct of his earthly life, but that by them he might attain to God and to eternal felicity." This view finds utterance in most of the early Protestant confessions.

The keynote of the Reformation was salvation by grace alone, in opposition to every kind of human merit. The mental attitude wherewith the Reformers confronted prevailing notions of work-righteousness was similar to that of Augustine in presence of the Pelagian heresy. Moreover, the authority of Augustine, as a canonized doctor of the Church,

was of immense importance to them in controversy with the opponents of the Reformation. It was therefore almost inevitable that they should accept his doctrine concerning sin and grace, and the theory of predestination which is its logical complement. These views were so fully elaborated by Calvin as ever since to have borne the name of "Calvinism."

According to this system, all men since the fall, and apart from grace, are destitute of free-will, and so totally depraved as to produce nothing that does not merit condemnation. Such was the opinion, not only of Calvin, but of Luther, Melancthon (1560), Beza (1605), etc.; and it is embodied in all the symbolical books of the period. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563), *e.g.*, says, "By the fall and disobedience of our first parents our nature has been so corrupted . . . that we are wholly unable to do anything that is good, and inclined to do all that is evil . . . unless we be regenerated by the Holy Spirit." The 13th article of the Anglican Church (1562) says of works before justification, "They are not pleasing to God . . . we doubt not but they have the nature of sin."

Calvin accounted for the entire corruption of human nature, not so much by the principle of hereditary transmission (which seemed to him to involve the traduction of the soul), as by supposing a federal relation to have been established by God between Adam and his natural descendants. Zuingli (1531) preferred to regard the corruption of mankind as a hereditary disease, a misfortune rather than a fault, avowing that "they have not sinned in like manner with Adam." The Lutheran Flaccius (1575) carried the Protestant doctrine to an extreme, affirming that original sin was the very substance of human nature, a notion which the Reformed theologians denounced as "rough-cast Manichæism."

The Roman Church asserted, as definitely as the Reformers, that the sin of Adam had entailed on his posterity not only penalty but "sin, which is the death of the soul." It affirmed, by way of explanation, that free-will had been "weakened and turned aside" by the fall; but it repudiated the idea that the freedom of the will had been extinguished or lost. Original sin was declared to be exterminated by

baptism. The denial of original sin, and the denial of free-will, were alike anathematized by the Council of Trent (1560).

In developing the doctrine of original sin, the theologians, both of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, utterly confound one by the boldness with which they proclaim the secret counsels of God, and by their amazingly subtle distinctions without practical difference. Their most important controversy was over the question, Whether God ordained the fall of man? Calvin and Beza maintained the affirmative, as not perceiving how so grave an event could be excepted from the universal efficacy of the divine decrees. This opinion was distinguished as the supralapsarian or hyper-Calvinist theory. But gradually a belief gained ground that the fall was only permitted, and that the divine prescience of it was followed by the act of predestination, according to which grace is bestowed upon the elect. This view, known as the sublapsarian, or moderate Calvinist, prevailed in the Reformed Churches from about 1620. The dispute between the hyper and moderate Calvinists, though not strictly identical, has much in common with that between Gotteschalk and Hincmar in the ninth century.

It was in connection with this dispute that Van Harmen (Arminius) (1609) became convinced of the unsoundness of the whole Augustinian system. The history of the "Arminian" controversy belongs rather to that of doctrines concerning the atonement and its application. It must suffice here to say that the Arminians held original sin to be, strictly speaking, depravity, or bias toward evil, as distinguished from imputed or inherited guilt; and that although this bias cannot be overcome without the aid of divine grace, that grace need not be, and in fact usually is not, irresistible. The advocates of this doctrine were freely charged with Pelagianism, a charge which was altogether unjust, as the theory of Van Harmen closely resembled that of Cassian, and was substantially that of the whole Eastern Church. The charge of Popery, if equally absurd, was somewhat more excusable; for, albeit the Arminians were as zealous Protestants as their opponents, yet their doctrine of original sin had really very much in common with the dogmas of Trent on the same subject.

The Cyprianic doctrine of the transmission or imputation to Adam's posterity of the guilt of his sin was retained alike in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as well as by many theologians in the Church of Rome. But in 1640 Joshua de la Place, professor at Saumur, France, advanced the doctrine of "mediate imputation," *i.e.* that God charges the guilt of Adam's sin on his posterity only in consequence of the depravity which they inherit by natural generation. The strict Calvinists, on the contrary, affirmed that such depravity was a consequence of the imputation of Adam's guilt, in fact, a part of its penalty; and the views of La Place were condemned by a Synod at Charenton in 1644. A similar condemnation awaited the assertion of Cl. Pajou (1685), that original sin consists chiefly in an imperfection of the *understanding*, which exercises a pernicious effect on the will, and needs to be healed by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

In the Lutheran Church, during the seventeenth century, the Augustinian doctrine concerning sin, though retaining its place in formal theology, came to be practically ignored. This was probably owing to the belief, retained from the Roman Church, that original sin—whether consisting of depravity, hereditary or imputed guilt, moral inability, or what not—was extinguished by the sacrament of baptism. The same belief obtained in the Anglican Church, though repudiated in its Articles. In opposition to this, great importance was attached to the survival of original sin in them that are baptized, by Spener (1705) and the German Pietists; as also, half a century later, by the [Arminian] Methodists and [Calvinistic] Evangelicals in England, of whom more anon. Moreover, from 1638 to 1704, the Jansenists, in France and Holland, maintained Augustinism within the bosom of the Roman Church. It is a remarkable fact that, amidst the almost universal decay of piety in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the highest moral and spiritual life of the period was found among the Jansenists and Pietists.

It is only necessary barely to glance at rationalistic and philosophical speculations on the subject. The Socinians, from 1602, approached closely to Pelagianism; according to

the Racovian Catechism, there is, properly speaking, no original sin, but a natural bias toward evil for which man is no way responsible. Swedenborg (1772), too, disbelieved original sin, and regarded man as a free agent, influenced by good and evil spirits. The adherents of modern rationalism have, in like manner, erased original sin from their systems. Kant (1804), admitting that evil tendencies exist in man, insisted that they had their origin in his liberty, and denied that they were inherited from an ancestor of the race; the narrative of Adam's fall he regarded as merely a symbol, to be explained on these principles. Blasche (1827) similarly denied hereditary depravity; according to him, innocence vanishes with the growth of consciousness; the Bible narrative is an allegorical representation of the development of consciousness in the first man; his sin is propagated through successive generations by education. Speculative thinkers, like Hegel (1831) and Schelling (1854), speak indeed of original sin, but reduce its meaning to the necessarily finite character of man's nature and consciousness.

Opinions of this kind seem closely related to that spirit of intense individualism which, after a period of literary incubation, asserted itself so unmistakably in 1789, and which, under the name of *The Principle of the Revolution*, has ever since been so potent a factor in the political and social life of Europe. They have been further popularized by recent scientific theories, evolutionist and the like, about the origin of the human race. These principles and theories have given a decided tone to modern religious thought, so that many devout Christians in the present day do not hesitate to call the story in Genesis a myth. Schleiermacher (1834), on the other hand, maintained the entire inability of man to perform virtuous actions; an inability which can only cease in connection with the work of redemption. Accordingly the older dogmas, Tridentine, Calvinistic, and Arminian, retain a place not only in the standards, but generally in the actual belief of the several Churches.

VIII.—THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

“If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; He it is that hath obtained grace for our sins.” In these familiar words the beloved disciple lays down the essential doctrine that distinguishes Christianity from every form of traditional or philosophic deism; and it naturally follows that whatever opinions are held about the person and work of Christ, must give tone to the entire creed and life of the Church or sect in which they prevail. Much of the early history of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ has been anticipated in our review of opinions respecting the Trinity. This, therefore, we need only to recapitulate with all convenient brevity.

Ante-Nicene Opinions.

The true manhood of the Saviour was affirmed, not only by the entire Church of the Ante-Nicene age, but by all the heretical sects, with a single exception. With this true manhood, according to the creed alike of the orthodox and of the Monarchians, Patripassians, Sabellians, Arians, and Eusebians, the Divine Word was mysteriously united. His true humanity was no less clearly asserted by the Ebionites, a Jewish Unitarian sect, who owned His Christhood, but denied the existence of any superhuman element in His nature; and by the Alogians,—the followers of Theodotus, Artemon, and Paul of Samosata,—who rejected the doctrine of the Word, but supposed the man Jesus to have entered at His baptism or resurrection into peculiar relations with Deity.

The single exception to this general belief is found in the doctrine of the Docetæ, to which there seems to be a reference in 1 John iv. 2, 3. These were Gnostics, who regarded Christ as an emanation from the supreme God, manifested in a mere phantom body; or Manichæans, who regarded Him as the Ideal Man, thus made visible. According to this view, the acts of His human life, and His passion, were not

real, but only in appearance. It is not quite clear whether there was a distinct sect called Docetæ, or whether the term simply denotes an opinion common to several of the Gnostic schools. Notions verging on Docetism were entertained by Marcion (150), who represented Jesus as appearing suddenly on earth, like a theatrical "god from a machine;" and by Valentinian (140), who allowed that He was indeed born of Mary, but only as water flows through a pipe.

In opposition alike to the Ebionites and Alogians, who denied His Godhead, and to the Docetæ, who denied His manhood, the entire Church, until the breaking out of the Arian controversy, regarded the Lord Jesus Christ as in very deed "God manifest in the flesh." Testimony on this point is practically unanimous. Pliny writes to the Emperor Trajan, A.D. 110, that the Christians were accustomed "to sing a hymn to Christ as to a God." In the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus, certainly written within the first century, we read, "God Himself has sent from heaven, and placed among men, the Truth, and the holy and incorruptible Word. . . . He did not . . . send to men any servant, or angel, or ruler . . . but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things. . . . As a king sends his son, who is also a king, He sent Him; as God He sent Him." Ignatius (116) speaks expressly of "Jesus Christ our God," and again, of "God existing in flesh." Justin (165) devotes the greater part of his dialogue with Trypho to proving the doctrine of the incarnation; he says, "If we know that God revealed Himself in so many forms to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, how are we at a loss, and do not believe that, according to the will of the Father of all things, it was possible for Him to be born man of the Virgin? Especially after we have so many Scriptures, from which it can be plainly seen that He became so according to the will of the Father." Irenæus (202) writes, "The Word, who existed in the beginning with God, by whom all things were made, who was also always present with mankind, was in these last days . . . united to His own workmanship, inasmuch as He became a man liable to suffering." Tertullian (220), who wrote a bulky treatise against the doctrines of Marcion the Gnostic, expressly declares that "if Christ were

not God, He was not good." Many similar testimonies might be cited from Hippolytus (239), who, like Irenæus, wrote at large against the heresies of the day; from Origen (254), against those who disputed the deity of the Christ; and from Novatian (256), against the deniers of His true humanity. That He was supernaturally born of the Virgin was only denied by those Gnostic sects which rejected His proper humanity; and by some (not all) of the Ebionites and Alogians, who denied His Godhead.

But while the *reality* of the manhood of Christ was thus affirmed by all the orthodox Fathers, they were not so unanimous as to its *completeness*. Justin, as we have seen, regarded man as consisting of body, soul, and spirit; Christ, he says, "became the whole rational being, body, *logos*, and soul." This is ambiguous; *logos* signifies either *word* or *reason*; it may therefore be intended to denote the spirit, as the seat of the rational faculties; but the more natural interpretation is, that in Christ the Divine Word took the place of a human spirit. Irenæus, on the contrary, affirms that "we are composed of a body taken from the earth, and a soul receiving spirit from God; this, therefore, the Word of God was made, recapitulating in Himself His own handiwork." Tertullian repudiates the distinction between soul and spirit; when, therefore, he says that "in Christ we find the soul and flesh expressed in simple terms," he plainly intends to assert the completeness of His human nature.

Clement of Alexandria (220) seems not very clearly to distinguish the deity of Christ from His humanity. He says: "Our Instructor is the Holy God Jesus, the Word." "The Word Himself . . . has shed His own blood for us." "Believe, O man, the living God, who suffered and is adored." Clement's notions about the body of Christ betray a leaning towards Docetism: "He ate, not for the sake of the body, which was kept together by a holy energy," but that He might not be thought a mere phantom: "He was . . . inaccessible to any movement of feeling, either pleasure or pain." "What He was, they did not see, who, through the weakness of the flesh, were incapable of receiving it; but, having assumed sensitive flesh, He came to show man what was possible through obedience to the

commandments." In connection with these views, Clement seems to have given credence to the legend that the mother of our Lord, "after she had brought Him forth, was found on examination to be a virgin."

Origen (254) is clear about the verity of His human body: "He assumed, as one born of woman, a human body, and one capable of suffering a natural death;" yet supposes that "He was not seen in the same way by all who beheld Him." Origen is also specially definite in his doctrine of our Lord's human soul, and is the first to use the word *God-man* (*Theanthropos*). He disagrees with the earlier Fathers in asserting that Jesus, "after His resurrection, existed in a body intermediate between the grossness of the body which He had before His passion and the appearance of a soul uncovered by such a body." He also held the as yet unusual opinion that the Saviour, since His ascension, "is now no longer man."

Novatian (256) strongly insists on the completeness of Christ's humanity. He refers the title "Son of God" to the Divine Word, and "Son of man" to the human nature, and says: "The Son of God descended, and, taking up into Himself the Son of man, made Him the Son of God, . . . so that while in His nativity the Son of man cleaves to the Son of God, by that very mingling He holds that as pledged and derived which of His own nature He could not possess."

The sinlessness of Jesus is a necessary inference from His Godhead, and is strongly asserted by the early Fathers. Thus Justin (165) calls Him "the only blameless and righteous man." Irenæus (202) speaks of "the Word of God, powerful in all things, and not defective with regard to His own justice." Tertullian (220) says: "God alone is without sin, and the only man without sin is Christ, because Christ is also God." Clement of Alexandria (220) uses the acknowledged sinlessness of Jesus as an irrefragable argument against the theory that every man suffers for his own sins. Hippolytus (239) says: "As a serpent cannot mark its track upon a rock, so the devil could not find sin in the body of Christ." And Origen (254) calls Him "a great wrestler, having, on account of His human body, been tempted in all respects like other

men, but not, as man, with sin as a consequence, being altogether without sin."

The First Four General Councils.

The Trinitarian controversies of the fourth century gave rise to disputes equally bitter, and still more protracted, about the person of Christ. The Arians, as we have already seen, denied Him to be very God, and insisted that the Word was created out of nothing. This opinion was emphatically condemned by the COUNCIL OF NICEA (325), but was by no means extinguished. Arius supposed that in the person of Christ the Word took the place of a human soul. His great opponent, Athanasius, says: "Arius acknowledges only flesh for the veiling of the Deity; and instead of the man within us, that is the soul, he says that the Word was in the flesh, daring to refer to the Deity the consciousness of suffering and the resurrection from the under-world." Some Arians, however, rejected this view, supposing a human soul to exist along with the Word. The orthodox, while they agreed to assert the presence of a human soul, were uncertain whether this was to be understood only of the animal soul (*psyche*) or also of the rational spirit (*nous, pneuma*). Hilary of Poitiers (368), in the intensity of his hostility to Arianism, exhibited a slight tendency towards Docetism, maintaining that the God-man, having been born as man, might *suffer (pati)*, yet, being God, He could not really *feel pain (dolere)*.

About 362, Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, one of the most learned men of his age, advanced the argument, that if Christ possessed a rational human soul, He could not be truly God incarnate, but must be simply a God-inspired man. Otherwise one of two results would follow: either He must retain a separate human will, in which case His manhood would not be truly united with the Godhead, or else His human soul must lose its proper liberty by union with the Word. Apollinaris therefore held that the person of Christ consisted of the Divine Word, a human body, and a soul (*psyche*) such as forms the link between body and spirit; but that in Him the Word took the place of human reason,

so that He differed herein from all other beings. Thus constituted, the soul and body of Christ were so filled with the divine principle as to be entitled to worship; it was even permissible to say that "God was born and died." Hence the term "Theopaschite," applied to the doctrine of Apollinaris. Against this opinion an energetic controversy was maintained by Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzum. These urged that Christ could neither be a perfect example for men, nor redeem and sanctify men, without assuming the entire human nature. This latter view prevailed at the COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381), when the doctrine of Apollinaris was pronounced heretical.

The first General Council had affirmed the proper deity of Christ, the second asserted His complete humanity. The question then arose, What was the relation of these to each other? The school of Alexandria, herein representing the prevalent opinion in Egypt, maintained a perfect union, conjunction, intermingling, or running-together of the two natures. Athanasius declared that "there are not two natures, one to be worshipped and the other not, but one nature, of God the incarnate and adorable Word." According to this view, it was natural, and became common, to call Mary "The Mother of God" (*Theotokos*). The school of Antioch, representing the prevailing tone of religious thought in Syria, went to an opposite extreme. According to them, the two natures coexisted and co-operated; the humanity of Christ was indeed to be worshipped, but only as the instrument of the Word, not as of itself sharing the properties of indwelling deity. If this were so, the title "Mother of God" must be rejected as absurd and profane. The great theologians of this school were Diodorus of Tarsus (394), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (429). The latter maintained that Christ took on Himself our humanity, with all its sinful affections, but overcame these and elevated His manhood to absolute perfection by the working of His Spirit; and that we, too, may attain the like perfection in the same manner. He escaped the difficulty of a twofold personality in the Saviour, by supposing that at the incarnation His human nature lost its personality and independence.

In 428, Nestorius, a monk of Antioch, became patriarch of Constantinople. The title "Mother of God" was in common use among the people of that city; Nestorius vehemently opposed it; Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, as resolutely defended it. The dispute became intensely bitter, and was aggravated by Court intrigues, and by personal jealousies and antipathies. The "Nestorian" divines ascribed to Christ not only a twofold nature, but a twofold personality; Cyril anathematized their teachings; and Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, who favoured the Alexandrian doctrine, called on Nestorius to recant within a limited time. The emperor, Theodosius II., endeavoured in vain to allay the strife by convening the General COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (431). This Council, under the influence of Cyril (and without waiting for the arrival of the Roman and Syrian delegates), hastily declared the doctrine of Nestorius and the school of Antioch to be heretical.

The terms of the confession made by this Council deserve to be noted: "We acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ . . . to be perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and body; born of the Father, according to the Godhead before the worlds, and in the latter days . . . of Mary the Virgin according to the manhood; . . . consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; for there became a uniting of the two natures. . . . According to this understanding of the *unconfounded unity*, we acknowledge the holy Virgin to be the Mother of God." The Council deposed and excommunicated Nestorius; and the Roman delegates on their arrival acknowledged its acts and authority. The Syrian delegates, on their arrival, held a counter Synod, repudiated the acts of the Council, and excommunicated Cyril. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria, endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties by an intermediate formula, which, however, asserted an "unconfounded unity," and admitted the title "Mother of God." The efforts of the emperor were continued in the same direction, but all in vain. Nestorius, after suffering much persecution, died in 440; but the controversy continued to rage with undiminished violence till the death of Cyril in 444.

After the death of Nestorius the chief advocates of his

doctrine were Ibas, head of the theological school of Edessa, and Barsumas, bishop of Nisibis. The latter successfully propagated Nestorianism in Persia. In 498, the Persian Church wholly separated from the Church of the Roman Empire, and at the Synod of Seleucia adopted the following confession: "In the Saviour of the world there were two substances, of which the one was divine, the Eternal Word; and the other, which was human, was the man Jesus; these two substances had only one aspect [or person]; the union between the Son of God and the Son of man is not a union of nature or of person, but only of will and affection; Christ is therefore to be carefully distinguished from God, who dwelt in Him as in a temple; and Mary is to be called the Mother of Christ, not the Mother of God." In the following centuries the energetic missionary operations of the Persian Church caused these views to take deep root in Chaldea, Arabia, India, Tartary, and even China. It is alleged that indignation against the persecutors of Nestorius, and consequent enmity against the Church of the Empire, induced the Christians of Persia to make common cause with the Mahomedan invaders. However that be, their missions were overwhelmed by the wave of Mahomedan conquest in the seventh century; and in the present day there only survives a feeble community, in Persia and Kurdistan, under the name of Nestorian or Chaldean Christians.

Nestorianism being condemned by the Council of Ephesus, the school of Alexandria claimed that their doctrine was established as orthodox; and it soon attained a startling development. About 444, Eutyches, the head of a monastery in Constantinople, began to teach that "after God the Word became man, that is, after the birth of Jesus, there was but *one nature* to be worshipped, that of God, who was incarnate, and made man." He even denied that the body of Christ was of the same essence as ours; but this assertion he afterwards retracted. The difference between the doctrine of Athanasius and that of Eutyches was this: According to the former, the one nature of Christ was compounded of divine and human; it was "one nature, of God the incarnate Word;" according to the latter, it was wholly divine it was "one

nature, that of God, who was incarnate." The former coincided with the Ephesian dogma of the *Unconfounded Unity*, to which the latter was plainly repugnant. Theodoret wrote against the doctrine of Eutyches, which was defended by Dioscuros, who had succeeded Cyril as patriarch of Alexandria. At a Synod held in 448, Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicated Eutyches, who appealed to a General Council, and also to Leo the Great, bishop of Rome (*ob.* 461). Flavian accepted Leo as referee, and Leo endorsed his views on the subject. The Emperor Theodosius, who had been gained over by Dioscuros, persecuted Theodoret, and convened a Council to confirm the doctrine of Eutyches. This Council, the notorious "Robber Synod," met at Ephesus in 449. It was presided over by Dioscuros; but its proceedings were so outrageously violent and irregular, that its authority was all but universally repudiated. Its members not only affirmed the doctrine of the One Nature, thenceforward known as the Monophysite, but deposed Theodoret, and actually murdered Flavian, who had excommunicated Eutyches.

The following year Theodosius died; and in 451 the General COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, the largest Council which had yet been held, condemned alike Nestorianism and Eutychianism. The confession adopted by this Council is nearly identical with that of Ephesus; but it inserts several clauses affirming that our Lord Jesus Christ is "alike perfect in Godhead and in manhood, . . . in all things like to us, yet without sin. . . . One and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, of two natures, unconfounded, unchanged, undivided, inseparable."

Monophysites and Monotheletes.

The Western Church generally accepted the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, but in the East the controversy raged more furiously than before. Sometimes the orthodox, sometimes the Monophysite party, enjoyed imperial favour; and blood was freely shed in tumults and ecclesiastical revolutions. In 482, the Emperor Zeno issued a decree for union, known as the *Henoticon*. In this Nestorianism and Euty-

chianism were both condemned; but the creed of Chalcedon was abrogated, that of Constantinople was declared the only standard of orthodoxy, and further controversy was forbidden. The only result was to make confusion worse confounded. The patriarch of Alexandria, Peter Mongus, accepted the Henoticon; but the Egyptian Monophysites (thence called *Accephaloi*, *i.e.* headless), renounced communion with him. Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, an anti-Monophysite, had promoted the Henoticon; and the Roman Church, under Felix II., renounced communion with him as a traitor to Chalcedonian orthodoxy. A schism ensued between the Churches of the East and West, which continued for thirty-five years, and only ended when the Henoticon was abolished. After that the Armenian (Monophysite) Church, at a Synod held at Feyin in 527, formally repudiated the doctrines of Chalcedon, and became a distinct ecclesiastical community, which continues to this day.

Meanwhile disputes broke out among the Monophysites. In 519, Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus, affirmed that the body of Christ was so permeated with the divine nature as to be incorruptible. This view found many supporters, who, however, disagreed as to whether the incorruptible body was created or uncreated. Severus, bishop of Antioch, on the other hand, maintained that the body of Christ was subject to decay; and of those who agreed with him, some accepted the suggestion of Themistius, a deacon of Alexandria, that there were some things of which the humanity of Jesus was ignorant (cf. Matt. xiii. 32; Luke ii. 52). This was generally deemed inconsistent with strict Monophysite doctrine. Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, tried to appease these disputes by suggesting that the *nature* of Christ's humanity was indeed incorruptible, and exempt from suffering, but that He suffered by a submissive act of His *will*. The disputes, however, still continued; and the Monophysites were further subdivided by scarcely intelligible controversies about the resurrection body, and about the relations of the Persons of the Trinity to the Divine Essence.

A question arose about the orthodoxy of the phrase, "God, who was crucified for us," which had been introduced into the

liturgy of Constantinople. In 533 the phrase was formally sanctioned by the Emperor Justinian, it is believed through the influence of the notorious Empress Theodora, who, despite her gross immorality, was a keen theologian. Justinian, however, though passionately attached to Theodora, had no sympathy with her Monophysite opinions, and considered it his special mission to reunite heretics to the Church. Accordingly, in 536 he began a violent persecution of the Monophysites. Finding this of no avail, and desiring, in view of political dangers, to conciliate the people of Egypt, he issued in 544 a decree condemning three quasi-Nestorian treatises, written by Diodorus (394), Ibas (450), and Theodoret (457). Forthwith another bitter controversy arose. The condemned treatises, known as "The Three Chapters," were popular in Northern Africa, being there generally esteemed orthodox; and several theologians, especially Fulgentius of Ruspè, wrote in their defence. In 553, Justinian convened a fifth General Council, the second of Constantinople, to allay the strife. At this Council the "Three Chapters" were condemned, and the statement that "God was crucified for us" was declared orthodox. Still, the Monophysites declined to return to the Church so long as the decrees of Chalcedon were in force. Meanwhile the churches of Northern Africa, Northern Italy, and Illyria refused to assent to the condemnation of the "Three Chapters," and renounced fellowship with the bishop of Rome, who had done so. This schism was not healed till the end of the following century.

During Justinian's persecution of the Monophysites, Jacob al Baradai, a monk, otherwise called Zanzales, laboured indefatigably to confirm and organize the members of the sect in Syria and Mesopotamia. For several years he travelled throughout those countries, generally in the disguise of a beggar, and died in 588, bishop of Edessa. His memory is embalmed in the name of Jacobites, by which the Syrian Monophysites are known to this day. These, in turn, stigmatized the orthodox Syrians as Melchites, or Royalists, as if they had accepted the anti-Monophysite doctrine on the authority of the civil ruler. Monophysite opinions have also continued to prevail in Egypt and Abyssinia, and about the

eighth century were adopted by the Syrian Churches in Southern India, which had previously held the Nestorian doctrine.

About 630, the Emperor Heraclius, alarmed at the progress of Mahomedanism in Arabia, and dreading the consequences of disunion in the face of a hostile people who conceived it their foremost duty to propagate their faith by the sword, made a serious attempt to reconcile the Monophysites with their orthodox opponents. Accordingly, he invited the general acceptance of a formula which had been propounded about a hundred years before in a book falsely ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. This was to the effect that there were indeed two natures, divine and human, in the person of Christ, but that they were so united as to have but *one will and one operation*. This compromise, known as the Monothelete theory, was accepted by the leaders of both parties—Sergius of Constantinople on behalf of the orthodox, and Cyrus of Alexandria on behalf of the Monophysites—as a basis of union. Accordingly, a union was arranged at a Synod at Alexandria in 633; Honorius, bishop of Rome, approved of the compromise, and most of the Severian Monophysites (those who acknowledged that the human body of Christ had been liable to corruption) returned to the Catholic Church.

But the union was brief. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (635), opposed it as contrary to the doctrines laid down at Chalcedon, and as opening the way to Monophysite heresy. In vain Heraclius issued an edict, known as the *Ekthesis*, i.e. proclamation (638), giving the sanction of law to the Monothelete view. Maximus Confessor, an abbot of Constantinople, betook himself to Africa, where Chalcedonian orthodoxy prevailed, and there issued controversial treatises against the doctrines of the Ekthesis. Honorius died, and in Italy there was a reaction of public opinion against the terms of union. The strife increased in vehemence; and the mutual antagonism of the disputants facilitated the Mahommedan conquest of Syria (638) and Egypt (640). At the death of Heraclius, in 642, both Africa and Italy were in open rebellion, political and ecclesiastical. In 648, his successor, Constans II., abrogated the Ekthesis; and by another decree, the *Typos*, i.e.

pattern, prohibited alike the advocacy and the denial of the Monothelite doctrine. Martin I., who had succeeded Honorius as bishop of Rome, convened the first Lateran Synod (649), which condemned both the Ekthesis and the Typos. The emperor retorted by declaring Martin guilty of treason, and sending him into banishment, and by subjecting Maximus to the most outrageous cruelty. At length Constantine Pogonatus, who succeeded Constans in 668, resolved to settle the controversy by another General Council. This Council, the sixth, was held at Constantinople in 680, with the co-operation of Agatho, bishop of Rome. It decided that in the person of Christ are not only two natures, but two wills, of which the human will is subordinate to the divine; and anathematized the late Pope Honorius as a Monothelite heretic. After this the Monothelites only continued to exist as a sect in the Lebanon mountains, where their leader was the Syrian abbot Marun, the head of a monastery which surrounded the tomb of an older ascetic of the same name. In this monastery the Monothelite doctrine is said by some historians to have originated. Thenceforward they were called Maronites, a name still borne by their successors. In 1182, however, these abjured their Monothelite opinions, and united with the Roman Church.

In the eighth century another dissension arose. "How," it was asked, "can the doctrine of two natures and two wills in Christ be reconciled with the unity of His person?" John Damascene (750) endeavoured to solve the difficulty by regarding the divine nature as that which constitutes the person, and by supposing a kind of interpenetration (*perichoresis*) and interchange of properties (*tropos antidoseos*) between the two natures. His explanation was accepted by most of the Greek theologians. Nicholas of Methone (1089) speaks of the Saviour's "divine body." In the West these definitions were adopted by Anselm (1109), and thenceforward were generally accounted orthodox.

The Iconoclastic Controversy.

In the sixth century it had become usual to render extra-

vagant and superstitious veneration to pictures and images (*Eikons*) of our Lord and the saints; and about the year 700 this practice attained an outrageous development, amounting in many cases to actual idolatry. There can be little doubt that the practice found its chief support in a desire visibly to recognise the humanity of Christ, which could be seen and represented by an image, as an essential part of His person. In 726, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, disgusted with the idolatrous abuses then prevailing, endeavoured to suppress the devotional use of images, and thereupon ensued a furious controversy which agitated Eastern Christendom (and to a less extent the West also) for a hundred and sixteen years. In general the Byzantine emperors and the army took the side of the Iconoclasts, *i.e.* image-breakers, while the monks and the populace defended the images.

In 732, at a Synod held at Rome, Pope Gregory III. anathematized the image-breakers. In 754, the Emperor Constantine Copronymus convened a Synod at Constantinople, which decreed the destruction of all images. The monks resisted, and the emperor thereupon endeavoured to exterminate monasticism. In 769, another Synod at Rome, under Pope Stephen III., gave a renewed sanction to the devotional use of images, which from that time prevailed through a great part of the West.

In 787, the Empress Irene convened a seventh Œcumenical Council, the second of Nicea, which condemned the Iconoclasts, and approved of *reverence* being paid to images, as distinguished from *worship*, which was due to God alone. The decisions of that Council were rejected by a Synod at Frankfort, convened by Charlemagne in 794. This Synod allowed the use of images for adornment and instruction, but prohibited acts of homage before them. The compromise thus sanctioned at Frankfort was maintained in Germany, France, and England for about two hundred years, after which image-worship became almost universal throughout Western Christendom.

In 813, the cause of the Eastern image-breakers revived under Leo the Armenian, and again they persecuted their opponents. But in 842 another Synod at Constantinople, convened by the Empress Theodora, restored the use of images, which

has ever since continued in the Greek Church. At a somewhat later period, however, a distinction grew up between sculptured and painted images. Both were sanctioned in the West; but in the Eastern Church, while the whole weight of authority was in favour of pictures for devotional use, the veneration of statues was denounced as downright idolatry.

The most contradictory statements are made as to the character and probable motives of the Iconoclastic emperors, while it is certain that very little good can be said of those Byzantine rulers who favoured the restoration of the images. And yet it is a remarkable fact, that throughout this stormy period "the supporters of images, by universal consent, numbered among their ranks all that was pious and venerable in the Greek Church." This statement is to be understood of the clergy. Germanus, John Damascene, Cosmas, Tarasius, Theophanes, and Theodore and Joseph of the Studion, the great hymn writers of the Greek Church, all belong to this period; and all, with scarcely an exception, suffered persecution for their opposition to the Iconoclasts. It seems reasonable to think that these saintly men, in defending the practice of making and reverencing images or pictures of the Saviour, imagined (however mistakenly) that in some way or other "the cause, not so much of the *Eikons*, but of the incarnation itself, was at stake."

It may be mentioned, in taking leave of this subject, that in spite of distinctions between worship and reverence, and cautions intended to limit the proper devotional use of images, the tendency was everywhere towards direct image-worship. This is evident on the most cursory perusal of such mediæval literature as describes the daily life of the common people. Several local Synods, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enjoined that the people should be taught not to worship the image, or to address prayers to images under peculiar titles; practices which were rife in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The Council of Trent, however, in 1563, decreed "that the images of Christ and the saints are to be had and retained, and that *due honour* and veneration are to be given them," without clearly explaining wherein such *due honour* consists.

Disputes of the Middle Ages.

The Western Churches were happily free from the distractions of the Monophysite controversy. But about the end of the eighth century a new "heresy" arose out of an endeavour to meet Mahomedan objections to the divine sonship. In the Koran are several such passages as these: "God cannot have children, far from His glory be that blasphemy;" "They say the Most Merciful has had children; by His glory, no! They are but His honoured servants;" "Our Lord (be His Majesty exalted) has neither companion nor child;" "If God had wished to have a son, He would have chosen him among the beings which He has willed to create; but His glory is far above that; He is One and mighty."

The Mahomedan conquest of Spain was effected from 711 to 714, and it would seem that the clergy made sincere, though futile efforts to convert their conquerors. About 785 two Spanish bishops, Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, proposed to reconcile the doctrine of the Church with the foregoing statements of the Koran by what was called the theory of Adoption. They suggested that Christ was *naturally* the Son of God only in respect of His deity; but that in respect of His humanity He was properly a servant of God, as are all of us, and only "made" Son *by adoption*. Thus, according to His divine nature, He was the Only-begotten; and, according to His human nature, the First-begotten. The adoption of His humanity into Sonship commenced with His miraculous conception, was more fully manifested at His baptism, and was completed at His resurrection.

This theory was condemned by Pope Hadrian I. in 786 as akin to Nestorianism. It was also strongly opposed by Alcuin, the most eminent theologian of his age (804), who insisted that such a doctrine was irreconcilable with the unity of the Son of God. Charlemagne convened two Synods to discuss the matter, at Frankfort in 794, and at Aix-la-Chapelle in 799; in both the theory of adoption was condemned as heretical, and by the latter Felix was deposed. After the death of its authors Adoptionism soon became extinct; it reappeared however, in the writings of several mediæval theologians.

The discussions of the Schoolmen on the person of Christ, as on other topics, are amazingly subtle and hard to understand. Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris (1164), whose *Four Books of Sentences* became the favourite standard of orthodoxy, and were solemnly sanctioned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, had asserted that "the human nature of Christ was impersonal." In 1180, Walter of St. Victor accused Lombard of maintaining "that Christ had become nothing!" and this purely imaginary "Nihilian heresy" sorely exercised the scholastic divines. They also debated when and how the union of the divine and human natures took place; the physiology and obstetrics of the virgin birth; whether the whole manhood of Christ had died, or only His body; whether the divine and human natures continued in union when His body lay in the grave; whether the blood shed on the cross was separated from the divine nature, etc.

The mystics, on the other hand, laid stress on Christ as the Divine Representative, or Restored Prototype of humanity. As early as the twelfth century some of them protested against the prevailing tendency to hairsplitting in the definition of doctrines. Tauler (1361) says: "Since even the meanest powers and bodily senses of Christ are so united to His divine nature that we may say 'God saw, heard, suffered,' we enjoy the advantage that, in consequence of our union with Him, all our works may be sanctified. As truly as God became man, so truly has man become God by grace, and this human nature is changed into what it has become—into the divine image." Ruysbroek (1381) says, "Christ had His divinity and humanity by nature, but we have it when we are united to Him in love by grace." The *Deutsche Theologie* (anon., printed 1516) says: "Where God and man are so united that . . . truth itself must confess that there is One who is verily perfect God and perfect man, and where man is so devoted to God that God is there man himself, and that he acts and suffers without any I, or My, or to-Me, behold there is verily Christ, and nowhere else;" "Where the life of Christ is, there is Christ Himself; and where His life is not, there He is not;" "All this Christ has taught by a long life, which lasted thirty-three years and six months." There were

some whose exaggerated mysticism altogether ignored the historical Christ; as certain Beghards, who are said to have affirmed "that any man may be a perfect Christ by nature."

Christology of the Reformation.

The leaders of the Reformation, Luther, Zuingli, Calvin, etc., held firmly by the doctrine of the person of Christ as laid down by the first four General Councils. The Augsburg Confession (1530), with which all the symbolical books of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches are thus far in harmony, states the Protestant belief as follows: "The Word, that is, the Son of God, assumed human nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, divine and human, inseparably conjoined in unity of person; one Christ, very God and very man, born of the Virgin Mary."

Between the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, however, there was a grave diversity of opinion about the mutual relations of the divine and human natures. The diversity manifested itself about 1552, in connection with an attempt to harmonize the doctrine of the two Churches respecting the Lord's Supper. Calvin, like Zuingli, denied the possibility of a real presence of the body of Christ anywhere but in heaven. Luther, on the other hand, affirmed the real presence with and under the forms of the sacramental elements, defending his doctrine on the basis of John Damascene's *Intercommunication of Properties*, according to which the ubiquity of Christ's body was clearly possible. The Calvinists denied the intercommunication. The Lutheran divines (Andrea, Chemnitz, Chytræus, Musculus, etc.) developed the doctrine as follows: Both the *natures*, divine and human, so communicate their properties to the person of Christ that it has of both; the *person*, in turn, so communicates itself to the two natures that the works which belong to the whole person may be conferred upon, and carried out through, one nature alone; moreover, the natures are mutually communicated to each other by means of the communication of their properties; but, as the divine nature can neither receive anything from

the human, nor suffer any loss, we can only speak of the communication of divine properties to the human nature. The controversy was known as the Ubiquitarian, on account of the ubiquity, or omnipresence, of Christ's human body being the matter chiefly in dispute. On this point, however, the Lutherans were by no means unanimous. The Heidelberg Catechism (1562) expresses the Calvinistic view of the question, to the effect that although the human nature is not, like the divine, everywhere present, yet the latter exists *in* as well as *out of* the former, and remains personally united with it.

Some Lutheran mystics inclined to the views of the Monophysites. Schwenkfeld (1561) affirmed that "the flesh of Christ is not that of a creature; for it is not derived from God in the same manner as God is the creator of all that is bodily, but in a higher manner; God creates other men without Himself, but not so Christ." It is difficult to understand Schwenkfeld's exact meaning; but it seems to be that the material body was not *of the nature*, but only the *temporal form*, of Christ's humanity.

Melchior Hoffmann (1532) and Menno Simonis (1536-61) adopted views savouring strongly of Docetism or Valentini-anism. They held that Christ "did not derive His flesh and blood from Mary, but brought it from heaven." This opinion found much favour with the early Anabaptists, a fact which may perhaps be accounted for by the antipathy with which the mediæval apotheosis of Mary was regarded by the first generation of Reformers. For maintaining this heresy in England, Joan Bocher was burnt in 1550.

Michael Servetus (1553) held opinions which have been described as "Pantheistic Unitarianism." As to the Divine Essence and the Trinity, we have already seen that his views resembled those of Sabellius or Photinus. His Christology is peculiar. In the miraculous conception of the Virgin, the Word—which was an emanation of the Divine Light—took the place of the male element, so as to become at once incarnate and personal. The Christ thus begotten was therefore, in a manner absolutely unique, "The natural Son, begotten of the very substance of God." The Holy Ghost was the soul of

Christ. The gross matter of His body He received from His mother, and He may therefore be regarded simply as a man filled with the divine nature. Yet in another aspect He may be regarded as consubstantial with God, not only by virtue of the Word, which in Him became incarnate, but even in respect to His flesh, which, according to the pantheistic philosophy of Servetus, was only a grosser form of the primal light. In this sense, indeed, *all* flesh would be consubstantial with God; but this Servetus did not assert, maintaining, on the contrary, that Christ alone is the Son of God.

It has been already mentioned that a crude Unitarianism arose among the Italian Humanists. The most noted of its early exponents were Claudius of Savoy (1550), Valentine Gentilis (1556), Matthew Garibaldi (1566), and George Blandrata (1590), whose views seem to have embodied various modifications of Arianism. About 1546 a secret confraternity of rationalistic reformers is said to have held meetings at Vicenza, amongst whom opinions resembling those of the ancient Ebionites and Alogians were largely entertained. The leading spirit in this society is said to have been Lælius Socinus, who subsequently elaborated the complete Unitarian system which has since borne his name. According to him, Jesus was indeed supernaturally conceived and born of the Virgin, so that He was truly the Son of God; but as to His nature, He was simply a man, to whom God gave extraordinary revelations, raised Him to heaven after His death, and committed to Him the government of the Church. On the dispersion of the Vicenza coterie, several of its members propagated opinions of this kind in Switzerland, Germany, and Bohemia. Socinus did the same in Poland, in which country many Swiss, German, and other Unitarians found refuge from persecution. Lælius Socinus died at Zurich in 1562, and his nephew, Faustus Socinus, soon after organized a regular Unitarian society in Transylvania. He died in 1604, and shortly after this date Socinianism seemed likely to become the prevailing creed in Transylvania and Poland. This continued for over thirty years; but persecution broke out in Transylvania in 1638, and in Poland in 1658, on

which the profession of Socinianism declined almost as rapidly as it had advanced.

In England, Socinianism had some martyrs in the seventeenth century, and gained ground considerably, among the Presbyterians and Baptists, in the eighteenth. Mention has already been made (in chap. iii.) of a revival of Arianism in these societies. In the majority of cases the English dissenting congregations, which at their first departure from orthodoxy professed Arianism, became Socinian after one or two generations. The last considerable advocates of the doctrine of Socinus in England were Priestley (1804) and Belsham (1829). The *Scripture Testimony to Messiah* (1818–21) of Pye Smith was acknowledged by all parties to have proved the incompatibility of that system with the authority of Scripture; and, accordingly, modern Unitarians in general repudiate the name of "Socinians," and place the Scriptures on a level with other ancient high-class literature. Most of them regard Christ as simply a wise and holy man, doubt or altogether deny His miraculous birth and resurrection, and are, in a word, pure Deists.

From about the middle of the eighteenth century a widespread disbelief in the supernatural prevailed in Germany, and, under the names of Illumination and Rationalism, almost effaced the distinction between nominal Christianity and mere Deism. Even Socinianism made too large demands on the faith of its votaries, and Jesus Christ was simply accounted a man of pre-eminent virtue, the son of Joseph the carpenter. These opinions are still widely prevalent in Germany; they are avowedly held by a large section—the so-called Liberal School—of French Protestants; and are privately entertained by many in France, Spain, and Italy who do not outwardly dissent from the Church of Rome.

Meanwhile the Moravians (since 1727) have strongly insisted on the proper Godhead of the Saviour, using language which seems better to accord with the Monophysite, or even the Patripassian, doctrine of the incarnation than with any other. These theories, however, they would certainly repudiate, as they profess to hold by the Augsburg Confession.

Nevertheless, the blood, wounds, etc., of Christ appear in some of their hymns as objects of worship.

Swedenborg (1772), as we have already seen, held a peculiar theory of the Trinity, which he referred altogether to the person of Christ. "Jesus," he says, "is born of the Holy Ghost and of Mary. Inasmuch as His divine nature is that of the Father, His body also possesses a divine nature. That which was human was converted into the divine by sufferings and temptations. The human, which He received from Mary, was gradually laid aside, and the heavenly body substituted for it. It is this divine body which He took with Him to heaven."

Many modern speculative philosophers strenuously defend the idea of incarnation, or the union of God with man; but they do it in such a manner as to suggest that they hold the historical Christ to be little else than a myth. The old ecclesiastical definitions, however, still retain their place both in the Reformed and Unreformed Churches, except as above mentioned. But the most profound theologians of the age are generally of opinion that these definitions, although correct as far as they go, are altogether inadequate to set forth the great mystery of "God manifest in the flesh."

IX.—THE ATONEMENT.

The belief that Christ's ministry and death were designed to save men from the dominion and consequences of sin is inseparable from any conceivable form of Christianity. But the variety of opinions which have been entertained within the Church as to the manner in which this design was effected will be surprising to those who are familiar only with the theories of "evangelical" Protestantism. As the name of Athanasius is inseparably associated with orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity, and that of Augustine with the views most prevalent, at least in the West, about sin and grace, so is the scarcely less illustrious name of Anselm with modern orthodoxy in respect of the atonement. It will therefore be most convenient, instead of attempting to trace the develop-

ment of pre-Anselmian opinions in chronological order, to arrange them roughly in two groups, according as they exclude or admit the familiar idea of satisfaction.

Pre-Anselmian Theories which do not involve the Idea of Satisfaction.

It was the opinion of Justin (165) that the renovation of mankind was brought about mainly by *the teaching of Christ*: "Becoming man according to His will, He taught us these things for the conversion and restoration of the human race." Similarly Clement of Alexandria (220): "The Lord, who in the beginning bestowed on us life as Creator when He formed us, taught us to live well when He appeared as our Teacher, that as God He might afterwards conduct us to the life that never ends;" "Our instructor, the Word, cures the unnatural passions of the soul by means of exhortations."

The solidarity of the human race, by which alone any doctrine of the fall becomes possible, furnished several of the Fathers with a convenient theory of the atonement. Thus Irenæus (202) says, "When He became incarnate . . . He recommenced the long line of human beings, and furnished us in a brief comprehensive manner with salvation, so that what we had lost in Adam, the image and likeness of God, we might recover in Christ. . . . He came to save all by means of Himself; infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men. He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus to sanctify infants, etc. . . . Then at last He came to death itself, that He might be the first-born from the dead." This seems to be an expansion of Rom. v. 19. To much the same effect writes Origen (254): "From Him there began the union of the divine with the human nature; in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might rise to be divine, not in Jesus alone, but in all those who not only believe, but enter on the life which Jesus taught."

Still, *the death of Christ* was always held to be of supreme importance in the work of salvation; a fact which is illustrated by the great value and supernatural virtues that were

early ascribed to the sign of the cross. Clement of Rome (97) says: "Let us look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God, which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world." So Ignatius (116): "If they believe not in the blood of Christ [they] should, in consequence, incur condemnation." Even Justin speaks of Christ as "cleansing, by His blood, those who believe in Him;" and as "an offering for all sinners who are willing to repent," typified by the paschal lamb, "with whose blood, in proportion to their faith in Him, they anoint their houses, *i.e.* themselves, who believe in Him." And Clement of Alexandria (220) says: "The blood of the Lord is twofold; for there is the blood of His flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption, and the spiritual, by which we are anointed." Similar expressions are used by most of the Fathers.

What is called *the moral interpretation of Christ's death* holds a prominent place in the writings of Origen (254). "He who was crucified accepted that death willingly on behalf of the human race; this was analogous to the case of those who died for their country to remove pestilence, or barrenness, or tempests." These things were thought to be caused by evil spirits, whose power, as Origen supposed in common with the heathen, might perchance be overcome by a just man dying voluntarily for the common good. Elsewhere he speaks of Jesus "dying such a death as might serve for a pattern to those who were to learn how to die for the sake of religion." Ideas akin to these are expressed by many of the later Fathers. Augustine (430), in particular, affirmed that Christ died in order that no one might be afraid even of the most cruel kind of death. "Christ," he says, "died for us that, inasmuch as love is the end of the commandments, and the fulfilling of the law, we may love one another; and, like as He laid down His life for us, we also may lay down our life for the brethren."

The most popular view of the death of Christ, in the earlier ages, was that which regarded it as an actual *victory over Satan*. Thus Irenæus: "He fought and conquered; for He was man contending on behalf of the Fathers, and through

obedience doing away with disobedience. For He bound the strong man and set free the weak, and endowed His own handiwork with salvation by destroying sin. Therefore He caused man to become one with God. For unless man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been fairly vanquished. And if it had not been God who had freely given salvation, we could never have possessed it securely."

Origen represents the victory over Satan as *an act of deception on the part of God!* This notion, with several variations, was held by Gregory Nazianzen (390), Gregory of Nyssa (394), Ambrose (398), Rufinus (410), and many other theologians, through a period reaching far down into the Middle Ages. Their favourite illustration was that of Satan seizing on the humanity of Christ as a bait, and being caught with the hook of His hidden deity. Gregory of Nyssa argues that, inasmuch as the devil deceived men for their ruin, it was just that God should deceive him for their salvation.

John Damascene (750) adopts the theory of man, in the person of Christ, vanquishing Satan in combat, combined with another, which represents *death* — rather than Satan — *as beguiled with the Saviour's twofold nature*. "Death, having swallowed the body, is pierced with the hook of the Godhead; and, having tasted of the sinless and life-giving body, perishes, and restores all whom he had swallowed beforetime." But he repudiates the notion that the blood of Christ was actually offered to Satan. His bold figure is freely used by the Latin poets, Notker (912), Fulbert (1029), and Adam of St. Victor (1192).

Pre-Anselmian Theories which include the Idea of Satisfaction.

The notion of a *ransom* provided in or by Christ first appears, outside the New Testament, in the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus (first century): "When our wickedness had reached its height, and it had been clearly shown that its reward, punishment and death, was impending over us . . . He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities; He gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy One for

transgressors. . . . For what other thing was capable of covering our sins but His righteousness ? . . . Oh, benefit surpassing all expectation ! That the wickedness of many should be hid in a single Righteous One, and that the righteousness of one should justify many transgressors." But the author of this beautiful passage does not make it clear *to whom* the ransom was paid. A similar view is expressed by Irenæus (202), with similar incompleteness: "The mighty Word, and very Man . . . redeeming us by His blood, in a manner consonant to reason, gave Himself as a redemption for those who had been led into captivity. . . . The Lord has thus redeemed us through His own blood, giving His soul for our souls, and His flesh for our flesh."

None of these early writers, however, seem to have any idea of the sufferings of Christ satisfying the claims of divine justice in place of the sinner's merited punishment. On the contrary, Tertullian (220) frequently represents the sinner as making satisfaction to God by penitence. "You have one whom you may satisfy, and Him willing [to be satisfied]." "Walking about, as Eve, mourning and repentant, in order that by the garb of penitence she may the more fully expiate that which she derives from Eve ; I mean the ignominy of the first sin." His exposition of Gal. iii. 13 altogether excludes the doctrine of Christ's vicarious satisfaction. Clement of Alexandria and Origen represent the death of the martyrs as in some degree making satisfaction for sin, at least for their own.

It was Athanasius (325-73) who first propounded the theory that the death of Christ was *the payment of a debt due to God*. His argument is briefly this: God, having threatened death as the punishment of sin, would be untrue if He did not fulfil His threatening. But it would be equally unworthy of the divine goodness to permit rational beings, to whom He had imparted His own Spirit, to incur this death in consequence of an imposition practised on them by the devil. Seeing, then, that nothing but death could solve the dilemma, the Word, who could not die, assumed a mortal body, and, offering His human nature a sacrifice for all, fulfilled the law by His death.

This explanation rapidly gained acceptance. Cyril of Jerusalem (386) says: "We were enemies to God through sin, and God had decreed death to the sinner. Therefore one of these two things must be—God, being true, must destroy us all, or, being merciful, must paralyze the law. But behold the wisdom of God! He has kept both truth in the decree and power in mercy!" Gregory Nazianzen (390) further developed the theory as follows: "A ransom is paid to him by whom the captive is held; if the death of Christ were a ransom, to whom was it paid? Surely not to Satan! It were shame to think that he should receive not merely *from* God, but God Himself, in Christ." Was it then to God? But God did not hold us in bondage, nor does He delight in blood. "Is it not then evident that the Father received the ransom not because He demanded or needed it, but on account of the divine economy?" In other words, Nazianzen retained the figure of a ransom, but, clearly perceiving that the analogy was incomplete, he explained the death of Christ as a necessary expedient to reconcile the divine attributes. Chrysostom (407), still retaining the figure of a ransom, thus illustrates its superabundance: "As if a man, for lack of ten pence, were bound in prison with his wife and children, and one should not only pay the ten pence, but give him ten thousand talents, and bring him from prison to royal honours." Similar explanations were adopted in the West by Hilary of Poitiers (368), Ambrose (398), Leo the Great (461), etc.

But while the Athanasian theory of the atonement met with general acceptance, it was not held to the exclusion of other views. Indeed, the work of the Saviour was perceived to be so many-sided that no theory could explain all its various aspects. The idea of a ransom was associated by most theologians with the old and still popular notion of a victory over Satan. Some held it conjointly with a mystical interpretation. Gregory Nazianzen says: "He has ascended the cross, and taken me with Him, to nail my sin on it;" and in another place, "God became man, and died, that we might live; we have died with Him, to be purified; we are glorified with Him, because we have risen with Him from the grave." Others, as Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine, insist that the

redemption of man is effected not merely by the death of Christ, but by the perfect holiness of His life. Augustine (430) is the earliest writer who mentions the theory of *Forensic Imputation*, or the transference, as by a fiction of law, of man's actual guilt to Christ, and of Christ's righteousness to the believer. This theory he puts forward, tentatively, to explain an incorrect translation of Ps. xxii. 1: "He . . . made our sins His own, that He might make His righteousness ours." Elsewhere, however, he rejects the notion, especially in his exposition of 2 Cor. v. 21. Speculation was freely indulged in by many, even to the extent of discussing "whether the wisdom of God could not have devised a method of saving men without the incarnation and death of Christ?" To which Augustine replied: "No doubt God could have done it by any means; but if He had done it otherwise, He would equally have displeased your folly."

It is a curious illustration of the manner in which dogma is crystallized by controversy, that in an age when all who rejected the orthodox theory of the Trinity were held "without doubt to perish everlastingly," and right opinions about the incarnation were deemed "necessary to everlasting salvation," the utmost uncertainty prevailed as to the philosophy of the atonement. It was a subject on which no angry passions had yet been excited. No one explanation of the meeting of mercy and truth at the foot of the cross had yet been advanced as "orthodox," to the exclusion of all others. The fact of atonement was insisted on; but its various aspects were severally unfolded by theologians who felt that, on this subject at least, their knowledge was necessarily incomplete. Gregory the Great (604) thus briefly sums up the whole design of the incarnation: "For this cause God appeared in flesh, that by admonishing He might stir up the human life, that by example He might animate it, that by dying He might redeem it, and that by rising He might restore it."

Early Opinions on the Extent of the Atonement.

