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THE HISTORY OF HERESIES,

AND

THEIR REFUTATION.







St. Bernard reading a book

THE
HISTORY OF HERESIES,

AND

THEIR REFUTATION;

OR,

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.

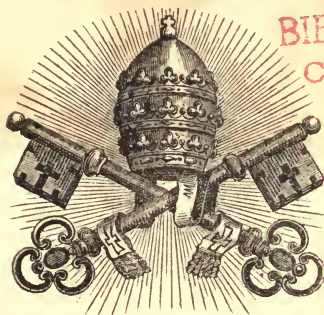
TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF

ST. ALPHONSUS M. LIGUORI,

BY THE REV. JOHN T. MULLOCK,

OF THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.



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DUBLIN:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES DUFFY,
10, WELLINGTON-QUAY.

1847.

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1847

v. 1.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM HOLDEN,
10, Abbey-street.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE ardent wish manifested by the Faithful for an acquaintance with the valuable writings of ST. LIGUORI, induced me to undertake the Translation of his History of Heresies, one of his greatest works. The Holy Author was induced to write this Work, to meet the numbers of infidel publications, with which Europe was deluged in the latter half of the last century. Men's minds were then totally unsettled; dazzled by the glare of a false philosophy, they turned away from the light of the Gospel. The heart of the Saint was filled with sorrow, and he laboured to avert the scourge he saw impending over the unfaithful people. He implored the Ministers of his Sovereign to put the laws in force, preventing the introduction of irreligious publications into the Kingdom of Naples; and he published this Work, among others, to prove, as he says, that the Holy Catholic Church is the only true one—the Mistress of Truth—the Church, founded by Jesus Christ himself, which would last to the end of time, notwithstanding the persecutions of the infidel, and the rebellion of her own heretical children. He dedicates

the Book to the Marquis Tanucci, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom, whom he praises for his zeal for Religion, and his vigorous execution of the laws against the vendors of infidel publications. He brings down the History from the days of the Apostles to his own time, concluding with the Refutation of the Heresies of Father Berruyer. I have added a Supplementary Chapter, giving a succinct account of the Heretics and Fanatics of the last eighty years. It was, at first, my intention to make it more diffuse; but, then, I considered that it would be out of proportion with the remainder of the Work. This Book may be safely consulted, as a work of reference: the Author constantly quotes his authorities; and the Student of Ecclesiastical History can at once compare his statements with the sources from which he draws. In the latter portion of the Work, and especially in that portion of it, the most interesting to us, the History of the English Reformation, the Student may perceive some slight variations between the original text and my translation. I have collated the Work with the writings of modern Historians—the English portion, especially with Hume and Lingard—and wherever I have seen the statements of the Holy Author not borne out by the authority of our own Historians, I have considered it more prudent to state the facts, as they really took place; for our own writers must naturally be supposed to be better acquainted with our History, than the foreign authorities quoted by the Saint. The reader will also find the circumstances, and the names of the actors, when I considered it necessary, frequently given more in detail than in the original.

In the style, I have endeavoured, as closely as the genius of our language would allow, to keep to the original. ST. ALPHONSUS never sought for ornament; a clear, lucid statement of facts is what he aimed at; there is nothing inflated in his writings; he wrote for the people, and that is the principal reason, I imagine, why not only his Devotional Works, but his Historical and Theological Writings, also, have been in such request: but, while he wrote for the people, we are not to imagine that he did not also please the learned. His mind was richly stored with various knowledge; he was one of the first Jurists of his day; his Theological science elicited the express approbation of the greatest Theologian of his age—Benedict XIV.; he was not only a perfect master of his own beautiful language, but profoundly read in both Greek and Latin literature also, and a long life constantly employed in studies, chiefly ecclesiastical, qualified him, above any man of his time, to become an Ecclesiastical Historian, which no one should attempt unless he be a general—I might almost say a universal, scholar: so much for the Historical portion of the Work.

In the Second Part, the Refutation of Heresies, the Holy Author comprises, in a small space, a vast amount of Theological information; in fact, there is no Heresy which cannot be refuted from it. Not alone are the usual Heresies, which we have daily to combat—such as those opposed to the Real Presence, the Authority of the Church, the doctrine of Justification, clearly and diffusely refuted, but those abstruse heretical opinions concerning Grace, Free Will, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Mystery of the Incarnation, and the

two Natures of Christ, and so forth, are also clearly and copiously confuted ; the intricacies of Pelagianism, Calvinism, and Jansenism, are unravelled, and the true Doctrine of the Church triumphantly vindicated. The reader will find, in general, the quotations from the Fathers in the original, but those unacquainted with Latin will easily learn their sentiments from the text. The Scripture quotations are from the Douay version.

Every Theologian will be aware of the difficulty of giving scholastic terms in an English dress. In the language of the Schools, the most abstract ideas, which would require a sentence to explain them in our tongue, are most appropriately expressed by a single word ; all the Romance languages, daughters of the Latin, have very nearly the same facility, but our Northern tongue has not, I imagine, flexibility enough for the purpose. I have, however, endeavoured, as far as I could, to preserve the very terms of the original, knowing how easy it is to give a heterodox sense to a passage, by even the most trivial deviation from the very expression of the writer. The Theological Student will thus, I hope, find the Work a compact Manual of Polemic Theology ; the Catholic who, while he firmly believes all that the Church teaches, wishes to be able to give an account of the Faith that is in him, will here find it explained and defended ; while those not of the "fold," but for whom we ardently pray, that they may hear the voice of the "one Shepherd," may see, by its attentive perusal, that they inhabit a house "built upon the sand," and not the house "on the rock." They will behold the mighty tree of Faith sprung from the grain of mustard-seed planted by our Redeemer,

always flourishing, always extending, neither uprooted by the storms of persecution, nor withered by the sun of worldly prosperity. Nay more, the very persecution the Church of God has suffered, and is daily enduring, only extends it more and more; the Faithful, persecuted in "one city," fly elsewhere, bearing with them the treasure of Faith, and communicating it to those among whom they settle, as the seeds of fertility are frequently borne on the wings of the tempest to the remote desert, which would otherwise be cursed with perpetual barrenness. The persecution of the Church in Ireland, for example, "has turned the desert into fruitfulness," in America, in Australia, in England itself, and the grey mouldering ruins of our fanes on the hill sides are compensated for by the Cathedral Churches across the ocean. The reader will see Heresy in every age, from the days of the Apostles themselves down to our own time, rising up, and vanishing after a while, but the Church of God is always the same, her Chief Pastors speaking with the same authority, and teaching the same doctrine to the trembling Neophytes in the Catacombs, and to the Cæsars on the throne of the world. Empires are broken into fragments and perish---nations die away, and are only known to the historian---languages spoken by millions disappear---every thing that is man's work dies like man; heresies, like the rest, have their rise, their progress, their decay, but Faith alone is eternal and unchangeable, "yesterday, to-day, and the same for ever."



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

1.—My object in writing this work is to prove that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true one among so many other Churches, and to show how carefully the Almighty guarded her, and brought her victoriously through all the persecutions of her enemies. Hence, as St. Iræneus says (*Lib. 3, cap. 3, n. 2*), all should depend on the Roman Church as on their fountain and head. This is the Church founded by Jesus Christ, and propagated by the Apostles; and although in the commencement persecuted and contradicted by all, as the Jews said to St. Paul in Rome: “For as concerning this sect (thus they called the Church), we know that it is gainsayed every where” (*Acts, xxviii, 22*); still she always remained firm, not like the other false Churches, which in the beginning numbered many followers, but perished in the end, as we shall see in the course of this history, when we speak of the Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians; and if any sect still reckons many followers, as the Mahometans, Lutherans, or Calvinists, it is easy to see that they are upheld, not by the love of truth, but either by popular ignorance, or relaxation of morals. St. Augustin says that heresies are only embraced by those who had they persevered in the faith, would be lost by the irregularity of their lives—(*St. Aug. de Va. Rel. c. 8.*)

2.—Our Church, on the contrary, notwithstanding that she teaches her children a law opposed to the corrupt inclinations of human nature, not only never failed in the midst of persecutions, but even gained strength from them; as Tertullian (*Apol. cap. ult.*) says,—the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians, and the more we are mown down the more numerous we become; and in the 20th chapter of the same work he says,—the kingdom of Christ and his reign is believed and he is worshipped by all nations. Pliny the Younger confirms this in his celebrated Letter to Trajan, in which he says that in Asia the temples of the gods were deserted, because the Christian Religion had overrun not only the cities but even the villages.

3.—This, certainly, never could have taken place without the power of the Almighty, who intended to establish in the midst of idolatry, a new religion, to destroy all the superstitions of the false religion, and the ancient belief in a multitude of false gods adored by the Gentiles, by their ancestors, by the magistrates, and by the emperors themselves, who made use of all their power to protect it, and still the Christian faith was embraced by many nations who forsook a relaxed law for a hard and difficult one, forbidding them to pamper their sensual appetites. What but the power of God could accomplish this?

4.—Great as the persecutions were which the Church suffered from idolatry, still greater were those she had to endure from the heretics which sprang from her own bosom, by means of wicked men, who, either through pride or ambition, or the desire of sensual license, endeavoured to rend the bowels of their parent. Heresy has been called a canker: “It spreadeth like a canker” (*II. Tim. ii, 17*); for as a canker infects the whole body, so heresy infects the whole soul, the mind, the heart, the intellect, and the will. It is also called a plague, for it not only infects the person contaminated with it, but those who associate with him, and the fact is, that the spread of this plague in the

world has injured the Church more than idolatry, and this good mother has suffered more from her own children than from her enemies. Still she has never perished in any of the tempests which the heretics raised against her; she appeared about to perish at one time through the heresy of Arius, when the faith of the Council of Nice, through the intrigues of the wicked Bishops, Valens and Ursacius, was condemned, and, as St. Jerom says, the world groaned at finding itself Arian (1); and the Eastern Church appeared in the same danger during the time of the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. But it is wonderful, and at the same time consoling, to read the end of all those heresies, and behold the bark of the Church, which appeared completely wrecked and sunk through the force of those persecutions, in a little while floating more gloriously and triumphantly than before.

5.—St. Paul says: "There must be heresies, that they also who are reprov'd may be made manifest among you" (I. Cor. ii, 19). St. Augustin, explaining this text, says that as fire is necessary to purify silver, and separate it from the dross, so heresies are necessary to prove the good Christians among the bad, and to separate the true from the false doctrine. The pride of the heretics makes them presume that they know the true faith, and that the Catholic Church is in error, but here is the mistake: our reason is not sufficient to tell us the true faith, since the truths of Divine Faith are above reason; we should, therefore, hold by that faith which God has revealed to his Church, and which the Church teaches, which is, as the Apostle says, "the pillar and the ground of truth" (I. Tim. iii, 15). Hence, as St. Iræneus says, "It is necessary that all should depend on the Roman Church as their head and fountain; all Churches should agree with this Church on account of her priority of principality, for there the traditions delivered by the

(1) St. Hieron. Dial. adversus Lucifer.

Apostles have always been preserved" (St. Iræn. lib. 3, c. 3); and by the tradition derived from the Apostles which the Church founded at Rome preserves, and the Faith preserved by the succession of the Bishops, we confound those who through blindness or an evil conscience draw false conclusions (*Ibid*). "Do you wish to know," says St. Augustin, "which is the true Church of Christ? Count those priests who, in a regular succession have succeeded St. Peter, who is the Rock, against which the gates of hell will not prevail" (St. Aug. in Ps. contra part Donat.): and the holy Doctor alleges as one of the reasons which detain him in the Catholic Church, the succession of Bishops to the present time in the See of St. Peter" (Epis. fund, c. 4, n. 5); for in truth the uninterrupted succession from the Apostles and disciples is characteristic of the Catholic Church, and of no other.

6.—It was the will of the Almighty that the Church in which the true faith was preserved should be one, that all the faithful might profess the one faith, but the devil, St. Cyprian says (2), invented heresies to destroy faith, and divide unity. The enemy has caused mankind to establish many different churches, so that each, following the faith of his own particular one, in opposition to that of others, the true faith might be confused, and as many false faiths formed as there are different churches, or rather different individuals. This is especially the case in England, where we see as many religions as families, and even families themselves divided in faith, each individual following his own. St. Cyprian, then, justly says that God has disposed that the true faith should be preserved in the Roman Church alone, so that there being but one Church there should be but one faith and one doctrine for all the faithful. St. Optatus Milevitanus, writing to Parmenianus, says, also: "You cannot be

(2) St. Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesie.

ignorant that the Episcopal Chair of St. Peter was first placed in the city of Rome, in which one chair unity is observed by all" (St. Opt. *l.* 2, cont. Parmen.)

7.—The heretics, too, boast of the unity of their Churches, but St. Augustin says that it is unity against unity. "What unity," says the Saint, "can all those churches have which are divided from the Catholic Church, which is the only true one; they are but as so many useless branches cut off from the Vine, the Catholic Church, which is always firmly rooted. This is the One Holy, True, and Catholic Church, opposing all heresies; it may be opposed, but cannot be conquered. All heresies come forth from it, like useless shoots cut off from the vine, but it still remains firmly rooted in charity, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (St. Aug. lib. 1, de Symbol ad Cath. c. 6). St. Jerom says that the very fact of the heretics forming a church apart from the Roman Church, is a proof, of itself, that they are followers of error, and disciples of the devil, described by the Apostle, as "giving heed to spirits of error and doctrines of devils" (I. Tim. iv, 1).

8.—The Lutherans and Calvinists say, just as the Donatists did before them, that the Catholic Church preserved the true faith down to a certain period—some say to the third, some to the fourth, some to the fifth century—but that after that the true doctrine was corrupted, and the spouse of Christ became an adulteress. This supposition, however, refutes itself; for, granting that the Roman Catholic Church was the Church first founded by Christ, it could never fail, for our Saviour himself promised that the gates of hell never should prevail against it: "I say unto you that you are Peter, and on this Rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xviii, 18). It being certain, then, that the Roman Catholic Church was the true one, as Gerard, one of the first ministers of Luther, admits (Gerard de Eccles. *cap.* 11, *sec.* 6)

it to have been for the first five hundred years, and to have preserved the Apostolic doctrine during that period, it follows that it must always have remained so, for the spouse of Christ as St. Cyprian says, could never become an adulteress.

9.—The heretics, however, who, instead of learning from the Church the dogmas they should believe, wish to teach her false and perverse dogmas of their own, say that they have the Scriptures on their side, which are the fountain of truth, not considering, as a learned author (3) justly remarks, that it is not by reading, but by understanding, them, that the truth can be found. Heretics of every sort avail themselves of the Scriptures to prove their errors, but we should not interpret the Scripture according to our own private opinions, which frequently lead us astray, but according to the teaching of the Holy Church which is appointed the Mistress of true doctrine, and to whom God has manifested the true sense of the Divine books. This is the Church, as the Apostle tells us, which has been appointed the pillar and the ground of truth: “that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of truth” (I. Tim. iii, 15.) Hence St. Leo says that the Catholic faith despises the errors of heretics barking against the Church, who deceived by the vanity of worldly wisdom, have departed from the truth of the Gospel—(St. Leo, Ser. 8, de Nat. Dim.)

10.—I think the History of Heresies is a most useful study, for it shows the truth of our Faith more pure and resplendent, by showing how it has never changed; and if, at all times, this is useful, it must be particularly so at present, when the most holy maxims and the principal dogmas of Religion are put in doubt: it shows, besides, the care God always took to sustain the Church in the midst of the tempests which were unceasingly

(3) Danes, Gen. Temp. Nat. in Epil.

raised against it, and the admirable manner in which all the enemies who attacked it were confounded. The History of Heresies is also useful to preserve in us the spirit of humility and subjection to the Church, and to make us grateful to God for giving us the grace of being born in Christian countries; and it shows how the most learned men have fallen into the most grievous errors, by not subjecting themselves to the Church's teaching.

11.—I will now state my reasons for writing this Work; some may think this labour of mine superfluous, especially as so many learned authors have written expressly and extensively the history of various heresies, as Tertullian, St. Iræneus, St. Epiphanius, St. Augustin, St. Vincent of Lerins, Socrates, Sozymen, St. Philastrius, Theodoret, Nicephorus, and many others, both in ancient and modern times. This, however, is the very reason which prompted me to write this Work; for as so many authors have written, and so extensively, and as it is impossible for many persons either to procure so many and such expensive works, or to find time to read them, if they had them, I, therefore, judged it better to collect in a small compass the commencement and the progress of all heresies, so that in a little time, and at little expense, any one may have a sufficient knowledge of the heresies and schisms which infected the Church. I have said in a small compass, but still, not with such brevity as some others have done, who barely give an outline of the facts, and leave the reader dissatisfied, and ignorant of many of the most important circumstances. I, therefore, have studied brevity; but I wish, at the same time, that my readers may be fully informed of every notable fact connected with the rise and progress of, at all events, the principal heresies that disturbed the Church.

12.—Another reason I had for publishing this Work was, that as modern authors, who have paid most attention to his-

torical facts, have spoken of heresies only as a component part of Ecclesiastical History, as Baronius, Fleury, Noel Alexander, Tillemont, Orsi, Spondanus, Raynaldus, Graveson, and others, and so have spoken of each heresy chronologically, either in its beginning, progress, or decay, and, therefore, the reader must turn over to different parts of the works to find out the rise, progress, and disappearance of each heresy ; I, on the contrary, give all at once the facts connected with each heresy in particular.

13.—Besides, these writers have not given the Refutation of Heresies, and I give this in the second part of the Work ;—I do not mean the refutation of every heresy, but only of the principal ones, as those of Sabellius, Arius, Pelagius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, the Monothelites, the Iconoclasts, the Greeks, and the like. I will merely speak of the authors of other heresies of less note, and their falsity will be apparent, either from their evident weakness, or from the proofs I bring forward against the more celebrated heresies I have mentioned.

14.—We ought, then, dear reader, unceasingly to thank our Lord for giving us the grace of being born and brought up in the bosom of the Catholic Church. St. Francis de Sales exclaims : “ O good God ! many and great are the benefits thou hast heaped on me, and I thank thee for them ; but how shall I be ever able to thank thee for enlightening me with thy holy Faith ? ” And writing to one of his friends, he says : “ O God ! the beauty of thy holy Faith appears to me so enchanting, that I am dying with love of it, and I imagine I ought to enshrine this precious gift in a heart all perfumed with devotion.” St. Teresa never ceased to thank God for having made her a daughter of the Holy Church : her consolation at the hour of death was to cry out : “ I die a child of the Holy Church—I die a child of the Holy Church.” We, likewise, should never cease praising Jesus Christ for this grace bestowed on us—one of

the greatest conferred on us—one distinguishing us from so many millions of mankind, who are born and die among infidels and heretics: “He has not done in like manner to every nation” (Psalm cxlvii, 9). With our minds filled with gratitude for so great a favour, we shall now see the triumph the Church has obtained through so many ages, over so many heresies opposed to her. I wish to remark, however, before I begin, that I have written this Work amidst the cares of my Bishoprick, so that I could not give a critical examination, many times, to the facts I state, and, in such case, I give the various opinions of different authors, without deciding myself on one side or the other. I have endeavoured, however, to collect all that could be found in the most correct and notable writers on the subject; but it is not impossible that some learned persons may be better acquainted with some facts than I am.



THE
HISTORY OF HERESIES
AND
THEIR REFUTATION.

CHAPTER I.

HERESIES OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

- 1.—Simon Magus. 2.—Menander. 3.—Cerinthus. 4.—Ebion. 5.—Saturninus and Basilides. 6.—The Nicholites.

1.—Simon Magus (1), the first heretic who disturbed the Church, was born in a part of Samaria called Githon or Gitthis. He was called Magus, or the Magician, because he made use of spells to deceive the multitude; and hence he acquired among his countrymen the extraordinary name of "The Great Power of God" (Acts, viii, 10). "This man is the power of God which is called great." Seeing that those on whom the Apostles Peter and John laid hands received the Holy Ghost, he offered them money to give to him the power of communicating the Holy Ghost in like manner; and on that account the detestable crime of selling holy things is called Simony. He went to Rome, and there was a statue erected to him in that city, a fact which St. Justin, in his first Apology, flings in the face of the Romans: "In your royal city," he says, "he (Simon) was esteemed a

(1) Baron. Annal, 35, d. 23; N. Alex. Hist. Ecclesias. t. 5, c. 11, n. 1; Hermant. His. Con. 56, 1, c. 7; Van Ranst, His. Her. n. 1.

God, and a statue was erected to him in the Island of the Tyber, between the two bridges, bearing this Latin inscription—*SIMONI, DEO SANCTO.*” Samuel Basnage, Petavius, Valesius, and many others, deny this fact; but Tillemont, Grotius, Fleury, and Cardinal Orsi defend it, and adduce in favour of it the authority of Tertullian, St. Irenæus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Augustin, Eusebius, and Theodoret, who even says the statue was a bronze one. Simon broached many errors, which Noel Alexander enumerates and refutes (2). The principal ones were that the world was created by angels; that when the soul leaves the body it enters into another body, which, if true, says St. Irenæus (3), it would recollect all that happened when it inhabited the former body, for memory, being a spiritual quality, it could not be separated from the soul. Another of his errors was one which has been brought to light by the heretics of our own days, that man had no free will, and, consequently, that good works are not necessary for salvation. Baronius and Fleury relate (4), that, by force of magic spells, he one day caused the devil to elevate him in the air; but St. Peter and St. Paul being present, and invoking the name of Jesus Christ, he fell down and broke both his legs. He was carried away by his friends; but his corporeal and mental sufferings preyed so much on him, that, in despair, he cast himself out of a high window; and thus perished the first heretic who ever disturbed the Church of Christ (5). Basnage, who endeavours to prove that St. Peter never was in Rome, and never filled the pontifical chair of that city, says that this is all a fabrication; but we have the testimony of St. Ambrose, St. Isidore of Pelusium, St. Augustin, St. Maximus, St. Philastrius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Severus Sulpicius, Theodoret, and many others, in our favour. We have, besides, a passage in Seutonium, which corroborates their testimony, for he says (*lib. VI., cap. xii.*), that, while Nero assisted at the public sports, a man endeavoured to fly, but, after elevating himself for a while, he fell down, and the Emperor’s pavilion was sprinkled with his blood.

(2) *Nat. Alex. t. 5, in fin. Dis. 24.*

(3) *St. Irenæus, de Heresi. l. 2, c. 58.*

(4) *Baron. Ann. 35, n. 14, ad. 17;*
Fleury, His. Eccl. t. 1, l. 2, n. 23;
St. Augus. ; St. Joan. Chris.

(5) *Baron. n. 17; Nat. Alex. t. 5, c. 11;*
Orsi, Istor. Eccl. l. 1, n. 20,
and l. 2, n. 19; Berti. Brev. Histor. t. 1, c. 3.

2.—Menander was a Samaritan likewise, and a disciple of Simon Magus; he made his appearance in the year of our Lord 73. He announced himself a messenger from the “Unknown Power,” for the salvation of mankind. No one, according to him, could be saved, unless he was baptized in his name, and his baptism, he said, was the true resurrection, so that his disciples would enjoy immortality even in this life (6). Cardinal Orsi adds, that Menander was the first who invented the doctrine of “Eons,” and that he taught that Jesus Christ exercised human functions in appearance alone.

3.—Cerinthus was the next after Menander, but he began to broach his doctrine in the same year (7). His errors can be reduced to four heads: he denied that God was the creator of the world; he asserted that the law of Moses was necessary for salvation; he also taught that after the resurrection Jesus Christ would establish a terrestrial kingdom in Jerusalem, where the just would spend a thousand years in the enjoyment of every sensual pleasure; and, finally, he denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. The account Bernini gives of his death is singular (8). The Apostle St. John, he says, met him going into a bath, when, turning to those along with him, he said, let us hasten out of this, lest we be buried alive, and they had scarcely gone outside when the whole building fell with a sudden crash, and the unfortunate Cerinthus was overwhelmed in the ruins. One of the impious doctrines of this heretic was, that *Jesus* was a mere man, born as all other men are, and that, when he was baptized in the river Jordan, *Christ* descended on him, that is, a virtue or power, in form of a dove, or a spirit sent by God to fill him with knowledge, and communicate it to mankind; but after Jesus had fulfilled his mission, by instructing mankind and working miracles, he was deserted by Christ, who returned to heaven, and left him to darkness and death. Alas! what impiety men fall into when they desert the light of faith, and follow their own weak imaginations.

4.—Ebion prided himself in being a disciple of St. Peter, and

(6) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 42; N. Alex. loc. cit. art. 2.

(7) N. Alex. t. 5, c. 11, ar. 5; Fleury, t. 1, l. 2, n. 42; Berti, loc. cit.; Orsi, t. 1, l. 2, n. 43.

(8) Bernin. Istor. del Eresia, t. 1, c. 1; St. Iren. l. 3, c. 4, de S.

could even bear to hear St. Paul's name mentioned. He admitted the sacrament of baptism; but in the consecration of the Eucharist he used nothing but water in the chalice; he, however, consecrated the host in unleavened bread, and Eusebius says he performed this every Sunday. According to St. Jerome, the baptism of the Ebionites was admitted by the Catholics. He endeavoured to unite the Mosaic and Christian law, and admitted no part of the New Testament, unless the Gospel of St. Matthew, and even that mutilated, as he left out two chapters, and altered the others in many places. The ancient writers say that St. John wrote his Gospel to refute the errors of Ebion. The most impious of his blasphemies was, that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, born as the rest of men are; that he was but a mere man, but that, on account of his great virtue, the Almighty adopted him as his Son (9).

5.—Saturninus and Basilides were disciples of Menander, whose history we have already seen; and they made some additions to the heresy of their master. Saturninus, a native of Antioch, taught, with Menander, as Fleury tells us (10), that there was one only Father, unknown to all, who created the angels, and that seven angels created the world and man. The God of the Jews, he said, was one of these rebellious angels, and it was to destroy him that Christ appeared in the form of man, though he never had a real body. He condemned matrimony and procreation as an invention of the devil. He attributed the Prophecies partly to the angels, partly to the devil, and partly to the God of the Jews. He also said, according to St. Augustin (*Heres. iii.*), that the Supreme Virtue—that is, the Sovereign Father—having created the angels, seven of them rebelled against him, created man, and for this reason:—Seeing a celestial light, they wished to retain it, but it vanished from them; and they then created man to resemble it, saying, “Let us make man to the image and likeness.” Man being thus created, was like a mere worm, incapable of doing anything, till the Sovereign Virtue, pitying his image, placed in him a spark

(9) N. Alex. *loc. cit. art. 6*; Fleury, *loc. cit. n. 42.* [*N.B.*—Fleury puts Ebion first, next Cerinthus, and lastly Menander.]

(10) Fleury, *n. 19.*

of himself, and gave him life. This is the spark which, at the dissolution of the body, flies to heaven. Those of his sect alone, he said, had this spark; all the others were deprived of it, and, consequently, were reprobate.

6.—Basilides, according to Fleury, was a native of Alexandria, and even exceeded Saturninus in fanaticism. He said that the Father, whom he called *Abrasax*, produced *Nous*, that is, Intelligence; who produced *Logos*, or the Word; the Word produced *Phronesis*, that is, Prudence; and Prudence, *Sophia* and *Dunamis*, that is, Wisdom and Power. These created the angels, who formed the first heaven and other angels; and these, in their turn, produced a second heaven, and so on, till there were three hundred and sixty-five heavens produced, according to the number of days in the year. The God of the Jews, he said, was the head of the second order of angels, and because he wished to rule all nations, the other princes rose up against him, and, on that account, God sent his first-born, *Nous*, to free mankind from the dominion of the angels who created the world. This *Nous*, who, according to him, was Jesus Christ, was an incorporeal virtue, who put on whatever form pleased him. Hence, when the Jews wished to crucify him, he took the form of Simon the Cyrenean, and gave his form to Simon, so that it was Simon, and not Jesus, who was crucified. Jesus, at the same time, was laughing at the folly of the Jews, and afterwards ascended invisibly to heaven. On that account, he said, we should not venerate the crucifix, otherwise we would incur the danger of being subject to the angels who created the world. He broached many other errors; but these are sufficient to show his fanaticism and impiety. Both Saturninus and Basilides fled from martyrdom, and always cloaked their faith with this maxim—"Know others, but let no one know you." Cardinal Orsi says (11) they practised magic, and were addicted to every species of incontinence, but that they were careful in avoiding observation. They promulgated their doctrines before Menander, in the year 125; but, because they were disciples of his, we have mentioned them after him.

7.—The Nicholites admitted promiscuous intercourse with

(11) Orsi, t. 2, l. 3, n. 23.

married and single, and, also, the use of meats offered to idols. They also said that the Father of Jesus Christ was not the creator of the world. Among the other foolish doctrines they held, was one, that darkness, uniting with the Holy Ghost, produced a matrix or womb, which brought forth four Eons; that from these four Eons sprung the evil Eon, who created the Gods, the angels, men, and seven demoniacal spirits. This heresy was of short duration; but some new Nicholites sprung up afterwards in the Milanese territory, who were condemned by Pope Nicholas II. The Nicholites called themselves disciples of Nicholas the Deacon, who, according to Noel Alexander, was esteemed a heresiarch by St. Eusebius, St. Hilarian, and St. Jerome. However, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Theodoret, Baronius, St. Ignatius the Martyr, Orsi, St. Augustin, Fleury, and Berti, acquit him of this charge (12).

CHAPTER II.

HERESIES OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

- 1.—Corpocrates. 2.—Valentine. 3.—Epiphanes. 4.—Prodicus. 5.—Tatian.
 6.—Severus. 7.—Cerdonius. 8.—Marcion. 9.—Apelles. 10.—Montanus.
 11.—Cataphrigians, Artotirites, Peputians, Ascodrogites, Pattalorinchites.
 12.—Bardesanes. 13.—Theodotus the Currier, Artemon, and Theodotus
 Argentarius. 14.—Hermogenes.

1.—Corpocrates was a native of Alexandria, or, as others say, of Samosata. His followers were called *Gnostics*—that is, learned or enlightened. He said that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph, born as other men are, and distinguished from them by his virtue alone, and that the world was created by angels.

(12) Nat. Alex. *t.* 5, *diss.* 9; Baron. An. 68, *n.* 9; Orsi, *t.* 1, *n.* 64; Fleury, *t.* 1, *l.* 2, *n.* 21; Berti, *loc. cit.*

Another blasphemous doctrine of his was, that, to unite ourselves with God, we should practise all the unclean works of concupiscence; our evil propensities should be followed in every thing, for this, he said, was the enemy spoken of in the Gospel (1), to which we should yield, and, by this means, we show our contempt for the laws of the wicked angels, and acquire the summit of perfection; and the soul, he said, would pass from one body to another till it had committed all sorts of unclean actions. Another of his doctrines was, that every one had two souls, for without the second, he said, the first would be subject to the rebellious angels. The followers of this hellish monster called themselves Christians, and, as a distinctive mark, they branded the lower part of the ear with a red iron. They paid the same veneration to the images of Pythagoras, Plato, and the other philosophers, as to that of Jesus Christ. Corporates lived in the year 160.

2.—Valentine, who, it was supposed, was an Egyptian, separated himself from the Church, because he was disappointed in obtaining a bishopric. He came to Rome in 141, and abjured his errors, but soon again embraced them, and persevered in them till his death (2). He invented a fabulous genealogy of Eons or Gods; and another of his errors was, that Jesus Christ did not become incarnate in the womb of the Virgin Mary, but brought his body from heaven. He admitted in man a continual exercise of spirit, which, uniting with the flesh, rendered lawful every sensual pleasure; and he divided mankind into three classes—the carnal, the animal, and the spiritual. His followers, he said, were the spiritualists, and, on that account, were exempt from the necessity of good works, because, having arrived at the apex of perfection, and being certain of eternal felicity, it was useless for them to suffer, or observe the law. The carnal, he said, were excluded from eternal salvation and predestined to hell (3).