The question as to the extent of the atonement, so keenly debated in modern times, does not appear to have arisen

within the first four centuries. At least no trace is found in any writer of this age of a limitation of its purpose or efficacy to a part of the human race. Speculation rather tended in the opposite direction. Origen says: "He died not only for men, but for the rest of the intelligent creation." And though the Fathers generally limited the efficacy of Christ's death to this world, several of them thought it retrospective in its effects, by virtue of His descent into Hades; see 1 Pet. iii. 19. In a Syrian document, quoted by Eusebius, and deemed ancient even in his time (340), the following language is ascribed to Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples sent forth by our Lord: "He was crucified, and descended into Hades, and burst the bars that had never yet been broken, and rose again, and also raised with Him the dead that had slept for ages. He descended alone, but ascended with a great multitude to His Father." The same belief is expressed by Hermas (140), Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. A mythical account of Christ's ministry in the under-world is found in the apocryphal "Gospel of Nicodemus" (fourth or fifth century); in it He is represented as taking Adam by the hand, and saying to the inhabitants of Hades: "Come *all* with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched; behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross." This "Harrowing of Hell" was a favourite legend throughout the Middle Ages.

Didymus of Alexandria (371) adopted the above-mentioned notion of Origen, asserting that "Jesus, by the blood of His cross, made peace for those in heaven and those in earth, destroying all war and tumult." Gregory of Nyssa (394) seems also to have thought that His death affected "every creature," though he asserted that if all men had been as holy as Moses, Elijah, or Paul, the work of redemption would have been unnecessary! Augustine (430), on the contrary, limited the extent of the atonement to the elect, in accordance with his scheme of absolute predestination. Whereas Leo the Great (461) affirmed that "so precious is the shedding of Christ's blood for the unjust, that if the whole universe of captives would believe in their Redeemer, no chain of the devil could hold them."

Anselm and his Opponents.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, the philosophy of the atonement occupied the minds of the two greatest living theologians of the East and West respectively, Nicholas of Methone (1089) and Anselm of Canterbury (1109). Nicholas conceived of man as fallen, by reason of sin, into a state of captivity. Now he who holds a captive has a right to fix the terms of redemption. The ransom-price of a sinner is death; so that a man by dying can barely discharge his own liability, and cannot release another. If each one should pay his own ransom-price, the whole world would remain under the power of death, because all have sinned. But "it was not fitting that all should die," therefore their release must be achieved by one who is without sin, and none is sinless but God. And since God is incapable of suffering and death, He assumed human nature, "at once giving a hold to death by the flesh, and overcoming it by the nature that was subjected thereto; so that death might not have room to say, 'I am vanquished, not by man, but by God;' and that we might not be worn out by the struggle."

While Nicholas was introducing his explanation of the atonement to the Eastern Church, Anselm was independently developing a very similar, but much more complete, theory in the West. The age of Anselm was every way remarkable. The previous century had not only witnessed the utmost moral degradation of the papacy, but the almost universal spread of anarchy and barbarism; while intellectually it was, *par excellence*, the Dark Age. But the lifetime of Anselm coincided with the dawning of a new day. In his youth began that intellectual revival which gave birth to the scholastic philosophy; in his early manhood the Church entered on that course of internal reform, the effecting of which, notwithstanding many grievous errors, has made for ever illustrious the name of Hildebrand; and in his old age he was permitted to rejoice in the triumph of the first Crusade. It was fitting that an age so memorable should yield some contribution of permanent worth toward the development of Christian doctrine, and such a contribution

is the celebrated treatise of Anselm, "Why God became man" (*Cur Deus Homo*).

The argument of this treatise is substantially as follows: It cannot be admitted that Satan has any just claim by reason of his conquest over man: "God owes the devil nothing but punishment, man nothing but retaliation, having been conquered, to conquer him in turn. Whatever man owes, it is to God, not to the devil." "He who does not yield due honour to God, withholds from Him what is His, and dishonours Him; and this is sin. So long as one does not repay what he has withheld, he is in fault; nor is it enough merely to repay, one ought to render more [to make amends] for the dishonour." "It is necessary that either the stolen honour be restored, or that punishment shall follow, else God is either unjust to Himself or impotent, which it were a sin even to think." True, "God cannot lose His honour;" "none can add to or diminish the honour that belongs to Him." Yet, "when a creature serves God according to prescribed order, whether naturally or rationally, it is said to obey and honour Him; and the more so in the case of a reasonable nature, to which is given to understand its duty." So that he who does his duty honours God, and he who sins dishonours Him. "It would be unworthy of God to let sin pass unpunished; if He did so, out of pure mercy, injustice would be more favoured than justice." Now man, because of original sin, cannot make satisfaction for the dishonour he has done to God, "a sinner cannot justify a sinner." Yet "it was necessary that as by man's disobedience death entered in, so by man's obedience life should be restored; that as sin, which was the cause of our damnation, began with a woman, so the author of our righteousness and salvation should be born of a woman; that as the devil, by the taste of a tree, to which he persuaded, conquered man, so by suffering on a tree, which he introduced, he should be conquered by man." It would not have availed for God to create a sinless man for this purpose; in that case the ransomed would have come under the dominion of their created redeemer; besides, such a man would have owed himself to God, with all his powers, on his own account, and could have had no merit wherewith to make satisfaction for the sins

of others. By a similar argument it is shown that an angel would as little avail. "None, therefore, can make this satisfaction but God." "If, then, none can make it but God, and none owes it but man, it must needs be wrought out by God-made-man." Anselm then gives reasons why the God-man should be of the race of Adam, and born of a virgin; also why the Son, rather than the Father or the Holy Ghost, should assume humanity. He next argues that the God-man, to make satisfaction for the sins of all mankind, must "give to God, of His own, something more valuable than all that is under God." This could not be mere obedience; for that, as man, He owed to God. But He was not obliged to die on His own account; and inasmuch as He willingly offered the sacrifice of His death, this gift was of such infinite value as to outweigh all sins, however numerous or great. The gift thus freely offered must needs be as freely returned; but as the Son already possessed all that the Father possesses, the reward due to Him must turn to the advantage of man, for whom it was obtained. Thus the justice and love of God are reconciled.

The elaborate scheme of Anselm was at first very far from finding general acceptance. Hugh of St. Victor (1141) advanced a counter theory. He represented man as a captive to the devil; Christ, by His life, paid to the Father the debt of man, and by His death expiated the sin of man: "So that, as He had sustained for man a death which He did not owe, man might justly for His sake evade the death which he did owe; and that the devil might find no room to blaspheme, because he ought not to lord it over man, and man was worthy to be free." Hugh laid great stress on the moral effects of Christ's ministry and death in making man worthy to be free.

Abelard (1142) still more definitely rejected the theory of Anselm. According to him, the essence of the atonement consisted in "the singular grace shown to us, that the Son assumed our nature, and therein persevered unto death in instructing us alike by word and by example; thus He has drawn us the more to Himself, as we are inflamed with so great a benefit of divine grace."

Peter Lombard (1164) agreed very closely with Abelard.

He in set terms denied that Christ "has reconciled us to God, as enemy is reconciled to enemy, so that they become friends." "How," he says, "are we delivered from our sins by the death of Christ? Because, as the apostle saith, by His death the love of God is commended to us." Peter was esteemed strictly orthodox; while Abelard, for maintaining substantially the same opinion, was accounted a heretic.

Bernard (1153) engaged in a violent controversy with Abelard on the atonement and on other subjects. He asserted, what Abelard denied, that "man is justly held captive; yet neither in man nor in the devil is that justice, but in God." Except in this matter of detail, he agrees with Anselm; but he develops to a fuller extent the idea of a mystical union between Christ and His disciples. "The Head and the body is one Christ; the Head satisfied for the members, Christ for His own bowels!" He also lays much stress on the *imputation* to mankind both of Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness.

Scholastics and Mystics.

The later Schoolmen generally adopted the doctrine of Anselm, which they variously developed. Aquinas (1274) attached great importance to the substitutionary value of the *pain* which Christ endured. "Suffering, however, is not meritorious, inasmuch as it has its beginning from without; but according as it is voluntarily endured, then it has its beginning from within, and in this way is meritorious." He strongly insists on the superabounding value of the sufferings of Christ. In one of his eucharistic hymns he speaks of the

"Blood, of which one drop, for human-kind outpoured,
Might from all transgression have the world restored."

Duns Scotus (1308), on the other hand, argued that the passion of Christ owed its efficacy, not to its intrinsic merit, or to its voluntary endurance, but to its voluntary acceptance by God. Bonaventura (1274) seems to hold an intermediate position between Aquinas and Duns; he speaks of "the perfection and plenitude of Christ's merits." Wickliffe (1384), in his Latin work *Trialogus*, adopts the theory of Anselm; but

in his English sermons, though never absolutely inconsistent therewith, he lays more stress on the moral aspect of Christ's work, especially His example. Wessel (1489), without rejecting the Anselmian doctrine, attaches at least equal importance to the love exhibited in the passion of Christ, as calling forth a responsive affection. Both Wickliffe and Wessel thus combined the substitutionary with the moral theory.

The Mystics cared little for doctrinal precision, and either "endeavoured to fathom the depth of love manifested on the cross," or talked of "repeating the sacrifice once made by Christ on themselves." Thus Tauler (1361) bids his hearers "with patient endurance, and with all suffering humility, behold yourselves in His sufferings, and have your minds thereby impressed." Another of the same school says, "As a man dies a bodily death, so he dies unto all sin, by serious meditation on the sufferings of Christ."

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the mystical notion of sharing the sufferings of Christ found expression in the strange fanaticism of the Flagellants, who marched about in long processions, scourging each other's bare backs. This phenomenon was repeatedly exhibited in Germany, and occasionally in every country of Western Europe; especially in seasons of pestilence, like "the black death" in 1348. The pain thus self-inflicted was supposed to avail for the expiation of those sins which, by provoking the wrath of God, had brought about public calamities. These fanatical exhibitions were last seen in Italy, France, and Spain in 1417, and were condemned by the Council of Constance.

Mention has been made of the pantheistic teaching of Amalric of Bena, about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From this source originated a multitude of sects, which held strange mystical notions on the subject of atonement, but whose doctrines, as reported by contemporary writers, are scarcely intelligible. Such were the sect of the Holy Ghost, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Adamites, Turlupins, etc., some of which ran into gross immorality. Several of these sects continued far into the fifteenth century; and it is by no means certain that a connection might not be traced

between their secret traditions and the extravagances of the early Anabaptists.

A more sober mysticism appears in the *Deutsche Theologie* (1516): "Though God were to take to Himself all men who exist, and assume their nature, and manifest Himself in them; yet if the same did not take place in myself, the effects of my fall and rebellion would not be destroyed."

The question was raised whether Christ would have assumed the nature of man if there had been no sin? Aquinas thought it unlikely, though he looked on the incarnation as exhibiting the perfection of humanity. Duns Scotus inclined to the contrary opinion; and Wessel argued that, "if the incarnation were chiefly for the expiation of sin, it would follow that the human soul of Christ was made, not of first intention, but as it were on occasion;" he therefore thought that Christ would have assumed humanity even if Adam had not sinned. Such, however, was not the prevailing opinion.

Catholics and Protestants.

At the time of the Reformation, the doctrine of Anselm, with various unimportant modifications, had general acceptance throughout Western Christendom. Luther (1545), in his hymns, showed a decided leaning toward the old patristic representation of the atonement as a victory won by Christ over death and the devil; but he certainly did not reject the doctrine of *satisfaction*. Melancthon (in the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, 1530) says, "The law condemns all men; but Christ, because without sin He underwent the penalty of sin, and was made a victim for us, satisfied that demand of the law; so that it may not accuse or condemn those who believe in Him; because He is the propitiation for them, on account of which they are now reputed righteous." Calvin (1564) took the same view of the matter. He also laid stress on the threefold office of Christ, as prophet, priest, and king; the first refers to His teaching, the second to His atoning death and intercession, the third to His founding and governing the Church, and His dominion over the world. This theory was afterwards more fully developed by the Lutheran

divines. There was, however, a distinction between the views of satisfaction prevalent among the Lutheran and Reformed theologians. The former usually regarded the satisfaction made by Christ as *forensically imputed* to mankind; the latter represented the satisfaction as made by Him in the character of *federal Head* of the elect, as Adam was of the whole human race.

The Catholics held that the death of Christ only made *full* satisfaction for sins committed before baptism, and remitted the *eternal* punishment of subsequent transgressions, leaving a *temporal* punishment to be borne by the sinner, either in this life or in an intermediate state. This opinion, intimately connected with the belief in purgatory and its related abuses, was unanimously rejected by the Reformers. The Catholics held that the merits of Christ were not merely equivalent to the penalties due to sinners, but were supererogatory, so that by His sufferings He obtained merits for Himself. This view was also generally, but not unanimously, rejected by the Reformed theologians.

The devotional literature of the age before the Reformation dwelt excessively on the *physical* sufferings of Christ. In several hymns of the fifteenth century, not only the cross, but the nails, the spear, and other instruments and accessories of His passion, appear as objects of actual worship! The Protestant theologians, on the other hand, attached supreme importance to His *mental* anguish. Æpinus (1533) went so far as to assert that His soul endured the punishments of hell while His body lay in the grave! The Reformed (Calvinistic) Church, following a suggestion of Calvin, rejected altogether the ancient doctrine of Christ's descent into the under-world, and explained the passages bearing on this point as referring to the extreme anguish of His soul. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563) affirms that He bore the divine wrath during the whole period of His earthly life. There can be little doubt that this idea grew out of an inclination to disbelieve or ignore the "intermediate state" of departed spirits, which, in the popular mind, had been long associated with purgatory. The Lutherans retained the ancient doctrine, but still insisted much on "the travail of His soul." "How," says Gerhard (1637), "could

He have redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, unless He had felt the judgment of an angry God?" The Catholic divines rejected this opinion; Bellarmin (1621) calls it "a new, unheard-of heresy."

Controversies since the Reformation.

In the century following the Reformation there were several petty controversies, waged with much bitterness, both in the Lutheran and the Calvinistic Churches. The practice which had grown up in the preceding ages, of treating every newly formed opinion either as an article of faith or as a dangerous heresy, had so far commended itself to the minds of Protestant theologians that they soon became quite as dogmatic as the Roman Church. One of these controversies was between Osiander (1552), who maintained that the divine nature of our Lord was humiliated, and that this only "became our righteousness;" and Stancar (1574), who affirmed that only His human nature was subject to suffering. Both Lutherans and Reformed associated with the death of Christ, as the procuring cause of our salvation, the merit of His active obedience to the law; to which, they urged, he was not subject, because He is Lord of the law. Piscator (1615) gained a reputation for heterodoxy by asserting that Christ, as man, *owed* obedience to the law of God. There was also an angry dispute, about 1622, between the divines of Tübingen and those of Giessen; the former holding that Christ, in his humiliation, only *concealed* His divine attributes; the latter, that He voluntarily *laid them aside*.

The Socinians altogether denied the Godhead of Christ; and, this element being omitted, it was easy to explode every theory of atonement involving satisfaction or substitution. The dying of a mere righteous man, however peculiarly related to God, could not be equivalent to the eternal death of many sinners; nor could His active obedience be taken into account, since He owed this for Himself. Besides this, Socinus argued that satisfaction of any kind was inconsistent with remission of sins. He therefore maintained that the objects of Christ's life and death were merely (*a*) to furnish an example to men,

(*b*) to confirm the promises of God, and (*c*) to render possible His resurrection, by which He entered into glory. By this resurrection we are assured of eternal life; and, moreover, Christ possesses a power, conferred on Him by God, of forgiving sins.

The Arminians (since 1610) are declared by their Calvinistic opponents to aim at "a middle position, between Socinianism and orthodoxy." Grotius (1645) argued, against Socinus, that God punishes sin, not as an act of retaliation by a person offended, but as Ruler of the universe. His object is not vengeance, but the maintenance of order. For this purpose, instead of punishing sinners, He "was willing to use the sufferings and death of Christ for a dreadful example against the enormous sins of us all." To the Socinian argument, that satisfaction is inconsistent with remission, Grotius replied that *payment* is indeed inconsistent, but not satisfaction.

In opposition to the Arminian system, some Calvinistic divines elaborated a theory known as "Equivalentism." Setting out from the position that Christ endured the punishment which men deserved, they asserted that His vicarious sufferings were exactly equal in amount to the penal sufferings deserved by the whole number of the elect; so that if the elect had been fewer, a less degree of suffering would have sufficed, and if more numerous, a greater amount would have been necessary. This view found general acceptance with the supralapsarian school, and was often—though not always—associated with Antinomianism.

Some Arminian theologians, on the other hand, suggested that the death of Christ, though a true sacrifice in the Old Testament sense of the word, was neither a satisfaction for sin nor an equivalent for its punishment. Their definition of a sacrifice was "the appointed condition of pardon;" "the divine will acquiesced in this one victim." Such were the opinions of Curcellæus (1659) and Limborch (1712). Their views had much in common with those of Duns Scotus, who ascribed the efficacy of Christ's passion, not to its intrinsic merit, but to the divine acceptance. It was objected that the theories of Grotius and Limborch were not in harmony with the orthodox view of the person of Christ; because, it was said,

the suffering of a God-man was not indispensable either as a judicial example or as an appointed condition of pardon. Hence a pretext was found for charging the Arminian divines with Socinianism. They, however, generally held orthodox opinions about the person of Christ, though they adopted several Socinian arguments against the Anselmian theory of atonement. The later Socinians, in turn, adopted Arminian ideas on the subject of sacrifice.

Of far greater importance than any speculations about the philosophy of the atonement was the question as to its ultimate object. Here the Arminians and Calvinists were irreconcilably at issue; the former held that it was designed for all men, to make their salvation possible; the latter, that it was for the elect only, to make their salvation certain.

Cocceius (1669) originated a peculiar doctrinal system, known as "the federal theology." Its basis was the familiar idea of a twofold covenant between God and man, the covenant of works before and of grace after the fall; the latter embracing three "economies," one before the law, one under the law, and one under the gospel. He regarded everything in the Bible, history, prophecy, doctrine, etc., as standing in immediate and necessary relation to Christ; the entire Old Testament was typical of His coming in the flesh; and, accordingly, the atonement was viewed in a great variety of aspects, so as to answer to an enormously complex typology. This system, on its first promulgation in Holland, led to an angry controversy, which was, as usual, mixed up with political complications. Cocceianism at length gained toleration, and was adopted by many theologians of note, by whom it was variously modified. Some represented the covenant of works as being contracted with Adam, as the federal head of the human race; and that of grace with Christ, as the second Adam, and federal head of the elect. Others regarded the covenant of grace as being made with the elect, Christ being its mediator in their behalf. Others combined both these views, by distinguishing between the covenant of redemption, made from eternity between the Father and the Son, and that of grace, made by the Father with the elect, with the Son as

mediator. This last scheme was elaborated by Witsius (1708), and long retained a widespread popularity.

The Quakers—Barclay (1690), Fox (1691), Penn (1718), etc.—affirmed “the obedience, sufferings, and death of Christ,” performed in the flesh, to be “the procuring cause of that grace by whose inward working Christ comes to be formed inwardly;” and “that it is by this *inward birth of Christ in man* that man is made just, and therefore so accounted by God.” The “inward birth of Christ in man,” or “Jesus brought forth in the heart,” really seems to be nothing else but a mystical way of describing the appropriation by faith of the Saviour’s atoning work—what Paul calls “Christ dwelling in our heart by faith,” and the moral renovation that ensues—“faith working by love.” Without these, the Quakers intended strongly to affirm, the mere objective atonement would not avail for the individual.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Spener (1705), a learned and devout Lutheran clergyman at Frankfort, conceived that true religion was in danger of being lost amidst the speculative controversies which had been constantly multiplying since the Reformation. He therefore inaugurated a movement for the cultivation of practical godliness, which, under the name of “Pietism,” spread widely in Germany. One effect of this movement was greatly to lessen the importance attached to mere theories of the atonement. Indeed, these were almost lost sight of in the new controversies of which Pietism itself became the subject, until the outbreak of Rationalism brought the very fact of atonement into question.

Mention must be made of Zinzendorf (1760), the founder or restorer, in 1727, of the Moravian Church. Without controverting the dogmas of Lutheran orthodoxy, he represented the atonement, in its internal connection with the religious life, as the very essence of Christianity. He attributed entire redemption, in a somewhat one-sided way, to the sufferings and death of Christ, which he viewed chiefly in a sensuous aspect.

A more decidedly heterodox mysticism was cultivated by Dippel (1734). He altogether rejected the doctrine of satis-

faction, regarding the inner life of Christ as the redeeming principle, and His death as little more than an example of patient endurance, and a type of the death that our old man must suffer. Dippel, however, was rather a theological eccentric, and exercised little influence on the course of religious thought.

Swedenborg (1772) regarded the life of Christ as a whole, and not merely or chiefly His death, as constituting His atoning work. The doctrine of satisfaction he wholly rejected. He represented the sufferings of Christ on the cross as merely the last temptation He had to endure whereby to vanquish the kingdom of darkness, by which suffering His human nature was at the same time united with the divine nature of the Father.

From about 1750 the German Rationalists have unsparingly denounced the whole doctrine of expiation as subversive of true morality. Kant (1804) proclaimed substitution impossible; every man must bear the effects of his own sin. But he who amends his conduct becomes, as it were, a new man; and, as he willingly endures the consequences of his former errors, it may be said that the new man suffers for the old. This, which takes place in man inwardly, is visibly manifested in the person of Christ. The same dislike of the idea of expiation is manifested by almost all the German speculative theologians, whether Rationalist or Supranaturalist. A few examples must suffice. Storr (1805) adopted the views of Grotius, so far as that the passion of Christ was for an example of punishment; but supposed that in some way it reacted on Himself, raising Him to a higher moral perfection. De Wette (1849) calls the doctrine of atonement "a religious symbol, which exerts the most beneficial effects on the pious mind. . . . All ideas have their historical and personal manifestation in Christ, . . . that the entire life of mankind might be reflected in Him. . . . In the death of Christ, which is the greatest proof of His love, we comprehend both the greatness of our depravity and the victory over it." Apparently, in the opinion alike of Kant and of De Wette, the work of the historical Christ—if indeed He was historical—was simply to provide an object lesson, which should

appeal, according to the former, to the intellect; according to the latter, to the feelings. Schelling (1854) seems to favour orthodoxy when he speaks of "the doctrine of the incarnate God, and the reconciliation of finite beings who have departed from God," as the first idea of Christianity. But he proceeds to denounce this doctrine as "absurd, unless it be considered in its speculative aspect;" and goes on to explain it from a pantheistic point of view. These latter opinions he afterwards abandoned.

Meanwhile the doctrine of atonement has been earnestly defended by several of the ablest exponents of modern German theology. Schleiermacher (1834) described Jesus Christ as "the original pattern man, in whom the consciousness of God resided in absolute power;" who "redeemed the world by the life which proceeded from Him, in that He liberates the God-consciousness of His believers, who are enslaved by the sensual consciousness, and therefore stand in need of redemption." According to him, "the redeeming and atoning principle is not the single fact that Christ died, but a vital union with Him;" by this we appropriate His righteousness, *i.e.* His obedience unto death. The sufferings of Christ are indeed vicarious; yet it is not these, but His obedience, which makes satisfaction for sin. Other recent apologists propound a variety of explanations of the doctrine, including many of those sanctioned by the earlier divines, with some entirely novel. Especially has it become usual to reject the once popular notion of a conflict between the love and justice of God, and to regard the divine love as the sole principle of redemption (so Stier, etc.).

In Britain, since the Reformation, orthodoxy has been usually identified either with the Anselmian theory of *satisfaction*, or with that theory as modified by the Reformers—the doctrine of *substitution*. So generally has this been the case, that in several sects the acceptance of one or the other has been prescribed as an essential dogma; and by many, both within and without the established Churches, their formal rejection has been thought incompatible with real godliness. Especially is this the case with the party known, since about 1780, as "Evangelical," by whom, however, a peculiar doctrine

of forensic imputation has been somewhat inconsistently grafted on that of Anselm. Not only, it is affirmed, was satisfaction made to the violated honour of God by the righteousness of Christ, but that righteousness was imputed to and rewarded in the believer, while his guilt was actually imputed to Christ and punished in Him. Some have even represented the satisfaction of Christ as made not to the honour or justice, but to the wrath of God.

Such views, however, have greatly declined in popularity within the present generation. The atonement is still most usually explained on the principle of satisfaction or substitution; but the judicial theory of Grotius has many advocates; and still greater prominence has been given of late to moral theories like those of Abelard and P. Lombard. Indeed, the opinion has recently gained ground, that far too much importance was formerly attached to theories of the atonement, even though some of them may more or less truly represent its Godward aspect; that in like manner salvation has been too much thought of as consisting chiefly in deliverance from punishment and restoration to the divine favour; and that it is of far greater practical importance to regard the whole work of Christ as a manifestation of divine love, and as a necessary means of supplying to man that moral force by which alone he can be saved from the dominion of sin, and become positively virtuous. These facts seem closely related to the growing tendency in human jurisprudence to regard the proper treatment of crime as reformatory, rather than vindictive or even preventive. Meanwhile various speculations of German origin have won great and increasing acceptance.

X.—APPROPRIATION OF DIVINE GRACE.

The Early Fathers—Repentance, Faith, Obedience.

From the doctrine concerning atonement we naturally pass to the method whereby individuals obtain a share in its benefits. This method is so definitely stated in the New Testament—"repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ"—that the only possible controversies would seem to

be respecting the nature of repentance and faith, and the relation of each to the other, and to the course of daily life.

Justin (165) sums up the early patristic teaching as follows: "If indeed you repent of your sins, and recognise Him to be Christ, and observe His commandments, then you may assert this [that you have done no wrong], for remission of sin shall be yours." Clement of Rome (95) asserts justification by faith alone in terms so explicit as not to be surpassed by Luther himself: "We, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men." In like manner Tertullian (220): "The time was come of which the psalm spoke, . . . that thenceforward man might be justified by the liberty of faith, not by servitude to the law; because the just shall live by his faith." So Origen (254): "It is impossible to be saved without faith;" "and even if one should have all the works of the law, yet, because they are not built on the foundation of faith, albeit they seem to be good, they are not able to justify the worker."

The earliest Fathers do not clearly distinguish between theoretical and practical unbelief; they seem to have had no idea of a man believing, and yet acting like an unbeliever. Theophilus (181) writes: "Receiving the evidence of things predicted and coming to pass, I do not disbelieve, but believe, becoming obedient to God; to whom . . . do you also submit, believing Him; lest if you now disbelieve, you believe hereafter, being tormented with everlasting punishment." To the same effect Minucius Felix (208): "Ignorance of God is sufficient for punishment, even as knowledge of Him avails for pardon." Clement of Alexandria (220), however, perceives the distinction, and endeavours, not very successfully, to express it. Faith, he says, is "*a uniting assent to an unseen object, as certainly the proof of an unknown thing is an evident assent. . . .* And since choice is the beginning of action, faith is discovered to be the beginning of action, being the foundation of rational choice." "Faith is not established by demonstration." He several times insists on the mystic

union which faith, working by love, effects between man and God. "Oh this holy and blessed power, by which God holds converse with men!" "The more one loves God, the more he enters within God." "The end of piety is everlasting rest in God."

But while the early Fathers thus unanimously taught justification by faith, they laid equal stress on repentance as a preliminary condition. There is, indeed, some uncertainty in their use of this latter term, and in many cases it seems to include amendment of life. Thus Clement of Rome quotes the whole exhortation, Isa. i. 16-20, as expository of the command to repent. Hermas (140) speaks of repentance as a gift of God, of which some are unworthy: "To those whose hearts He saw would become pure and obedient to Him, He gave power to repent with the whole heart; but to them whose deceit and wickedness He perceived, and saw that they intended to repent hypocritically, He did not grant repentance, lest they should again profane His name." Where repentance is understood as an act or condition of the mind, great importance is attached to its external manifestations; thus Hermas says: "He who repents must afflict his own soul, and be humble in all his conduct, and bear many and various vexations." Such outward signs of penitence soon came to be regarded as having some expiatory value. Thus certain African confessors write to Cyprian in 250: "Let faithful tears be shed . . . again and again, that those very eyes which wickedly looked on idols may wash away, with tears that satisfy God, the unlawful things which they had done." This opinion had reference especially to sins committed after baptism, which, as the whole discipline of the primitive Church clearly shows, were thought to be less easily pardoned than those before, as they seemed to partake of the nature of apostasy. Some sects, as the Montanists and Novatians (third century), carried this opinion to an extravagant length, as will be seen hereafter.

Several writers of this period, however, do clearly distinguish between the mental act and the reformation to which it should lead. Tertullian defines repentance as "an emotion of the mind arising from disgust at some worse sentiment [for-

merly entertained].” And Clement of Alexandria makes a distinction, which was afterwards seen to be of great importance: “There are two kinds of penitence—the more common, fear on account of what has been done; and the more special, the shame of the spirit in itself, arising from conscience.” Of the connection between penitence, pardon, and amendment he speaks thus: “Forgiveness of past sins God gives; but of future, each one gives to himself. And this is to repent, to condemn the past deeds, and beg oblivion of them from the Father, who only of all is able to undo what is done. . . . While it is possible for the man who formerly led a bad life, on repenting, to overcome in the time after repentance the evil conduct of a long time. . . . It is perhaps impossible at once to eradicate inbred passions; but by God’s power, and human intercession, and the help of brethren, and sincere repentance, and constant care, they are corrected.”

Not only repentance and faith, but good works, are insisted upon as a condition of forgiveness; and the early Fathers often seem uncertain whether these should be regarded merely as the fruit of faith, or as in themselves meritorious. As early as 140 we find Hermas saying: “If you do any good beyond what is commanded by God, you will gain for yourself more abundant glory.” But it is not yet intimated that the merit of such works of supererogation can countervail the ill desert of former sins. By the middle of the third century, however, works and alms are spoken of as “appeasing God.”

By this time, moreover, the doctrine of the visible Church had attained a considerable development. Cyprian wrote, in 249: “There can be no salvation to any except in the Church;” and Origen (254): “Outside the Church no one is saved.” Baptism, as we shall see hereafter, was from the first regarded as an actual entrance into the Church, and thus the way was prepared for the dogma which Cyprian lays down as follows: “By almsgiving and faith sins are purged. Not those sins which had been previously contracted, for these are purged by the blood and sanctification of Christ. . . . As in the laver of saving water the fire of Gehenna is quenched, so by almsgiving and works of righteousness the flame of sin is subdued. And because *in baptism remission of sin is granted*

once for all, constant and ceaseless labour, following the likeness of baptism, once again bestows the likeness of God." Origen held much the same opinion, which rapidly gained almost universal acceptance. He even thought that the good works of one—especially the suffering of martyrdom—might avail for another: "Perhaps, as we are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so some will be redeemed with the precious blood of the martyrs!" In accordance with this view, great value was assigned by many to the intercessions of living confessors, though Cyprian discouraged that idea. At this period confessors were authorized to mitigate, and in some cases to remit, ecclesiastical censures; and it seems only a natural development to imagine that the intercession of actual martyrs in heaven might be still more potent. Requests for such intercession, however, did not become usual till the end of the fourth century.

It has been justly remarked that justification by faith alone was clearly taught by the earliest Fathers; but that, as a churchly system was gradually developed, that doctrine was not indeed repudiated, but practically superseded by a counter-theory of justification by good works, meritorious suffering, and religious observances. So unwilling are men, in every age, to accept salvation only for Christ's sake, without human merit.

The Later Fathers—Free-will and Grace.

It has been seen already, that, until the end of the fourth century, the freedom of the will had been undisputed, except by the Manichæans and some Gnostic sects. But although free, the human will was yet believed to need the assistance of divine grace in order to penitence and faith. Justin (165) says: "That we may follow those things that please Him. . . . He both persuades us and leads us to faith." Tertullian (220) says: "The greatness of some good things is insupportable, so that only the greatness of divine inspiration is effectual for attaining and practising them." Clement of Alexandria (220): "It is not without eminent grace that the soul is winged, and soars, laying aside all that is heavy." "Neither is God involuntarily good, as fire is warm; but in Him the

imparting of good things is voluntary, even if He first receive the request. Nor shall he who is saved be saved against his will." "God ministers salvation to those who co-operate for the attainment of knowledge and good conduct." Origen (254) illustrates this theory of co-operation at some length: "Our perfection is brought about not as if we ourselves did nothing; yet it is not completed by ourselves, but God produces the greater part of it." To the same effect Cyprian (258): "If, depending on God with your whole strength, and with your whole heart, you only be what you have begun to be, power to do so is given you in proportion to the increase of spiritual grace."

From these views of the necessity of divine grace was naturally evolved a theory of predestination. This, however, was not yet thought to be unconditional, but to depend on God's foreknowledge. Justin says: "If the word of God foretells that some angels and men shall be certainly punished, it did so because it foreknew that they would be unchangeably wicked." So Irenæus (202): "God, foreknowing the number of those who will not believe, since He foreknows all things, has given them over to unbelief." And Minucius Felix (208): "What else is fate but what God has spoken of each one of us? Who, since He can foresee our constitution, determines also the fates for us, according to the deserts and qualities of individuals." While Origen (254), who expected the ultimate salvation of all men, argued that even the hardening of the hearts of wicked men is part of a curative process, necessary in their case, lest "a hasty cure last only for a time."

We have already seen, in treating of the nature of man and the doctrine of original sin, that Augustine (430) introduced a theory of unconditional predestination, depending only on God's absolute sovereignty. To this he seems to have been led by the exigencies of his controversy with the Pelagians; and it seems probable that his early Manichæism, with its denial of human liberty, facilitated his adoption of an opinion which had not been previously entertained within the Church. The course of public affairs, already referred to, doubtless co-operated with Augustine's high reputation to secure the acceptance of his doctrinal system, which, after protracted

controversy, came at length to be reputed orthodox throughout the West. But if the participation or non-participation of individuals in the benefits of the atonement were thought to be thus irrevocably foreordained, it would seem as if the question whether those benefits should be secured by faith, works, or otherwise, could no longer be of practical interest. Augustine perceived this obvious danger, and strove to avert it. "Predestination," he says, "is not to be so preached . . . as if it were said to men, 'Whether ye run or whether ye sleep, whatever He foresaw you to be, who cannot be mistaken, that you will be;' for it is the part of a false and stupid physician so to wrap up a useful medicine that it will do no good, or do harm. But it is to be said, 'So run that ye may obtain.'"

Augustine is quoted as an exponent of justification by faith; but though he unquestionably taught this doctrine, it was altogether subordinated to that of predestination. He says: "We ascribe faith itself, from which all righteousness taketh beginning . . . not to the human will, nor to any merits going before (for all good merits whatever begin from thence), but we confess it to be the free gift of God." The contrary opinion, he admits, he formerly held; but in one of his later writings he goes so far as to say: "Some reprobates are called, justified, renewed by the laver of regeneration; yet they perish, because they were not called according to His purpose!"

In the controversies that followed the promulgation of the Augustinian system, justification by faith—though not always by faith only—was asserted by the leading divines on both sides. Those of the school of Augustine are very explicit; Fulgentius of Ruspé (533) says: "Faith is the foundation of all good things; it is the beginning of man's salvation. Without this no man can come to the number of the sons of God. Without faith all human labour is vain." The Pelagians and Massilians attached equal importance to faith as the indispensable means of salvation, but repudiated the idea that it is a *special* gift of God.

By this time, too, another condition of salvation had come to be thought indispensable. The opinions which formerly

prevailed about baptism, as the entrance into that Church out of which there is no salvation, had by the fifth century—if not sooner—crystallized into dogma. It was now doubted in the East, and absolutely denied in the West, that any unbaptized person could possibly be saved. Augustine declared that children who die unbaptized are damned! He granted, however, that their condemnation might be “milder and more tolerable.” The only exception was in the case of martyrs, whose blood might serve them instead of water. Great virtue was also assigned in this age to the voluntary mortifications of ascetics.

The Schoolmen—Definitions of Faith, Merit, etc.

The controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries led to a general confounding of faith with orthodoxy. In the pseudo-Athanasian Creed, which originated among the disciples of Augustine in the fifth century, the elaborate definitions of the Trinity are prefaced with this assertion: “Whosoever willeth to be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith, which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.” John Damascene (750) was the first theologian who *clearly* apprehended the distinction, which Clement of Alexandria had dimly perceived, between “faith that cometh by hearing” and “faith the substance of things hoped for,” *i.e.* between assent to doctrines and their personal application so as to produce the fruits of faith. Similarly in the West, Hugh of St. Victor (1141) distinguished between faith as a form of knowledge and faith as an affection.

But it is to Peter Lombard (1164) that we owe the most important definition. It is one thing, he says, to believe that God is, and another to believe Him, that what He says is true; both these the wicked may do, but to believe *in* God is yet quite another thing. “To believe in God is so to believe as to love Him, to go to Him, to cleave to Him, and be joined to His members. By this faith the ungodly are justified, and forthwith the same faith begins to work by love.” In another place he says: “Works are only to be called good which are

done through love to God; now this love is called the work of faith." He distinguishes between "the faith which is believed," *i.e.* creed or dogma, and "the faith *by* which it is believed." Only the latter can justify, and it is "a faith completely formed" when it works by love; faith without love is "shapeless." These distinctions were familiar to the later Schoolmen, but few of them held so clear a theory of justification by faith as Peter Lombard.

Aquinas (1274) regarded faith as a virtue, the first and highest of all virtues, and in itself meritorious. Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages the meritoriousness of virtue, especially as expressed in good works, was generally taught; it was scarcely opposed by any scholastic theologian of mark, except Alan of Ryssel (1203). Aquinas distinguishes between "merit of condignity," which *deserves reward*, and belongs to Christ alone, and "merit of congruity," which is *fit to be rewarded*, and may be acquired by man. Another distinction made by Aquinas was between precepts and counsels; obedience to the former was a matter of duty, compliance with the latter was meritorious, and the merit of such works of supererogation might exceed that required for justification.

The recognition of two kinds of merit led to keen debates among the Schoolmen of the fourteenth century. The "Thomists," or followers of Aquinas, asserted that *after* justification a man might, by the aid of divine grace, acquire merit of condignity. The "Scotists," who claimed Duns Scotus as their leader, denied this, but affirmed that good works *before* justification might merit grace of congruity. Grace thus merited, the perfection of the divine character compelled God to bestow.

The Schoolmen, unfortunately, used the word "justification" in three totally different senses; sometimes denoting thereby the acquittal of the sinner, sometimes the imparting of a disposition towards righteousness, and sometimes the actual working of righteousness. The second of these Aquinas owned to be a secondary and improper use of the term. Of the others he says: "Justification may be spoken of in two ways; the one, according to which a man is justified by attaining the state of righteousness; the other, according to

which he does works of righteousness. . . . Righteousness, then, like all the other virtues, may be taken as acquired or infused . . . that which is acquired is caused by works, but that which is infused is caused by God Himself through His grace.”

About grace, too, there was a similar confusion of thought, which has not yet wholly disappeared. The same word was used to denote either (1) The act of God, which retrieves the moral ruin of man; (2) The relation of man to God when he is received into favour; or (3) The divine energy, or moral force, which works in man. Hence P. Lombard and Aquinas both speak of grace *giving* freely, grace *given* freely, and grace making gracious; and of these the last was further distinguished as preventing or operative, and accompanying or co-operative grace. Not only Aquinas, but even Tauler (1361), doubted if a man could, without a special revelation, determine certainly whether or not he was a subject of divine grace. Huss (1414) went farther, distinctly affirming that “none of us knows whether he will be saved or lost, independently of special revelation; as also none of us knows whether he is in the grace of God or in mortal sin.” The doctrine of assurance, in any shape, was foreign to mediæval orthodoxy. But the Mystics were generally free from such doubts, and some of them endeavoured to describe in detail the inward process which takes place in the regenerate, whereby the Holy Spirit works in them a higher life. Savonarola (1498) describes the state of grace as “an act of sealing on the part of the Lord; Christ is the seal with which the sinner is sealed, after he has done penance, and received a new heart.” He did not, however, regard grace as irresistible, and held that it might be lost. The *Deutsche Theologie* (printed 1516) speaks of three principal degrees of Christian life, purification, illumination, and union with God; the last consists in this, “that the will of the creature flows into the will of the Creator, and it is so blended with it and annihilated by it that the Eternal Will alone wills, acts, and suffers in us.” Some Mystics, especially of the fanatical sects, claimed by this union to be totally free from sin, and even used language which formally identified themselves with Deity.

Asceticism, Penances, and Indulgences.

The practice of asceticism was familiar alike to Jews and Gentiles long before the Christian era. There needs only the bare mention of the Essenes of Judæa, the Therapeutæ of Egypt, the Pythagoreans of Greece, the Fakeers of India, the Galli, Vestales, etc., among the Romans. Toward the end of the second century the ascetic idea found a home within the Church, especially in the Encratite and Montanist sects. About the middle of the third century many Christians, fleeing from persecution, lived as anchorites in the wilderness. Their example was followed by a still greater number during the anarchy and consequent miseries of the next thirty years, and again during the ten years' persecution of Diocletian (303-312). In a little time asceticism became a passion in the East, especially in Egypt, where it was reduced to a system by St. Antony (356). Soon after it found favour in the West; and Western monasticism, at first ill regulated, was thoroughly reorganized by St. Benedict (543).

As the ancient doctrine of justification by faith alone receded into obscurity, it naturally came to be thought that the imitation of Christ was the most certain way to secure an interest in His atonement. This, it was supposed, could best be attained by following those "Evangelical counsels" of poverty, celibacy, and obedience which formed the groundwork of the monastic system. Besides, the idea of merit, to be acquired by good works not absolutely commanded, had laid hold of the popular mind ages before Aquinas had formulated the distinction of precepts and counsels; we have found the germ of it as early as the second or third century. It was not therefore surprising that the members of ascetic orders should become, age after age, increasingly numerous; nevertheless, one is startled to read that in the twelfth century one single order, the Clugniacs, had no less than 2000 monasteries in France alone.

The religious revival which took place early in the thirteenth century, under the influence of the two orders of mendicant friars, then lately founded by St. Francis and St. Dominic, gave such a stimulus to asceticism as the world

had not known before. By the end of that century the religious orders had absorbed almost all that was best and noblest in the Western Church, except the few small sects which remained outside the Roman communion. Unhappily by this time, or a little later, several of these orders became sadly demoralized; none more so than the Franciscans. Hence the hostility toward the friars manifested by Wickliffe (1384); hostility which was directed not against the institution, nor against the idea of Christian life which it embodied, but solely against its corruption. The same may be said in general of all the "Reformers before the Reformation."

As far back as the seventh century, or earlier, we can trace the opinion that sins committed after baptism, though pardoned, need some kind of expiation to be made by the sinner, either in this life or after death. This notion continued to gain popularity throughout the Middle Ages, and was naturally connected with the doctrine of purgatory, of which hereafter. By the tenth century expiatory value was ascribed to those penances which had long formed a part of the ecclesiastical discipline; and in 1022 a Council at Worms permitted the commutation of these penances for money. A little later it came to be supposed that the Church had power to change the purgatorial expiation of a future state into ecclesiastical penances to be performed on earth. True, the doctrine of the Church was that such penances were of no value apart from inward penitence. But when it was supposed that the penalty due to sin in a future life could first be changed into a penance, and then commuted for money, it is easy to conceive what would be the effect on public morals.

A different theory was advanced by Aquinas (1274) and Albert the Great (1280). According to them, the superfluous merits of Christ and the saints formed an inexhaustible treasure, applicable to the benefit of others. Of this treasure the Church was the depositary and absolute dispenser. Its benefits, in the form of indulgences, *i.e.* remission of expiatory penances here or hereafter, were at first assigned on condition of good works or acts of devotion. About 1300 they were alleged to be available for the faithful departed. To greedy ecclesiastics no good works could be so acceptable as rich

donations; and so it came to pass that in 1390 indulgences were openly sold for money by Pope Boniface IX. It was taught, indeed, by the theologians that these indulgences merely remitted ecclesiastical penalties and purgatorial pains for sins already forgiven, and that they were useless except to the truly penitent. But this the vulgar failed to understand; and when, in 1515, Leo X. commenced the general sale of indulgences on a grand scale, his agents made no such reservation. "There is no sin so great," said Tetzal, "that an indulgence cannot remit." "Even the sins you intend to commit may be pardoned." "For the dead repentance is not even necessary . . . the soul flies to heaven as the money clinks in the chest!"

It was the promulgation of these monstrous doctrines that precipitated the Reformation, the commencement of which is usually dated from the 31st October 1517, on which day Luther posted his "ninety-five theses against indulgences."

The Reformation—Justification by Faith.

The keynote of the Reformation was justification by faith alone. On this point, which Luther declared to be "the article of a standing or falling Church," the Reformers were unanimous; and its enthusiastic reception by the various Protestant communities involved the rejection of all that was most distinctive in mediæval divinity. Not only indulgences, but expiatory penances, priestly absolution (except as the cancelling of ecclesiastical censures), and purgatory itself were discarded; and, together with them, works of supererogation, the entire doctrine of human merit, the evangelical counsels, and the whole system of monasticism fell into discredit.

The Confession of Augsburg (1530) defines the Protestant doctrine as follows: "Men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merit, or works; but they are freely justified, for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe themselves to be received into favour, and their sins to be remitted for the sake of Christ, who by His death made satisfaction for our sins. God imputes this faith for righteousness in His sight." "It is necessary to do good works, not

as if we trusted by them to deserve grace, but because of the will of God." The Confession of Basle (1536) says: "Though faith continually exercises and manifests itself by the works of love, we do not ascribe righteousness and satisfaction for our sins to works as the fruits of faith, but solely to true confidence and faith in the blood of the Lamb of God . . . for we confess that all things are given to us in Christ."

In opposition to these statements, the doctrine of the Roman Church was thus defined by the Council of Trent (1546): "We are said to be justified by faith, because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification . . . [but] If any one shall say that the ungodly is justified by faith only, so as to understand that nothing else is required which should co-operate toward the consequent grace of justification . . . let him be accursed."

It must be noted, however, that the terms faith and justification were used in a different sense by each of the contending parties. By faith the Catholics understood a loyal acceptance of doctrine, the Protestants a personal reliance on God as revealed in Christ. By justification the Catholics understood "not only the remission of sins, but also the sanctification and renovation of the inner man;" the Protestants held that justification and sanctification, though closely connected, are in their nature distinct—the former wrought *for* man, the latter wrought *in* him. Had these definitions been reviewed in a conciliatory spirit, the controversy might have been relieved of half its bitterness. But the crucial point, the merit of good works, was so wrought into the fabric of the Roman ecclesiastical system that its advocates were impelled by the law of self-preservation to strive not for conciliation, but for victory.

An illustration is furnished in the fate of Aonio Paleario, who in 1543 published his celebrated treatise *On the Benefit of Christ's Death*. This little book was in no sense controversial; it did not even covertly assail the ecclesiastical order; but it expounded, in a practical manner, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, enforcing it by quotations from churchly authorities, from Origen to St. Bernard. In six years over 40,000 copies were sold; the book was read in

every part of Italy, and was translated into several foreign languages. Yet so effectually was it suppressed by the Inquisition, that within thirty years not a single Italian copy could be found, and, until the recovery of an English copy in 1840, it was believed to be absolutely extinct. The author was burnt at Rome in 1570.

The Protestant definitions of justification and faith were not universally approved within the Reformed Churches. In fact, there was no small danger to be feared from the acceptance of the Protestant doctrine, if its terms were understood in the Catholic sense. Schwenkfeld (1525-61) apprehended this danger, fearing that faith would be taken for mere assent to dogma; in which case the preaching of justification by faith alone would lead to moral indifference. The Mennonites, or Dutch Anabaptists (from 1536), seem to have understood faith in this sense, for their confession (drawn up by Ries about 1580) declares that faith "ought to be accompanied by the love of God, and firm confidence in Him."

In 1537, John Agricola taught that the law need no longer be preached, as it is not a rule of life for believers, and the gospel suffices to lead men to repentance by the power of divine love. This was opposed by Luther and Melancthon, who perceived a danger lest *theoretical* should lead to *practical* antinomianism—a result which actually ensued at a later period in some of the sects that adopted Agricola's opinion. In 1551, Osiander objected to the distinction between justification and sanctification, understanding by the former not merely the *accounting*, but the *making* a man righteous. This, he held, was effected solely by "the essential justice of God" in Christ constantly infused into the believer. His views were opposed by Stancar, who affirmed that we are justified only by the righteousness wrought by Christ as man. In the same year George Major, of Wittenberg, having asserted that good works contribute to salvation, was opposed by Nic. Amsdorf, who taught that "even such works as are the fruits of faith are imperfect, and would condemn us if God did not condescend to accept them for the sake of our faith." He further taught that "when we commit sin we do not lose salvation, because we have previously lost it by unbelief."

A more serious controversy followed. It has already been intimated that all the Reformers, with the single exception of Castalio, adopted the opinion of Augustine, that the freedom of the will had been lost at the fall. Melancthon, however, held less rigid views than the rest, and in 1548 he conceded the ability of man, of his own accord, to embrace proffered salvation. His views were defended by Pfeffinger in 1555, and in the same year were violently assailed by Nic. Amsdorf and Matthias Flack. This "synergistic controversy" lasted about twelve years, its course being much influenced by the political events which then occurred in Germany. There can be little doubt that it contributed to bring about the still graver "Arminian controversy" that ensued.

Calvinism—The Arminian Controversy.

The language of Augustine on the subject of salvation by grace alone, and in opposition to human merit and work-righteousness, appeared of so great importance to the Reformers in their dispute with the Roman Church, that it was only natural for them to adopt his entire system, including total depravity, bondage of the will, and absolute predestination. This system, together with a slight modification of the Anselmian theory of atonement, was elaborated by the remorseless logic of Calvin into a theology which, whatever its faults, has at least the merit of marvellous consistency. This theology, which has ever since been distinguished as "Calvinism," was adopted in all its uncompromising rigidity by the Reformed Churches of Geneva, France, Holland, and Scotland. It is favoured, on the whole, by the "Articles" of the Anglican Church; but these are, in several points, designedly ambiguous. The Lutheran Churches held it with considerable modifications. A view common to Lutherans and Calvinists is thus expressed in the "Form of Concord," 1577: "Before man is enlightened, converted, regenerated, and drawn by the Holy Ghost, of himself and of his own natural powers he is not able to begin, work, or co-operate in things spiritual or toward his own conversion or regeneration, any more than a stone or a log." The "Form of Concord," however, asserted

what the Calvinists denied, that man, though unable to reach after or co-operate with divine grace, can resist or reject it.

It was generally held that "God had, before the foundation of the world, *elect*ed those to whom He would give the inheritance of eternal blessedness." The Calvinistic theologians affirmed that this election was unconditional, not based on foreseen obedience, penitence, or faith, but only on the inscrutable will of God; that all who will be saved were the objects of a particular redemption; that they, and they only, are wrought upon by irresistible grace; and that this grace can never be lost. The Lutherans distinguished between the divine foreknowledge and the election of grace; represented God as willing to save all men; and thought that grace might be both resisted and lost.

Even during the life of Calvin his system was opposed by Castalio and a few others, who for a long time made but little visible impression on the Reformed Church. Gradually, however, an idea gained ground that the fall of Adam was not included in that "horribile decretum" whereby, according to Calvin, all his posterity were adjudged liable, in consequence thereof, to eternal death. The disputations of supralapsarians and sublapsarians aroused a suspicion that the views of the former were irreconcilable with divine benevolence, and that those of the latter were illogical. In 1595, one Barrett, a preacher at Cambridge, had called in question the whole theory of unconditional election. Thereupon Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, with other divines, drew up the so-called "Lambeth Articles," in which the most uncompromising supralapsarianism was embodied, and which they endeavoured to impose on the university as a test of orthodoxy. The imposition of this test, however, was forbidden by civil authority.

About 1603 a widespread dissatisfaction with both forms of Calvinism found expression in the Netherlands, under the leadership of James van Harmen, better known by his Latinized name of Arminius. His views were ably seconded by Simon Episcopius (1634) and Grotius (1645); and as energetically opposed by Francis Gomar (1641). The dispute assumed such proportions as to become a source of political

danger; and a conference between the respective party leaders (Leyden, 1609) failed to produce either agreement or mutual tolerance. In 1610, the Arminians propounded a "Remonstrance" against the Calvinistic doctrines of Unconditional Election, Particular Redemption, Restricted Operation of the Holy Ghost, Irresistible Grace, and Final Perseverance. The two parties now became political; the Arminians, or Remonstrants, were generally identified with the liberal or republican party; while the Stadtholder, who was suspected of desiring to become king, took part with the Calvinists. After several more fruitless conferences, the States-General referred the matter in dispute to the Synod of Dort (1618-19). At this Synod the views of the Remonstrants on the doctrines above mentioned, commonly called "The Five Points," were condemned by representatives of the Reformed Churches in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, England, and Scotland. A ten years' persecution of the Dutch Arminians ensued, and Calvinistic orthodoxy was thought to be firmly established.

When the persecution ceased, the Arminians of Holland became a distinct sect. Their views respecting original sin and free-will inclined to those which prevailed in the unreformed Churches. On the atonement they were not unanimous, but generally preferred a moral, or judicial, or sacrificial theory to that of Anselm. As to the person of Christ, they were completely orthodox; but some of them held the Ante-Nicene opinion of subordination amongst the persons of the Trinity. Their congregations were never very numerous, but their opinions have largely pervaded the Reformed Church of that country. "From thence," says a Calvinistic historian, "the spread of Arminian tenets through all the neighbouring nations has been prodigious; the generality in all Protestant countries embrace them, and the far greater number without knowing it!"¹

In this naive remark there is a considerable amount of truth. In Germany the canons of Dort were only partially received; and the Reformed Churches, where they have not been overrun with rationalism, are in more or less sympathy with Arminianism. In Switzerland, Calvinism was generally

¹ Haweis.

maintained, until, after nearly two centuries, it was almost entirely supplanted by rationalism and unbelief. In France, the Reformed Church in general adhered to Calvinism, at least until it was decimated by the persecution which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Several esteemed theologians, however, advanced views bordering on those of the Remonstrants. The peculiar opinions of J. de la Place on original sin have already been mentioned. Amyrault (1644), Daillé (1670), and Claude (1687) taught that God provided, in the mediation of Christ, salvation for all, and sufficient grace, if not resisted, to secure its attainment by all; but, foreseeing that if left to themselves none would repent and believe, He further bestowed irresistible grace on the elect. This doctrine, called "hypothetical universalism," was allowed by two Synods, at Alençon (1637) and Charenton (1644), and gradually prevailed in the Reformed Church of France. More decidedly Arminian were the views of Cl. Pajou (1685), who affirmed that *all* the operations of Divine Providence and of the Holy Spirit were designed to effect man's conversion: the former by the events of life, the latter by means of the word of God. This doctrine was condemned by several Synods.

In Scotland, Calvinism remains dominant to this day, albeit there are signs that its hold on the popular intelligence is being considerably loosened. In England, the theology of Dort was generally repudiated by the dignitaries of the Anglican Church, but it found a home among the Puritans and Nonconformists until far into the present century. Its severity was mitigated by Baxter (1691), who denied reprobation, affirming that as Christ assumed the nature and suffered for the sins of all mankind, salvation is equally proffered to all on condition of acceptance; yet that only the elect are saved, because, while the rest receive grace which would be sufficient if not resisted, they alone receive such grace as, though not irresistible, actually overcomes their resistance. Its influence was further undermined by the great Methodist revival, whose leaders, Wesley (1792), Fletcher (1785), etc., assiduously propagated Arminianism both from press and pulpit. Notwithstanding some respectable

names, English Calvinism seems now to be in a moribund condition. The same, but in a less degree, may be said of America, where the early colonists, especially the Pilgrim Fathers (1620), had hoped to build up a State on the foundations of pure Calvinistic orthodoxy.

It has often been remarked—and variously explained, according to individual sympathies—that Calvinism naturally allies itself with political liberty, and Arminianism with authority. This was certainly the case in the civil conflicts of England and Scotland; but in Holland it was precisely the reverse. It is more generally true that Arminian religious societies are less intolerant of variations from traditional orthodoxy than those whose standards are Calvinistic.

The Protestant Sects.

The Socinians, as we have seen, altogether denied original sin. They nevertheless thought assisting grace to be necessary in order to man's moral renovation, which they regarded as the condition of pardon, because the will is weakened by frequent transgression. They utterly rejected predestination, which, Socinus says, "destroys all true religion."

Antinomianism, or the opinion that the divine law is no longer a rule of life for believers, had been avowed in Germany by John Agricola in 1537. It was first promulgated in England by Tobias Crisp (1643). Along with the most rigid form of supralapsarian Calvinism, Crisp taught that "the sins of the elect were so imputed to Christ as that . . . they became actually His transgressions, and ceased to be theirs." "Thou ceasest to be a transgressor from the moment they were laid upon Christ to the last hour of thy life, so that thou art not a sinful person." "An elect person is not in a condemned state while an unbeliever." "God doth no longer stand offended or displeased though a believer, after he is a believer, do sin often." The views of Crisp found considerable acceptance; but his disciples did not form a separate sect. They were chiefly to be found among the Baptists; and so deplorable was their moral influence in the following century, that the eminent Baptist theologian, A. Fuller (1815),

remarked, "Had matters gone on thus but a few years longer, the Baptists would have become a perfect dunghill in society."

The Quakers (differing herein from all other Protestants except the Mennonites and the school of Osiander) regarded justification as including sanctification. They were strongly opposed to representing it as a merely legal transaction. Man, they said, can only be accounted righteous when he is actually made righteous, which is effected by "the forming of Christ in us," *i.e.* Christ "dwelling in the heart by faith."

The German Pietists (from 1678) also attached great importance to sanctification, which, however, they insisted upon as the special work of the Holy Ghost. The term "regeneration," which had been variously applied, sometimes to baptism, sometimes to the grace that accompanies baptism when duly received, and sometimes to conversion or spiritual awakening, they restricted to the last-mentioned signification. This regeneration, they affirmed, *commences with a change of will*; and they denied the efficacy for justification of any faith which does not prove its vitality by producing the evidence of such a change in a life of active godliness. The anti-pietistic theologians defined the order of the divine operations as follows: Enlightenment, Penitence, Sanctification, Perseverance, Union with God.

The Moravians (from 1727) were essentially a pietistic society, holding by the Augsburg Confession, but claiming to have entered into a peculiar covenant relation with Christ. Beyond this, their speciality consisted in tracing not only justification, but sanctification, exclusively to the sufferings and death of Christ, and *seeming* almost to reduce the whole religious life to emotional love to the Saviour. Bengel (1754), himself a pietist, charged them with antinomianism; and Wesley contended against them for the necessity of good works. But however their theory may savour of antinomianism, in the practice of good works and in self-denying labour for Christ's sake they probably excel every other sect in Christendom.

Mention has been made of the Methodist revival (commenced 1738) as tending greatly to undermine the influence of Calvinism in England. The theology of this movement may

be briefly described as orthodox Arminianism, the doctrinal articles of the Anglican Church being adhered to in the Remonstrant sense, of which they are clearly capable. Its peculiarities have to do with assurance and sanctification. That assurance is of the essence of faith was generally held by the Reformers and by most Protestants (in opposition to the prevailing mediæval opinion), until the Westminster Assembly (1643-47) affirmed the contrary. Since that time many, both Anglicans and Nonconformists, have regarded assurance as a special grace, exceptionally bestowed. Wesley taught that faith without assurance is indeed possible; but that such faith is thereby shown to be feeble, assurance being the rightful privilege of all believers. He also taught that every believer may and ought to attain to Christian perfection; meaning thereby not absolute faultlessness, but entire sanctification of the will.

A pietistic movement took place in England side by side with the Methodist revival, and chiefly distinguished from it by the Calvinistic tone of its theology. Its adherents, both in the Established Church and among the Nonconformists, assumed the name of "Evangelicals." Their chief doctrinal peculiarity was (together with a modified Anselmian theory of the atonement, and Calvinistic predestination) the imputation of Christ's active righteousness to the believer. Meanwhile high Calvinists, moderate Calvinists, and Arminians denounced each other with unsparing severity, and numerous small sects arose, Inghamites, Sandemanians, Husseyites, etc., based on special modifications of one or the other theory.

Our limits forbid any attempt to review the theories about forgiveness of sin and moral renovation put forth by the rationalists and philosophic theologians of the last hundred years. They generally minimize the importance of the death of Christ; and, while extolling divine grace, and speaking modestly or depreciatingly of human merit, their speculations amount practically to this: "That man must do, of himself, all he can to win salvation, and leave the remaining part to the wisdom of God." It is only by a generous straining of definitions, however, that many of these theories could be included in a history of *Christian* doctrine; and the same

may be said of the pure deism into which the old Socinianism has merged.

Meanwhile the various Protestant Churches and sects, notwithstanding their numerous diversities of opinion, generally hold to the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith alone; and the necessity of good works, not as in themselves meritorious, but as the fruit and evidence of faith. On the other hand, the Catholic revival in the Anglican Church, during the last fifty years, has tended to obscure that doctrine, if not to subvert it.

The Unreformed Churches.

The Roman Church anathematized the entire Calvinistic scheme, asserting both the freedom of the will and its co-operation with the grace of God in no uncertain tones. "If any one shall say that free-will, moved and excited by God, does not co-operate by assenting to God who excites and calls, whereby it may dispose and prepare itself to obtain the grace of justification, or that it cannot dissent if it pleases . . . let him be accursed." "If any one shall say that the grace of justification affects only those predestined to life, and that all the rest who are called, are called indeed, but do not receive grace, because by divine power they are predestined to evil, let him be accursed." Such were the decisions of the Council of Trent; and they were so far useful to Calvinistic polemics that they afforded a colourable pretext for stigmatizing Arminianism as "Popery."

It seems difficult, not to say impossible, to reconcile these decisions with the teachings of Augustine, who was nevertheless a canonized doctor of the Church. However, about 1567 an attempt was made partially to re-establish the doctrinal system of Augustine by Michael de Bay and John Hessels, professors at Louvain. This was condemned by Pope Pius V. More hopeful was the endeavour of the Portuguese Jesuit, Louis Molina (about 1588), to reconcile predestination with free-will, by a theory very similar to the Arminian; a theory which had been rudely outlined indeed by Peter Lombard and Bonaventura. Its leading feature was the

recognition of a peculiar intuition (called "scientia media"), whereby it is possible for God certainly to foreknow, without foreordaining, the spontaneous acts of His free creatures.

The doctrine of Bellarmine (1621) was as follows: "The grace of God precedes all that is good in man. This grace is not bestowed equally upon all; nor would God be unjust if He withheld from some, or from all, grace sufficient for salvation. But, in fact, grace sufficient for salvation, according to time and place, mediately or immediately, is given to all. Nevertheless, the free-will of man must co-operate with the grace of God." Concerning predestination, he granted that, in a sense, God foreordained whatever should come to pass; some things He determined to bring about by His operation or co-operation, and the rest He determined to permit. These views seem scarcely to differ, practically, from those of the Remonstrants. They continue to prevail in the Roman Church, but associated with the merit of good works, and the necessity of satisfaction—in this life or another—for pardoned sin.

In 1640 there appeared a posthumous work of Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypern, wherein the author sought to revive the entire Augustinian doctrine concerning sin, grace, and good works. These views were ably and enthusiastically advocated by the theologians of Port-Royal, Blaise Pascal (1662), Antoine Arnauld (1694), etc., and by P. Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory (1719). A violent controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists was maintained from 1653 to 1665, and was followed by the condemnation and long-continued persecution of the latter. Since that time the Augustinian theology has been virtually extinct in the Roman Church.

About 1626 some approaches toward Protestantism were made from the East. Cyril Leukaris, patriarch of Constantinople, had adopted opinions closely akin to Calvinism, and earnestly endeavoured to bring about the union of the Greek and Reformed Churches. He was persistently opposed by other Greek bishops; and in 1638 was put to death by the sultan on an absurd charge of treason. There were strong suspicions of Jesuit intrigue in this business.

XI.—THE CHURCH, AND MEANS OF GRACE.

Man is not only an individual, holding relations with his Divine Creator, but a social being, having relations with his fellows, which equally need to be regulated by a divine order. This social element in human nature has been recognised in the institution of the Church, whereby our Lord has placed Christian men in organic union with each other as well as with Himself. He has also appointed certain positive ordinances as means of grace for those who enter into this holy fellowship. Unhappily the contentions that have arisen about the constitution and order of the Church, and about the right use and significance of the means of grace, are so numerous and intricate, that it is impossible to summarize them without the appearance of partiality. It is therefore the less to be regretted that our limits restrict us to the barest indication of the course of thought on these subjects.

This, as a matter of convenience, we shall follow successively through three well-marked historical periods, defined by (before and after) the State establishment of Christianity under Constantine (323), and the commencement of the Reformation (1517).

(a) THE AGE BEFORE CONSTANTINE.

Constitution of the Church.

No formal constitution of the Church is laid down in the New Testament, or in the literature of the first two centuries; and in the scanty notices that remain of the practice of this period, the partisans of *all* Church systems profess to find support for their conflicting opinions. As far as can be gathered from these notices, the Christians in each town formed a single community or local church. In most cases the local church consisted of a single congregation; but when the vigilance of persecutors, or the increasing number of disciples, made it necessary to divide into several assemblies, the local unity of the church was not surrendered. Except heretical societies, there is no instance of mutually discon-

nected congregations in the same city until the third century ; and those which then arose were accounted schismatic and scandalous. Sometimes, but not always, the Christians in suburban villages formed part of the city church.

These local churches were self-governed, and, so far as their internal affairs were concerned, independent of each other. They were not, however, absolutely self-contained, or so independent as to determine each its own conditions of membership. On the contrary, admission to or exclusion from any local church involved admission to or exclusion from the whole Christian brotherhood. The terms of membership were avowed faith in Christ, and a course of conduct agreeable to such profession. Until the breaking out of the Arian controversy there was no universal test of orthodoxy ; but the exclusion of the leaders of the Alogian party, Paul of Samosata and other theological eccentrics, shows that there were well-understood limits beyond which diversity of opinion was not tolerated. In most churches there seem to have been traditional creeds, varying considerably in form, but closely agreeing in substance, and in general much resembling the formula known as "The Apostles' Creed." Traces of such a creed may be found in an Epistle of Ignatius (116); and specimens in Irenæus (202), Tertullian (220), and Hippolytus (237), besides several of later date.

From the first, great importance was attached to the unity of the Church. Exhortations to unity abound in the New Testament and in the Epistle of Clement of Rome (97), also in the Ignatian Epistles : "He that does not assemble with the Church has by this manifested his pride, and condemned himself." In these Epistles, however, the authority of the bishop is so much more strongly asserted than in any other writings of the first or second century, as to excite suspicion of forgery or interpolation. Here, too, is first found the phrase, "the Catholic Church," which is declared to be "wherever Christ is." The phrase next occurs in a circular letter of the Church at Smyrna, about 169, where it denotes the aggregate of all Christian societies. Irenæus writes : "Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God ; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace."

Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria (220), Origen (254), and Cyprian (258) all agree that out of the Church there is no salvation. The latter argued that as a branch cannot grow if cut off from the tree, so neither can the soul cut off from the Church; that he who has not the Church for his mother has not God for his father; that even martyrdom, outside the Church, is not meritorious, etc. It followed that entrance into the fellowship of the Church was an act of the greatest importance; it was, in fact, entering upon a condition of salvation.

Admission into the Church: Baptism.

In the Ante-Nicene age baptism was universally regarded as the rite of admission into the Church, and was generally held to confer the remission of all past sins, and the germ of a higher life. The Fathers unanimously taught baptismal regeneration; *not*, however, in the modern sense of a grace bestowed or a change effected *by means* of baptism; baptism *was* regeneration. Pseudo-Barnabas (120) speaks of "that baptism which leads to the remission of sins," and adds, "we descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up bearing fruit in our heart." Hermas (140): "They descend into the water dead, they arise alive." Tertullian and others use the most extravagant language, as if the bare rite ensured salvation. Only Origen speaks of it as a symbol; and he is not at all times consistent with himself.

The rite usually consisted of a threefold immersion, in the name of the Trinity. We learn, however, from Cyprian that this complete immersion was not thought indispensable; but its omission, as in the case of sick persons, was deemed irregular. Many deferred their baptism till the approach of death, from a belief that it would ensure the pardon of all former sins.

During the ministry of the apostles, converts from Judaism or heathenism seem usually to have been baptized on application, and without delay. But by the beginning of the third century, if not earlier, a period of probation and training was insisted on. "According to the circumstances and disposition, and even age, of each individual," says Tertullian, "the

delay of baptism is preferable, principally, however, in the case of little children." There was no fixed term of probation ; sometimes it was extended to two or three years ; but if dangerous sickness intervened, the rite was performed immediately. This was in consequence of the general belief that baptism was indispensably necessary to salvation ; the only exception being the case of martyrs, for whom, says Tertullian, there is "a second laver, namely, of blood," "which both stands in place of the water baptism, when that has not been received, and restores it when lost."

Whether the apostles and their contemporaries practised the baptism of infants it is impossible to decide. The custom is certainly alluded to by Irenæus (writing between 182 and 188), who had received traditions at second hand—through Polycarp—from St. John. Christ came, he says, "by Himself to save all who through Him are born again to God, infants and children, and boys and youths, and old men." Unquestionably, by "born again" Irenæus means "baptized ;" for he describes the apostolic commission to teach and baptize all nations as "the power of regeneration into God." Origen also (254) speaks of baptizing infants as "a tradition derived from the apostles." It was not, however, by any means universal, and was strongly opposed by Tertullian: "Let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why does the innocent period of life hasten to the remission of sins? . . . Let them know how to ask for salvation, that you may seem to have given to Him that asketh." (The treatise quoted was certainly not written later than 201.) By Cyprian baptism was regarded as analogous to circumcision. From him we learn that baptized children, even infants, were held to be in full communion with the Church, and participated in the Lord's Supper. The belief that out of the Church there could be no salvation, naturally tended to make the initiatory rite general in Christian households ; but there is no recorded instance, within the first three centuries, of the baptism of any infant of non-Christian parents.

When infants were baptized, sponsors were employed to make the necessary profession in their name. This office is traditionally said to have been appointed by Hyginus, bishop

of Rome, about 154; but the earliest mention of it is in Tertullian. The sponsors were looked upon as guardians of the Christian education of the children, and their office was deemed one of great responsibility. One of Tertullian's objections to infant baptism is, "lest the sponsors should be thrust into danger; who may fail, by reason of mortality, to fulfil their promises, or may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition."

Owing to the supposed indispensable necessity of the baptismal rite, no official status was required in the administrator. Athanasius, when a child, baptized some of his companions in sport, and the act, being correct in form, was regarded as sufficient. A keen debate arose, about 250, whether baptism administered by heretics was valid. The Roman Church admitted it, but only if correct in form; the Churches of Asia and Africa baptized all such persons anew, and this practice was fully sustained by a Council at Carthage in 255. The question was finally determined by a Synod at Arles in 313 or 314, when it was decided that baptism, by whomsoever administered, was valid if performed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It should be observed that where the rite was repeated, it was never looked upon as a second baptism. The former ceremony was simply ignored, as, in fact, no baptism at all.

Worship in the Church: The Lord's Supper.

The public worship of the primitive Church was based rather on the model of the synagogue than of the temple. It consisted chiefly of prayer and praise, which were frequently preceded by the reading of Scripture and exhortation. That feature of Christian worship which gained the attention of Pliny (110) was "the singing of a hymn to Christ, as to a god." That prayer was offered through the mediation of Christ may be gathered not so much from dogmatic statements as from liturgical forms, and allusions such as the following: Clement of Rome (97) speaks of "Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings;" Justin (165), after saying that we "through the name of Jesus have believed in

God," goes on to speak of "the sacrifices which we offer through this name," and shortly after says, "Prayers and giving of thanks, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God." Whether any set *forms* of prayer, besides the Lord's Prayer, were used in the first or second century is uncertain; in the third century they were largely used, but by no means exclusively.

But the central act of Christian worship was the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated at least every Sunday. The earliest *certain* reference to this ordinance is in Justin (165), and it is quite Puritanic in its simplicity. The administrator is simply "he of the brethren who presides;" thanksgiving is pronounced over bread and wine mixed with water, which are distributed by the deacons, and a portion sent to the absent. Mixed wine was the common drink of the age; there is reason to think that Christ used it at the original supper, and Justin ascribed to it no special significance. He had, however, a vague theory of the "real presence." "We have been taught," says he, "that the food which has been blessed by the prayer of His Word . . . is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."

There are three passages in the Ignatian Epistles in which the eucharistic element is spoken of as "the flesh of Christ," associated with "an altar," and its administration restricted to the bishop or his deputy. But one of these passages is certainly spurious, and the others of doubtful authenticity.

In Irenæus we read: "The bread over which thanks have been given is the body of the Lord, and the cup His blood. . . . The bread, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly." According to Tertullian, "The Christian feeds on the fatness of the Lord's body, the Eucharist, to wit." "The flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ." Explaining the phrase "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, he says: "His body is reckoned to be in bread." Elsewhere, however, he says: "Having taken the bread . . . He made it His own body by saying, 'This is my body,' that is, the figure of my body;" and again, "The wine which He consecrated in memory of His blood." On this

subject a modern non-Christian writer truly remarks: "If they (the Fathers) had been asked whether the bread was changed, they would have replied in the negative; if told that the communicants received the body with or under the form of bread, they would not have understood it; if that the bread only signified the body, they would not have been satisfied."

Clement of Alexandria (220), however, treats the institution allegorically: the wine is "a symbol of the blood." Still more definite is Origen (254): "Not that visible bread which is held in the hands did God the Word call His body, but the Word in the mystery of which that bread was to be broken." "The bread of the Lord profits only those who receive it with an undefiled heart and pure conscience." Cyprian (258) repeatedly calls the bread and wine of the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ. Yet he seems to favour the allegorical interpretation, when, defending the mixed cup against some ancient abstainers (followers of Tatian) who used water only, he says, "In the water is understood the people, in the wine is showed the blood of Christ;" the mixture, therefore, symbolized the inseparable union of Christ and His people.

Sacrifice being the highest expression of heathen and Jewish devotion, it was natural that the central act of Christian worship should be thought to partake of a sacrificial character. One of the passages in the Ignatian Epistles, where the Lord's Supper is associated with an altar, is probably genuine; and, however this be, Justin, in the very connection in which he speaks of prayers and thanksgivings as the only acceptable sacrifices, explains Mal. i. 11 of "the sacrifices . . . which Jesus Christ enjoined us to offer, in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup, which are presented by Christians all over the world." Irenæus describes the Eucharist as "an offering to God of the first-fruits of His own created things," and "the new oblation of the new covenant which the Church offers to God, . . . who gives us, as the means of subsistence, the first-fruits of His own gifts in the New Testament." In another place he speaks of "the Word, through whom it is offered to God." [Some copies read: "The Word who is offered;"] but this seems to be a corruption, to suit a much later phase of eucha-

ristic doctrine, and is quite inconsistent with Irenæus' theory of "an offering of created things," inasmuch as the Word is uncreated.]

In all the ancient liturgies that have come down to us, the idea of a eucharistic oblation is conspicuous; but most of these documents are so much interpolated that we cannot positively decide whether, during the Ante-Nicene period, the formal act of oblation ever followed the prayer of consecration by which the "real presence" was thought to be secured. It is therefore uncertain whether, at this time, the sacrifice was supposed to consist only of the bread and wine, or in some mysterious manner of the sacred body and blood. The latter view is rendered probable by the following from Cyprian (258): "If Christ . . . has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and then commanded this to be done in commemoration of Him, that priest truly discharges the office of Christ who imitates what Christ did; he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ to have offered." "The Lord's passion is the sacrifice which we offer." The contrary opinion is favoured by the liturgy in the "Apostolic Constitutions," which can scarcely be brought lower than the third century: "Mercifully look down upon these gifts which we here set before Thee, . . . and do Thou accept them to the honour of Thy Christ, and send down upon this sacrifice Thy Holy Spirit, . . . that He may show this bread to be the Body, . . . and the cup to be the Blood of Thy Christ."

Wherever there is a sacrifice there must needs be a priest; and the notion of a eucharistic sacrifice inevitably promoted, and in turn was fostered by, that of a sacerdotal character thus early assigned to the pastors of the Church. Tertullian mentions a practice of making oblations for the dead on the anniversary of their decease; for which, however, as well as for the then established customs of communion before day-break, etc., he admits that there is no scriptural authority, but only tradition.

Tertullian is the first author who uses the phrase, "The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper." He does not restrict the term to these two ordinances; and for a long time

after it was vaguely used, sometimes with reference to its original meaning of "a military oath," sometimes as equivalent to "mystery," and sometimes for any sacred thing whatever. No regular definition of a sacrament is found in Ante-Nicene literature.

Ministers of the Church.

The apostles regarded all Christians as "a royal priesthood," each having equally direct access to God through the Divine Mediator. But an organized society cannot subsist without officers; and from the first every local church was under the superintendence of one or more pastors, to whom pertained the *spiritual* oversight of the brotherhood, and who were called indifferently bishops and elders (presbyters). These were assisted by a variable number of deacons, on whom devolved the care of the poor and the *secular* concerns of the church. By the second century we find in almost every church a single bishop, with or without subordinate presbyters. But whether the presbyters were appointed as assistants to the bishop, or the bishop elected as president of the elders, is a disputed question, for the settlement of which there are not sufficient data; perhaps the circumstances varied in different churches. By the middle of the third century, however, a regular subordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons was everywhere acknowledged.

By this time a notion had grown up that the elders of the Church constituted a special priesthood, analogous to the Jewish. An incipient form of this idea can be traced in Clement of Rome (97), and in Tertullian (220) and Hippolytus (237) it is very manifest. Irenæus (202), on the other hand, carefully avoids the use of "priest" as an official title of bishops or presbyters. He distinctly affirms that "all the righteous possess the sacerdotal rank;" and in another place, "I have shown that all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests." But it would not be easy to find anywhere more pronounced sacerdotalism than appears in Cyprian (258): "Does he think that he has Christ who acts in opposition to Christ's priests?" The effect of a schism would be "that the Lord should not be *appeased* through bishops and priests." The greatest evil of

persecution is that "there is no opportunity given to God's priests for offering and celebrating the divine sacrifices." Equally definite is the teaching of the Apostolic Constitutions (third century): "As Saul, when he had offered without Samuel, was told, 'It will not avail for thee,' so every person among the laity doing anything without the priest labours in vain." It must be remembered that these Constitutions were deliberately forged in the name of the apostles in the interest of a growing sacerdotalism.

Side by side with the sacerdotal theory grew the official importance of the bishop. The presumed corruption of the Ignatian Epistles has been already noticed; but the prelatial element is scarcely less conspicuous in the Clementine Homilies, which can hardly be placed later than 215. In these Peter is represented as saying, "Let the bishop, as chief, be heard in the things which he speaks, and let the elders give heed that the things ordered be done. Let the deacons, going about, look after the bodies and souls of the brethren, and report to the bishop." Cyprian identifies the office of a bishop with that of the apostles: "The Lord chose apostles, that is, bishops and overseers; apostles appointed for themselves deacons after the ascent of the Lord into heaven, as ministers of their episcopacy and of the Church." In the Apostolic Constitutions we read: "These (the bishops) are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites." "Do nothing without the bishop." "The bishop is the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship." "Let the bishop be honoured among you as a god, and the deacon as his prophet."

It is natural to ask, Under what influence could the simple pastorate or overseership of the New Testament have thus early given place to an authority so dissimilar? "Regular development in a divine order," and "The contrivance of self-seeking ecclesiastics," are familiar partisan replies; but neither can be deemed satisfactory. An explanation must rather be sought in the tendency of ecclesiastical government to assimilate itself to the civil. The form of civil authority prevalent in the third century was the despotic rule of local governors,

subordinate to a no less despotic emperor, the despotism being tempered by the traditions and unrescinded laws of happier times. Popular government no longer existed, even for those who held the boasted freedom of Rome; while multitudes in the Church, as throughout the Empire, were slaves, utterly destitute of civil rights. In such a state of society, the drifting of the Church towards autocracy was inevitable.

The consolidation of episcopal authority was greatly promoted by the schisms at Rome and Carthage on questions of discipline between 230 and 260, and by a dispute between the Bishop of Alexandria and those of Cæsarea and Jerusalem about the irregular ordination of Origen. At this time, though the clergy seem still to have been elected by something like a popular vote, episcopal ordination was generally deemed indispensable. This is very strongly insisted upon in the Apostolic Constitutions. A bishop was to be ordained by two or three bishops. Nevertheless, the clergy of Alexandria for a long time not only elected, but actually ordained their bishops.

In the judgment of Cyprian the episcopate constitutes the unity of the Church: "The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole." Accordingly, the bishop was the representative of the local church in Synods and Councils; his authority, however, was limited to his own diocese. Moreover, this authority was usually exercised, down to the end of the third century, only with the counsel and assent of his presbyters. Precedence was conceded to certain churches which had been founded by the apostles and their associates, as Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria; that of Rome, as located in the metropolis, naturally shared the same rank; to which that of Constantinople, for a like reason, was afterwards admitted. But the assumption of authority over other churches by some Roman bishops, in the third century, was vigorously repulsed by Tertullian and Cyprian.

Discipline of the Church.

The apostles ordained the exclusion from the Church of all persons who should be grossly immoral (1 Cor. v. 9-13), or

obstinately factious (Tit. iii. 10). From the views above mentioned respecting the Church as a fold outside of which is no salvation, it would follow that such exclusion involved nothing less than spiritual death. Accordingly, it was inflicted by the bishop, with the advice of his presbyters, and only on those whose offences had been grave and scandalous, or on such as had apostatized in time of persecution. These were usually willing to submit to a tedious and humiliating penitential discipline, sometimes extending over three or four years, or even longer, in order to obtain restoration.

As sins committed after baptism were deemed more heinous than those committed before, so still greater guilt was thought to be incurred by the relapse of one who had formerly been reinstated as a penitent. Accordingly, such offenders were not usually reinstated a second time. But as early as 170 the Montanist sect refused to readmit to full communion those who had been once excluded; and about 251, Novatian, a presbyter at Rome, endeavoured to secure the general establishment of the same rigid discipline. A schism ensued; and the dissidents became a distinct sect, known as Novatians or Cathari, *i.e.* Puritans, which continued to exist down to the sixth century. The idea of a Church which should not merely be a spiritual fraternity, but whose fellowship should be absolutely pure, has fascinated devout souls in all ages; and the realization of this enchanting dream has been the hope of innumerable sects both in ancient and modern times.

Meanwhile, a party at Carthage thought the usual discipline of the Church too severe. They therefore seceded, under the leadership of Felicissimus, a man of dubious character (250), and claimed the right to become, of their own motion, a separate Church; in fact, asserted congregational independency. They were excommunicated by Cyprian, and do not afterwards appear in history.

About 313 another schism broke out in Africa, owing to a dispute about the character of a bishop, and the validity of an ordination performed by him. The dissidents, called Donatists, from their leader, Donatus, inherited many of the opinions of the Montanists, the local remnant of which sect they seem to have absorbed. They strongly insisted on the absolute purity

of the Church, accounting it sinful to exercise any forbearance toward unworthy members. They did not, however, like the Montanists and Novatians, refuse readmission to penitents. Their speciality was a belief that ministerial acts were invalid if performed by a person who either was, *or deserved to be*, excommunicated; and as a consequence, they claimed that valid sacraments were the exclusive possession of their own pure Church. The schism lasted through several generations, and, before its extinction, ran into the wildest fanaticism.

(b) FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE REFORMATION.

Development of the Doctrine of the Church.

From the age of Cyprian to that of the Schoolmen, the doctrine concerning the Church underwent a steady process of development. The universal priesthood of Christians was altogether lost sight of; the sacerdotal theory of the ministry continued to prevail; the power of the episcopate, and especially of the so-called "apostolic sees," was constantly augmented, until that of Rome gained the pre-eminence, and in the course of the period we are now to review the papacy attained the summit of its power.

The opinion was still generally entertained, that out of the Church there could be no salvation. "This," says Lactantius (325), "is the faithful house, this the immortal temple, in which, if any one shall not have sacrificed, he will not have the prize of immortality." The controversies of the next hundred years, however, brought out a distinction between the true or spiritual and the visible Church. The Donatists endeavoured, by a rigid discipline, to secure an ecclesiastical fellowship absolutely pure, refusing communion with all whose practice was more tolerant, or who accepted sacramental grace through any but unquestionably pure channels. In opposition to these, Optatus (368) developed the views of Cyprian concerning the unity of the Church, which he held to consist of the whole multitude of the baptized. The Pelagians, on the other hand, in their zeal for strict morality, affirmed that

there is no real Church except the invisible fellowship of true saints. This Church, they said, is without spot or wrinkle; but they seem to have overlooked the organic relation of Christians to one another in the visible Church. Rufinus (410) pointed out that faith in Christ is by no means the same thing as faith in the Church. Augustine (430), while he agreed with Cyprian and Optatus as to the visible Church, distinguished between the true and "the mingled or simulated body of the Lord." "None," said he, "can hold the Head, which is Christ, but he who is in the body, that is, the Church." But in his view the true Church consisted of the elect, whom it was impossible for any man certainly to discriminate. Accordingly he conceded that even heretics may be "a sort of Christians."

Augustine endeavoured thus to steer between the unchurchly views of the Pelagians and the narrow sectarianism of the Donatists. Against the latter he urged that, though a strict discipline was indispensable, it was not always necessary to cut off a diseased member at once. But as the Donatists exhibited a fanatical attachment to their own opinions, he at length came to approve of an attempt on the part of the civil power to compel their reunion with the Catholic Church, it being "better that a few of them should burn in their own fires than that they should all burn together in Gehenna!" Augustine has thus the unenviable distinction of being the first Christian theologian who formally sanctioned persecution. The Donatists, on the other hand, were the first, after the State establishment of Christianity by Constantine, to deny the right of the State to interfere in religious questions.

The Manichæan system recognised a limited circle of elect souls within the larger body of the Church, which, in its turn, was compared to a sphere of light amid surrounding darkness. This notion of "a little Church within the Church" was unavowedly adopted by the orthodox, who generally regarded the clergy and ascetics as constituting the favoured inner circle, to the great advancement of hierarchical pretensions.

By the fifth century the theory of a visible Catholic Church had come to be associated with two vague traditions: that Christ had given to Peter an official primacy over the

other apostles (Matt. xvi. 18), and that Peter had been the first bishop of Rome. Already the Council of Sardica (343) had sanctioned appeals from provincial Synods to the Bishop of Rome, who, if he pleased, might direct a rehearing of the cases. Innocent I. (417) claimed this jurisdiction as appurtenant to his see. About 445, Leo I. justified the claim by quoting, "Thou art Peter," etc., and formally assumed supremacy over all the bishops of the West. It now came to be imagined that the primacy of Peter, inherited by his successors the bishops of the imperial city, was designed to form a centre of catholic unity for the whole Church. Not only was this idea fostered by successive bishops, it laid hold on the popular imagination, as, on the fall of the Western Empire, it seemed to promise the renewal, in another form, of the ancient glories of Rome. In 533, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian recognised the primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the occupants of the other patriarchal sees. In 595, John the Faster, bishop of Constantinople, assumed the title of "Universal Bishop," a title which was refused by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, who declared that whosoever should desire to be so called would be "the forerunner of Antichrist." Yet Gregory honestly believed that the spiritual authority of the Roman see ought, and was destined, to become universal; and in 607, three years after his death, the title which he repudiated was conferred on his successor, Boniface III., by the usurping Emperor Phocas. "It is under this title that the succeeding bishops of Rome hold their spiritual primacy; from this period we date the reign of Popery." The universal episcopate of the Roman bishop was never acquiesced in by the Eastern Churches, and was strenuously resisted by that of Britain until the Synod of Whitby (664).

Gelasius, bishop of Rome (496), had expressly disapproved of the concentration of civil and spiritual authority in one person. But the force of circumstances co-operated with the ambition of succeeding popes to exalt the Roman bishopric into a temporal sovereignty. At the end of the fifth century Italy was prospering under the Gothic monarchy; but on the decline of that kingdom, and the reconquest of Rome and other Italian cities by the Byzantine emperors, that prosperity

gave place to widely extended distress. The misery occasioned by war was augmented by famine and pestilence, and such was the social disorganization that large tracts of land ceased altogether to be cultivated. In the time of Gregory the Great (604) several thousands of persons, many of them of noble rank, owed their daily bread to the bounty of the Roman Church, which possessed large estates in Italy, Africa, and the East. The almoner of this splendid charity became, inevitably, a leader of men. After the development of the papal authority in things spiritual (607), it was scarcely surprising that prelates thus doubly conspicuous should aspire to become secular princes; and succeeding events favoured this aspiration. The iconoclastic zeal of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian led to a revolt of the Italian cities in 728; a revolt of which Pope Gregory II. was the real, though unavowed leader, and which issued in reducing the imperial rule in Italy to a mere nominal sovereignty. This was terminated by the Lombard conquest in 752; and, on the defeat of the Lombards by Pepin, king of France, in 754, the victor bestowed the recovered territory on Pope Stephen II. The iconoclastic proclivities of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus afforded a plausible excuse for this proceeding; but the donation was, in fact, a price paid to the papacy for having sanctioned the formal assumption, by Pepin, of that royalty of which he had long held the substance, as "mayor" under the puppet-kings of the decayed Merovingian race.

The existence and extension of the papal sovereignty tended greatly to promote confusion between the idea of the Church and that of the Roman hierarchy. The Catholic Church was unquestionably the kingdom of Christ on earth, and the Roman bishopric had now become an earthly kingdom. The confusion was further encouraged by two notorious forgeries. The first was the "Donation of Constantine," invented in the ninth century. It was pretended that the dominions given by Pepin to Stephen were, in fact, only restored, having been originally surrendered by Constantine the Great to Bishop Sylvester (313-335) in gratitude for a miraculous cure. The other was the "Forged Decretals," first produced at the Synod of Chiersy, France, in 857. These were Epistles

ascribed to the Roman bishops of the second and third centuries, by which it was made to appear that all the spiritual authority then claimed by the popes had been exercised by their predecessors at that early period. These falsehoods were all but universally believed for the next six hundred years.

Owing to foreign invasions and intestine wars, anarchy prevailed in Italy throughout the greater part of the tenth century. During this "dark age" the papacy attained its lowest depth of moral and political degradation. In this century there were no less than twenty-eight successive popes, besides anti-popes, several of them the creatures of two infamous women who for a long time practically ruled the Roman State. From such disgrace the successors of Peter emerged under the patronage and control of the German emperors; and very speedily, about 1000, commenced a long struggle for supremacy between the emperors and the popes. Already, by virtue of their "Universal Episcopate," the popes regarded monarchs as their spiritual subjects; to convert spiritual supremacy into political predominance appeared a legitimate object of ambition. Neither is this ambition to be unreservedly condemned. The nations of Western Europe were then in process of development amidst the struggles of rival chieftans, who owned no law but the right of the strongest. Yet even with these rude warriors the authority of the Church, and the fear of the world to come, counted for something; and, in the opinion of the saintliest men of that age, the alternative lay between the rule of the Church and the rule of the sword. The incidents of the struggle belong to the general history of the Church; it must suffice here to say that its central figure was Hildebrand, otherwise known as Gregory VII., unquestionably the greatest of all the popes (1085). His theory of the Church was that of an universal theocracy, with the pope, as vicar of Christ, at its head. Kings were to exercise authority in secular matters, reigning by the grace of God, but mediately; the Church, represented by the pope, being arbiter and lord over them. If they abused their power, the Church might properly absolve subjects from their allegiance.

The struggle continued, with varying fortunes, for 120 years after the death of Hildebrand. On both sides it was, emphatically, a contest for supremacy; none (except some sects of revolutionary reformers, Petrobrussians, Henricians, Arnoldists, etc., whose more spiritual views of the kingdom of God were discredited by strange extravagances) conceived the possibility of Church and State being each supreme in its own sphere. In England the conflict had worthy champions in the persons of Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (1170). Becket endeavoured, at the cost of his life, to maintain the Hildebrandic theory of ecclesiastical predominance in the State; while Henry sought, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, to deprive the Church even of disciplinary authority, unless by permission of, and in subjection to, the civil power. The assassination of Becket, by the revulsion of public feeling which it occasioned, did much to secure the triumph of the Church. At length the ideal of Hildebrand was approximately realized by Innocent III., when John of England, having been punished for disobedience to the holy see by excommunication, interdict, and deposition, did penance, and received back his kingdom as a papal fief (1213).

Still the supremacy of the Church over the State was never cordially accepted by the people at large. Opposition to the Hildebrandic theory was common to almost all popular reformers. Wickliffe (1384) taught that "temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent Church;" and that "then only does a Christian priest bind or loose, when he simply obeys the law of Christ."

The partisans of the Hildebrandic theory maintained the infallibility of the papal authority, which was definitely asserted, together with the subordination of the temporal power to the spiritual, by Boniface VIII. in 1302. The opposite party affirmed that a General Council was superior to the pope; a doctrine which was set forth by the Council of Basle (1431). The history of continental Europe from 1216 to 1500 is little else but a record of struggles for the mastery between the popes on the one hand, and on the other

the German emperors, the kings of France, and the reforming Councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-18), Basle (1431-38), and Florence (1439).

Meanwhile, all parties agreed that dissent from the ruling of the supreme ecclesiastical authority, whether pope or Council, was not merely heretical, but the most dangerous of all heresies. This opinion was so firmly rooted in the mind of Christendom, that the most rigorous persecution of heretics was practised, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, not only by the popes and their uncompromising supporters, but by rulers who resisted the efforts of successive popes to bring themselves into subjection. This systematic persecution of heretics must by no means be regarded as unmitigated cruelty, or as prompted chiefly by the despotic instinct of ecclesiastics. No opinion was more universally received than that there could be no salvation apart from the Church. The alternative of salvation was, according to mediæval eschatology, an eternity of anguish in comparison to which the torment of the rack or the fire was as nothing. Toward this the heretic was not only hastening, but leading others, as far as he succeeded in winning proselytes. Hence feelings of humanity co-operated with meaner motives in the endeavour to dissuade men by terror from incurring so tremendous a doom.

During this stormy period, the ancient doctrine of the universal priesthood of Christians, though generally obscured, was once and again brought into notice, especially towards its close. It was faintly hinted at by Hugh of St. Victor (1141), who yet held exalted views of the divinely imparted authority of the clergy. Huss (1415) retained all the usual assertions about the dignity and supremacy of the Church, applying them, not to the Roman or any other visible communion, but to the whole brotherhood of the elect. Wessel (1489) thought the external unity of the Church under the pope to be merely accidental; the true Church includes all, whether within the Roman obedience or not, who are united to Christ by one faith, one hope, one love. Love he esteemed of greater importance than faith. He asserted the priesthood of all believers, but admitted a particular priesthood of the

clergy. Similar views were expressed by Savonarola (1498). The opinions of the Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren were strongly anti-sacerdotal; and hostility to the priesthood found extravagant expression among the fanatical sects which abounded from the twelfth century till nearly the eve of the Reformation.

Baptism.

By the end of the fourth century the idea prevailed that a divine life dwelt in the corporate Church, which was instrumentally transmitted to its members by certain rites. These rites were called sacraments (the word being now generally understood in the sense of mysteries; see Vulgate of Eph. v. 32), because, says Augustine, "In them one thing is seen and another understood. What is seen has a corporal nature, what is understood has spiritual fruit." "He joins the word to the element, and it becomes a sacrament."

Foremost among the sacraments, as the rite of initiation into the Church, stood baptism. Concerning this all the lofty notions that had been formed by Tertullian were cherished and intensified. Gregory Nazianzen (391) says of the natural birth, "it is of the night, slavish and lust-bound;" but of the new birth, *i.e.* baptism, "it is of the day, and free, and a deliverer from lusts . . . and lifts one up to the higher life." Not less exalted were the views of Basil (379), Cyril of Jerusalem (386), Gregory of Nyssa (395), and Cyril of Alexandria (444). According to Augustine (430), baptism "loosens the bond of sin . . . regenerates in Christ the man who was generated in Adam." He supposed baptism to be needful to cancel the guilt of original sin; while the Pelagians, who denied original sin, seem none the less to have believed in the indispensable necessity of baptism, in order to the pardon of actual transgression.

At this time, indeed, the opinion was all but universal, that without baptism there could be no salvation. Thus Ambrose (397) understood John iii. 5, "None can ascend into the kingdom of heaven except by the sacrament of baptism; indeed it excepts none, neither infant nor him

that is prevented by any necessity." Pelagius (420) expresses himself cautiously of the unbaptized: "I know where they are not; I know not where they are." It was conceded that martyrdom might afford a "baptism of blood" when water was lacking; and Nazianzen thought that tears might perhaps be accepted instead.

Where these views prevailed, it was natural that the baptism of infants should be generally practised. Faith was, indeed, a necessary condition; but it was thought that the faith of the Church, represented by the sponsors, would be accepted as that of the child. "He who has sinned by another," said Augustine, "may believe by another." Still, the practice had not yet become universal. Augustine himself, though the child of a Christian mother, remained unbaptized till the age of thirty-three. Nazianzen advised deferring baptism until the child was old enough to have some notion of its meaning, unless there was danger of death.

About the validity of baptism performed by heretics, opinion generally tended towards the decision of the Synod at Arles (*supra*). Only the Donatists insisted on its repetition, on the ground that a sacramental rite, unless performed by a true minister of a pure—*i.e.* their own—Church, was really no sacrament. The Greek theologians rejected heretical baptism only when its mode or meaning differed from that of the Catholic Church. The Western divines owned its validity by whomsoever correctly performed, but supposed it to increase the guilt of those who persisted in heresy. This was the opinion of Augustine, whose argument was that otherwise it would be impossible to decide whether *any* baptism was valid, because the true Church, *i.e.* the elect, cannot be accurately discriminated by any human skill.

In the middle of the eighth century, an ignorant priest in Bavaria was accustomed, in place of the regular baptismal formula which he *intended* to use, to utter a jargon of Latin words without intelligible meaning. Pope Zachary, to whom the case was referred, acknowledged the validity of these baptisms on the ground of the priest's intention. From this decision two startling conclusions were drawn by some later

Roman Catholic divines: That, as the validity of a sacrament depends on the intention of the administrator, that is no sacrament, however ritually correct, in which the intention is lacking; and that, inasmuch as sectaries and heretics intend to baptize into the true Church, the Roman Church, which is the only true Church, has rightful jurisdiction over all persons so baptized.

St. Boniface (755), "the apostle of Germany," introduced the practice of baptizing *conditionally* those whose former baptism was doubtful. About the same time a question arose about the necessity of complete immersion. Gregory the Great (604), and a Council at Toledo in 633, had decided that the *threefold* immersion was not essential. Pope Stephen II. (757) permitted the pouring of water on the head; but in 816 an English Synod at Chelchyth insisted on at least a single immersion.

The Cathari (eleventh century) are said to have rejected baptism altogether, substituting for it a rite of their own, which consisted in laying a copy of the Gospels on the head. Infant baptism was rejected by the Paulicians, Bogomiles, and other offshoots of Manichæanism, also by some minor sects of fanatical and revolutionary reformers, such as the followers of Peter Bruys (1124). But in the Catholic Church, both east and west, the practice had by this time become universal. It was the general belief that the administration ought to be performed by a priest; but that in his absence, if there were immediate danger of death, it might be done by any believer; thus Peter Lombard (1164). The sponsors were supposed to hold a proxy for the child, believing and professing in its place. They were also thought to contract a spiritual kinship with the child, identical with that of the parents.

As to the grace imparted by baptism, it was thought to extinguish original sin, though not concupiscence, which, however, was lessened by baptismal grace; also to effect the pardon of all previous *actual* sin, and, according to Peter Lombard, to impart power to live virtuously. Lombard, St. Bernard (1153), and Aquinas (1274) conceded that if, from force of circumstances, actual baptism were impossible, the

earnest desire for it might obtain salvation. Huss (1415) insisted rather on the "baptism of the Spirit," declaring this to be indeed indispensable, but that multitudes had been saved without water baptism.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the notion revived of a baptism of blood, whereby lost baptismal grace might be restored. As this could not readily be obtained in the form of martyrdom, it was sought in the self-inflicted tortures of the Flagellants. This fanaticism broke out at intervals throughout Western Europe from 1260 to 1417.

Respecting the mode of baptism: immersion was thought the most regular, and has always been practised in the Eastern Church; but in the West the application of water in any form was latterly thought sufficient, and from the thirteenth century pouring or sprinkling has been in general use. Some of the Schoolmen gravely discussed whether the use of beer, mead, rose-water, broth, etc., instead of water, would constitute a valid baptism.

Confirmation.

As far back as the third century it had been usual to supplement the rite of baptism by imposition of hands, in imitation of Acts viii. 17, xix. 6, and anointing with oil, to represent the "anointing from the Holy One" (1 John ii. 20-27). A ceremony of this kind seems generally to have been practised, if a person baptized in sickness was able on his recovery to appear in church. In the fourth century it became universal; it was called "sealing" or "confirmation," and was performed by the bishop or his representative. Afterwards it was insisted that the validity of the rite was dependent on the oil being consecrated by a bishop; and gradually, in the West, the whole ceremony came to be regarded as the bishop's peculiar function.

This view of the matter prevailed by the end of the sixth century, and naturally led to the formal dissociation of confirmation from baptism. In due course the anointing and imposition of hands were exalted into a distinct sacrament,

This development was the more easy in communities where the bishop, instead of being, as formerly, the president of the Church in a single city, was the ecclesiastical superior of a province or a kingdom; a condition which obtained, *e.g.*, in England under the heptarchy. In the middle of the ninth century the "forged decretals" were put in circulation; in one of which documents (still quoted in the "Catechism of the Council of Trent") it is alleged that the preparation and consecration of the "chrism" or anointing oil had been specially ordained by Christ Himself.

Meanwhile infant communion fell into disuse; and by the eleventh century confirmation was regarded not only as an intermediate step between baptism and first communion, but as itself able to promote the increase of spiritual life. Aquinas (1274) taught that it conferred "an indelible character," which, however, presupposed that imparted in baptism. Wickliffe (1384) and Huss (1415), on the other hand, are said to have denounced the entire rite as an abuse.

It may be needful to correct a vulgar error, that confirmation was originally an act of profession on the part of persons formerly baptized in infancy. So far was this from being the case, that we learn from Pope Innocent I. (417) and Gennadius (498) that in their day the rite was administered to infants. It is further to be remarked that its administration has never been restricted to bishops in the Greek Church.

The Lord's Supper.

It is uncertain whether any of the eucharistic liturgies, in their present form, are older than the Nicene age. Certainly the most important documents of this class which we possess have elements, original or interpolated, which belong to the fourth or fifth century, and bear traces of the controversies which were then rife. In that age the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was involved in ever increasing mystery. The connection supposed to exist between the body and blood of Christ and the sacramental bread and wine corresponds in some degree with the connection between His divine and

human nature; and there is a striking analogy between the controversies on both subjects.

The notion of consubstantiation, or a *co-existence* of the actual body and blood with the consecrated elements, appears generally to have prevailed among theologians both West and East. Such, at least, is the most intelligible explanation of the highly rhetorical language used by Hilary (368) and Ambrose (397), Cyril (386), Gregory of Nyssa (395), and Chrysostom (407), though some of them use expressions which seem to imply a *change* of substance. This later view, afterwards known as transubstantiation, is expressly repudiated by Theodoret (457) and Gelasius (496); but there is reason to think it prevailed extensively among the vulgar. Cyril has a remarkable phrase, which cannot be literally translated, but of which the sense is imperfectly represented as follows: "United in body and in blood to Christ, we become Christ-bearers."

Other divines, as Eusebius of Cæsarea (331), Athanasius (373), Gregory Nazianzen (391), Nilus (457), and Theodoret (457), make a more or less clear distinction between the sign and the thing signified. This was especially the case with Augustine, who yet admitted that the sacrament is "in a certain sense" the body of Christ. He laid stress on the commemorative aspect of the rite as performed "in remembrance of" our Lord's passion; insisted that the wicked, though they receive the element, do not partake of the body; and protested against the superstitious reverence that was paid to the ordinance by many in his day.

The sacrificial view of the Eucharist continued to undergo fuller development. Gregory the Great (604) speaks of "the daily sacrifice." The notion of Cyprian, that "the Lord's passion is the sacrifice which we offer," was improved into a belief that the atoning sacrifice of Christ was, in some mysterious manner, *repeated* at every celebration. Hence the "offering" was considered more important than the participation. It had become usual to "offer" for the attainment of particular blessings, and for the repose of the dead, but frequent reception was generally discontinued. In the earlier ages weekly communion had been the rule; in the

sixth century most of the laity received but one a year in the East, and three times in the West. Infant communion became rare in the West toward the ninth century, and ceased altogether in the twelfth.

As we approach the Middle Ages the eucharistic dogma of the Western Church becomes more definite. In 818, Paschasius Radbert formally propounded the doctrine that the material element is, by a divine power, *literally changed into* the very body that was born of Mary; the outward appearance of bread and wine being, after consecration, a mere veil that deceives the senses. This doctrine was opposed by several of the foremost theologians of the day. Rabanus Maurus (825) rejected it, saying that "as material food nourishes the outward body and makes it grow, so the word of God nourishes and strengthens the soul within." Ratramnus (832) pointed out that the new doctrine would confound the sign with the thing signified, and replace faith by a gross materialism. Erigena (850) is believed to have written to the same effect, but his treatise is no longer extant. The theory of Paschasius was defended by Gerbert (1003); and shortly afterwards it furnished matter for a furious controversy, which issued in its general recognition as the doctrine of the Western Church.

About 1050, Berenger affirmed that the body of Christ is indeed present in the Eucharist, not in essence, but in power; that the elements are changed, but not in substance; and that in order to secure this change and power, not merely consecration, but faith on the part of the recipient is needed. There is a very close agreement between the views expressed by Berenger and those long afterwards formulated by Calvin; and there is reason to think that, if not actually adopted, they were at least accounted harmless by Hildebrand. They were, however, violently opposed by Lanfranc (1089) and Humbert (1059), the latter of whom asserted that "the very body of Christ was truly held in the priest's hands, broken, and chewed by the teeth of the faithful." Opinion tended so strongly toward this grosser alternative, that Berenger was compelled several times to abjure his more spiritual views, and at length to subscribe a formula drawn up by Humbert in the terms above quoted.

The doctrine of Paschasius and of Humbert was defined by Hildebert of Tours (1134) under the name of *transubstantiation*. It was imposed as an article of faith by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and popularized by the establishment of the festival of Corpus Christi in 1261. It was elaborated with special affection by Aquinas (1274), and by him embodied in four hymns which have ever since been in constant use in the Roman Church. The Schoolmen endeavoured to explain it by subtle distinctions of substance and accident; substance is *that which underlies all properties, and by virtue of which anything is what it is*; all properties or qualities which can be perceived by the senses are *mere accidents*. Accordingly, no physical demonstration [not even chemical analysis] could prove more than that the object tested has certain accidents; substance eludes all such research; and if it be affirmed *on sufficient authority* that the substance is other than that usually associated with the accidents, the mystery must be accepted by simple faith.

Peter Lombard (1164) taught that the substance of bread was converted into Christ's body, and that of wine into His blood, but yet that the whole Christ was present on the altar under each *species*. This was called *concomitance* by Aquinas, who still further developed the doctrine, asserting that while the elements are properly changed only into His body and blood, the soul is united to His body and the divinity to His soul. This assertion prepared the way for the practice of eucharistic adoration. As early as 1217, Pope Honorius III. instituted the "elevation of the host," *i.e.* the lifting up of the sacramental elements after consecration, that an act of reverence might be directed towards them. But when not only the body, but the divinity of Christ was supposed to be present under the sacramental forms, the actual worshipping of the elements followed of course. The earliest mention of this practice is by W. Durand, bishop of Mendes, 1286.

A real presence of "the body and blood, soul and divinity" of Christ being supposed to be determined by a sacerdotal act, it is not surprising that priestly assumptions were thereby greatly advanced. The claims of some godless priests were revoltingly profane, and were readily acquiesced in by the

ignorant populace. "We can make the body of God when we will," they said; "the mother of God bore Him once, but the priest creates Him often, and when he pleases; so that the priest is more worthy than the mother of God." In opposition to these profanities, the actual doctrine of the Church is thus defined by Huss (1414), whose orthodoxy on this point was unquestioned: "The Lord Christ by His power and His word, through him (the priest) causes that which is bread to be His body; not that at that time it began to be His, but that then on the altar there begins to be sacramentally, in the form of the bread, what previously was not there and therein."

A natural result of Lombard's doctrine of concomitance was the practice of communion in one kind. The withholding of the cup from the laity was first advocated by Robert Pulleyn (1144), to obviate the danger of sacrilege in the possible spilling of the very blood of Christ. It was sanctioned by Alexander Hales (1245), Bonaventura (1274), and Aquinas, and confirmed by the Council of Constance (1415). This decision was revised, in consequence of the resistance of the Hussites in Bohemia, in 1433, when the Council of Basle declared the sufficiency of communion in one kind, but allowed the contrary practice in some cases.

The doctrine of transubstantiation gave rise to a multitude of strange questions, which, however irreverent they may seem, were gravely and piously discussed by the Schoolmen. Let one suffice for a specimen: "What would happen if a mouse should eat the consecrated element?"