Three sects take their origin from Valentine. The first were called Sethites: These paid such honour to Seth, that they said

(1) N. Alex. *t.* 6, *c.* 3, *ar.* 2; Fleury, *l.* 3, *n.* 20; Berti, *t.* 1, *c.* 3; Bernin. *t.* 1, *c.* 2.

(2) Van Ranst, *His.* *p.* 20.

(3) Fleury, *t.* 1, *l.* 3, *n.* 26—27; Bernin. *t.* 1, *c.* 5; Graveson, *t.* 3, *p.* 49; N. Alex. *t.* 6, *c.* 3, *ar.* 6.

Jesus Christ was born of him, and some went so far as to say that Jesus Christ and Seth were one and the same person. The second sect were called Cainites: These venerated as saints all those who the Scripture tells us were damned—as Cain, Core, the inhabitants of Sodom, and especially Judas Iscariot. The third were called Ophites: These said that *Wisdom* became a serpent, and, on that account, they adored Jesus Christ as a serpent; they trained one of these reptiles to come out of a cave when called, and creep up on the table where the bread for sacrifice was placed; they kissed him while he crept round the bread, and, considering it then sanctified by the reptile, whom they blasphemously called Christ, they broke it to the people, who received it as the Eucharist (4).

Ptolemy and Saturninus were disciples of Valentine; but their master admitted thirty Eons, and they added eight more. He also had other disciples:—Heraclion, whose followers invoked over the dead certain names of principalities, and anointed them with oil and water; Marcus and Colarbasus taught that all truth was shut up in the Greek alphabet, and, on that account, they called Christ Alpha and Omega (5); and Van Ranst adds to the list the Arconticites, who rejected the sacraments—Florinus, who said that God was the author of sin—and Blastus (6), who insisted that Easter should be celebrated after the Jewish fashion. The disciples of Valentine made a new Gospel, and added various books to the Canon of the Scriptures, as “The Parables of the Lord,” “The Prophetic Sayings and the Sermons of the Apostles.” It is needless to add that all these were according to their own doctrines.

3.—Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, besides defending the damnable opinions of his father, openly rejected the law of Moses, and especially the two last precepts of the Decalogue. He also rejected the Gospel, though he pretended to follow it (7).

4.—Prodicus taught that it was lawful to deny the faith to avoid death; he rejected the worship of an invisible God, and adored the four elements and the sun and the moon; he con-

(4) Fleury, *t. 1, l. 3, n. 30*; Bernin.
t. 1, c. 2; Van Ranst, *p. 20*.

(5) Fleury, *l. 3, n. 30, l. 4, n. 9 & 10*.

(6) Van Ranst, *p. 22*.

(7) Fleury, *l. 3, n. 20*; Bern. *t. 1, c. 2*.

demned all prayers to God as superstitious, but he prayed to the elements and the planets to be propitious to mankind (8). This impious worship he always performed naked. Noel Alexander and Theodoret assign to this heretic the institution of the sect called Adamites; these always performed their religious exercises in their churches, or rather brothels, as St. Epiphanius calls them, naked, pretending by this to imitate the innocence of Adam, but, in reality, practising every abomination (9).

5.—Tatian was born in Assyria, and was a disciple of St. Justin Martyr. He was the founder of the sect called Encratites, or Continent; he taught, with Valentine, that matter was uncreated and eternal; he attributed the creation to God, but through the instrumentality of an inferior Eon, who said let there be light, not by way of command, but of supplication, and thus light was created. He denied, with Valentine, the resurrection of the dead, and human flesh, he said was too unworthy to be united with the divinity in the person of Christ. He deprived man of free will, saying he was good and spiritual, or bad and carnal, by necessity, according as the seed of divine grace was infused or not into him; and he rejected the law of Moses, as not instituted by God, but by the Eon who created the world. Finally, he condemned matrimony, prohibited the use of flesh-meat and wine, and, because he used nothing but water in the consecration of the chalice, his disciples were called Hydroparastati, or Aquarii (10).

6.—Severus was a disciple of Tatian; but differed from his master in some essential points, especially in admitting the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Gospels. Julius Capianus, a disciple of Valentine, joined with Severus, and was the founder of the heresy of the Doceti, who said that Jesus had not a real, but an apparent, body. He wrote a book on continence, in which he quoted a passage of the spurious gospel used by the Egyptians, in which Jesus Christ is made to curse matrimony. In his commentaries on Genesis he says marriage was the forbidden fruit (11).

(8) Bern. loc. cit.

(9) N. Alex. t. 6, c. 3, ar. 12; Gotti, Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 27, s. 1; Bernin. loc. cit.

(10) Orsi, t. 2, l. 4, n. 11; Fleury, t. 1, l. 4, n. 8; Baron. An. 174, n. 3, 4; N. Alex. t. 6, c. 3, ar. 7.

(11) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 8; Orsi, loc. cit. n. 12.

7.—Cerdonius followed the doctrines of Simon, Menander, and Saturninus; besides, he taught, with Manus, the existence of two first principles, or Gods, a good and a bad one, and admitted the resurrection of the soul, but not of the body. He rejected all the Gospels, except St. Luke's, and mutilated that in several places (12).

8.—Marcion was a native of the city of Sinope, in the province of Pontus, and the son of a Catholic bishop. In his early days he led a life of continence and retirement; but for an act of immorality he was cut off from the Church by his own father. He then went to Rome, and endeavoured to accomplish his restoration; but not being able to succeed, he, in a fit of rage, said—"I will cause an eternal division in your Church." He then united himself to Cerdonius, admitting two principles, and founding his doctrine on the sixth chapter of St. Luke, where it is said a good tree cannot bring forth bad fruits. The good principle, he said, was the author of good, and the bad one of evil; and the good principle was the father of Jesus Christ, the giver of grace, and the bad one, the creator of matter and the founder of the law. He denied the incarnation of the Son of God, saying it was repugnant to a good God to unite himself with the filthiness of flesh, and that his soul should have for a companion a body infected and corrupt by nature. He also taught the existence of two Gods—one, the good God; the other, an evil one, the God of the Jews, and the creator of the world. Each of these Gods promised to send a Christ. Our Christ appeared in the reign of Tiberius, and was the good Christ; the Jewish Christ did not yet come. The Old Testament he rejected, because it was given by the bad principle, or God of the Jews. Among other errors, he said, that when Jesus descended into hell, he did not save Abel, or Henoc, or Noah, or any other of the just of the old law, because they were friends of the God of the Jews; but that he saved Cain, the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, because they were the enemies of this God (13).

9.—Appelles, the most famous disciple of Marcion, was excom-

(12) Fleury, *l. 3, n. 30*; Nat. Alex. *t. 6, c. 3, ar. 4*; Orsi, *t. 2, l. 3, n. 44*.

(13) Orsi, *t. 2, l. 3, n. 45*; N. Alex. *t. 6, c. 3, ar. 5*; Baron. Ann. 146, *n. 9, &c.*; Fleury, *t. 1, l. 3, n. 34*.

municated by his master for committing a crime against chastity, and felt his disgrace so much that he fled to Alexandria. This heretic, among other errors, said that God created a number of angels and powers, and among the rest a power called the Lord, who created this world to resemble the world above, but not being able to bring it to perfection, he repented him of having created it (14). Van Ranst says that he rejected the Prophecies, and said the Son of God took a body of air which, at his ascension, dissolved into air again.

10.—Montanus, as Cardinal Orsi tells us (15), was born in Ardraba, an obscure village of Mysia. He first led such a mortified life that he was esteemed a saint; but, possessed by the demon of ambition, his head was turned. He began to speak in an extraordinary manner, make use of unknown words, and utter prophecies in contradiction to the traditions of the Church. Some thought him possessed by a spirit of error; others looked on him as a saint and prophet. He soon acquired a number of followers, and carried his madness to the utmost excess; among others who joined him were two loose women of the names of Prisca or Priscilla and Maximilla, and, seemingly possessed by the same spirit as himself, they uttered the most extraordinary rhodomontades. Montanus said that he and his prophetesses received the plenitude of the Holy Ghost, which was only partially communicated to others, and he quoted in his favour that text of St. Paul (I. Corinthians, xiii, 9), "By part we know, and by part we prophesy;" and they had the madness to esteem themselves greater than the apostles, since they had received the Holy Ghost promised by Jesus Christ in perfection. They also said that God wished, at first, to save the world, by means of Moses and the prophets; when he saw that these were not able to accomplish it, he himself became incarnate; but even this not sufficing, he descended in the Holy Ghost into Montanus and his prophetesses. He established nine fasting-days and three Lents in the year. Among other errors he prohibited his disciples to fly from persecution, and refused to admit sinners to repentance, and prohibited second marriages (16).

(14) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 35.

(15) Orsi, t. 2, l. 4, n. 17.

(16) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5, c. 15.

Eusebius tells us that he died miserably, having hanged himself (17).

11.—The heresy of Montanus shot forth different branches, as the Cataphrigians, Artotirites, Peputians, Ascodrogites, and Pattalorinchites. The Cataphrigians were called from the nation to which Montanus belonged. The Eucharistic bread they used was made of flour and blood taken from the body of an infant by puncturing it all over; if the infant died he was considered a martyr, but if he survived he was regarded as high priest. This we learn from Noel Alexander (18). The Artotirites were so called, because in the sacrifice of the Eucharist, they offered up bread and cheese. The Peputians took their name from an obscure village of Phrigia, where they held their solemn meetings; they ordained women priests and bishops, saying there was no difference between them and men. The Ascodrogites were no better than the ancient bacchanalians; they used bottles which they filled with wine near the altars, saying that these were the new bottles Jesus Christ spoke of—"They shall put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved." The Pattalorinchites were so called, because they wore a small stick in the mouth or nose, a sign of strict silence; they were so called, from *pattalos*, a stick, and *rinchos*, the nose (19).

12.—Bardesanes, a native of Edessa, in Syria, lived in this age also. He was celebrated in the time of Marcus Aurelius for his learning and constancy in defending the faith. He told the Philosopher Apollonius, the favourite of the Emperor, who endeavoured to pervert him, that he was ready to seal his belief with his blood. He opposed the errors of Valentine; but, being educated in his school, he was infected with some of them, especially disbelieving the resurrection of the dead. He wrote many works in refutation of the heresies of his day, especially an excellent treatise on fate, which St. Jerome, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, praises highly. We may truly say, with Noel Alexander, that the fall of so great a man is to be lamented (20).

(17) Baron. An. 173, n. 20; N. Alex. t. 6, sec. 2, c. 3, ar. 8; Fleury, t. 1, l. 4, n. 5; Bernin. t. 1, c. 8; Orsi, t. 2, l. 4, n. 18.

(18) Nat. Alex. cit. ar. 8, n. 11; St. Augus. & St. Cyril. [St. Epiphanius says it is the Peputians.]

(19) Van Ranst, His. Heres. p. 24; Vedia anche Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(20) Nat. Alex. t. 6, c. 3, ar. 9; Van Ranst, p. 24.

13.—Theodotus the Currier, so called on account of his trade, was a native of Byzantium, and he, along with Artemon, asserted like Ebion and Cerinthus, that Christ was mere man. Besides this there was another Theodotus, called Argentarius, or the Banker, who taught that Melchisadech was Christ, or even greater than Christ, on account of that verse of the Psalms—“Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisadech;” and his followers were afterwards called Melchisadechites (21).

14.—Hermogenes said that matter was uncreated and eternal. Tertullian, Eusebius, and Lactantius refuted this error. He also taught that the devils would hereafter be united with matter and that the body of Jesus Christ was in the sun (22).

CHAPTER III.

HERESIES OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

1.—Praxeas. 2.—Sabellius. 3.—Paul of Samosata. 4.—Manes. 5.—Tertullian. 6.—Origen. 7.—Novatus and Novatian. 8.—Nipos. The Angelicals and the Apostolicals.

1.—Praxeas, a native of Phrigia, was at first a Montanist, but afterwards becoming an enemy of Montanus, he caused him to be condemned by Pope Zepherinus, concealing his own heresy at the same time. Being soon discovered, he retracted his opinions, but soon afterwards openly proclaimed them. He denied the mystery of the Trinity, saying that in God there was but one person and one nature, which he called the Father. This sole person, he said, descended into the womb of the Virgin, and

(21) N. Alex. loc. cit. ar. 10; Fleury, t. 1, l. 4, n. 33, 34.

(22) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 21; N. Alex. loc. cit. ar. 15.

being born of her by means of the incarnation, was called Jesus Christ. According to this impious doctrine, then, it was the Father who suffered death, and on that account his followers were called Patripassionists. The most remarkable among his disciples were Berillus, Noetus, and Sabellius. Berillus was Bishop of Bostris in Arabia; he said that Christ, before his incarnation, had no divinity, and in his incarnation had no divinity of his own, but only that of the Father. Noel Alexander says that Origen refuted him, and brought him back to the Catholic faith (1). Noetus, more obstinate in error, said that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were but one person and one God; he and his followers were cut off from the Church, and, as he died impenitent, he was refused Christian burial (2). The most celebrated promoter of this error was Sabellius.

2.—Sabellius was born in the Ptolemais in Africa, and lived in the year 227. He shed a greater lustre, if we may say so, on the heresy of his master, and on that account this impious sect was called Sabellians. He denied the distinction of the three persons in the Trinity, and said they were but three names to distinguish the different operations of the Divinity. The Trinity, he said, was like the sun, in which we distinguish the light, the heat, and the form, though the sun be but one and the same. The light represents the Son, the heat the Holy Ghost, and the figure or substance of the sun itself the Father, who, in one person alone, contained the Son and the Holy Ghost (3). This error we will refute in the last part of the work.

3.—Paul of Samosata was Bishop of Antioch. Before his appointment to the see he was poor, but afterwards, by extortion and sacrilege, by selling justice, and making false promises, he amassed a great deal of wealth. He was so vain and proud that he never appeared in public without a crowd of courtiers; he was always preceded by one hundred servants, and followed by a like number, and his own praises were the only subjects of his sermons; he not only abused those who did not flatter him, but frequently also offered them personal violence; and at length

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *s.* 3, *c.* 3, *ar.* 1, ex Euseb.; Van Ranst, *p.* 65.

(2) Nat. Alex. *ibid.*, *c.* 3, *ar.* 7; Van Ranst, *p.* 48.

(3) Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *c.* 3, *ar.* 7; Orsi, *t.* 2, *l.* 5, *n.* 14; Hermant, *l.* 1, *c.* 60; Fleury, *l.* 7, *n.* 35.

his vanity arrived at such a pitch that he had a choir of courtizans to sing hymns in his praise in the church; he was so dissolute in his morals that he had always a number of ladies of lax morals in his train. In fine, this impious prelate crowned all his crimes with heresy. The first of his blasphemies was, that Jesus Christ never existed until he was born of the Virgin, and hence he said he was a mere man; he also said that in Jesus there were two persons and two sons of God, one by nature and the other by adoption; he also denied the Trinity of the Divine persons, and although he admitted the names of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, not, however, denying, as Orsi thinks, personal existence to the Son and the Holy Ghost, yet he did not recognize either one or the other as persons of the Trinity, attributing to the Father alone the incarnation and passion (4). His disciples inserted those errors in their profession of faith, and in the formula of Baptism, but N. Alexander says that it is uncertain whether Paul was the author of this heresy.

4.—Manes was the founder of the Manicheans, and he adopted this name on account of taking to himself the title of the Paraclete, and to conceal the lowliness of his condition, since he was at first only a slave in Persia, but was liberated and adopted by an old lady of that country. She sent him to the public academy to be educated, but he made little progress in learning. Whatever he wanted in learning he made up in impudence, and on that account he endeavoured to institute a new sect; and, to enlist the peasantry under the banner of his heresy, he studied magic with particular attention. To acquire a name for himself he undertook to cure the King of Persia's son, who was despaired of by the physicians. Unfortunately for him, however, the child died, notwithstanding all his endeavours to save him, and he was thrown into prison, and would have been put to death only he bribed the guards to let him escape. Misfortune, however, pursued him: after travelling through various countries, he fell again into the King's hands, who ordered him to be flayed alive with a sharp-pointed reed; his body was thrown to the beasts, and his skin hung up in the city gate, and thus the

(4) Orsi, *t. 3, l. 8, n. 15*; Gotti de Vera Rel. *t. 2, c. 11, s. 2*; N. Alex. *t. 7, c. 3, ar. 8, sec. 2*; Hermant, *t. 1, c. 63*; Fleury, *t. 2, l. 8, n. 1*.

impious Manes closed his career. He left many followers after him, among whom was St. Augustin, in his youth, but, enlightened by the Almighty, he abandoned his errors, and became one of his most strenuous opponents (5).

The errors of Manes can be classed under the following heads: 1st. He admitted the plurality of Gods, alleging that there were two principles, one of good and the other of evil. Another of his errors was, that man had two souls—one bad, which the evil principle created, together with the body, and another, good, created by the good principle, which was co-eternal, and of the same nature with God. All the good actions which man performs he attributes to the good soul, and all the evil ones he commits to the bad soul. He deprived man of free-will, saying that he was always carried irresistibly forward by a force which his will could not resist. He denied the necessity of baptism, and entirely abolished that sacrament. Among many other errors, the Manicheans detested the flesh, as being created by the evil principle, and, therefore, denied that Jesus Christ ever took a body like ours, and they were addicted to every sort of impurity (6). They spread almost over the entire world, and though condemned by many Popes, and persecuted by many Emperors, as Dioclesian, Gratian, and Theodosius, but especially by Justin and Justinian, who caused many of them to be burned alive in Armenia, still they were not annihilated till the year 1052, when, as Baronius relates, Henry II., finding some of them lurking in France, caused them to be hanged. The refutation of this heresy we have written in the book called the Truth of the Faith (7).

5.—Tertullian was born, as Fleury (8) relates, in Carthage, and his father was a centurion in the Pretorian Bands. He was at first a Pagan, but was converted about the year 197, and was a priest for forty years, and died at a very advanced age. He wrote many works of the highest utility to the Church, on Baptism, Penance, Idolatry, on the Soul, on Proscriptions, and

(5) Baron. Ann. 277, ex n. 1; Nat. Alex. t. 7, c. 3, ar. 9, sec. 1.

(6) Nat. Alex. ibid. vide sec. 2; Hermant, t. 1, c. 65; Fleury, t. 2, l. 8, n. 10—12; Baron. Ann. 277, n. 1, & seq.; Graves. in sec. 3.

(7) Verità della Fede, part 3, c. 2, sec. 2.

(8) Fleury, t. 1, l. 4, n. 47.

an Apology for the Christians, which has acquired great celebrity. Although in his book on Proscriptions he calls Montanus a heretic, still, according to the general opinion of authors, he fell into Montanism himself. Baronius says that he was cut off from the Church, and excommunicated by Pope Zepherinus (9). Tertullian was a man of the greatest austerity; he had the greatest veneration for continence; he practised extraordinary watchings, and on account of a dispute he had with the clergy of Rome, he attached himself to the Montanists, who, to the most rigid mortification, joined the belief that Montanus was the Holy Ghost. N. Alexander proves, on the authority of St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Pacianus, St. Optatus, and St. Augustin, that he asserted the Church could not absolve adulterers, that those who married a second time were adulterers, and that it was not lawful to fly from persecution. He called the Catholics, *Psichici*, or Animals. Fleury says (10), that Tertullian taught that the soul was a body, of a palpable form, but transparent, because one of the Prophetesses heard so in a vision. Both Fleury and Noel Alexander say (11), that he forsook the Montanists before his death, but a sect, who called themselves Tertullianists after him, remained in Carthage for two hundred years, until the time of St. Augustin, when they once more returned to the bosom of the Church.

6.—Origen was an Egyptian, and his early days were spent in Alexandria. His father was St. Leonidas the Martyr, who had him educated in every branch of sacred and profane literature (12). It is said his own father held him in the highest veneration, and that often while he slept he used to kiss his bosom, as the temple where the Holy Ghost dwelt (13). At the age of eighteen he was made Catechist of the Church of Alexandria, and he discharged his duties so well that the very pagans flocked to hear him. Plutarch, who afterwards became an illustrious martyr of the faith of Christ, was one of his disciples. In the height of the persecution he never ceased to assist the confessors of Christ, despising both torments and death. He had the greatest horror

(9) Baron. Ann. 201, n. 3, & seq. ad. 11; Fleury, t. 1, l. 25 & 26; Orsi, t. 3, l. 8, n. 28.

(10) Fleury, t. 1, l. 5, n. 25.

(11) Fleury, t. 1, l. 6, n. 3, cum St. Augus. & Nat. Alex. t. 6, c. 3, ar. 8, n. 9.

(12) Nat. Alex. t. 7, ar. 12.

(13) Fleury, l. 5, n. 2; Orsi, l. 5, n. 27.

of sensual pleasures, and it is related of him that for fear of offending against chastity, and to avoid temptation, he mutilated himself, interpreting the 12th verse of the 19th chapter of St. Matthew in a wrong sense (14). He refuted the Arabians, who denied the immortality of the soul, and converted Berrillus, as we have already seen, who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. He also converted Ambrose from the errors of the Valentinians. He was so desirous of martyrdom, that his mother was obliged to take away his clothes, to prevent him from going to his father, who was in prison for the faith. All this, however, was to no purpose; he avoided her vigilance, flew to his father, and when he would not be allowed to speak to him, he exhorted him by letter to persevere in the faith. At the age of eighteen he was Prefect of the studies of Alexandria. When he was composing his Commentaries on the Scriptures, he dictated to seven or eight amanuenses at the same time. He edited different editions of the Scriptures, compiling the Tetrapla, the Hexapla, and the Octapla. The Tetrapla had four columns in each page; in the first was the version of the seventy, or Septuagint, in the second that of Aquila, in the third that of Simmachus, and in the fourth that of Theodotian. The Hexapla had six columns, and, besides the former, contained the Hebrew text and a Greek translation. Finally, the Octapla contained, besides the former, two other versions, compiled by some Hebrews. His name was so famous at that time that all the priests and doctors consulted him in any difficult matter. Presuming too much on his wisdom, he fell into different errors, by wishing to interpret many texts of Scripture in a mystical, rejecting the literal, sense. Those, he says, who adhere to the letter of the Scripture will never see the kingdom of God (15), hence we should seek the spirit of the word, which is hidden and mysterious. He is defended by some; but the majority condemn him, although he endeavoured to clear himself by saying that he wrote his sentiments merely as opinions, and subjected them to the judgment of his readers (16).

He was obliged to go into Achaia, a country at that time distracted by various heresies. In his journey he persuaded two bishops of Palestine whom he visited, that it would be of great

(14) Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *ar.* 12.

(16) Orsi, *l.* 6, *n.* 61.

(15) Origen, Stromata, *l.* 10.

service to the Church if he was ordained priest (17). Yielding to his suggestions they ordained him, and this so displeased Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, that in a council he deposed and excommunicated him. Several other bishops, however, received him in his misfortunes, and entertained him honourably. Orsi, on the authority of Eusebius, tells us (18), that, in the persecution of Decius he was imprisoned a long time, loaded with irons, and a great iron ring on his neck; and that he was not only tortured in the legs in a horrible manner, but was likewise put on the rack. Dionisius, Eusebius says (19), wrote him a letter, or rather a small treatise, to animate and console him; and from that circumstance, Cardinal Orsi (20) proves the fallacy of Du Pin's conjecture, that the sentence passed against him by Demetrius, was enforced under his successors Aracla and Dionisius. Origen did not long survive the torments he endured in that persecution. He died in Tyre, in the year 253, the sixty-ninth of his age (21).

Bernini tells us, on the authority of St. Epiphanius (22), (thinking, however, that this was foisted into St. Epiphanius's works by the enemies of Origen) that he denied the faith by offering incense to idols, to avoid the indignities and insults inflicted on him by an Ethiopian, and that he was then freed from prison, and his life spared. After that he went from Alexandria to Jerusalem, and at the request of the clergy and people went into the pulpit to preach. It happened, however, that opening the book of the Psalms, to explain them, the first words he read were those of the 49th Psalm: "God said to the sinner, why dost thou declare my justices and take my covenant into thy mouth?" Struck dumb with sorrow, he began to weep bitterly, and left the pulpit without saying a word. Not only St. Epiphanius, but Eusebius (23) before him, bear witness to Origen's fall. Although Bernini (24) says this story is quite fabulous, yet Petavius, Daniel Uerius, Pagi, and especially Noel Alexander (25), say it is a fact. Roncaglia (26) is of opinion that Noel

(17) Nat. Alex. *ibid*; Orsi, *n.* 30.

(18) Orsi, *t.* 3, *l.* 7, *n.* 33.

(19) Euseb. *His. Eccl.* *l.* 6.

(20) Orsi. *t.* 3, *l.* 7, *n.* 33.

(21) Orsi, *loc. cit.*; Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 68; Bar. *Ann.* 204, *n.* 8; V. Ranst, *p.* 42; Graves, *s.* 3.

(22) Bernin. *Istor. t.* 1, *c.* 1, *p.* 125.

(23) Euseb. *l.* 6; *Hist. Eccl. c.* 59.

(24) Baron. *Ann.* 253, *n.* 117, & seq. cum Graves, *loc. cit.*

(25) Petav. in *Animadv.* in St. Epiph. *Heres.* 64; Huetius, *l.* 1; *Orig. c.* 4; Pagius ad an. 251, *n.* 19; Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *diss.* 15, *q.* 2, *art. unic.*

(26) Ronc. not. in *Natal. loc. cit.*

Alexander's arguments are groundless, and that Baronius's opinion carries more weight with it. We can decide nothing as to the salvation of Origen, though Baronius says that St. Simeon Salus saw him in hell; still, all is a mystery known to God alone. We know, however, on the authority of Baronius, that his doctrine was condemned by Pope Anastasius and Pope Gelasius, and afterwards by the fifth general council (27).

The substance of the errors of Origen, as well as I could collect from the works of Noel Alexander, Fleury, Hermant, Orsi, Van Ranst (who gives a great deal of information in a small space), and others, was all included in his *Periarchon*, or Treatise on Principles. This treatise, Fleury says, was translated by Rufinus, who endeavoured to correct it as much as possible. The intent of Origen in this work was to refute Valentine, Marcion, and Ebion, who taught that men are either essentially good or essentially wicked. He said that God alone was good and immutable, but that his creatures were capable of either good or evil, by making use of their free will for a good purpose, or perverting it for a wicked one. Another of his opinions was that the souls of men were of the same nature as the celestial spirits, that is, composed of spirit and matter; that they were all created before the beginning of the world, but that, as a punishment for some crimes committed, they were shut up in the sun, moon, and other planets, and even in human bodies, as it were in a prison, to punish them for a time; after which, being freed from their slavery by death, they went to heaven to receive the reward of their virtues, or to hell to suffer the punishment of their sins, but such rewards and punishments were not eternal. Hence, he said, the blessed in heaven could be banished from that abode of happiness for faults committed there, and that the punishment of the devils and the damned would not last for all eternity, because at the end of the world Jesus Christ would be again crucified, and they would participate in the general redemption. He also said that before the creation of this world there existed many others, and that after this had ceased to exist many more would be created, for, as God was never idle, so he never was without a world.

He taught many other erroneous opinions ; in fact his doctrine is entirely infected with the maxims of Plato, Pythagoras, and the Manicheans. Cassiodorus, speaking of Origen, says, I wonder how the same man could contradict himself so much ; for since the days of the Apostles he had no equal in that part of his doctrine which was approved of, and no one ever erred more grossly in the part which was condemned. Cabassutius (28) says, that Pope Gelasius, following the example of Anastatius, gave this sentence relative to Origen in the Roman council :—“ We declare that those works of Origen which the blessed Jerome does not reject can be read, but we condemn all others with their author.”

After the death of Origen his followers disturbed the Church very much by maintaining and propagating his errors. Hermant (29) relates that Pope Anastasius had a great deal of difficulty in putting down the troubles occasioned by the Origenists in Rome, who got footing there under the auspices of Melania, by means of the priest Rufinus. The author of the notes on Fleury, says, that Anastasius wrote to John of Jerusalem to inform him of how matters were going on, and that he, on that account, cut off Rufinus from the Church. In the reign of the Emperor Justinian, some Origenist monks who lived in a *laura* founded by St. Saba, under the abbot Nonnus, began to disseminate their errors among this brethren, and in a short time infected the principal *laura*, but were expelled by the abbot Gelasius. Favoured, however, by Theodore of Cesarea, they got possession of the great *laura* again, and expelled the greater part of the monks who disagreed with them. In the meantime, Nonnus died, and his successor George being deposed for immorality by his own party, the Catholic monks again got possession of the *laura*, and elected Conon, one of this party, abbot (30). Finally, in the twelfth canon of the second council of Constantinople, both Origen and all those who would persist in defending his doctrine were condemned (31).

7.—Novatus and Novatian. Novatus was a priest of the Church of Carthage. St. Cyprian relates that he was a man

(28) Cabassut. Notit. Hist. Conc. Constantin. II. an. 553, n. 14. in fin.

(29) Hermant, t. 1, c, 132.

(30) Orsi, t. 18, l. 41, n. 1 & 5, ad 7.

(31) Orsi, al luogo cit. n. 70.

of a turbulent disposition, seditious and avaricious, and that his faith was suspected by the bishops. He was accused of robbing the orphans and widows, and appropriating to his own use the money given him for the use of the Church. It is said he allowed his father to die of starvation, and afterwards refused to bury him; and that he caused the death of his wife by giving her a kick, and causing premature labour. He was also one of the principal agents in getting the deacon Felicissimus ordained priest without the leave or knowledge of St. Cyprian, his bishop, and was one of the principal leaders of the schism of Novatian, exciting as many as he could to oppose the lawful Pope, Cornelius (32).

We now come to speak of the character and errors of Novatian. Being possessed by an evil spirit he was baptized in bed during a dangerous fit of sickness, and when he recovered he neglected getting the ceremonies of baptism supplied, and never received confirmation, which, according to the discipline of the Church in those days, he ought to have received after baptism, and his followers, for that reason, afterwards rejected this sacrament. He was afterwards ordained priest, the bishop dispensing in the irregularity he incurred by being baptized in bed. Hence his ordination gave great umbrage both to the clergy and people. While the persecution was raging the deacons begged of him to leave his place of concealment, and assist the faithful, who were dragged to the place of punishment; but he answered, that he did not henceforward intend to discharge the duties of a priest; that he had his mind made up for other objects. This was nothing less than the Popedom, which he had the ambition to pretend to, puffed up by the applause he received for his oratorical powers. At this time, Cornelius was elected Pope, and he, by intrigue, got himself consecrated privately by three ignorant bishops whom he made intoxicated. Thus he was the first anti-Pope who ever raised a schism in the Church of Rome. But what will not ambition do? While he administered the Eucharist to his partizans, he exacted an oath from each of them, saying, "Swear to me, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that you will never leave my party and join Cornelius" (33).

(32) Baron. An. 254, n. 50.; Nat. t. 7, c. 3, ar. 3, 4; Fleury, t. 1, l. 6, n. 51.

(33) Nat. loc. cit.; Baron. n. 61, &c.

The errors of Novatus and Novatian were the following:— they denied that the Church could use any indulgence with those who became idolaters through fear of persecution, or that she could grant pardon for any mortal sin committed after baptism, and they denied the sacrament of confirmation. Like the Montanists, they condemned second marriages, and refused communion on the point of death to those who contracted them (34).