Nevertheless, the doctrine of transubstantiation did not meet with universal acceptance. Rupert of Duytz (1135) maintained a theory of consubstantiation, and similar views were held by William Ockham (1327) and others. John of Paris (1288) devised the theory of "impanation," *i.e.* that Christ in the Eucharist unites Himself to the bread, as formerly in His incarnation He united Himself to human flesh; so that in truth the sacramental bread *becomes* His body. Wickliffe (1384) distinctly rejected transubstantiation, but wavered in his belief between consubstantiation and a mere symbolic presence. Jerome of Prague (1416) denied

any real presence of the body, regarding the sacrament only as a similitude. Wessel (1489) held that none but believers could partake of the body of Christ.

The mediæval Greek Church differed from the Latin in the use of leavened instead of unleavened bread, and in retaining infant communion, and participation by the laity in both kinds. Some of its theologians, as John Damascene (750), held the theory of consubstantiation; others, as Theophylact (1070) and Nicholas of Methone (1089), inclined to that of transubstantiation. At a later period the last-named theory gained general acceptance.

Whatever may be thought of the mediæval opinions and practices which gathered around the Holy Supper, it is certain that multitudes of pious souls found spiritual aid in the idea of a special presence of the Saviour, and the daily repetition of His sacrifice, as well as in that of a mystic union with Him in the act of communion. It is unjust to accuse of idolatry those who adored, under material forms, the Deity whom they believed to be really present therein, although such adoration would be idolatrous if offered by disbelievers in that peculiar presence. It may be well also here to remark that the mediæval term "Mass," as applied to this sacrament, has no necessary connection either with transubstantiation or the sacrificial theory; its origin and meaning are quite uncertain.

Penance.

It had been usual, from a remote antiquity, to impose penances as a condition of readmission to communion after Church censures. Submission to such discipline was a sign of penitence; and penitence and penance, being denoted by the same Latin word, were easily confounded. The penance usually included public confession; but by the middle of the third century private confession to a priest was deemed sufficient in many cases. Soon the "penitentiary priest" became a recognised officer of the Church, but in consequence of some scandals this office was abolished in the East about 390. In the West, Pope Leo I. (461) forbade bishops to require open confession of secret sins, and authorized *all*

priests to hear private confessions. Still, this confession was not for a long time deemed indispensable, except in case of gross and scandalous offences. For such offences penances were imposed as a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, consisting of fasts, bodily mortification, and the repetition of prayers and psalms.

As Christianity became secularized by the wholesale admission of tribes and nations into the Church, these disciplinary practices were variously abused. By the eighth century it had become common to perform penances by proxy, an abuse which was prohibited by a Synod at Cloveshoo in 747. At this time penance was regarded as a "medicine for sin," and confession to a priest was not so much for the purpose of receiving absolution, as for direction as to the appropriate penance. A hundred years later the custom of confessing once a year had become so general that its omission was severely reprimanded by the bishops. Another century, and the penances were thought to possess expiatory value; and in 1022 a Council at Worms permitted them to be commuted into pecuniary fines, thus taking the first step towards one of the worst of the later mediæval abuses.

Hildebert of Tours (1134) distinguished three parts of penitence: (*a*) contrition of heart, as opposed to mere "attrition," *i.e.* dissatisfaction with sin because of its consequences; (*b*) confession with the lips, not merely to God, but also to the priest; and (*c*) satisfaction by works. This notion was developed by Peter Lombard (1164), with the addition that the threefold penitence is a remedy for the three forms of sin, by thought, word, and deed.

Salvation being only possible within the Church, it was thought reasonable to regard as a sacrament the penance whereby a sinner, self-excluded by conscious guilt, re-entered its pale. Accordingly, Peter Lombard and Aquinas defined the external works of penance as the sacramental signs, and the inward penitence as the reality. The material of penance was the sin (*i.e.* guilt) to be removed; the form, the words of absolution spoken by the priest.

The Lateran Council of 1215 imposed it as a duty on all the faithful to make a particular confession of their sins to the priest at least once a year, and to perform whatever

penance he might enjoïn. Aquinas (1274) asserted the absolute necessity of compliance with this injunction. The definitions of Hildebert, Lombard, and Aquinas were embodied in a formal dogma by the Council of Florence (1439).

It was held by many of the Schoolmen, that in case of urgent need, and in the absence of a priest, confession might be made to a layman; but the sacrament in such a case was thought to be incomplete. Wickliffe (1384) opposed confession to a priest, declaring that priestly absolution, unless there be evidence of true contrition, is "a Satanic presumption." Even Gerson (1429) objected to the enforcement of confession, urging that as sin is voluntary, that cannot be a true penitence which is not also voluntary. The subject of indulgences has been already treated of in c. 10.

Extreme Unction.

The practice of anointing the sick with oil, partly as a religious rite, but partly also as a curative process, may be traced to apostolic times; see Jas. v. 14. We find it regularly in vogue at the commencement of the fifth century. Afterwards, in 850, a Council at Pavia directed the application of consecrated oil to sick persons in danger of death. Hugh of St. Victor (1141) was the first to treat this rite as true sacrament; but the opinion, when once advanced, soon found general acceptance.

The anointing was at first thought conducive both to the forgiveness of sins and to the restoration of health. But by the twelfth century, or earlier, a notion arose that it was a special preparation for death, and extinguished all relations with the present world. Hence some refused food, etc., after its performance, an abuse which was condemned by a Council at Worcester in 1240.

It was disputed whether, if a person so anointed should recover, the rite should be repeated on a subsequent occasion. Ivo of Chartres (1101) and Geoffrey of Vendôme (1110) decided in the negative; Peter Lombard (1164) in the affirmative. The Council of Florence (1439) formally asserted the sacramental character of "Extreme Unction."

Ordination.

We have already seen that from the time of Cyprian the Christian ministry had been regarded as distinctly sacerdotal. The bishop, from being the spiritual overseer of the brethren, had come to be essentially an overseer of priests, to whom his pastoral functions were delegated. This change was intimately connected with the sacrificial theory of the Eucharist. If the central act of Christian worship was indeed a sacrifice, it must of necessity be offered by a priest; and whatever grace was imparted through participation therein must be dependent on the validity of his priesthood. It was the almost universal belief, both in the East and West, from the middle of the third century downwards, that the status of a priest could only be conferred by a bishop whose consecration had been derived in regular succession from the apostles. To receive ordination from a false bishop, or to expect sacramental grace from the ministrations of an unauthorized priest, was deemed analogous to the sin of Korah.

A remarkable exception, however, is presented in the Scottish Church. Here, as elsewhere, the subordinate clergy were usually ordained by bishops; but the apostolic succession of bishops was altogether ignored. In fact, St. Columba (597) and his successors, the abbots of Iona, were accustomed to *ordain bishops, though themselves were simple presbyters*. This practice continued down to the ninth century or later; and at the Synod of Chelchyth (816) the ministrations of the Scottish clergy were repudiated by those of the Latinized Anglo-Saxon Church on account of their invalid or doubtful ordination.¹ Yet in the Anglo-Saxon Church, at a later period, it was held that the distinction of bishop and priest was one of office, not of order. Alfric (1005 or 1051) says: "There is no more between a bishop and a priest but that the bishop is appointed to ordain, confirm, etc., . . . for they

¹ This is denied by some respectable authorities, who say that the bishops in question were under the jurisdiction of the abbots, but were not ordained by them. It is held by these historians that the bishops of the Celtic Church were not necessarily or usually superintendents, but merely agents for conveying the indispensable apostolic succession.

would be abundantly too many if every priest did this; he hath the same order, but the other is more honourable."

The sacramental character of ordination was asserted, as early as the fifth century, by the pseudo-Dionysius. In later times Aquinas (1274) shrewdly reasoned that "as ordination makes a man a dispenser of the other sacraments, there is more reason that it should be a sacrament than the rest." As to its external sign, the earlier writers laid much stress on imposition of hands, which was thought to possess some mystic virtue; but this, as well as anointing, was afterwards treated as of less importance. Aquinas says that, whereas the efficacy of other sacraments consists in the sign which signifies and contains a divine virtue, that of ordination depends on the person who ordains. There was a diversity of opinion how far ordination was invalidated by heresy on the part of the ordaining bishop, or of his predecessors in the apostolic succession. The Council of Florence (1439) expressly affirmed the sacramental nature of the rite, and prescribed the form as follows: "Receive the power to offer sacrifice in the church for the living and the dead." The character thus conferred was believed to be indelible: "Once a priest, always a priest."

The tendency toward asceticism, which was developed as early as the third century, led to a feeling in favour of clerical celibacy. To such an extent did this feeling prevail, that unsuccessful attempts were made to enforce it at the Councils of Elvira (305) and Nicea (325). It was ruled, by way of compromise, that marriage should not be contracted after ordination, and that a second marriage disqualified for holy orders. These rules generally prevail in the Eastern Churches to this day. In the West attempts were made in the ninth and tenth centuries to separate married clergymen from their wives. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (988), laboured energetically for this object; but clerical celibacy was not generally enforced until 1074, under Pope Gregory VII. It would seem that this energetic reformer was actuated, not merely by the ascetic idea (with which, however, he was in full sympathy), but also by the belief that a celibate clergy would constitute a more efficient spiritual army for the defence of that universal theocracy which was his ideal of

the Church. To meet practical difficulties, the Council of Constance (1414) ruled that the obligation of the clergy to celibacy did not forbid concubinage! The Schoolmen generally regarded the sacraments of Order and Marriage as excluding each other; but no dogma has been laid down on the subject, and clerical celibacy is still regarded by the best authorities in the Roman Church as simply a matter of discipline.

Marriage.

Considering the supreme importance of well-ordered conubial relations, it is not surprising that the Church should have early undertaken the special oversight of matrimonial concerns. The character of this oversight was largely determined in the early ages by the ascetic tendencies which then prevailed. It was generally thought that celibacy was a holier state than marriage; and some sects, as the Encratites and Manichæans, insisted on a single life as a condition of perfection; while others, as the Montanists, strictly forbade second marriages. It was unanimously agreed that the prohibitions of the Mosaic law respecting the intermarriage of near kindred were binding on Christian people; and marriage with unbelievers or heretics was held to be forbidden in the New Testament (2 Cor. vi. 14), and was accordingly prohibited by the Council of Laodicea (364).

Among the Jews, marriage was a civil contract; but it was common, though not indispensable, to consecrate it with a religious act. Among the Romans there were several forms of marriage, some more binding in law than others; and those forms which were considered most binding included a variety of idolatrous rites. Christians holding high opinions of the sanctity of marriage would naturally desire that their unions should be the most binding that the civil law would recognise; but, being unable to adopt the usual religious ceremonial, they often substituted for it a distinctly Christian rite. But this practice, though usual in the first three centuries, was not yet deemed indispensable; mutual consent, expressed in the presence of witnesses, was still, as with the Jews, the essence of marriage.

Adultery was always held to be a sufficient ground for divorce; but in 416 the Council of Mileve forbade the remarriage of divorced persons, a decision to which Pope Innocent I. gave the force of ecclesiastical law. Second marriages, though not disallowed, were up to this time generally discouraged; a third marriage was accounted scandalous.

In the Latin version of Eph. v. 32 the word "mystery" is translated "*sacramentum*." This seems to have given rise to the notion, first advanced by Augustine (430), that marriage is a sacrament. Augustine discussed the question of consanguinity, allowing the marriage of cousins, of which Gregory the Great (604) disapproved. From that time the list of prohibited degrees of relationship was gradually extended, until it reached the seventh. The code of Justinian (533) made the "spiritual affinity" contracted by sponsorship in baptism a bar to marriage,—an extravagance against which St. Boniface (735) protested, but which is still maintained in the Roman Church. Pope Innocent III., in 1216, limited the prohibitions to the fourth degree, but retained the fiction of spiritual affinity. Peter Lombard (1164) reasserted the sacramental character of marriage, which was denied by Durand (1320) and some other scholastics. Lombard affirmed the essence of the sacrament to consist neither in the priestly benediction nor in actual cohabitation, but in mutual consent; the bond thus formed he held to be indissoluble except by death. The same views were maintained by Aquinas (1274), and confirmed by the Council of Florence (1439).

It is a regrettable fact that the exceeding strictness of ecclesiastical law failed altogether to secure a high standard of connubial virtue in the Middle Ages. The theory that the bond of marriage could not be dissolved, even by the grossest adultery, led to manifold inconveniences. These were sometimes evaded by the ready pretext that a marriage had been void from the beginning by reason of affinity, or of a pre-contract; but the tendency of the whole theory, especially in the face of habitual concubinage by a nominally celibate clergy, was to foster an idea that unchastity was a very venial sin. The Eastern Churches, except the Nestorians, never admitted the indissoluble character of the matrimonial bond.

The Sacraments in general.

The early use of the term "sacrament" was exceedingly vague. Augustine applies it to matrimony, exorcism, the Sabbath, and the various rites of the Old Testament. Leo, bishop of Rome (461), in like manner applies it to the most heterogeneous things; and in the same century the pseudo-Dionysius enumerates six sacraments—Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Anointing, Ordination, the Profession of a Monk, and the Rites of the Dead. This indefinite use of the term continued till the twelfth century. It was applied to the consecration of churches and vestments, the use of holy water, and other ceremonies. Peter Damiani (1072) enumerated as many as twelve sacraments. Hugh of St. Victor (1141) called Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper "sacraments of the first class."

Peter Lombard (1164) defined the number of sacraments as seven; and the Schoolmen soon discovered profound reasons why it should be neither more nor less. Bonaventura (1274) associates the seven sacraments with the seven cardinal virtues; teaching that Baptism leads to faith, Confirmation to hope, the Lord's Supper to love, Penance to righteousness, Unction to perseverance, Order to prudence, Marriage to temperance. Aquinas (1274) says: "By Baptism we are spiritually new born; by Confirmation we grow in grace, and are strengthened in faith: we are nourished with divine food in the Eucharist. If by sin we incur sickness of soul, we are spiritually healed by Penance; spiritually and corporally when the soul departs by Extreme Unction; by Holy Orders the Church is governed and spiritually multiplied; by Marriage it is corporally increased." The doctrine of the seven sacraments was completely formulated by the Council of Florence (1439); but Wickliffe (1384), the Waldenses, and some of the Hussites acknowledged no sacraments except Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

As to the proper definition of a sacrament, the Schoolmen were not content with that given by Augustine, "the sign of a sacred thing." Hugh of St. Victor proposed "the visible form of invisible grace therein bestowed;" and P. Lombard,

“a sign of the grace of God, and form of invisible grace, such that it bears the image and exists for the sake thereof.”

Of the utility of the sacraments, Hugh of St. Victor taught that it arises from the ordinance of God, who could have saved man without them, and if opportunity for their reception be wanting does not on that account withhold their virtue. The sacrament is compared to a vessel, wherein the priest, as a messenger, conveys the medicine of grace provided by the Divine Physician for sin-sick humanity. It is useful for humiliation, for instruction, and for strength. The whole Trinity unites in the sacrament, which the Father creates, the Son institutes, the Spirit sanctifies. There were sacraments under the Old Testament; but these only conferred grace by virtue of the good motive or inward devotion of the receiver (*ex opere operantis*); while those of the New Testament conferred grace of themselves (*ex opere operato*) independently of the inward devotion of the receiver, unless he were in mortal sin, or of the dignity or moral character of the administrator, if he only *intended* to administer the sacrament as such. The sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Order confer an indelible character, and cannot therefore be repeated.

This doctrine is said to have been first sketched out in part by Bede (735); but it only attained its full development in the hands of Aquinas. Alexander Hales (1245) distinguished between the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as instituted by our Lord, and the rest, which were instituted by the Church. Duns Scotus (1308) denied the ability of the sacrament to confer grace without right motives on the part of the recipient; and the *opus operatum* was still more strongly repudiated by Wickliffe (1384), Wessel (1489), and other forerunners of the Reformation. But the sacramental doctrine elaborated by Hugh of St. Victor and Aquinas was fully established by the Council of Florence. Meanwhile the vulgar opinion of the sacraments degraded them to something very like magical charms; while several pantheistic and fanatical sects rejected them altogether.

In the Greek Church, John Damascene (750) had mentioned only the two mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In the following century, Theodore of the Studion

adopted the enumeration of six sacraments from pseudo-Dionysius. From that time forward the tendency of the Greek Church was to multiply sacraments. But at the Council of Florence a temporary union was arranged between the Greek and Roman Churches; and although that union soon proved fallacious, the seven sacraments have been since that time generally recognised by the Eastern Churches.

Worship of Saints.

The subject of angel-worship has already been disposed of. It will be convenient here to refer to that worship of saints, and especially of the mother of our Lord, which holds so prominent a place in the devotions of the unreformed Churches.

The earliest recorded invocations of departed Christians are purely rhetorical; but the practice of praying at the tombs of martyrs tended to promote the belief that they might be intercessors with God, and by the end of the fourth century we have invocations in which the rhetorical is blended with the devotional. Interesting examples are found in Ephræm (375), who in one of his funeral hymns both prays for the deceased and requests his intercession. Augustine (430) in vain opposed the growing innovation, which was fostered by annual commemorations, and by the readiness of the populace to substitute local saints for the minor deities which they had been accustomed to adore in the days of heathenism. By the middle of the fifth century the practice of invoking saints had become general throughout the East. Even before this, miraculous powers had been ascribed to the relics of martyrs; and as early as 386 the Emperor Theodosius had interdicted the *traffic* in such holy wares.

In the fourth century the perpetual virginity of Mary had already become an article of faith, though not accepted as such without opposition. In Arabia a heretical sect, called Collyridians, consisting chiefly of women, worshipped her with offerings of cakes; apparently a relic of heathenism, see Jer. vii. 17. In opposition to this, Epiphanius (403) taught: "Let no one worship Mary." But the Nestorian controversy, which originated in opposition to the already familiar title

“Mother of God,” brought her claims to honour into greater prominence; and in 470 Peter Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, introduced invocation of the Virgin and the saints into the services of the Church. In the sixth century numerous festivals in honour of Mary were established. Her sinlessness, which even Augustine had not ventured to deny, was now accepted as an undoubted fact. Towards the end of this century the “feast of the Assumption” gave permanence to a legend, first broached by Gregory of Tours (595), that she had been miraculously raised from the dead, and carried by angels bodily to heaven.

Up to this time such saint-worship as existed appears to have been merely local. But in 610 Pope Boniface IV. instituted the feast of All Saints, and about 617, under Boniface V., the public invocation of saints became general throughout the West. The controversy about images gave a further impulse to the practice, and in 754 even an Iconoclastic Council at Constantinople anathematized whomsoever should oppose it. The second Council of Nicea (787) distinguished between the worship, *latreia*, due to God, and the reverence, *proskunesis*, appropriate to the creature; but the distinction seems to have been too subtle for the populace. By this time, too, numerous religious romances had come to be mistaken for historic narrations; and a swarm of saints who never existed found a place in the popular hagiology. Still, the saints thus honoured, real and imaginary, except those commemorated in Scripture, seem to have been local celebrities, until, not earlier than the ninth century, the popes claimed the right to commend a saint to the veneration of universal Christendom. The first “canonization” is variously dated from 804 to 933. In 855 the feast of the Assumption received papal authorization.

The Schoolmen endeavoured to improve the distinction between the various kinds or degrees of worship. Aquinas defined them as *latria*, worship, due to God alone; *dulia*, service, due to the saints; and *hyperdulia*, something beyond service, due especially to the mother of Christ. But, inasmuch as it was usually held that the image deserves the same honour as the person represented, Aquinas conceded to the image of Christ the worship of *latria*; in a word, he

sanctioned actual idolatry. The same homage was paid to the cross, at least in the fifteenth century.

The usual form of saint-worship was either a request for the prayers of the saint, "Holy Mary, etc., pray for us;" or else a prayer to God, based on the supposition of an *inter-communion of merits* between the saints in heaven and the faithful on earth, that "by the intercession and merits of Saint N." we may obtain some blessing. The number of saints weekly invoked by name in England, according to the use of Sarum, was upwards of 240, besides many others locally honoured. In the age immediately before the Reformation, various saints were resorted to for special benefits, and were prayed to, not as mediators, but in exactly the same manner as God Himself: St. Barbara to avert war, St. Roch against the plague, St. Germain against the ague, St. Catharine as the patron of scholars, St. Crispin of shoemakers, St. Eloy as the guardian of horses, St. Anthony of pigs, St. Gertrude to drive away rats! Many of the Mystics, as Tauler (1361), though avoiding these extremes, rendered the most reverent homage to the saints, especially to the Virgin Mother. Wickliffe (1384), on the contrary, denied that saints are mediators with God, and declared that the honour paid to them is "of no use, except so far as it tends to excite the love of Christ."

(c) FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

The Church and its Ministers.

The Reformation was directed, in the first place, against practical abuses rather than against doctrinal errors. Accordingly, while it revolutionized the opinions which had prevailed as to the sources of religious knowledge, the appropriation of divine grace, and the condition of departed souls, it still more strikingly modified the prevailing doctrine of the Church, and the means of grace. And, though the movement early diverged into two channels, under the respective guidance of Luther and Melancthon, and of Zuingli, Calvin, and Beza, the whole Church of the Reformation agreed to

repudiate the papal hierarchy, to condemn all saint, angel, and image worship, and whatever tended thereto, and to acknowledge no sacraments but Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It has been well said of the two schools of Reformers, that "the Calvinists endeavoured to lay an entirely new foundation, while the Lutherans preferred the erection of a new building on the existing basis." In other words, the Lutherans respected, while the Calvinists ignored or repudiated, the historical developments of fourteen centuries. Both, however, in opposition to the unreformed Churches, regarded the Catholic Church as "the invisible association of all who are united by the bonds of a true faith;" an association which can be but imperfectly represented by any visible Church. To this Catholic Church men come through Christ, not to Christ through the Church. Both, again, strongly affirmed the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, thus effectually undermining the sacerdotal theory of the ministry which had prevailed since the days of Cyprian. The administration of the sacraments belonged to the clergy, not as a priestly function, but as the duty of presiding officers in the church. These views are clearly set forth in the writings of Luther and Calvin, and in the Augsburg, Basle, Gallic, and other Confessions.

The Lutheran Reformation, which prevailed in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, retained a modified Episcopacy, its bishops having superiority of *office*, not of *order*. Its subordinate clergy also retained the title of "priest," but they were held to be, not—as in the unreformed communions—agents, dealing with God on behalf of men, but simply the authorized overseers and teachers of the brotherhood. Indeed, the form of ordination used in Norway expressly confers "the office of preacher." The Calvinistic system, which prevailed in Switzerland, France, Holland, and Scotland, rejected alike the title of priest and the office of bishop. Its clergy were styled "pastors" or ministers," and their official equality and collective authority were essential features of the new Church order, thence distinguished as "Presbyterian." The violent antipathy of the Calvinistic Churches to every form of

Episcopacy can scarcely be explained by their belief in the official equality of ministers as a point of apostolic order. It must be remembered that throughout the West the bishops had become temporal lords, and were associated, in the popular mind, with the worst abuses of mediævalism, and with the stern—often sanguinary—repression of reformatory movements.

The two systems flourished side by side in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and some parts of Germany, and their co-existence, together with the failure of several well-intentioned efforts at amalgamation, brought into still greater prominence the distinction between the universal Church and particular visible churches. This distinction was still further emphasized, since 1678, by the growth of Pietism.

Pietism, as has been said already, was originally a movement for the cultivation of practical godliness, apart from speculative controversies. But, very early in its progress, ideas were evolved which, whether true or false, were quite out of harmony with the church systems of the Reformation. Lutheran orthodoxy regarded the word and sacraments as the very basis of the Church, which begat, nourished, and fostered believers. Saving power was held to reside in the means of grace, if duly administered, independently of the personal character of the administrator. The Pietists, on the contrary, laid all stress on personal faith and godliness, and denied that there was any saving power in the preaching of an "unconverted" person. Believers, according to their view, constituted, preserved, and renewed the Church. The natural tendency of these opinions was towards the disintegration of the Church, and the transference of the churchly idea to Pietistic societies.

The Reformation in England, as it was more distinctly political than in other countries, was ecclesiastically less complete. From the first, there were two parties among the Reformers: the one sympathizing with the Calvinistic, rather than the Lutheran ideal; the other far more conservative than Luther, and desiring nothing more than the repudiation of the papal authority, and the removal of gross and acknowledged abuses. Accordingly, the Catholic hierarchy was

retained almost intact; and the exclusive validity of an episcopally ordained priesthood, though not definitely asserted in the doctrinal standards of the Church, was practically insisted upon in its canons and rubrics. Nevertheless, the leading English Reformers, as Tyndale (1537), Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer (1555), and even Whitgift (1604), repudiated the sacerdotal *theory* of the ministry, regarding the term "priest" as equivalent to "elder;" and claimed for the bishops the function of ordination, not as essential to the validity of ministerial acts, but simply as a matter of church order.

As early as 1559 there were signs of dissatisfaction with what the more distinctly Protestant school regarded as an imperfect reformation. During the Catholic reaction, and its attendant persecution, under Philip and Mary (1553-58), many prominent English divines fled to Frankfort, Basle, or Geneva. These, returning at the accession of Elizabeth, strove to reconstruct the Anglican Church on the Genevan or Presbyterian model. Not only did the term "priest," and the official status of the bishops, appear to them to imply the retention of the whole sacerdotal system; they objected to every custom, however indifferent in itself, which in the least resembled the traditionary practice of the Roman Church, and wished to tolerate nothing in connection with public worship for which there was not express Biblical authority. Their demands were formulated in an anonymous "Admonition to Parliament," published 1572. In opposition to these "Puritans," it was the object of those in power to maintain a compromise between sacerdotalism and anti-sacerdotalism. To this end they imposed a rigid uniformity of outward observance, which they enforced by severe penalties alike on Catholics and Puritans.

About 1582 one Robert Browne, despairing of effecting the reforms he desired within the Church, published a tract, entitled *Reformation without Tarrying for Any*. In this and other pamphlets he maintained that (except the universal fellowship of true believers) no Church is recognised in Scripture but a local assembly of worshippers, and that every such assembly, voluntarily associated, has the absolute right

of self-government without regard to any external authority. This theory of congregational independency found favour with many English Calvinists. These were cruelly persecuted, many were imprisoned, many fled to Holland, and in 1593 three of them, Penry, Barrow, and Greenwood, were put to death. In Holland, the exiles further developed the theory of Congregationalism. Their "Confession," drawn up by Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson (1596, 1602), asserts the duty of the faithful "willingly to join together in Christian communion and orderly covenant; and, by free confession of the faith and obedience of Christ, to unite themselves into peculiar and visible congregations." "None who are grown in years may be received into their communion as members, but such as do make confession of their faith . . . promising to walk in the obedience of Christ; neither any infants, but such as are of the seed of the faithful . . . or under their government." Members are not to be received from one congregation to another without credentials. The congregations, though self-contained, "are all to walk by one and the same rule," and "to have the counsel and help one of another." Each congregation has the power to elect and ordain its own pastors and teachers, to depose them for default of life, doctrine, or administration, and to excommunicate unworthy members, so that all be done by "the rule of the word."

Early in the seventeenth century the conservative or reactionary party in the Anglican Church acquired both ecclesiastical and political predominance. Bancroft (1610) and Laud (1645) reasserted the exclusive claims of a sacerdotal ministry, episcopally ordained, as of divine right. James I. vowed that he would "harry out of the land, or hang," the dissentient Puritans and Independents. In 1620 a congregation of Independents, the "Pilgrim Fathers," emigrated to America, and there became the founders of the New England States. Continued persecution excited a spirit of fanatical sectarianism, and in a little time the ecclesiastical strife was complicated with political troubles. Charles I. resolved to impose Episcopacy on the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, and in 1639 endeavoured to effect this object by

force of arms. The civil war, provoked by the tyrannic rule of Charles, broke out in 1642; and in the following year the English Puritans united with the Church of Scotland in a "Solemn League and Covenant," pledging themselves to effect the total abolition of Episcopacy in both countries. Presbyterianism was at this time politically in the ascendant; but the men who, in the course of the war, attained supreme power, Cromwell, etc., were chiefly Independents. The incidents of the struggle, the temporary subversion of the monarchy, etc., belong to civil history. It must suffice here to say that the collapse of the Republic, and the monarchical restoration of 1660, brought about the political triumph of Episcopacy; and the ecclesiastical settlement effected in 1662, though still on the lines of a compromise between Lutheranism and Calvinism, was more favourable to the Catholic or reactionary school than that which had taken place in the reign of Elizabeth. During the long struggle thus brought to a conclusion, the leading controversialists (beside those already named) were, of the Presbyterians, Cartwright (1603) and Calamy (1666); of the Independents, Robinson (1625), Milton (1674), Goodwin (1679), and Owen (1683); on the Episcopal side, Hooker (1600), Andrewes (1626), and Jeremy Taylor (1667). In addition to these should be mentioned Usher (1656), who advocated a modified Episcopacy with Presbyterian elements, and Baxter (1691), who urged the adjustment of rival church systems by mutual accommodation.

After 1662 English Presbyterianism declined, and survived—till very recently—only as the polity of a feeble sect. Independency, stimulated by persecution, reinforced by the adhesion of many Puritan ministers ejected from the Anglican Church, and adopted in all its essential features by the Anabaptists, continually increased in strength. It is maintained by several thousands of congregations in England, and is predominant in the older American States. It has developed, however, in a direction scarcely foreseen by its early advocates. *Their* creed was uniform, and strictly Calvinistic. The Novatian or Donatist idea of a Church absolutely pure, blended readily with the Calvinistic doctrine

of election. Tests of fitness for church-membership were therefore insisted upon, which often included an emotional conversion, the acceptance of an elaborate doctrinal system, and an exceedingly rigid type of morality. As Anabaptism and Arminianism gained a footing, these tests inevitably excluded many godly persons from local Churches. *They*, therefore, also formed Churches based on the presumed divine right of congregational independency. These Churches, which were in fact simply pietistic societies, asserted the divine rights of absolute self-control and of practically unlimited subdivision. Their ministers were still, in theory, divinely authorized overseers and teachers; but the uniform tendency of such societies towards democracy, and their watchful jealousy of clerical assumption, at length reduced pastoral authority to a minimum.

The Society of Friends (Quakers), from about 1649, went further, repudiating all pastoral authority, exercising mutual spiritual oversight, and owning no ministry except that of the teacher.

The Methodist revival (from 1738) aimed only at the conversion of the ungodly, and the cultivation of a higher spiritual life by means of pietistic societies within the Anglican Church. To the end of his life, Wesley resisted all attempts at separate organization, being "determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the Church to which he belonged." But he was satisfied "that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain;" and accordingly, in 1784, he ordained a "superintendent" and "elders" to minister and dispense the sacraments in the American Methodist Societies. These have ever since maintained a distinct church order, with bishops, who are distinguished only as official superintendents of the presbyters. After the death of Wesley (1791), the Methodist Societies in England were led, by force of circumstances, to organize themselves apart from the Anglican Church. They therefore exercised the right which Wesley had asserted, and adopted a church order which may be best described as a modified Presbyterianism. But as the marvellous successes of early Methodist evangelization were

believed to depend very largely on itinerant preaching, this feature was adopted in the permanent organization. Accordingly, both in England and America, the pastoral office is rotatory, no pastor retaining the oversight of the same society more than two or three years. Dissensions on questions of administration have caused several secessions from the original Methodist stock; and some of the subdivisions have developed a tendency towards Congregationalism.

Of late years the opinion has gained ground extensively, both in Europe and America, that no church organization has any higher sanction than the indefeasible right of all persons to associate for any lawful purpose. The "Principles of the Revolution" are thus applied to the Church. It is claimed that every association for worship or religious fellowship has an absolute right to define its own terms of membership, and to appoint such officers, with such functions, and on such tenure of office, as it may choose; that supreme authority resides in the majority, and that minorities have an unlimited right of secession. Such a voluntary consociation is declared to be the only real Church, except the universal aggregate of believers, and no pastoral authority is acknowledged but that which the society may confer, and which it may revoke at pleasure.

The dread of some such outbreak of ecclesiastical democracy seems to have been the moving cause of the "Catholic Revival" in the Anglican Church. Since the settlement of 1662, the High Church or Catholic, and the Low Church or Protestant, parties had subsisted side by side. The former was at first predominant, but was so weakened by the secession of the Nonjurors in 1689, and by the influence of Methodism and Pietism in the following century, that by 1833 it had almost fallen into contempt. In that year a company of divines at Oxford, J. H. Newman, R. H. Froude, J. Keble, Is. Williams, E. B. Pusey, etc., formed the deliberate purpose of attempting an ecclesiastical revival on the lines laid down by Bancroft and Laud. Their leading principles were: the supreme importance of establishing the authority of the Church, as a counterpoise to democracy; and the necessity, in order to spiritual health, of receiving sacramentally the body and blood of Christ, which was only possible

through the ministry of bishops, deriving their office by direct succession from the apostles, or of priests deputed by them. These views, which were promulgated in the *Tracts for the Times*, clearly involved the repudiation of communion, not only with nonconforming sects at home, but with all the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The movement at first excited violent hostility, "Puseyism," or "Tractarianism," being vulgarly regarded as thinly disguised Popery; and this was increased when, in 1845, Newman and others submitted to the Church of Rome. Still, the Catholic revival has continued to advance, aiming at nothing less than the extirpation of Protestantism from the Church, and a return to mediæval doctrines and practices, except as to the papal supremacy, and those gross abuses which were patent to the most conservative Reformers. Its more advanced partisans favour the re-establishment of monasticism, and avowedly desire intercommunion with the Greek and Roman Churches, declaring that, until the dogmatic assertion of papal infallibility, their differences were non-essential. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Low Church party, "Anglo-Catholicism" is now clearly in the ascendant, not only in the Established Church of England, but throughout the entire Anglican communion.

Relation of the Church to the State.

The circumstances of the Reformation, rather than any theories whatever, determined the relations of the Church to the State. The Reformers generally assumed that the rulers of a Christian people would themselves be members of the Christian Church; and Zuingli thought that the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline might safely be left in the hands of the magistrate. This Calvin could not tolerate; and the Calvinistic Churches, while steadily asserting (in opposition to fanatical anarchists) that "the powers that be are ordained of God," have almost invariably repudiated the claim of the civil magistrate to exercise authority in things spiritual. Nevertheless, they have usually held it to be the magistrate's duty "to maintain true religion," in opposition to vice, heresy, and

Popery ; in a word, to patronize the Church without presuming to control it. Castalio (1563) was perhaps the only one of the Reformers who disputed the right of the civil magistrate to punish heresy with death.

The Reformers of the Lutheran school were tempted, by "the exigencies of the Church," to commit its government into the hands of civil rulers, giving to the prince the status (though not the spiritual functions) of chief bishop. But in so doing they had no idea of merging the Church in the State, or the State in the Church. The Church, as the kingdom of God, they held to be independent of the secular power.

A directly opposite theory was formulated by Thomas Liebler (Erastus) of Heidelberg (1588). He represented the Church as merely a phase of the State, entirely subjecting the ecclesiastical to the civil power, according to the maxim, "To whom the region belongs, his also is the religion." This theory, known as Erastianism, had been informally embodied in the Constitutions of Clarendon, in the twelfth century. It was developed, with various modifications, by Selden (1654), Puffendorf (1694), and Christian Thomas (1728), and has been *practically* acquiesced in, with more or less of protest, by all State-established Protestant Churches. An exception must be made in favour of the Church of Scotland, whose whole history, since 1584, was little else than a heroic struggle against Erastianism, culminating in the Disruption of 1843. Not that the Erastian theory has ever been *formally* accepted by any Church or sect until the present century, when it triumphed in the rationalized Churches of Prussia and Switzerland.

In England, though there had long been reformatory tendencies among the common people, these had been sternly repressed by the civil power, until Henry VIII., on his own private quarrel, renounced the authority of the pope. He then (1532) *assumed* the supreme headship of the Church in his dominions ; impartially persecuting all, whether Papists or Protestants, who dared to question his claim. The formal election of bishops was left to the Church, but the electors were required, under ruinous penalties, to elect only the persons nominated by the king. The ecclesiastical leaders of

the English Reformation, Cranmer, Latimer, etc., accepted the royal supremacy, and the more readily when, in the following reign, this course facilitated the further reforms on which they were bent. On the accession of Elizabeth, after the Marian persecution, the royal supremacy was welcomed, alike by churchmen of the progressive and of the conservative school, as a bulwark against Popery. The Elizabethan Church settlement was practically, though not theoretically, pure Erastianism. All ecclesiastical proceedings were in subordination to the civil power, and the queen openly threatened to "unfrock" bishops who incurred her displeasure. When Bancroft affirmed, in 1588, that bishops derived their authority, not from the sovereign, but from God, Whitgift "wished the doctor were right, but dared not flatter himself that he was." But amidst the conflicts of the next generation, Erastianism was repudiated alike by High Churchmen, Presbyterians, and Independents.

After the Revolution of 1688, the civil power asserted its supremacy over the Church by forcibly removing from their sees the bishops who adhered to the fallen dynasty. The secession of their sympathizers, the Nonjurors, gave predominance to the Erastian or Low Church party; whose triumph was completed by the suppression of Convocation in 1717. Thenceforward the Erastianism of the Anglican Church was almost unquestioned until the Catholic revival of 1833.

In 1717, Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, affirmed that, inasmuch as religion is a thing purely spiritual, it is altogether outside the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. This doctrine was equally contrary to the theories of Hildebrand and of Erastus, and clearly pointed to the subversion of all State Church establishments. The same doctrine had long been held by the Quakers, and by a few Independents and Baptists. But it was only by slow degrees that the Nonconformists in general, provoked by what they deemed an insulting toleration, gained courage to assert the mutual exclusiveness of the spheres of civil and ecclesiastical authority. At length, however, the opinion began to prevail that the union or alliance of Church and State has no sanction in the New Testament. This feeling was intensified by the hostility, not unmixed

with fear, with which popular and especially nonconforming Protestantism regarded the Anglo-Catholic revival. And in the present day the principle of "A free Church in a free State" has found almost universal acceptance in the non-established Protestant communities. Not only so; it is thought by many, who hold it to be the duty of the magistrate to maintain true religion, that such maintenance can scarcely be hoped for except on conditions incompatible with the freedom of the Church; in short, that disestablishment is the only practicable alternative to Erastianism, and is therefore to be preferred as the less of two evils. This position was practically adopted by the Free Church of Scotland at the Disruption, and is rapidly gaining ground among the Anglo-Catholics.

The Quakers had also from the first insisted that the compulsory support of religious institutions is alien to the spirit of the gospel. Gradually this view found favour, and at length all but universal acceptance, with the English Nonconformists. The same opinion began to be expressed about 1780 among the societies which, in the long struggle against Erastianism, had seceded from the Church of Scotland; and, after a long and dreary controversy, most of these societies amalgamated on the basis of Voluntaryism, in 1847, as the United Presbyterian Church. Since that time, opposition to State Church establishments has been gaining strength throughout the British Empire; it being alleged that, except in the almost inconceivable case of absolute uniformity of opinion in a nation, the favouring by the State of any Church or sect is an injustice toward the rest.

A further development of the Voluntary principle has appeared, almost within the present generation. It is said that the permanent endowment of religious institutions is objectionable, as tending to check liberality, and as inconsistent with pure Voluntaryism. It is to be feared that this assertion is not always disconnected from an unreasoning jealousy of clerical influence, and a democratic wish to render ministers entirely dependent on the favour of their congregations.

Wherever State Church establishments exist, discipline becomes difficult, because complicated with civil questions

which are raised by excommunication. This difficulty is usually guarded against, in non-established Churches, by adopting various "tests of fitness for Christian fellowship." These tests are generally less rigid in the present than in former generations; but the principles of Pietism have so widely influenced the various Churches and sects, that to most of them accessions are the result rather of "personal decision" than of birth or religious education. Meanwhile a sharp distinction is maintained between the Visible or Particular and the Universal Church; the latter being regarded, not as the aggregate of the particular Churches, but as the undistinguishable totality of godly persons throughout the world.

Baptism.

The Protestant doctrine of the sacraments differs radically from that of the unreformed Churches. In opposition to the theory of sacramental efficacy, *ex opere operato*, the Protestant Churches, amidst all their diversities, held that sacraments were profitable only to believers, to whom their advantages were altogether independent of the authority or intention of the administrator. As means of grace they were thought to rank, at the highest, co-ordinately with the ministry of the word. Yet both Lutherans and Calvinists agreed with Catholics in believing that by means of the sacraments *God gives something to man*; while Zuingli regarded them as mere symbols of grace; and many Protestant sects either contented themselves with this view, or supplemented it with the idea that in the sacrament *man testifies something before God*. By the Quakers the sacraments were entirely rejected.

The Reformers generally agreed with the ancient divines in regarding baptism as the rite of initiation into the Church. Luther says, moreover, "it worketh forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe." To the same effect is the Catechism of the Anglican Church, which affirms that by baptism one is "made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Zuingli, on the contrary, regarded it merely as a sign of admission into the visible Church. Calvin

advanced an intermediate theory; that baptism is not merely a sign, but a pledge or seal of grace to the elect; which gift, however, is not necessarily connected in time with the administration.

Luther, and many of the Anglican divines, insisted on the baptism of infants, from a doubt whether an unbaptized person could possibly be saved. Zuingli and Calvin also retained infant baptism, but only as regards the children of believers, on the supposed ground of positive ordinance. But very early in the course of the Reformation it was urged by some preachers in Germany and Switzerland (Münzer, Storch, Hetzer, Grebel, etc., 1522-26), that inasmuch as infants cannot be fairly accounted consenting parties, they ought not to be baptized, and that such baptism is in fact a nullity. They further insisted that complete immersion, which for several centuries had been deemed indifferent throughout the Western Churches, was indispensable to the validity of the sacrament. These opinions were adopted by many who, on other subjects, ran into the wildest fanaticism, and by their disorders brought needless discredit on their baptistic theories. There can be little doubt that the abominations which, about 1535-36, made the name of "Anabaptist" a sound of horror, were chiefly due to the surviving influence of fanatical and pantheistic sects, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the like, which, arising in the thirteenth century, had never become wholly extinct.

About 1536, Anabaptist opinions, but without their associated fanaticism, commended themselves to Menno Simonis, in Holland. He may be considered the founder of the existing Anabaptists, who, after much persecution, have become very numerous in Holland, England, and America. They repudiate the name of "Anabaptist," as involving an admission inconsistent with their distinctive tenet, viz. the *nullity* of any baptism except that administered by immersion on personal profession of faith, of which profession it is the visible form. They claim to be "Baptists;" a title which is equally objectionable, as implying that their baptism alone is valid. They have the honourable distinction of being the first religious community which asserted the essential sinfulness of persecu-

tion for matters of opinion. Their churches are organized on the basis of congregational independency; and they are much divided into subordinate sects, through minor diversities both of opinion and of practice.

The Lutheran and Anglican, like the unreformed Churches, identified baptism with regeneration. The Pietists, since 1678, applied the latter term exclusively to conversion, or spiritual awakening. This nomenclature soon found general acceptance, especially in England, not only among the Independents, Methodists, and other Nonconformists, but in the Protestant section of the Established Church. The result was the denunciation of baptismal regeneration as a popish heresy; which was the more strongly repudiated, as it was by many supposed to involve not merely a change of relation, however important, but a change of heart. A collateral result was to promote the acceptance of the Calvinist or Zuinglian doctrine concerning baptism, or of some modern theory which reduces the importance of the rite to a minimum. The leaders of the Catholic revival, on the other hand, reasserted the patristic doctrine, affirming that in baptism the grace of justification is bestowed, and the germ of a new spiritual life implanted. The decision in "The Gorham Case" (1847) leaves baptismal regeneration practically an open question in the Anglican Church.

The Socinians and Dutch Arminians regarded baptism merely as an act of dedication. The decay of doctrinal Calvinism has led to the general acceptance of this view among the Independents, by whom, through the influence of Pietism, this sacrament is entirely dissociated from Church membership. A similar dissociation prevails among the Methodists, but from a different cause, the Methodist Churches having been developed out of what were originally voluntary societies within the Church. Other theories have been advanced in recent years; such as that baptism is the designation of catechumens, to be instructed in the Christian faith; or that it is a simple assertion, on the part of the Church, of Christ's lordship over the individual. These theories appear to have been devised as apologies for the practice of indiscriminate infant baptism, by those who recognise no title to

Church membership but personal decision, who no longer deem the rite essential to salvation, and who are not satisfied to rest their practice on a positive ordinance; or to whom the evidence of such positive ordinance seems scarcely free from doubt.

The Lord's Supper.

The Reformers, Lutherans and Calvinists alike, rejected the sacrificial theory of the Eucharist, and the mediæval doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. Here, however, their agreement came to an end. Luther retained the vulgar title of "The Mass," adopted the theory of consubstantiation, and in his larger catechism (1529) says, "The very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are, by the word of Christ, instituted and given to us Christians to be eaten and drunk in and under bread and wine." He also held that the body is received by unbelievers, but only to their condemnation.

Zuingli, on the contrary, denounced the Mass as an abomination, and eucharistic adoration as idolatry. He regarded the bread and wine merely as symbols, and the sacrament itself only as an act of commemoration. "The true body of Christ," he says, "is present to the contemplation of faith; but that His natural body is really and essentially present in the Supper, or is eaten with our mouths . . . we constantly assert to be an error, repugnant to the word of God." "There is nothing in the Eucharist but commemoration."

Here, again, Calvin held an intermediate position. He rejected, under every form, the notion of an objective presence of Christ's flesh and blood; but assigned great importance to the communion, as a pledge and seal of present union with Christ. According to his view, the sacramental elements, when partaken of in faith, have much the same relation to the actual benefits of Christ's incarnation and blood-shedding as the sealing of a lease, or delivery of a key, has to the actual possession of a tenement; but unbelievers receive only the bare elements. Calvin's own words are, "He offers and exhibits the communion of His flesh and blood, under the symbols of bread and wine, in His most holy Supper, to all who duly celebrate it according to its legitimate institution."

“In the mystery of the Supper Christ is truly presented to us *by means of the symbols* of bread and wine; and *thus* His body and blood, in which He fulfilled all obedience while achieving righteousness for us.”

Melanchthon, though agreeing with Luther, thought that Calvin's doctrine of a spiritual participation of the body by faith was not a very dangerous error, and endeavoured to unite the two leading parties in the Reformation on the principle of mutual toleration of opinion on the subject. His efforts not only failed, but led to a furious controversy—the Ubiquitarian (1552–74), in the course of which the Lutherans affirmed, while the Calvinists denied, the “Intercommunication of properties” of the divine and human natures in Christ, whereby His glorified humanity is rendered omnipresent. Ultimately the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches retained, at least in their standards, the dogmas of their respective leaders; while the opinions of Zuingli found favour with the Anabaptists (Mennonites), Arminians, and Socinians.

The eucharistic doctrine of the Anglican Church, as laid down in the Articles of 1553, was distinctly Calvinistic. The Articles of 1562 have the same general sense, but are less definite. Those bearing on the subject are said to have been revised by Gheast, bishop of Rochester, whose opinion was in favour of some kind of real presence. Taken in connection with the Catechism of 1604, they seem rather to favour the Lutheran than the Calvinistic dogma; but in fact they are so designedly comprehensive as only to exclude transubstantiation with its corollaries (such as concomitance), the *propitiatory* eucharistic sacrifice, the reception of the body by unbelievers, and the Zuinglian theory. Indeed both doctrines, the Lutheran and the Calvinistic, have always had their advocates among Anglican divines, and have been alternately in the ascendant. The “Low Church” party, following the lead of Ridley and Hooper, and understanding the Articles in the Calvinistic sense, (also inclining, but less strongly, to the corresponding opinions on baptism), predominated from 1562 to about 1600, and from the Revolution of 1688 till nearly the present generation. The “High Church,” the school of Bancroft, Laud, etc., held the real presence, and a memorial

and eucharistic (but not strictly propitiatory) sacrifice; this school prevailed from about 1600 to the Revolution, and has again triumphed in the Catholic revival. Indeed, the sacramental doctrine of Anglo-Catholicism is much more mediæval than Lutheran. Eucharistic adoration is practised; reverence to "the Saviour, sacramentally present on the altar," is expressed by a gorgeous ritual; the sacrificial nature of the rite is symbolized by peculiar vestments; greater importance is attached to celebration than to actual participation; it is urged as a duty to communicate fasting, and evening communion is denounced as scandalous, if not sacrilegious; the Body is declared to be received by the wicked to their hurt, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of the Articles; and the real presence is explained in a manner which differs from transubstantiation only by a shade too subtle for the popular mind to discern.

The English Nonconformists, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, etc., and the foreign Churches in communion with them, have usually repudiated both Mediævalism and Lutheranism, inclining, some to the views of Calvin, and some to those of Zuingli. They have also given greater prominence to the social aspect of the communion. The Independents especially have made it (in place of baptism) the distinctive badge of Church membership; often restricting participation to members of their own societies, and regarding it as so peculiarly "a Church ordinance" as to disapprove of its administration to the sick, or otherwise than in the regular meetings of the local Church. These practices are equally common among the Baptists. The Lord's Supper has thus been made rather the sacrament of the sects than of the universal Church. Of late, however, more liberal opinions and practices have begun to prevail.

Minor Religious Observances.

The Anglican Articles expressly affirm that the other rites, "commonly called sacraments, . . . are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel;" and the same opinion generally prevails in all the Reformed Churches.

Of these rites, *Confirmation* is retained by the Lutheran and Anglican Churches, and some minor sects, as that whereby baptized persons assume full membership in the Church. The Anglo-Catholics ascribe to it a quasi-sacramental character, believing it to confer some mysterious grace.

Extreme Unction has been abandoned by all the Reformed Churches as useless and superstitious; the anointing of the sick, which was sanctioned in the Anglican Church until 1552, having been accompanied with a prayer for restoration to health.

Penance, as a sacrament, was also universally repudiated, though it survived for a while in several of the Churches as a matter of discipline. The Lutherans and Anglicans, besides introducing in the public services of the Church a solemn declaration of "absolution, or remission of sins," to all that are truly penitent, allow a special absolution to be administered by the pastor to such as may confess to him "any weighty sin" wherewith their conscience is burdened. The Anglo-Catholics have earnestly striven, within the present generation, to develop from this permission a revival of systematic confession. No other feature of the Catholic revival has so strongly excited the hostility of popular Protestantism, which apprehends in "the confessional" an invasion of the sanctities of domestic life, and a recurrence of the worst abuses of Popery.

Marriage, since the Reformation, has usually been regarded as a civil contract, binding on each party for life, except in case of unfaithfulness on the part of the other. Owing to its peculiar importance, it has generally been thought desirable to ratify it with a religious observance. The opinion has prevailed, both in the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, that the Mosaic rule as to forbidden degrees is obligatory, and the disputes as to certain degrees—brother's widow, wife's sister, etc.—have turned chiefly on the interpretation of that rule. The fiction of spiritual affinity is altogether ignored. Only the Catholic section of the Anglican Church has maintained the absolute indissolubility of the matrimonial bond. Less rigid views on the subject have always found favour among the Protestant sects; and, with the growth of Rationalism and the progress of ecclesiastical disintegration, exceedingly

lax notions have begun to prevail, facility of divorce being widely advocated, both in Europe and America. Several *celibate* and *licentious* sects have appeared from time to time, especially on the Western Continent. Of the former, the most notorious are the Shakers (1774); of the latter, the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints (1825), and the Bible Communists, or Free-lovers.

Ordination is generally looked on as a matter of Church order, and as conveying authority to preside over and exercise discipline in the Church. In the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches the office of preacher is included in the status thus conferred; preaching by unordained persons being a matter of special permission. In the Anglican alone, among Reformed Churches, is episcopal ordination insisted upon as essential to the ministerial character, and to the valid administration of the sacraments. Among the Independents, Baptists, and some minor sects, the attenuation of pastoral authority has been of late illustrated by the disregard of ordination; it is looked upon as a mere formal recognition of election to office, customary, but by no means essential.

The extreme ignorance of the populace at the time of the Reformation rendered preaching the great necessity of the age. As, in the unreformed Church, the Mass had been the central feature of divine service, so—through the universal tendency of mankind toward extremes—that precedency was now given to the sermon. As, formerly, the idea of the pastor had been almost lost in that of the Mass-priest, it was now merged in that of the preacher. This was especially the case during the ascendancy of Puritanism in England, when the appetite for preaching was insatiable. With the Methodist revival, lay-preaching, formerly rare, became common; and there can be little doubt that these facts have combined with the democratic spirit of the age in diminishing popular respect for the pastoral office.

The repudiation, by all Protestants, of an official priesthood, is closely connected with the right and duty of every Christian to hold direct and filial converse with God in every act of devotion. This feeling finds expression in the simple, non-ritualistic forms of Protestant worship. So strongly is it held

by the Quakers, that they disallow *any* prescribed order; with the not unfrequent result that their meetings for worship are held in silence. A similar feeling led many congregations of Independents and Baptists, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to abstain from singing in public worship; and until recently it has induced the great majority of Presbyterians to disallow instrumental music. Without going to these extremes, the majority of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Methodists have discarded liturgical forms as useless, and some have even denounced them as sinful.

The religious observance of the Lord's day has continued without intermission from the apostolic age. In mediæval times, indeed, it had come to be regarded as co-ordinate with the ecclesiastical holidays, of which the number was inconveniently large. At the Reformation many of these were discontinued, both in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches; while the Calvinistic Churches retained very few, or, as in Scotland, abolished them altogether. By this means greater prominence was given to the Lord's day, and very soon a question arose, whether it ought to be kept as a festival or as a Jewish Sabbath. The former opinion prevailed among Lutherans and Anglicans, the latter among Calvinists. In Scotland the Sabbatic idea of the Lord's day found universal acceptance. In England it was opposed by the High Church clergy; and the unwisdom of the Stuart kings in endeavouring to promote Sunday festivities by *The Book of Sports* (1618, 1633), provoked among the Puritans and Nonconformists a spirit of fanatical Sabbatarianism. This was transferred to the New England States, where at one time it attained a ludicrous development. Time has softened the asperity of the controversy, but has also given permanence to the Sabbatic idea; and the religious observance of the Lord's day is probably more complete in Britain and in New England than in any other part of Christendom.

The Unreformed Churches.

Since an abortive effort, at the Council of Florence (1439), to unite the Roman and Greek Churches, there has been but

little doctrinal development within the latter. A reformatory movement, in the direction of Calvinism, was attempted by Cyril Leukaris, patriarch of Constantinople (1638); but it had no result, except the loss of his own life. The revision of the authorized service-books of the Russian Church, in 1652, led to a secession of many conservative spirits, under the name of *Starowertzi*, or Old Believers; but they do not differ in doctrine from the orthodox Church. In the eighteenth century, however, there were popular reformatory movements in Russia, which led to the formation of sects known as *Malacani*, or Milk-eaters, and *Duchoborzens*, or Champions of the Spirit. Their tenets, which are little understood, are said to be a compound of Protestantism, Mysticism, and Rationalism. The Eastern Churches generally retain the sacerdotal theory of the ministry, with a hierarchy of several orders, more or less resembling that of Rome, and (generally) seven sacraments, variously enumerated. They do not, however, like the Roman Church, affirm that salvation is only to be had in their communion.

Until within the present generation scarcely any authoritative change has been made in the Romish doctrine of the Church and sacraments since the Council of Florence. By the Council of Trent (1545-63), however, several matters which had been generally believed were more clearly defined. In 1551 the consecrated elements in the Eucharist were directed to be actually worshipped. In the same year it was decided that imperfect repentance, such as that begotten of shame or the fear of punishment (commonly called "attrition"), if accompanied with confession, satisfaction, and absolution, may secure the pardon of sin; and that the office of the priest in absolution is not merely ministerial, but judicial.

The other most important definitions of Trent are summarized in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. (1564). This creed affirms the right of the Church "to judge the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture:" the seven sacraments, "that in the Mass there is offered to the true God proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrifice of the Eucharist there is really, truly, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul

and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ:" "that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked with Christ; that they offer prayers to God for us;" and that their relics and images are to be venerated: that the holy Roman Church "is the mother and mistress of all Churches:" that the Bishop of Rome is "the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ!" and that this is "the true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved."

To this, which remains the authoritative creed of the Roman Church, the Vatican Council (1870) added the Personal Infallibility of the Pope, when deciding, *ex cathedra*, in all questions of faith and morals. It was this imposition of Papal Infallibility as an article of faith which provoked the secession of the Old Catholics.

XII.—THE LAST THINGS.

Eschatology, or the doctrine of the Last Things, is a convenient term to denote the opinions that have prevailed in the Church concerning the second coming of Christ, and the events that are to accompany or follow it; and also concerning the condition and prospects of man after death.

The Second Advent and the Millennium.

That our Lord would "come again" after His ascension, was distinctly stated by Himself; and, to judge from several expressions in the New Testament (as 1 Thess. iv. 15-17), an expectation of His speedy return seems to have been entertained even by the apostles. The same expectation finds frequent expression in the early Fathers; though it is not so clear, as has been often alleged, that they *all* deemed His coming to be close at hand. They usually associated it with the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment. Justin (165) says: "The prophets have proclaimed two advents of His; the one, which is past . . . the second, when He shall come from heaven with glory . . . when also He shall raise

the bodies of all men who have lived, and shall clothe those of the worthy with immortality; and shall send those of the wicked, endued with eternal sensibility, into everlasting fire with the wicked devils." Irenæus (202) writes almost to the same effect.

Many of the orthodox Fathers, literally interpreting Rev. xx., distinguished between a first resurrection of the saints and a second or general resurrection. These, they supposed, would be separated by a period of a thousand years, during which Christ should reign over the saints in Jerusalem, either literal or spiritual. This was the opinion of pseudo-Barnabas (120), Hermas? (140), Papias (163), Justin (165), and Irenæus (202). It was a favourite doctrine of the Montanists. Tertullian (220) says: "A kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, although before heaven; only in another state of existence, inasmuch as it will be for a thousand years in the divinely-built city of Jerusalem, let down from heaven. . . . This both Ezekiel had knowledge of, and the Apostle John beheld." The millenarian doctrine was carried to an extravagant length, and developed in a grossly sensuous manner, by Cerinthus (first century) and the Ebionites; while it was altogether rejected by the Gnostics. It was also ignored or disputed by several orthodox Fathers, no trace of it being found in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Tatian, Athenagoras, or Theophilus. Neither is there any mention of it in Hippolytus (239), although he has left an elaborate treatise on the rise and overthrow of Antichrist, whose manifestation was generally expected immediately to precede the second advent. The views of Cyprian on the subject (258) are not very clearly expressed.

Millenarianism was strongly opposed by Caius of Rome (about 210); and still more energetically by Origen (254), who called it "an empty figment," "a senseless fable," etc. From this time it rapidly declined. Nepos, an Egyptian bishop (255), indeed, published a book "against the allegorists," and in favour of the millennium; but this was vigorously combated by Dionysius of Alexandria; and from thenceforth millenarian views are scarcely to be found in any Eastern author except Methodius (312), Apollinaris

(370), and Bar Sudaili (Abbot of Edessa in the fifth century). In the West they were maintained by Lactantius (325), and were at one time accepted, but afterwards repudiated, by Augustine (430). Marcellus of Ancyra (345) argued, from 1 Cor. xv. 28, that Christ's *heavenly* kingdom would at some future time come to an end; this notion was combated by Cyril of Jerusalem (386).

It would seem that while the Church was alternately persecuted and contemptuously tolerated by the Roman Empire, the belief in Christ's speedy return, and His millennial reign, was widely entertained; but that when the Church was recognised and patronized by the State, the new order of things seemed so admirable that the close of the dispensation ceased to be expected or desired. In the Middle Ages millenarianism was generally regarded as heretical. It was propounded in the *Prophetic Visions* of Joachim of Flores (1202), and in a treatise of the same age called *The Eternal Gospel*, and was enthusiastically advocated by the sectaries of the thirteenth century, Fratricelli, Beghards, etc.; but the general current of opinion was strongly in the opposite direction.

From the tenth to the fourteenth century the notion prevailed that the end of the world was at hand. The State establishment of Christianity by Constantine was thought to be intended by the figure of the first resurrection; the thousand years' reign was conceived of as actually passing, and drawing to a close; Antichrist would then appear, and the end of all things would promptly ensue. These expectations find expression in the devotional literature of the period, for example, in the well-known poem of Bernard of Clugny (1140):

"The world is very evil,
The time is waxing late;
Be sober, and keep vigil,
The judge is at the gate."

It is a singular fact that the close of this period was the golden age of church architecture.

As to Antichrist, whose coming was expected to precede the final consummation, it was a common opinion that he should be a being of supernatural origin; others said, the

offspring of a priest and a nun! Another opinion was, that he had already appeared in the person of Mahomet, that the apocalyptic "Number of the Beast," 666, denoted the duration of his power, and that his downfall might be looked for toward the end of the thirteenth century. This expectation seems to have assisted in producing the enthusiasm of the Crusades, which declined as the expected time passed by, and the Mahometan power continued to flourish. Others, again, discerned Antichrist in the various sects which, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, refused submission to the pope; while these, in turn, applied to him the same title. This was done, as early as 1204, by Amalric of Bema; and Louis of Bavaria, Emperor of Germany, about 1327, so designated Pope John XXII. Wickliffe (1384) and the Lollards also denounced the pope as Antichrist.

Millenarianism was no less energetically repudiated by the Reformers than by the Roman Church. The Augsburg Confession (1530) condemns "those who now spread Jewish opinions about the first resurrection, and the reign of the saints;" and the English Articles of 1553 included one against "the heretics called Millenarians." These heretics were, in general, Anabaptists; but the doctrine thus condemned began to find favour with many in the Reformed Churches. It was warmly advocated by the Mystic Böhme (1624), and still more by the Lutheran bishop, Petersen, (1727), who was deposed for his millenarian fanaticism.

Spener (1705) introduced a more sober doctrine of the millennium, which has since been very widely accepted. He looked for a period of universal righteousness, in which the papacy should be overthrown, and the Jews converted and gathered in with the fulness of the Gentiles; not, however, under a new dispensation, but as the consummation of the present. Moreover, a conviction that the papacy is described in the Apocalypse under the names of Babylon and the Beast, induced many Protestant expositors to attempt calculations based on the prophetic numbers of Scripture, and the dates of memorable historical events; and several striking coincidences between their conjectures and subsequent political occurrences have led to a widespread revival of millenarian anticipations.

Some sects, as the Brethren and the Apostolicals, look for the almost immediate reappearing of the Lord. A much larger number adopt the views of the early Fathers as to a future visible reign of Christ on earth. And in all probability the great majority of Protestants who reject the idea of a pre-millennial advent, cherish hopes akin to those expressed by Spener, of a not far distant age, in which the whole world shall own the dominion of Christ, and be ruled by Him in righteousness, peace, and happiness.

State of the Dead: Hades: Purgatory.

A belief that the true happiness or final misery of the departed would only commence at the resurrection, necessitated the recognition of an intermediate state. The early Christian conception of this unseen world appears to have been largely borrowed from the Jewish, and was as unlike as possible to the gloomy Hades of the Greeks. "In hope," "In peace," "In Christ," are the usual inscriptions on Christian graves of the second or third century in the catacombs of Rome.

Justin (165) says: "The souls of the pious are in a better place, those of the unjust and wicked in a worse, waiting for the time of judgment." The wicked "are now lamenting in Hades, and repenting with a too late repentance." He denounces as heretical those "who say . . . that their souls, when they die, are taken to heaven." Irenæus (202) expresses similar opinions. Tertullian (220) affirms "that every soul is detained in safe keeping in Hades unto the day of the Lord." Hades he describes as "a vast deep space in the interior of the earth," in which he distinguishes several "storeys towards heaven." One of these is "Abraham's bosom; although it is not in heaven, it is higher than hell, and is appointed to afford an interval of rest to the souls of the righteous until the consummation of all things." "No one, becoming absent from the body, is at once a dweller in the presence of the Lord, except by the prerogative of martyrdom, whereby he gets at once a lodging in Paradise, not in Hades." This exception he endeavours to establish from

Rev. vi. 9, and from a vision seen by St. Perpetua the day before her martyrdom (203). He expressly denies the sleep of the soul, and also the notion that spirits can be recalled from the abode of the dead. He alludes to prayers for the dead as a practice common in his time.

This practice is unquestionably an inheritance from Judaism (see 2 Macc. xii. 40-45), and is closely connected with a belief in some kind of discipline, or expiatory suffering, in the intermediate state. The earliest evidence of this belief is in the contemporary narrative of Perpetua. She reported that, having been moved to pray for her deceased brother, she saw him in a vision, "going out from a gloomy place . . . parched and thirsty, with a filthy countenance and pallid colour, and the sore on his face of which he died." But, having prayed for him day and night, she again saw him, healed, cleansed, and refreshed; and by this "understood that he was translated from the place of punishment."

Cyprian (258) nowhere distinctly mentions Hades, and seems in several places to intimate that departed saints come at once to Christ; but his views on the subject cannot be certainly determined.

The Gnostics denied both Hades and the resurrection, imagining that those who are spiritually-minded are delivered by death from bondage to the malevolent world-maker, and raised to the presence of the Supreme God in heaven, while ordinary men are prepared for such felicity by successive transmigrations.

The notion of a cleansing fire is found in several of the early Fathers; it is, however, important to observe that it was *not* located in Hades. Clement of Alexandria (220) says: "The fire sanctifies not flesh, but sinful souls, meaning not the all-devouring vulgar fire, but that of wisdom, which pervades the soul that passes through the fire." It is evident that he intends a mystical fire, purifying during the present life. Origen (254), on the contrary, associates it with the final conflagration, which, he says, "is a purificatory fire, brought upon the world, and probably on each one of those who need chastisement by fire, and healing at the same time; seeing it burns indeed, but does not consume, those who are

without a material body . . . God brings fire on the world as the benefactor of those who need the discipline of fire." The idea of a cleansing fire was also entertained by Basil (379), Gregory Nazianzen (391), and Gregory of Nyssa (395); but they do not clearly define its locality. Ambrose (397) places it in Hades, and "between the first and second resurrection." Ephræm (375) speaks of a fire, *not* purgatorial, over or through which the righteous will pass in safety, but which will consume the wicked; but whether he locates it in Hades, or associates it with the final conflagration, is uncertain. Nazianzen, contrary to the opinion of most theologians of his day, thought the souls of the saints would at once enter the presence of God, without going into Hades or awaiting the resurrection.

Augustine (430) supposed that the righteous, being made immortal and incorruptible, would be preserved from the conflagration of the world, as Noah from the flood, or Shadrach in the furnace. Nevertheless, he favoured the idea of a purifying fire, so far as "that something of the kind may be after this life is not incredible." He thought perhaps "some of the faithful may be sooner or later delivered from the purifying fire, as they have been less or more devoted to perishing things." Cæsarius of Arles (543) further developed this notion, distinguishing between mortal crimes and lesser sins, of which only the latter might be expiated by good works in this life, or by the cleansing fire in the life to come.

"St. Patrick's Purgatory" was a popular legend of the Middle Ages, but there is no reference to *post mortem* expiation in his extant writings; and if the treatise *Of the Three Habitations*, ascribed to the apostle of Ireland, be really his, then it is certain that purgatory formed no part of St. Patrick's teaching (493). He declares that "there be three habitations under the power of Almighty God:" these are heaven, or the kingdom of God, hell, and the present world; "in this world there is a mixture of the bad and the good together, whereas in the kingdom of God there are none bad, but all good, and in hell there are none good, but all bad." Clearly, not merely purgatory, but Hades itself, is excluded from this cosmography.

Gregory the Great (604) is usually styled the inventor of purgatory. He says: "*It is to be believed* that there is, for some light faults, a purgatorial fire before the judgment," and was the first *clearly* to propound the idea (which must yet have been vaguely entertained as early as the time of Perpetua) of deliverance from it by intercessory prayers and oblations. From the eighth century onward, purgatory was almost unquestioned in the West, and the belief was supported by a multitude of dreams and legends, such as those of Fursey and Dryethelm, narrated by Bede (736), and the "Revelation of a Monk of Evesham" (1196).

The mediæval writers, Scholastics as well as Mystics, were as explicit in their descriptions of purgatory as if they had actually beheld it. An anonymous treatise, ascribed to Anselm (1109), says: "The purgation after death will be either excessive heat of fire, or rigour of cold, or some other pain, of which the least is greater than the greatest that can be conceived in this life." Most conceived it to be material fire; thus Aquinas (1274), though he admitted the difficulty of understanding how fire could inflict pain on disembodied spirits. He thought, moreover, that they only would go to purgatory who required it, but the saints would go at once to heaven, and the wicked to perdition.

The locality of purgatory was discussed. It was generally thought to be that division of Hades which lies nearest to hell. Another division was "the limbo of the Fathers" (*limbus* = border), in which the souls of the old covenant worthies were detained, and in which Christ preached to the spirits in prison. This was the same as "Abraham's bosom;" some identified it with Paradise, but others thought the latter to be a superior region, into which the Fathers were admitted by Christ when He descended into Hades. Another region was "the babies' limbo," nearer to hell than the former, the abode of unbaptized infants, who suffer no pain, but can never enter heaven. It was also the permanent abode of those well-conducted Jews and heathens who had no opportunity of becoming Christians. The two limboes were usually identified by those who distinguished the former from Paradise. All this elaborate trifling was rejected by the

Mystics. "To behold the glory of God," says Tauler, "that is Paradise."

The Greek Church never cordially accepted those gross views of purgatory which were common in the West. The Mystics, too, such as Wessel (1489), allegorized the popular language, regarding the purgatorial fire as "a spiritual fire of love, which purifies the soul of its remaining dross, and consists in the longing after union with God." But the multitude believed the souls of their departed friends to be literally roasting alive in a material fire, from which they might be delivered or relieved by prayers, Masses, and indulgences. As these were chiefly to be obtained for money, it is not surprising that the popular creed was diligently cultivated by the clergy, to whom it was amazingly profitable. Even Peter Lombard (1164) admitted that in this matter the rich had an advantage over the poor. Pope John XXII. (1334) supposed that souls released from purgatory would sleep till the resurrection; but his views were disapproved by his successor, Benedict XII. Wickliffe (1384) retained the belief that souls in purgatory might be helped by prayers and Masses, but unsparingly denounced the sale of such aid for money, and the fraud of indulgences. The ever-increasing avarice and corruption of the clergy provoked opposition in many quarters, and from the twelfth to the fifteenth century purgatory was denounced by the Cathari, Waldenses, and Beghards. The Lollards and Hussites entertained doubts on the subject.

The Reformers unanimously rejected purgatory, denouncing it in unmeasured terms. The Schmalkald Articles, drawn up by Luther in 1537, declare that "purgatory, and whatever solemnity, observance, and trade attaches thereto, is a mere scarecrow of the devil, for it opposes the prime article which teaches that Christ alone, and not human works, can release the soul." Latimer (1555) called it "Purgatory Pickpurse." With purgatory, the practice of praying for the dead fell into disrepute; it was first abandoned as useless, and afterwards denounced as sinful—chiefly on the Puritanic principle, that whatever religious observance is not formally enjoined in Scripture is implicitly forbidden.

The Roman Church, on the other hand, solemnly affirmed the doctrine at the Council of Trent (1546); and the Creed of Pope Pius IV. (1554) asserts that "there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful." The orthodox Confession of the Greek Church (1672) declares that "nothing is determined in Scripture about it; neither is there certainly found any temporary chastisement of souls after death."

Calvin, in 1534, combated the idea that departed spirits are in a state of torpor; and the Helvetic Confession, compiled by Bullinger in 1564, denied the possibility of their reappearance on earth. The opinion of Calvin was disputed by several German divines of the eighteenth century. The general tendency of popular Protestantism has long been to ignore Hades altogether, in violent (if not always intelligent) reaction against purgatory, and to remit departing spirits at once to heaven or hell. To Jung Stilling (1817) is especially owing the revival, in its leading outline, of the ancient ecclesiastical doctrine of Hades, which is now beginning to find general acceptance. Many Anglicans are accustomed to pray for their departed friends, regarding the intermediate state as probably, if not certainly, one of discipline; and the same idea is finding favour beyond the Anglican communion, especially in respect of virtuous heathens, etc. The modern sect of Christadelphians, on the contrary, have revived the speculation of some Arabian philosophers in the third century, that the soul and body die and are raised together.

The Resurrection.

The resurrection of the body is unmistakably asserted in Holy Scripture, and is there closely connected with the second coming of Christ. Paul relies, to establish this doctrine, on the resurrection of our Lord; and it is not a little remarkable that the earlier Fathers keep this argument very much in the background. Clement of Rome (97), while he refers to Christ's resurrection, relies more on the words of Scripture and the analogies of nature,—day following night, seed yielding fruit, and even the fable of the phoenix. Justin

(165) argues chiefly from the divine attributes; Athenagoras (177) from the purpose of man's creation, his nature, and the justice of God; Minucius Felix (208) also from the analogy of nature. The two writers last named do not even mention the resurrection of Christ in this connection.

Some early heretics interpreted the resurrection figuratively, of the regeneration of the world, or of man, by the bestowal of heavenly wisdom. None of the Fathers inclined to this view of the matter, but rather confounded the resurrection of the *dead*, or of the *body*, with a resurrection of the *flesh*, which is by no means necessarily therein implied. They thus maintained the identity of the resurrection body with that which died. Justin believed "that in the resurrection the flesh shall arise perfect and entire," cripples will be healed; but it does not follow that the members will necessarily retain their present functions. Athenagoras endeavoured to reconcile this opinion with the fact of cannibalism. Irenæus (202), Tertullian (220), and Cyprian (258) held substantially the same sentiments.

The views of Clement of Alexandria (220) are uncertain; he intended to write a book on the subject, but, if written, it is not now extant. But Origen is directly at issue with the writers above mentioned: "Neither we nor the Scriptures," he says, "assert that with the same bodies, without a change to a higher condition, shall those who were dead live again." "We do not maintain that the body which has undergone corruption resumes its original nature;" and thereupon he quotes 1 Cor. xv. 35-38: "It is out of the animal body that the power and grace of the resurrection educe the spiritual body." Believing in the resurrection of the body, as opposed to that of the flesh, he yet conceded that such belief was not essential to a saving faith in Christ. He successfully combated the opinion, advanced by some heretics in Arabia, that the soul dies and is raised with the body.

Methodius (312) insisted on the resurrection of the flesh, which he compared to the remoulding of a broken statue. Lactantius (325) understood literally the statements in Rev. xx. about a first and second resurrection; but this opinion soon fell into disrepute.

In the East the more spiritual view of the resurrection, in the West the more carnal, prevailed. Titus of Bostra (370), Basil (375), Gregory Nazianzen (376), Gregory of Nyssa (395), Chrysostom (407), and Synesius (411), for the most part agreed with Origen; John of Jerusalem, too (402), carefully distinguishes between flesh and body. Rufinus (410), on the other hand, asserted the resurrection of the flesh; yet did not thus satisfy Jerome (420), who insisted on the identity of the very hairs and teeth. Prudentius (405) in like manner boasts that "the grave shall defraud him neither of tooth or nail;" and Epiphanius (403) and Theophilus of Alexandria (404) held similar opinions. Augustine (430), in his earlier writings, taught that "there will be body, but not flesh and blood;" but this he afterwards retracted, adopting the more sensuous theory. This subsequently so far prevailed, that several Synods in the sixth century condemned the views of Origen as heretical. Toward the end of this century, Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, asserted that the resurrection body would be impalpable; this was controverted by Gregory the Great (604). About the same time there was a dispute between the Monophysites Conon and Philoponus, whether or not the resurrection should be deemed a new creation of matter.

The Eastern Church, as represented by John Damascene (750), affirmed indeed the restitution of "the same body that perisheth and is dissolved," but was content with that view of its identity which is suggested by the analogy of the seed and the plant. Erigena (850) adopted a theory akin to that of Origen: "The Maker created our souls and bodies together, once, in Paradise; celestial, spiritual bodies, I say, such as they will be after the resurrection. For the gross, mortal, corruptible bodies with which we are now oppressed had their origin not from nature, but from sin." This notion did not find favour with the Western theologians.

The Schoolmen speculated and dogmatized after their manner about the resurrection body. Aquinas seems to have possessed a wonderful store of information on the subject. According to him, those who are alive at the coming of Christ will die, and be raised with the rest of the dead (this notion

seems derived from 4 Esdr. vii. 29). The resurrection will be towards evening. That substance will arise which existed in the moment of death. All will be in the bloom of youth, the body possessing all its members, senses, and natural adornments. It will be tangible, but fine and light, and will not be subject to growth. It will move swiftly and easily, following the impulse of the soul. It will be bright, and visible only to glorified eyes; but the bodies of the wicked will be ugly and deformed, and be capable of suffering, though incorruptible.

Several of the heretical sects of the Middle Ages—the Bogomiles, Cathari, Beghards, etc.—are said to have denied the resurrection. This is presumably true of those whose tenets were derived from Manichæanism; but as to the others, it is doubtful if their denial extended beyond the gross theory which prevailed throughout the West.

The theologians of the Reformation generally supposed the resurrection body to be literally identical with the present. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563) says: "This my flesh, being raised up by the power of Christ, shall be again united to my soul, and made like unto the glorious body of Christ." To much the same effect the Westminster Confession (1647): "At the last day, such as are found alive shall not die, but shall be changed; and all the dead shall be raised up with the selfsame bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united to their souls for ever."

The advance of physical science during the last two hundred years has suggested difficulties about the resurrection body which had not before appeared. Rationalism has boldly faced the difficulty by saying that the Scripture doctrine is but a figurative mode of asserting the immortality of the soul, or has denied the resurrection altogether. Orthodox Protestants have preferred to rely on the philosophical theorem that personal identity is independent of any physical change, actual or conceivable, in the material body. Swedenborg (1772) rejected altogether the doctrine of a general resurrection; he affirmed that an individual resurrection takes place in the moment of death, the man receiving a perfect human form, and being clothed with a spiritual body; but that the

material frame, being no longer of use, is not resuscitated. In the present day the more thoughtful among Protestants incline to the belief of the Greek Church, that the resurrection is of the body rather than of the flesh, with personal, but not necessarily material, identity; while the gross pre-Reformation doctrine survives among the vulgar.

The Last Judgment.

Respecting the last judgment, there is little of detail in the earliest Fathers, who are generally contented with insisting on its certainty. Justin (165) writes: "Plato used to say that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them; and we say that the same thing will be done, but at the hand of Christ; and upon the wicked, in the same bodies united again to their spirits, which are now to undergo everlasting punishment." So Tatian (166): "Nor is sentence passed upon us by Minos or Rhadamanthus, but the Creator, God Himself, becomes the arbiter." The judgment was usually connected with the general resurrection; but the earliest writer who attempts any description is Hippolytus (239), who gives a florid paraphrase on Matt. xxv., if indeed the discourse is not spurious. A lurid poetic description is ascribed to Tertullian (220), but it is almost certainly of later date.

Origen (254) seems only to look for an individual judgment: "When the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works, and abundance of sins against itself, at a fitting time all that assembly of evil boils up to punishment. The mind . . . will see a kind of history of all the foul, shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done exposed before its eyes. Then the conscience . . . pierced by its own goads, becomes an accuser against itself." Thus he explains Rom. ii. 13-16.

The later Fathers indulge largely in rhetorical descriptions of the coming of Christ, and the events that are to accompany it, as the resurrection, the gathering of the nations to judgment, and the conflagration of the world. According to Lactantius (325): "Christ, before He descends, will give this sign, there shall suddenly fall from heaven a sword,"—perhaps

a confused reminiscence of Matt. xxiv. 30, x. 34. According to Cyril of Jerusalem (386), the sign of His coming will be the appearance of a cross in the air. More or less ornate descriptions are found in Basil (375), Gregory Nazianzen (376), etc.

Augustine (430), on the contrary, discerns that the Scripture language must be figurative, and endeavours to get at the underlying facts. "The whole Church confesses that Christ will come from heaven to judge the living and the dead; this we call the last day of divine judgment. But how many days this judgment will be held is uncertain, for that it is the manner of Holy Scripture to put 'day' for time, no one who has read the Scripture, however carelessly, can be ignorant. And, therefore, when we speak of the day of judgment, we add 'the last;' for He judges now, and has judged since the human race began . . . and even if no one had sinned, not without a good and right judgment would He retain every rational creature, perseveringly cleaving to its good, in eternal blessedness. He judges not only of the race of men and demons as a whole, that they should suffer according to the merits of their former sins, but also of each one's own work, which they have done by their own will."

In the Middle Ages the statements of Scripture respecting the judgment were usually interpreted on the principle of the grossest literalism. There was no thought of using figurative language when Thomas of Celano (1260) wrote his magnificent judgment hymn, *Dies ira, dies illa*. In Aquinas (1274) we find the following: "How will the Lord come to judgment? Like an emperor entering his city, wearing his crown and other insignia, whereby his coming may be known; thus Christ will come to judgment, in the same form in which He ascended, with all the orders of angels. Angels, bearing His crown, will go before Him; with voice and trumpet they will awaken the dead to meet Him. All the elements will be disturbed, a tempest of mingled fire and frost everywhere raging." Still, Aquinas was at a loss how to reconcile all these incidents, or unite them, on the principle of literal interpretation, in a single scene. The locality of the judgment was debated; most fixed it in the valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 12); but some understood this allegorically.

The statement that "the saints shall judge the world," was much insisted on. Peter Lombard (1150) taught that they would judge, "not in the way of co-operation, but with authority and power." To the same effect Aquinas; but he was careful to point out that it would not be by *their own* authority. A treatise of uncertain antiquity, ascribed to Anselm (1109), distinguishes four classes of mankind: 1, the *perfect*, apostles, martyrs, confessors, monks, virgins, who will judge with God; 2, the *just*, who will be saved in judgment; 3, the *impious*, who perish without judgment; 4, the *wicked*, who will be condemned in judgment. Possibly the unwelcome idea of monks being assessors with Christ in the judgment may have influenced the opinions of heretical sects in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who are said to have held "that the last judgment is not future, but that the judgment of every man occurs when he dies."

The theologians of the Reformation were content to affirm the simple doctrine of Scripture: that Christ will appear at the end of the world to judge both the living and the dead. They were also careful to distinguish between the general judgment at the end of the world and the secret and particular judgment which takes place at the death of each individual. The purpose of the former was understood to be the public vindication of divine justice in making the final award.

The Rationalists of the eighteenth century sought to explain away the scriptural statements about the second advent of Christ, regarding them as figurative descriptions either of the particular judgment of the individual, or of the judgment passed by God on communities, or principles, or courses of conduct. Their successors, grown bolder, dismiss them as idle dreams.

The Swedenborgian theory is peculiar: That the judgment has already taken place in the spiritual world; and that the second coming of Christ, together with the creation of the new heavens and earth, and the descent of the new Jerusalem, were accomplished in His manifestation to the Swedish seer, and the establishment of the "New Church."

Destiny of the Wicked.

As to the future state of the wicked, the greater number of the Fathers held extremely gross and sensuous notions. Fire was usually represented as the agent of their punishment, to which soul and body were alike to be subjected. Gehenna, *i.e.* the valley of Hinnom, the common receptacle of offal from Jerusalem, had been chosen by the Jews as the most natural figure of the place assigned to the moral refuse of the universe; and the phrase was accepted by our Lord, "The Gehenna of fire." "A lake that burneth with fire and brimstone," according to the visions of the Apocalypse, was destined to receive the unbelieving, the abominable, and "whosoever was not found written in the book of life." "Gehenna," says Justin, "is the place where those will be punished who have lived wickedly." In Minucius Felix (208) we read: "There is neither measure nor termination to these torments. There the intelligent fire burns the limbs and restores them, feeds on them and nourishes them. As the fires of thunderbolts strike on the bodies and do not consume them, as the fires of Etna and Vesuvius glow, but are not wasted, so that penal fire is not fed by the waste of those who burn, but is nourished by unexhausted eating of their bodies." Tertullian (220) has a horrible passage, in which he promises a sight of these punishments, inflicted on tyrants and tempters, as a sort of compensation for the forbidden pleasures of the theatre! Cyprian (258) suggests that the same may be some satisfaction to the saints for the persecutions they endured on earth!

All these Fathers insist on the eternity of the punishment. Justin has been quoted already. Cyprian says: "An ever-burning Gehenna will burn up the condemned, and a punishment devouring with living flame; neither will there be any source whence at any time they may have either respite or end of their torments." Lactantius (325): "Thus we define the second death: death is the suffering of eternal pain." "They shall be burnt for ever with perpetual fire in the sight of angels and the righteous." This fire he describes with considerable minuteness.

Some of the Fathers, however, inclined to more merciful

views. Tatian (166) is ambiguous, but certainly suggests the possible extinction of the wicked. Irenæus (202), though not always quite consistent with himself, clearly intimates the same opinion; and Arnobius (305) definitely affirms it. So also Nemesius (400).

Clement of Alexandria (220) and Origen (254) hoped for universal restoration. Clement, expounding 1 John ii. 2, says: "Not only for our sins, that is, for those of the faithful, is the Lord the propitiation, but also for the whole world. Indeed, He saves all; but some, converting them by punishments; and others, who follow willingly, with dignity of honour." Origen says: "We think that the goodness of God, through His Christ, may recall all His creatures to one end, even His enemies being conquered and subdued." "Every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire that has been already kindled by another. Of this fire the fuel and food are our sins." "When the soul shall be found to be beyond the order and harmony in which it was created by God for the purposes of good and useful action, . . . it must bear the torture of its own dissension." "The punishment is . . . applied by fire, . . . with the object of healing." Gehenna he describes as "the place of punishment, intended for the purification of such souls as are to be purified by torments;" and refers, in this connection, to Mal. iii. 2, 3. Similar hopes were cherished by Didymus of Alexandria (395), Gregory of Nyssa (395), Diodorus of Tarsus (394), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (429). Ambrose (397) is doubtful; sometimes he speaks of eternal torment, and sometimes apparently inclines to eternal hope.

These, however, were almost the only Fathers who dissented from the ordinary view of the absolute eternity of penal suffering. Most clung to the notion of material fire; against which Gregory of Nyssa protested, while Gregory Nazianzen (376) supposed the punishment of the wicked to consist chiefly in separation from God, and consciousness of their own vileness. Augustine (430) doubtfully inclines to this latter opinion. Both he and Jerome (420) supposed different degrees of punishment; and the last-named Father thought that bad Christians, if orthodox, would fare more tolerably

than devils or wicked heathens. Indeed, Jerome, while rejecting the theory of universal restoration, censures it with a degree of mildness unusual to this most acrimonious of theologians.

In the Middle Ages, Erigena (850) inclined to the merciful views of Origen. He thought the consciousness of sin and helplessness would constitute the misery of the lost; but that ultimately all things would be purified from evil, and return to God. But the popular conceptions were exceedingly gross. The facts of the case were believed to be fairly represented by the grotesque horrors of Dante's *Inferno* (1321). It should be noted that until the thirteenth century, "hell" (*infernus*) was generally used to denote the unseen world in general, including Hades and purgatory, as well as Gehenna; from that time forward it was more commonly, though not invariably, restricted to the place of torment. Gehenna, according to Aquinas (1274), is situated under the surface of the earth; darkness reigns there, and a real material fire; the lost souls are tormented with a useless repentance; they can neither change for the better nor for the worse; they hate God, the saints, and all goodness. Some of the mystical sects ventured to hope for a "restitution of all things;" on which account perhaps the Beghards were accused of denying the existence of hell. The orthodox Mystics, on the other hand, dwelt with painful elaboration on eternal torment. Suso (1365) illustrates it by the well-known comparison of a bird carrying away the earth at the rate of one sand-grain in a thousand ages.

The Reformers generally accepted the popular belief in eternal torment, but in their confessions avoided all detail. The Augsburg Confession (1530) simply affirms that Christ "will give the pious and elect eternal life and perpetual joy, and will condemn impious men and devils to be tormented without end." The Anglican Articles of 1553 included one against the opinion "that all men shall be saved at length;" but it was struck out at the revision of 1562.

Subsequently, and at various times, a strong feeling has found expression against the belief that any possible sin of a finite creature can deserve eternal punishment; and a variety

of theories have been propounded in alleviation of the traditional dogma. This feeling was developed, in the course of the Arminian controversy, from the greater prominence therein given to the divine Fatherhood, in opposition to the almost exclusive regard which was paid by Calvinists to the divine sovereignty. It seems also closely related to the new ideas of government embodied in the Principles of the Revolution. High-handed despotism had yielded to a belief that the duties of ruler and subject are mutual, and that the same principle holds good even in the divine government. Hence the conviction that, alike in divine and human jurisprudence, punishments must be reformatory rather than vindictive, and the consequent mitigation of the penal code in almost every Christian nation. Accordingly, Universalism has found wide acceptance in America, where, since about 1780, it has become the speciality of a numerous sect. Within the last few years it has been extensively propagated in England, as has also the rival doctrine of Conditional Immortality. Almost all Unitarians are also Universalists. Mediaeval beliefs retain their place in the systems of the unreformed Churches; and several of the more influential Protestant sects insist on eternal punishment, or at least on the repudiation of Universalism, as a test of orthodoxy. It is certain, however, that by the majority of intelligent thinkers eternal torment is not accepted with unquestioning faith. The Standards of the Anglican Church are ambiguous; and with many, both within and without its pale, it is confessedly an open question, "Whether the wicked will burn good, burn out, or burn for ever."

Final Blessedness of the Saints.

There only remains to be considered the reward of the righteous. Throughout the "martyr age" of the Church this was felt to be a matter of such intense personal interest, that vain speculations found little encouragement. The earlier Fathers were content to use simple and scriptural language, denoting assured holiness and unspeakable felicity. Justin (165) writes: "Impelled by the desire of the eternal and pure life, we seek the abode that is with God, . . . persuaded

that they who . . . loved to abide with Him where there is no sin to cause disturbance, can obtain these things." Immediate, personal intercourse with God was then deemed to constitute the blessedness of heaven.

Irenæus (202), Clement of Alexandria (220), and Origen (254), supposed different habitations in heaven, with different degrees of happiness. The latter especially insisted on the idea of progress, even there, towards perfection. He strongly denounced the sensuous ideas that were entertained by some, on the strength of a literal interpretation of Isa. lx. and Rev. xxi., and supposed that the chief enjoyment of the future life would consist in the acquisition of knowledge. The food of the mind, when it attained perfection, would be "the contemplation and understanding of God." Cyprian (258) dwelt rather on the prospects of association with those whom we have loved on earth, and with the saints and worthies of all ages. Both these anticipations are united in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen (376) and Gregory of Nyssa (395). The former eagerly anticipated a solution of the mystery of the Trinity; together with which he looked for inward union with God, perfect peace, intercourse with blessed spirits, and the knowledge of all that is beautiful and good. Augustine (430) rejoiced in the anticipation of true liberty, which he defined as inability to sin, and of the intuitive vision of God: "He will be the end of our desires, whom we shall see without end, love without change, praise without weariness." The holy city of Rev. xxi. was generally understood to be the eternal abode of the glorified; and Augustine concludes his *City of God* with a magnificent rhetorical passage, which is the parent of all the New Jerusalem hymns of subsequent ages.

On this subject, as on others, the Middle Ages were fruitful of speculation. Erigena (850), in accordance with his pantheistic tendencies, thought the spirits of the blessed might be merged in God, as voices in a chorus, yet without losing their individuality. Amalric of Bema (1204) went farther, destroying all individuality, and practically reducing heaven to what is commonly understood of the Buddhist *Nirvana*.

The Schoolmen, especially Aquinas (1274), indulged in some curious distinctions between beatitudes, which are

deserved, and gifts, which are unmerited. There are three gifts: vision, which corresponds to faith, comprehension, to hope, and fruition, to love. Besides the crowns which are given to all the blessed, there is a special "little coronet" for martyrs, confessors, and ascetics. Some anticipated great joy from the enlargement and refinement of the intellectual powers. Duns Scotus (1308) thought it possible the blessed might "know the quiddities of things," the *ne plus ultra* of scholastic subtilty.

The situation of heaven was discussed. According to the Ptolemaic astronomy, then universally received, the earth was the centre of the universe; and the abodes of the blessed were located in the planetary spheres (Dante), or beyond the sphere of the fixed stars (Suso). From their enjoyments the pleasures of refined sense were not excluded. The popular mediæval conception is fairly represented in the exquisite hymn of Peter Damian (1072), "For the fount of life eternal;" in the latter part of the hymn of Hildebert (1134) to the Trinity; and in the well-known hymns of Bernard of Clugny (1140), "Jerusalem the golden," etc. Far more sensuous representations are found in the discourses of the Mystics, as Suso (1365); but it was generally understood that all this was mere image or accident; the supreme blessedness of heaven consisted in direct communion, the Mystics preferred to say union with God—the beatific vision. Rolle of Hampole (1341), after a long enumeration of celestial beatitudes, adds—

" All these a man may joys of heaven call ;
As yet the most soveran joy of all
Is the sight of God's blest face,
In whom resteth all manner of grace."

The Reformation produced but little change in the popular notion of heaven. As Hades came to be gradually ignored, and departing saints were thought to "go to heaven" in the very moment of dissolution, it became necessary to distinguish between the happiness of disembodied spirits, and that fuller bliss which would accrue to them at the resurrection. Scarcely a question bearing on the subject had been debated by Fathers or Schoolmen which has not been reconsidered by

Protestant divines. The employments of heaven, in particular, have been a favourite topic of discussion, as also the mutual recognition of the glorified; but no conclusion on these points has yet been exalted into a dogma.

Swedenborg introduced a novel and elaborate theory of the future life. According to him, heaven and hell *consist of* the righteous and the wicked respectively: there is also an intermediate state, a "world of spirits," into which man enters at death, and is afterwards, according to his deserts, exalted to heaven or cast down into hell. "The angels (*i.e.* glorified souls) taken collectively are called heaven, because they constitute heaven; but still it is the divine principle proceeding from the Lord . . . and received by them, which makes heaven in general and in particular."

On the whole, it may be said that popular opinion, alike in the Reformed and the unreformed Churches, and in the minor sects, is at present pretty evenly divided between the sensuous, the scholastic, and the mystical conception of the heavenly state. Among speculative theologians the prevailing expectation, both for the individual and for the race, is a continuous development and eternal progress towards an, as yet, inconceivable perfection.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

THE CREEDS OF ANCIENT CHRISTENDOM.

IT is well known that the so-called "Apostles' Creed," in its traditional form, is not older than the sixth century. But the remarkable similarity, not only of arrangement, but of language, in many of the oldest confessions, seems to warrant a belief in the existence of a traditional creed handed down from the apostolic age. It has been not unreasonably supposed that such a creed is referred to under the designation "a form (or pattern) of sound words" in 2 Tim. i. 13, and that Timothy is there directed to provide such a pattern. On the other hand, it is hard to think that a genuine Apostles' Creed would have been allowed to perish in an age as much disposed to overrate such formularies as the present is to undervalue them.

* * * The following are all the *Individual Confessions* which are certainly *Ante-Nicene*:—

I. IGNATIUS, A.D. 116.—(a) "Our God, Jesus Christ, was, according to the appointment of God, conceived in the womb of Mary of the seed of David, but by the Holy Ghost." (b) "Stop your ears, then, when any one speaks to you at variance with Jesus Christ, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly born, and did eat and drink; He was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; He was truly crucified, and died, in the sight of beings in heaven and on earth, and under the earth; He was also truly raised from the dead, His Father quickening Him; even as after the

same manner His Father will so raise up us who believe in Him by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life.”—[(a) *From Epistle to the Ephesians*, chap. xviii. (b) *From Epistle to the Trallians*, chap. ix.]

II. IRENÆUS, A.D. 180-202.—“The Church . . . has received from the apostles and their disciples the belief in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, the sea, and all things in them; and in One Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost; who preached by the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advent, nativity of a virgin, passion, resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension into heaven of the flesh of His beloved Son Christ Jesus our Lord, and His coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father, to restore all things, and raise the flesh of all mankind; that according to the will of the invisible Father every knee should bow, . . . and that every tongue should confess to Him; and that He may exercise just judgment upon all, and may send spiritual wickednesses, and the transgressing and apostate angels, and all ungodly, unrighteous, lawless, and blaspheming men, into everlasting fire; but having granted life unto all righteous and holy men that keep His commandments and persevere in His love (some from the beginning, and others after repentance), on these He may bestow the gift of immortality, and invest them with eternal glory.”—[*Against Heresies*, Book i. chap. x.]

III. IRENÆUS.—“Many nations . . . carefully preserve the ancient tradition, believing in One God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and all things therein, by means of Christ Jesus the Son of God; who, because of His surpassing love towards His creation, condescended to be born of the Virgin, He Himself uniting man through Himself to God; and having suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rising again, and having been received up in splendour, shall come again in glory, the Saviour of them that are saved, and the Judge of them that are judged, and sending into eternal fire those who transform the truth and despise His Father and His advent.”—[*Against Heresies*, Book iii. chap. iv.]

IV. TERTULLIAN, A.D. 180–220.—“There is one only rule of faith, which admits of no change or alteration; that which teaches us to believe in One God Almighty, the Maker of the world; and in Jesus Christ His Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the third day raised again from the dead, received into heaven, and sitteth now at the right hand of God; who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, by the resurrection of the flesh.”—[*Veiling of Virgins*, chap. i.]

V. TERTULLIAN.—“The rule of faith . . . is . . . that which prescribes the belief that there is One only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth; that this Word is called His Son, [who] under the name of God was seen in divers manners by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and power of the Father into the Virgin Mary; was made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven; worked miracles; having been crucified, He rose again the third day; having been taken away into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father; sent instead of Himself the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, resuscitation being made of both classes, with restitution of their flesh.”—[*Prescription against Heresies*, chap. xiii.]

VI. TERTULLIAN.—“We believe that there is One only God; but under the dispensation, which we call economy, that this One only God has a Son, His Word, who proceeded from Himself, by whom all things are made, and without whom nothing is made; Him [we believe] to have been sent by the Father into the Virgin, and to have been born of her both Man and God, Son of Man and Son of God, and called Jesus Christ; Him [we believe] to have suffered, died, and been buried according to the Scriptures; and, having been

raised again by the Father and received again into heaven, to be sitting at the right hand of the Father, [and] that He will come to judge the quick and the dead; who sent from thence, according to His promise, from the Father the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."—[*Against Praxeas*, chap. ii.]

VII. HIPPOLYTUS, about A.D. 239.—“ We too know in truth One God; we know Christ; we know that the Son suffered even as He suffered, and died even as He died, and rose again on the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and cometh to judge the living and the dead; and these things which we have heard we allege.”—[*Creed professed by the elders of Smyrna against Noëtus, between 197 and 220.*]

VIII. ORIGEN, A.D. 204–254.—“ Thou shalt believe that God is One, who created and fashioned all things, and brought out of not-being all things into being. And it is necessary also to believe that Jesus Christ is Lord, and in all the truth concerning Him, as to the Godhead and the Manhood. It is necessary also to believe in the Holy Ghost; and that, being free of will, we are punished for those things wherein we have sinned, and honoured for those things wherein we have done well.”—[*Comment on John.*]

IX. ORIGEN.—“ The things which are manifestly handed down by the apostolic preaching are these: First, that there is One God, who created and made all things, and caused the whole universe to exist out of nothing; the God of all the just that ever were from the first creation and foundation of all; the God of Adam, Abel, etc. . . . and the prophets; and that this God, in the last days, as He had promised before by His prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, first to call Israel, and then the Gentiles after the infidelity of His people Israel. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both the law and the prophets and the gospels, being the God of the apostles, and of the Old and New Testament.

“Secondly, that Jesus Christ Himself, who came into the world, was born of the Father before all creatures; that after He had been the Servant of the Father in the creation of all things—for ‘by Him were all things made’—in the last time He made Himself of no reputation, and became man; He who was God was made flesh, and when He was man He continued the same God that He was before; He assumed a body in all things like to ours, save only that it was born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost. And because this Jesus Christ was born, and suffered death common to all, in truth and not only in appearance, He was truly dead; for He rose again truly from the dead, and after His resurrection conversed with His disciples, and was taken up into heaven.

“Then, thirdly, the apostles related that the Holy Ghost was associated in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son; but in His case it is not clearly distinguished whether He is to be regarded as born or ungenerated, or also as a Son of God, or not, . . . and that this Spirit inspired each one of the saints, whether prophets or apostles; and that there was not one spirit in the men of the old dispensation, and another in those who were inspired at the advent of Christ, is most clearly taught in all the churches.

“After these points, also, the apostles’ teaching is that the soul, having a substance and life of its own, shall, after its departure from this world, be rewarded according to its deserts, being destined to obtain either an inheritance of eternal life and blessedness, if its actions shall have procured this for it, or to be delivered up to eternal fire and punishments, if the guilt of its crimes shall have brought it down to this. And also that there is to be a time of resurrection from the dead; when this body, which is now sown in corruption, shall rise in incorruption, and that which is sown in dishonour shall rise in glory.”—[*From the Introduction to the book “Of Principles,” extant only in translations.*]

X. CYPRIAN, A.D. 248-58.—[No formal creed is found in the extant works of Cyprian, but the following extracts are evident allusions to the Church Confessions of his day.]

“Does Marcion then maintain the Trinity? Does he then

assert the same Father, the Creator, as we do? Does he know the same Son, Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; who, as the Word, was made flesh; who bare our sins; who conquered death by dying; who by Himself first originated the resurrection of the flesh, and showed to His disciples that He had risen in the same flesh? . . . If the . . . heretics . . . confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism, if they have also one faith.”—[*Ep.* 72.] “Dost thou believe in the forgiveness of sins, and eternal life through the Church?”—[*Ep.* 69.]

XI. GREGORY THAUMATURGOS, A.D. 245–270.—“There is One God, the Father of the Living Word, [who is His] subsisting Wisdom and Power and Eternal Express-Image; Perfect Begetter of the Perfect, Father of the Only-begotten Son: and One Lord, Only of the Only, God of God, Express-Image and Likeness of Deity, Efficient Word, Wisdom that comprehends the constitution of all things, and Power that fashioned every creature; True Son of True Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal: and One Holy Spirit, having His subsistence from God, and made manifest by the Son (namely, to men); Image of the Son, Perfect of the Perfect, Life, Cause of the living, Holy Fount, Essential Holiness, Supplier of sanctification; in whom is manifested God the Father, who is above all and in all, and God the Son, who is through all: a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and sovereignty, neither divided nor estranged; wherefore there is nothing either created or servile in the Trinity, nor anything superinduced, as if at some former time it were non-existent, and at some later period were introduced; and thus neither was the Son ever wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son; neither again does the Unity grow into duality, nor the duality into trinity; but without variation and without change, the same Trinity abideth ever.”—[*A distinct section in Gregory's works.*]

XII. LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, A.D. 305 or 311.—“We believe, according to the tradition of the Gospels and Apostles, in One

God the Father Almighty, builder, and maker, and governor of all things, of Whom are all things : and in One Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, God, by Whom are all things, Who is begotten of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect from the Perfect, King from the King, Lord from the Lord ; the Word, Wisdom, Life, True Light, True Way, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, unchangeable and incommutable, the incommutable Image of the Divine Essence, power, and glory, the First-born of every Creature, who was always in the beginning with God ; God the Word, according to what is said in the Gospel, ‘ and the Word was God,’ by Whom all things were made, and in Whom all things consist ; Who in the last days descended from on high, and was born of a virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made the Lamb [of God], the Mediator between God and men, being foreordained to be the Leader of our faith and life ; for He said, ‘ I came not from heaven to do my own will, but His will who sent me ;’ Who suffered, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead : and in the Holy Ghost, who is given for consolation and sanctification and consummation to them that believe, according to what the Lord Jesus Christ also appointed to His disciples, saying, ‘ Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost :’ Whence [the properties] of the Father are manifest, truly [those] of a Father ; and of the Son are certain, truly of a Son ; and of the Holy Ghost are denoted, truly of a Holy Ghost ; these names being not simply or idly propounded, but carefully signifying the proper substance and order and glory of each of those named, that they are indeed three by substance, but one by consonance.”

[Recorded by Hilary, 368 A.D.]

* * The five Church Creeds which follow, though preserved in the works of later writers, are *presumably* Ante-Nicene :—

XIII. CREED OF JERUSALEM.—“ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible : and in one Lord Jesus Christ,

the only-begotten Son of God, who of the Father was begotten true God before all ages, by whom all things were made; He became incarnate and was made man [of a virgin and the Holy Ghost]; was crucified and buried, rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and shall come in glory to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end: and in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who spake in the prophets; and in one baptism of repentance, for remission of sins; and in one holy Catholic Church; and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting.”—[*Collected from the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 386.*]

XIV. CREED OF CÆSAREA.—“ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things both visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the Only-begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all the ages, through whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was incarnate, and conversed among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended unto the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead: and we believe in one Holy Ghost.”—[*From an Ep. of Eusebius, reported by Socrates, fifth cent.*]

XV. CREED OF ANTIOCH.—“ I believe in the one and only true God, the Father Almighty, the Creator of all creatures visible and invisible: and in our Lord Jesus Christ, His Only-begotten Son, and the First-born of every creature, born of Him before all ages and not made, very God of very God, consubstantial with the Father, by whom also the worlds were framed and all things made; who for our sakes came and was born of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, and the third day rose according to the Scriptures, and ascended into the heavens, and shall come again to judge the living and the dead.”—[*From Cassian on the Incarnation, 420-32.*]

XVI. CREED OF AQUILEIA.—“ I believe in God the Father,

Almighty, Invisible, and Impassible : and in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord ; who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary ; was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried ; He descended into hell ; the third day He arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father ; thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead : and in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, [and] the resurrection of this flesh.”—*[Preserved by Rufinus, A.D. 410.]*

XVII. CREED OF ROME.—“ I believe in God, the Father Almighty : and in Jesus Christ, His Only-begotten Son, our Lord ; who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, and the third day rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead : and in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh.”—*[This is the fourth century form of what, by successive accretions during two hundred years, became our traditional “Apostles’ Creed.”]*

XVIII. THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, third or fourth century.—“ I believe, and am baptized into, one unbegotten and only true God, Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things : and into the Lord Jesus, the Christ, His Only-begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father [uncreated (?)]; by whom all things were made both in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible ; who in the last days descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and conversed holily according to the commandment of His God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after His passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end : and I am baptized

into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter ; who wrought in all the saints through the ages ; but was afterwards sent to the Apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ ; and after the Apostles to all those who believe in the holy Catholic Church : into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the forgiveness of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come.”—[Book vii. chap. 41.]

* * It is uncertain whether or not the foregoing creed is Ante-Nicene. Its complexion is decidedly Arian, and accordingly it invites comparison with the following :—

XIX. ARIUS THE HERETIC, A.D. 318–336.—“ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty : and in the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, begotten of Him before all the ages, God the Word, by whom all things were made, both in the heavens and on the earth ; who came down, and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens, and will come again to judge the living and the dead : and in the Holy Ghost, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholic Church of God from one end of the world to the other.”—[*Presented to Constantine on returning from exile ; preserved in Socrates’ History, fifth cent.*]

* * The following are the Creeds of the first four General Councils ; being those whose decisions on matters of faith were usually respected by the theologians of the Reformation :—

XX. COUNCIL OF NICEA, A.D. 325.—“ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible : and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father ; Only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father ; God of God and Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial (*homoousion*) with the Father ; by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth ; for us men and for our salvation He came down, and was incarnate, and was made man ; He suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into the heavens, [and] shall come to judge the living and the

dead : and in the Holy Ghost. But those who say that there was a time when He was not, and that before He was begotten He was not, and that out of not being He came to be, or affirm that He is of any other substance or essence, or created, or mutable ; the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church declares them accursed."

XXI. COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381. — " We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible : and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all the ages, [God of God] Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made ; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin, and was made man ; He was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead ; of whose kingdom there shall be no end : and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets ; [and] in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church : we acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins ; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come."

XXII. COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, A.D. 431.—After ratifying " the faith set forth by the holy fathers at Nicea," it proceeds : " We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God ; perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and body ; begotten of the Father before the ages as to the Godhead ; and the very same in the last days, for us and for our salvation, of Mary the virgin as to the manhood : the same consubstantial with the Father as to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us as to the manhood ; for there is come to pass a uniting of two natures ; wherefore

we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. And according to this understanding of the Unconfounded Unity, we acknowledge the holy virgin [to be] mother of God; because God the Word was incarnate, and made man, and by the very conception gathered to Himself the temple taken out of her. But as to the evangelic and apostolic sayings concerning the Lord, we know that theologians make some of them common, as referring to one Person, and others they distinguish as referring to two natures; and those that are worthy of God they apply to the Godhead of Christ, and those that are mean to the manhood."

XXIII. COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451.—After rehearsing the creeds of Nicea and Constantinople, it proceeds: "Agreeing therefore with the holy fathers, we all with one accord teach to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; the same [to be] perfect in Godhead, and the same perfect in manhood; truly God, and the same truly man of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father as to the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us as to the manhood, in all things like us, [only] without sin; begotten indeed of the Father before the ages as to the Godhead, but the same in the last days, for us and for our salvation, of Mary the virgin, the mother of God, as to the manhood: declaring Him to be one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Sole-begotten, of two natures unconfounded, unchanged, undivided, inseparable: neither is the difference of the natures taken away because of the unity; but rather is the peculiarity of each nature preserved, and running together in one Person and one Substance: not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Sole-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ. Like as from the beginning the prophets [spake] concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself taught us, and the creed of the fathers has been handed down to us; these things therefore being enacted with all care and diligence by us from every place, the holy and universal synod decrees that it shall be unlawful for any one to profess any other faith, or indeed to write, or compose, or think, or teach otherwise."