8.—These were not the only heretics who disturbed the Church during this century. Nipos, an Egyptian bishop, about the year 284, again raked up the errors of the Millenarians, taking the promise of the Apocalypse in a literal sense, that Jesus Christ would reign on earth for the space of a thousand years, and that the saints should enjoy all manner of sensual delights. The Angelicals offered the supreme adoration which should be given to God alone, to the angels; adored them as the creators of the world, and pretended to lead angelic lives themselves. The Apostolicals said it was not lawful for any one to possess property of any sort, and that the riches of this life were an insurmountable obstacle to salvation. These heretics received no married persons into this sect (35).

(34) Nat. Alex. *ibid*; Van Ranst, *p.* 45, 46; Fleury, *cit. n.* 51; Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 48, 51.

(35) Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *c.* 3, *ar.* 6, 9; Van Ranst, *p.* 47 & 64; Berti, *t.* 1, *s.* 3, *c.* 3.

CHAPTER IV.

HERESIES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

SCHISM AND HERESY OF THE DONATISTS.

1, 2.—Schism. 3.—Heresy. 4, 5.—Confutation of St. Augustin. Circumcellionists. 6.—Conference commanded by Honorius. 7.—Death of St. Marcellinus, and Council of Carthage.

1.—In order properly to understand the history of the Donatists, we must separate the schism from the heresy, for they were at first schismatics before they were heretics. Donatus the first was the author of the schism; a second Donatus was the father of the heresy, and he was called by his followers Donatus the Great. In the beginning of the fourth century, Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, was cited before the tyrant Maxentius on the charge of concealing in his house a deacon of the name of Felix, the author of a libel on the Emperor. Mensurius went to Rome to defend himself, and died on his way home. Cecilianus was elected by the general voice of the people to fill the vacant see, and was consecrated by Felix, Bishop of Aphthongum and other prelates. His opponents immediately began to question the validity of his consecration, because it was performed by those bishops called *traitors* (*traditores*), who delivered up the Scriptures to the pagans. Another charge made against him was that he prohibited the faithful from supplying the confessors in the prisons with food. At the head of this conspiracy was a bishop of an African city, called “the Black Houses,” whose name was Donatus; and it was very much strengthened by the intrigues of Lucilla, a Spanish lady then residing in Carthage. Cecilianus happened to come into collision with her while he was yet a deacon, because he reprimanded her for paying the veneration due to a holy martyr to a certain dead man, whose sanctity was never recognized by the Church. To

revenge herself on him for this, she became the soul of the conspiracy, and by the influence of her wealth brought over to her party many of the bishops of Africa, who, uniting together in council, under the presidency of the secondary primate of Numidia, deposed Cecilianus in his absence, and elected a domestic of Lucilla's in his place, of the name of Majorinus, who was consecrated by Donatus (1).

2.—Notwithstanding all this persecution, Cecilianus remained stedfast in the faith which obliged the Donatists to have recourse to the Emperor Constantine. He referred the entire matter to St. Melchiades, the reigning Pope, who, in the year 315, or according to others, in 316, assembled a council of nineteen bishops, and declared both the innocence of Cecilianus and the validity of his consecration. The Donatists were discontented with this decision, and again appealed to the Emperor; he used every means to pacify them, but seeing them determined to keep up the schism, he ordered Elianus, pro-consul of Africa, to investigate the matter, and find out whether the crime laid to the charge of Felix who consecrated Cecilianus (that of delivering up the Scriptures to the idolators), was true. The conspirators, aware that this investigation was to take place, bribed a notary of the name of Ingentius, to prove a falsehood; but in his examination before the Pro-consul, he acquitted both Felix and Cecilianus. The Emperor being informed of this was satisfied as to their innocence; but in order to appease the Donatists, and give them no cause of complaint, he caused another council to be convoked at Arles, to which St. Silvester, who succeeded St. Melchiades in the year 314, sent his legate to preside in his name; and in that and the following year, Felix and Cecilianus were again acquitted by the council (2).

3.—Nothing, however, could satisfy the Donatists; they even, according to Fleury (3), extended themselves as far as Rome. Heresy now was added to schism. The second Donatus, called by them Donatus the Great, put himself at their head; and although tinctured with the Arian heresy, as St. Augustin says (4), intruded himself into the See of Carthage, as successor

(1) Baron. Ann. 303, n. 29, & Ann. 306, n. 74 & 75; vide Fleury, Nat. Alex. Orsi, Van Raunst, & Hermant.

(2) Hermant, c. 78, &c.

(3) Fleury, t. 2, l. 10, n. 26.

(4) St. August. l. de Heres. c. 69.

to Majorinus. He was the first who began to disseminate the errors of the Donatists in Africa (5). Those consisted in the adoption of one false principle, which was the source of many others. This was that the Church was composed of the just alone, and that all the wicked were excluded from it; founding this belief on that text of St. Paul, where he says that the Church of Christ is free from all stain: "Christ loved his Church, and delivered himself up for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle" (Ephesians, v. 27). They also professed to find this doctrine in the twenty-seventh verse of the twenty-first chapter of the Apocalypse: "There shalt not enter into it anything defiled." The adoption of this erroneous principle led them into many heretical consequences:—First, believing that the Church was composed of the good alone, they inferred that the Church of Rome was lost, because the Pope and bishops having admitted to their communion traitors, or those who delivered up the holy books into the hands of the Pagans, as they alleged Felix and Cecilianus to have done, and as the sour leaven corrupteth the entire mass, then the Church, being corrupted and stained by the admission of those, was lost, it only remained pure in that part of Africa where the Donatists dwelt; and to such a pitch did their infatuation arrive, that they quoted Scripture for this also, interpreting that expression of the Canticles, "Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest in the mid-day," (the south,) as relating to Africa, which lies in the southern part of the world. Another heretical inference of theirs was, that the sacrament of baptism was null and void if administered out of their Church, because a Church that was lost had not the power of administering the sacrament, and on that account they re-baptized all proselytes.

4.—These two heretical opinions fall to the ground at once, by proving the falsity of the first proposition, that the Church consists of the good alone. St. Augustin proves clearly that these texts of St. Paul and St. John, refer to the triumphant and not to the militant Church, for our Redeemer, speaking of the militant Church, says, in many places, it contains both good and bad; in one place he likens it to a threshing floor, which contains both

(5) Orsi, *t.* 4, *l.* 11, *n.* 51 & 52.

straw and grain: "He will thoroughly cleanse his floor, and gather his wheat into the barn, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire" (Matt. iii, 12). In another place he compares it to a field sown with good seed, and cockle growing amongst it: "Let both grow" he says, "till the time of the harvest, and then I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the cockle and bind it into bundles to burn, but gather the wheat into my barn" (Matt. xiii, 3) (6).

5.—The Donatists were not content with the crime of heresy, but committed a thousand others, if possible of a deeper dye. They destroyed the altars of the Catholics, broke the chalices, spilled the holy Chrism on the ground, and threw the holy Eucharist to the dogs. But St. Optatus Milevitanus (7) informs us that God did not suffer the indignity to his sacred body and blood to go unpunished, for the dogs getting mad turned on their own masters, and tore them, as if in revenge for the insult offered to the body of Jesus Christ. Not satisfied with tormenting the living, they outraged the dead, whom they dragged out of their graves, and exposed to the most unheard-of indignities. About this time, also, the Circumcellionists sprung from the Donatists. Their chiefs were Faber and Maxidus, and they were called Circumcellionists from running about from town to town and house to house. They were called by Donatus the chiefs of the saints; they boasted that they were the redressors of all wrong and injustice through the world, though nothing could be more unjust than their own proceedings. They gave liberty to slaves, and commanded debtors not to pay their debts, telling them they were freed from all obligation. Their cruelty equalled their fanaticism, for they went about in armed bands, and put to death those who did not become proselytes to their doctrine; but what was more astonishing than all was to see this fury turned against themselves, for many of them committed suicide by throwing themselves over precipices, some cast themselves into the fire, others drowned themselves, or cut their throats, and endeavoured to induce others to follow their example, telling them that all who died so were martyrs; even women followed the example of their husbands in this madness, and St. Augustin tells us that

(6) Nat. Alex. t. 9, diss. 31.

(7) St. Opt. l. 2, de Donatis.

even some, in a state of pregnancy, threw themselves down precipices. It is true that even the Donatist bishops endeavoured by every means to put a stop to such frightful fanaticism, and even called in the authority of the secular power to aid them, but they could not deny that they were their own disciples, and that they became the victims of such perverse doctrines from following their own example (8).

6.—The Emperors Constantine and Constans, sons of Constantine the Great and Valentinian, issued several edicts against the Donatists, but all was of little avail. In the reign of Honorius an edict was published, giving liberty to all sects to profess publicly their doctrines, but about the year 410 the Donatists, taking advantage of this, broke out into several acts of violence, which so exasperated Honorius that, at the suggestion of the Catholic bishops of Africa, he revoked the edict. He then published that law (L. 51, Codex Theodosianus), which punishes with confiscation of property the practice of any religion except the Catholic, and even with pain of death if the professors of any heretical doctrines should publicly assemble in their conventicles. In order, however, entirely to extinguish the heresy of Donatus, he sent the Imperial Tribune, Marcellinus, a man of the greatest learning and prudence, into Africa, with orders to assemble all the African bishops, both Catholics and Donatists, in Carthage, to proceed to a conference to see who was right and who was wrong, that peace should be established between them. The Donatists at first refused to come, but the edicts of Honorius were too strict to be avoided, and they consented, and the conference was held in the Baths of Gazilian. Two hundred and eighty-six Catholics and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatists assembled, but Marcellinus, to avoid confusion, would allow only thirty-six, eighteen on each side, to hold the conference, these eighteen to be chosen from among all the rest. The schismatics refused to obey the regulations of Marcellinus, and used every stratagem to avoid coming to the point; especially they endeavoured to cushion the question concerning the true Church, but, with all their art, they were, one day, drawn into it, and, seeing themselves caught, they could not help lamenting, saying, see

(8) Baron. An. 357, n. 15; V. Ranst; Fleury, t. 2, l. 11, n. 46; Hermant, c. 81.

how insensibly we have got into the bottom of the case. Then it was that St. Augustin, as we have already shown, proved clearer than the noon-day sun that the Church is not composed of the good alone, as the Donatists would have it, but of the good and the bad, as the threshing-floor contains both corn and chaff. Finally, after many disputations, Marcellinus gave his decision in favor of the Catholics (9).

7.—Many were united to the Church, but many more persisted in their errors, and appealed to Honorius, who would not even admit them to an audience, but condemned to a heavy fine all those who would not join the Catholic Church, and threatened to banish all the Donatist bishops and priests who would persist in their opposition to his decree. Nothing could exceed their malice against the Catholics after that; they murdered the defender of the Church, Restitutus (10), and plotted with the Count Marinus the destruction of Marcellinus. The means by which Marinus accomplished this were horrible. He caused St. Marcellinus to be imprisoned on a charge of high treason, alleging that he was one of the chief promoters of the rebellion of Heraclian; which he was most innocent of, and although he swore to his friend Cecilianus that he would liberate both St. Marcellinus and his brother Aprinius from prison, he ordered him the next day to be taken out to a lonesome place, and beheaded. Cardinal Orsi proves this on the authority of Orosius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin. Thus Marcellinus died a martyr, but Marinus was punished for his injustice, being shortly after recalled by Honorius, and stripped of all his honours. In the Council of Carthage, in 348, or, as Hermant (11) has it, in 349, the Catholic bishops of Africa assembled in great numbers to thank the Almighty for putting an end to this sect, and the schismatical bishops then joined them. In this council it was prohibited to re-baptize those who were baptized in the faith of the Trinity, in opposition to the erroneous opinion of the Donatists, who declared the baptism administered out of their communion invalid. It was also forbidden to honour as martyrs those who killed themselves, and they were allowed the rites of burial through

(9) Orsi, *t.* 11, *l.* 25, *n.* 1, 24; Baron. Ann. 411, *n.* 24.

(10) Baron. An. 412, *n.* 1, &c.; Orsi, *n.* 28, 29.

(11) Hermant, *c.* 99.

compassion alone. Cardinal Baronius says that this sect lasted till the time of Gregory the Great, who endeavoured to put an end to it altogether, and he also says that those heretics were the cause of the ruin of the Church of Africa (12).

ARTICLE II.

THE ARIAN HERESY.

§ I.

PROGRESS OF ARIUS, AND HIS CONDEMNATION BY THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

8.—Origin of Arius. 9.—His Errors and Supporters. 10.—Synod of Bythynia. 11.—Synod of Osius in Alexandria. 12.—General Council of Nice. 13.—Condemnation of Arius. 14—16.—Profession of Faith. 17.—Exile of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and insidious Letter of Eusebius of Cesarea. 18.—Banishment of Arius. 19.—Decree for the Meletians. 20.—Decree for the Quartodecimans. 21.—Canons. 22.—End of the Council.

8.—Arius was an African, born in that part of it called Lybia Cirenaica, and he went to Alexandria in the expectation of obtaining some ecclesiastical dignity. He was, as Baronius tells us, a man of great learning and science—of polished manners, but of a forbidding appearance—ambitious of glory, and fond of novelty (1). At first he was a follower of Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in Upper Egypt. This bishop, in the beginning of the fourth century, though he taught nothing contrary to faith, still was deposed by St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, on account of many grievous crimes, one of which even was idolatry (2); and he then raised a great schism in Egypt against St. Peter, and went so far as to administer the ordination belonging by right to the Saint. Arius judged that he would have no great chance of advancing himself according to his wishes, by con-

(12) Baron. An. 591, &c.

(1) Baron. An. 319; Van Ranst, *p.* 70; Nat. Alex. *t.* 8, *c.* 3, *ar.* 3; Fleury, *l.* 10; Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 85; Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 2.

(2) Nat. *ibid.*, *ar.* 2; St. Athan. cum. Socrat. & Theodoret; Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 41; Fleury, *l.* 11, *n.* 15.

tinuing a partizan of Meletius, so he made his submission to St. Peter, and was ordained deacon by him; but he, finding that he still continued to correspond with Meletius, turned him out of Alexandria. St. Peter was soon after put in prison for the faith, and about to be martyred. Arius endeavoured again to be received by him; and it was then, as Baronius (3) tells us, on the authority of the Acts of the martyrdom of St. Peter, that Christ appeared to the Saint with a torn garment, and said to him: "Arius has torn this; take heed lest you receive him into your communion." Alexander has strong doubts of the truth of this vision (4); but his arguments are not convincing, and it has been admitted into the Roman Breviary on the 26th of November, the feast of St. Peter. Arius, for all that, was promoted to the priesthood by Achilla, who succeeded St. Peter, martyred in 311, and got the charge of a parochial church called Baucal (5), in Alexandria. On the death of Achilla, Arius, who was now, as Fleury tells us, advanced in years, expected to succeed him; but St. Alexander was chosen, a man of great knowledge and most exemplary life. Arius began immediately to censure his conduct and condemn his doctrine, saying that he falsely taught that the Word, the Son of God, was equal to the Father, begotten by him from all eternity, and of the same nature and substance as the Father, which, he said, was the heresy of Sabellius. He then began to promulgate the following blasphemies:—1. That the Word was not from all eternity, but was brought forth out of nothing by the Father, and created, the same as one of ourselves; and, 2ndly, that Christ, according to his free will, was of a mutable nature, and that he might have followed vice, but that, as he embraced goodness, God, as a reward for his good works, made him a participator in the divine nature, and honoured him with the title of the Word, the Son, and of Wisdom (6). Noel Alexander says that these errors are taken from an impious work he wrote, called *Thalia*, and from an Epistle of his to St. Alexander, referred to by St. Athanasius, and from the Synodical Epistle of the Council of Nice, quoted by Socrates, St. Epiphanius, and

(3) Baron. An. 310, n. 4 & 5.

(4) N. Alex. t. 8, diss. 9.

(5) St. Epip. Her. 69, Theod. &c.

(6) Nat. Alex. ar. 3, sec. 2; Fleury, cit. n. 28; Baron. An. 315, n. 19 & 20; Hermant c. 84.

Theodoret. Noel Alexander also says, on the authority of St. Athanasius and Theodoret, that he taught that the Word in the Incarnation took a body without a soul, and that the soul was part of the divinity.

9.—Arius began at first privately to teach his errors; but he soon became so bold that he publicly preached them in his parish. St. Alexander at first tried to bring him back by admonition, but, finding that of no avail, he had recourse to more rigorous measures; and as some bishops were even then tainted with his heresy—especially Secundus of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmorica—he convoked a synod in Alexandria, in 320, at which nearly one hundred bishops from Lybia and Egypt assembled, besides a great number of priests. Arius was called before them, and publicly professed his errors; so the assembled Fathers excommunicated him and his adherents, and St. Alexander wrote from the synod an encyclical letter, giving an account of it to all the bishops of the Church (7). Notwithstanding this, Arius only became more obstinate, and made many proselytes, both men and women; and Theodoret says (8) he seduced several of his female followers. He then put himself under the protection of Eusebius of Nicomedia, a powerful and learned, but wicked, man, who left his own bishopric of Beyrout, and intruded himself into the see of Nicomedia, through the influence of Constantia, the sister of Constantine. He wrote to St. Alexander, requesting him to receive Arius again into his communion; but the Holy Patriarch not only refused his request, but obliged Arius and all his followers to quit Alexandria (9).

10.—Arius then went to Palestine, and succeeded in seducing several bishops of that and the neighbouring provinces, especially Eusebius of Cesarea, Aczius of Lidda or Hospolis, Paulinus of Tyre, Gregory of Beirout, Athanasius of Anazarbus, and Theodotus of Laodicea. When St. Alexander heard of this, he complained very much of it, and wrote to several of the bishops of Palestine, who yielded to his advice, and forsook Arius. He then took refuge with his friend Eusebius of Nicomedia, and

(7) *N. Alex. ar.* 4, s. 1; Fleury, *ibid*;

Hermant, c. 86; Orsi.

(8) Theodoret, *l.* 1, c. 4.

(9) *Socrat. l.* 1, c. 6; Orsi, *n.* 9;

Fleury, *loc. cit.*

there he wrote his book called *Thalia*, interlarding it with low jests, to take the common people, and with all his blasphemies against the faith, to instil into the minds of every class the poison of his heresy (10). Eusebius called together a synod in Bythinia of bishops favourable to Arius, who wrote to several other bishops to interfere with St. Alexander to receive him again to his communion, but the saint was inflexible (11).

11.—About this time Constantine gained the victory over Licinius, which gave him peaceable possession of the empire; but when he came to Nicomedia he was afflicted to hear of the dissensions between St. Alexander and Arius and the bishops of the East. Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had the first story for the Emperor, told him it was a matter of no great importance altogether, and did not touch on the integrity of the faith, and that all that was requisite was that both sides should be silent. So, to believe that Jesus Christ was either God or a simple creature was a matter of trifling importance; but this has always been the aim of heretics, to make it appear that the dogmas they impugned were of no great consequence. The Emperor being thus deceived, wrote to St. Alexander (12), telling him it was unwise to disturb the Church after this manner, and that the wisest way would be to hold his tongue, and leave every one to follow his own opinions. The disturbance in the East, however, only increased; so that, at length, Osius, Bishop of Cordova, in Spain for thirty years, a man of the greatest merit and learning, and who suffered a great deal in the persecution of Maximilian, was sent to put an end to it. Baronius and Van Ranst say he was sent by St. Sylvester; but the general opinion, which Fleury and Noel Alexander, on the authority of Socrates, Eusebius, Sozymen, and Theodoret adopt, is that he was sent by the Emperor (13). When Osius arrived in Alexandria, and saw that the evil was greater than he imagined, he summoned a synod of bishops in concert with St. Alexander, and Arius and his followers were again excommunicated, and his errors condemned (14).

(10) St. Athan. Apol. 15.

(11) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 16; Fleury, *l.* 10, *n.* 37.

(12) Euseb. in Vit. Costant. c. 63.

(13) Baron. An. 518, *n.* 88; Fleury, *n.* 42; Van Ranst, *p.* 71.

(14) N. Alex. *ar.* 4, *sec.* 1; Fleury, *l.* 10, *n.* 43; Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 21; Hermant, *l.* 1, c. 86.

12.—After this new condemnation, Arius wrote to the Emperor in his defence; but Constantine, now informed of his errors, answered him in a long letter, in which, after refuting his errors, he proved him to be a malicious fool, and he also ordered that this letter should be made public. The Arians were so annoyed at this that they pelted the Emperor's statue, and disfigured the face of it; but he showed his good sense, and proved himself a man of great moderation, on the occasion, for when his ministers urged him to punish them, he, laughing, put his hand to his face, and said, "I don't perceive they have hurted me," and took no more notice of the matter (15). The fire of discord was not, however, extinguished, but rather burned more violently every day. The Emperor then judged it best to call together a general council, to put an end to it; and appointed Nice, in Bythina, not Nice, in Thrace, as the place of meeting, and invited all bishops—both those of the empire, and those beyond its borders—to assemble there, and provided for all their expenses (16). The bishops of Asia, Africa, and Europe were rejoiced at this, and came to the council; so that, in the year 325, three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled in Nice, as Noel Alexander asserts, on the authority of St. Ambrose, in contradiction to Eusebius, who reduces the number to two hundred and fifty (17). Oh, how glorious it was for the Church to see so many pastors assembled in this council! Among them were many prelates bearing on their persons the marks of persecution suffered for the faith, especially St. Paphnutius, bishop in the Thebaid, whose right eye was plucked out, and his left hand burned, in the persecution of Maximilian; St. Paul, Bishop of Neocesarea, who, by order of Licinius, lost the use of both his hands, the sinews being burned with a red iron; St. Potamon, Bishop of Thrace, whose right eye also was torn out for the faith; and many other ecclesiastics, who were tortured by the idolaters (18).

13.—St. Sylvester seconded the pious intention of the Emperor, and assented to the council; and as his advanced age did not

(15) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 24.

(16) Fleury, *l.* 11, *n.* 1; Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 25.

(17) Baron. Ann. 325; Nat. Alex., Fleury, Ruf. Soc. St. Athanasius, & Soz.

(18) Theodoret, *l.* 1, *c.* 7; Fleury, & Orsi.

permit him to attend in person, he sent, as his legates, Vito and Vincentius, Roman priests, and Osius, Bishop of Cordova, to preside in his place, and regulate the sessions(19). Tillemont, in his history, at the year 325, doubts if Osius presided at this council; but not alone all the authors cited speak of him as president, but Maclaine, the English annotator of Mosheim, allows the fact. St. Athanasius calls Osius the chief and leader of the synod(20); and Gelasius Cizicenus, the historian of the fifth century, speaking of the Nicene Council, says Osius held the place of Sylvester, and, along with Vito and Vincentius, was present at that meeting. On the 19th of June, 325, the synod was opened in the great church of Nice, as Cardinal Orsi(21), following the general opinion, relates. The session, he says, held in the palace, in presence of Constantine, was not, as Fleury believes, the first but the last one(22). The first examination that was made was of the errors of Arius, who, by Constantine's orders, was present in Nice; and being called on to give an account of his faith, he vomited forth, with the greatest audacity, those blasphemies he before preached, saying, that the Son of God did not exist from all eternity, but was created from nothing, just like any other man, and was mutable, and capable of virtue or vice. The holy bishops hearing such blasphemies—for all were against him with the exception of twenty-two, friends of his, which number was afterwards reduced to five, and finally to two—stopped their ears with horror, and, full of holy zeal, exclaimed against him(23). Notwithstanding this, the council wished that his propositions should be separately examined; and it was then that St. Athanasius—brought from Alexandria, by his bishop, St. Alexander—showed forth his prowess against the enemies of the faith, who marked him from that out, and persecuted him for the rest of his life. A letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia was read in the council, from which it appeared that he coincided in his opinions with Arius. The letter was publicly torn in his presence, and he was covered with confusion. The Eusebian party, notwithstanding, ceased not to defend the doctrine of Arius; but they contradicted one another, and,

(19) Socrat. *l.* 1, c. 3; N. Alex. Orsi,
Fleury.

(20) St. Athan. Apol. de Fuga.

(21) Orsi, *n.* 22, *infra.*

(22) Fleury, *l.* 11, *n.* 10.

(23) *Ibid.*

by their very answers, showed the inconsistency of their opinions (24).

14.—The Arians were asked by the Catholics: If they admitted that the Son was in every thing like the Father—if he was his image—if he always existed—if he was unchangeable—if he was subsistent in the Father—if he was the power of God—if he was true God. At first the Arian party were undecided, whether they should admit all or only part of these terms; but the Eusebians, having whispered a while among themselves, agreed to admit them all. They could grant he was like the Father, they argued, and his image, since it is written in St. Paul (I. Cor. ii, 7), “that man is the image and glory of God;” they might say he was subsistent in the Father, since, in the Acts, xvii, 28, it is written, “in him we live, and move, and be;” that he always existed, since it is written of us (II. Cor. iv, 11), “For we who live are always delivered unto death for Jesus’s sake,” so that even we have always existed in the power and mind of God; that he was immutable, since it is written that nothing could separate us from the charity of God, “Nor life nor death shall be able to separate us from the love of God”—the power of God, for even soothsayers are called the power of God—the true God, for the Son of God, by his merits, he was made God, a name sometimes given unto men: “I said you are Gods” (John, x, 34) (25).

15.—The Fathers of the Council, seeing how they thus distorted the Scriptures, and gave their own meaning to the texts, judged it necessary to avail themselves of a word which would remove all doubts, and could not be explained away by their adversaries, and this word was “consubstantial,” which they considered as necessary to be introduced into the profession of faith, using the Greek word “omousion,” the meaning of which is that the Son is not only like but is the very thing, the very substance, with the Father, as our Saviour himself says—“I and the Father are one” (John, x, 30). The Arians stoutly refused to admit this expression, for that one word did away with all subterfuges, and knocked away the last prop on which this heresy rested; they made, therefore, many objections, but all were overruled. We

(24) Socrat. *l.* 2, *c.* 8.

(25) Fleury, *al loc. cit.* con St. Athan.

shall treat more fully of this in the third part of the work, The Theological Refutation of Errors.

16.—The Emperor, Cardinal Orsi says, was anxious to be present at the last session of this synod, and wished it to be held in his palace, and came from Nicomedia to Nice for that purpose. When he entered the assembly, some discontented bishops handed him memorials, accusing their colleagues, and appealing to his judgment; but he ordered them to be burnt, making use of those remarkable expressions quoted by Noel Alexander (26), “God has made you priests, and has given you power even to judge ourselves, and we are properly judged by you, for you are given to us by God as Gods on this earth, and it is not meet that man should judge Gods.” He refused to sit down on the low seat he had prepared for himself in the council until the bishops desired him; he then sat down, and all the bishops with his permission also took their seats (27). One of the fathers of the council—it is generally supposed Eustachius, Bishop of Antioch (28)—then arose and delivered an oration, in which he praised the Emperor’s zeal, and gave God thanks for his victories. Constantine then spoke (29): It afforded him, he said, the greatest consolation to see so many fathers thus united in the same sentiments; he recommended peace to them, and gave every one liberty to speak his mind; he praised the defenders of the faith, and reproved the temerity of the Arians. The fathers then framed the decree in the following form, as Cabassutius gives it (30):—“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible; and in One Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, born, not made, consubstantial to the Father by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth; who for us died, for our salvation descended, became incarnate and was made man; he suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and again shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost.” This symbol, St. Athanasius says (31),

(26) N. Alex. *ar.* 4, *sec.* 2; Rufin.;

Theodoret, *His. Eccles.*

(27) Fleury, *l.* 11, *n.* 10.

(28) Theod. *l.* 1, *c.* 7.

(29) Euseb. in *vita Const. c.* 12.

(30) Cabass. *Not. Concil. p.* 88, *ex St.*

Athan. *Socrat. Rufin. & Theod.*

(31) St. Athan. *His. Arian. n.* 42.

was composed by Osius, and was recited in the synod. The council then fulminated an anathema against any one who should say there was a time when the Son of God did not exist, or that he did not exist before he was born, or that he was made of those things that exist not; or should assert that he was of any other substance or essence, or created, or mutable, or convertible. All who speak thus of the Son of God, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

Baronius says (32), that the council then added to the hymn, "Glory be to the Father, &c," the words, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, for ever, and ever, Amen.

17.—The bishops of the opposite side were, as we have already seen, twenty-two at first, but they were reduced, as Sozymen (33) says, to seventeen; and even these, terrified by the threats of Constantine, and fearing to lose their sees, and be banished, all gave in with the exception of five (34); these were Eusebius of Nicomedia; Thegonis of Nice; Maris of Chalcedon; Theonas of Marmorica; and Secundus of Ptolemais; and of these, three finally yielded, and the two first alone remained obstinate, and were deposed and banished (35). But while we condemn the temerity of those, we must acknowledge that they were more sincere than their colleagues, who subscribed the decrees, but were afterwards persecutors of the council and the Catholics. Eusebius of Cesarea especially merits reprobation on this score, for writing to his diocesans, as Socrates tells us (36), and publishing the formula of faith promulgated by the council, he says that he subscribed it merely for peace sake, and states, among other falsehoods, that the council approved the formula handed in by Eusebius of Nicomedia, when the fact was that it was not only rejected, but torn in pieces; that the word "consubstantial" was inserted to please the Emperor, when it was inserted by the fathers after the most mature deliberation, as a touchstone to distinguish the Catholics from the Arians. The fathers, he adds, in adopting this word intended merely to signify that the Son was of the Father, and not as a substantial part of him; and that the words, *born* and *not made*, merely meant that he was

(32) Baron. Ann. 325, n. 173.

(33) Sozyman, l. 1, c. 28.

(34) Socrat. l. 1, c. 8.

(35) Fleury, l. 11, n. 24; Orsi, t. 5,
l. 12, n. 54.

(36) Orsi, *ibid.*

not made like other creatures, who were afterwards created by him, but of a more excellent nature. He concludes by saying that the council anathematized any one who would assert that the Son was made from nothing, and that he did not exist before he was born, in as far as such expressions are not found to be used in the Scriptures, and likewise because the Son, before he was generated, though he did not exist, was nevertheless existing *potentialiter*, as theologians say, in the Father, who was *potentialiter* from all eternity the creator of all things. Besides the proof afforded by this letter of his opinion, St. Jerome (37) says, that every one knows that Eusebius was an Arian. The fathers of the seventh synod, in the sixth Actio, declare "no one is ignorant that Eusebius Pamphilius, given over to a reprobate cause, holds the same opinions as those who follow the impiety of Arius." Valois remarks that this may have been said incidentally by the fathers, but Juenin (38) on the contrary proves that the synod came to this decision, after a strict examination of the arguments taken from his works.

18.—Though Arius was abandoned by all except the two obstinate bishops, he still continued to defend his errors, so he was excommunicated by the council, and banished to Illiria, together with his partisans, by Constantine. All his writings, and especially the infamous Thalia, were likewise condemned by the Emperor and the council, and the Emperor published a circular or decree through the entire empire, ordering the writings of Arius to be every where burned, and denouncing the punishment of death against any one who would controvert this order (39).

19.—The council having disposed of Arius, next suspended Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, from all his episcopal functions, and especially from ordaining any one; but ordered, at the same time, that all his followers should be admitted to the communion of the Church on condition of renouncing his schism and doctrine (40).

20.—The council likewise arranged the question of the celebration of Easter, which then made a great noise in Asia, by ordering that in future it should be celebrated not in the Jewish style, on the fourteenth day of the moon but according to the Roman

(37) St. Hieron. Epist. ad Ctesiphont.

(38) Juenin, Theol. t. 3, ar. 4, sec. 1.

(39) Fleury, t. 2, l. 11, n. 24; Orsi, t. 5, l. 12, n. 42.

(40) N. Alex. ar. 4, sec. 2.

style, on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon, which falls after the vernal equinox. This the council declared was not a matter of faith, but discipline (41); for whenever it speaks of articles of faith as opposed to the errors of Arius, the words, "This the church believes," are used, but in making this order, the words are, "We have decreed, &c." This decree met with no opposition, but as we learn from the circular of Constantine, was embraced by all the Churches (42), and it is thought that the council then adopted the cycle of nineteen years invented by Meto, an Athenian astronomer, for fixing the lunations of each year, as every nineteenth year the new moon falls on the same day of the solar year as it did nineteen years before (43).

21.—The council next decreed twenty canons of discipline; we shall mention some of the principal ones. 1st. The council excludes from the clergy, and deposes, all those who have voluntarily made themselves eunuchs, in opposition to the heresy of the Valerians, who were all eunuchs; but more especially to condemn those who justified and followed the example of Origen, through love of chastity (44). By the third canon, the clergy are prohibited from keeping in their houses any woman unless a mother, a sister, an aunt, or some person from whom no suspicion can arise. It was the wish of the council to establish the celibacy of bishops, priests, and deacons, and sub-deacons even, according to Sozomen, but they were turned from this by St. Paphnutius, who forcibly contended that it was quite enough to decree that those already in holy orders should not be allowed to marry, but that it would be laying too heavy an obligation on those who were married before they were admitted to ordination, to oblige them to separate themselves from their wives. Cardinal Orsi, however, says (45), that the authority of Socrates is not sufficient to establish this fact, since both St. Epiphanius, who lived in the time of the council, and St. Jerome (46), who was born a few years after, attest that no one was admitted to orders unless unmarried, or if married, who separated himself from his wife. It was ordained in the fourth canon that bishops should be ordained by all the

(41) St. Athan. de Synod. n. 5; Nat. Alex. ar. 4, sec. 2.

(42) Euseb. His. l. 3, c. 18, & Socrat. l. 1, c. 9.

(43) Orsi, t. 5, l. 12, n. 42.

(44) Ibid.; N. Alex. ibid.

(45) Orsi, ibid; Soc. l. 1.

(46) Epiphanius. Her. 59, & St. Hier. adv. Vigilant.

co-provincial bishops, or at least by three with consent of the rest, and that the right of confirmation appertaining to the Metropolitan, should be strictly preserved. The sixth canon says that the rights of the Patriarchal Sees shall be preserved, especially those of the See of Alexandria, over the Churches of Egypt, of Lybia, and of Pantopolis, after the example of the Bishop of Rome, who enjoys a similar authority over the Churches subject to his Patriarchate. Noel Alexander (47) has written a special dissertation to prove that the primacy of the Roman See is not weakened by this canon, and among other proofs adduces the sixth canon of the great council of Chalcedon; "the Roman Church always had the primacy," and it is proved, he says, that after this canon was passed, the Bishop of Rome judged the persons of the other patriarchs, and took cognizance of the sentences passed by them, and no one ever complained that he usurped an authority which did not belong to him, or violated the sixth canon of the council of Nice.

22.—Finally, the fathers wrote a circular letter addressed to all churches, giving them notice of the condemnation of Arius, and the regulation concerning the celebration of Easter. The council was then dissolved, but before the bishops separated, Constantine had them all to dine with him, and had those who suffered for the faith placed near himself, and frequently kissed the scars of their wounds; he then made presents to each of them, and again recommending them to live in peace, he affectionately took leave of them (48). The sentence of exile against Eusebius and Theognis, was then carried into execution; they were banished to Gaul, and Amphion succeeded Eusebius in the Bishopric of Nicomedia, and Chrestus, Theogius, in the See of Nice. It was not long, however, till the bishops of their party shewed that they accepted the decrees of the council through fear alone (49).

(47) N. Alex. *t.* 8; Diss. 20.

(48) Orsi, *t.* 5, *l.* 12.

(49) *Ibid.*

§ II.

OCCURRENCES UP TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE.

23.—St. Athanasius is made Bishop of Alexandria; Eusebius is recalled; St. Eustasius exiled, and Arius again taken into favour. 24.—Council of Tyre. 25.—St. Athanasius accused and exiled. 26.—Arius banished from Alexandria. 27.—His Perjury and horrible Death. 28.—Constantine's Baptism and Death; Division of the Empire.

23.—In the following year, 326, St. Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria, died, and St. Athanasius was elected his successor, with the unanimous consent of the bishops of Egypt and the people; but when he heard of it he fled out of the way, but was discovered and obliged to yield to the wishes of the people and clergy. He was, therefore, placed on the episcopal throne of Alexandria (1), to the great joy of his fellow-citizens; but the Arians were highly discontented, and disseminated many calumnious reports regarding his elevation (2). About the same time Eusebius and Theognis pretended to be sorry for their errors, and having sent in writing a feigned retraction of their opinions to the principal bishops of the East, they were recalled by Constantine, and re-established in their sees. This conversion was only feigned, and they left no stone unturned to promote the interests of Arius. Among the rest, Eusebius succeeded, in a caballing council, at Antioch (3), in getting St. Eustatius, Arius's greatest opponent, deposed from that see, on a charge of adultery, got up against him by an infamous woman, the only witness in the case; but the calumny was soon after discovered, for the woman, falling sick, contradicted all she had previously charged him with (4). He, however, was banished and deposed, and Paulinus of Tyre, first, and, next, Eularius were intruded into his see. Eularius dying soon after his intrusion, Eusebius of Ceserea, who previously had intruded himself into that church, was elected to succeed him; but he, having ulterior

(1) Fleury, *l.* 11, *n.* 29.

(2) Orsi, *n.* 80.

(3) Orsi, *n.* 84; Nat. Alex. *a.* 4, *t.* 4;
Fleury, *ibid.*, *n.* 11.

(4) Theodoret, *l.* 1, *t.* 22.

objects now in view, refused to go to Antioch, so Euphronius, a native of Ceserea, was first appointed, and after him Flacillus, both Arians; but many of the Catholics of Antioch would never hold communion with those intruded bishops (5). Eusebius of Nicomedia next intrigued successfully to establish Arius in the good graces of Constantine, and obtain permission for him to return to Alexandria. This he accomplished by means of an Arian priest, who was a great friend of Constantia, the Emperor's sister; and he induced her, when she was on the point of death, to request this favour from the Emperor. She did so, and Constantine said that, if Arius subscribed the decrees of the Council of Nice, he would pardon him. In fact, Arius was recalled, and came to Constantinople, and presented to the Emperor a profession of faith, in which he professed to believe, according to the Scriptures, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, produced before all ages—that he was the Word by which all things were made (6). Constantine, believing that Arius had in reality now embraced the decisions of the Council, was satisfied with this profession; but he never adverted to the fact, that in this document the word “consubstantial” was omitted, and that the introduction of these words, “according to the Scriptures,” was only a pretext of Arius to distort to his own meaning the clearest expression of the Scriptures, proving the divinity of the Son of God. He would not receive him, nevertheless, to his communion on his own authority, but sent him to Tyre, where a council was sitting, of which we shall treat presently, to undergo the scrutiny of the bishops; he wrote to the assembled prelates to examine Arius's profession of faith, and to see whether his retraction was sincere. The partisans of Eusebius were in great force in the Council of Tyre, so Arius, on his arrival, was immediately again received into communion (7).

24.—We have now to speak of the cabal of Tyre, in which the Eusebians contrived to banish St. Athanasius from the see of Alexandria. Before, however, giving the history of this unjust expulsion, we should remark that previously the Arians had

(5) Orsi, *t. 5, l. 12, n. 87, & 90.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Socrat. *l. 1, c. 33*; Sozom. *Rufin. Nat. Alex. & Fleury.*

plotted the destruction of the holy bishop, and charged him before the Emperor with many crimes (8). They accused him of having violated a virgin—of having killed Arsenius, the Bishop of Ipsele, in the Thebaid—of casting down an altar, and breaking a consecrated chalice; and they now renewed the same charges in the Council of Tyre (9). Constantine, at the request of his mother, St. Helen, had built the great Church of the Resurrection, in Jerusalem, and had invited a great number of bishops to consecrate it with all solemnity; it was on this occasion that Eusebius of Nicomedia suggested to him that it would be well to collect all the bishops, before the consecration, into a council, to establish a general peace. The Emperor was most anxious for peace above all things; so he at once agreed, and selected Tyre as the most convenient place for the bishops to meet on their way to Jerusalem. Eusebius, who had planned the scheme, now got together all the bishops of his party, so that there were sixty bishops in all; but many of these were Catholics, and this number was increased soon after by the arrival of St. Athanasius, accompanied by Paphuntius, Potamon, and several other Egyptian bishops. St. Athanasius, seeing the storm he had to encounter, refused to come at first, but was constrained by Constantine, who threatened him with banishment in case of refusal (10). Eusebius next contrived that the Count Flavius should be present, to preserve order, as he said, and keep down any disturbance; but, in reality, to crush St. Athanasius and his friends. Flavius, accordingly, came, accompanied by a large body of troops, ready to seize on any one who opposed Eusebius's party (11).

25.—The impious synod was now opened, and St. Athanasius, who, in right of his dignity, should preside, was obliged to stand as a criminal to be tried for crimes he never was guilty of. When St. Potamon saw him in this position he was highly indignant with Eusebius of Cesarea, who was seated among the judges (12). "Tell me, Eusebius," said he, "how did it happen that, when we were both prisoners, in the days of persecution for the faith, my right eye was plucked out, but you left the prison

(8) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 92.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Socrat. *l.* 1, *n.* 28.

(11) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 96.

(12) Epiph. *Her.* 69.

safe and sound, without any mark of constancy ; how could that have happened, unless you yielded to the will of the tyrant ?” Eusebius, enraged at the charge, instead of making any defence, got up, and left the council, and the synod was dissolved for that day (13). St. Athanasius protested that he did not wish to submit himself to the judgment of his enemies, but in vain. He was first accused by two bishops of Meletius’s party ; and the principal charges they brought against him were the violation of the virgin, the murder of the bishop, and the desecration of the altar and chalice. This last charge they could not bring any proof of, so they confined themselves to the two former ; and, to prove the crime of violation (14), they introduced into the synod a prostitute, who declared that St. Athanasius had robbed her of her honour. The Saint, however, knowing the plot beforehand, made one of his priests, of the name of Timothy, stand forward ; and he said to the woman : “ Do you mean to charge me with having violated you ? ” “ Yes,” said the unfortunate wretch, thinking he was St. Athanasius, “ you have violated me—you have robbed me of my virginity, which I dedicated to God.” Thus this first calumny was most triumphantly refuted, and the other charge was equally proved to be unfounded. Among the other proofs they adduced of the murder of Arsenius, they exhibited a hand which was cut off from his dead body, they said, by St. Athanasius. But the fact was thus (15) :—When the Saint was first accused of the crime, Arsenius lent himself to the Arian party, and concealed himself, that his death might be proved. But he soon repented of such wickedness, and, to clear St. Athanasius, he came to Tyre, and confronted the Saint’s accusers in the council ; for while the accusers were making the charge, and showing the dead hand as a proof, Athanasius asked them, did they know Arsenius ? They answered, that they did. He then called forth the man they said was dead, and told him to hold up his head, that all might recognize him. But even this would not stop their mouths, for they then said, that he did not kill him, but cut off his hand only ; but Athanasius opened Arsenius’s

(13) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 97.(14) *Ibid.*, *n.* 93.(15) Orsi, *l.* 12, *n.* 94, ex St. Athan.
Apol. contra Ar. *n.* 65.

mantle, and showed that both his hands were perfect. Beaten out of this last accusation, they then said that it was all accomplished by magic, and that the Saint was a magician. Finally, they said, that St. Athanasius (16) forced persons to hold communion with him, by imprisoning some, flogging and tormenting others, and that he even deposed and flogged some bishops; and the winding up of the matter was, that he was condemned and deposed. When St. Athanasius saw that he was so unjustly deposed, he appealed to the Emperor in Constantinople, and acquainted him with all he suffered in the Council of Tyre; and Constantine wrote to the bishops who were yet remaining in Jerusalem, reproving them for tumultuously smothering the truth, and ordering them to come immediately to Constantinople, and account for their conduct (17). The Eusebians obeyed the imperial order, and, saying nothing more about the murder of Arsenius, or the broken chalice, they invented a new charge against Athanasius—that he threatened to prevent the usual supply of grain from being sent from Alexandria to Constantinople. This was just the charge calculated to ruin him with the Emperor, who was so enraged, that he even threatened to put him to death; and, though the Saint refuted the accusation, he was condemned to banishment (18).

26.—In the year 336 there was another council held in Constantinople, and the bishop of that city, St. Alexander, seeing that the Eusebians would have it all their own way, did every thing in his power to prevent it, but could not succeed. The Eusebians then tried Marcellus of Ancira, the defender of St. Athanasius in the Council of Tyre, for some heresies alleged to have been written by him in a book, published in opposition to Asterius the Sophist, who composed a treatise filled with Arian errors. They, therefore, excommunicated and deposed Marcellus, as he was not one of their party, and elected, in his place, Basil, a partisan of Arius. This was only a secondary consideration, however. The principal reason the Arians had in assembling this council was to re-establish Arius in his place again, and confirm his doctrine. After Arius was received in Jerusalem to

(16) Nat. Alex. *t.* 8, *c.* 3; Hermant,
t. 1, *c.* 92, & Fleury.

(17) Orsi, *cit.*

(18) *Ibid.*

the communion of the bishops, he returned to Alexandria, hoping, in the absence of St. Athanasius, banished by Constantine, to be there received by the Catholics. In this he was disappointed—they would have nothing to do with him; but, as he had many partisans in the city, his residence there excited some commotion. When the Emperor was informed of this he ordered him to come to Constantinople. It is said that the Eusebians induced the Emperor to give this order, hoping to have Arius received into the communion of the Church, in the imperial city; but in this they were most strenuously opposed by St. Alexander, and they, in consequence, threatened him, that, unless he received Arius into his communion on a certain day, that they would have himself deposed. St. James, Bishop of Nisibis, then in Constantinople, said that prayers and penance alone could remedy these evils, and St. Alexander, taking his advice, gave up both preaching and disputing, and shut himself up alone in the Church of Peace, and remained there many nights, weeping and praying (19).

27.—The Eusebians persuaded the Emperor that Arius held the doctrine of the Church, and it was, therefore, regulated that he should, the next Sunday, be received to the communion. The Saturday previous, however, Constantine, that he might be quite certain of the faith of Arius, ordered him to be called into his presence, asked him did he profess the faith of Nice, and insisted that he should give him a written profession of faith, and swear to it. Arius gave him the written profession, but a fraudulent one, and swore that he neither then or at any other time believed differently; some say that he had another profession of faith under his arm, and that it was to that one he intended to swear. However, the affair was arranged; it is certain that the Emperor, trusting to his oath, told St. Alexander that it was a matter of duty to assist a man who wished for nothing but his salvation. St. Alexander endeavoured to undeceive him, but finding he only irritated him more and more, held his tongue, and retired; he soon after met Eusebius of Nicomedia, who said to him, if you don't wish to receive Arius to-morrow I will myself bring him along with me to the church. St. Alexander,

(19) Fleury, Orsi, Sozoman, St. Epiphan. loc. cit.

grieved to the heart, went to the church accompanied by only two persons, and prostrating himself on the floor, with tears in his eyes, prayed to the Lord: O my God, either take me out of the world, or take Arius, that he may not ruin your Church. Thus St. Alexander prayed, and on the same day, Saturday, at three o'clock, the Eusebians were triumphantly conducting Arius through the city, and he went along, boasting of his re-establishment, but when he came to the great square the vengeance of God overtook him; he got a terrible spasm in the bowels, and was obliged to seek a place of retirement; a private place near the square was pointed out to him; he went in and left a servant at the door; he immediately burst open like Judas, his intestines, his spleen, and his liver all fell out, and thus his guilty soul took her flight to her Creator, deprived of the communion of the Church. When he delayed too long, his friends came to the door, and on opening it, they found him stretched on the floor in a pool of blood in that horrible state. This event took place in the year 336 (20).

28.—In the following year, 337, Constantine died. He was then 64 years of age. He fell sick, and took baths in Constantinople at first, but receiving no benefit from them, he tried the baths of Helenopolis. He daily got worse, so went to Nicomedia, and finding himself near death, he was baptized in the Church of St. Lucian. Authors vary regarding the time and place of Constantine's baptism. Eusebius says that he was baptized in Nicomedia, a few hours before his death, but other writers assert that he was baptized in Rome by St. Sylvester, thirteen years before, in the year 324. Cardinal Baronius holds this opinion, and quotes many authorities in favour of it, and Schelestratus brings forward many Greek and Latin authorities to prove the same. The generality of authors, however, follow Eusebius, Socrates, Sozymen, Theodoret, and St. Jerome, Fleury, and Orsi, and especially Noel Alexander, who answers the arguments of Baronius, and cites for his own opinion St. Ambrose, St. Isidore, Papebrock and the fathers of St. Maur. These last say that Constantine, being near his end, in Nicomedia, wished to

(20) Baron. Soc. Sozymen, Libellus, Marcel. & Fausti, p. 19; St. Epiphan. loc. cit.

receive from the bishops, in the church of St. Lucian, the imposition of hands—a ceremony then in use previous to baptism, and practised with every catechumen. He was then carried to a castle, called Aquirion, a little distant from Nicomedia, and, having summoned the bishops, he received baptism with the greatest devotion. “Now,” said he, “I feel myself truly happy.” His officers then came to him, and, with tears in their eyes, expressed the wish they had for his restoration to health and long life; but he said, “I have now received the true life, and I have no other wish but to go and enjoy God.” St. Jerome, in his Chronicle, says that he lapsed into Arian errors, but his festival is commemorated in the Greek Menalogy, according to Noel Alexander, on the 21st of May, and the same author wrote a dissertation to prove that he died a good Catholic, and all the ancients, he says, agree in that opinion with St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Epiphanius, and St. Ambrose; and we have, likewise, the authority of the Council of Rimini, in the synodal epistle written to the Emperor Constantius, and quoted by Socrates, Theodoret, Sozymen, and St. Athanasius. Cardinal Orsi remarks that the baptism of Constantine, by Eusebius, ought not to render his faith suspected, and that this is no proof of a leaning to Arianism, as St. Jerome suspects, since we see how strenuously he defended the Council and doctrine of Nice, and especially since he recalled St. Athanasius from exile immediately after his baptism, notwithstanding the opposition of Eusebius of Nicomedia. Sozymen says that the Emperor left this order in his will, and that Constantine the Younger, when he sent back St. Athanasius to his see, declared that, in doing so, he was fulfilling the will of his father; and St. Athanasius attests that, at the same time, all the other Catholic bishops were reinstated in their sees (21).

29.—Constantine died on the feast of Pentecost, the 23rd of May, 337, and divided the empire among his children and nephews. To Constantius the Elder he left all that was possessed by his father, Constans, and Gaul, Spain, and Britain besides; to Constantius the Second, Asia, Assyria, and Egypt;

(21) Socrates; Baron, An. 336; Auctores, cit.; Euseb. Vita Constant.; Schelestr. in Antiquit. &c.

and to Constantius the Youngest, Africa, Italy, and Illyria; and to his nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, some provinces of less note. It was the will of the Almighty, however, that Constantine the Younger and Constans died, so the whole empire fell into the sway of Constantius, a great misfortune for the Church, for he was a violent persecutor, and Constantius and Constans were its friends (22).

§ III.

THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS PERSECUTES THE CATHOLICS.

30.—Eusebius of Nicomedia is translated to the See of Constantinople; Synods in Alexandria and Antioch. 31.—Council of Sardis. 32.—Council of Arles. 33.—Council of Milan, and Exile of Liberius. 34.—Exile of Osius. 35.—Fall of Osius. 36.—Fall of Liberius. 37.—First Formula of Sirmium. 38.—Second Formula of Sirmium. 39.—Third Formula of Sirmium. 40.—Liberius signs the Formula, &c. 41, 42.—He signs the first Formula. 43.—Return of Liberius to Rome, and Death of Felix. 44.—Division among the Arians. 45—48.—Council of Rimini. 49.—Death of Constantius. 50.—The Empire descends to Julian. The Schism of Lucifer.

30.—St. Alexander, Patriarch of Constantinople, died about the year 340, at the age of ninety-eight, and Paul of Thessalonica was chosen his successor; but Constantius, who now publicly professed himself an Arian, being absent during the election, was highly indignant on his return to Constantinople, and, pretending that Paul was unworthy of the bishopric, joined with the Arian party, and had a council convoked, in which he procured the deposition of Paul and the appointment of Eusebius of Nicomedia, now, for the second time, translated to a new see, in opposition to the laws of the Church. About the same time another council was assembled in Alexandria, consisting of about a hundred bishops from Egypt, the Thebaid, Libia, and Pentapolis, in favour of St. Athanasius, in which he was declared innocent of the calumnies laid to his charge by the Eusebians; but again, the following year, 341, a council was assembled in Antioch on the occasion of the dedication of the church of that city com-

(22) Auctores, cit. *ibid.*

menced by Constantine and finished by Constantius, consisting of ninety bishops; this was planned by Eusebius of Nicomedia and his partizans, and St. Athanasius was again deposed, and Gregory of Cappadocia, infected with the Arian heresy, was intruded into his place (1).

31.—In the year 357, another council, consisting of many bishops, was assembled in Sardis, the metropolitan city of Dacia in Illiria, in which the Nicene Creed was confirmed, and St. Athanasius was again declared innocent, and restored to his see. There is no doubt but that this was a general council, as (in opposition to Peter of Marca) Baronius, Noel Alexander, Peter Annatus, Battaglini, and many others prove. St. Athanasius says that one hundred and seventy bishops were assembled, but among them were more than fifty orientals, and as these left Sardis to avoid the condemnation which they knew awaited them for their excesses, only about one hundred remained. It had, besides, all the requisites for a general council, for the convocation was general, as appears from the circular letters, and Archimides and Philosenus, priests, together with Osius, who was before president of the Council of Nice, presided as legates of Pope Julius. The Arians being aware that many well founded charges would be brought against them in the council, demanded that the bishops condemned in their synod should be expelled from the assembly of the prelates, otherwise they said they would go away themselves. This audacious proposal was universally rejected, so they fled to Philipopolis, and drew up a formula of faith, adapted to their errors, and this was afterwards promulgated as the formula of the Council of Sardis. Eight bishops of the Eusebian party were convicted of the crimes they were charged with, by the true Council of Sardis, and were deposed and condemned, for it is but just, said the fathers, that those should be separated from the Church who wish to separate the Son from the Father (2).

32.—Constantius showed himself more favourable to the Catholic bishops after this council, and permitted them to return to their churches; he received St. Athanasius most graciously in Antioch, and gave an order in his favour, and allowed him to return to Alexandria, where he was received by the bishops of

(1) Fleury, N. Alex. & Bar. loc. con. (2) Orsi, Fleury, St. Ath. Apol loc. cit.

Egypt and by the people and clergy with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The Arians soon again, however, obtained the favour of Constantius, and St. Hilarion relates that Pope Liberius, who succeeded St. Julius in 342, wrote to him that the Eusebians wished to cheat him out of a condemnation of St. Athanasius, but that, he having received letters signed by eighty bishops, defending the saint, and, as he would not conscientiously act in opposition to the Council of Sardis, he had declared him innocent. In the meantime, he sent to Constantius, who held his court at Arles, two legates, Vincentius of Capua and Marcellus, bishop in the Campagna, to implore of him to summon a synod in Aquileia to settle finally the cause of St. Athanasius, finally determine the articles of faith, and establish the peace of the Church. Constantius, we know not why, was highly offended at this request, and convoked a synod in Arles, and when the legates arrived there, they found that St. Athanasius had been already condemned by the synod, and that Constantius had published a decree of banishment against the bishops who refused to sign the condemnation. He then insisted that the legates should sign it likewise. Vincentius of Capua refused at first to do so, but he was beaten and threatened, so he yielded, and his colleague followed his example, and both promised to hold no more communication with St. Athanasius (3).

33.—The Emperor now intended to crush the Catholic party for ever, and with this intention, assembled a council in Milan. Pope Liberius was anxious for the celebration of this council, as he thought it would unite the Church in the profession of the faith of Nice, but the Arians worked hard also to have it assembled, as they expected to obtain a general sentence of condemnation on St. Athanasius, and to establish their heresy; so in the year 355, there were assembled over three hundred bishops in Milan. St. Eusebius of Vercelli, was also summoned, but endeavoured to absent himself, knowing the plans of the Eusebians; he was, however, constrained to attend, and the Pope's legates themselves, Lucifer, Pancratius, and the Deacon Hilary, solicited him to come to Milan. On his arrival, the Arians endeavoured to induce him to sign the condemnation of St. Athanasius, having

(3) Orsi, cit. St. Hilar. Fragm. 5. Severus, Sulpici. His. l. 2 & seq.

again renewed the fable of the broken chalice, &c. But St. Eusebius said, the first thing to be done was, that all should subscribe the formula of the Council of Nice, and then that other matters could be taken into consideration. St. Dionisius, Bishop of Milan, immediately prepared to subscribe to it, but Valens of Murcia snatched the pen and paper out of his hands, and said, that nothing ever would be concluded if that course was followed. When this came to the knowledge of the people, they murmured loudly, and complained that the bishops themselves were betraying the faith; so the Emperor, dreading a popular tumult, transferred the council to the church of his own palace, and told the assembled bishops that they should obey his edict in the affair, and sign a profession filled with all the errors of Arianism. He called especially on the Legate Lucifer, St. Eusebius, and St. Dionisius, and ordered them to subscribe the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and when they determinedly refused to do so, as being against the laws of the Church, he answered: "Whatever is my will is law, obey me or you shall be banished." The bishops then told him that he would have to answer to the Almighty if he used any violence towards them; but he became so indignant at being remonstrated with in this manner, that he actually drew his sword on them, and gave orders that they should be put to death, but when his passion cooled a little, he was satisfied with sending them into banishment, and they were sent off from the council, loaded with chains, under a guard of soldiers, to the place of their exile, where they had to endure a great deal of harsh treatment from the heretics. At the same time, Hilary, one of the legates, was stripped naked and cruelly flogged on the back, the Arians all the while crying out to him: "Why did not you oppose Liberius?" Constantius then appointed Ausentius in the place of St. Dionisius, and obliged Liberius to come to Milan. The Emperor, on Liberius's arrival, ordered him to condemn St. Athanasius, and, on his refusal to do so, gave him three days for consideration, and told him that if he refused he would also be sent into exile. Liberius persevered in his refusal, and was accordingly banished to Berea, in Thrace, of which Demophilus, a perfidious Arian, was bishop (4).

(4) Sozymen, *l.* 4; Soc. *l.* 2; Fleury, Orsi, Ser. Sulp. *l.* 2.

34.—The great Osius was, next to Liberius, the great prop of the Faith in the West, both on account of the holiness of his life, and his learning; he was at this time sixty years Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, and he showed his constancy in the persecution of Maximilian, by publicly confessing the faith. Constantius had him brought before him, and advised him to communicate with the Arians, and condemn St. Athanasius, but he resolutely refused to do either one or the other. Constantius allowed him to go away for that time; but soon after wrote to him, and threatened to punish him if he refused any longer to obey his will. Osius answered him with even greater firmness:—If you are resolved to persecute me, said he, I am prepared to shed my blood sooner than betray the truth; you may then save yourself the trouble of writing to me on the subject again. Tremble at the last judgment, and do not intermeddle with the affairs of the Church; God has given you the Empire, the government of the Church he has committed to us. Constantius sent for him once more, to induce him to yield, but, finding him inflexible, he banished him to Sirmium; he was then nearly in the hundredth year of his age.

35.—We now have to treat of, first, the fall of Osius, and next of Liberius. The principal author of Osius's fall was Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon; he was at first a defender of the Faith, but Constantius gained him over by giving him possession of an estate of the Chancery; he, therefore, joined the Eusebians, and Osius, burning with zeal, denounced his impiety through all Spain. Potamius, thirsting for revenge, first got him banished to Sirmium, and then finding the Emperor there, he induced him to use such violent measures with him, that he broke down his resolution, and caused him to fall. The poor old man was weakened with torments; he was beaten so violently that his flesh was all torn, and he endured a long and violent torture; his strength failed him, he could suffer no more, and he unfortunately signed the second formula of Sirmium, condemning St. Athanasius, and holding communion with the Arians. Sozymen particularly mentions that Eudsius saw the letter of Osius, in which he disproves of both the word *consubstantial*, and the words *like in substance*. He now was permitted to return again to Spain, but Gregory, Bishop of Alvira, refused to communicate with him on account of his prevarication. Two authors,

followers of Lucifer, Faustus and Marcellinus, write that Osius died an unhappy death; but St. Athanasius, who, as Cardinal Orsi justly remarks, deserves more credit, says that at his death he declared he was subdued by violence, and thus fell into error, and that he anathematized the heresy of the Arians, and besought all who heard him to hold it in horror (5).

36.—We now come to speak of the fall of Liberius. It is said by some that Osius subscribed the second formula of Sirmium; now, to understand the fall of Liberius, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the three formulas of faith composed in Sirmium. Noel Alexander says that there was but one formula of Sirmium, and that the others were published elsewhere; but Baronius, and the generality of writers hold that the whole three formulas were promulgated in the councils, or rather cabals, of Sirmium. There is no probability of the truth of what Socrates says, that the whole three formulas were promulgated in one and the same council. The Arians, when they got Liberius to sign one of the formulas, boasted, as Orsi says, that there was a union of faith between them, and that Liberius professed their faith. On the other hand, Orsi persuades himself that Liberius was innocent altogether, and supposes that he was liberated and allowed to return to Rome, on account of a promise made by Constantius to the Roman ladies, or to put an end to the disturbances which at that time distracted the city. The most generally received opinion, however, is that Liberius committed a great error, but that he did not fall into heresy. To make the matter clear we must investigate the Sirmium formula which he subscribed (6).

37.—The first formula of Sirmium was adopted in the year 351, and in this, Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, was again condemned, for he denied to Jesus Christ not only consubstantiality with the Father, but his Divinity, likewise; asserting, with Cerinthus, Ebion, and Paul of Samosata, that the Son of God had no existence before Mary. Photinus was previously condemned in the Council of Sardis; but he obtained from the Emperor the right of appeal to this Council of Sirmium, at which Constantius himself was present. Here his doctrine was con-

(5) Socrates, Sozymen, St. Hilary, Fragn. 2; St. Athanasius, His. Arian; St. Augus. l. con.; Parmen. Nat. Alex. Fleury, loc. cit.

(6) Socrates, Orsi, Sozymen; Nat. Alex. St. Athan. His. Arian.

demned a second time, even by the Arians themselves, and the first formula, relating to the Arian heresy, was drawn up in Greek, and two anathemas were attached to it, as Noel Alexander tells us, on the authority of St. Athanasius and St. Hilary. The first was to this effect: "The Holy and Catholic Church does not recognize as belonging to her, those who say that the Son existed from any creation or substance, and not from God, or that there was a time when he did not exist." The second was that "if any one denied that Christ-God the Son of God was before all ages, and by whom all things were made, and that it was only from the time he was born of Mary that he was called Christ and the Son, and that it was only then his Deity commenced, let him be anathema." Noel Alexander thus Latinises the original Greek. "Eos qui dicunt: ex non ente, aut ex alio subsistente, et non ex Deo Filium extitisse, aut quod tempus, aut ætas fuit, quando ille non erat, alienos a se censet sancta, et Catholica Ecclesia. Si quis Christum Deum, Filium Dei ante secula, administrumque ad universitatis opificium fuisse neget; sed ex quo tempore e Maria genitus est, Christum, et Filium appellatum fuisse, et principium suæ Deitatis tum accepisse dicat, anathema esto." Thus in this formula, it is laid down that the Son is God to all eternity, and that his Divinity is from eternity. St. Athanasius looked on this formula as impious. St. Hilary considered it Catholic; the truth is that, if it be considered absolutely in itself, it is Catholic, but, taken in the sense of the Arians, it is Arian (7).