* * * The creeds and confessions of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries are numerous and elaborate. The most important are those of Damasus, bishop of Rome (376), of the first Synod of Toledo (400), of the fourth Synod of Toledo (589), and the "Symbolum Quicumque" — the so-called "Athanasian Creed." The last-named is given, as it is still of authority in the Roman and Anglican Churches.

XXIV. "SYMBOLUM QUICUNQUE," date uncertain.

"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith: which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

"And the Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.

"For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal; the Majesty co-eternal.

"Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost; the Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate; the Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible; the Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal: and yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal; as also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible: so likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty; and yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

"So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God: so likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord; and yet not three Lords, but one Lord. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

“The Father is made of none; neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

“So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

“And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another; but the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal.

“So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity.

“Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man; God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world: Perfect God, and perfect Man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting: equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead; and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.

“Who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God: one altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person; for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ.

“Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead; He ascended into heaven; he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

“At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works: and they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

“This is the Catholick Faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.”

* * We give, in conclusion, as of peculiar interest, the

oldest confession which has a direct historical connection with the Church of the British Isles :—

XXV. CREED OF ST. PATRICK ; about A.D. 460.—“There is not, nor ever was, nor shall be hereafter, any other God beside God the unbegotten Father, without beginning, from Whom is all beginning, the Holder of all things. . . . And His Son Jesus Christ ; Whom we confess always to have been with the Father before the foundation of the world, spiritually near to (*apud*) the Father, unspeakably begotten before all beginnings ; and by Him were made things visible and invisible ; Who also was made man, having overcome death, and was received into heaven to the Father ; and He gave Him all power over every name, of things in heaven and on earth and under the earth, that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord and God ; Whom we believe, and expect His coming hereafter to be the judge of quick and dead ; Who will render to every man according to his works : And He has poured out on us abundantly the gift of the Holy Ghost, and pledge of immortality ; Who maketh us believing and obedient, that we may be sons of God the Father, and fellow-heirs of Christ ; Whom we confess : And we adore One God in the Trinity of the Sacred name.”—[*From St. Patrick's “Confessions.”*]

APPENDIX B.

SECTS AND HERESIES, REAL OR REPUTED.

It should be remembered that many of these sects are only known to us by the report of their adversaries. It is therefore probable that many of their alleged extravagances of opinion and practice have been exaggerated or misrepresented.

First Century.

Dositheus, Simon, Menander ; these were impostors and false Messiahs, who gathered followers and formed short-lived sects in Palestine and elsewhere.

Therapeutæ; Ascetics in Egypt, who spent their lives in fasting, prayer, and contemplation. They were certainly Jews; but it is doubtful whether Jewish converts to the Christian faith, or merely a branch of the Jewish sect of the Essenes.

EBIONITES, *i.e.* *Poor Men*, called also *Homuncionites* and *Peratici*; Jews, who acknowledged the Christhood of Jesus, but accounted Him a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. They expected His speedy return, to found a temporal kingdom; meanwhile they insisted on the obligation of the Mosaic law.

NAZARENES; Jewish Christians, who held themselves bound to observe the ceremonial law of Moses.

Docetæ; a general name for those who denied the reality of Christ's incarnation and sufferings, affirming that His human body was a mere phantom. The opinion was common among the Gnostics; and it is uncertain whether there was, as Hippolytus asserts, a distinct sect called *Docetæ*.

Nicolaitans; an obscure sect in Asia Minor, who justified licentiousness, and had their wives in common.

Second Century.

Elkesaites, *Ossenians*, or *Sampsicans*; a small sect in Perea, probably an offshoot from the Ebionites. Their opinions were derived from a book ascribed to Elxai, a prophet *said* to have come from Parthia about A.D. 106, but whose existence is doubtful. Their leading tenet was the successive manifestation of the Spirit of God in the persons of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, etc. Their system was a strange mixture of Christianity, Judaism, Heathenism, Asceticism, and magical rites. It is thought that there is some connection between this sect and the

Hemerobaptists; disciples of John the Baptist, who formed a separate sect, admitting Gnostic elements; and whose successors in Persia are still known as *Sabæans* or *Mandæans*.

GNOSTICS; a general name for a multitude of semi-religious, semi-philosophical sects, some ascetic, some licentious. They generally agreed in distinguishing the maker of the world from the Supreme God and Father of Christ; most of them

also distinguished between the man Jesus and "the Christ from above" who had descended upon Him; and many of them pretended that Jesus had taught their peculiar Gnosis. Their chief leaders were—

Cerinthus, in Asia Minor, before A.D. 100; he was the first who taught the peculiar Gnostic doctrine of the "World-maker."

Basilides, at Alexandria, about 130; he taught that the universe, and the beings that rule it, were progressively developed from chaos; and even this was evolved out of himself by a God who is no being! A very similar cosmogony is ascribed to *Monoimus*.

Saturnilus, a Syrian, about 130; he represented Satan as the ruler of matter. The God of the Jews, with seven star-spirits, made the world and men, but made them amiss. The Supreme God took pity on them, and sent Christ to rescue them from the persecution of Satan and the dominion of the World-maker. Salvation is to be won by asceticism. Somewhat similar were the views of

Severus; he taught that the world had been formed conjointly by a good and an evil principle. Reason proceeds from the former, sense from the latter; man's body is the joint handiwork of both. Women and wine are the work of the evil principle. His followers acknowledged the law, the prophets, and the Gospels.

Valentinus, at Alexandria and Rome, about 140; he enunciated a very poetical theogony and cosmogony, based on the idea that from the Supreme Deity had issued, *in pairs*, a multitude of æons or emanations, from whose marriages, amours, and rivalries all things proceeded. The mission of Jesus is to restore the broken harmony of the universe. His body was of heavenly substance, and was not born of Mary, but passed through her, as water through a pipe. Modifications of the Valentinian system were advanced by *Marcus*, *Colarbasus*, *Secundus*, *Prepon*, etc.

Marcion of Pontus ("the Pontic mouse who gnawed the Gospels in pieces"), and *Cerdon*, a Syrian, taught at Rome about 150. They ascribed creation to a just God, who was the God of the Jews; while the heathen were subject to an

evil God. To deliver men from the dominion of both, Christ was sent forth by a good God, previously unknown. The Marcionite sect was widely diffused, and practised strict asceticism.

Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, distinguished the God of the Jews from the Creator. The body of Jesus he admitted to be real, not born of Mary, but taken from the four elements. His system was largely made up from the supposed revelations of *Philumene*, a prophetess or clairvoyante.

Lucianus, also called *Leucius*, and by several other names; another disciple of Marcion. He denounced marriage, lest the World-maker—whom he regarded as an evil god—should be enriched thereby. He taught the materiality of the soul, and the resurrection of animals. He is thought to have written some of the apocryphal Gospels.

Bardesan, a Syrian, about 170; he is reckoned among the Gnostic teachers, on account of his regarding Satan as self-existent, and holding docetic views of the person of Christ.

* * * Most of the foregoing Gnostic sects were ascetic, and nearly all of them cultivated a strict morality; but others, known under the general name of *Antitactes*, were grossly, often systematically, immoral. Such were—

Carpocrates, at Alexandria; he represented Jesus as a man of unusual excellence, who despised the Jewish customs imposed by the law of the World-maker, and therefore received powers whereby He was rendered superior to passion. Virtue consists in similarly despising the law of the World-maker; and accordingly all actions are indifferent, a wise man should have experience of all. As the natural result of this teaching, the members of the sect indulged in unrestrained licentiousness; they practised magical arts, and believed in transmigration.

Basilides is also claimed as the founder of a sect whose tenets differed widely from those before mentioned. The "pseudo-Basilidians" affirmed the eternity of matter, and that between the "Unborn God, the Great Ruler" and the Ruler of the material world intervene a multitude of spiritual

spheres, "Abraxas," 365 in number. This sect fell into Antinomianism and Libertinism.

Prodicus was the founder of a sect of "*Adamites*," who claimed that, as sons of the king, they were above law.

The *Ophites*, or *Naasenes*, *i.e.* sect of the Serpent, elaborately allegorized the Scripture narrative of the creation and fall of man. Their system seems to have been derived, indirectly, from that of Valentine. The Creator of the world, called Jaldabaoth, who is also the father of Christ, is himself the son of the last or lowest emanation from the Supreme God; he is malevolent, but is at last defeated by Christ. The Serpent holds a prominent place in all the numerous modifications of this system; in some he is the good, in others the evil principle. Their chief subdivisions were the *Sethians* and *Cainites*. The former regarded Seth as the father of a race of spiritual men, and as having reappeared in Christ; there were also animal men, at the head of whom was Abel; and carnal men, the race of Cain and Ham. The latter sect, in direct opposition to these, extolled all those persons who are represented as hostile to the God of the Jews as truly spiritual men, such as Cain and Judas; they systematically indulged in the most shameless excesses. We also read of *Perata*, *i.e.* Transcendentalists; according to whom the universe consists of the Father, the Son, and Matter; the Son, who is identified with the Serpent, was engaged in fashioning matter when the Demiurgos (World-maker) intervened, and became the God of this world: the exodus out of Egypt, and the life of Christ, are allegorized on this principle. A more distinctly pagan, and perhaps earlier form of Ophite Gnosticism is that of *Justinus*, who combines in an intricate allegory not only the earlier chapters of Genesis, but a large portion of the Greek mythology. Mention is made of several other Gnostic sects, *Borbeliotes*, *Ptolemeans*, etc., but their tenets are difficult to understand.

ENCRATITES; an ascetic sect, founded at Rome by Tatian about 174. They discouraged marriage, and disallowed the use of flesh and wine, using water at communion; whence they were called *Aquarii* and *Hydroparastata*. They are also charged with Gnostic errors, subordinating the Creator to

the Supreme God, and denying the reality of Christ's human body; but this may probably have arisen from confounding the Tatianite ascetics with some Gnostic sect whose practices were similar.

MONTANISTS, also called *Phrygians*, *Pepuzians*, *Proclians*, etc.; an ascetic and reforming sect, originating in Phrygia about 170. Their leaders were Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla. They insisted on a grossly literal interpretation of Scripture, involving an enthusiastic millenarianism; believed themselves to enjoy prophetic visions and new revelations; practised strict asceticism, regarding second marriages as sinful, and flight from persecution as apostasy; rejected all worldly culture and amusements; and maintained an excessively rigid discipline. They rapidly extended in Italy and Africa, where they long continued. Tertullian was their most illustrious disciple.

Quintillians; a faction of the Montanists in Galatia and Phrygia. Their speciality was that they accounted women equally eligible with men for all church offices. They were also called *Artotyrites*, from their alleged use of bread and cheese in the Eucharist.

ALOGIANS; they rejected the doctrine of the Word, regarding Jesus as simply a virtuous man, on whom "the Christ from above" had descended. This sect originated in Asia about 170; its leaders at Rome were Theodotus and Artemon, 185-200.

PATRIPASSIANS or *Monarchians*; these did not form a distinct sect. The doctrine that the Father Himself became incarnate, and suffered in Christ, was first taught in Rome by Praxeas, about 190. It was afterwards taught, with variations, by Noëtus of Smyrna (215), and Beryllus of Bostra (244).

Quartodecimani; a name applied to those who kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the month, contrary to the Roman practice. The dispute continued from 160 to 325, or later.

Hermogenes; a painter at Carthage, about 200. He taught the eternity of matter, by the resistance of which to the formative power of God all evil is produced.

Third Century.

AMMONIANS, or NEO-PLATONICS; disciples of *Ammonius Saccus*, an Alexandrian philosopher, died 243. His position was distinctly non-Christian. He aimed at collecting into one system the best elements of all religions, which he affirmed were simply corruptions of the primæval faith. This faith, he said, had been preserved or restored by Plato, and taught by Christ, whose object was simply to reform prevailing superstitions. In the next generation the Neo-Platonics appeared as bitter enemies of the Christian faith.

Arabians; this name was given to a sect which adopted the teaching of some Arabian philosophers, about 246, that the soul and body die and are raised together.

Valesius; an Arabian philosopher, about 250, who advocated an extravagant asceticism.

Felicissimus of Carthage, leader of a schism against Cyprian, 250. His party, dissatisfied with the strict discipline maintained in the Church, asserted congregational independency.

NOVATIANS or CATHARI; schismatics from the Church at Rome, under the leadership of Novatian (251). They thought the customary discipline too lenient; and that the Church, consisting only of the pure, should never readmit excommunicated persons. They continued till the sixth century.

SABELLIANS, in Egypt and elsewhere, about 260 ff. They did not form a separate sect. Their theory of the Trinity has been sufficiently described in chap. iii. of the *History*.

Millenarians; about 265 those in Egypt who held millenarian views formed a temporary schism under the leadership of Coracion.

Paulianists or *Samosatans*; followers of Paul of Samosata (260–272), who revived, with some modifications, the opinions of the Alogians.

Hieraceans or *Melchisedeccans*; followers of Hierax, a bookseller of Leontium in Egypt (286). He taught that Christ came to reveal a new law, more strict and perfect than that of Moses. He recommended rigid asceticism, denied the resurrection of the body, and allegorized the Scriptures, identifying Melchisedek with the Holy Ghost.

MANICHÆANS; followers of Mani, a Persian impostor, 277. His system was an attempt to combine the Christian doctrine of salvation with the Zoroasterian theory of two Eternal Principles. It has been sufficiently described in chap. ii. of the *History*. Despite severe persecution, the sect spread almost everywhere, and continued by secret tradition for many ages.

Apocarite; Manichæans, who are said to have held that the human soul is a part of God.

Eutuchians; an obscure sect, apparently Gnostic, to whom a variety of strange notions are ascribed, particularly that mankind were created by angels.

Patricians; followers of Patricius, who is said to have taught that the flesh was created, not by God, but by the devil. He is called a Marcionite, but was more probably a Manichæan.

Fourth Century.

Meletians; partisans of Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt, who was deposed for some irregularities in 306. This schism was terminated at the Council of Nicea.

Another Meletian schism, at Antioch, caused by the disputed election of a bishop of the same name, lasted from 361 to 403.

Colluthians; separatists from the Church at Alexandria in 316. They are said to have denied God's providential government of the world.

Luciferites; schismatics in Egypt, from 362. They held views similar to those of the Novatians.

DONATISTS; schismatics in Africa, from 311. They seceded in consequence of a dispute about the validity of certain ordinations; and asserted that sacramental rites are invalid if performed by a person who either is, or *deserves to be*, excommunicated. They held rigid notions of church order, resembling those of the Montanists and Novatians, but did not refuse readmission to penitents. In the following century they began to maintain that the State ought not to take notice of religious questions.

Circumcelliones; towards the close of the century. These

were fanatical Donatists, who raised tumults, and committed many outrages.

ARIANS; followers of Arius (from 318), who denied the true Godhead of Jesus Christ, saying that He was not begotten of the substance of the Father, but created out of nothing. They were divided into several minor sects, the chief of which were—

Eunomians, *Ætians*, *Eudoxians*, and *Psatyrians*, who affirmed that the Word was “*heteroousion*,” of *another*, i.e. a *different* substance from the Father; and

Eusebians or *Semi-Arians*, who held that He was “*homioousion*,” of the *like* substance.

Marcellus of Ancyra and *Photinus* of Sirmium (326–346) were accounted heretics for maintaining a modified form of Sabellianism. The latter denied the personality of the Holy Ghost.

MACEDONIANS or *Pneumatomachoi*, i.e. fighters against the Spirit; a general name, since 360, for all who, not being Arians, denied the personality of the Holy Ghost.

APOLLINARIANS, from 370; they denied the perfect humanity of Christ, believing that in Him the Godhead took the place of a human rational soul.

Audians or *Anthropomorphites*; followers of Audius, a Syrian (340), who renounced fellowship with the Church because of the alleged pride and wealth of its ministers, and of the decision adopted at Nicea about the keeping of Easter. He also asserted that God had a bodily form resembling the human.

Ærians; a reforming sect in Armenia, about 360. They repudiated the distinction between bishop and presbyter, disapproved of prayers for the dead, and doubted the meritoriousness of fasting. Their theology seems to have been Semi-Arian.

Jovinian, a monk of Rome (389), was reputed a heretic for advocating the tenets of the Ærians, and denying the perpetual virginity of Mary.

Vigilantius, a Spaniard (about 400), was accounted a heretic for his violent opposition to asceticism, formalism, and superstition.

Antidicomarianites, in Arabia and elsewhere, about 380; reputed heretics for denying the perpetual virginity of Mary, and affirming that "the brethren of the Lord" were her children by Joseph.

Collyridians, in Arabia, about 380; a sect, chiefly of women, who worshipped Mary with offerings of cakes. This seems to have been a relic of Ashtoreth-worship.

Apostolics, called also *Apotaetici* and *Saccophori*; fanatics in Asia Minor, about 380. They declared marriage and property to be sinful.

Archontici; an ascetic sect of Gnostics in Palestine and Armenia.

Adamites are mentioned in this century as professing continence, and worshipping naked in vaults.

Abclites; an obscure Gnostic (?) sect in Africa, about 360. They deemed it impious to beget children, seeing that sin is propagated thereby.

Euchites, *Eustathians*, or *Messalians*; fanatics in Syria and Paphlagonia, about 360–380. They asserted that every man has two souls, one good and one evil; the latter they strove to expel by incessant prayer. They claimed the highest spirituality, professing to be superior to law, and denouncing marriage and property; but their secret practices are said to have been licentious. "Euchites," however, became a nickname for pious persons throughout the East; especially for those who separated from the dominant Church.

Satanians; a party among the Messalians who deemed it advisable to venerate Satan rather than curse him, because of his great power.

Seleucians; a Gnostic sect in Galatia, about 380. They affirmed the eternity of the world; that the soul is an animated fire created by angels; that Christ assumed a body in appearance only, yet that He lodged His body in the sun; and that happiness consists in corporeal delights.

Angelics, in Phrygia, about 360; worshippers of angels, condemned by the Council of Laodicea.

Ascodrutæ, *Ascodrogites*, *Tascodrugites*; a fanatical sect in Phrygia and Galatia, about 380. They are said to have placed all religion in knowledge, rejecting external forms, and

to have made a great merit of praying in solemn silence. By other accounts they are said to have danced round bottles of wine, and intoxicated themselves with the contents; possibly a survival of some heathen rite.

PRISCILLIANISTS, in Spain, from 380; their tenets are somewhat uncertain, but appear to have been substantially those of the Manichæans. They continued till the middle of the seventh century or later.

Fifth Century.

Johnites; seceders from the Church at Constantinople, 404–428, on account of the deposition and exile of John Chrysostom.

PELAGIANS, from 400; followers of Morgan, otherwise called Pelagius, who denied original sin. Their views are explained in chap. vii. of the *History*.

MASSILIANS or *Semi-Pelagians*, from about 420; they denied predestination; and, while admitting the moral deterioration of human nature, insisted on the co-operation of human freedom with divine grace.

NESTORIANS, from 429; they objected to the title “Mother of God,” and so distinguished between the Godhead and manhood of Christ as practically to resolve Him into two persons.

Chaldeans; a name assumed by the Persian Nestorians, who in 498 separated from the Church of the Roman Empire. They still hold Nestorian opinions; and so, in the fifth century, did the Churches in India known as *Christians of St. Thomas*.

MONOPHYSITES or *Eutyehians*, from 444; they held that Christ, after His incarnation, had only one nature—that of Deity, into which His manhood had been totally absorbed.

Accephali; a nickname bestowed on the Egyptian Monophysites, who in 482 rejected the Henoticon, which had been accepted by the Bishop of Alexandria. The *Coptic* and *Abyssinian* Churches are still Monophysite.

Origenists; throughout the first half of this century there was a keen controversy as to whether or not Origen (*ob.* 254) had been a dangerous heretic.

Predestinarians; followers of Lucidus, a presbyter of Gaul, who about 470 affirmed that all things, even the sin and damnation of the wicked, were absolutely predestined by God.

Hermians; a sect mentioned by Augustine, who, instead of baptizing with water, practised a baptism of fire.

Stylites; several fanatical ascetics were so called, who in this century passed years together mounted on the tops of pillars.

Cœlicolæ, in Africa; *Euphemites*, in Asia; *Hypsistarians*, in Cappadocia; sects which, in this century, combined some Christian doctrines with Grecian heathenism, and the worship of fire and the stars.

Sixth Century.

Several subordinate parties arose among the Monophysites in this century; such as—

Severians or *Phthartolatri*, who admitted that the body of Christ was corruptible, like those of other men; to which some of them—thence called *Agnaites*—added that there were certain things of which, as man, He was ignorant. In opposition to these, the

Julianists or *Aphthartodocetæ* affirmed that His body was incorruptible; these, again, were divided into several factions, of which the *Aktistitæ* supposed that the body of Christ was uncreated; the *Theopaschites*, that He suffered in His divine nature; and the *Barsanians*, that He suffered in appearance only. We also read of

Niobites, who held some unintelligible refinement of the Monophysite doctrine;

Tritheites, who denied that the persons of the Trinity are united by a common essence;

Damianists, who to the foregoing opinion added that there is a common divinity, by joint participation in which (and not otherwise) each of the Persons is truly God;

Cononites and *Philoponists*, who disputed about the resurrection body. The

ARMENIANS constituted themselves a separate Monophysite Church in 527.

JACOBITES became a general name for the Syrian Mono-

physites, when their several factions were harmonized by Jacob at Baradai about 560. They, in turn, applied the name of

Melchites, or Royalists, to those Syrian Christians who accepted the definitions of Chalcedon.

Schism of the "Three Chapters," in Africa, Italy, and Illyria, commenced 555, continued till 698.

Seventh Century.

MONOTHELETES, from 638; the party who accepted the theory laid down in the "*Ekthesis*," viz. that in Christ there are indeed two natures, but only one Will—the Divine. The *Maronites* are a remnant of this party, but they have long since abjured their Monothelete opinions.

PAULICIANS, in Armenia, Asia Minor, and Thrace (from 657). They held the Gnostic theory of a world-maker, distinct from the Supreme God. They asserted that Jesus, though the Son of Mary, brought His human nature from heaven, that His body was ethereal and impassible, and that He suffered therefore only in appearance. They rejected the Old Testament, as being inspired by the World-maker; recognised only the apostolic authority of Paul; disused the sacraments, allegorizing the history of their institution; and had no priests, but only teachers, who, on their appointment to office, assumed Biblical names. They generally maintained strict morality; but a faction of them, led by Baanes (690), are said to have adopted antinomian and licentious practices. Though severely persecuted, they continued till the twelfth century or later.

Culdees; the clergy of the ancient Scottish Church, who, after the Synod of Whitby (664), refused to submit to the supremacy of Rome, and retained their national customs.

Agionites or *Agynians*; an obscure sect, about 650, who professed to attain perfection by abstinence. They condemned marriage and the use of certain meats.

Adelphians or *Lampetrians*; parties reputed heretical because they were accustomed, for various reasons, to fast on the Sabbath or on the Lord's day. The latter sect held vows

to be sinful, as unduly restraining freedom. Some authorities identify them with the Euchites or Messalians.

Chazinzarians; a sect in Armenia, who are said to have worshipped the cross.

Eiectæ; monks in Syria, about 680, who (like the dervishes) made dancing a part of their devotions.

Gnosimachoi; avowed enemies of theology and philosophy, who contended for the simple practice of morality. They did not form a sect.

Eighth Century.

ICONOCLASTS; the name given to those who, in the Greek Church, opposed the devotional use of images and pictures (724–842).

Adoptionists or *Felicians*; those who held the opinion of Felix of Urgel (792), that Christ was only the Son of God by adoption.

Ethnophrones or *Paganizers*; a sect who, to the profession of Christianity, are said to have added the feasts, ceremonies, and practices of heathenism. It is doubtful, however, whether more is intended than the survival of heathen customs among Christian converts.

The Christians of St. Thomas, in India, in this century, adopted Monophysite opinions.

Agonyelites; obscure fanatics who deemed it unlawful to kneel, and are said to have danced while praying. (Probably the same with the *Eiectæ* mentioned above.)

Paulo-Johanists; a name given during this century to the Paulicians of Armenia.

Sergiots and *Abrahamites*; reforming parties among the Paulicians, so called from their leaders.

Adalbert; a French priest, condemned at the Synod of Leptines (743) for opposition to the assumptions of the Roman Church. He is said to have forged a letter "written from Jesus Christ to the human race," and to have taught some licentious doctrines.

Clement; a Scotchman, condemned at the same Synod, seems rather to have been an evangelical reformer, asserting the authority of Scripture above the decisions of Councils.

Virgilius (qu. *Feargil*); an Irishman, was charged with heresy about the same time for affirming the existence of the Antipodes.

Ninth Century.

Arcvurdis, *Thontrakians*, or *Children of the Sun*; a branch of the Paulicians in Armenia. Their tenets seem to have been more distinctly Manichæan or Zoroasterian, but with some Christian elements.

Albanenses; a sect in the south of France, who held opinions resembling those of the Paulicians or Priscillianists. Similar views prevailed extensively in Bulgaria during this century.

Macarians; disciples of Macarius, an Irish philosopher, who is said to have taught that the whole human race had one soul in common. He promulgated this strange opinion in France.

Johannes Scotus Erigena, about 850, was accounted a heretic for his philosophical speculations.

Photia, a false prophetess, predicted the end of the world in the year 847. She had a considerable following.

Gotteschalk, about 847, advocated a rigid predestinarianism.

SCHISM BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES, commenced 867.

Tenth Century.

In this century, known as "the dark age," no *new* sects or heresies are mentioned. The papacy now attained its utmost moral and political degradation.

Eleventh Century.

ALBIGENSES (1015-1300); a general name for the numerous sects which, in the south of France, dissented from the Roman Church; other general names were *Tisserands*, i.e. weavers, and *Vaudes*, i.e. sorcerers. Some of them were simply evangelical reformers; others held Manichæan opinions; some were decidedly immoral. Among them are included

The *New Manichæans* of Orleans, 1015; these were merely

Mystics, who rejected all external forms of worship, and held some docetic opinions about the person of Christ.

Gandulf of Cambray, 1025, had a considerable following; his tenets combined many of those held by the modern Quakers and Plymouth Brethren; he rejected the sacraments.

Publicani, Bulgari, Bougres, Bos Homes, or Good Men, seem to have been the same with the *Albanenses* mentioned under ninth century. They held dualistic views, making the devil co-ordinate with God, or, as others said, with Christ. They rejected the Old Testament and the sacraments, but had several quasi-sacramental rites of their own. They discouraged marriage, and attached much importance to fasting and the frequent use of the Lord's Prayer. They maintained a strict morality, but have been often confounded with immoral sects.

Cathari, Gazari, Patarini, were names given to the same sect in Italy.

Euchites, in Thrace; it is uncertain whether they were connected with the Euchites or Messalians of the fourth century, or with the Paulicians, etc. They are described as holding a strange opinion about *two* Sons of God, Satanael and Christ, and aiming at perfection by incessant prayer.

VAUDOIS; inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, who had from the first rejected many of the growing superstitions of the Roman Church. In this century their views began to spread extensively in France and Italy. Historians have often confounded them with the Publicani or Cathari.

Sacramentarians; this name is applied by Roman theologians to those who denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist; such as Berenger, 1048.

Simoniacs; a term of reproach, applied, not always unjustly, to those clergy who held with the German Emperors in their dispute with the Popes about Investitures (1065-1085).

John the Italian was condemned as a heretic in 1084 for maintaining the transmigration of souls.

Weccelin, archbishop of Mentz, was condemned about 1085 for strange opinions about church discipline and excommunication.

Roscelin, a Frenchman, about 1092, was accused of Tritheism.

Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, completed by mutual excommunication, 1054.

Twelfth Century.

Bogomiles, in Bulgaria (1110); apparently an offshoot from the Paulicians. They held that Satan was the first-begotten Son of God; having revolted, he created the world and man; God, in mercy, breathed into man "the breath of life," and sent Christ, His younger Son, for His redemption. This sect rejected the sacraments, abstained from marriage, and laid great stress on prayer and fasting.

Leucopetrians; they seem to have much in common with the Euchites and Bogomiles, if indeed the three names do not denote the same sect. They are said to have believed in a double Trinity; and that there dwells in man an evil genius, only to be expelled by continual supplication. They abstained from flesh, rejected marriage and all forms of external worship, and placed all religion in mental prayer.

[It would seem that the sects which, from the fourth to the twelfth century, appear under the names of Eustathians, Messalians, Euchites, Satanians, Priscillianists, Paulicians, Thontrakians, Albanenses, Cathari, Publicani, Bogomiles, Leucopetrians, etc., were substantially Manichæans—so far, at least, that they acknowledged an Evil Principle *co-ordinate* with the Supreme Good, or at least with Christ. Their antagonism to the Roman Church has led many Protestant historians to extol them, most absurdly, as evangelical reformers; while a kindred spirit has led Romish authors to confound the reforming sects, Vaudois, Waldenses, etc., no less unjustly, with these later Manichæans.]

Passagieri; an Arian sect in Lombardy, who practised circumcision, and adopted many Jewish customs.

Petrobrussians, in Languedoc and Provence; followers of Peter de Bruys (1124), and

Henricians, in Switzerland; followers of Henry the Hermit (1147). These were really one sect of fanatical reformers,

who rejected infant baptism, denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and denounced church buildings as useless, and as mere accessories to superstition.

Arnoldists; partisans of Arnold of Brescia, in Italy (1155), who protested against the riches and luxury of the clergy, and insisted that the Church should be maintained only by the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

WALDENSES, or *Poor Men of Lyons*; an association of evangelical reformers, commenced by Peter Waldo or Valdez, about 1170. They gained many adherents in France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Bohemia. They were decimated by persecution, and the remnant were confounded with the *Vaudois*, whose doctrines became henceforth practically identical with their own.

Tanchelm, in Holland, 1124, was presumably a madman; he set out as a fanatical reformer, and afterwards called himself God, or the Son of God, perhaps in a pantheistic sense. He had numerous followers, called *Adamites* and *Multipliers*, and committed great enormities. Some modern historians, however, have supposed that his atrocities are largely fictitious.

Eon, or *Eudo*, in Gascony, 1148, was also a madman, who is said to have had some followers. He claimed to be the predestined judge of all mankind.

Tirie, a Frenchman, 1197; leader of a band of fanatics, probably Publicani.

Abelard, one of the most illustrious of the Schoolmen, was condemned as a heretic in 1140 for exposing the contradictions of the Fathers, and holding Sabellian opinions about the Trinity.

Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers (1154), was accused of so distinguishing the persons of the Trinity from the Divine Essence as practically to make four Gods.

Thirteenth Century.

FRANCISCANS, 1209, } these religious orders, known as
DOMINICANS, 1216; } Mendicant and Preaching Friars,
effected a great religious revival in the early part of the

thirteenth century. Though not religious sects, they claim a place in this summary, because of the doctrinal controversies in which they almost always took opposite sides.

Nominalists, } these were not religious, but philosophical
Realists; } sects; they differed as to whether "general notions" (or "universals") are to be considered as mere names, or as having a real existence. Their differences much affected the religious controversies of the age.

Guelphs, } these were in no sense religious sects, but
Ghibellines; } political factions in Italy. In the controversies respecting the relations of Church and State, the Guelphs took the side of the Popes, and the Ghibellines that of the Emperors.

Amauricians, or *Sect of the Holy Spirit*; pantheistic views were broached by Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant, about 1204; and Joachim, abbot of Flores, about the same time, predicted an approaching "Dispensation of the Spirit." A pantheistic sect in France combined both these ideas, asserting that God was incarnate in every believer as in Christ, and that all positive worship and outward religion should cease.

Schwestrones, or *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, in Germany, held similar opinions. They, however, went farther, denouncing the Church as an imposture, affirming that the perfect could not sin, that whatever was done in love was right, and that perfect union with God abolished both shame and carnal desire. These views naturally led them into strange indecencies.

BEGHARDS and BEGUINES; originally a religious order in Flanders, France, and Germany (so called from the name of its legendary founder), distinguished by permitting its members to quit the society and marry. As the name may also signify *beggars* and *praying persons*, it was assumed by, or applied as a nickname to, irregular mendicant friars; and also to various sectaries, especially the "*Brethren of the Free Spirit*." It thus came to pass that nearly thirty religious societies and sects, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, are indiscriminately called Beghards. The original order was also discredited by many of their houses being infected with the doctrines of the pantheistic sects.

Fratricelli; a rigid party among the Franciscans, who separated from that order about 1270 on account of its departure from the founder's rule of absolute poverty. Being condemned by the Pope, they denounced him as Antichrist, called themselves the only true Church, and ran into many extravagances.

Stedingers, at Oldenburg, 1234; were declared to be heretics for refusing to pay tithes.

New Circumcelliones, so called, in Germany, 1248; they seem to have been evangelical reformers, protesting against the corruptions of the Church, and generally holding the doctrine of the Waldenses.

Apostolic Brethren; fanatical reformers in Italy, about 1285. They formed societies whose members were to be totally destitute of worldly possessions, and prophesied the speedy downfall of the papacy.

Flagellants; fanatics who, about 1260, insisted on the necessity of voluntary penances, especially a "baptism of blood" to be mutually inflicted by scourging. They appeared in various parts of Europe, and reappeared in greater force in the next century.

Two Impostors, or lunatics, calling themselves Christ and His Mother, were put to death in England in 1222.

Wilhelmina of Milan, a mad woman (1281), called herself an Incarnation of the Holy Ghost. She had some followers.

Fourteenth Century.

LOLLARDS; originally a charitable association at Antwerp, about 1300. They incurred the hostility of the Inquisition, and in 1322 *Walter the Lollard* was burnt for heresy at Cologne. Soon afterwards the name, which signifies "*singers*," came to be applied to heretics in general; and in Germany and the Netherlands it was used indiscriminately with "*Beghards*." In England it was chiefly applied to the partisans of the evangelical movement commenced by Wickliffe and his "poor priests."

FRIENDS OF GOD; a widely extended Mystic or Pietistic association in Germany (1330-1380). Its objects and plans

are obscure, but were certainly directed towards the reformation of the Church.

Several offshoots of the sect "of the Free Spirit" appeared in this century: such as the *Adamites*, in Austria (1312), who worshipped naked, and are charged (perhaps unjustly) with licentious practices; the *Luciferians*, in Germany (1326), and the *Turlupins*, in France (1372), licentious vagabonds, who declared that work was incompatible with godliness. Several historians are of opinion that, at least in some of these sects, Manichæan traditions were combined with the doctrine of the Free Spirit.

Dancers, in Germany and Flanders (1373); fanatics who danced frantically by way of penance.

Hesychiasts, *Quietists*, *Palamites*, or *Omphalopsychoi*; Greek monks of Mount Athos, who believed it possible, by abstract contemplation, to gain a view of the "Uncreated Light" in which God dwells, or which others of them identified with God Himself (about 1340).

[The following individual heretics are mentioned, who did not originate sects:—

Roger Bacon (1294) and *Arnold of Villeneuve* (1309), because of their ill-understood learning.

Dulcinus of Novarra (1307); he proclaimed that "the law of the Father" had grown obsolete, and claimed to introduce a "law of the Holy Ghost," which should be permanent, consisting only of love.

Henry Ceva (1318); he distinguished between the carnal and the spiritual Church.

Walter of Cologne (1322); he denounced the Pope and ecclesiastics, and held some fanatical notions.

Francis Ceccus, of Calabria (1327); he interlarded his divinity with astrological conceits.

Martin Gonzalvo, of Calabria (1359); a lunatic, who called himself the Son of God, Brother of St. Michael, and Saviour of the devils! He had an associate called Nicholas.

Raymond Lullius, of Tarragona (1370); he maintained that a Christian might lawfully deny his faith to escape persecution, and seems to have accounted all religious creeds as indifferent.]

THE PAPAL SCHISM, during which there were two rival Popes, lasted from 1378 to 1429.

Fifteenth Century.

HUSSITES, in Bohemia, from 1410; they revived the theological system of Augustine, regarded the Church as being the whole number of the elect, assailed the corruptions of the Papacy, and insisted on communion in both kinds. Some among them appear to have retained, by tradition, the teaching of the Waldenses in the twelfth century. After the judicial murder of Huss, in 1415, they divided into

Calixtines; who afterwards conformed to the Roman Church on the concession of communion in both kinds, and a few minor reforms; and

Taborites, or *Bohemian Brethren*; who rapidly developed tendencies toward radical reform, rejecting transubstantiation and other novelties of the Roman Church, and asserting justification by faith alone.

The sect of "the Free Spirit" appeared in Flanders under the name of *Men of Understanding*; and a colony of *Adamites* was founded in Bohemia (1415-1420), it is said, by one Picard.

[The following individual heretics are also mentioned:—

William Sawtrey (1400), the first alleged heretic burned in England. He denied transubstantiation, and refused worship to the material cross.

Augustine of Rome (1435); he uttered some crude statements about the imputation to Christ of the sins of believers.

Zannin Solcia of Bergamo (1459); his heresy was the ambiguous assertion that "all Christians would be saved."

John Puper of Goch (1475) and *John Ruchrath* of Wesel (1481) revived the theology of Augustine, and taught justification by faith alone.

Jerome Savonarola (1498); the reformer of Florence.

Hermann Ryswick (1499); a Dutchman, apparently an infidel or rationalist.]

THE HUMANISTS were not, properly speaking, a sect. The name was applied to the enthusiastic students of ancient

literature, then lately recovered, in Italy and Germany. Without seceding from the Roman Church, they exposed and ridiculed its corruptions; and some of them practically renounced Christianity altogether.

Sixteenth Century.

LUTHERANS; partisans of the Reformation commenced by Luther in Germany, 1517. The Lutheran Reformation was distinguished by the prominence it gave to justification by faith alone, and to the word and sacraments, as the means whereby the Holy Ghost usually operates; also by its ecclesiastical conservatism, and retention of a modified episcopacy. It prevailed in the greater part of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic Provinces; and in parts of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary.

ZUINGLIANS; followers of the Reformation commenced at Zurich by Zuingli, 1520. The Zuinglian Reformation was distinguished by its radical, iconoclastic, and rationalistic tendencies, especially in respect of the Church and sacraments. It was generally supplanted by Calvinism.

Sacramentarians; a by-name for those who held Zuinglian doctrines concerning the sacraments.

CALVINISTS; disciples of Calvin, etc., who conducted the Reformation at Geneva from 1534. The Calvinistic Reformation was distinguished by its Presbyterian organization, its rigid discipline, the prominence it gives to the *direct* operation of the Holy Ghost upon the soul, and to the Augustinian doctrine of sin, grace, predestination, etc. It prevailed in Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland, and parts of Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary.

Reformed; this name was applied to the Zuinglian and Calvinist, as opposed to the Lutheran Churches.

PROTESTANTS; the name was assumed by the Lutherans after the "Protest of Spires" (against the anti-reforming decision of the German Diet) in 1529, and afterwards adopted by the Zuinglians and Calvinists.

Huguenots; members of the Reformed Church in France. Their origin was contemporaneous with, but independent of,

the German and Swiss Reformation; the exact date is uncertain.

Anglicans; the English Reformation (from 1532) was more political and conservative than that of the Continent, retaining the hierarchy almost intact; but there was always a party who aimed at further reforms in the direction of Calvinism; these were predominant from 1549 to 1553, but afterwards declined. From 1562 they were called

Puritans; during this century they generally remained within the Anglican Church; but the

Presbyterians became a distinct sect in England about 1572; and the

Independents or *Brownists*, who asserted congregational independency, seceded about 1580.

ANABAPTISTS. Fanatical Anabaptists appeared at Zwickau (Saxony) in 1522, Switzerland 1525, Münster (Westphalia) 1534, and Holland 1535. There is reason to think that their fanaticism was largely a survival of the doctrine of "the Free Spirit." They not only rejected infant baptism, but claimed prophetic inspiration, held docetic notions of the person of Christ, and in some places committed horrible atrocities. The

Dutch Anabaptists, or *Mennonites*, from 1536, had little in common with these fanatics, except their rejection of infant baptism. They agreed in the main with the Calvinistic Reformers; but held highly spiritual conceptions of the Church, had some peculiar notions about the human body of Christ, and believed oaths and war to be unlawful. They early divided into

Flemingians, or *Flandrians*, who retained, and

Waterlandians, or *Johannites*, who rejected the exceedingly rigid discipline by which the sect was at first distinguished; also

Uckwallists, who held some eccentric opinions about an intermediate dispensation during the life of Christ on earth, and about the salvation of Judas. We also read of

Abecedarians; fanatical Anabaptists who, supposing that all knowledge hinders due attention to the voice of God speaking within, advised men to learn nothing, not even A B C.

Familists, or *Family of Love* ; a sect of mystical Anabaptists in Holland (1555) and England (1575). They affirmed that religious opinion is indifferent if the soul be filled with divine love ; and are accused of many strange notions, which seem to be founded on misconception of their writings ; and

Davidists ; followers of David Joris, a fanatical Anabaptist (1556), who is said to have advanced blasphemous pretensions. His system was Sabellian and Antinomian.

SOCINIANS ; numerous Unitarians appeared early in the course of the Reformation, in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy ; but they held no common creed, and did not form a sect till 1565. The sect then organized by Faustus Socinus, denying the essential Godhead of Christ, acknowledged His supernatural birth, and rendered Him a subordinate worship. They soon became numerous in Poland and Transylvania ; and from them were early distinguished the

Farnovians (1568), who held Arian views of the person of Christ ; and the

Budnœans (1584), who refused Him all worship, accounting Him merely the son of Joseph and Mary.

The following were parties in the Lutheran Church :—

Philippists (1540–52), called *Crypto-Calvinists* (1552–74) ; these desired, according to the wish of Philip Melancthon, to procure recognition or toleration of the Calvinistic doctrine of the sacraments.

Adiaphorists (1548–55) ; they desired a like toleration of Catholic forms of worship, as things indifferent.

Osiandrians (1551) ; these refused to distinguish between justification and sanctification, ascribing both to the *divine* righteousness of Christ, partaken by faith. The *Stancarians* were their opponents.

Majorists (1551) affirmed, and *Amsdorffians* violently opposed, the opinion that good works contribute meritoriously to salvation.

Synergists (1555) ; they asserted, in opposition to the Augustinian theology, that the human will co-operates with the divine in conversion.

Ubiquitarians (1552–77) ; these defended the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, by asserting that His

humanity, including His body, was everywhere present at once. Their opponents (as also the Calvinistic divines) were called *Energici*, as holding that in the sacrament is neither the real body of Christ, nor a mere symbol (as was taught by Zuingli), but His *virtue* and *energy*.

Other sects in this century were—

Libertines and *Spirituels* at Geneva (1525–36). Ultra-radical reformers, whose doctrine, resembling and probably derived from that of the “Free Spirit,” was even more thoroughly pantheistic, and pointed to unbridled licentiousness.

Effrontes; fanatics, about 1534, who instead of baptism drew blood from the forehead.

Schwenkfeldians; disciples of Caspar Schwenkfeld (1561), a devout Lutheran mystic, who held Monophysite opinions, rejected infant baptism, slighted all outward church forms, and maintained the possibility of living entirely without sin. This sect still survives in Germany.

Jesuits; these are not a sect, but a conservative and missionary religious order in the Roman Church, founded 1540.

United Greeks; a faction of the Greek Church, located in Western Russia, which in 1594 submitted to the Roman obedience, retaining their national customs.

The under-mentioned reputed heretics did not form sects:—

Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, 1535; a man of extensive learning, who satirized the monks.

Paracelsus (*Theophrastus Bombastes*) of Hohenheim, 1541; a fantastic scholar, philosopher, and alchemist, who professed to solve all the mysteries of the Godhead. Neither he nor Agrippa left the Roman Church.

John Agricola, a Lutheran; from 1537–40 he taught that the law is no longer a rule of life for believers.

Sebastian Frank, 1543; a pantheistic mystic, who demanded universal religious toleration.

Michael Servetus, 1553; his system was essentially Sabelianism, but with a pantheistic tendency. He also denied original sin and justification by faith, and held other peculiar opinions.

Valentine Weigel, 1588; a Lutheran mystic, whose theology was largely borrowed from Paracelsus.

Giordano Bruno, 1600; a pantheistic mystic in Italy. He never left the Roman Church.

Martin Seidel, about 1600; he asserted that the Messiah promised to the Jews had not been, and would not be sent, because of their sins; and that Jesus came only to republish and interpret the law of nature.

Seventeenth Century.

ARMINIANS, or *Remonstrants*, from 1610; a party in the Reformed Church, originating in Holland, who repudiated "Five Points" of the Calvinistic theology, especially predestination. Their opponents, locally called *Gomarists*, developed an ultra-Calvinistic system; and since that time the term "*Calvinists*" has usually been applied to defenders of the Five Points.

Supralapsarians, or hyper-Calvinists, and *Sublapsarians*, or Moderate Calvinists, differed as to whether or not the fall of man was foreordained by God.

Collegiants, or *Rhynsburgers*, 1619; Dutch Arminians who, on account of persecution, formed separate societies or "colleges," without regular ministers. Many of them became Anabaptists.

BAPTISTS (English); many disciples of the fanatical Anabaptists had previously appeared in England; but the first congregation of modern Baptists was formed about 1606. They only differed from the Reformed (Calvinistic) Churches in maintaining congregational independency, and insisting on baptism by complete immersion on personal profession of faith. Subsequent controversies led to their division into—

Particular Baptists, who generally maintained a rigid Calvinistic theology; and

General Baptists, who were mostly Arminians, but some of them drifted into Unitarianism. There were also

Seventh-Day Baptists, a small sect originating in 1693, who observed the Saturday as a Sabbath.

COVENANTERS; strict Presbyterians who, in 1638, engaged, by a "National Covenant," to resist the efforts of the Government to impose Episcopacy on the Church of Scotland.

Antinomians, or *Crispites*; a party in England, from about 1642, who denied the obligation of the moral law as a rule of life for believers. They did not form a distinct sect; but their opinions found acceptance with many Calvinistic Baptists.

QUAKERS, or *Society of Friends*, from 1649; they rejected all set forms of worship, disused the sacraments, and repudiated an official ministry; held war, oaths, and the State establishment of religion to be in all cases unlawful; had some peculiar views about justification and the "Inner Light," assigning great importance to the direct operation of the Holy Ghost upon the conscience; and renounced all social customs, however harmless, which seemed to them ever so remotely connected with superstition.

Other minor English sects from 1640 to 1670 were—

Ranters; a pantheistic sect, who claimed an absolute personal union with God, decried Scripture as "a dead letter," and boasted that they were "above all commandments, because God was *in* them." They were often immoral in their lives. They seem to have been the last survival of the "sect of the Free Spirit."

Seekers; who professed to be in search of a fuller revelation of divine truth, supposing that all existing Churches had lost the apostolic order and ministry.

Levellers; a politico-religious sect, who aimed at establishing communism on a scriptural basis.

Fifth-Monarchy Men, or *Vanists*; fanatical millenarians, who would own no ruler but Christ, expecting that His dominion would soon supplant all earthly magistracies.

Muggletonians; disciples of an impostor or lunatic who claimed to be a prophet, and taught a gross anthropomorphism.

Nonjurors, 1689; a section of the Catholic party in the Anglican Church which seceded in sympathy with those bishops and clergy who were deprived for refusing to swear allegiance to William III.

Philadelphian Society; the followers of Jane Leadley, an English fanatic who saw visions.

Syncretists, or *Calixtines*; a party in Germany who, from

about 1645, endeavoured to bring about a union of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and other Churches.

Hypothetical Universalists; a party in the Reformed Church of France who adopted the modified Calvinism of Amyrault.

Jansenists; a party in France and Flanders who, from about 1640, endeavoured to revive the Augustinian theology within the Roman Church.

Camisards; French Protestants who, in consequence of persecution, were driven to insurrection and civil war. Many of them developed fanatical tendencies, and large numbers claimed prophetic inspiration. Some of these came to England, and were known as "French Prophets."

Quietists, in France, from about 1680; *Alombrados*, in Spain, about 1670; pious Mystics, members of the Roman Church, who sought perfection in passive self-abandonment to divine influences.

Pietists, in Germany, from 1678; members of the Lutheran Church, who formed private societies for the cultivation of practical godliness. Their speciality was the identifying of regeneration with conversion, as opposed to baptism or entrance into the visible Church.

Bourignonists; followers of Antoinette de Bourignon, a French visionary and mystic, who, together with the principles of Quietism, and a denial of the divine foreknowledge, held some eccentric notions about man before the fall, and the humanity of Christ.

Cocceians; the name, not of a sect, but of a theological party, who, following the guidance of Cocceius, regarded the entire Old Testament as typical of the gospel dispensation.

Apostoolians, or *Sunnists*, and *Galenists*, or *Lammists*; subdivisions of the "Waterlandian," or less rigid section of the Dutch Anabaptists (1664). The former were Calvinists, the latter Arminians.

Rosicrucians, also called *Theosophists* and *Paracelsists* (from 1614); fantastic philosophers, who traced strange analogies between the doctrines of religion and the secrets of alchemy.

Boehmists, or *Behmenists*; followers of the theosophist and mystic Jacob Böhme (1624).

Labbadists; a mystical sect in the Netherlands, about 1650, who held peculiar notions about inward illumination, the contemplative life, community of all things in the Church, the millennium, etc.

Gichtelians, or *Angelic Brethren*; adherents of John Gichtel, a German, who had visions and revelations; they aimed at sinlessness by resisting all carnal desires.

Raskolniks; a general name for dissenters from the Greek Church in Russia: including—

Starowerzi, or *Old Believers*, who resisted an authoritative revision of the ancient liturgical books in 1652, and have a strong aversion to all modern innovations on ancient customs; they are subdivided into several parties.

Gnostic and fanatical sects, such as—

Morelschiki, or *Self-sacrificers*, who are said to submit to a “baptism of fire;”

Chlistowtschini, or *Flagellants*, who are accused of immoral practices;

Skopsi, or *Eunuchs*, who are reputed to mutilate themselves.

During the latter half of this century a great number of Pantheists, Deists, and Freethinkers arose in Germany and England, but did not constitute regular sects.

Eighteenth Century.

Separatists; from 1700 to 1740 a large number of fanatical separatists from the various Protestant Churches of Germany had their rendezvous at Wetteraw. Here they lived without either public worship or sacraments, and sent forth a huge mass of mystical literature.

Inspirationists; fanatical Camisards, wandering about Germany, excited a belief in ecstatic prophecy. Prophets appeared among the Separatists at Wetteraw, and an “Inspiration Congregation” was formed in 1714. The sect continued, with varying fortunes, throughout the century.

MORAVIANS, *Herrnhuters*, or *Unitas Fratrum*; a remnant of the old Bohemian Brethren formed the nucleus of a pietistic church at Herrnhut in 1727. They are distin-

guished by a peculiar discipline; by a (supposed) peculiar covenant-relation with Christ, towards whom the most intense emotional love is cultivated, and whose sufferings are made the entire ground of redemption; and by extraordinary devotion to missionary enterprise.

Illuminati, 1776; a secret order in Germany who, with the forms of Freemasonry, labour to propagate advanced ideas of human perfectibility.

Abrahamites, called also *Deists* and *Nihilists*; a Deistical sect in Bohemia and Transylvania. They professed to be "of the same religion as Abraham before his circumcision." They must not be confounded with the modern political sect of Nihilists, who are mostly Atheists.

The *Buttlar Sect*, 1702-6, the *Bordelian Sect*, 1739, the *Brüggeler Sect*, 1748, and the *Zionites of Rousdorf*, 1730-50, were fanatical, licentious, or criminal societies.

Verschoorists, or *Hebrews*, 1730; an ultra-Calvinist sect in Holland, who affirmed that the elect cannot sin, while the non-elect can only sin. They also held it a duty to read the Scriptures in the original languages.

Hattemists, 1740; another Dutch sect, who asserted that sin, being predestined, was only sin in the imagination of men; from which imagination they are delivered by Christ.

Borrelists; another Dutch sect, who assert that all Churches have been corrupted by suffering the infallible word of God to be interpreted by fallible men. They reject the sacraments and all public acts of worship, lead austere lives, and are generous in almsgiving.

Old Light, or *Restored Lutheran Church*; a small body who seceded from the Dutch Lutheran Church in 1791, as a protest against the prevalence of Rationalism.

Convulsionaires, or *French Prophets*. The persecution of the Jansenists in France excited in their partisans a wild fanaticism, which from 1728 to 1752 found expression in convulsions, and prophecies of the destruction of State and Church.

Seceders, 1733; a section of the Church of Scotland which seceded from the majority on account of its tyrannous interference with the alleged rights of ministers and congregations.

gations. In 1747 they divided into *Burghers* and *Anti-burghers*, owing to a difference of opinion about the lawfulness of an oath imposed on burgesses by the Government.

Cameronians, or *Reformed Presbyterians*, 1743; a rigid party who held Presbyterianism to be a matter of divine order, and organized themselves into a distinct sect because they deemed the Church of Scotland to have been generally unfaithful to the "National Covenant."

Relief Church, 1752; another secession from the Church of Scotland, in consequence of the legalized imposition of ministers by patrons on unwilling congregations.

Within the Church of Scotland were several parties, known respectively as *Moderates*, whose theory of the Church was Erastian, and their theology Latitudinarian; *Neonomians*, whose views tended towards Arminianism, the gospel being described as "a new law," by obedience to which salvation is obtained; and *New Lights*, who about 1790 advanced opinions closely resembling Socinianism.

Sandemanians, or *Glassites*, 1728; a small sect, originating in Scotland, who hold that justifying faith is a simple intellectual assent to the gospel, and have some peculiar views of church order. They are strict Voluntaries and Separatists.

Dalcites; another petty Scottish sect, differing from the Sandemanians only in some points of discipline.

Bereans, 1773; another small Scottish sect, who denied that any knowledge of God can be obtained except from revelation, and affirmed faith to be a special gift of God.

Haldanites; a Baptist sect in Scotland, who professed great indifference about doctrines, and attached special importance to practical godliness.

METHODISTS; a general name for the societies that arose out of a great revival which commenced, about 1738, with the preaching of Wesley, Whitfield, and their associates. Disputes about predestination and grace led to their divisions into

Wesleyans, who hold the Arminian or Remonstrant theology, with some peculiar views about assurance and entire sanctification; they also attach great importance to the direct operations of the Holy Ghost, and to emotional conversion.

Their societies in England were organized on a basis of connexional Presbyterianism ; those in America (1784) were Episcopal.