38.—The second formula was published also in Sirmium, but in the year 357, and it was written in Latin, and was subscribed by Potamius and Osius. This was totally Arian, for the words *consubstantial*, and *like in substance*, were rejected, as there was nothing about them in the Scriptures, and they were unintelligible to the human intellect. This was not the only blasphemous error introduced into this profession; for it was, besides, asserted, that the Father was, without any doubt, greater than the Son in honour, dignity, and Godship, and that the Son was subject to the Father, together with all things which the Father subjected to the Son. This formula St. Hilary

(7) Auctores, citati; Nat. Alex. l. cit.

calls blasphemous, and, in his Book of Synods, he thus describes it:—"Exemplum blasphemiae apud Sirmium, par Osium et Potamium, conscriptæ (8)."

39.—The third formula was likewise composed in Sirmium, but not for eight years after, that is in 359, and this was also in Latin, and St. Athanasius informs us, in his Book on Synods, that it was this one which was presented to the Council of Rimini, by Valens and Ursacius. In this the word *substance* is rejected, but the Son is recognised as equal to the Father in all things:—"Vocabulum porro substantiæ, quia simplicius a Patribus positum est, et a populis ignoratur, et scandalum affert, eo quod in Scripturis non contineatur, placuit ut de medio tolleretur. Filium autem Patri per omnia similem dicimus, quemadmodum sacre Litteræ dicunt, et docent." In the first formula, then, the word *consubstantial* is omitted, but the word *substantial* is retained. In the second, no mention is made of either word, nor even of the words *like unto*; and, in the third, the words *like unto* is retained and explained.

40.—We now come to the case of Liberius. Constantius had promised the ladies of Rome that he would restore him again to his see; but had also promised the Eusebians that he would not liberate him till he communicated with them. He, therefore, laid his commands on Demophilus, Bishop of Berea, where Liberius was exiled, and on Fortunatus, Bishop of Aquilea, another apostate, to leave no means untried to make Liberius sign the formula of Sirmium, and the condemnation of St. Athanasius. Liberius was now three years in exile, broken down by solitude and flogging, and, above all, deeply afflicted at seeing the see of Rome occupied by an anti-Pope, the Deacon Felix, and thus he had the weakness to yield, and subscribed the formula, condemning, at the same time, St. Athanasius, and communicating with the Arian bishops.

41.—It is a question among authors, which of the three formulas was subscribed by Liberius. Valesius says it was the third; but this has no foundation, for the third was not drawn up till 359, and St. Athanasius tells us that Liberius was then after returning to Rome. Blondel and Petavius say it was the

second he signed, and this is the general opinion followed by heretics, who strive thus to prove that the Catholic Church may fail. The Protestant Danæus numbers Liberius among the bishops who joined the Arians, and says that all historians are agreed that he signed this formula, and after that, he says, no one can deny that the Roman Church can err. But the general opinion held by Catholics, and which is, also, the most probable, and in which Baronius, N. Alexander, Graveson, Fleury, Juenin, Tournelly, Berninus, Orsi, Hermant, and Selvaggi, the learned annotator of Mosheim, join with Gotti, who gives it as the general opinion of Catholic authors, is, that it was the first formula he signed. There are very weighty reasons to prove that this opinion is founded on fact:—First—The formula subscribed by Liberius was the one drawn up at the time Photinus was condemned, and this was, indubitably, the first and not the second. Secondly—The formula he signed, and which was laid before him by Demophilus, was not drawn up by the Anomeans, or pure Arians, but by the Semi-Arians, to which sect Demophilus, Basil of Ancira, Valens, and Ursacius belonged. These did not admit that the Son was *consubstantial* with the Father, because they would not approve of the Nicene Creed, but said he was of the substance of the Father; and this was expressed in the first formula alone, but not in the second, in which both the words *substance* and *like unto* were omitted. These very bishops even who subscribed the first rejected the second in a synod purposely convoked in Ancira. Nor does it militate against this opinion, that the formula subscribed by Liberius was also subscribed by the Anomeans, for Constantine, who, as Socrates informs us, favoured the Semi-Arian party, obliged them to subscribe to it. Another proof is from Sozymen, who quotes a letter of Liberius, written to the Semi-Arians, in which he declares, that those who assert that the Son is not like unto the Father in all things, and of the same substance, do not belong to the Church. From all this it is proved that Liberius signed the formula, from which the word *consubstantiality* was omitted, but which approved of the words *substantiality* and *like unto* (9).

(9) Tournelly, Theol. t. 2; Blondell. de Primatu, p. 48; Petav. in observ. St. Epiphan.; Danæus, Opus. de Her.; Baron. An. 357; Nat. Alex., Fleury, Graveson; Juenin, Theol. 40, 3 ques.; Bernin.; Hermant, t. 1; Orsi, l. 14; Gotti, de Ver. Rel.; Selvaggi, not. 52, ad Mosh.

42.—Because St. Hilary calls the formula signed by Liberius a perfidy, the argument is not weakened, for Noel Alexander supposes, that these words, and the anathema hurled against Liberius, in St. Hilary's fragments, were foisted in by some other hand, for these fragments were written after the return of Liberius to Rome, when he most strenuously refused to approve of the formula of the Council of Rimini; others again, as Juenin, imagined, that St. Hilary called the formula perfidious, taking it in the perverse sense as understood by the Arians, since speaking of it before (considered absolutely in itself), he called it a Catholic formula. Another argument is deduced from the Chronicle of St. Jerome, for he writes, that Liberius, conquered by a weary exile, subscribed to heretical pravity, and entered Rome almost like a conqueror. Noel Alexander says, that St. Jerome means by this, not that he signed a formula in itself heretical, but that he communicated with heretics, and although the communion with heretics was an error, it was not heresy itself. Another answer is, that St. Jerome might have written this under the belief that it was true, since, as Sozymen informs us, the heretics spread every where abroad, that Liberius, in subscribing the formula, not only denied the consubstantiality, but even the likeness of the Son to the Father; but, withal, we do not justify Liberius for condemning St. Athanasius and communicating with heretics. He afterwards refused to sign the formula of Rimini, and was, in consequence, obliged to conceal himself in the catacombs, till the death of Constantius (10).

43.—When Liberius returned to Rome, in the year 358, or the following year, according to Baronius, he was received, Orsi says, with the liveliest demonstrations of joy by the clergy and people; but Baronius says, that there was a large section of the people opposed to him on account of his fall, and that they adhered to Felix II., who, in the commencement, was a schismatic, and unlawfully ordained by three Arian bishops, to whose sect he belonged at the time. Nevertheless, when he learned the lapse of Liberius, he joined the Catholics, and excommunicated the Emperor; and he was thenceforth looked on as the lawful Pope, and Liberius as fallen from his office. However, as

(10) Nat. Alex. & cit.

Baronius tells us, it appears from the Book of the Pontiffs, that he was taken and conveyed by the Imperial Ministers to Ceri, seventeen miles from Rome, and beheaded. The schismatic Marcellinus, quoted by Fleury, says, that Felix lived eight years after the return of Liberius; but Sozymen, on the contrary, tells us he died almost immediately after that event. Benedict XIV. says, that there is no doubt about the sanctity and martyrdom of Felix, but the learned are divided as to whether he died by the sword or by the sufferings he endured for Christ. Baronius says, that there was a doubt in the time of Gregory XIII. as to whether the name of Felix II. should be expunged or not from the Martyrology, in which he was enumerated among the saints, and he was himself, he confesses, of the opinion that it should be done, on account of his illegal intrusion into the Popedom; but soon after he says, a marble sarcophagus was casually discovered buried in the earth, with some relics of saints on one side, and the body of St. Felix on the other, with this inscription, "The body of St. Felix, Pope and Martyr, who condemned Constantius;" and this discovery was made on the 19th of July, 1582, the day preceding the festival of St. Felix, and, on that account, his name was left undisturbed in the Martyrology. Baronius is opposed by N. Alexander, who denies that Felix II. ever was a true Pope; but Roncaglia, in his notes, and both the Pagi, contend for the contrary, and the Pagi prove, in opposition to Noel Alexander, that the Pope Felix commemorated in the Martyrology, must necessarily be Felix II., not Felix I. (11).

44.—We now come back once more to the Arians. When Osius and Liberius fell, they were already split up into a great many sects: some who followed the party of Acasius, Eudoxius, Eunomius, and Aesius, were called Anomeans—those were pure Arians, and they not alone rejected *consubstantiality*, but even the *likeness* of the Son to the Father; but the followers of Ursacius and Valens, though called Arians, did not follow the opinion of Arius in every thing. Finally, those who followed the opinions of Basil, of Ancyra, and Eustatius of Sebaste, were called Semi-Arians; these condemned the blasphemies of Arius,

(11) Nat. Alex., Diss. 32; Sozymen, loc. cit.; Theolog. l. 2, c. 2; Baron. An. 359; Orsi, t. 6, l. 14; Baron. An. 357, & seq; Sozymen, Bened. XIV., de Canon. S.S. l. 4.

but did not admit the consubstantiality of the divine persons (12).

45.—We have now to relate the events of the Council of Rimini, of sorrowful celebrity, in which, as St. Jerome says, the Nicene faith was condemned, and the whole world groaned, finding itself Arian. When the whole Church was in confusion about the articles of the faith, it was considered that the best way of arranging every thing quietly, would be to hold two councils, one in Rimini in Italy, the other at Selucia in the East. The Council of Rimini was held in 359, and was attended by more than four hundred bishops from Illiria, Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and among those there were eighty Arians, but the rest were Catholic. When they came to treat of matters of faith, Ursacius, Valens, and other heads of the Arian party produced a writing, and proposed that all should be satisfied with signing that, in which was laid down the last formula of Sirmium of the same year, in which, it is true, the word *substance* was rejected, but it was allowed that the Son was *like unto* the Father in all things. But the Catholic Bishops unanimously answered that there was no necessity for any other formula, but that of the Council of Nice, and decreed that there should be no addition to or subtraction from that formula; that the word *substance* should be retained, and they again condemned the doctrine of Arius, and published ten anathemas against the errors of Arius, Sabellius, and Photinus. All the Catholics subscribed to this, but Ursacius. Valens and the Arians refused, so they themselves were judged heretics, and Ursacius, Valens, Caius, and Germinius, were condemned and deposed by a formal act (13).

46.—Ten bishops were now sent as legates from the council to the Emperor, bearers of the letters of the council, giving him notice that the fathers had decided that there should be nothing added to or taken from the council of Nice, and that they regretted to find that Ursacius and Valens wished to establish another formula of faith, according to the document they presented to the council. The ten legates accordingly went, but the Arians sent ten likewise, along with Ursacius and Valens, and

(12) N. Alex. *t.* 9; Hermant. *t.* 1, *c.*
102.

(13) S. Hieron., Dialog., ad. Lucifer. Fleury *t.* 2. Orsi cit. S. Athan. de Synode. Sozymen, *l.* 2.

these arrived first and prejudiced the Emperor against the council, and presented him with the formula of Sirmium, which was rejected by the Council of Rimini. When the legates sent by the council arrived, they could not obtain an audience from the Emperor, and it was only after a long delay, that he sent an answer to the council, that he was about to proceed against the barbarians, and that he had given orders to the legates to wait for him in Adrianople, where he would see them on his return, and give them his final answer. The fathers of the council wrote again to Constantius, telling him that nothing would ever change them, and begging therefore that he would give an audience to the legates and let them depart. When the Emperor came to Adrianople, the legates followed him, and were taken to the small town of Nice, in the neighbourhood; and there they began to treat with the Arians, against the express orders of the council, which particularly restricted them on this point. Partly by deception, and partly by threats, they were induced to sign a formula, worse even than the third formula of Sirmium; for not only was the word *substance* omitted, but the Son was said to be *like unto* the Father, but leaving out *in all things*, which was admitted in the Sirmium formula. They were, likewise, induced to revoke the deposition of Ursacius, and his companions, condemned by the council; and they signed the formula with their own hands (14).

47.—The legates having put things in this state returned to Rimini, and Constantius then gave orders to his Prefect Taurus, not to permit the council to be dissolved, till the bishops had signed the *last* formula of Nice, and to send into banishment any bishops refusing their signature, if their number did not exceed fifteen. He likewise wrote a letter to the fathers of the council, prohibiting them from using any more the words *substantial* and *consubstantial*. Ursacius and Valens now returned to Rimini, and as their party was now in the ascendant, they seized on the church, and wrote to the Emperor that he was obeyed, and that the expressions he objected to were not allowed to be used any more. The Catholics, at first, made a show of constancy, and refused to communicate with the legates, who excused their

(14) Thood. *l.* 2. *c.* 19; Soz. *l.* 4; Soc. *l.* 2.

error by alleging all they suffered at the Court of the Emperor ; but by degrees they were tired out, their constancy failed, and they subscribed the same formula as the legates (15).

48.—We cannot deny but that the bishops of Rimini committed a great error, but they are not so much to be blamed for bad faith, as for not being more guarded against the wiles of the Arians. This was the snare that was laid for them :—They were wavering as to whether they should sign the formula or not, and when they were all assembled in the church, and the errors attributed to Valens, who drew up the formula, were read out, he protested that he was not an Arian. “ Let him be excommunicated,” he exclaimed, “ who asserts that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God, born of the Father before all ages. Let him be excommunicated who says that he is not *like unto* the Father, according to the Scriptures ; or, he who says he is a creature, like all other creatures—(how he conceals the poison, for he taught that Christ was a creature, but more perfect than all the others) ; or that he is from nothing, and not from the Father ; or that there was a time when he was not ; or that any thing was before him ;—he who teaches any of those things let him be excommunicated.” And all answered :—“ Let him be excommunicated.” These denunciations of anathema, so fraudulently put forward, threw the Catholics off their guard. They persuaded themselves that Valens was not an Arian, and were induced to sign the formula ; and thus the Council of Rimini, which opened so gloriously, was ignominiously terminated, and the bishops got leave to return to their homes. They were not long, St. Jerome tell us, till they discovered their error ; for the Arians, immediately on the dissolution of the council, began to boast of their victory. The word *substantial*, said they, is now abolished, and along with it the Nicene faith ; and when it was said, that the Son was not a creature, the meaning was, that he was not like the other created beings, but of a higher order, and then it was that the world, St. Jerome says, groaning, found itself Arian. Noel Alexander proves, from St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and others, and with very convincing arguments, too, that the bishops of Rimini, in subscribing that formula, did not

(15) St. Hilar. Fragmen. p. 453. Sulp. Ser. l. 2.

violate the faith; for, taken in its obvious sense, it contained nothing heretical. While the Council of Rimini was in progress, there was another council held in Seleucia, at which many Arian bishops were present; but it was soon dismissed, for the bishops were so divided, that they could not agree to any formula (16).

49.—After the Council of Rimini was dissolved, the Arians of Antioch, in the year 361, not satisfied with the formula adopted at the Council, drew up another in which they said, that the Son was in every thing unlike the Father, not alone in substance, but also in will, and that he was formed out of nothing, as Arius had already taught. Fleury counts sixteen formulas published by the Arians. Liberius, however, after his first error in subscribing the formula of Sirmium, as we have already related (No. 41), constantly refused, after his liberation in 360, to sign the formula of Rimini, and, as Baronius relates in his Acts of Pope Liberius, he was obliged to leave Rome and hide himself in the catacombs, where Damasus and the rest of his clergy went to see him, and he remained there until the death of Constantius in 361. St. Gregory of Nazianzen says that Constantius, just before his death, repented, but in vain, of three things:—Of the murder of his relatives; of having made Julian, Cæsar; and of causing such confusion in the Church. He died, however, in the arms of the Arians, whom he protected with such zeal, and Euzoios, whom he had made Bishop of Antioch, administered him baptism just before his death. His death put an end to the synods, and for a time restored peace to the Church; as St. Jerome says, “The beast dies and the calm returns” (17).

50.—On the death of Constantius, the impious Julian the Apostate took the reins of empire, and, professing idolatry, commenced a most fierce persecution against the Church, not out of any liking for the Arians, but through hatred of Christianity itself. Before we speak of the other persecutions the Catholics had to endure from the Arians, we will relate the schism caused by the wretched Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, who after all his

(16) S. Hieron. ad. Lucif. n. 17; Nat., Fleury, & Orsi, loc. con; N. Alex. Dis. 33, t. 9.

(17) Baron. An. 359; St. Athan. de Synod; Fleury, l. 14, n. 33; St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21; Soc. l. 2, c. 47.

labours and fortitude in defence of the Catholic Church, vexed because St. Eusebius would not approve of his having consecrated Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, separated himself from the communion, not only of St. Eusebius, but also of St. Athanasius and Pope Liberius; he was thus the founder of a new schism, and, in despite, retired to his see in Sardinia, where he died in 370, without giving any proof of returning once more to ecclesiastical unity. He was followed in his secession by some people in Sardinia and other kingdoms, and these added error to schism, by re-baptizing those who had been baptized by the Arians. It is worthy of remark that Calmet in his Sacred and Profane History (Book 65, No. 110), tells us that the Church of Cagliari celebrated the feast of Lucifer as a saint or holy personage, on the 20th of May. Benedict XIV., in his work de Sanctor Canon, tome 1, lib. 1, cap. 40, says, that two Archbishops of Sardinia having written for and against the sanctity of Lucifer, the Sacred Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, in the year 1641, imposed silence on both parties, under severe penalties, and decreed that the veneration of Lucifer should stand as it was. The Bollandists (die. 20 Maii, p. 207) strenuously defend this decree of the Sacred Congregation. Noel Alexander (sec. 4, cap. 3, art. 13) and D. Baillet (in vita Luciferi, 20 Maii) maintain, that the Lucifer whose feast is celebrated in the Church of Cagliari, is not the personage we speak of, but another of the same name, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution of the Vandals.

§ IV.

PERSECUTION OF VALENS, OF GENNERIC, OF HUNNERIC, AND OTHER ARIAN KINGS.

51.—Julian is made Emperor, and dies. 52.—Jovian Emperor; his Death. 53.—Valentinian and Valens Emperors. 54.—Death of Liberius. 55, 56.—Valens puts eighty Ecclesiastics to Death—his other Cruelties. 57.—Lucius persecutes the Solitaries. 58.—Dreadful Death of Valens. 59—61.—Persecution of Genseric. 62—64.—Persecution of Hunneric. 65.—Persecution of Theodoric. 67, 68.—Persecution of Leovigild.

51.—On the death of Constantius, the impious Julian the Apostate succeeded to the Empire. At first he restored the

Catholic bishops to their sees, but he soon began to persecute not only the bishops but the faithful in general, not because they were Catholics, but because they were Christians, for he declared himself an idolater and an enemy of Christ. He perished in the Persian war in the year 363. He was engaged in the heat of battle, when, beholding the Persians flying before his troops, he raised his arm to cheer on his own soldiers to the pursuit, when just at the moment, as Fleury relates, a Persian horseman let fly an arrow, which went through his arm, his ribs, and deep into the liver; he tried to pull it out, and even wounded his fingers in the attempt, but could not succeed, and fell over his horse. He was borne off the field and some remedies applied, and he felt himself so much better that he called for his horse and arms again to renew the fight, but his strength failed him, and he died on the same night, the 26th of June, being only thirty-one years and six months old, and having reigned but one year and eight months after the death of Constantius. Thodoret and Sozymen relate that when he felt himself wounded he filled his hand with blood and threw it up towards heaven, exclaiming, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" Theodoret likewise relates that St. Julian Saba the Solitary, while lamenting the threats uttered by Julian against the Church, suddenly turned to his disciples, with a serene and smiling countenance, and said to them, The wild boar which wasted the vineyard of the Lord is dead! and when the news of Julian's death afterwards reached them they found that he died at the very hour the holy sage announced the fact to them. Cardinal Orsi quotes the authority of the Chronicle of Alexandria, which says that the horseman who executed the Divine vengeance on Julian was the martyr St. Mercurius, who, a hundred years previously suffered in the persecution of Decius, and that this was revealed in a heavenly vision to St. Basil (1).

52.—On the very day of Julian's death the soldiers assembled and elected Jovian, the first among the Imperial guards, though he was not general of the army; he was much beloved for his fine appearance and for his great valour, of which he gave frequent proofs during the war. When Jovian was elected Emperor, he said, As I am a Christian I cannot command idolaters, for the

(1) Fleury, *t.* 2, *l.* 14 & 15; Theod. *l.* 3; Philost. *c.* 2.

army cannot conquer without the assistance of God. Then all the soldiers cried out, Fear not, Emperor, you command Christians. Jovian was delighted with this answer. He accepted the truce for thirty years offered by the Persians, and was most zealous in favouring the Catholics, opposing both the Arians and Semi-Arians. He restored peace to the Church, but it was of but short duration, for he died eight months after his elevation to the Empire, in the 33rd year of his age. The generality of authors, following St. Jerome, attribute his death to want of caution in sleeping in a room in which a large quantity of charcoal was burned, to dry the walls which were newly plastered, and thus died one of the greatest champions of the Church (2).

53.—On the death of Jovian, Valentinian was elected by the army in 364. He was the son of Gratian, Prefect of the Pretorium, and he was banished by Julian, because, being a Christian; he had struck the minister of the idols, who sprinkled him with lustral water. He was solicited by the army to elect a colleague, as the empire was attacked in various points by the barbarians, so he chose his brother Valens, declared him emperor, and divided the empire with him. Valentinian governed the West, when the Church enjoyed a profound peace, and Valens governed the East, where he kept up and even increased the dissensions already too rife there, and treated the Catholics with the greatest cruelty, as we shall shortly see.

54.—Pope Liberius died in the year 366, and before his death had the consolation of receiving a deputation in Rome of several Oriental bishops, who were anxious to return to the unity of the Church. Liberius sat for fourteen years, and notwithstanding the error he fell into by signing the formula of Sirmium, he is called a pontiff whose memory is in benediction by St. Basil; St. Epiphanius, and St. Ambrose. Orsi says that his name is found in some Greek Martyrologies, and that he was venerated by that Church as a saint, and Sandinus says that his name is still in the Martyrologies of Bede and of Wandelbert. St. Damasus, a man of great learning and sanctity, was elected Pope, at his death, but he was troubled for many years by the

(2) Orsi cit. Theod. Fleury, loc. cit. ; St. Hieron, Ep. 60.

schism of Ursinus, commonly called Ursicinus, who sacrilegiously got himself elected Pope at the same time (3).

55.—We now come to the reign of Valens, who was even a greater persecutor of the Church than Constantius. Eudosius, an Arian bishop, had a great influence over him, and, from his extraordinary anxiety to protect this bishop, he became a persecutor of the Catholics. Before he set out to undertake the war against the Goths, he was baptized by Eudosius, and, just as he was receiving the Sacrament, the bishop made him swear that he would persecute and banish from the country all the defenders of the Catholic faith; and Valens fulfilled this impious oath with dreadful exactness. The Arians, now strong in the Emperor's favour, began to maltreat the Catholics, and these, not being able to endure any longer the persecutions they were subjected to, deputed eighty ecclesiastics of great piety to go to Nicomedia, and implore Valens to put a stop to the violent measures of their enemies. Valens was outrageous at this proceeding, and commanded Modestes, Prefect of the Pretorium, to put them all privately to death. This impious order was barbarously obeyed by Modestes. He gave out that he was only sending them into banishment, lest the people should be incited to break out; and he had them all put on board a ship, and the sailors were ordered, when they were a good distance from the land, so that no one could observe them, to set fire to the vessel, and leave them to perish. The order, cruel as it was, was obeyed—the vessel was fired; but the Almighty deranged all their plans, for a strong wind immediately sprung up, and blew the vessel on shore while it was still burning, and it was then finally consumed (4).

56.—Valens next sent many ecclesiastics of the Church of Edessa into exile. It is well known how he strove to banish St. Basil; but the hand of the Lord miraculously prevented it, for when he was about to sign the sentence, the pen was broken in his hand, and his arm was paralyzed. He, likewise, persecuted the Catholic followers of St. Meletius, and banished them from the churches; but these faithful Christians used to assemble at the foot of a mountain, and there, exposed to the winter's snow

(3) Sulpicius, *l.* 5; Fleury & Orsi, *cit.*; Sandinus; Vit. Pon. *t.* 1.

(4) Fleury, *ibid.*; Theod. *l.* 4, *c.* 24; Soz. *l.* 6, *c.* 14; Soc. *l.* 4, *c.* 15.

and rain, and the summer's sun, they praised God; but even then he dispersed them, and few cities in the empire but had to deplore the tyranny of Valens, and the loss of their pastors. St. Gregory of Nyssa gives a sad description of the desolation caused by the tyrant in many provinces. When he came to Antioch he put a great many to the torture, and ordered a great many to be drowned, and sent off a very great multitude into exile, into Palestine, Arabia, Lybia, and many other provinces (5).

57.—The holy solitaries of Syria and Egypt, by their lives and miracles, were the great upholders of the faith of the people, and were, on that account, particularly odious to Valens. He, therefore, issued a decree, directed against those champions of the faith, obliging them to enrol themselves among his troops, intending to punish them severely in case of disobedience, and knowing well that they would not do as he ordained. Full scope was given by this to the Arians, to gratify their malignity, at the expense of these innocent men, and especially against the monks of St. Basil. Phontonius, who usurped the see of Nicomedia, exercised horrible cruelties against the Catholics; but even he was surpassed by Lucius, the pretended Bishop of Alexandria, who obtained possession of that see by cruelty, and retained it by the same means. When the law of Valens—that the monks should bear arms—was promulgated, Lucius left Alexandria, and, accompanied by the commander of the troops in Egypt, placed himself at the head of three thousand soldiers, and went to the deserts of Nitria, where he found the monks, not, indeed, prepared to fight, but to die for the love of Jesus Christ, and he put whole companies of them to death, but five thousand of them escaped his fury, and fled to a place of safety, and concealed themselves. Wearied out with killing and torturing these holy men, Lucius now seized on their chiefs, Isidore, Heraclides, Macarius of Alexandria, and Macarius of Egypt, and banished them to a marshy island in Egypt, where all the inhabitants were idolaters; but when they arrived at the shore, a child possessed by the devil was thrown at their feet, and the devil cried out—“O, servants of the true God, why do you come

(5) Auctor. cit.

to drive us from this place, which we have possessed so long." They prayed over the child, cast forth the devil, and restored the infant to his parents, and were received with the greatest joy by the people, who threw down the old temple of the idols they previously adored, and began to build a church in honour of the true God. When the news of this transaction was told in Alexandria, the people all cried out against their impious bishop, Lucius, who, they said, was warring, not against man, but against God, and he was so terrified with the popular excitement, that he gave the solitaries permission to return again to their deserts (6).

58.—Valens was overtaken by the Divine vengeance in 378. The Goths extended their ravages to the very gates of Constantinople, and he was so lost to shame, that he thought of nothing all the while but enjoying himself in his capital. The people began to murmur loudly at this state of inaction, and he, at last, roused himself, and marched against the enemy. Theodoret relates, that, as he was leaving the city, a holy monk, called Isaac, who lived in the neighbourhood, thus addressed him:—"Where are you going to, Emperor, after having made war against God? Cease to war with the Almighty, and he will put an end to the war raging against you; but should you not do so, mark my words, you will go to battle, but the vengeance of God will pursue you—you will lose your army, and never return here again." "I will return," said Valens, in a rage, "and your life shall pay for your audacity;" and he immediately ordered that he should be sent to prison. The hermit's prophecy turned out too true. When Valens arrived in presence of the Goths, their king, Fritigern, sent him an embassy, asking for peace, and leave to establish himself and his people in Thrace. The Emperor rejected his offer; and, on the 9th of August, 378, both armies were drawn up in front of each other, and Fritigern again made proposals of peace. But while the Romans were deliberating on their answer, the division of Bacurius, Prince of the Iberians, was attacked, and the battle became general; and never, since the slaughter at Canne, did the Romans suffer such losses as on that day. When the night

(6) St. Hieron. Chron. ; St. Paulin. Ep. 29; Auctor. antea. cit.

closed, Valens mixed himself up with some of his soldiers and fled, thinking thus to conceal himself; but he was wounded with an arrow, and fell from his horse, and was brought by his soldiers into the hut of a peasant by the way-side. He was scarcely there when a troop of Goths, looking for plunder, arrived, and, without knowing who was inside, endeavoured to break open the door; but when they could not succeed at once in doing so, they set fire to the hut, and went away, and the unhappy Valens was burned alive in the fifteenth year of his reign and the fiftieth of his age. This was, as Orosius writes, a just judgment of God: the Goths asked Valens for some bishops, to instruct them in the Christian religion, and he sent them Arians, to infect the poor people with their impious heresy; and so they were justly appointed afterwards, as ministers of the Divine justice, to punish him. On the death of Valens, Gratian became master of the whole empire, and this good prince gave liberty to the Catholics of the East, and peace to the Church (7).

59.—We now have to treat of the persecution of the Catholics of Africa by Genseric, the Arian King of the Vandals. He commenced persecuting the Catholics in the year 437, with the intention of making Arianism the religion of all Africa, as St. Prosper writes. Immediately after conquering Carthage, he commenced a most cruel war against the Catholics, plundered the churches, and gave them as habitations to his vassals, after banishing the priests, and taking away the sacred vessels; and, intending to have no religion but Arianism, he drove the bishops, not alone out of their churches, but out of the cities, and put many to death. He would not permit the Catholics, on the death of St. Deogratias, to elect another Bishop of Carthage, and he prohibited all ordinations in the province of Zeugitania, and in the Pro-consulate, where there were sixty-four bishoprics; the effect of this order was, that, at the end of thirty years, there were only three bishops in the province, and two of these were banished, and the third fled to Edessa. Cardinal Orsi, following the historian of the Vandalic persecution, says that the number of martyrs was very great. The history of four

(7) Orsi, cit. ; St. Pros. in Chron.

brothers, in particular, slaves of one of Genseric's officers, is very interesting:—These martyrs, finding it impossible to serve God according to their wishes in the house of their Vandal master, fled, and took refuge in a monastery near the city of Trabacca; but their master never ceased till he found them out, and brought them back to his house, where he loaded them with chains, put them in prison, and never ceased to torture them. When Genseric heard of it, instead of blaming the master for his cruelty, he only encouraged him to continue it, and the tyrant beat them with branches of the palm tree to that pitch, that their bones and entrails were laid bare; but, though this was done many days in succession, the following days they were always found miraculously healed. He next shut them up in a narrow prison, with their feet in stocks made of heavy timber; but the beams of the instrument were broken in pieces, like twigs, the next day. When this was told to Genseric, he banished them to the territories of a Pagan king, in the deserts of Africa. The inhabitants of their place of exile were all Pagans, but these holy brothers became apostles among them, and converted a great number; but, as they had no priest, some of them made their way to Rome, and the Pope yielded to their wishes, and sent a priest among them, who baptized a great number. When Genseric heard this, he ordered that each of the brothers should be tied to a car by the feet, and dragged through the woods till dead, and the barbarous sentence was executed. The very barbarians wept when they saw these innocent men thus torn to pieces, but they expired praying and praising God in the midst of their torments. They are commemorated in the Roman Martyrology, on the 14th of October (8).

60.—Genseric was daily becoming more inimical to the Church, and he sent a person called Proculus into the province of Zeugitania, to force the bishops to deliver up the holy Books and all the sacred vessels, with the intention of more easily undermining their faith, when deprived, as it were, of their arms. The bishops refused to give them up, and so the Vandals took every thing by force, and even stripped the cloths off the altars, and made

(8) Fleury, *t.* 4; Baron. An. 437 & 456; Orsi, *cit.*

shirts of them, but the Divine vengeance soon overtook Proculus, for he died raving mad, after eating away his own tongue. The Arians even frequently trampled the Holy Sacrament under their feet in the Catholic Church. When the Catholics were deprived of their church they secretly opened another in a retired place, but the Arians soon heard of it, and collecting a body of armed men under the leadership of one of their priests, they attacked the faithful in their church; some rushed in at the door, sword in hand, others mounted up to the roof with arrows, and killed a great many before the altar; a great many took to flight, but they were afterwards put to death in various ways by order of Genseric.

61.—Genseric next issued a decree, that no one should be admitted into his palace, or that of his son, unless he was an Arian, and then, as Victor Vitensis informs us, a person called Armogastes, who was in the court of Theodoric, one of the sons of Genseric, signalized himself for his constancy in the faith. Theodoric tried every means to make him apostatize, but in vain; he first made him promises of preferment; he next threatened him, and he then subjected him to the most cruel torments. He had his head and legs bound with cords twisted with the greatest possible force; he then was hung up in the air by one leg, with his head down, and when all this could not shake his constancy, he ordered him to be beheaded. He knew, however, that Armogastes would be venerated as a martyr by the Catholics, if this sentence were carried into execution, so he changed the sentence, and compelled him to dig the earth, and tend a herd of cows. While Armogastes was one day engaged in this humble employment under a tree, he begged a friend, a Christian of the name of Felix, to bury him after his death at the foot of that tree; he died in a few days after; and when his friend, in compliance with his request, set about digging his grave, he found in the spot a marble tomb, beautifully finished, and there he buried him. The name of St. Armogastes is marked in the Roman Martyrology on the 29th of March, and Archiminus and Saturus, who suffered likewise, are commemorated with him. Genseric used every artifice with Archiminus to cause him to apostatize, but when he could not shake his faith, he gave orders that he should be beheaded; but there was a private condition annexed; that was, that if he showed any symptoms of fear, the

sentence should be executed; but if no terror could be remarked on him at the moment, that his life should be spared, lest he should be venerated as a martyr by the Catholics. He awaited death with the greatest intrepidity, and he was, consequently, spared. Satorus was in the service of Hunneric, the king's eldest son, and he was threatened with confiscation of his entire property, if he did not become an Arian; he yielded neither to the threats of the tyrant, or to the tears of his wife, who came to see him one day with his four children, and threw herself weeping at his feet, and embracing his knees, besought him to have pity on her and her poor children; but Satorus, unmoved, said; my dear wife, if you loved me you would not tempt me to send myself to hell; they may do with me as they please, but I will never forget the words of my Divine Master, that no one can be his disciple, unless he leaves all things to follow him. He thus remained firm, and he was despoiled of every thing. Genseric died at length, in the year 477, the fiftieth of his reign over the Vandals, and forty-nine years after his landing in Africa. He made Hunneric heir to his kingdom, and settled the succession so that the oldest descendant of his, in the male line, should always be king.

62.—Hunneric, in the beginning of his reign, reigned with clemency, but he soon showed the innate cruelty of his disposition, and he commenced with his own relatives. He put to death his brother Theodoric, and his young child, and he would likewise have put his other brother, Genton, out of the way, only he had the good fortune to be forewarned, and saved himself. He now began to persecute the Catholics; he commanded the holy bishop Eugenius, that he should not preach any more, and that he should allow no one, either man or woman, into the church. The saint answered that the church was open for all, and that he had no power to prohibit any one from entering. Hunneric then placed executioners at the door of the church, with clubs stuck over with spikes, and these tore off not only the hair but even the scalp of the persons who went in, and such violence was used that some lost their sight, and even some lost their lives. He sent away noblemen into the fields to reap the corn; one of these had a withered hand, so that he could not work, but he was still obliged to go, and by the prayers of his companions, the Almighty restored him the use of it. He published a decree

that no one should be allowed to serve in the palace, or hold any public employment, if he were not an Arian; and those who refused obedience to this iniquitous order, were despoiled of their properties, and banished into Italy and Sardinia; he likewise ordered that all the property of the Catholic bishops should go to the Crown after their death, and that no successor could be consecrated to any deceased bishop, until he paid five hundred golden crowns. He had all the nuns collected together, and caused them to be tormented with burning plates of iron, and to be hung up with great weights to their feet, to force them to accuse the bishops and priests of having had criminal intercourse with them; many of them died in these torments, and those who survived, having their skin burned up, were crooked all their lives after.

63.—He banished to the desert, between bishops, priests, deacons, and lay people, altogether four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six Catholics, and many among them were afflicted with gout, and many blind with age; Felix, of Abbitirus, a bishop, was for forty-four years paralyzed, and deprived of all power of moving, and even speechless. The Catholic bishops, not knowing how to bring him along with them, begged of the King to allow him to wear out the few days he had to live, in Carthage; but the barbarian answered: if he cannot go on horseback let him be tied with a rope, and dragged on by oxen; and they were obliged to carry him, thrown across a mule, like a log of wood. In the commencement of their journey they had some little liberty, but in a little while they were treated with the greatest cruelty; they were shut up together in a very narrow prison, no one allowed to visit them, crowded together one almost over the other, and no egress allowed for a moment, so that the state of the prison soon became horribly infectious; and, as Victor the historian relates, no torment could equal what they suffered—up to their knees in the most horrible filth, and there alone could they sit down, sleep, and eat the little quantity of barley given to them for food, without any preparation, as if they were horses. At length they were taken out of that prison, or rather sink, and conveyed to their destination; the aged, and those who were too

weak to walk, were driven on with blows of stones, and prodded with lances, and when nature failed them, and they could not move on any longer, the Moors tied them by the feet, and dragged them on through stones and briars, as if they were carcasses of beasts, and thus an immense number of them died, leaving the road covered with their blood.

64.—In the year 483, according to Fleury and N. Alexander, Hunneric, wishing to destroy Catholicity altogether in Africa, commanded that there should be a conference held in Carthage between the Catholics and the Arians. The bishops, not alone of Africa, but of the Islands subject to the Vandals, assembled there, but as Cyril, the Arian Patriarch, dreaded that his sect would be ruined by the conference, it did not take place. The King was now highly incensed against the Catholics, and he privately sent an edict to all the provinces, while he had the bishops in Carthage, and on one and the same day all the churches of Africa were closed, and all the property belonging both to the churches and the Catholic bishops was given over to the Arians, following in that the decree, laid down for the punishment of heretics in the laws of the Emperors. This barbarous decree was put into execution, and the bishops, despoiled of all they possessed, were driven out of Carthage, and all persons were ordered to give them neither food nor shelter, under pain of being burned themselves, and their houses along with them. Hunneric, at last, in the year 484, after committing so many acts of tyranny, and killing so many Catholics, closed his reign and his life by a most horrible death—he died rotten, and eaten up alive by a swarm of worms; all his entrails fell out, and he tore his own flesh in a rage with his teeth, so that he was even buried in pieces. He was not altogether eight years on the throne when he died, and he had not even the satisfaction to leave the throne to his son Hilderic, for whom he had committed such slaughter in his family, because, according to the will of his father, Genseric, the crown descended to Guntamond, the son of his brother Genton; and he was succeeded, in 496, by Trasamond, who endeavoured to extirpate Catholicity totally in Africa, about the year 504. Among his other acts, he banished two hundred and twenty-four bishops, and among them was the glorious St. Fulgentius. On the death of Trasamond, in 523, he was

succeeded by Hilderic, a prince, as Procopius writes, affable to his subjects, and of a mild disposition. This good King, Graveson tells us, was favourable to the Catholic Religion, and he recalled St. Fulgentius and the other exiled bishops, and granted the free exercise of their religion to all the Catholics of his kingdom; but in the year 530, he was driven out of his kingdom by Glimere, an Arian, and then it was that the Emperor Justinian, to revenge his intimate friend, Hilderic, declared war against Glimere; and his general, Belisarius, having conquered Carthage and the principal cities, and subjected all Africa once more to the Roman Emperor, the Arians were banished, and the churches restored to the Catholics (10).

65.—There were other persecutions by the Arians, after the death of Hunneric: Theodoric, King of Italy, and son of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, was also an Arian, and persecuted the Catholics till his death, in the year 526. He ought, however, to be lauded for always keeping in his employment honest and learned ministers. One of them was the great Boetius, a man of profound learning, and a true Christian; but through the envy of his calumniators, he was cast into prison by his sovereign, and after being kept there a long time, was, at last, without being given an opportunity of defending himself, put to death in horrible torments, his head being tied round with a cord, and that twisted till his eyes leaped out of their sockets. Thus died Boetius, the great prop of the faith in that age, in the year 524, and the fifty-fifth of his age. Theodoric likewise put to death Symmachus, a man of the highest character, in a most barbarous manner; and his crime was, that he was son-in-law to Boetius, and the tyrant dreaded that he would conspire against his kingdom. He also caused the death of the holy Pope John, in prison, by privations and starvation, and this holy man is venerated since in the Church as a martyr. Some inculcate this pontiff, for having induced the pious Emperor, Justin, to restore the churches to the Arians, but others deny his having done so. Cardinal Orsi says, that a great deal of obscurity hangs over the transactions of this age; but, taking the anonymous commentator on Valesius as a guide, he does not think that the Pope

(10) Fleury, Orsi, *Nal. l. con*; Graveson, *His. Eccles. t. 3*, Procopius, *l. 1*, de Bellow. Vand.

obtained the restitution to the Arians of all their churches, but only of such as they were already in possession of, or such as were deserted, and not consecrated; and that he did this only that Theodoric might rest satisfied with this arrangement, and leave the Catholics in possession of their churches, and not turn them out, and give them up to the Arians, as it was feared he would. But Noël Alexander, Baronius, and Orsi himself—and with these Berti agrees—say, with more likelihood, that St. John refused to solicit the Emperor, at all, for the restitution of the churches to the Arians, and that this is proved from his second epistle to the Italian Bishops, in which he tells them, that he consecrated, and caused to be restored to the Catholics in the East, all the churches in possession of the Arians; and, it was on that account that he was put into prison by Theodoric, on his return to Italy, and died there on the 27th of May, 526, worn out with sufferings.

66.—Theodoric, not satisfied with those acts of tyranny, as the above-mentioned anonymous writer informs us, published an edict on the 26th of August, giving to the Arians all the Catholic churches; but God, at length, had pity on the faithful, and he removed him by a sudden death. A dreadful flux brought him to death's door in three days; and on the very Sunday in which his decree was to be put into execution, he lost his power and his life. A cotemporaneous historian gives a curious account of the beginning of his sickness. He was going to supper, and the head of a big fish was placed before him; he immediately imagined that he saw the head of Symmachus, whom he had a little before put to death, and that it threatened him with eyes of fury. He was dreadfully alarmed; and, seized with sudden terror, he took to his bed, and told his physician, Elpidius, what he imagined; he then regretted sincerely his cruelty to Boetius and Symmachus, and between agitation of mind, and the racking of his bowels, he was soon dead. St. Gregory writes, that a certain hermit, in the island of Lipari, saw him in a vision after his death, bare-footed, and stripped of all his ornaments, between St. John and Symmachus, and that they brought him to the neighbouring Volcano, and cast him into the burning crater.

67.—Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, in Spain, was likewise an Arian; he had two sons by his first wife, Hermengild and Reccarede, and he married a second time, Goswind, the widow of

another King of the Visigoths. He married his son Hermengild to Ingonda, who was a Catholic, and refused to allow herself to be baptized by the Arians, as her mother-in-law Goswind, herself an Arian, wished. Not being able to induce her, by fair means, to consent, Goswind seized her one day by the hair, threw her on the ground, kicked her, and covered her over with blood, and then stripped her violently, and threw her into a fountain of water, to re-baptize her by force; but nothing could induce her to change her faith, and she even converted her husband Hermengild. When Leovigild heard this, he commenced a persecution against the Catholics; many were exiled, and their properties confiscated; others were beaten, imprisoned, and stoned to death, or put out of the way by other cruelties. Seven bishops were also banished, and the churches were deprived of their possessions. Hermengild was cast into prison by his father, and, at the festival of Easter, an Arian bishop came to give him communion, but he refused to receive it from his hand, and sent him off as a heretic; his father then sent the executioners to put him to death, and one of them split open his head with a hatchet. This took place in the year 586, and this holy prince has been since venerated as a martyr.

68.—The impious Leovigild did not long survive his son; he deeply regretted having put him to death; and, as St. Gregory tells us, was convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, but had not the grace to embrace it, as he dreaded the vengeance of his people. Fleury, nevertheless, quotes many authorities to prove that Leovigild spent a week before his death, deploring the crimes he committed, and that he died a Catholic in the year 587, the eighteenth of his reign. He left the kingdom to his son Reccarede, who became a Catholic, and received the sacrament of Confirmation in the Catholic church; and such was his zeal for the faith, that he induced the Arian bishops, and the whole nation of the Visigoths, to embrace it, and deposed from his employment, and cashiered from his army, all heretics. The beginning of his reign was thus the end of the Arian heresy in Spain, where it reigned from the conquest of that country by the barbarians, an hundred and eighty years before, in the beginning of the fifth century; and when the Emperor Justinian, by the victories of Belisarius, became master of Africa, about

the year 535 (*chap.* 4, No. 64), the Catholic faith was also re-established. The Burgundians, in Gaul, forsook the Arian heresy under the reign of Sigismund, the son and successor of King Gontaband, who died in 516. Sigismund was converted to the faith in 515, by St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne. The Lombards in Italy abandoned Arianism, and embraced the Catholic faith under their King, Rimbart, in 660, and have since remained faithful to the Church. Danæus thus concludes his essay on the heresy of the Arians: "This dreadful hydra, the fruitful parent of so many evils, was then extinguished, but after the lapse of about nine hundred years, in about the year 1530, was again revived in Poland and Transylvania, by modern Arians and Antitrinitarians, who, falling from bad to worse, have become far worse than the ancient Arians, and are confounded with Deists and Socinians"(11).

ARTICLE III.

69—74.—Heresy of Macedonius. 75—77.—Of Apollinaris. 78.—Of Elvidius. 79.—Of Aetius. 80, 81.—The Messalians. 82.—The Priscillianists. 83.—Jovinians. 84.—Other Heretics. 85.—Of Audeus, in particular.

69.—As Arius uttered blasphemies against the Son, so Macedonius had the temerity to speak blasphemously of the Holy Ghost. He was, at first, an Arian, and was deputed to the Council or Cabal of Tyre, as legate of the Emperor Constantius. He was then intruded by the Arians into the see of Constantinople, as Socrates informs us, though Paul, the lawful bishop, was then alive, and he received ordination at the hands of the Arians. A horrible circumstance occurred at his induction into the Metropolitan see. He went to take possession in a splendid chariot, accompanied, not by his clergy, but with the imperial Prefect by his side, and surrounded by a powerful body of armed troops, to strike terror into the people. An immense multitude was assembled, out of curiosity to see the pageant, and the throng

(11) Fleury, *t.* 5; Gregor. Jur. 9, *t.* 15; Danes, *Gen. Temp. not.* p. 237.

was so great, that the church, streets, and squares were all choked up, and the new bishop could not proceed. The soldiers set about clearing the way; they first struck the people with the shafts of their spears, and whether it was by orders of the bishop, or through their own ferocity, they soon began to wound and kill the people, and trampled on the slain and fallen; the consequence was, that three thousand one hundred and fifty dead bodies lay stretched in gore in the street; the bishop passed through, and as his entrance to the episcopal throne was marked by blood and slaughter, so his future government of the See was distinguished for vengeance and cruelty. In the first place, he began to persecute the friends of Paul, his competitor in the See; he caused some of them to be publicly flogged, confiscated the property of others, more he banished, and he marked his hatred of one in particular by causing him to be branded on the forehead, to stamp him through life with a mark of infamy. Several authors even say that, after he had banished Paul from the See, he caused him to be strangled at Cucusus, the place of his exile (1).

70.—His rage was not alone directed against the friends of Paul, but against all who professed the faith of the Council of Nice; the wretch made use of atrocious torments to oblige them to receive communion from him. He used, as Socrates informs us, to have their mouths forced open with a wooden tong, and the consecrated particle forced on them,—a punishment greater than death to the faithful. He used to take the children from their mothers, and have them most cruelly flogged in their mothers' presence; and the mothers themselves he used to torture by squeezing both their breasts under the lid of a heavy chest, and then caused them to be cut off with a sharp razor, or burned them with red coals, or with red-hot balls, and left them to die in prolonged tortures. As if it was not enough to torture and destroy the Catholics themselves in this manner, he vented his rage on their churches, which he destroyed to the very foundations, and their ruins he had scattered abroad.

71.—One would think that these sacrilegious excesses were quite enough. But he was determined to do something more, and this was the last act he was permitted to perform as bishop.

(1) Bernin. *t.* 1; Coc. *f.* 1, c. 25; Daneus and Theod.

He had the audacity to disinter the body of Constantine, and transfer it from one tomb to another; but Constans could not stand this, so he ignominiously deposed him from the bishopric. While he was Bishop of Constantinople, he was only remarked for being a very bad man, and a Semi-Arian; but after his deposition, the diabolical ambition seized him, of becoming great in impiety, and the chief of a heresy; so, in the year 360, considering that preceding heresiarchs had directed their attacks against the Father and the Son, he determined to blaspheme the Third Person, the Holy Ghost. He, therefore, denied that the Holy Ghost was God, and taught that he was only a creature like the angels, but of a higher order.

72.—Lambert Danæus says that Macedonius was deposed in the year 360, and was exiled to a place called Pilæ, where, in his old age, he paid the penalty of his crimes. But his heresy survived him: he had many followers, and the chief among them was Marantonius, Bishop of Nicomedia, and formerly his disciple, and, what was remarkable, he was distinguished for the regularity of his life, and was held in high esteem by the people. This heresy had many adherents in the monasteries of Monks, and among the people of Constantinople, but neither bishops nor churches till the reign of Arcadius, in the Arian domination. The Macedonians were principally scattered about Thrace, in Bithynia, along the Hellespont, and in all the cities of Cizica. They were, in general, people of moral lives, and observers of almost monastic regularity; they were usually called *Pneumatomachi*, from the Greek word signifying enemies of the Spirit (2).

73.—The Macedonian heresy was condemned in several particular Councils. In the year 362, after the return of St. Athanasius, it was condemned in the Council of Alexandria; in 367, in a Council in Illyria; and in 373, in a Council held in Rome, by St. Damasus, for the condemnation of Apollinaris, whose heresy will be discussed presently. In the year 381, Macedonius was again condemned, in the Council of Constantinople (the first Constantinopolitan), and though only an hundred and fifty bishops were present, and these were all Orientals, this

(2) N. Alex. Bernin. t. 1, &c.

Council was recognized as a general one, by the authority of St. Damasus, and another Council of Bishops assembled in Rome immediately after, in 382. N. Alexander says: "This was a Council of the Oriental Church alone, and was only, *ex post facto*, Ecumenical, inasmuch as the Western Church, congregated in the Synod of Rome, under Pope Damasus, held the same doctrine, and condemned the same heresy, as the Oriental Church." And Graveson says: "This Council of Constantinople was afterwards reckoned a general one, for Pope Damasus, and the whole Church of the West, gave it this dignity and authority." An anonymous author says the same thing (Auctor Lib. Appar. brev. ad Theol. & Jus Canon). This Council is considered a General one, because it followed in everything what was previously defined in the Roman Council, to which the Eastern bishops were convoked, by letters of St. Damasus, presented to the bishops assembled in Constantinople, and what was decreed in that Council was confirmed in the other Synod, held in Rome, in 382. The Fathers of the Council wrote to St. Damasus, that he had, by his fraternal charity, invited them, by letters of the Emperor, to assist as members of the Council, to be held in Rome. The reader will find in the third volume the refutation of the heresy of Macedonius.

74.—In this Council of Constantinople, besides the condemnation of the heresy of Macedonius, the heresies of Apollinaris and Eunomius were also condemned; and Maximus Cincius, who seized on the See of Constantinople, was deposed, and St. Gregory of Nazianzen was confirmed in possession of it, but he, through love of peace, afterwards resigned it, and Neptarius was chosen in his place by the Council. Several canons, regarding the discipline of the Church, were passed, and the Nicene Creed was confirmed by the Council, and some few words were added to it concerning the mystery of the Incarnation, on account of the Apollinarists and other heretics, and a more ample explanation of the article regarding the Holy Ghost was added, on account of the heresies of the Macedonians, who denied his Divinity. The Nicene Creed says, of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, these words alone: "*Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit, et incarnatus est, et homo factus. Passus est, et resurrexit tertia die; et ascendit in cælos; et iterum venturus*

est judicare vivos, et mortuos; et in Spiritum Sanctum, &c." But the Symbol of Constantinople goes on thus: "*Descendit de cælis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus, et sepultus est; tertia die resurrexit a mortuis secundum Scripturas, &c. Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, et cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum qui locutus est per Prophetas, &c"* (3). Nicephorus (4) relates, that St. Gregory of Nyssa laid down the declaration of the Council in these words: "Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio coadorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per Prophetas" (Act. Conc. Const.) When this was read in the Council, all the bishops cried out: "This is the faith of all; this is the orthodox faith; this we all believe" (5).

75.—We have now to speak of Apollinaris, who was condemned in the same Council of Constantinople. He was Bishop of Laodicea, and St. Jerome's master in sacred literature; but he broached another heresy, concerning the person of Jesus Christ. His principal error, as Noel Alexander tells us, on the authority of St. Epiphanius, St. Leo, St. Augustin, and Socrates (6), was, that he supposed the human nature of Jesus Christ only half human nature—he supposed that Christ had no soul, but that, in place of one, the Word made flesh answered as a soul to his body. He softened down this doctrine a little after, for then he admitted that Christ was not without a soul altogether, for he possessed that part of the sensitive soul, with which we see and feel in common with all other sensitive beings; but that he had not the reasoning part, or the mind, and the Word, he said, supplied that in the Person of Christ. This error is founded on the false philosophy of Plato, who wished to establish in man three substances, to wit—the body, the soul, and the mind.

76.—The Apollinarists added three other errors: First, that the body of Christ, born of Mary, was consubstantial with the Divinity of the Word, and hence it followed that the Divinity

(3) Cabassutius, Not. Concil. p. 136; Orsi, t. 8, l. 18, n. 71, & seq.; Fleury, l. 18, n. 1, & seq.; Nat. Alex. t. 1, diss. 37, ar. 2.

(4) Nicef. l. 12, c. 2.

(5) Bernini, t. 1, p. 316.

(6) Nat. t. 8, ar. 3, ex St. Epiph. Her. 77; St. Leo, Ser. de Nat. Dom.; St. Aug. de Her. c. 55; Socrat. l. 2, c. 36.

of the Word was passible, and suffered, in reality, torments and death. Eranistes, an Apollinarist, contended that the Divine Nature suffered in the flesh, just as the soul suffers, conjoined with the body, in the sufferings of the body. But even in this illustration he was in error, because the body without the soul is not capable of suffering, and, when the body is hurt, it is the soul that suffers in reality, by the communication it has with the body; so that, according to their system, the Divine Nature would suffer, if the flesh, supposed to be consubstantial to the Divinity, was hurt. The second error was, that the Divine Word did not take flesh from the Virgin, but brought it down from heaven, and, on that account, they called the Catholics, who believed that the body of Christ was taken from Mary, *Homicolists*, and accused them of establishing, not a Trinity, but a Quaternity, of Persons, because, besides the three Divine Persons, they admitted a fourth substance, entirely distinct, Christ-God, and *Man*. Thirdly—The last error was, that the Divine substance of the Word was converted into flesh; but these three errors, N. Alexander says, were not taught by Apollinaris, but by his disciples (7). Apollinaris erred also in the doctrine of the Trinity, by teaching that there were different degrees of dignity in the Trinity itself. He calls the Holy Ghost *great*, the Son *greater*, and the Father *greatest*. He, likewise, taught the errors of the Millenarians, and said that the Jewish rites ought to be resumed (8). Fleury and Orsi, likewise, give an account of his heresy (9).

77.—The heresy of Apollinaris, especially that part of it referring to the Mystery of the Incarnation, was already condemned, in the year 362, by St. Athanasius, in the Council of Alexandria; it was also condemned, in 373, by St. Damasus in the Roman Council, and the same year Bernini tells us that Apollinaris died, the laughing-stock of the people, even of the children (10). An author, quoted by St. Gregory of Nyssa (11), relates, that Apollinaris, being in his dotage, gave the book containing his doctrines to a lady of Antioch, a disciple of his, to keep

(7) Nat. *ibid*.(8) Nat. *ibid*.(9) Fleury, *t. 3, l. 17, n. 2—25*; Orsi, *t. 7, l. 16, n. 115*.(10) Bernin. *t. 2, s. 4, c. 8*.

(11) St. Greg. Niss. Serm. de St. Ephrem.

for him; this came to the knowledge of St. Ephraim the Syrian, who was then at Antioch, and he borrowed the book for a few days, from the lady: he took it home and pasted the leaves one to the other, so that nothing could open them, folded up the book, and sent it back again to the lady. Soon after this he had a Conference with Apollinaris, and they began to dispute about the doctrines of his book, in presence of a great many persons. Apollinaris, weakened in his intellect, on account of his great age, said that the answers to St. Ephraim's arguments would be all found in his book, and he sent to the lady for it; but when he tried to open the first page he found it pasted up, and the whole book just like a log of wood; he was so enraged that he dashed it violently to the ground and trampled on it, and ran out of the place as fast as ever he could, amid the laughter of the bystanders, who continued hooting after him as long as he was in sight. It is said that the poor old man took it so much to heart, that he fell sick and died. Finally, this heresy was condemned in the Second General Council, (the first of Constantinople,) as appears in the Synodical letters: "Nos præterea doctrinam Dominicæ Incarnationis integram & perfectam tenemus, neque dispensationem carnis Christi vel animæ, vel mentis expertem, vel imperfectam esse asserimus; sed agnoscimus Verbum Dei ante secula omnino perfectum hominem in novissimis diebus pro nostra salute factum esse" (12).

78.—Among the followers of Apollinaris were the Antidicomarianites or adversaries of Mary. These said, following Elvidius, that she did not remain a virgin, but after the birth of Christ had other children by St. Joseph. St. Epiphanius (13), hearing that this error was prevalent in Arabia, refuted it in a long letter directed to all the faithful of that region. At the same time, and in the same country, another error altogether opposed to this was broached, that the Blessed Virgin was a sort of Deity. The followers of this sect were called Collyridians (14), because they worshipped the Virgin by offering her a certain sort of cakes called, in Greek, Collyrides. This superstition came from Thrace and Upper Sythica, and passed

(12) N. Alex. *t.* 8. *c.* 3, *a.* 1481.

(14) St. Epip. Her. 79.

(13) St. Epip. Her. 77, *n.* 26 & 78.

into Arabia. The women, especially, were almost all followers of this sect. On certain fast days every year they ornamented a car, and placed on it a square bench covered with a cloth; on this a loaf was placed, and, being offered to the Virgin, was then divided among the worshippers. St. Epiphanius, in combating this superstition, showed that women can never take any part in the priesthood, and that the worship they offered to the Virgin was idolatrous; for, although the most perfect of all creatures, she was still but a creature, and should not be honored like God with that oblation (15).

79.—Aerius was ambitious of becoming Bishop of Antioch, and when Eustasius was elected to that See, he was devoured with envy. Eustasius did all in his power to gratify him; he ordained him priest, gave him the government of his hospital, and when, with all this, he could not prevent him from talking badly of him, he admonished him, tried to gain him over by more kindness, then threatened him, but all in vain. Aerius threw up the government of the hospital, and began to teach his errors to a number of followers, and when these were turned out not only of the churches, but even out of the towns and villages, they assembled in the woods and caverns, and even in the open fields, though sometimes covered with snow. This heresy sprung up in 370, but was never very extensive. Aerius was an Arian all out; but he added other errors of his own to the pre-existing heresy. These can be easily reduced to three heads: First—That there is no difference between priests and bishops; Second—That prayers for the dead are useless; and, Third—That the observance of fasts and festivals, even of Easter, is only a Jewish rite, and useless (16).

80.—The fourth century was also infested by the Messalians; these were wandering monks, who professed to abandon the world, though they were not properly monks at all. They were called Messalinians, or Messalians, from a Syriac word signifying prayer, and the Greeks called them Euchitians, for the same reason; they said that the whole essence of religion consisted in

(15) Fleury, *t. 3, l. 17, n. 26*; Orsi, *t. 7, l. 7, n. 50*.

(16) Nat. Alex. *t. 8, c. 3, art. 15*; Fleury, *t. 3, l. 19, n. 36*.

prayer (17). They were of two classes; the most ancient were Pagans, and had no connexion with Christians or Jews; they believed in a plurality of Gods, though they adored but one alone, whom they called the Almighty. It is supposed, that these were the people called *Hypsisteri*, or *adorers*, of the Most High (18). Their oratories were large buildings, surrounded with porticos, but open to the sky; and they assembled there morning and evening, and, by the light of numerous lamps, sang hymns of praise to God, and, they were called by the Greeks, Eusemites, on that account (19). Those who called themselves Christians, began to appear about the reign of Constans, but their origin is doubtful; they came from Mesopotamia, but they were established in Antioch, in 376, when St. Epiphanius wrote his Treatise on Heresies. St. Epiphanius says, that they took in too literal a sense, the command of Jesus Christ, to leave every thing and follow him, and they literally observed it; but they led an idle, vagabond life, begging and living in common, both men and women, so that in the summer time, they used even to sleep together in the streets. They refused to do work of any kind, as they considered it wicked; they never fasted, and used to eat at an early hour in the morning—a practice totally opposed to the Oriental manner of fasting (20).

81.—The following errors were taught and practised by them (21); they said that every man had, from his birth, a devil attached to him, who prompted him to all evil, and that the only remedy against him was prayer, which banished the devil, and destroyed the root of sin. They looked on the sacraments with indifference, and said the Eucharist did neither good nor harm, and that baptism takes away sin, just like a razor, which leaves the roots. They said the domestic devil is expelled by spitting and blowing the nose, and when they purified themselves in this manner, that they saw a sow and a number of little pigs come out of their mouths, and a fire that did not burn, enter into them (22). Their principal error consisted in taking the precept, to pray continually, in the literal sense; they did so to excess, and it was the parent of a thousand

(17) St. Epip. Her. 88. n. 1.

(18) Supplem. t. 11, n. 30.

(19) St. Epiph. n. 3.

(20) Theod. t. 4, c. 11.

(21) Theod. Her. fab. l. 4, c. 2; Nat.

Alex. t. 8, c. 3, act 16; Fleury, t.

3, l. 19, n. 35.