Calvinistic Methodists, or *Welsh Presbyterians* ; their societies originated about 1736. Like the Wesleyans, they were at first pietistic associations within the Anglican Church, and did not become a separate ecclesiastical community till 1811.

Inghamites, 1760 ; a small Calvinistic body, who laid great stress on the imputation of Christ's active righteousness to believers. Their discipline was borrowed from the Moravians, with whom they were closely connected.

Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, 1783 ; the tenets of this society were strictly Calvinistic ; their polity was substantially Congregational.

The term "Methodists," unless qualified, is always understood of the Wesleyans. *Swaddlers* in Ireland, and *Jumpers* in Wales and Cornwall, were nicknames for Methodists.

Evangelicals ; this title was assumed by the pietistic and Calvinistic party in the Anglican Church.

Hutchinsonians ; the disciples of Hutchinson, an eccentric English philosopher, who imagined that all science, natural and divine, was contained in the Bible. The Hebrew language he interpreted cabalistically, believing it to have been formed under divine inspiration. He denied gravitation, and the whole Newtonian philosophy. His followers did not form a sect.

Swedenborgians, or *New Jerusalem Church* ; Swedenborg, the Swedish enthusiast and seer, founded no sect in his lifetime. In 1784, after his death, his English admirers organized themselves into a society, which has spread in Sweden, Germany, and America. They regard the system of theosophy, Christology, and eschatology unfolded in his writings, or extracted from Scripture by his mystical "science of correspondences," as the true Christian religion.

Huntingtonians ; followers of William Huntington, an illiterate Baptist preacher in London, who combined supralapsarian Calvinism with Antinomianism.

Husseyites ; disciples of Joseph Hussey of Cambridge. To

hyper-Calvinist and Antinomian opinions they added some peculiar notions about the pre-existence of Christ's humanity. They did not form a distinct sect.

Freewill Baptists and Old School Baptists; two sections into which the English Baptists in America divided about 1780. The former are Arminians, the latter strict Calvinists.

Six-Principle Baptists; an American sect, whose peculiarities depend on their interpretation of Heb. vi. 1-3.

Tunkers, or Dunkers; an American Baptist sect, of German origin (1724). They seek to work out salvation by abstinence and self-restraint, and to acquire merit by works of supererogation. They deny the eternity of future punishment, believing that the gospel is preached by the souls of the just in Hades. They practise feet-washing and the kiss of charity as religious rites, have eccentric notions about dress, and account oaths and war to be sinful.

United Brethren in Christ; an American sect, which arose in 1789 as an offshoot from the German Reformed Church. Their special dogma is, that "love to God is the only bond of Christian fellowship." Their church order is a compound of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Congregationalism.

Wilkinsonians; dupes of an impostor and pseudo-prophetess, Jemima Wilkinson, in the State of New York. She pretended to have risen from the dead.

Shakers; their origin is traced to some "French Prophets" (Camisards) who visited England in 1705. These formed the nucleus of a small pietistic society at Bolton, of which, in 1770, Ann Lee became the leader. In 1774 they emigrated to America, being ten or twelve in number. There they gained adherents, until they formed the entire population of several villages. They maintain community of goods, live in strict celibacy, and practise dancing as a religious exercise.

Melchitarists, or United Armenians; a section of the Armenian Church which, in 1712, accepted the Roman obedience, retaining their ancient ritual.

Malacani, or Milk-eaters, and Duchoborzens, or Champions of the Spirit, are two Russian sects, whose tenets are said to be

“ a remarkable mixture of Gnosticism, Theosophy, Mysticism, Protestantism, and Rationalism.”

During the latter half of this century, Rationalism, Deism, and atheistic Materialism almost extinguished religion in France and Germany. In France the deistic sect of *Theophilanthropists* maintained a formal existence and worship for a short time, from 1794.

Nineteenth Century.

In the unreformed Roman Church the *Ultramontane* or centralizing party had steadily gained strength, until the dogmatic assertion, in 1870, of papal infallibility. This provoked the secession of the *Old Catholics*, with whom the remnant of the Jansenists have united.

In Prussia and other parts of Germany the national Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches have combined into a *United Evangelical Church*; but distinct Lutheran and Reformed Churches continue to subsist. The rationalizing of national Protestant Churches on the Continent has also led to the separate organization of *Free Evangelical Churches* in Switzerland, France, Belgium, etc.

The Anglican communion, during this century, has spread not only throughout the British Empire, but in America and Africa. It is still divided into an *Evangelical* or “Low Church,” *i.e.* Protestant, and a “High Church” or reactionary section. The latter, since 1833, has constantly increased in strength; the party bearing successively the names of *Puseyites*, *Tractarians*, and *Anglo-Catholics*. In 1877 an “*Order of Corporate Reunion*” was formed, aiming directly at reconciliation with the Roman and Greek Churches. Meanwhile a Latitudinarian or “*Broad Church*” party, though small in numbers, has been steadily gaining influence. Within the last few years the increasing preponderance of the Catholic over the Protestant school in the Anglican communion has provoked the secession of a *Free Church of England*, and a *Reformed Episcopal Church* in America.

The English *Methodists* have been greatly subdivided, but only on questions of administration, without doctrinal

difference. The Original Connexion outnumbers all the rest, viz. the *New Connexion*, or *Kilhamites*, 1797; *Primitive Methodists*, nicknamed *Ranters*, 1810; *Bible Christians*, or *Bryanites*, 1819; *Wesleyan Association*, 1834; and *Wesleyan Reformers*, 1851; the two last named have coalesced as the *Methodist Free Church*. There are also some *Free Gospel Churches*, whose speciality is the repudiation of an official clergy.

The *Catholic Apostolic Church*, or *Irvingites*, originated about 1838. Irving, a Presbyterian minister, had believed in the revival of miraculous powers in the Church. After his death his followers accepted the guidance of twelve "restored apostles," who organized a society with a sacerdotal hierarchy and an elaborate ritual. Their distinguishing tenet is an enthusiastic millenarianism.

The *Plymouth Brethren*, or *Darbyites*, originated about 1840. They are distinguished by an intensely sectarian disavowal of sectarianism, the repudiation of an official ministry, great evangelistic zeal, and fervid millenarian expectations. They have subdivided into several factions.

Recent revivalistic movements have led to the establishment of numerous "undenominational" religious societies; one of which, the *Salvation Army*, with a quasi-military organization, bids fair to become a permanent sect. The temperance reformation has also induced the formation of isolated congregations on the basis of *teetotalism*. Other minor English sects are the *Separatists*, or *Walkerites*, who hold the Sandemanian theory of faith; affirm that "all good is from God," in such wise that whatever proceeds from man is evil; repudiate all ecclesiastical offices, and deem it sinful to hold religious fellowship with any outside their own circle. *Johnsonians*, an exclusive Baptist sect, who hold peculiar theories about sin, grace, faith, etc. *Christadelphians*, a millenarian sect of American origin, who among other strange notions believe that the soul and body die and are raised together. *Peculiar People*, who refuse to accept medical aid for the relief of the sick, etc.

The "Secession" and "Relief" Churches in Scotland have merged in the *United Presbyterian Church*; and the

Cameronians have been absorbed by a larger body, the *Free Church of Scotland*, which in 1843 separated from the Established Church on the old grievance of patronage. The doctrinal standards of both are those of the old Scottish Church, but the former interpret them more liberally, the latter more strictly.

The *Evangelical Union*, or *Morisonians*, are Congregational Independents, who about 1844 separated from the Scottish Presbyterians and Independents on account of the intolerance wherewith the latter regarded their Arminian theology.

The Presbyterian Churches of America include the *German Reformed* and *Dutch Reformed*, which are lineally descended from those branches of the European Reformation; the *Old School*, or Strict Calvinist, and the *New School*, or Arminianized, sections of the Scottish and Puritan emigration; and the *Cumberland Church*, which arose out of a local revival in 1810, and which expressly tolerates both Calvinism and Arminianism.

The Lutheran Churches in America, likewise of German origin, are divided into *New* or *Liberal*, *Moderate* or *Melanchthonian*, and *Strict* Lutherans.

The American Methodists have been divided into several sections, partly by disputes about the lawfulness of holding slaves, and partly through the as yet unconquerable prejudice against the social equality of negroes. Such are the *Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South*, 1847; the *African Methodist Church*, 1816; the *Zion Methodist Church*, of coloured people, 1821, which insists on the sacramental character of marriage, and forbids the use of strong drink; also the *Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church*. Beside these there is the *Evangelical Association*, 1800, an Episcopal body, consisting chiefly of Germans, and originating in a local revival. The *Methodist Reformed Church*, 1814, the *Protestant Methodists*, 1830, and the *Wesleyan Methodists*, 1843, agree in repudiating Episcopacy; the last-named boasts itself "free from bishops, intemperance, and slavery."

The Baptists are also much subdivided. One faction of the "Old School," or Calvinistic party, known by the

sobriquet of *Hardshells*, are distinguished by their antipathy to those missionary enterprises in which the Baptists are usually enthusiastic. The *Christian Disciples*, or *Campbellites*, another sect of American Baptists, refuse any specific denomination, and object to all non-biblical definitions in theology. They regard the church order of the apostolic age as an authoritative pattern for all time.

A numerous sect of *Universalists*, since 1779, anticipate the ultimate recovery of all intelligent creatures to virtue and happiness. *Unitarianism* is also widely prevalent in the New England States; and there, as elsewhere, its Arian and Socinian forms have been generally supplanted by simple humanitarian views of the person of Christ. The *Hicksites* are a section of the Quakers, who hold Unitarian opinions. There was also a small sect of *Millerites*, enthusiastic millenarians, who so confidently expected the second advent of Christ on a certain day, that they arrayed themselves in new garments to receive Him.

The *Mormons*, or *Latter-Day Saints*, originated about 1825. An impostor, Joseph Smith, announced the discovery of an ancient revelation, written on golden plates, a translation of which was published in "The Book of Mormon." He soon gathered a numerous following, which founded the city of Nauvoo, Illinois. In 1844 the city was desolated by a mob, by whom Smith was put to death; whereupon 15,000 Mormons, under the guidance of Brigham Young, migrated into the wilderness and built Salt Lake City. Here they yielded unreservedly to the guidance of *soi-disant* apostles and prophets, and have gathered together a multitude of converts from England, Scotland, Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland. Their alleged revelation embodies a most fantastic system of religion, unfolding all the mysteries of time and eternity. To a grossly anthropomorphic conception of God, and an expectation of the near second coming of Christ, they add the systematic practice of polygamy, teaching that no woman can attain eternal life unless she be "sealed" to a latter-day saint.

The *Harmonites* were a German colony, which settled in America in 1803. They were organized on the basis of Com-

munism by George Rapp, who claimed inspiration, and passed for a prophet.

Spiritualists. During the last thirty years multitudes in America and elsewhere have believed in the possibility of communication with departed spirits through privileged "mediums." While many who hold this belief retain the creed of the orthodox Churches, others, on the strength of such alleged communications, have adopted peculiar and eccentric opinions, some of which are decidedly immoral.

Free Lovers; a party in America, chiefly spiritualists, who hold licentious ideas about sexual relations, and would have marriage terminable by mutual consent. *Perfectionists*, *Bible Communists*, or *Oneida Community*, are said to reduce the doctrine of "Free Love" to a system, and to practise "the deeds of the Nicolaitans."

Of European sects, fanatical, immoral, or eccentric, the following may be noticed:—

Southcotians; disciples of Johanna Southcote, an illiterate English peasant, who in 1801 appeared as a prophetess. She claimed to be the "woman clothed with the sun" of Rev. xii., bride of the Lamb, and predestined mother of Shiloh. A section of her followers long survived under the name of *Christian Israelites*. Other pseudo-prophets in England were *Richard Brothers* and *John Wroe*.

Jumpers; a fanatical sect which appeared in Ingria, Russia, 1813. They thought a special illumination of the Holy Spirit necessary to salvation, the enjoyment of which was evinced by ecstatic praying, leaping, etc. They abstained from flesh and strong drink, and insisted on the extirpation of animal passion, as incompatible with holy love.

Thomas Poschl in Austria, 1814, and *Margaret Peters* in Switzerland, 1823, each gathered a circle of fanatical adherents who revered them as saints. In each of these coteries a young girl voluntarily submitted to be put to death, "after the example of Christ," for the salvation of the rest.

Mücker, or *Hypocrites*; the name assigned to a small mystical and fanatical coterie at Königsberg, Prussia, about 1830. Their tenets are obscure, but certainly included a Gnostic-dualistic view of religion and nature, which they

applied to sexual relations. They were strongly suspected of gross immorality; and more than a suspicion on the subject attaches to an English offshoot of the same community, known as the *Agapemone*, or "Abode of Love."

The *New Templars* were a secret order which came to light in Paris, 1831. They professed to have a secret tradition of the primitive religion, embodied in the Egyptian mysteries, handed down through Moses and Christ, and preserved by the original Templars through the Middle Ages.

The *Amen Society* originated with Israel Pick, a Jewish Christian of Bohemia, 1854. Its peculiar tenet is the permanent obligation of the Mosaic law, together with the Christian sacraments.

It does not seem necessary, even if possible, to enumerate the multitudinous local "denominations" which have come into being during the last half century, and which, while giving special prominence to this or that phase of religious thought, are in theology substantially orthodox, and in polity Presbyterian, Methodist, or Congregational. Neither are some fanatical sects of very recent origin as yet quite entitled to a place in history, such as the English *Shakers*, the *Six Years Party* in Southern India, and a new sect in Finland, whose leaders and spiritual directors are exclusively women. The influence of Christian teaching on heathen communities has been strikingly exhibited in the semi-Christian and wholly martial enthusiasm of the *Taepings* in China, 1853; in the savage fanaticism of the *Hau-haus* in New Zealand, 1867; and more happily in the theistic reformation in India, called *Brahmo-Somaj*, which is largely imbued with Christian elements. On the other hand, practical and theoretical antichristianity has been extensively organized during the present century into regular societies. Such are the *Socialists*, *Secularists*, and *Positivists*, the latter of whom, recognising an instinct of worship, but conceiving that God is not within the sphere of positive knowledge, worship an "Ideal of Humanity." A lower depth is revealed in the *Nihilists*, avowed enemies of all authority, human and divine, whose watchword is, "Neither God nor Master!"

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE FOREGOING SECTS, ETC.

	CENT.		CENT.
ABECEDARIANS,	16	Apostoolians,	17
*Abelard,	12	Apotactici,	4
Abelites,	4	Aquarii,	2
Abrahamites,	8, 18	Arabians,	3
Abyssinians,	5	Archontici,	4
Acephali,	5	Arevurdis,	9
*Adalbert,	8	Arians,	4
Adamites,	4, 12, 14, 15	Armenians,	6
Adelphians,	7	Arminians,	17
Adiaphorists,	16	Arnoldists,	12
Adoptionists,	8	Artotyrites,	2
Ærians,	4	Ascodrogites,	4
Ætians,	4	Ascodrutæ,	4
Agapemone,	19	Audians,	4
Agionites,	7	*Augustine of Rome,	15
Agnoites,	6		
Agonyclites,	8	BAPTISTS, Particular,	17
*Agricola, John,	16	,, General,	17
*Agrippa, Cornel,	16	,, Seventh-Day,	17
Agynians,	7	,, Old School,	18
Aktistitæ,	6	,, Free-Will,	18
Albauenses,	9	,, Six-principle,	18
Albigenses,	11	,, Hardshell,	19
Alogians,	2	*Bardesan,	2
Alombrados,	17	Barsanians,	6
Amauricians,	13	*Basilides,	2
Amen Society,	19	Beghards and	
Ammonians,	3	Beguines,	13
Amsdorfians,	16	Behmenists, or	
Anabaptists,	16	Bœhmists,	17
,, Dutch,	16	Bereans,	18
Angelics,	4	Bible Christians,	19
Angelic Brethren,	17	Bible Communists,	19
Anglicans,	16	Bogomiles,	12
Anglo-Catholics,	19	Bohemian Brethren,	15
Anthropomorphites,	4	Borbeliotes,	2
Antiburghers,	18	Bordelian Sect,	18
Antidicomarianites,	4	Borrelists,	18
Antinomians,	17	Bos Homes,	11
Antitactes,	2	Bougres,	11
*Apelles,	2	Bourignonists,	17
Aphthartodocetæ,	6	Brahmo Somaj,	19
Apocaritæ,	3	Broad Church,	19
Apollinarians,	4	*Brothers Richard,	19
Apostolics,	4	Brownists,	16
Apostolic Brethren,	13	Bruggeler Sect,	18

	CENT.		CENT.
*Bruno, Giordano,	16	Dancers,	14
Bryanites,	19	Darbyites,	19
Budnæans,	16	Davidists,	16
Bulgari,	11	Deists,	18
Burghers,	18	Docetæ,	1
Buttlar Sect,	18	Dominicans,	12
CAINITES,	2	Donatists,	4
Calixtines,	15, 17	*Dositheus,	1
Calvinists,	16, 17	Duchoborzens,	18
Cameronians,	18	*Dulcinus of Novarra,	14
Camisards,	17	Dunkers,	18
Campbellites,	19	Dutch Reformed,	19
*Carpocrates,	2	EBIONITES,	1
Cathari,	3, 11	Effrontes,	16
Catholic Apostolic Church,	19	Eicetæ,	7
*Ceccus, Francis,	14	Elkesaites,	2
*Cerdon,	2	Eneratites,	2
*Cerinthus,	2	Energici,	16
*Ceva, Henry,	14	*Eon or Eudo,	12
Chaldeans,	5	*Erigena,	9
Champions of the Spirit,	18	Ethnophrones,	8
Chazanzarians,	7	Euchites,	4, 11
Children of the Sun,	9	Eudoxians,	4
Chlistowtsehini,	17	Eunomians,	4
Christadelphians,	19	Eunuchs,	17
Christian Disciples,	19	Euphemites,	5
Christian Israelites,	19	Eusebians,	4
Circumcelliones,	4	Eustathians,	4
" New,	13	Eutuchians,	3
*Clement,	8	Eutyrians,	5
Cocceians,	17	Evangelicals,	18, 19
Cœlicolæ,	5	Evangelical Association,	19
*Colarbasus,	2	" Union,	19
Collegiants,	17	FAMILISTS, or	
Colluthians,	4	Family of Love,	16
Collyridians,	4	Farnovians,	16
Congregationalists. <i>See</i> Inde-		*Feargil,	8
pendents,	16	Felicians,	8
Cononites,	6	*Felicissimus,	3
Convulsionaires,	18	Fifth Monarchy Men,	17
Copts,	5	Flagellants,	13, 17
Countess of Huntington's Con.,	18	Flandrians, or	
Covenanters,	17	Flemingians,	16
Crispites,	17	Franciscans,	13
Crypto-Calvinists,	16	*Frank, Sebastian,	16
Culdees,	7	Fratricelli,	1
DALEITES,	18	Free Church of England,	19
Damianists,	6	" Scotland	19

	CENT.		CENT.
Free Evangelical Churches,	19	Illuminati,	18
Free Gospel Churches,	19	Independents,	16
Free Lovers,	19	Inghamites,	18
Free Spirit, Sect of the,	13, 14, 15	Inspirationists,	18
French Prophets,	17, 18	Irvingites,	19
Friends of God,	14		
Friends, Society of,	17	JACOBITES,	6
		Jansenists,	17
GALENISTS,	17	Jesuits,	16
*Gaudulf of Cambray,	11	Johanites,	16
Gazari,	11	*John the Italian,	11
German Reformed Church,	19	Johnites,	5
Ghibellines and Guelphs,	13	Johnsonians,	19
Gichtelians,	17	*Jovinian,	4
*Gilbert de la Porrée,	12	Julianists,	6
Glassites,	18	Jumpers,	18, 19
Gnosimachoi,	7	*Justinus,	2
Gnostics,	2		
Gomarists,	17	KILHAMITES,	19
*Gonzalvo, Martin,	14		
Good Men,	11	LABBADISTS,	17
*Gotteschalk,	9	Lammists,	17
		Lampetrians,	7
HALDANITES,	18	Latter-Day Saints,	19
Harmonites,	19	*Leucius, or	
Hattemists,	18	*Lucianus,	2
Hauhaus,	19	Leucopetrians,	12
Hebrews,	18	Levellers,	17
Hemerobaptists,	2	Libertines,	16
Henricians,	12	Lollards,	14
Hernians,	5	Low Church,	19
*Hermogenes,	2	Luciferians,	14
Herrnhuters,	18	Luciferites,	4
Hesychiasts,	14	*Lullius, Raymond,	14
Hicksites,	19	Lutherans,	16
Hieracians,	3	" Strict,	19
High-Church,	19	" New,	19
Holy Spirit, Sect of,	13	" Moderate,	19
Homuncionites,	1	" Church Restored,	18
Huguenots,	16		
Humanists,	15	MACARIANS,	9
Huntingtonians,	18	Macedonians,	4
Husseyites,	18	Majorists,	16
Hussites,	15	Malacani,	18
Hutchinsonians,	18	Mandean,	2
Hydroparastatæ,	2	Manichæans,	3
Hyper-Calvinists,	17	" New,	11
Hypocrites,	19	Marcellus,	4
Hypsistarians,	5	*Marcion,	2
		*Marcus,	2
ICONOCLASTS,	8		

	CENT.		CENT.
Maronites,	7	Nominalists,	13
Massilians,	5	Nonjurors,	17
Melchitarists,	18	Novatians,	3
Melchites,	6	OLD BELIEVERS,	17
Melchizedeans,	3	Old Catholics,	19
Meletians,	4	Old Lights,	18
*Menander,	1	Omphalopsychoi,	14
Mennonites,	16	Oneida Community,	19
Men of Understanding,	15	Ophites,	2
Messalians,	4	Order of Corporate Reunion,	19
Methodists—		Origenists,	5
,, African,	19	Osiandrians,	16
,, Calvinistic,	18	Ossenians,	2
,, Coloured Episcopal,	19	PAGANIZERS,	8
,, Episcopal N. and S.,	19	Palamites,	14
,, Free Church,	19	Papal Schism,	14
,, New Connexion,	19	Papists,	16
,, Primitive,	19	Paracelsists,	17
,, Protestant,	19	*Paracelsus,	16
,, Reformed,	19	Passagieri,	12
,, Wesleyan,	18, 19	Patarini,	11
,, Zion Church,	19	Patricians,	3
Milk-eaters,	18	Patripassians,	2
Millenarians,	3	Paulianists,	3
Millerites,	19	Paulicians,	7
Moderates,	18	Paulojohanites,	8
Moderate Calvinists,	17	Peculiar People,	19
Monarchians,	2	Pelagians,	5
Monophysites,	5	Pepuzians,	2
Monothelites,	7	Peratæ,
Montanists,	2	Peratici,	2
Moravians,	18	Perfectionists,	19
Morelschiki,	17	*Peters, Margaret,	19
Morisonians,	19	Petrobrussians,	12
Mormons,	19	Philadelphian Society,	17
Mücker,	19	Philippists,	16
Muggletonians,	17	Philoponists,	6
Multipliers,	12	*Philumene,	2
NAASENES,	2	*Photia,	9
Nazarenes,	1	*Photinus,	4
Neonomians,	18	Phrygians,	2
Neoplatonics,	3	Phthartolatry,	6
Nestorians,	5	Pietists,	17
New Jerusalem Church,	18	Plymouth Brethren,	19
New Lights,	18	Pneumatomachoi,	4
New Templars,	19	Poor Men of Lyons,	12
Nicolaitans,	1	*Poschl, Thomas,	19
Nihilists,	18, 19	Positivists,	19
Niobites,	6		

	CENT.		CENT.
Predestinarians,	5	Seceders,	18
*Prepon,	2	Secularists,	19
Presbyterians,	16	*Secundus,	2
,, Cumberland,	19	Seekers,	17
,, New School,	19	*Seidel, Martin,	16
,, Old School,	19	Self-sacrificers,	17
,, Reformed,	18	Selucians,	4
,, United,	19	Semi-Arians,	4
,, Welsh,	18	Semi-Pelagians,	5
Priscillianists,	4	Separatists,	18, 19
Proclians,	2	Serglots,	8
Protestants,	16	*Servetus, M.,	16
Psatyrians,	4	Sethians,	2
Ptolomeans,	2	Severians,	6
Publicani,	11	*Severus,	2
Puritans,	16	Shakers,	18, 19
Puseyites,	19	*Simon (Magus),	1
QUAKERS,	17	Simoniacs,	11
Quartodecimani,	2	Six-Years Party,	19
Quietists,	14, 17	Skopsi,	17
Quintillians,	2	Socialists,	19
RANTERS,	17, 19	Soenians,	16
Raskolniks,	17	*Solcia,	15
Realists,	13	Southcotians,	19
Reformed,	16	Spiritualists,	19
Reformed Episcopal Church,	19	Spirituels,	16
Relief Church,	18	St. Thomas, Christians of,	5, 8
Remonstrants,	17	Starowerzi,	17
Rhynsbergers,	17	Stedingers,	13
*Roscelin,	11	Stylites,	5
Rosicrucians,	17	Sublapsarians,	17
*Ruchrath, John,	15	Sunnists,	17
*Ryswick, Herm.,	15	Supralapsarians,	17
SABEANS,	2	Swaddlers,	18
Sabellians,	3	Swedenborgians,	18
Saccophori,	4	Syneretists,	17
Sacramentarians,	11, 16	Synergists,	16
Salvation Army,	19	TABORITES,	15
Samosatans,	3	Taepings,	19
*Sampseans,	2	*Tanchelm,	12
Sandemanians,	18	Tascodrugites,	4
Satanians,	4	Teetotalers,	19
*Saturnilus,	2	Theopaschites,	6
*Savonarola,	15	Theophilanthropists,	18
*Sawtre, William,	15	Theosophists,	17
Schwenkfeldians,	16	Therapeuta,	1
Schwestriones,	13	Thontrakians,	9
		Three Chapters, Schism of,	6
		*Tiric,	12

	CENT.		CENT.
Tisserands,	11	Vaudes,	11
Tractarians,	19	Vaudois,	11
Tritheists,	6	Verschoorists,	18
Tunkers,	18	*Vigilantius,	4
Turlupins,	14	*Virgilius,	9
UBIQUITARIANS,	16	WALDENSES,	12
Uckwallists,	16	Walkerites,	19
Ultramontanes,	19	*Walter of Cologne,	14
Unitarians,	19	Waterlandians,	16
Unitas Fratrum,	18	*Weigel, Val.,	16
United Armenians,	18	*Wescelin,	11
,, Brethren in Christ,	18	Wesleyans,	18
,, Evangelical Church,	18	,, Association,	19
,, Greeks,	16	,, Reformer,	19
Universalists,	19	*Wilhelmina of Milan,	13
,, Hypothetical,	17	Wilkinsonians,	18
*VALENTINUS,	2	*Wroe, John,	19
*Valesius,	3	ZIONITES,	18
Vanists,	17	Zuinglians,	16

In the above list a * indicates the name of an individual. There are many other names, chiefly derived from local leaders, which are applied to various sects by their opponents; but it is believed there are few sects of any importance which will not be found enumerated above.

APPENDIX C.

WRITERS QUOTED OR REFERRED TO.

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Philo</i> , a Jewish philosopher at Alexandria, contemporary with our Lord,	A.D. 40
<i>Josephus</i> , the Jewish historian; wrote his history about	75
<i>Dionysius the Arcopagite</i> , of Athens, a convert of St. Paul, said to have lived till	95
<i>Clement of Rome</i> , bishop or pastor, traditionally identified with Fl. Clemens the consul,	95

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Pliny</i> (C. Plinius Secundus), Roman governor of Bithynia; his Epistle about	A.D. 110
<i>Ignatius</i> , bishop of Antioch in Syria, martyred at Rome	107 or 116
<i>Barnabas</i> , the companion of St. Paul; { probably an Epistle ascribed to him, } but if genuine,	120 79
<i>Hermas</i> , brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome,	about 140
<i>Papias</i> , bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a disciple of St. John,	163
<i>Justin</i> , philosopher and martyr, born at Samaria, died at Rome	165
<i>Polycarp</i> , bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of St. John, martyred	167
AN EPISTLE of the Church at Smyrna, narrating his martyrdom,	167
<i>Tatian</i> , an Assyrian, disciple of Justin at Rome, founder of the Encratites,	166 or 174
<i>Melito</i> , bishop of Sardis,	170
<i>Athenagoras</i> , a philosopher at Athens,	177
AN EPISTLE from the churches in Gaul to those in Phrygia and Asia,	about 178
<i>Theophilus</i> , bishop of Antioch in Syria,	180 or 188
<i>Caius</i> , a presbyter of Rome, supposed author of the earliest extant canon,	about 196
<i>Irenæus</i> of Smyrna, a disciple of Polycarp, bishop of Lyons in Gaul,	202
<i>Minucius Felix</i> , from Africa, } probably about an advocate at Rome, } accdg. to other authorities,	208 235
THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES, of uncertain date, can scarcely be later than	215
<i>Clement</i> of Alexandria, head of the Catechetical School,	220
<i>Tertullian</i> , a presbyter of Carthage, became a Montanist about 200; died	220
<i>Callistus</i> , bishop of Rome,	217 to 223
<i>Hippolytus</i> , bishop of Ostia; by another account, schismatic bishop of Rome; martyred	236 or 239

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Gregory Thaumaturgus</i> , bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus,	A.D. fl. 245-270
<i>Novatian</i> , presbyter, and afterwards schismatic bishop of Rome,	about 251
<i>Origen</i> , teacher at Alexandria, afterwards at Cæsarea,	254
<i>Nepos</i> , bishop of Arsinoë in Egypt,	about 255
<i>Cyprian</i> , bishop of Carthage, martyr,	258
<i>Sabellius</i> , from Ptolemais in Egypt; taught at Rome,	256-62
<i>Dionysius</i> , bishop of Alexandria,	265
<i>Dionysius</i> , bishop of Rome,	268
<i>Archelaus</i> , bishop of Cascara in Mesopotamia, the opponent of Mani,	277
<i>Arnobius</i> , an African rhetorician, the teacher of Lactantius,	297 or 303
<i>Lucian</i> , a presbyter of Antioch, and martyr,	305 or 311
<i>Methodius</i> , bishop of Patara in Lycia, afterwards at Tyre; martyred at Chalcis,	312
<i>Lactantius</i> , a rhetorician of Nicomedia in Bithynia, afterwards of Treves,	about 325
APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS; the present collection of books belongs to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century; but some parts are presumably older.	
<i>Alexander</i> , bishop of Alexandria,	325
<i>Arius</i> , a presbyter of Alexandria, author of the Arian heresy,	336
<i>Constantine the Great</i> , the first Christian emperor,	306-337
* <i>Juvencus</i> , a Spaniard, the first Latin Christian poet,	fl. 330-40
<i>Eusebius</i> , bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, the Church historian,	338
<i>Eusebius</i> of Nicomedia in Bithynia, bishop of Berytus, afterwards of Constantinople,	341
<i>Marcellus</i> , bishop of Ancyra in Galatia,	345
<i>Anthony</i> the hermit, who dwelt in the Egyptian desert,	356

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Hosius</i> , bishop of Cordova, Spain (said to have pre- sided at the Council of Nicea),	A.D. 358
<i>Basil</i> , bishop of Ancyra in Galatia,	} all flourished 357-61
<i>Eunomius</i> , bishop of Cyzicum in Mysia,	
<i>George</i> , bishop of Laodicea in Cappa- docia,	
<i>Aëtius</i> , a deacon of Antioch,	
<i>Lucifer</i> , bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia,	fl. 362
<i>Maecdonius</i> , sometime bishop of Constantinople,	fl. 362
<i>Apollinaris</i> , bishop of Laodicea,	362-81
<i>Hilary</i> , bishop of Poitiers, France,	368
<i>Titus</i> , bishop of Bostra in Arabia,	372
<i>Athanasius</i> , bishop of Alexandria from 326 to	373
<i>Ephraem</i> , deacon of Edessa in Mesopotamia, a cele- brated poet,	375
<i>Photinus</i> , bishop of Sirmium in Servia,	376
<i>Basil "the Great,"</i> bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,	379
<i>Cyril</i> , bishop of Jerusalem,	386
<i>Ulfilas</i> , Arian bishop among the Goths, translator of the Scriptures,	388
<i>Gregory Nazianzen</i> (or of Nazianzum), in Cappa- docia, bishop of that place, and for a short time of Constantinople,	391
<i>Diodorus</i> , a presbyter of Antioch, and bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia,	394
<i>Didymus</i> , catechist at Alexandria; blind from his childhood,	395
<i>Gregory</i> of Nyssa in Cappadocia, brother of Basil the Great; he presided at the Council of Con- stantinople,	395
<i>Ambrose</i> , governor, and afterwards bishop, of Milan, Italy,	397
<i>Asterius</i> , bishop of Amasea in Pontus,	398
<i>Nemesius</i> , bishop of Emessa in Phoenicia,	400
<i>John</i> , bishop of Jerusalem,	402
<i>Epiphanius</i> , bishop of Salamis in Cyprus,	403
<i>Theophilus</i> , bishop of Alexandria,	404

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>Prudentius</i> of Saragossa in Spain, a distinguished poet,	405 or 413
<i>John Chrysostom</i> , a native of Antioch, bishop of Constantinople,	407
<i>Rufinus</i> , a presbyter of Aquileia in Italy,	410
<i>Paulinus</i> , a deacon of Milan, Italy,	fl. 411
<i>Celestius</i> , a presbyter of Rome; by other accounts an Irishman,	fl. 411
<i>Paulus Orosius</i> , a Spanish presbyter and historian,	fl. 416
<i>Innocent I.</i> , bishop of Rome,	401 to 417
<i>Pelagius</i> , otherwise <i>Morgan</i> , a British monk,	420
<i>Jerome</i> (properly <i>Hieronimus</i>), a native of Dalmatia, the most learned and acrimonious of the Latin Fathers; he travelled in many countries, and died in Palestine,	420
<i>Theodore</i> , bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia; a fellow- student with Chrysostom,	428
<i>Synesius</i> , pupil of Hypatia at Alexandria, and bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt,	about 430
<i>Augustine</i> of Tagasta, bishop of Hippo in Africa,	430
* <i>Sozomen</i> , the Church historian, a native of Palestine,	fl. about 430
<i>Cassian</i> (<i>John</i>), said to be a Scythian; pupil of Chrysostom; abbot of Marseilles in France,	432
<i>Socrates</i> of Constantinople, the Church historian, fl. about	440
<i>Nestorius</i> , a monk of Antioch, afterwards bishop of Constantinople,	440
<i>Philostorgius</i> of Cappadocia, a Church historian,	441
<i>Cyril</i> , bishop of Alexandria,	444
<i>Eutyches</i> , head of a monastery at Constantinople, fl. about	444
* <i>Sedulius</i> , otherwise <i>Shiel</i> , a celebrated poet, sup- posed to have been an Irishman,	about 448
<i>Dioscuros</i> , bishop of Alexandria; he presided at the "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus in	449
<i>Flavian</i> , bishop of Constantinople, murdered at the "Robbers' Synod,"	449
<i>Vincent</i> of Lerins (a small island on the south coast of France), monk and presbyter,	450

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Ibas</i> , a presbyter, president of the theological school of Edessa,	A.D. fl. about 450
<i>Prosper</i> of Aquitaine in France, a layman,	450
<i>Nilus</i> , pupil of Chrysostom, an Anchorite in Arabia,	451 or 457
<i>Hilary</i> , bishop of Arles in France,	454
<i>Theodoret</i> , a native of Antioch, bishop of Cyrrihus in Syria,	457
* <i>Anatolius</i> , bishop of Constantinople, the first Greek hymn-writer,	458
<i>Leo I.</i> , called "The Great," bishop of Rome,	440 to 461
<i>Patrick</i> , originally Succat, the apostle of Ireland,	465 or 493
<i>Barsumas</i> , bishop of Nisibis,	fl. about 470
<i>Peter Gnapheus</i> , or "The Fuller," Monophysite bishop of Antioch, deposed	472
<i>Faustus</i> , bishop of Rhegium in Italy,	475
<i>Salvian</i> of Marseilles, France,	480
<i>Vigilus</i> , bishop of Tapsus, Africa,	485
<i>Zeno</i> , emperor of Constantinople, author of the <i>Henoticon</i> ,	491
<i>Gelasius</i> , bishop of Rome; he laboured to settle the canon of Scripture,	492 to 496
<i>Gennadius</i> , presbyter of Marseilles,	498
<i>Bar Sudaili</i> , abbot of Edessa in Mesopotamia, lived in the fifth century, date uncertain.	
<i>Philoxenus</i> , Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, translator of the Scriptures,	fl. 508
<i>Severus</i> , Monophysite bishop of Antioch,	513
<i>Julian</i> , Monophysite bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria,	519
<i>Boethius</i> , statesman under Theodoric, king of Italy; put to death	524
<i>Themistius</i> , a deacon of Alexandria,	530
<i>DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE</i> ; writings forged in his name appeared	532
<i>Fulgentius</i> , bishop of Ruspé in Africa,	533
<i>Cæsarius</i> , bishop of Arles in France, eminent in the Pelagian controversy,	542

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Benedict</i> of Nursia in Italy; reformer of Monasticism throughout the West,	A.D. 543
<i>Junilius</i> , an African bishop; his diocese is uncertain,	about 560
<i>Justinian</i> , emperor of Constantinople; reigned from 527 to	565
<i>Jacob al Baradai</i> , called also <i>Baradawus</i> and <i>Zanzales</i> , Monophysite bishop of Edessa,	588
<i>John the Faster</i> , bishop of Constantinople; author of the earliest extant <i>Greek</i> penitential code,	595
<i>Gregory</i> , bishop of Tours in France,	595
<i>Columba</i> , missionary in Scotland, and abbot of Iona,	597
<i>Conon</i> , Monophysite bishop of Tarsus, Cilicia,	601
<i>Gregory the Great</i> , bishop of Rome,	590 to 604
* <i>Venantius Fortunatus</i> , bishop of Poitiers in France; a distinguished poet,	609
<i>Phocas</i> , the usurping emperor of Constantinople,	610
<i>Philoponus, John</i> , a grammarian at Alexandria,	618
<i>Sophronius</i> , patriarch of Jerusalem,	635
* <i>Isidore</i> , bishop of Seville in Spain; a Vandal by race; an eminent scholar, who was pretended to have collected the "Forged Decretals,"	636
<i>Honorius</i> , bishop of Rome,	625 to 638
<i>Heraclius</i> , emperor of Constantinople, author of the <i>Ekthesis</i> ,	646
<i>Martin</i> , bishop of Rome,	649 to 656
<i>Maximus Confessor</i> , abbot of a monastery in Constantinople,	662
<i>Constans II.</i> , emperor of Constantinople, author of the <i>Typos</i> ,	668
<i>Marun</i> , an abbot in Syria [but ? if not merely the head of a monastery dedicated in memory of one <i>Marun</i> or <i>Maris</i>],	680
<i>Agatho</i> , bishop of Rome,	678 to 682
<i>Theodore</i> , a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; author of the oldest extant <i>Latin</i> penitential code,	690
<i>Germanus</i> , bishop of Constantinople,	732

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Bede</i> , or <i>Beda</i> , "The Venerable," monk and presbyter of Jarrow, England,	A.D. 735
<i>Gregory III.</i> , bishop of Rome,	731 to 741
<i>Leo the Isaurian</i> , emperor of Constantinople; originator of the Iconoclastic controversy,	741
<i>John Damascene</i> , or of Damascus; also called <i>Mansur</i> , a priest at Jerusalem; theologian and poet; the date of his death is unknown, fl. about	750
<i>Boniface</i> , otherwise called <i>Winfriid</i> ; the apostle of Germany, an Englishman,	755
<i>Cosmas of Jerusalem</i> , foster-brother of John Damascene; bishop of Maiuma in Palestine,	760
<i>Stephen III.</i> , bishop of Rome,	768 to 772
* <i>Paulus Diaconus</i> of Aquileia in Lombardy; an eminent scholar at the Court of Charlemagne,	fl. about 780
<i>Hadrian I.</i> , bishop of Rome,	772 to 795
<i>Elipandus</i> , bishop of Toledo in Spain,	fl. about 798
<i>Alcuin</i> , deacon at York, afterwards counsellor of Charlemagne,	804
<i>Tarasius</i> , bishop of Constantinople,	806
<i>Charlemagne</i> , king of France, 768; emperor of the West, 800; died	814
<i>Theophanes</i> , a Greek monk, died at Samothrace,	818
<i>Felix</i> , bishop of Urgella in Spain,	818
* <i>Theodulph</i> , bishop of Orleans, France, eminent as a founder of elementary schools,	821
<i>Theodore</i> , chief of the Studion, a monastery at Constantinople,	826
<i>Joseph of the Studion</i> , a Sicilian monk; the most prolific of Greek hymn-writers,	fl. 830
THE FORGED DECRETALS, first produced about	835
<i>Agobard</i> , a Spaniard, bishop of Lyons in France; the first mediæval opponent of the mechanical theory of verbal inspiration,	840
* <i>Claudius Clement</i> , bishop of Turin, Italy; "well known as a bold reformer,"	840
<i>Prudentius</i> , bishop of Troyes, France,	fl. 849

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>Servatus Lupus</i> , abbot of Ferrières, France, . . .	fl. 850
<i>Rabanus Maurus</i> , a pupil of Alcuin; abbot of Fulda, and bishop of Mayence in Germany, . . .	856
<i>Ratramnus</i> , a monk of Corbey in France, . . .	fl. 860
<i>Paschasius Radbert</i> , abbot of Corbey; "the inventor of transubstantiation,"	865
<i>Gottesechalk</i> , a monk at Orbais, France,	868
* <i>Druthmar</i> , abbot of Corbey; the most sober Biblical commentator of his age,	fl. 875
<i>Erigena</i> (<i>Johannes Scotus</i>), flourished at the Court of Charles the Bald, king of France; after- wards taught at Oxford and Malmesbury; died	abt. 882
<i>Hinemar</i> , a Benedictine monk, afterwards bishop of Rheims, France,	882
* <i>Simeon Metaphrastes</i> , an officer of State at Con- stantinople, and writer of legends of the saints,	904
* <i>Notker</i> , a monk of St. Gall, Switzerland; first writer of the hymns called "Sequences,"	912
<i>Odo</i> , abbot of Clugny in Burgundy,	942
<i>Odo</i> , archbishop of Canterbury, of Danish origin, . . .	956
<i>Dunstan</i> , monk of Glastonbury, afterwards arch- bishop of Canterbury,	988
* <i>Oecumenius</i> , bishop of Tricala in Thessaly; com- mentator on the Acts and Epistles,	fl. 980 or 990
<i>Gerbert</i> , bishop of Rheims, then of Ravenna, after- wards pope by the title of <i>Sylvester II.</i> , 999;	1003
<i>Ælfrie</i> , abbot of St. Albans, bishop of Wilton, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; trans- lator of Scripture, and opponent of transub- stantiation,	1005
(Some authors ascribe the writings of <i>Ælfrie</i> to one of that name who was abbot of Peterborough, bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of York, and died 1051.)	
<i>Fulbert</i> , bishop of Chartres, France; the first of the great Schoolmen,	1029

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>Theophylact</i> , bishop of Achrida in Bulgaria,	fl. about 1050
<i>Humbert</i> , cardinal; agent of the pope in the affairs which finally severed the Greek and Latin Churches,	fl. 1059
<i>Peter Damian</i> , cardinal and bishop of Ostia in Italy,	1072
<i>Hildebrand</i> , otherwise Gregory VII., pope,	1073 to 1085
<i>Berenger</i> of Tours in France, the zealous opponent of transubstantiation,	1088
<i>Lanfranc</i> , abbot of Caen in Normandy, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,	1089
<i>Nicholas</i> , bishop of Methone in Greece,	1089
<i>Roscellin</i> , a Breton; canon of Compiègne in France; founder (?) of the philosophical sect of Nomi- nalists,	1092
* <i>Osmund</i> , bishop of Salisbury; compiler of the "Sarum Use," on which the English "Common Prayer" is founded,	1099
<i>Ivo</i> of Chartres, France,	1101
<i>Euthymius</i> , a monk of Constantinople,	1107
<i>Anselm</i> ; born at Aosta in Piedmont, abbot of Bee, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,	1109
<i>Geoffrey</i> , abbot of Vendôme, France,	1110
<i>Odo</i> , bishop of Cambrai, France,	1113
* <i>William of Champeaux</i> , bishop of Chalons, France; founder of the University of Paris,	1113
<i>Hildebert</i> , bishop successively of Mans and Tours in France,	1134
<i>Rupert</i> , abbot of Duytz in France,	1135
<i>Bernard de Morlaix</i> , monk of Clugny, France,	1140
<i>Hugh of St. Victor</i> , Count of Blankenberg in Ger- many, and canon of the abbey of St. Victor, Paris,	1141
<i>Abelard</i> , teacher at Paris, hermit at Troyes, abbot of St. Gildas de Rhys in Brittany; died at Clugny,	1142
<i>Robert Pulleyn</i> , archdeacon of Rochester, England, and cardinal,	1144

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Bernard</i> , abbot of Clairvaux, France; a Burgundian; "the last of the Fathers,"	A.D. 1153
<i>Gilbert de la Porrée</i> , teacher at Paris, and bishop of Poitiers,	1154
<i>Peter the Venerable</i> , abbot of Clugny,	1156
<i>Peter Lombard</i> , bishop of Paris; "Master of the Sentences,"	1164
* <i>Richard of St. Victor</i> , a Scotchman; "Great Con- templator,"	1173
<i>Walter</i> , abbot or canon of St. Victor,	fl. 1180
<i>Adam of St. Victor</i> , the most distinguished of mediæval hymn-writers,	1192
A MARVELLOUS REVELATION OF ALMIGHTY GOD TO A MONK OF EYESHAM,	1196
<i>Joachim</i> , abbot of Flores in Calabria,	1202
<i>Alan of the Isles</i> , or of Ryssel, rector of the Uni- versity of Paris; "Universal Doctor,"	1203
<i>Amalrie of Bema</i> , professor at Paris,	1204
<i>Innocent III.</i> , pope,	1198 to 1216
<i>Dominic Gusman</i> , a Spaniard; founder of the Dominican or preaching friars,	1221
<i>Cæsar</i> of Heisterbach in Germany,	1222
<i>Francis of Assisi</i> in Italy; founder of the Francis- can or begging friars,	1226
<i>Alexander Hales</i> , an Englishman; the first Fran- ciscan professor at Paris; "Irrefragable Doctor,"	1245
* <i>Robert Grosteste</i> , bishop of Lincoln; a practical reformer, and opponent of scholasticism,	1253
<i>Thomas of Celano</i> in Italy, a Franciscan; author of the hymn "Dies Iræ,"	1260
* <i>Hugo of St. Cher</i> , near Vienne in France; cardinal; a Dominican; author of the first Con- cordance,	1260
<i>Thomas Aquinas</i> of Calabria, a Dominican; teacher at Cologne, Paris, and Rome; "Angelic Doctor,"	1274
<i>Bonaventura</i> , otherwise <i>John Fidanza</i> , cardinal;	

	Proximate date of death.
a Franciscan; teacher at Paris, and bishop of Ostia in Italy; "Seraphic Doctor,"	A.D. 1274
<i>Albert the Great</i> , Count of Bollstadt in Suabia; a Dominican; teacher at Paris and Cologne; bishop of Ratisbon,	1280
<i>William Durand</i> , bishop of Mendes, France, fl. about	1286
<i>John of Paris</i> , a Dominican; inventor of the theory of "impanation,"	1288
<i>Michael Scot</i> , a Scottish knight and reputed magician; translator of Aristotle,	1291
<i>Roger Bacon</i> , an Englishman; teacher at Oxford; "Wonderful Doctor,"	1294
* <i>Jacob a Voragine</i> , a Dominican; archbishop of Genoa, Italy; the last celebrated writer of legends of saints,	1298
<i>Boniface VIII.</i> , pope,	1294 to 1303
* <i>Giacopone da Todi</i> in Italy; Franciscan and poet; author of "Stabat Mater," etc.,	1306
<i>John Duns Scotus</i> , a Franciscan; teacher at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne; "Subtle Doctor,"	1308
* <i>Raymond Lully</i> , a native of Majorca; philosopher, theologian, and missionary,	1315
<i>Dante Allighieri</i> of Florence, poet,	1321
* <i>Francis Mayron</i> of Paris, a Franciscan; "Illumi- nated Doctor,"	1325
<i>Durand of St. Porcien</i> , a Dominican; bishop of Meaux, France; "Most Resolute Doctor,"	fl. 1326
<i>Eckhart</i> , a Dominican of Ulm, Germany; the first of the great Mystics,	1329
<i>John XXII.</i> , pope,	1316 to 1334
* <i>Nicholas of Lyra</i> , a Jewish convert of Normandy; Franciscan; commentator on Scripture,	1340
* <i>Nicholas of Basle</i> in Switzerland; head of the society called "Friends of God,"	fl. 1340-1380
<i>Richard Rolle of Hampole</i> , an English hermit, theo- logian, and poet,	1341
<i>Benedict XII.</i> , pope,	1334 to 1342

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>William Ockham</i> , an English Franciscan; teacher at Paris; "Invincible Doctor,"	1347
<i>Thomas of Bradwardine</i> , a Franciscan; chaplain and confessor to King Edward III., and archbishop of Canterbury; "Profound Doctor,"	1349
<i>Raymond of Sabunde</i> , at Toulouse, France,	1350
<i>John Tauler</i> , a Dominican of Strasburg, Germany,	1361
<i>Bridget (St.)</i> , a Swedish princess,	1364
<i>Henry Suso</i> , a Dominican at Ulm, Germany,	1365
<i>Catherine (St.) of Sienna</i> in Italy,	1380
<i>John Ruysbrock</i> , a monk at Brussels; "Ecstatic Doctor,"	1381
<i>John Wickliffe</i> , teacher at Oxford, parson of Lutterworth, translator of the Bible into English,	1384
* <i>Manuel Chrysoloras</i> , the first Greek who taught in Italy on the revival of classical learning,	1396
<i>John Huss</i> , the Bohemian reformer,	1414
<i>Jerome of Prague</i> , the colleague of Huss,	1415
<i>John Charlier</i> , otherwise <i>Gerson</i> , chancellor of the University of Paris,	1429
* <i>Laurentius Valla</i> , an Italian scholar, who first exploded the "Donation of Constantine,"	1456
* <i>Thomas a Kempis</i> , canon of Zwolle, Holland; supposed author of the <i>Imitation of Christ</i> ,	1471
<i>Sixtus IV.</i> , pope,	1471 to 1484
THE FIRST PRINTED HEBREW BIBLE, edited by Jews, at Soncino,	1488
<i>John Wessel</i> , from Gröningen, monk at Zwolle,	1489
<i>Gabriel Biel</i> of Spires, teacher at Tübingen; the last of the great Schoolmen,	1495
<i>Jerome Savonarola</i> , the reformer of Florence,	1498
THE DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE, an anonymous treatise, printed	1516
* <i>Francis Ximenes</i> , cardinal and archbishop of Toledo; he printed the first Greek Testament in 1514, and died	1517
<i>Leo X.</i> , pope,	1513 to 1521

	Proximate date of death.
<i>John Tetzel</i> , a German monk; the notorious seller of indulgences,	A.D. 1519
* <i>Reuehlin</i> , otherwise <i>Capnio</i> , the most eminent of the German Humanists,	1522
<i>Zwingli (Ulrich)</i> , preacher at Zürich; the pioneer of the Swiss Reformation,	1531
<i>Ceolampadius</i> , otherwise <i>Haussehein</i> , professor at Basle, Switzerland,	1531
<i>Melchior Hoffmann</i> , a Swabian Anabaptist who sought to promote Reformation in Esthonia,	1532
<i>Æpinius</i> , a Lutheran minister at Hamburg,	1533
<i>Cajetan</i> , otherwise <i>Thomas de Vio</i> , cardinal, and bishop of Gaeta in Italy; a distinguished champion of the Roman Church,	1534
<i>Cornelius Agrippa</i> of Cologne, physician, lawyer, and theosophist; died at Grenoble, France,	1535
<i>Desiderius Erasmus</i> of Rotterdam, scholar and controversialist; died at Basle,	1536
<i>Tyndale, William</i> , translator of the first printed English Bible; burnt at Antwerp,	1537
<i>Carlstadt, Andrew Bodenstein</i> of, first coadjutor, afterwards opponent of Luther,	1541
* <i>Eck, John</i> , chancellor of Ingolstadt, the most eminent controversialist of the Roman Church against the Reformation,	1543
<i>Copernicus, Nicholas</i> , astronomer at Thorn, Poland,	1543
<i>Luther, Martin</i> , monk at Wittenberg; leader of the Reformation in Germany,	1546
<i>Claudius</i> of Savoy, an itinerant preacher of Unitarianism,	about 1550
<i>Osiander, Andrew</i> , a Bavarian, preacher at Nuremberg, afterwards preacher and professor at Königsberg,	1552
<i>Servetus, Michael</i> , a Spanish physician and philosopher; burnt at Geneva,	1553
<i>Fjeffinger, John</i> , superintendent (<i>i.e.</i> Lutheran bishop) at Leipsic,	fl. 1555

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Cranmer, Thomas</i> , archbishop of Canterbury,	A.D.
<i>Hooper, John</i> , bishop of Glou- cester,	1555
<i>Ridley, Nicholas</i> , bishop of London,	1555
<i>Latimer, Hugh</i> , bishop of Wor- cester,	1555
<i>Gentilis, Valentine</i> , of Calabria, a Unitarian; be- headed at Berne,	1556
<i>Loyola, Ignatius</i> , a Spanish nobleman; founder of the "Society of Jesus," <i>i.e.</i> Jesuits,	1556
<i>Melanchthon, Philip</i> , otherwise <i>Schwartzerd</i> , professor at Wittenberg,	1560
<i>Amsdorf, Nicholas von</i> , superintendent of Magdeburg, fl.	1560
<i>Major, George</i> , preacher at Wittenberg, fl.	1560
<i>Schwenkfeld, Caspar</i> , a Silesian Mystic,	1561
<i>Menno Simonis</i> , born in Friesland, 1505; Catholic priest in Holstein; became the founder of the Dutch Anabaptists; baptized 1536; died	1561
<i>Socinus, Lælius</i> , an Italian jurist; born at Sienna, died at Zürich,	1562
<i>Castellio, Sebastian</i> , born in Dauphiny; teacher at Genoa; died at Basle,	1563
<i>Andrew, Jacob</i> , chancellor of Tübingen, Germany, fl.	1563-80
<i>Calvin, John</i> , born at Noyon in Picardy 1509; published his "Institutes" at Basle 1535; professor and virtual dictator at Geneva from 1541; died	1564
<i>Agricola, John</i> , professor at Wittenberg, afterwards preacher at Berlin,	1566
<i>Gribaldi, Matthew</i> , an Italian lawyer, whose opinions tended towards Tritheism,	1566
<i>Pius IV.</i> , pope from 1559 to	1566
<i>Paleario, Aonio</i> , public teacher at Sienna and Lucca, Italy,	1570
* <i>Knox, John</i> , leader of the Reformation in Scotland,	1572
<i>Pius V.</i> , pope from 1566 to	1572