(22) St. Aug. Her. l. 5, c. 7.

follies in this case; they slept the greater part of the day, and then began to say they had revelations, and prophesied things which never happened. They boasted that they saw the Trinity with the eyes of the flesh, and that they visibly received the Holy Ghost; they did very extraordinary things while praying; they would frequently jump forward with violence, and then say that they were dancing on the devil, and this folly became so glaring, that they acquired the name of the *Enthusiasts* (23). They said that man's science and virtue could be made equal to that of God, so that those who once arrived at perfection, never could afterwards sin, even through ignorance. They never formed a separate community from the faithful, always denying their heresy, and condemning it as strongly as any one else, when they were convicted of it. Their founder was Adelphius, a native of Mesopotamia, and from him they were called Adelphians. The Messalians were condemned in a Council, held in 387, by Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, and also in another Council, held about the same time by St. Anphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, the Metropolis of Pamphilia (24). They were finally condemned in the first Council of Ephesus, especially in the seventh session, and they were proscribed by the Emperor Theodosius, in the year 428. It was a long time before this heresy was finally extinct in the East, and in 1018, during the reign of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, another heresy sprung out of it, the followers of which were called Bongimilists, which signifies, in the Bulgarian language, the beloved of God. Their founder was Basil, a physician, or monk, who, after practising his errors for fifty-two years, and deluding a great number, was burned alive, with all his followers, by order of the Emperor. This unfortunate man promulgated many blasphemous opinions, principally taken from the Messalians and Manicheans; he said that we should use no prayer, except the "Our Father," and rejected every other prayer but that, which, he said, was the true Eucharist; that we ought to pray to the devil even, that he might not injure us, and that we should never pray in churches, for our Lord says: "When you pray, enter into your

(23) St. Epip. Her. n. 3.

(24) Fleury, t. 3, l. 19, n. 25; Nat. Alex. t. 8, c. 3, ar. 16; Orsi, t. 8, l. 12, n. 78.

chamber ;” he denied the books of Moses, and the existence of the Trinity, and it was not, he said, the Son of God, who became incarnate, but the Archangel Michael. He published many other like opinions, so that there is little doubt but that he lost, not alone the faith, but his senses likewise (25).

82.—About the year 380, the heresy of the Priscillianists first appeared in the East. The founder of this sect was an Egyptian of Memphis, of the name of Mark ; he went to Spain, and his first disciples were, a lady of the name of Agapa, and Elpidius, a rhetorician, invited to join him by the lady. These two next wheedled Priscillian to join them, and from him the sect took its name. Priscillian was both noble and rich; he had a great facility of speech, but was unsettled, vain, and proud of his knowledge of profane literature. By his affable manners he gained a great number of followers, both noble and plebeian, and had a great number of women, especially, adherents, and soon the heresy spread like a plague over great part of Spain, and even some bishops, as Instantius and Salvianus, were infected by it. The foundation of this doctrine was Manicheism, but mixed up with the Gnostic, and other heresies. The soul, they said, was of the substance of God himself, and of its own will came on earth, passing through the seven heavens, to combat the evil principle, which was sown in the body of the flesh. They taught that we depended altogether on the stars, which decided our fate, and that our bodies depended on the signs of the zodiac, the *ram* presiding over the head, the *bull* over the neck, the *twins* over the back, and so on with the remainder of the Twelve Signs. They made merely a verbal profession of the doctrine of the Trinity, but they believed, with Sabellius, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, were one and the same thing, and that there was no real distinction of persons. They did not reject the Old Testament, like the Manicheans, but they explained everything in it allegorically, and they added many apocryphal books to the canonical ones. They abstained from meat, as an unclean thing, and separated married people, notwithstanding the repugnance manifested by those who were not followers of

(25) Graveson, *Hist. Eccl. t. 3, col. 2*; *Nat. Alex. t. 8, c. 4, ar. 5*; Gotti, *Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 88, s. 2*; Van Ranst, *His. sec. xii, p. 195*; Bernini, *t. 2, c. 1*.

their sect, and this they did through hatred of procreation; for the flesh, they said, was not the work of God, but of the devil; but they used to assemble by night for prayer, and the lights being extinguished, indulged in revolting and promiscuous licentiousness; however, they denied all this when caught, and they taught their followers to practise the doctrine contained in the Latin distich: "Jura perjura, secretum prodere noli"—"Swear away, but never tell the secret." They used to fast on every Sunday, and even on Easter Sunday and Christmas-day, and on these days they used to hide themselves, and not appear at Church; their reason for this conduct was their hatred of the flesh, as they believed that Christ was not really born or arose in the flesh, but only in appearance. They used to receive the Eucharist in the church, like other Christians, but they did not consume the species. They were condemned in the Council of Saragossa, by St. Damasus, and in several particular synods. Finally, Priscillian was condemned to death, at the instance of Ithacius, Bishop of Ossobona, in the year 383, by Evodius, appointed Prefect of the Pretorium by the tyrant Maximus (26).

83.—St. Augustin (27) speaks of some heretics who lived about this time, and always went barefooted, and taught that all Christians were bound to do likewise (28).

84.—Audæus, chief of the Audæans, was born in Mesopotamia, and was at first a man of exemplary life, and a strict observer of ecclesiastical discipline, but afterwards separated from the Church, and became founder of a sect. He celebrated Easter after the Jewish rite, and said that man was like to God corporeally; interpreting, in the plainest literal sense, that passage of Genesis, where the Lord says: "Let us make man in our own image and likeness;" and he and his followers were Antropomorphites. Noel Alexander says that the only error of the Audæans was in separating themselves from the Church, but as for the rest, they never deviated from the faith; but Petavius (29), and others, attribute to them the errors of

(26) Nat. Alex. t. 8, c. 3. ar. 17;

Fleury, t. 3, l. 17, n. 56, & l. 18, n.

30; Orsi, t. 8, l. 18, n. 44, & 100.

(27) St. Augus. l. de Her. c. 68.

(28) Nat. Alex. *ibid.*, ar. 20.

(29) App. Roncag. Nota, ad N. Alex.

t. 8, c. 3, ar. 9; Diz. Portat. t. 1,

Ver. Audeo; Berti, t. 1, sec. 4, c. 3.

the Antropomorphites, since they attributed to God, literally, the corporeal members the Scripture mystically speaks of. He also taught some errors concerning the administration of the sacrament of penance, and died in the country of the Goths, in 370 (30).

CHAPTER V.

HERESIES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

THE HERESIES OF ELVIDIUS, JOVINIANUS, AND VIGILANTIUS.

1.—Heresy of Elvidius. 2.—Errors of Jovinian. 3.—Adverse Opinions of Basnage refuted. 4.—Vigilantius and his Errors.

1.—Elvidius was a disciple of the Arian Audentius, who was intruded into the See of Milan by the Emperor Constans, when he banished St. Dionisius. St. Jerome says he was a turbulent character, both as priest and layman; but, notwithstanding this high authority, it is doubtful whether he ever was a priest, because, as Noel Alexander says, he was a poor peasant, who scarcely knew his letters. He began to disseminate his heretical doctrines in the year 382. He said that the Blessed Virgin had other children by St. Joseph, besides our Lord, and he relied on the authority of Tertullian for this blasphemy; but St. Jerome proves that Tertullian never held such doctrine. St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, and especially St. Jerome refuted the errors of Elvidius. He drew three arguments from the Scriptures in support of his heresy: First—That text of St. Matthew: “Before they came together she was found with child of the

Holy Ghost" (Matt., i, 18). He, therefore, argued, as the text says "before they came together," it is a proof that they afterwards did so. Next he adduced the twenty-fifth verse of the same chapter: "And he knew her not until she brought forth her first-born son." Therefore, he argues he knew her after. St. Jerome, in his answer, says: "Should I grieve or smile at this folly." He then asks, in derision: If any one should say that Elvidius was seized on by death before he did penance, is that a proof that he did penance after death? He then brings other texts of Scripture to refute him. Our Lord says to his apostles, "Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 20); does that prove, says St. Jerome, that Jesus Christ will not be with his elect any more after the end of the world? St. Paul says of Christ, "For he must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet" (Cor. xv, 25); so, when our Lord has conquered his enemies, he will reign no longer. In the book of Genesis it is said of the crow that left the ark, "That it did not return till the waters were dried up" (Gen. viii, 7); does it then follow that it returned to the ark when the waters were dried up? Away, then, with arguments of this sort, says St. Jerome (1); the Scripture here tells, not what was done, but what was not done—not what took place, but what did not. The second proof Elvidius adduces is taken from the text already mentioned (Matt. i, 25): "She brought forth her first-born son;" therefore, if he was her *first-born*, she must have had others after. St. Jerome answers this: The Lord commanded, that for every first-born a certain ransom should be paid a month after the birth (Numbers, xviii, 15, 16). Here, then, says St. Jerome, according to Elvidius, one might say: "How can I be obliged to pay a price for my first-born after a month; how can I tell whether I shall ever have a second? I must wait till a second is born to me, and then I can pay for the first-born." But the Scripture says itself, that the first-born is that which first "openeth the womb." The same is declared in Exodus, where it says: "The Lord slew every first-born in the land of Egypt" (Exod. xii, 29). Here there is no doubt, but that the text speaks of only-born as well as first-born. His

(1) St. Hieron. l. 1, Comment. in cap. ii, Matt.

third argument is from the text of St. Luke (viii, 19): "His mother and brethren came to him." Therefore, he had brothers; but St. Jerome proves, from a great many passages in the Scriptures, that first-cousins are also called brothers, and the brothers referred to in that text are St. James and St. John, the children of the other Mary, the sister of the Mother of God.

2.—Jovinian shall now occupy our attention. He was a monk in Milan; and after spending the early years of his life in the austere practices of monastic life—fasting on bread and water, going barefooted, and labouring with his hands—he forsook his monastery, and went to Rome, where, as St. Ambrose (2) informs us, he began to disseminate his errors. After falling into this impiety he abandoned his mortified manner of living—went shod, and clothed in silk and linen garments—nourished and dressed his hair—frequented taverns, and indulged in play, banquets, delicate dishes, and exquisite wines—and still professed all along to be a monk, and led a life of celibacy, to avoid the responsibility of marriage. Preaching a doctrine pleasing to the senses, he soon had many followers of both sexes in Rome, who, having previously led chaste and mortified lives, now abandoned themselves to luxury, and got married. Jovinian was first condemned by Pope Siricius, in a Council, held in Rome, in the year 390, and soon after, in another Council, held by St. Ambrose, in Milan. In the end he was exiled by the Emperor Theodosius, and afterwards by Honorius, to Boas, a maritime town of Dalmatia, and died there in misery, in the year 412 (3). He taught many errors: First, that marriage and virginity were equally meritorious; secondly, that those once baptized can sin no more; thirdly, that those who fast and those who eat have equal merit, if they praise God; fourthly, that all have an equal reward in heaven; fifthly, that all sins are equal; sixthly, that the Blessed Virgin was not a virgin after giving birth to our Lord (4). This last error was followed by Hinckmar, Wickliffe, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Molineus, and Basnage (5), but has been ably refuted by St. Jerome, and condemned in a Synod by St. Ambrose. Petavius says, that all the Fathers unanimously

(2) St. Ambrose, Ep. 41, n. 9.

(3) Nat. Alex. t. 8, c. 3, ar. 19; Orsi, t. 9, l. 20, n. 27; Fleury, t. 3, l. 19.

(4) Nat. Alex. t. 8, ar. 19.

(5) Basnage, ad an. 5, ante Dom. n. 25.

profess the virginity of the Blessed Virgin, as fixed by a decree of the Catholic faith. St. Gregory says, that, as Jesus Christ entered into the house, where the apostles were assembled, with the doors shut, in the same manner, at his nativity, he left the inviolated cloister of Mary. The letter of Theodotus, of Ancira, was approved of by the General Council of Ephesus, in which, speaking of the Blessed Virgin, he says: the birth of Jesus Christ makes her a mother without injury to her virginity. The third canon of the Lateran Council, celebrated in the year 649, under Martin I., says: that he should be condemned, who does not confess that the Mother of God was always a virgin. A similar declaration was made in the Council of Trullus, in 692, and in the eleventh Council of Toledo, in 675 (6). He was also condemned by St. Gregory, of Nyssa, St. Isidore Pelusiot, St. Proclus, St. John Chrysostom, St. John Damascenus, St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, St. Siricius, Pope, (who excommunicated him and his followers, in a synod held in Rome), St. Peter Chrysologus, St. Hilary, St. Prosper, St. Fulgentius, St. Eucherius, St. Paulinus, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Peter Damian, and many others; and any one who wishes to see the opinions expressed by the fathers, has only to look to Petavius's Theology (7). The text of Ezechiel: "This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened" (Ezechiel, xliv, 2), is generally understood to refer to the perpetual virginity of the Mother of God, and St. Leo (8), Pope Hormisdas, Pelagius I., and the Council of Chalcedon, in the discourse addressed to the Emperor Marcion, all understood it thus.

3.—Let us now hear what Basnage, and the heretics who hold the contrary opinion, have to say. Their first argument is founded on that text of Isaias, "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son" (Isaias, vii, 14), which St. Matthew, speaking of the Incarnation of the Divine Word, quotes (Matthew, i, 13). Basnage then argues on this text: The prophet says, that Mary conceived as a virgin; but he does not say, that she brought forth her son as a virgin. But what sort of argument is this? Because the text does not say that she was

(6) Col. Con. *t.* 1, col. *t.* 10, col. 1151.

(8) St. Leo, Epist.

(7) Petav. Theol. Dog. 6, *l.* 14, *c.* 3

a virgin, in the birth of her son, therefore, it is a proof that she did not bring him forth a virgin; whereas, the universal tradition of the Church, as we have seen, explains the text in its true sense, that she conceived a virgin, and brought forth our Lord a virgin. Basnage brings forth another argument, which he deems unanswerable. We read in St. Luke, he says: "After the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they carried him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord: as it is written in the law of the Lord, every male opening the womb, shall be called holy to the Lord" (Luke, ii, 22). Now, says Basnage, (and it is worthy of remark, with what temerity he threw overboard the doctrine of the Fathers, as opposed to Scripture, and the opinion of the learned), the opinion of the perpetual virginity of the Mother of God is generally held, and still it is opposed, both to Scripture and the opinions of the ancients. The narrative of St. Luke is quite plain: "When the days of her purification, &c." Mary was then subjected to the usual law of women, after birth, not alone to avoid scandal, but as a matter of duty; and she was compelled, by the general discipline of the law, to offer a sacrifice for her purification. The days of her purification could not be accomplished if she had no necessity of purification. All his argument, then, is reduced to this, that Mary ought not to fulfil the days of her purification, if there was no necessity of purification; and, for all that, she was obliged (*coacta sit*) to fulfil the rite. This argument he took from Origen (9); but, as the Fathers of St. Maur say, truly, this was a blasphemy uttered by that Father (10); and, justly, for all the Fathers have said with St. Basil (11), this virgin never was obliged to the law of purification; and this is clear, says the Saint, from the Scriptures; for in Leviticus, xii, 2, it is clearly proved, that this law applies to ordinary mothers, but not to one who conceived by the Holy Ghost. "Scriptum est enim," says the holy Father, "mulier quæ conceperit semen, et peperit masculum, immunda erit septem diebus; hæc autem cum facta sit Emmanuelis Mater sine semine, pura, et intemerata est; imo postquam effecta est

(9) Origen, Hom. 14, in Luc.

(11) St. Basil, in *cap.* 7; Isa. n. 201.(10) Patres. S. Maur. apud S. Hieron.
l. 7, *p.* 285.

Matre, adhuc virgo permansit." Even Melancthon, Agricola, and the other Lutherans, as we read in Canisius (12), all say that Mary had no necessity of purification. St. Cyril of Alexandria, the same author states—teaches that to assert the contrary is rank heresy. With all that, Basnage is not convinced, and he quotes a passage of St. Fulgentius, where he says: "Vulvam Matris Omnipotentia Filii nascentis aperuit." But we have another passage, in St. Fulgentius himself, in which he declares that the mother of Christ was the only one who remained immaculate, after giving birth to a son (13). But how are we then to understand "he opened the womb?"—this is to be understood, as St. Gregory of Nyssa explains it (14); "Solus ille haud ante patefactam virginalem aperuit vulvam;" that he preserved the virginity of his holy mother. This is what St. Ambrose likewise says: "Hic (*Christus*) solus aperuit sibi vulvam (15)." And, treating of the Mysteries against Jovinian, he says: "Why do you seek the order of nature, in the body of Christ, when setting aside the order of nature, he was born of a virgin." Basnage lauds St. Jerome as being of his opinion; but the passage he adduces is not to be found in St. Jerome's writings; besides, St. Jerome (16) says, in his Dialogues: "Christ alone opened the closed doors of the virginal womb, which, nevertheless, remained ever and always closed;" so that the very Fathers Basnage quotes in his favour, most expressly condemn the impious error he attempts to defend.

4.—Vigilantius was a native of Comminges, near the foot of the Pyrenees, and of very low origin, having been a tavern-keeper for some time; somehow or other, he found leisure to study, and lead a pious life at the same time, so that he acquired the friendship of St. Paulinus, of Nola, who gave him a letter of recommendation to St. Jerome, and he undertook a journey to the Holy Land. This letter was so far useful to him, that St. Jerome, who knew him to be a man of relaxed morals, did not treat him as his hypocrisy deserved (17). He had the audacity to treat St. Jerome as a heretic, of the sect of Origen, because he saw him reading Origen's work; but the Saint, in the year

(12) Canis. *l.* 4, *c.* 10, de Virg. Deip.

(13) St. Fulgent. *l.* 1, de vere Protest.
n. 5.

(14) St. Greg. Nys. Orat. de Occursu.

(15) St. Ambrose, *l.* 2, in Luc. *n.* 57.

(16) St. Jerome, *l.* 2, Dial. contra
Pelag. *n.* 4.

(17) St. Hier. Epis. 61.

397, wrote to him (18), that he read these works, not to follow all their doctrine; but, to take whatever was good out of them, and he exhorts him either to learn or be silent. Some years after, about the year 404, Riparius, a priest, wrote to St. Jerome, that Vigilantius began to dogmatize, speaking against the Relics of Martyrs and Vigils in churches. St. Jerome gave summary answer, and promised to return again to the subject, and treat it more amply, when he would have read Vigilantius' work (19); and having soon after seen the production, he gave it a short but strong answer, because the monk Sisinius, who brought it to him, was in a hurry to return to Egypt (20). The following are the errors of Vigilantius, refuted by St. Jerome. First.—Like Jovinian, he condemned the practice of celibacy. Second.—He condemned the veneration of the relics of the martyrs; and called those who honoured them *Cinerists* and idolaters. Third.—He said it was a pagan superstition to light candles by day in their honor. Fourth.—He maintained, that the faithful after death could no longer pray for one another, and he founded this opinion on the apocryphal book of Esdras. Fifth.—He condemned public Vigils in the churches. Sixth.—He reprobated the custom of sending alms to Jerusalem. Seventh.—He totally condemned monastic life, and said, that it was only making ourselves useless to our neighbours, if we embraced it. This sect was not condemned by any council, it had but few followers, and soon became extinct (21).

(18) St. Hier. Epis. 75.

(19) Idem. Epis. ad Ripar. 55.

(20) St. Hier. *l. con. Vigilant. c. 2.*

(21) Fleury, *t. 3, l. 22, n. 5*; Orsi, *t. 10, l. 25, n. 62*; Nat. Alex. *t. 10 c. 3, art 1*; Dict. Portatif. 4, ver Vigilant.

ARTICLE II.

ON THE HERESY OF PELAGIUS.

5.—Origin of the Heresy of Pelagius. 6.—His Errors and Subterfuges. 7.—Celestius and his Condemnation. 8.—Perversity of Pelagius. 9.—Council of Diospolis. 10 & 11.—He is Condemned by St. Innocent Pope. 12.—Again Condemned by Sozymus. 13.—Julian, a follower of Pelagius. 14.—Semi-Pelagians. 15.—Predestination. 16 & 17.—Godeschalvus.

5.—Pelagius was born in Great Britain, and his parents were so poor, that in his youth, he scarcely received any instruction in letters; he became a monk, but nothing more than a mere lay monk, and that was all the dignity he ever arrived at. He lived a long time in Rome, and was respected for his virtues, by very many persons; he was loved by St. Paulinus (1); and, esteemed by St. Augustin. He was also looked on as a learned man, as he composed some useful works (2), to wit, three books on the Trinity, and a collection of passages of the Scripture on Christian Morality. He, unhappily, however, fell into heresy, while he sojourned at Rome, in regard to grace; and he took his doctrines from a Syrian priest, called Rufinus, (not Rufinus of Aquilea, who disputed with St. Jerome). This error was already spread through the East (3); for Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, had already taught the same errors as Pelagius; and deduced them from the same sources, the principles of Origen (4). This Rufinus, then coming to Rome, about the year 400, in the reign of Pope Anastasius, was the first introducer there of that heresy; but, as he was a cautious man, he did not publicly promulgate it himself, not to bring himself into trouble, but availed himself of Pelagius, who, about the year 405, began to dispute against the Grace of Jesus Christ. One day, in particular, a bishop having quoted the words of St. Augustin, in his Confessions: "Lord, grant us what thou orderest, and

(1) St. Aug. de Gestis Pelagian, c. 22.

(2) Gennad de Scriptur. c. 42.

(3) Orsi, *t.* 11, *l.* 25, *n.* 42; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 23, Nos. 1 and 2.

(4) Orsi, *ibid.*

order what thou wishest :” Pelagius could not contain himself, and inveighed against the author. He concealed his errors for a time, however, and only communicated them to his disciples, to see how they would be received, and to approve or reject them afterwards, as suited his convenience (5). He afterwards became himself the disseminator of his heresy. We shall now review his errors.

6.—The errors of Pelagius were the following: First—That Adam and Eve were created mortal, and that their sin only hurt themselves, and not their posterity. Second—Infants are now born in the same state that Adam was before his fall. Third—Children dying without baptism, do not indeed go to heaven, but they possess eternal life. Such, St. Augustin testifies, were the errors of Pelagius (6). The principal error of Pelagius and his followers, was, concerning Grace and Free-Will, for he asserted, that man, by the natural force of his free-will, could fulfil all the Divine precepts, conquer all temptations and passions, and arrive at perfection without the assistance of grace (7). When he first began to disseminate this pernicious error, which saps the whole system of our Faith, St. Augustin says, that the Catholics were horrified, and loudly exclaimed against him, so he and his disciples searched every way, for a loop-hole to escape from the consequences, and to mitigate the horror excited by so dreadful a blasphemy. The first subterfuge was this: Pelagius said, that he did not deny the necessity of Grace, but that Grace was Free-Will itself, granted gratuitously by God, to man, without any merit on their part. These are his words, quoted by St. Augustin (8): “Free-Will is sufficient that I may be just, I say not without Grace;” but the Catholics said, that it was necessary to distinguish between Grace and Free-Will. To this Pelagius answered (and here is the second subterfuge), that by the name of Grace is understood the law or doctrine by which the Lord gave us the Grace to teach us how we are to live. “They say,” St. Augustin writes (9), “God created man with Free-Will, and, giving him precepts, teaches him how he should live, and in that

(5) Fleury, *ibid.* n. 1, ex Mercat.

(6) St. Aug. de Gertis Pelagian, c. 35 & 35.

(7) Nat. Alex. t. 10, c. 3. art., 3; St. Flucry, l. e, n. 48; Tournelly,

Comp. Theolog. t. 5, pt. 1, Disp. 1, a. 3.

(8) St. August. Serm. 26. al. 11, de Verb. apost.

(9) Idem, l. de Spir. & littas. c. 2.

assists him, inasmuch, as by teaching him, he removes ignorance.' But the Catholics answered, that if Grace consisted in the Law alone given to man, the Passion of Jesus Christ would be useless. The Pelagians answered, that the Grace of Christ consisted in giving us the good example of his life, that we might imitate him; (and this was the third subterfuge,) and as Adam injured us by bad example, so our Saviour assisted us by his good example. Christ affords a help to us, not to sin, since he left us an example by living holily (10); but this example given by Christ, St. Augustin answers, was not distinct from his doctrine, for our Lord taught both by precept and example. The Pelagians seeing that their position regarding these three points was untenable, added a fourth subterfuge, that was, the fourth species of grace—the grace of the remission of sins. They say, says St. Augustin (11), that the Grace of God is only valuable for the remission of sins, and not for avoiding future ones: and they say, therefore, the coming of Jesus Christ is not without its utility, since the grace of pardon is of value for the remission of past sins, and the example of Christ for avoiding future ones. The fifth subterfuge of the Pelagians was this: They admitted, as St. Augustin (12) tells us, the internal grace of illustration; but we should admit, with the holy doctor, that they admitted this illustration, solely *ex parte objecti*, that is, the internal grace to know the value of good and the deformity of bad works, but not *ex parte intellectus*, so that this grace would give a man strength to embrace the good and avoid the evil. We now come to the sixth and last shift: He finally admitted internal grace, not only on the part of the object, but on the part of human ability, strengthened by grace to do well; but he did not admit it as necessary according to our belief, but only as useful to accomplish more easily what is good, as St. Augustin explains it (13). Pelagius asserts, that Grace is given to us, that what is commanded to us by God, should be more easily accomplished; but Faith teaches us that Grace is not only useful, but absolutely necessary to do good and avoid evil.

(10) Apud. St. Augus. *l. de Gratia Christi. c. 2.*

(11) St. Augus. *de Gratia Christi. s. lib. arb. c. 13.*

(12) Idem lib. *de Gratia, cap. 7 & 10.*

(13) St. Augus. *de Gratia Christi. c. 26.*

7.—The Pelagian heresy was very widely extended in a little time. His chief disciple was Celestius, a man of noble family, and a eunuch from his birth. He practised as a lawyer for a time, and then went into a monastery; he then became a disciple of Pelagius, and began to deny Original Sin. Pelagius was reserved, but Celestius was free-spoken and ardent. They both left Rome a little before it was taken by the Goths, in 409. They went together, it is believed, first to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa, where Celestius thought to get himself ordained priest, in Carthage; but when the heresy he was teaching was discovered, he was condemned, and excommunicated by the Bishop Aurelius, and a Council summoned by him, in Carthage; he appealed from the Council to the Apostolic See, but, instead of going to Rome, to prosecute his appeal, he went to Ephesus, where he was raised to the priesthood without sufficient caution; but when his heresy became manifest, he was banished from the city, with all his followers (14). Notwithstanding all this, after the lapse of five years, he went to Rome to prosecute the appeal, but he was then condemned again, as we shall now see.

8.—Pelagius, instead of repenting after the condemnation of Celestius, only became more obstinate in his errors, and began to teach them more openly. About this time the noble virgin, Demetriades, of the ancient Roman family of the Anicii, put into execution a glorious resolution she had made. She had taken refuge in Africa when the Goths desolated Rome, and when her parents were about to marry her to a nobleman, she forsook the world, and, clothing herself in mean garments, as St. Jerome (15) tells us, consecrated her virginity to Christ. St. Jerome, St. Augustin, and even the Pope, St. Innocent, congratulated this devout lady on the good choice she made. Pelagius also wrote a letter to her, in which, while he praises her, he endeavours to insinuate his poison. He used these words: *In hic merito cæteris præferenda es, quæ nisi ex te, et in te esse non possunt* (16). St. Augustin at once recognised the poison disseminated in this letter, and, explaining the words, *Nisi ex te et in te*, he says, as far as the second expression, *Nisi*

(14) Orsi, *t.* 11, *l.* 25, *n.* 44; Fleury,
l. 3, *n.* 3.

(15) St. Hier. Ep. 8, ad Demetr.

(16) Apud, St. August. Ep. 143.

in te (17), it is very well said; but all the poison is in the first part, he says, *Nisi ex te*, for the error of Pelagius is, that all that man does of good he does altogether *of himself*, without the assistance of grace. At the same time, when St. Jerome got cognizance of this letter of Pelagius, he also wrote to the lady (18), cautioning her against his doctrine, and from that out began to combat his heresy in several books, and especially in that of "The Dialogue of Atticus and Critobulus." St. Augustin, likewise, never ceased for ten years to combat the errors of Pelagius; and his books, "De Natura et Gratia," "De Gratia Christi," "De Peccato Originali," &c., prove how successfully he refuted them.

9.—When Pelagius saw that he was not cordially received in Africa, he went to Palestine, where John, Bishop of Jerusalem, received him; and, in a Council held with his clergy, instead of condemning him, as he ought, he only imposed silence on both parties (19). In the year 415, a council of fourteen bishops was held in Diospolis, a city of Palestine; and here Pelagius, as Cardinal Baronius (20) tells us, induced the bishops to agree to the following propositions, all Catholic, indeed, and opposed to the errors promulgated by him and Celestius: First—Adam would not have died had he not sinned. Second—The sin of Adam is transfused into the whole human race. Third—Infants are not such as Adam was previous to his fault. Fourth—As in Adam all die, according to the Apostle, so in Christ all will be vivified. Fifth—Unbaptized infants cannot obtain eternal life. Sixth—God gives us assistance to do good, according to St. Paul (I. Tim. vi, 17). Seventh—It is God that gives us grace to do every good work, and this grace is not given to us according to our merits. Eighth—Grace comes to us, given gratuitously by God, according to his mercy. Ninth—The children of God are those who daily say, "forgive us our sins," which we could not say if we were entirely without sin. Tenth—Free-will exists, but it must be assisted by Divine help. Eleventh—The victory over temptations does not come from our own will, but from the grace of God. Twelfth—The pardon of sins is not given

(17) St. Aug. *ibid.*

(18) St. Hier. Ep. 8, ad Demetr.

(19) Orsi, *t.* 25, *n.* 111; Fleury, *l.* 23, *n.* 18, & seq.

(20) Baron. *Ann. a.* 415, *n.* 23.

according to the merits of those who ask it, but according to the Divine Mercy. Pelagius confessed all these truths, and the council of bishops, deceived by his hypocrisy, admitted him to the communion of the Church (21); but in this they acted imprudently, for, although his errors were condemned, he was personally justified, which gave him a far greater facility of disseminating his errors afterwards, and, on this account, St. Jerome, speaking of this Synod, calls it a miserable one (22), and St. Innocent the Pope refused to admit him to his communion, although he was informed of the retractation of his errors in that Synod, for he truly suspected that his confession was only feigned. The subsequent conduct of Pelagius proved the penetration of the holy Pontiff, for, as soon as he was freed from the obedience of those bishops, he returned to his vomit, and rejected the truths he had then professed, and especially on the point of grace, as St. Augustin remarks (23) he said, that Divine grace was necessary to do what was right more easily, but the good depended directly on our free will, and this grace he called the *grace of possibility*. St. Augustin (24), writing against this false novelty, indites this great sentence: "God, by co-operating in us, perfects that which he began by operating; for we are worth nothing for any pious work without him operating, that we may wish it, or co-operating, when we do wish it." Pelagius, hoping that the proceedings of the Council of Diospolis would be buried in darkness, wrote four books afterwards against the "Dialogue" of St. Jerome, and entitled his work "De Libero Arbitrio" (25).

10.—The affairs of Pelagius did not take such a favourable turn in Africa as they did in Palestine, for in the following year, 416, the Bishop Aurelius summoned another Council in Carthage, in which both he and Celestius were again condemned; and it was decided to send a Synodal letter to the Pope, St. Innocent, that he might confirm the decree of the Council by Pontifical authority (26); and, about the same time, another Council of sixty-one Numidian Bishops was held in Milevis, and a letter

(21) Fleury, *l.* 23, *n.* 20.

(22) St. Hier. Ep. 79.

(23) St. Aug. de Her. c. 88.

(24) St. Aug. de Grat. & lib. arb. c.

17.

(25) Orsi, *l.* 25, *n.* 117, ex St. Aug. *l.* de Gest. Pel. c. 33.

(26) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *ar.* 4, *s.* 4; Fleury, *ibid.* *n.* 20; Orsi, *t.* 11, *l.* 25, *n.* 121

was likewise written to the Pope, calling on him to condemn the heresy (27). Pope Innocent answered both Synodal letters in 417; confirmed the Christian doctrine held by the councils concerning grace (28); and condemned Pelagius and Celestius, with all their adherents, and declared them separated from the communion of the Church. He answered, at the same time, and in the same strain, the letters of five other bishops, who had written to him on the same subject; and, among other remarks, says, that he found nothing in Pelagius's book which pleased him, and scarcely anything which did not displease him, and which was not deserving of universal reprobation (29). It was then that St. Augustin, as he himself mentions (30), when Pope Innocent's answer arrived, said: "Two Councils have referred this matter to the Apostolic See. Rescripts have been sent in answer; the cause is decided."