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Stancar, Francis</i> , of Mantua, Italy, a man notorious for his petty disputes,	A.D. 1574
<i>Gheast, Edmund</i> , bishop of Rochester,	1574
<i>Bullinger, Henry</i> , pastor at Zürich,	1575
<i>Chytræus, David</i> , a Lutheran divine,	fl. 1575
<i>Flack, Matthias</i> , called <i>Flaccius Illyricus</i> , a Lutheran theologian and church historian; born in Istria; teacher at Magdeburg, Jena, etc.; died at Frankfort,	1575
<i>Rics, John</i> , a Dutch Anabaptist, compiler of the Mennonite confession,	fl. about 1580
<i>Hessels, John</i> , a doctor of Louvain,	1580
<i>Musculus, Andrew</i> , Lutheran minister at Frankfort on Oder,	1580
<i>Scott, Reginald</i> , an English scholar and agriculturist,	1584
<i>Chemnitz, Martin</i> , lecturer at Wittenberg, after- wards pastor and superintendent at Bruns- wick,	1586
<i>Erastus</i> , otherwise <i>Thomas Lieber</i> , professor of medicine at Heidelberg and Basle,	1588
<i>Bay, Michael de</i> , doctor of Louvain,	1589
<i>Blandrata, George</i> , an Italian physician, who propa- gated Unitarianism in Transylvania,	1590
<i>Penry, John</i> , a Welsh preacher,	} Put to death for Noncon- formity, and for alleged libels against the Angli- can hierarchy,
<i>Barrow, Henry</i> , an English lawyer,	
<i>Greenwood, John</i> , an English minister,	
<i>Hooker, Richard</i> , rector of Bishopsbourn, Kent; author of <i>Ecclesiastical Polity</i> ,	1600
<i>Molina, Louis de</i> , a Jesuit, professor at Evora, Portugal,	1600
<i>Tycho Brahe</i> , a celebrated Danish astronomer,	1601
<i>Cartwright, Thomas</i> , professor at Cambridge,	1603
<i>Whitgift, John</i> , archbishop of Canterbury,	1604
<i>Socinus, Faustus</i> , lawyer and theologian; born at Sienna 1539, died in Poland,	1604

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>Beza, Theodore</i> , born in France, professor at Lausanne and Geneva; died	1605
<i>Van Harmen, James</i> , otherwise <i>Harmensen</i> and <i>Arminius</i> , professor at Leyden,	1609
<i>Bancroft, Richard</i> , archbishop of Canterbury,	1610
<i>Piscator, John</i> , a Calvinistic theologian at Herborn,	1615
<i>Bellarmino, Robert</i> , a Jesuit, cardinal, and archbishop of Capua, Italy,	1621
<i>Arndt, John</i> , a Lutheran Mystic; superintendent at Zell,	1621
<i>Ainsworth, Henry</i> , minister of a congregation of English Independents; refugee at Amsterdam,	1622
<i>Böhm, Boehm, or Behmen, Jacob</i> , a shoemaker at Görlitz, Lusatia,	1624
<i>Robinson, John</i> , pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers; died at Leyden,	1625
<i>Critopulos, Metrophanes</i> , patriarch of Alexandria,	1625
<i>James VI.</i> , King of Scotland (I. of England),	1625
<i>Andrews, Launcelot</i> , bishop of Winchester,	1626
<i>Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam</i> , Lord Chancellor of England; founder of the modern inductive philosophy,	1626
<i>Brown, Robert</i> , an English clergyman; the first modern advocate of congregational independency; began to write 1582, died	1630
<i>Kepler, John</i> , astronomer at Gratz and Linz, Germany,	1633
<i>Crell, John</i> , rector of the University of Racow, Poland,	1633
<i>Episcopius, Simon</i> , principal of the Remonstrant College at Amsterdam,	1634
<i>Gerhardt, John</i> , professor at Coburg and Jena, Germany,	1638
<i>Jansen, Cornelius</i> , bishop of Ypern in Flanders,	1638
<i>Leukaris, Cyril</i> , bishop of Constantinople,	1638
<i>Gomar, Francis</i> , professor at Leyden, Gröningen, and elsewhere,	1641

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Galileo Galilei</i> , philosopher at Padua and Florence, Italy,	A.D. 1642
<i>Crisp, Tobias</i> , rector of Brickworth, Wiltshire,	1643
<i>Amyrault, Moses</i> , professor in the Reformed Academy at Saumur, France,	1644
<i>Grotius, Hugh</i> , a celebrated Dutch lawyer and statesman,	1645
<i>Chillingworth, William</i> , chancellor of Salisbury ; author of <i>Religion of Protestants</i> ,	1646
<i>Laud, William</i> , archbishop of Canterbury ; beheaded by political opponents,	1647
<i>Descartes, René</i> , a celebrated French philosopher (Catholic),	1650
<i>Selden, John</i> , an English lawyer and antiquarian,	1654
<i>Peyrère, Isaac de la</i> , a Calvinist of Bordeaux, France ; afterwards a Catholic,	1655
<i>Place, Joshua de la</i> , professor at Saumur, France,	1655
<i>Calixtus, George</i> , professor at Helmstadt, Germany,	1656
<i>Ussher, James</i> , archbishop of Armagh, Ireland,	1656
<i>Curcellæus, Stephen</i> , professor at Amsterdam,	1659
<i>Pascal, Blaise</i> , a distinguished French philosopher and mathematician,	1662
<i>Calamy, Edmund</i> , Presbyterian minister in London,	1666
<i>Taylor, Jeremy</i> , bishop of Dromore, Ireland,	1667
<i>Cocceius, John</i> , professor at Leyden,	1669
<i>Daille, John</i> , pastor at Saumur and Charenton, France,	1670
<i>Milton, John</i> , English statesman and poet,	1674
<i>Voet, Gilbert</i> , professor of divinity at Utrecht ; opponent of Descartes,	1676
<i>Spinoza, Benedict</i> , or <i>Baruch</i> , of Jewish parentage ; resided at Amsterdam and the Hague,	1677
<i>Goodwin, Thomas</i> , head of a College at Oxford, afterwards minister in London,	1679
<i>Glanvill, Joseph</i> , rector of Bath ; an eccentric philosopher,	1682
<i>Owen, John</i> , sometime dean of Christ Church, and vice-chancellor of Oxford,	1683

	Proximate date of death.
	A.D.
<i>Pajon, Claude</i> , professor at Saumur,	1685
<i>Calovius, Abraham</i> , professor at Wittenberg,	1686
<i>Claude, John</i> , Protestant minister at Nismes, Montauban, etc., in France,	1687
<i>Barelay, Robert</i> , an English Quaker; author of the <i>Apology</i> ,	1690
<i>Baxter, Richard</i> , minister at Kidderminster; distinguished for conciliatory effort,	1691
<i>Fox, George</i> , shoemaker in Leicestershire; founder of the "Society of Friends,"	1691
<i>Boyle, Robert</i> , English philosopher and chemist,	1691
<i>Arnauld, Antoine</i> , doctor of the Sorbonne, Paris,	1694
<i>Puffendorf, Samuel</i> , lawyer and historian; born in Saxony, died at Berlin	1694
<i>Becker, Balthazar</i> , preacher at Amsterdam,	1698
<i>Locke, John</i> , English philosopher,	1704
<i>Ray, John</i> , English philosopher and naturalist,	1705
<i>Spener, Philip James</i> , a Lutheran divine at Frankfurt, Dresden, and Berlin,	1705
<i>Mill, John</i> , Biblical critic; rector of Bletchington, Oxfordshire,	1707
<i>Witsius, Hermann</i> , professor at Utrecht and Leyden,	1708
<i>Limborch, Philip</i> , professor at Amsterdam,	1712
<i>Hollaz, David</i> , a Lutheran theologian in Pomerania,	1713
<i>Leibnitz, Gottf. W.</i> , Hanoverian statesman and philosopher,	1716
<i>Penn, William</i> , an English Quaker; founder of the State of Pennsylvania,	1718
<i>Quesnel, Pasquier</i> , a priest of the Oratoire, Paris,	1719
<i>Petersen, William</i> , superintendent of Lüneburg, Hanover,	1727
<i>Newton, Sir Isaae</i> , the most distinguished of English natural philosophers,	1727
<i>Thomas, Christian</i> , professor of jurisprudence at Hallé, Prussia,	1728
<i>Clarke, Samuel</i> , rector of St. James', Westminster; philosopher and classical scholar,	1729

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Dippel, John Conrad</i> , a fanatical Mystic and Separatist in Germany,	A.D. 1734
<i>Derham, William</i> , rector of Upminster, Essex,	1735
<i>Hutchinson, John</i> , an eccentric English philosopher,	1732
<i>Whiston, William</i> , professor of mathematics at Cambridge,	1752
<i>Butler, Joseph</i> , bishop of Durham; author of the <i>Analogy of Religion</i> ,	1752
<i>Wolff, Chr. von</i> , of Hallé, Prussia, philosopher,	1754
<i>Wetstein, John James</i> , minister at Basle, afterwards professor at Amsterdam,	1754
<i>Bengel, John Albert</i> , a Lutheran theologian; professor at Tübingen, Wurtemberg,	1754
<i>Zinzendorf, Nicholas Louis (Count)</i> , protector and bishop of the Moravian Church; born at Dresden, died at Herrnhut, Saxony,	1760
<i>Hoadley, Benjamin</i> , bishop of Bangor, afterwards of Winchester,	1761
<i>Swedenborg, Emanuel</i> , a Swedish nobleman, natural philosopher, and visionary,	1772
<i>Töllner, John Gottlieb</i> , professor at Frankfort on the Oder,	1774
<i>Hume, David</i> , of Edinburgh, historian and sceptical philosopher,	1776
<i>Fletcher, John</i> , a native of Switzerland; vicar of Madeley, Salop,	1785
<i>Wesley, John</i> , Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; leader of the Methodist revival,	1791
<i>Semler, John Solomon</i> , professor of theology at Hallé,	1791
<i>Herder, John Godfrey</i> , superintendent-general of Saxe-Weimar; philosopher and poet,	1803
<i>Kant, Immanuel</i> , philosopher and professor at Königsberg, Prussia,	1804
<i>Priestley, Joseph</i> , natural philosopher at Birmingham,	1804
<i>Paley, William</i> , archdeacon of Carlisle,	1805
<i>Storr, Gottlieb Christian</i> , professor at Tübingen,	1805
<i>Griesbach, John James</i> , biblical critic; professor at Hallé and Jena,	1812

	Proximate date of death.
<i>Williams, Edward</i> , principal of the Independent College at Rotherham, Yorkshire,	A.D. 1813
<i>Fuller, Andrew</i> , Baptist minister at Soham and Kettering,	1815
<i>Jung Stilling, Johan Heinrich</i> , a German economist,	1817
<i>Belsham, Thomas</i> , Unitarian minister in London, .	1829
<i>Hegel, George Frederick William</i> , professor at Berlin; a transcendental philosopher,	1831
<i>Blasche, Bernard Heinrich</i> , a German pedagogue and author,	1832
<i>Schleiermacher, Fred.</i> , professor of theology at Berlin,	1834
<i>Coleridge, Samuel Taylor</i> , an English philosopher and poet,	1834
<i>Froude, Richard Hurrell</i> , a clergyman at Oxford, one of the earliest promoters of the Catholic revival,	1836
<i>Channing, William Ellery</i> , Unitarian minister at Boston, Massachusetts,	1842
<i>De Wette, William M. L.</i> , professor at Basle,	1849
<i>Lachmann, Carl</i> , critical editor of the New Testament,	1851
<i>Scholtz, J. M. Aug.</i> , collator of MSS. and philologist,	1852
<i>Schelling, Fred. W. Jos. von</i> , professor at Berlin, . .	1854
<i>Miller, Hugh</i> , a distinguished Scottish geologist, . .	1856
<i>Hahn, Augustus</i> , German philologist,	1857
<i>Pye-Smith, John</i> , principal of an Independent College in London,	1858
<i>Parker, Theodore</i> , Unitarian minister at Boston, Massachusetts,	1860
<i>Keble, John</i> , rector of Hursley, professor of poetry at Oxford,	1866
<i>Tischendorf, Constantine von</i> , Biblical critic and antiquarian, of Leipzig,	1874
<i>Macausland, Dominic</i> , an ingenious Irish lawyer, . .	1874
<i>Pius IX.</i> , pope,	1846 to 1877
<i>Pusey, E. B.</i> , professor of Hebrew at Oxford,	1882
<i>Newman, J. H.</i> , formerly an Anglican clergyman at Oxford, now cardinal of the Roman Church,	—
<i>Kurtz, J. H.</i> , professor of theology at Dorpat,	—

* See note attached to Appendix C (2).

APPENDIX C (2).

It may be instructive to arrange the writers down to the schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches, those belonging to the formative period of Christian doctrine, in geographical as well as chronological order.

1. <i>Palestine.</i>			A. D.
Eusebius of Cæsarea,	338	George of Laodicea,	fl. 357
Cyril of Jerusalem,	386	Basil (the Great) of Cæsarea,	379
John of Jerusalem,	402	Gregory of Nazianzum,	391
* Sozomen,	440	Diodorus of Tarsus,	394
Sophronius of Jerusalem,	635	Gregory of Nyssa,	395
Cosmas of Jerusalem,	760	Asterius of Amasea,	398
		Theodore of Mopsuestia,	428
		Philostorgius,	441
		Conon of Tarsus,	601
		Theodore of Tarsus (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury),	690
2. <i>Syria, Mesopotamia, and the East.</i>			
Ignatius of Antioch,	116		
Tatian (an Assyrian, taught at Rome),	174		
Theophilus of Antioch,	188		
Archelaus of Cascara,	277		
Lucian of Antioch,	305 or 311		
Aetius of Antioch,	361		
Titus of Bostra in Arabia,	372		
Ephræm of Edessa,	375		
Nemesius of Emessa,	400		
John Chrysostom of Antioch,	407		
Nestorius of Antioch,	440		
Ibas of Edessa,	450		
Nilus, an anchorite in Arabia,	451		
Theodoret of Cyrrhus,	457		
Barsumas of Nisibis,	470		
Peter Gnapheus of Antioch,	472		
Bar Sudaïli of Edessa, unc. 5th cent.			
Philoxenus of Hierapolis,	508		
Severus of Antioch,	513		
Jacob al Baradaï,	588		
Marun,	680		
John Damascene,	fl. about 750		
3. <i>Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Cilicia.</i>			
Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neo- Cæsarea,	270		
Marcellus of Ancyra,	345		
Basil of Ancyra,	357		
4. <i>Asia Minor, including Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, etc.</i>			
		Papias of Hierapolis,	163
		Polycarp of Smyrna,	167
		Melito of Sardis,	170
		Irenæus of Smyrna (afterwards of Lyons, Gaul),	202
		Methodius of Patara (afterwards of Tyre),	312
		Lactantius of Nicomedia (after- wards of Treves),	325
		Eusebius of Nicomedia,	341
		Eunomius of Cyzicum,	fl. 357
		Apollinaris of Laodicea,	362-381
		Zeno of Isauria, emperor of Constantinople,	491
		Julian of Halicarnassus,	519
		Leo of Isauria, emperor of Con- stantinople,	741
5. <i>Greece, including Constantinople and the Isles.</i>			
		Barnabas, "a Levite of Cyprus,"	79
		Dionysius the Areopagite of Athens,	95
		Athenagoras of Athens,	177
		Macedonius of Constantinople,	362

	A. D.		A. D.
Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus,	403	Honorius, bishop of Rome,	638
Socrates of Constantinople,	440	Martin, bishop of Rome,	656
Eutyches of Constantinople,	444	Agatho, bishop of Rome,	682
Flavian of Constantinople,	449	Gregory III., bishop of Rome,	741
* Anatolius of Constantinople,	458	Stephen III., bishop of Rome,	772
Justinian, emperor of Constantinople,	565	* Paulus Diaconus of Aquileia,	780
John the Faster, of Constantinople,	595	Hadrian I., bishop of Rome,	795
Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople,	641	<i>8. France and Germany.</i>	
Maximus Confessor of Constantinople,	662	Hilary of Poitiers,	368
Constans II., emperor of Constantinople,	668	Cassian of Marseilles (a Scythian),	432
Germanus of Constantinople,	732	Vincent of Lerins,	450
Tarasius of Constantinople,	806	Prosper of Aquitaine,	450
Theophanes of Syngriana,	818	Hilary of Arles,	454
Theodore of the Studion,	821	Salvian of Marseilles,	486
Joseph of the Studion (a Sicilian),	826	Gennadius of Marseilles,	498
		Cæsarius of Arles,	542
		Gregory of Tours,	595
		* Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers,	609
		Charlemagne, emperor of the West,	814
		* Theodulph of Orleans,	821
		Agobard of Lyons (a Spaniard),	840
		Prudentius of Troyes,	849
		Servatus Lupus of Ferrières,	850
		Raban Maur, bishop of Mayence,	856
		Ratramnus of Corbey,	860
		Paschasius Radbert of Corbey,	865
		Gotteschalk of Orbais,	868
		* Druthmar of Corbey,	875
		Hincmar, bishop of Rheims,	882
		<i>9. The British Isles.</i>	
		Cælestius (?) said to be an Irishman,	411
		Pelagius, a Briton,	420
		Sedulius (?) said to be an Irishman,	448
		Patrick, the apostle of Ireland,	493
		Columba, the evangelist of the Picts,	597
		Beda, "the Venerable," of Jarrow,	735
		Boniface, the apostle of Germany,	755
		Alcuin of York,	804
		Erigena, an Irishman,	882

6. Dalmatia, Mæsia, etc.

Photinus of Sirmium,	376
Ulfilas, bishop among the Goths,	388
Jerome of Dalmatia (died in Palestine),	620

7. Italy.

Clement of Rome,	95
Hermas of Rome,	140
Justin (born at Samaria, taught at Rome),	165
Caius of Rome,	196
Callistus, bishop of Rome,	223
Hippolytus of Ostia,	239
Novatian of Rome,	251
Dionysius of Rome,	268
Lucifer of Cagliari,	362
Ambrose of Milan,	397
Rufinus of Aquileia,	410
Paulinus of Milan,	411
Innocent I., bishop of Rome,	417
Leo I., bishop of Rome,	461
Faustus of Rhegium, a Briton,	475
Gelasius, bishop of Rome,	496
Boethius, "the last Roman philosopher,"	524
Benedict of Nursia,	543
Gregory I., bishop of Rome,	604

10. <i>Spain.</i>		A.D.	12. <i>Egypt.</i>		A.D.
* Juvencus,	330-340		Clement of Alexandria,		220
Hosius of Cordova,	358		Origen of Alexandria (afterwards		
Prudentius of Saragossa,	405 or 413		of Cæsarea),		254
Paulus Orosius,	416		Nepos of Arsinoë,		255
* Isidore of Seville (a Vandal),	636		Sabellius of Ptolemais,		262
Elipandus of Toledo,	798		Dionysius of Alexandria,		265
Felix of Urgella,	818		Alexander of Alexandria,		325
11. <i>Northern Africa.</i>			Arius of Alexandria,		336
Tertullian of Carthage,	220		Anthony the Hermit,		356
Minucius Felix (taught at Rome),	235		Athanasius of Alexandria,		373
Cyprian of Carthage,	258		Didymus of Alexandria,		395
Arnobius,	297		Theophilus of Alexandria,		404
Augustine of Tagasta, bishop of			Synesius of Ptolemais,		430
Hippo,	430		Cyril of Alexandria,		444
Vigilius of Tapsus,	485		Dioscuro of Alexandria,		449
Fulgentius of Ruspé,	533		Themistius of Alexandria,		530
Junilius,	560		Philoponus of Alexandria,		618

[The writers marked * are *not* referred to, but are given in the table because of their prominence in general Church history.]

APPENDIX D.

CHURCH COUNCILS AND SYNODS.

In the following list are included not only the Councils mentioned in the foregoing history, but such a selection of the most important of more than 2400 Councils whose acts are recorded, as may furnish a concise view of the leading controversies which divided the Church from the Apostolic Age to the Reformation. A few ecclesiastico-political assemblies are also included:—

A.D.

- 49 at Jerusalem ; on the relation of Gentile converts to the Mosaic law ; Acts xv.
- 146 „ Rome ; (?) against the heresy of the Alogians.
- 170 „ Rome ; about the proper time to keep Easter.
- 173 „ Hierapolis in Asia ; against the Alogians and Montanists.

A.D.

- 197 at Ephesus ; about the proper time to keep Easter.
- 197 „ Rome ; about the proper time to keep Easter.
- 215 „ Carthage ; whether baptism administered by heretics is valid.
- 232 „ Alexandria ; to degrade Origen for self-mutilation and alleged heresy.
- 242 „ Bostra in Arabia ; against the Patripassians.
- 245 „ Ephesus ; against the Patripassians.
- 251 „ Carthage ; against Felicissimus, and about those who fell away in persecution.
- 256 „ Carthage ; about the validity of baptism administered by heretics.
- 256 „ Rome ; about the validity of baptism administered by heretics.
- 261 „ Alexandria ; against the opinions of Sabellius.
- 262 „ Rome ; against the Sabellians, and on the orthodoxy of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.
- 263 „ Arsinoë in Egypt ; against the Millenarians.
- 269 „ Antioch (last of three on the subject) ; Paul of Samosata deposed and excommunicated.
- 277 in Mesopotamia (?) ; against the pretensions of Mani.
- 305 at Elvira in Spain ; on questions of discipline, vows, usury, fasting, etc.
- 314 „ Ancyra in Galatia ; about those who had fallen away in persecution.
- 314 „ Arles in Provence ; against the Donatists ; the controversy about baptism by heretics settled.
- 321 „ Alexandria ; against the opinions of Arius, who was deposed from the ministry.
- 323 „ NICEA ; first General Council, attended by 318 bishops. It condemned the doctrine of Arius, confirmed the Roman rules about keeping Easter and dealing with persons baptized by heretics, and settled several minor controversies.
- 335 „ Tyre ; an Arian Council ; it voted the deposition of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.
- 339 „ Antioch ; a Semi-Arian Council, which compiled a

- A.D. creed resembling that of Nicea, but carefully omitted the test-word "homouousion."
- 343 at Sardica in Illyria; confirmed the Nicene Creed, reinstated Athanasius, and first sanctioned appeals to the Bishop of Rome.
- 346 „ Milan; confirmed the Nicene Creed, and condemned the modified Sabellianism of Marcellus and Photinus.
- 351 „ Sirmium in Servia; an Arian Council; condemned Marcellus and deposed Photinus.
- 357 „ Sirmium (second); a Semi-Arian Council; discarding the unbiblical term "*ousia*," it declared that the Son was "like the Father (*homoios*)."
- 358 „ Sirmium (third); Semi-Arian; affirmed the "Son to be like the Father in all things, as the Holy Scriptures say."
- 359 „ Seleucia; the Eastern bishops rejected the formula of Sirmium for that of Antioch.
- 359 „ Rimini in Italy; the Western bishops confirmed the creed of Nicea.
- 360 or 364 at Laodicea in Phrygia; on matters of discipline; marriage with unbelievers, the use of unauthorized hymns, and sending the eucharistic elements from church to church forbidden.
- 362 „ Alexandria; Arian bishops reinstated on recantation; Christ declared "perfect man," and the Holy Ghost consubstantial with the Father and the Son.
- 375 „ Gangres in Paphlagonia; against the Eustathians.
- 380 „ Saragossa in Spain; against the Priscillianists.
- 381 „ CONSTANTINOPLE; second General Council, attended by 350 bishops. It confirmed the creed of Nicea; affirmed the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost and the complete manhood of Christ; and, among other questions of order, gave the Bishop of Constantinople precedence over all other bishops except that of Rome.
- 383 „ Antioch; against the Messalians or Euchites.

A.D.

- 393 at Hippo in Africa; the canon of Scripture as now received was approved.
- 397 „ Carthage; on matters of discipline; the canon of Scripture, adopted at Hippo, reaffirmed.
- 399 „ Alexandria; a local Synod, wherein Origen was declared to have been a heretic.
- 403 „ Drys, near Chalcedon; Chrysostom wrongfully convicted of several crimes.
- 405 „ Carthage; against the Donatists; the Emperor requested to persecute them.
- 411 „ Carthage; a conference between 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops.
- 412 „ Carthage; a provincial Synod; Cœlestine, the colleague of Pelagius, excommunicated.
- 415 „ Jerusalem; having heard Pelagius, it refused to condemn him.
- 415 „ Diespolis (Lydda) in Palestine; it also refused to condemn Pelagius.
- 416 „ Carthage; the opinions of Pelagius condemned.
- 416 „ Mileve in Africa; Pelagius condemned; marriage of divorced persons forbidden.
- 418 „ Carthage; a provincial Synod; Pelagius once more condemned.
- 428 in Britain, place uncertain; against the Pelagians.
- 429 at Constantinople; a Diocesan Synod; Nestorius opposed the title “Mother of God.”
- 430 „ Alexandria; convened by Cyril of Alexandria against the views of Nestorius.
- 431 „ EPHESUS; third General Council; over 200 bishops attended, but those of Syria did not participate. Nestorianism and Pelagianism condemned.
- 431 „ Ephesus; a counter-Synod of Syrian bishops, who excommunicated Cyril.
- 446 „ Verulam (St. Albans); against the Pelagians.
- 447 „ Astorga in Galicia; against the Priscillianists.
- 448 „ Constantinople; Eutyches the Monophysite condemned as heretical.

A.D.

- 449 at Ephesus ; called " The Robbers' Synod ;" the Monophysite doctrine affirmed
- 451 ,, CHALCEDON ; fourth General Council, attended by 630 bishops. The Nestorian and Monophysite doctrines were both condemned ; the claim of the bishop of Rome to primacy by divine right was rejected, the status of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople was declared to be equal, and those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem were to stand next in rank.
- 475 ,, Arles ;
- 475 ,, Lyons ;
- } these both decided against the predestinarian-
ism of Augustine, and in favour of the
" Semi-Pelagian " doctrine of Cassian.
- 484 ,, Carthage ; an Arian Council, convened by Hunneric, king of the Vandals.
- 484 ,, Rome ; the Roman Church renounced communion with that of Constantinople, because the latter accepted the "*Henoticon*."
- 498 ,, Seleucia ; the Persian Church, adopting Nestorianism, separated from the Church of the Roman Empire.
- 499 in Burgundy ; a conference of Catholics and Arians, in presence of King Gundobald.
- 517 at Epaon in France ; the Burgundians, under Sigismund (son of Gundobald), abjured Arianism.
- 518 ,, Rome ; communion with the Church of Constantinople resumed.
- 523 in Sardinia ; a conference of African divines in favour of the views of Augustine.
- 527 at Feyin, Armenia ; the Armenian Monophysite Church separated from the Church of the Empire.
- 529 ,, Orange, France ; the theology of Augustine generally accepted.
- 541 ,, Constantinople ; a Diocesan Synod, at which the writings of Origen were condemned.
- 548 ,, Constantinople ; the " Three Chapters," *i.e.* quasi-Nestorian treatises of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, condemned.

A.D.

- 551 in Africa; the "Three Chapters" defended; Vigilius of Rome, who had condemned them, excommunicated.
- 553 at CONSTANTINOPLE; fifth General Council. The "Three Chapters" condemned, the assertion that "God was crucified for us" declared orthodox, and Origen's alleged heresies once more anathematized. Only 168 bishops participated in this Council.
- 553 or 555 at Aquileia in Italy; the bishops of Northern Italy and Illyria repudiated the fifth General Council.
- 563 „ Braga in Portugal; against the Priscillianists; the Suevi renounced Arianism.
- 589 „ Toledo in Spain (fourth); the Goths abjured Arianism; "*filioque*" added to the Nicene Creed.
- 601 or 603 at Augustine's Oak, near Worcester; conference of British clergy and Roman missionaries.
- 633 „ Toledo; trine immersion declared not to be essential to a valid baptism.
- 633 „ Alexandria; temporary union of Catholics and Monophysites on the Monothelete basis.
- 649 „ Rome; the "first Lateran Synod;" 105 Italian bishops anathematized the Ekthesis, the Typos, and the Monothelete heresy.
- 664 „ Whitby; the English Church adopted Roman in preference to British usages.
- 679 „ Rome; against the Monotheletes.
- 680 „ Hatfield; the English Church endorsed the decisions of the first five General Councils, and that of Lateran.
- 680-681 at CONSTANTINOPLE; sixth General Council; 292 bishops endorsed the conclusions of former General Councils, condemned the Monotheletes, and requested the pope to confirm their decisions.
- 692 „ *Constantinople*; intended to be general, but not received by the Roman Church. Called quinisext, as being supplementary to the fifth and sixth General Councils; and Trullan, from the

- A.D. hall Trullo where it was held. Its 105 canons, chiefly disciplinary, recognise the spurious apostolic canons, sanction the marriage of the clergy, forbid eating of blood and things strangled, reaffirm the equality of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, etc.
- 693 in England, place uncertain; fines imposed for neglect of infant baptism and for Sunday labour.
- 721 at Rome; on discipline; the spiritual affinity of sponsors made a bar to intermarriage.
- 732 „ Rome; in favour of the devotional use of images.
- 743 „ Leptines in France; Adalbert and Clement, alleged heretics, condemned; the French and German bishops promised obedience to the see of Rome.
- 747 „ Cloveshoo (Cliff at Hoo), Kent; against prevailing immorality; penances by proxy forbidden.
- 754 „ Constantinople; about 350 bishops condemned all reverence paid to images.
- 767 „ Gentilly, France; the interpolation of “*filioque*” in the creed discussed; result unknown.
- 769 „ Rome; all opponents of images anathematized.
- 787 „ NICEA; seventh General Council; the Constantinople decrees of 754 annulled, and the devotional use—not worship—of images sanctioned.
- 791 „ Friuli, Italy; the insertion of “*filioque*” in the creed vindicated.
- 792 „ Ratisbon, Germany; against the “Adoptionist” heresy.
- 794 „ Frankfort, Germany; against the Adoptionist heresy; and concerning the use of images, their retention for adornment and instruction was allowed, but acts of homage before them were prohibited.
- 799 „ Aix-la-Chapelle, France; Adoptionism condemned, and Felix of Urgella deposed.
- 809 „ Aix-la-Chapelle; the insertion of “*filioque*” in the creed solemnly sanctioned.
- 816 „ Chelchyth, England (locality doubtful); baptism by immersion enforced; the orders of the Scottish clergy (Culdees) repudiated.

A.D.

- 825 at Paris ; concerning images, the Frankfort decrees (794) confirmed.
- 842 „ Constantinople ; final condemnation of the image-breakers.
- 848 „ Mayence, Germany ; against Gotteschalk, the predestinarian.
- 850 „ Pavia, Italy ; extreme unction enjoined.
- 853 „ Chiersy, France ; against Gotteschalk, reprobation denied, predestination to life affirmed.
- 855 „ Valence, France ; the decisions of Chiersy and the philosophy of Erigena condemned.
- 857 „ Chiersy ; on a dispute between Charles the Bald, king of France, and Hincmar, bishop of Rheims. The “Forged Decretals” first produced.
- 859 „ Toul, France ; the partisans of the conflicting decisions of Chiersy and Valence agreed to postpone their controversy *sine die*.
- 863 „ Metz, Lorraine ; on the behaviour of Hincmar towards Gotteschalk, and other matters. It had no result.
- 863 „ Rome ; on a dispute between Bishops Hincmar of Rheims and Rothad of Soissons ; this was the first appeal of a French bishop to the see of Rome.
- 867 „ Constantinople ; a General Council of the Eastern Church ; the Roman Church was accused of various heresies, and the pope excommunicated.
- 869 „ *Constantinople* ; called by the Latins the eighth General Council. Photius, usurping bishop of Constantinople, deposed and anathematized.
- 879 „ *Constantinople* ; called by the Greeks the eighth General Council. Photius restored, and the insertion of “*filioque*” in the creed condemned.
- 897 „ Rome ; all the acts of the late Pope Formosus annulled, and his memory execrated.
- 898 „ Rome ; all that was done at the last-named Council repudiated.
- 906 „ Constantinople ; the Bishop of Constantinople de-

- A.D. posed for disallowing the *fourth* marriage of the Emperor Leo VI.
- 920 at Constantinople; the Acts of the preceding Council annulled. and fourth marriages forbidden.
- 921 „ Trosley, France; it was debated whether the dead can be absolved.
- 928 „ Greatley, England; payment of tithes enjoined; ordeals regulated; the canons of this Council prove, incidentally, that the English Church did not then believe in transubstantiation.
- 969 in England, place uncertain; to promote clerical celibacy by converting cathedral chapters into monasteries.
- 978 at Calne; to settle the rival claims of monks and secular clergy. The falling in of a floor was taken as a divine manifestation in favour of the monks.
- 1009 „ Ensham, England; frequent confession enjoined, and communion at least thrice a year; Sunday markets forbidden.
- 1017 „ Orleans, France; against some alleged Manichæans, who were put to death.
- 1022 „ Worms, Germany; penances allowed to be commuted for money.
- 1030 „ Cambray or Arras, France; some heretics reconciled to the Church.
- 1046 „ Sutri, near Rome; Pope Gregory IV. abdicated, and two rival popes deposed.
- 1050 „ Rome; Berenger, the opponent of transubstantiation, condemned unheard.
- 1050 „ Vercelli, Italy; the views of Berenger and writings of Ratramnus (860) condemned.
- 1054 „ Tours, France; Berenger explained his views in a manner satisfactory to the pope's legate.
- 1059 „ Rome; Berenger compelled to assent to the dogma of transubstantiation.
- 1059 „ Sutri; the election of pope declared to rest with the college of cardinals.
- 1060 „ Jacca, Spain; the Roman ritual adopted by the

- A.D. Spanish Church in place of the Mozarabic or old Gothic.
- 1065 at Rome; canon law declared supreme over civil law in respect of marriage within forbidden degrees.
- 1070 or 1072 at London; marriage forbidden within the seventh degree of kindred or affinity.
- 1074 „ Rome; celibacy imposed on the clergy throughout the Roman Church; priests who obtained office by purchase (Simoniaes) deposed, and their ministrations declared invalid.
- 1075 „ Rome; clergymen who accept office from laymen deposed, and secular lords who bestow such “investitures” excommunicated.
- 1076 „ Worms; a Synod of German bishops voted the deposition of Pope Gregory VII.
- 1076 „ Rome; Gregory VII. excommunicated the German emperor, and all the bishops who had taken part in the recent Synod at Worms.
- 1079 „ Rome; Berenger again compelled to abjure his opinions.
- 1092 „ Soissons; the alleged tritheism of Roscellin condemned.
- 1095 „ Clermont, France; the “Truce of God” proclaimed; the first Crusade resolved on.
- 1098 „ Bari, Italy; an abortive attempt to reconcile the Greek and Roman Churches.
- 1111 „ Uisnech, Ireland; several ancient abbacies converted into bishoprics.
- 1112 „ Rome (Lateran); a concession of the pope to the emperor on the subject of investitures annulled.
- 1119 „ Toulouse, France; against Peter de Bruys.
- 1120 „ Soissons; Abelard’s *Introduction to Theology* condemned.
- 1122 „ Worms; the right of spiritual investiture of bishops secured to the pope.
- 1123 „ *Rome, called First Lateran Council*; ninth General Council; the agreement at Worms confirmed; abbots and monks forbidden to say Mass, etc., in public.

A.D.

- 1129 at Toulouse; against the Albigenses; the Scriptures forbidden to the laity.
- 1136 „ Jerusalem; on the differences between the Roman and Armenian Churches.
- 1139 „ *Rome, called Second Lateran*; tenth General Council; against heretics, especially Arnold of Brescia.
- 1140 „ Sens, France; Abelard declared a heretic.
- 1143 „ Constantinople; against the Bogomiles.
- 1148 „ Rheims; against the philosophic heresy of Gilbert de la Porée.
- 1152 „ Kells, Ireland; the papal authority established in Ireland.
- 1161 „ Oxford, England; against some foreign heretical teachers, presumably Vaudois.
- 1164 „ Clarendon, England; the claim of the clergy to be exempt from civil jurisdiction repudiated; no nobleman to be excommunicated without the king's consent, etc.
- 1167 „ Lauragais, France; a General Council of “Albigenses,” probably Publicani.
- 1179 „ *Rome, called Third Lateran*; eleventh General Council; against the Vaudois and Albigenses; regulations were made about schismatics, and about the future election of popes.
- 1184 „ Verona, Italy; concerning clergymen who had been ordained by anti-popes, of whom there had been no fewer than twelve in the preceding century.
- 1186 „ Dublin; the ancient Irish customs abrogated in favour of Roman usages.
- 1197 „ Lanziski, Poland; concerning the clergy who still resisted the enforcement of celibacy.
- 1209 „ Paris; against Amalric of Bema, and the “Sect of the Holy Ghost.”
- 1215 „ *Rome, called Fourth Lateran*; twelfth General Council; against the Albigenses, and the alleged heresies of Joachim of Flores. All temporal lords were enjoined to take effectual measures for the extir-

- A.D. pation of heresy. Transubstantiation was declared an article of faith; all the faithful were to confess to their own priest, and receive the communion once a year at least.
- 1229 at Toulouse; confession and communion thrice a year insisted on; the Inquisition formally established.
- 1233 „ Mayence; against the Stadings, who refused to pay tithes.
- 1233 „ Nympha in Bithynia; another unsuccessful effort to reconcile the Roman and Greek Churches.
- 1234 „ Tarragona, Spain; use of Scripture forbidden to the laity.
- 1240 „ Worcester, England; the abuse of extreme unction condemned.
- 1245 „ *Lyons*; thirteenth General Council; Pope Innocent IV. assumed the right to depose the German Emperor; the sixth crusade resolved on.
- 1248 „ Scheningen in Sweden; against the marriage of the clergy.
- 1255 „ Beziers, France; against the Albigenses.
- 1258 „ Merton, England; against secular interference in spiritual causes.
- 1268 „ London; this Synod represented the Churches of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; lay baptism formally sanctioned; the phrase, “I absolve thee,” authorized.
- 1274 „ *Lyons*; fourteenth General Council; election of popes ordered to be conducted in conclave; a temporary reunion effected with the Greek Church, which lasted less than ten years.
- 1277 „ Constantinople; all who should reject the union declared excommunicate.
- 1281 „ Lambeth, England; communion in one kind authorized,—to be introduced cautiously.
- 1284 „ Constantinople; the reunion broken up.
- 1311 „ *Vienne, France*; fifteenth General Council; the Knights Templars abolished; Fratricelli, Beghards, and other heretics condemned; the “solemn procession of the sacrament” instituted.

A.D.

- 1317 at Tarragona, Spain ; against the Beghards, etc.
- 1340 „ Constantinople ; in favour of the Hesychiasts.
- 1345 „ Constantinople ; against the Hesychiasts.
- 1347 „ Constantinople ; in favour of the Hesychiasts.
- 1351 „ Constantinople ; against the Hesychiasts.
- 1377 „ London ; against the alleged heresies of Wickliffe.
- 1382 „ Oxford ; against Wickliffe.
- 1396 „ London ; against eighteen heresies ascribed to Wickliffe.
- 1408 „ Prague, Bohemia ; Wickliffe's writings condemned and burnt.
- 1409 „ *Pisa*, Italy ; sixteenth General Council ; convened to decide the claims of two rival popes, both of whom it deposed, and appointed a third.
- 1414 to 1418 at *Constance*, Switzerland ; seventeenth General Council ; of the three rival popes, one abdicated and two were deposed ; the Council then elected a new pope, thus asserting its superiority over the popes. The Flagellants and other heretics were condemned ; also the doctrines of Wickliffe, whose bones were exhumed and burnt. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were also condemned and burnt, on the avowed principle that "faith and promise are not to be kept to the prejudice of the Catholic faith." Communion in one kind universally imposed on the laity.
- 1421 „ Prague ; a Council of the Hussites.
- 1423 „ Pavia, Italy ; an abortive attempt to effect some reforms in the Roman Church.
- 1424 „ Sienna, Italy ; a sequel to that of Pavia. Indulgence granted to all who should contribute to the cost of suppressing the Bohemian heretics.
- 1429 „ Tortosa, Spain ; the anti-pope Clement VIII. resigned, and ended the papal schism.
- 1431-1443 at *Basle*, Switzerland ; eighteenth General Council ; it reaffirmed the superiority of General Councils over the pope, prohibited payment of fees for benefices or holy orders, enjoined the "adoration

- A.D. of the host," and made some concessions to the Calixtines, the conservative section of the Hussites. In 1438 the pope and the Council excommunicated each other. In 1439 the Council affirmed the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.
- 1432 at Bourges, France; the French bishops supported the Council against the pretensions of the pope.
- 1438 „ Bourges; the authority of the pope only acknowledged, subject to limitations embodied in the "pragmatic sanction."
- 1438 „ Ferrara, Italy; this was a section of the Basle Council, which adhered to the pope.
- 1439 „ *Florence*; a continuation of that at Ferrara. Some historians account it a General Council. A temporary reunion was effected with the Greek Church, the dispute about the procession of the Holy Ghost being compromised. The Russian Church was also nominally united to that of Rome. The universal primacy of the pope, the doctrine of the seven sacraments, purgatory, and the actual beatitude of departed saints, first *dogmatically* affirmed.
- 1439 „ Moscow; the Russian Church repudiated the union with Rome.
- 1442 „ Constantinople; the union of the Greek Church with that of Rome repudiated.
- 1443 „ Jerusalem; the union of the Greek and Roman Churches again repudiated, and all who adhered to it anathematized.
- 1450 „ Constantinople; the union once more repudiated.
- 1457 „ Lambeth, England; Pockocke, bishop of Chichester, deposed for denying the infallibility of the Church.
- 1457 „ Avignon, France; the immaculate conception of the Virgin again confirmed.
- 1459 „ Mantua, Italy; Pope Pius II. denied the right of appeal from a pope to a Council.

A.D.

- 1510 at Tours ; a French national Council, which renounced allegiance to Pope Julius II.
- 1512–1517 at Rome, called *Fifth Lateran* ; not universally owned as a General Council. The unlimited control of popes over Councils affirmed ; no book to be printed without permission of a bishop or inquisitor on pain of excommunication.
- 1518 „ Augsburg ; conference between Luther and Cajetan on indulgences and faith.
- 1519 „ Leipzig ; disputation between Luther, Carldstadt, and Eck, on grace and the headship of the Church.
- 1521 „ *WORMS, diet of the German Empire. Luther refused to recant unless refuted from Scripture ; an imperial decree issued against him and his adherents.
- 1523 „ *Nuremberg, diet of the German Empire ; a free General Council demanded.
- 1524 „ Zürich, Switzerland ; disputation between Zuingli and Faber on ecclesiastical customs.
- 1524 „ Ratisbon, Germany ; convention of Catholic divines ; Luther's books forbidden.
- 1524 „ *Nuremberg, diet of the German Empire ; a national Council resolved on.
- 1524 „ Upsala, Sweden ; disputation between Catholic and Lutheran divines.
- 1525 „ Mexico ; on questions of discipline. This is the first recorded Council in America.
- 1526 „ *Spires, diet of the German Empire ; general toleration granted until a national Council shall assemble.
- 1526 „ Baden ; disputation between Catholic and Zuinglian divines ; the “ Reformed ” pronounced heretics.
- 1527 „ *Westerås, diet of the kingdom of Sweden ; the Reformation commences, but opposed by the clergy.
- 1527 „ *Odensee, diet of the kingdom of Denmark ; the Reformation commenced.
- 1528 „ Berne, Switzerland ; disputation between Catholics and Reformers.
- 1529 „ *SPIRES, diet of the German Empire ; resolutions

- A.D. hostile to the Reformation being adopted, the princes of the minority entered a protest; hence the name "Protestant."
- 1529 at Marburg, Germany; disputation between Luther and Zuingli on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.
- 1529 „ **Orebro'*, diet of the kingdom of Sweden; the Reformation advanced.
- 1530 „ *AUGSBURG, diet of the German Empire; the Protestant Confession presented.
- 1531 „ London; convocation of English clergy; the king's supremacy in the Church acknowledged.
- 1532 „ **Nuremberg*, diet of the German Empire; toleration secured for the Protestants.
- 1534 „ London; convocation of English clergy, who, by an "act of submission," engaged to make or execute no canons without the king's assent.
- 1536 „ Wittenberg, Germany; colloquy between German and Swiss Reformers on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
- 1536 „ London; convocation of clergy. Scripture and the ancient creeds declared to be the standards of belief; purgatory allowed to be uncertain; worship of saints and images restricted.
- 1537 „ **Odensee*, diet of the kingdom of Denmark; the Reformation completed.
- 1540 „ Worms; conference of Catholic and Protestant theologians.
- 1541 „ **Ratisbon*, diet of the German Empire; the Emperor arranged for another conference of Catholic and Protestant theologians.
- 1544 „ **Westerås*, diet of the kingdom of Sweden; the Reformation completed.
- 1545 „ Erdod, Hungary; a Synod of clergy adopted the Augsburg Confession.
- 1545 „ **Worms*, diet of the German Empire; the Protestants refused to be bound by the decisions of the forthcoming General Council.

A.D.

- 1545 at *Trent*, in Tyrol; called by Romanists the twentieth General Council. The Apocrypha declared canonical, the Vulgate translation authoritative, and tradition co-ordinate with Scripture; the total extermination of original sin by baptism affirmed; and justification so defined as to include sanctification.
- 1546 ,, **Ratisbon*, diet of the German Empire; it was decreed that the Council of Trent should be followed.
- 1547 ,, **Augsburg*, diet of the German Empire; it was again decreed that all should submit to the Council of Trent.
- 1547 ,, *Bologna* (the Council of Trent removed to Bologna, and soon afterwards adjourned). The seven sacraments were reaffirmed, and the priests' *intention* declared necessary to their validity.
- 1547 ,, London; convocation of clergy. Communion in both kinds, and marriage of clergy sanctioned.
- 1548 ,, **Augsburg*, diet of the German Empire; the Protestants offered to submit to the Council on conditions which the pope refused. The diet thereupon sanctioned "the Interim;" a compromise between Catholic and Protestant doctrines and usages, to be binding on the Protestant States until a *truly* General Council should assemble.
- 1549 ,, Zürich; conference of Swiss Reformed theologians; the Zuinglians accepted Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
- 1550 ,, **Augsburg*, diet of the German Empire; submission to the Council of Trent once more decreed.
- 1551-1552 at *Trent*, resumed; imperfect repentance (attrition), with penance and absolution, declared to suffice for the forgiveness of sins.
- 1554 ,, Geneva; conference of Swiss Reformed theologians; Calvin's doctrine of predestination adopted.
- 1555 ,, **Augsburg*, diet of the German Empire; none to be molested for adhering to the Augsburg Confession.

A.D.

- 1556 at London ; convocation of clergy ; the English Church reconciled to the Roman obedience.
- 1557 „ Edinburgh ; an assembly of Scottish nobles, who engaged to further the Reformation.
- 1557 „ Czenger, Hungary ; a Synod of Reformers adopted a Calvinistic Confession.
- 1557 „ **Clausenberg*, diet of the Principality of Transylvania ; religious liberty proclaimed.
- 1557 „ Worms ; conference of Romish and Lutheran divines, under the sanction of the Diet.
- 1559 „ Paris ; first General Synod of the Reformed Church in France ; the Gallican Confession adopted.
- 1559 „ Westminster, England ; conference of Catholic and Protestant divines.
- 1559-1563 at *Trent*, resumed and concluded. “ All observances and constitutions ” of the Roman Church, “ the received and approved ceremonies in the administration of the seven sacraments, purgatory, the benefit of indulgences,” the “ proper and propitiatory sacrifice ” of the Mass “ for the living and the dead,” free-will, and the recognition of the Roman Church as “ the mother and mistress of all Churches,” were imposed as articles of faith. It was also decreed that Scripture must be understood only “ according to the sense which the Church has held and does hold,” and “ according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.”
- 1560 „ Edinburgh ; first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland.
- 1561 „ Poissy, France ; conference of Reformed and Catholic theologians.
- 1562 „ London ; convocation of clergy ; the papal supremacy again repudiated, and the Thirty-Nine Articles adopted.
- 1570 „ Sendomir, Poland ; a union effected of Lutherans Calvinists, and Zuinglians.
- 1572 „ Wandsworth, England ; the first English presbytery constituted.

A.D.

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| <p>1574 at Maulbronn, Wurtemberg,
 1576 „ Torgau, Saxony,
 1577 „ Bergen, Saxony,</p> | } | <p>conferences of Lutheran
 divines to appease the
 disputes which had
 arisen in that Church ;
 their debates resulted
 in the “Form of Con-
 cord.”</p> |
| <p>1581 „ Glasgow ; General Assembly of the Church of Scot-
 land ; the First National Covenant.</p> | | |
| <p>1582 „ Cairo, Egypt ; an attempt to unite the Coptic with
 the Roman Church.</p> | | |
| <p>1594 „ Brzesc, Poland ; a section of the Russo-Greek Church
 accepted the Roman obedience.</p> | | |
| <p>1599 „ Meliapur, India ; a Romish Synod, against the native
 “Christians of St. Thomas,” who were cajoled or
 coerced into a temporary submission.</p> | | |
| <p>1604 „ Hampton Court, England ; conference of Anglican
 bishops and Puritan ministers.</p> | | |
| <p>1606 „ Linlithgow, Scotland ; Assembly of the Church of
 Scotland, Episcopacy established under govern-
 mental coercion.</p> | | |
| <p>1609 „ Leyden, Holland ; conference of Arminians and
 Calvinists.</p> | | |
| <p>1610 „ *<i>States-General of Holland</i> ; the Arminian “Remon-
 strance” presented.</p> | | |
| <p>1611 „ Hague, Holland ; conference of Arminians and
 Calvinists ; the former only demanded toleration.</p> | | |
| <p>1613 „ Delft, Holland ; conference of Arminians and Cal-
 vinists.</p> | | |
| <p>1618–1619 at Dort, Holland ; General Synod of Reformed
 Churches ; Arminianism condemned.</p> | | |
| <p>1618 „ Perth ; Assembly of the Church of Scotland ;
 several “prelatic” observances admitted under
 coercion.</p> | | |
| <p>1631 „ Charenton, France ; Synod of Reformed Church, to
 invite union of Lutherans.</p> | | |
| <p>1631 „ Leipzig, Germany ; abortive conference to unite the
 Lutheran and Reformed Churches.</p> | | |

A.D.

- 1637 at Alençon, France ; Synod of Reformed theologians, a modified Arminianism tolerated.
- 1638 „ Edinburgh ; a popular Assembly, the “National Covenant” renewed.
- 1638 „ Glasgow ; General Assembly of the Church of Scotland ; Presbyterianism restored.
- 1638 „ Constantinople ; against the reforming tendencies of Cyril Leukaris.
- 1643 „ Constantinople ; General Synod of the Greek Church ; an “Orthodox Confession” adopted.
- 1643 „ Edinburgh ; General Assembly of the Church of Scotland ; “The Solemn League and Covenant.”
- 1643–1647 at Westminster ; the “Assembly of Divines.” Episcopacy abolished in England, and a Calvinistic Presbyterianism established.
- 1644 „ Charenton, France ; Synod of Reformed theologians ; imputation of Adam’s guilt affirmed.
- 1645 „ Thorn, Poland ; a fruitless attempt to reconcile the Reformed, Lutherans, and Catholics.
- 1653 „ Edinburgh ; General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, dissolved by military force.
- 1657 „ Delft, Holland ; the Cartesian philosophy condemned.
- 1658 „ Savoy Palace, London ; conference of Independents, to promulgate a “Declaration of Faith and Order.”
- 1661 „ Cassel, Germany ; conference to attempt a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.
- 1662 „ Savoy Palace, London ; conference of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Independents, to obtain concessions from the former, who had now become politically predominant. Fruitless.
- 1672 „ Jerusalem ; a Synod of the Greek Church ; the Apocryphal books declared canonical.
- 1675 „ Zürich ; the rigidly Calvinistic “Formula Consensus” of the Swiss Churches compiled.
- 1690 „ Edinburgh ; revival of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.
- 1690 „ London ; convocation of the Anglican Church ; a

- A.D. scheme of reform, with a view to the reunion of orthodox Dissenters, rejected.
- 1717 at London; convocation of the Anglican Church; Bishop Hoadley condemned for denying the right of the civil magistrate to interfere with religion. From this time to 1854 the convocation was virtually suppressed.
- 1727 „ London; “General Body of Protestant Dissenters of Three Denominations” (Presbyterian, Independents, and Baptists) organized.
- 1727 „ Herrnhut, Lusatia; meeting of refugees and their sympathizers, who constituted the restored Moravian Church.
- 1744 „ London; the first Methodist conference.
- 1786 „ Ems; fruitless attempt to organize a German Catholic Church, independent of Rome.
- 1793 „ Leeds; Methodist conference. It was determined that ordination by imposition of hands is not essential to the due administration of the Lord’s Supper.
- 1811 „ Bala, Wales; formal organization of the “Calvinistic Methodist,” or Welsh Presbyterian Church, and first ordination of ministers.
- 1817 „ Berlin; jubilee of the Reformation, which led to a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Prussia.
- 1833 „ Nauplia, Greece; the Church in Greece renounced the authority of the Bishop of Constantinople.
- 1835 „ Breslau, Prussia; convention of Lutheran divines opposed to union with the Reformed.
- 1836 „ London; the Unitarians formally seceded from the “Three Denominations.”
- 1839 „ Polozk, Russia; the “United Greeks” renounced the Roman obedience, and reunited with the Russo-Greek Church.
- 1843 „ Edinburgh; Disruption of the Church of Scotland; the “Free Kirk” organized.
- 1846 „ London; first general meeting of the “Evangelical Alliance.”

- A.D.
- 1846 at Berlin ; General Synod, to complete the organization of the Prussian "United Evangelical Church."
- 1854 „ London ; the Anglican convocation resumed.
- 1867 „ Lambeth ; general Synod of bishops of the Anglican communion.
- 1870 „ Rome ; called the Vatican Council, and (by Romanists) the twenty - first General Council. The personal infallibility of the pope affirmed.
- 1871 „ Munich, Bavaria ; congress of Old Catholics, dissenting from the decisions of the Vatican Council.
- 1881 „ London ; representative conference of Methodist Churches throughout the world.

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