11.—We should remark that St. Prosper (31) writes, that St. Innocent the Pope was the first to condemn the heresy of Pelagius:

Pestem subeuntem prima recidit
Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundi, quidquid non possidet armis,
Religione tenet.

But how can St. Prosper say that St. Innocent was the first to condemn this heresy, when it was already condemned in 412 by the first Council of Carthage, and by the second, in 416, and by the Council of Milevis? Graveson (32) answers, that these Councils considered it their duty to refer the condemnation of Celestius and Pelagius to the Apostolic See, and, on that account, St. Prosper writes, that the first condemnation proceeded from the Pope. Garner (33) says that the Pelagian heresy was condemned by twenty-four Councils, and, finally, by the General Council of Ephesus, in 431 (34), for up to that time the Pelagians had not ceased to disturb the Church.

(27) Nat. Alex. *ibid.*, s. 5; Fleury, *loc. cit.*; Orsi, n. 122.

(28) St. Innoc. Ep. 181, n. 8 & 9, & Ep. 182, n. 6.

(29) Fleury, t. 4, l. 23, n. 34; Orsi, t. 11, l. 25, n. 129.

(30) St. Aug. Sermon. 131, n. 10.

(31) St. Prosp. In Carm. de Ingratis.

(32) Graveson, t. 3, col. 2.

(33) Garner. ap. Danes Temp. not. p. 240.

(34) Act. 5 & 7, *can.* 1 & 4, ap. Danes *ibid.*, p. 241, & vide Fleury, l. 25, n. 53.

12.—When Pelagius and Celestius heard of the sentence pronounced against them by St. Innocent, they wrote him a letter filled with lies and equivocations, appealing to his supreme tribunal from the sentence passed on them by the bishops of Africa; and, as St. Innocent had died, and St. Zozyms was elected in his place, Celestius went to Rome himself, to endeavour to gain his favour. St. Zozyms was, at first, doubtful how he ought to act in the matter; but the African bishops suggested to him that he ought not to interfere with a sentence passed by his predecessor, and when the holy Pontiff was better informed of the deceits of Pelagius and Celestius, and especially of the flight of the latter from Rome, when he heard that the Pope was about to examine the cause more narrowly, he was convinced of their bad faith, and condemned their doctrine (35).

13.—The author of the *Portable Dictionary* (36), writes that Pelagius, after his condemnation by Pope Zozyms, and the proclamation subsequent, issued against him by the Emperor Honorius from Rome, went to his beloved Palestine, where he was before so well received; but as his impiety and hypocrisy were now well known, he was driven out of that province. We do not know afterwards what became of him, but it is probable that he returned to England to disseminate his doctrines, and that it was this which induced the bishops of Gaul to send St. Germain de Auxerre there to refute him. The Pelagian heresy was finally extinguished in a short time, and no one was bold enough openly to declare himself its protector, with the exception of Julian, son and successor to Memorius, in the See of Capua. He was a man of talent, but of no steadiness, and the great liveliness of his understanding served to ruin him, by inducing him to declare himself an avowed professor of the heresy of Pelagius. His name is celebrated on account of his famous disputes with St. Augustin, who at first was his friend, but afterwards, in defence of religion, was obliged to declare himself his adversary, and pursued him as a heretic. He was afterwards banished out of Italy, and went to the East, and after wandering in poverty

(35) Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 124; Orsi, *l.* 26, *n.* 16 & 17.

(36) Diz. Port. verb. Pelagio.

for a long time through various regions, he at last was obliged to support himself by teaching school. It is said he died in Sicily in the reign of the Emperor Valentinian (37). The refutation of the Pelagian heresy will be found in the last volume of this work.

14.—Several years had rolled by since St. Augustin had successfully combatted the Pelagian heresy, when, in the very bosom of the Church, a sort of conspiracy was formed against the Saint, including many persons remarkable for their learning and piety; this happened about the year 428, and they were called Semi-Pelagians. The chief of this party was John Cassianus, who was born, as Genadius informs us, in the Lesser Scythia, and spent part of his time in the monastery of Bethlehem. From that he came first to Rome, and then to Marseilles, where he founded two monasteries, one of men and one of women, and took the government of them according to the rules he had practised, or seen observed, in the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt; these rules he wrote in the first four books of twelve he published under the title of Monastic Instructions. What is more to the purpose we treat of, he endeavoured to bring into notice and establish his erroneous sentiments on the necessity of Grace, in his thirteenth Collation or Conference; and to give more weight to his errors, he puts them into the mouth of Cheremon, one of the solitaries of Panefisum, a place in Egypt, who, he said, was well instructed in all the disputes about Grace, but which, as Orsi says (38), were never spoken of at all when Cassianus was in Egypt; nor could any one, in any human probability, ever imagine that such a dispute would be raised in the Church. Nevertheless, he, as it were, constituted that holy monk as a sort of judge between Pelagius and St. Augustin, and puts into his mouth a condemnation, more or less of both, as if St. Augustin had erred in attributing too much to Grace, by attributing to it even the first movements of the will to do what is right, and that Pelagius erred in attributing too much to Free-Will, by denying the necessity of Grace to carry out good works. Cassianus thought, in the meanwhile, that he had found out a means of reconciling both parties, Catholics and heretics; but it

(37) Hermant, *t. 1, c. 124.*

(38) Orsi, *t. 12, l. 17, n. 59.*

was only by combatting one error by another, and his erroneous doctrine was followed by many persons of the greatest piety in Gaul, and especially in Marseilles, who willingly imbibed the poison, because mixed with many Catholic truths in his works. The Semi-Pelagians then admitted the necessity of Grace, but they were guilty of a most pernicious error, in saying, that the beginning of salvation often comes to us from ourselves without it. They added other errors to this, by saying that perseverance and election to glory could be acquired by our own natural strength and merits. They said, likewise, that some children die before baptism, and others after, on account of the foreknowledge God possesses of the good or evil they would do if they lived (39).

15.—Cassianus died in 433, and was considered a Saint (40); but the Semi-Pelagians were condemned in the year 432, at the request of St. Prosper, and St. Hilary, by Pope Celestine I., in a letter written by him to the Bishops of Italy. They were also condemned in 529, by Pope Felix IV., in the Synod of Oranges, and, immediately after, in the Synod of Valence; and both these Councils, as Noel Alexander testifies (41), were confirmed by Pope Boniface II. At the end of the work will be found the refutation of this heresy.

16.—In the year 417, according to Prosper of Tyre, or in the year 415, according to Sigisbert, arose the heresy of the Predestinarians (42); these said that good works were of no use to those, for salvation, whom God foreknows will be lost; and that if the wicked are predestined to glory, their sins are of no harm to them. Sigisbert's words are (43): "Asserebunt nec pie viventibus prodesse bonorum operum laborem, si a Deo ad damnationem præciti essent: nec impiis obesse, etiamsi improbe viverent." Noel Alexander says that a certain priest of the name of Lucidus (44), having fallen into the errors of the Predestinarians, and his opinions becoming notorious, he was obliged to retract them by Faustus de Ries, on the authority of a Council held at Arles, in 475; he obeyed, and signed a

(39) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *a.* 7 & 8;
Orsi, loc. cit. *n.* 60 & 61.; Fleury,
t. 4, *l.* 24, *n.* 56 & seq.

(40) Nat. *l.* cit. *ar.* 7, *s.* 4.

(41) Nat. Al. *l.* cit. *ar.* 10, in fin.

(42) Nat. Al. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *ar.* 5.

(43) Sigisbert in Cron. an. 415.

(44) Nat. loco. cit.

retractation of the following errors: First—The labour of human obedience is not to be joined to Divine Grace. Second—He should be condemned who says, that after the fall of the first man, the freedom of the will is entirely extinct. Third—Or who says that Christ did not die for all men. Fourth—Or who says that the foreknowledge of God violently drives men to death, or that those who perish, perish by the will of God. Fifth—Or who says that whoever sins, dies in Adam, after lawfully receiving baptism. Sixth—Or who says that some are deputed to death eternal, and others predestined to life. This heresy, or these errors were condemned in the Council of Lyons, in the year 475. It is a question among the learned, whether the Predestinarians ever existed as a heretical body. Cardinal Orsi and Berti (45), with Contenson, Cabassutius and Jansenius deny it; but Tournelly (46), with Baronius, Spondanus, and Sirmond, held the contrary opinion, and Graveson quotes Cardinal Norris (47) in their favour, and Noel Alexander thinks his opinion probable (48).

17.—In the ninth century, Godeschalcus, a German Benedictine monk lived, who is generally considered a real Predestinarian. He was a man of a turbulent and troublesome disposition. He went to Rome through a motive of piety, without leave of his superiors, and usurping the office of a preacher without lawful mission, disseminated his maxims in several places, on which account he was condemned in a Synod, held on his account, in Mayence, in 848, by the Archbishop Rabanus, and sent to Hinemar, Archbishop of Rheims, his superior. Hinemar, in another, held in Quiercy, again condemned him, deprived him of the sacerdotal dignity, and after obliging him to throw his writings into the fire with his own hand, shut him up in close confinement in the monastery of Haut Villiers, in the diocese of Rheims. Two Councils were held in Quiercy on this affair, one in 849, in which Godeschalcus was condemned, and the other in the year 853, in which four canons were established against his doctrine, and which we shall hereafter quote. Finally, Hinemar being at Haut Villiers, the monks of the monastery told him

(45) Orsi, *t. 15, l. 35, n. 83*; Berti
Hist. t. 1, s. 5, c. 4.
 (46) Tour. *t. 4, p. 1, D. 3, concl. 3.*

(47) Graves, *Hist. t. 3, coll. 2, p. 19.*
 (48) Nat. Alex. *t. 10, c. 3, a. 2, p. 144,*
 and Dis. Prop. *p. 461.*

that Godeschaleus was near his end, and anxious for his eternal welfare, he sent him a formula of Faith to sign, that he might receive Absolution and the Viaticum, but he rejected it with disdain. Hincmar could then do no more, but after his departure, he wrote to the monks, telling them, that in case of the conversion of Godeschaleus, they should treat him as he had given them verbal directions to do; but if he persevered in his errors, that they should not give him the Sacraments, or Ecclesiastical burial. He died unchanged, and without sacraments, and he was deprived of Christian burial (49).

18.—His errors, Van Ranst informs us, were these following: First—as God has predestined some to eternal life, so he predestines others to everlasting death, and forces man to perish. Second—God does not wish the salvation of all men, but only of those who are saved. Third—Christ died for the salvation of the elect alone, and not for the redemption of all men. These three propositions of Godeschaleus are also contained in a letter written by Hincmar to Nicholas I. “He says,” writes Hincmar, “that the old Predestinarians said, that as God predestined some to eternal life, so he predestined others to everlasting death” (50); and Rabanus, in his Synodical letter to Hincmar, says: “He (Godeschaleus) taught that there are some in this world, who on account of the predestination of God, who forces them to go to death, cannot correct themselves from sin; as if God, from the beginning, made them incorrigible and deserving of punishment to go to destruction. Second—He says that God does not wish all men to be saved, but only those who are saved. Third—He says that our Lord Jesus Christ was not crucified and died for the salvation of all, but only for those who are saved” (51). The four canons established in the Council of Quiercy against Godeschaleus, as Cardinal Gotti (52) writes, were these following: First—There is only one predestination by God, that is to eternal life. Second—The free will of man is healed by means of Grace. Third—God wishes all men to be saved. Fourth—Jesus Christ has suffered for all.

(49) Fleury, *t. 7, l. 41, n. 41 & 49, & l. 50, n. 48*; Van Ranst, *s. 9, p. 153*.

(50) Tournelly, *Theol. Comp. t. 5, p. 1, Disp. 4, ar. 3*.

(51) Tourn. loc. cit.

(52) Gotti, *t. 2, Vict. adv. Her. c. 84, s. 2*.

19.—As to the judgment we should pass on the faith of Godeschalcus, some modern writers, as Christian Lupus, Berti, Contenson, and Roncaglia (53), defend it, by thus explaining his three propositions: As to the first, the predestination to death; they say that it can be understood of the predestination to punishment, which God makes after the prevision of sin. As to the second, that God does not wish the salvation of all; it can be understood of his not wishing it efficaciously. And, as to the third, that Jesus Christ had not died for the salvation of all; it can, likewise, be understood, that he did not die efficaciously. But on the other hand, as Tournelly writes, all Catholic doctors previous to Jansenius (with the exception of some few, as Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, in France; Pandal, Bishop of Lyons; and Loup, Abbot of Ferrieres), condemned them as heretical, and, with very good reason; many modern authors, of the greatest weight, as Sirmond, Cardinal de Norris, Mabillon, Tournelly, and Noel Alexander, are of the same opinion (54). As far as our judgment on the matter goes, we say, that if Godeschalcus intended to express himself, as his defenders have afterwards explained his words, he was not a heretic; but, at all events, he was culpable in not explaining himself more clearly; but, as Van Ranst very well remarks, his propositions, as they are laid before us, and taking them in their plain obvious sense, are marked with heresy. As he did not explain himself according as his friends do who defend him, and he showed so much obstinacy in refusing to accommodate himself to his superiors, and as he died so unhappily, as we have already related, we may reasonably doubt of his good faith, and have fears for his eternal salvation.

(53) Lupus Not. ad conc. 1 Rom.; Berti, Theol. l. 6, c. 14, prop. 3, & Hist. s. 9, c. 4; Contens. Theol. l. 8; De Prædest. app. 1, s. 3; Roncaglia, Animad. ap. N. Alex. t. 13, diss. 5.

(54) Sirmund. Tract. de Præd. Har. Card. de Noris, l. 2; Hist. Pelag. c. 15; Mabillon, ad sec. IV. Bened. Tournelly, Theol. t. 5, loc. cit. p. 142; Gotti, loc. sopra cit. c. 84, s. 2; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. t. 13, diss. 5.

ARTICLE III.

THE NESTORIAN HERESY.

20.—Errors of Nestorius, and his elevation to the Episcopacy. 21.—He approves of the Errors preached by his Priest, Anastasius; his Cruelty. 22.—He is contradicted, and other acts of Cruelty. 23.—St. Cyril's Letter to him, and his Answer. 24.—The Catholics separate from him. 25.—Letters to St. Celestine, and his Answer. 26.—He is admonished; Anathemas of St. Cyril. 27.—The Sentence of the Pope is intimated to him. 28.—He is cited to the Council. 29.—He is condemned. 30.—The Sentence of the Council is intimated to him. 31.—Cabal of John of Antioch. 32.—Confirmation of the Council by the Legates, in the name of the Pope. 33.—The Pelagians are condemned. 34.—Disagreeable Affair with the Emperor Theodosius. 35.—Theodosius approves of the condemnation of Nestorius, and sends him into Banishment, where he dies. 36.—Laws against the Nestorians. 37.—Efforts of the Nestorians. 38.—The same subject continued. 39.—It is condemned as heretical to assert that Jesus Christ is the adopted Son of God. 40—43.—Answer to Basnage, who has unjustly undertaken the Defence of Nestorius.

20.—The heresy of Pelagius was scarcely condemned by the African Councils, when the Church had to assemble again to oppose the heresy of Nestorius, who had the temerity to impugn the maternity of the Mother of God, calling her the Mother, not of God, but of Christ, who, he blasphemously taught, was a mere man, as, with a similar impiety, Ebion, Paul of Samosata, and Photinus, had done before, by asserting that the Word was not hypostatically united with Christ, but only extrinsically, so that God dwelled in Christ, as in his temple. Nestorius was born in Germanicia, a small city of Syria, and, as Suidas, quoted by Baronius, informs us, was a nephew to Paul of Samosata, and was brought up in the monastery of St. Euprepus, in the suburbs of Antioch (1). He was ordained priest by Theodotus (2), and appointed his catechist, to explain the faith to the

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *a.* 12, *s.* 1; Baron. Ann. 428, *n.* 1, & seq.; Orsi, *t.* 12, *l.* 28, *cx n.* 1, & Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 24, *n.* 54.

(2) Evagr. Hist. *l.* 1, *c.* 5.

catechumens, and defend it against heretics; and, in fact, he was most zealous in combating the heretics who then disturbed the Eastern Church—the Arians, the Apollinarists, and the Origenists—and professed himself a great admirer and imitator of St. John Chrysostom. He was so distinguished for his eloquence, though it was only of a vain and popularity-hunting sort, and his apparent piety, for he was worn, pale, and always poorly clad, that he was placed in the See of Constantinople, in place of Sissinnius, in the year 427, according to N. Alexander, or 428, according to Hermant and Cardinal Orsi. His elevation, however, was not only legitimate, but highly creditable to him, for after the death of the Patriarch Sisinnius, the Church of Constantinople was split into factions about who should succeed him, which induced the Emperor Theodosius the Younger to put an end to it all, by selecting a Bishop himself; and, that no one should complain of his choice, he summoned Nestorius from Antioch, and had him consecrated Bishop, and his choice was highly pleasing to the people (3). It is said, also, that, at the first sermon he preached (4), he turned round to the Emperor, and thus addressed him: “Give me, my Lord, the earth purged from heretics, and I will give you heaven; exterminate the heretics with me, and I will exterminate the Persians with you.”

21.—Theodosius hoped that his new Patriarch would in all things follow in the steps of his predecessor, Chrysostom; but he was deceived in his hopes. His virtue was altogether Pharaasaical, for, under an exterior of mortification, he concealed a great fund of pride. In the beginning of his reign, it is true, he was a most ardent persecutor of the Arians, the Novatians, and the Quartodecimans; but, as St. Vincent of Lerins tells us, his chief aim in this was only to prepare the way for teaching his own errors (5). “He declared war against all heresies, to make way for his own.” He brought a priest from Antioch with him, of the name of Anastasius, and he, at the instigation of the Bishop, preached one day the blasphemous doctrine that no one should call Mary the Mother of God, because she was

(3) Orsi, *t.* 12, *l.* 28, *n.* 1.

(4) Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 24, *n.* 54; Nat.

loc. cit.

(5) Apud. Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *art.*

12.

only a creature, and it was impossible that a human creature could be the Mother of God. The people ran to Nestorius, to call on him to punish the temerity of the preacher; but he not only approved of what was said, but unblushingly went into the pulpit himself, and publicly defended the doctrine preached by Anastasius. In that sermon, called afterwards by St. Cyril (6), the Compendium of all Blasphemy, he called those Catholics blind and ignorant, who were scandalized by Anastasius preaching, that the Holy Virgin should not be called the Mother of God. The people were most anxiously waiting to hear what the Bishop would say in the pulpit, when, to their astonishment, he cried out: "How can God have a mother? The Gentiles then ought to be excused, who bring forward on the stage the mothers of their Gods; and the Apostle is a liar, when, speaking of the Divinity of Christ, he says that he is without father, without mother, without generation: no, Mary has not brought forth a God. What is born of the flesh is nothing but flesh; what is born of the spirit is spiritual. The creature does not bring forth the Creator, but only a man, the instrument of the Divinity."

22.—It has always been the plan with heretics, to sustain this error, by accusing the Catholics of heresy. Arius called the Catholics Sabellians, because they professed that the Son was God, like unto the Father. Pelagius called them Manicheans, because they insisted on the necessity of Grace. Eutyches called them Nestorians, because they believed that there were two distinct natures in Christ—the Divine and the human nature; and so, in like manner, Nestorius called them Arians and Apollinarists, because they confessed in Christ one Person, true God and true man. When Nestorius thus continued to preach, not alone once, but frequently, and when the whole burthen of his sermons was nothing but a blasphemous attack on the doctrine of the Church, the people of Constantinople became so excited, that, beholding their shepherd turned into a wolf, they threatened to tear him in pieces, and throw him into the sea. He was not, however, without partisans, and although these were but very few, they had, for all that, the support of the Court and the Ma-

(6) Orsi, loc. cit. n. 8; Sern. 1, ap. More.

gistracy, and the contests even in the church became so violent, that there was frequently danger of blood being spilled there (7). Withal, there was one person who, while Nestorius was publicly preaching one day in the church (8), and denying the two generations of the Word, the Eternal and the Temporal, boldly stood forward, and said to his face: "It is so, nevertheless; it is the same Word, who, before all ages was born of the Father, and was afterwards born anew of a virgin, according to the flesh." Nestorius was irritated at the interruption, and called the speaker a miserable ribald wretch; but as he could not take vengeance as he wished on him, for, though but then a layman (he was afterwards made Bishop of Dorileum, and was a most strenuous opponent of Eutyches, as we shall see in the next chapter), he was an advocate of great learning, and one of the agents for the affairs of his Sovereign, he discharged all the venom of his rage on some good Archimandrites of monks, who came to enquire of him whether what was said of his teaching was true—that he preached that Mary brought forth only a man—that nothing could be born of the flesh but flesh alone—and suggested to him that such doctrine was opposed to Faith. Nestorius, without giving them any reply, had them confined in the ecclesiastical prison, and his myrmidons, after stripping them of their habits, and kicking and beating them, tied them to a post, and lacerated their backs with the greatest cruelty, and then, stretching them on the ground, beat them on the belly.

23.—The sermons of Nestorius were scattered through all the provinces of the East and West, and through the monasteries of Egypt, likewise, where they excited great disputes. St. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, hearing of this, and fearing lest the heresy should take root, wrote a letter to all the monks of Egypt (9), in which he instructs them not to intermeddle in such questions at all, and, at the same time, gives them excellent instructions in the true Faith. This letter was taken to Constantinople, and St. Cyril was thanked by several of the magistrates; but Nestorius was highly indignant, and got a person named Photius to answer it, and sought every means to be revenged on St. Cyril. When

(7) Orsi, *l.* 28, *n.* 9.

(8) Orsi, *n.* 10; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 25, *n.* 6.

(9) St. Cyril, Ep. ad Mon. *n.* 3, apud.; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 25, *n.* 3; Orsi, *l.* 28, *n.* 14.

this came to the knowledge of the Saint, he wrote to Nestorius (10): "This disturbance," he says, "did not commence on account of my letter, but on account of writings scattered abroad (whether they are yours or not is another thing), and which have been the cause of so many disorders, that I was obliged to provide a remedy. You have, therefore, no reason to complain of me. You, rather, who have occasioned this disturbance, amend your discourses, and put an end to this universal scandal, and call the Holy Virgin the Mother of God. Be assured, in the meantime, that I am prepared to suffer every thing, even imprisonment and death, for the Faith of Jesus Christ." Nestorius answered, but his reply was only a threatening tirade (11): "Experience," said he, "will shew what fruit this will produce; for my part, I am full of patience and charity, though you have not practised either towards me, not to speak more harshly to you." This letter proved to St. Cyril, that nothing more was to be expected from Nestorius, and what followed proved the truth of his conjecture.

24.—There was a Bishop of the name of Dorotheus in Constantinople, who was such a sycophant to Nestorius, that while the Patriarch was one day in full assembly, seated on his throne, he rose up and cried out: "If any one says that Mary is the Mother of God, let him be excommunicated." When the people heard this blasphemy so openly proclaimed, they set up a loud shout, and left the church (12), determined to hold no more communion with the proclaimers of such an impious heresy (13); for, in fact, to excommunicate all those who said that Mary was the Mother of God, would be to excommunicate the whole Church—all the Bishops, and all the departed Saints, who professed the Catholic doctrine. There is not the least doubt but that Nestorius approved of the excommunication announced by Dorotheus, for he not only held his peace on the occasion, but admitted him to the participation of the Sacred Mysteries. Some of his priests, on the contrary, after having publicly given him notice in the assembly, and seeing that he still persisted in not calling the Holy Virgin the Mother of God, and Jesus

(10) *Epis. ad Nestor. c. 6, ap. ; Fleury, ibid.*

(11) *Fleury, ibid.*

(12) *St. Cyril, Ep. ad Nest. c. 10, ap. ; Fleury, l. 25.*

(13) *St. Cyril, ad. Acac. c. 22.*

Christ, by his nature, true God (14), now openly forsook his communion; but he prohibited not only those, but all who previously had preached against his opinion, from preaching; so that the people, deprived of their usual instructions, said: "We have an Emperor, but we have not a Bishop." A monk, burning with zeal, stepped forward while Nestorius was going into the church, and thought to prevent him, calling him a heretic, but the poor man was immediately knocked down, and given into the hands of the Prefect, who first caused him publicly to be flogged, and then sent him into exile (15).

25.—St. Cyril wrote again to Nestorius, but seeing his obstinacy, and that the heresy was spreading in Constantinople, through favour of the Court, he wrote several letters, or, rather, treatises, to the Emperor Theodosius, and to the Princesses, his sisters, concerning the true Faith (16). He wrote, likewise, to Pope Celestine, giving him an account of all that took place, and explaining to him the necessity there was that he should oppose the errors of Nestorius (17). Nestorius himself, at the same time, had the boldness to write a letter to St. Celestine, likewise, in which he exaggerates his great labours against the heretics, and requires also to know why some Bishops of the Pelagian party were deprived of their Sees; he thus wrote, because he had kindly received those Bishops in Constantinople, and the Pelagians were not included in an edict he procured from Theodosius against the heretics; for, as Cardinal Orsi remarks, he adhered to the Pelagian opinion, that Grace is given to us by God, according to our own merits. He also wrote that some called the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God, when she should only be called the Mother of Christ, and on that account he sent him some of his books; this letter is quoted by Baronius (18). St. Celestine having read both letters, summoned a Council in Rome, in the month of August, 430, for the examination of the writings of Nestorius, and not only were his blasphemies condemned, but he was even deposed from his bishopric, if, ten days after the publication of his sentence, he did not retract

(14) Libell. Basil, c. 30, n. 2.

(15) Nat. Alex. t. 10, c. 3, a. 12, s.

2; Fleury, l. 25, n. 3; Orsi, t. 12,

l. 28, n. 37, and seq.

(16) Con. Ephes. p. 1, c. 3, n. 6.

(17) Conc. Ephes. p. 1, c. 14.

(18) Baron. An. 430, n. 7.

his errors, and the Pope charged St. Cyril with the execution of the sentence (19).

26.—St. Cyril, in discharge of the commission to which he was appointed by the Pope, convoked a Council, in Alexandria, of all the Bishops of Egypt, and then, in the name of the Council, wrote a Synodical letter to Nestorius, as the third and last admonition; telling him that, if in the term of ten days after the receipt of that letter, he did not retract what he had preached, those Fathers would have no more communication with him, that they would no longer consider him as a Bishop, and that they would hold communion with all clergymen and laymen deposed or excommunicated by him (20). The Synodical letter also contained the profession of Faith and the anathemas decreed against the Nestorian errors (21). These, in substance, are an anathema against those who deny that the Holy Virgin is Mother of the Incarnate Word, or deny that Jesus Christ is the only Son of God, true God and true Man, not alone according to his dignity, but through the hypostatic union of the Person of the Word with his most Holy Humanity. These anathemas are fully and distinctly expressed in the letter.

27.—St. Cyril appointed four Egyptian Bishops to certify to Nestorius the authenticity of this letter, and two others—one to the people of Constantinople, and another to the abbots of the monasteries, to give them notice likewise of the letter having been expedited. These Prelates arrived in Constantinople on the 7th of the following month of December, 430 (22), and intimated to Nestorius the sentence of deposition passed by the Pope, if he did not retract in ten days; but the Emperor Theodosius, previous to their arrival, had given orders for the convocation of a General Council, at the solicitation—both of the Catholics, induced to ask for it by the monks, so cruelly treated by Nestorius, and of Nestorius himself, who hoped to carry his point by means of the Bishops of his party, and through favour of the Court. St. Cyril, therefore, wrote anew to St. Celestine, asking him (23), whether, in case of the retractation

(19) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 25, n. 10, & seq*;
Nat. Alex. cit. *ar. 12 & 3.*

(20) Conc. Ephes. *p. 1, c. 26.*

(21) Apud, Bernini, *t. 1, sec. 5, c. 4,*
p. 452, & Orsi, t. 12, l. 28, n. 48.

(22) Orsi, *t. 13, l. 29, n. 1, ar. 2.*

(23) Celest. Ep. 161.

of Nestorius, the Council should receive him, as Bishop, into communion, and pardon his past faults, or put into execution the sentence of deposition already published against him. St. Celestine answered, that, notwithstanding the prescribed time had passed, he was satisfied that the sentence of deposition should be kept in abeyance, to give time to Nestorius to change his conduct. Nestorius thus remained in possession of his See till the decision of the Council. This condescension of St. Celestine was praised in the Council afterwards, by the Legates, and was contrasted with the irreligious obstinacy of Nestorius (24).

28.—As St. Celestine could not personally attend the Council, he sent Arcadius and Projectus, Bishops, and Philip, a priest, to preside in his place, with St. Cyril, appointed President in chief. He gave them positive orders that they should not allow his sentence against Nestorius to be debated in the Council (25), but to endeavour to have it put into execution. He wrote to the Council to the same effect, and notified the directions he had given to his Legates, and that he had no doubt but that the Fathers would adhere to the decision he had given, and not canvass what he already had decided, and, as we shall see, everything turned out most happily, according to his wishes. When the celebration of Easter was concluded, the Bishops all hastened to Ephesus, where the Council was convoked for the 7th of June. Nestorius, accompanied by a great train, was one of the first to arrive, and, soon after, St. Cyril, accompanied by fifty Egyptian Bishops, arrived, and in a little time two hundred Bishops, most of them Metropolitans and men of great learning, were assembled. There was no doubt about St. Cyril presiding as Vicar of Pope Celestine, in the Council of Ephesus; for, in several acts of the Synod itself, he is entitled President, even after the arrival of the Apostolic Legates, as is manifest from the fourth act of the Council, in which the Legates are mentioned by name after St. Cyril, and before all the other Bishops. It appears, even from the opening act of the Council, before the arrival of the Legates, that he presided in place of Celestine, as delegate of his Holiness the Archbishop of Rome. Graveson (26),

(24) Orsi, loc. cit. n. 1, in fin.

(26) Graveson, t. 3, sec. 5, col. 4.

(25) Celest. Epis. 17, apud; Orsi,
ibid. n. 2.

therefore, justly says: "That they are far from the truth, who deny that Cyril presided at the Council of Ephesus, as Vicar of Pope Celestine." St. Cyril, therefore, as President (27), gave notice that the first Session of the Synod would be held on the 22nd of June, in St. Mary's Church, the principal one of Ephesus, and, on the day before, four Bishops were appointed to wait on Nestorius, and cite him to appear next day at the Council. He answered, that if his presence was necessary, he would have no objection to present himself; but then, in the course of the same day, he forwarded a protest, signed by sixty-eight Bishops, against the opening of the Council, until the arrival of other Bishops who were expected (28). St. Cyril and his colleagues paid no attention to the remonstrance, but assembled the next day.

29.—On the appointed day the Council was opened; the Count Candidianus, sent by Theodosius, endeavoured to put it off, but the Fathers having ascertained that he was sent by the Emperor, solely with authority to keep order and put down disturbance, determined at once to open the Session, and the Count, accordingly, made no further opposition. Before they began, however, they judged it better to cite Nestorius a second and third time, according to the Canons, and sent other Bishops to him in the name of the Council, but they were insulted and maltreated by the soldiers he had with him as a body-guard. The Fathers, therefore, on the day appointed, the 22nd of June, held the first Session, in which, first of all, the second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius was read, and the answer of Nestorius to St. Cyril, and they all called out immediately, with one accord (29): "Whoever does not anathematize Nestorius, let him be anathema. Whoever communicates with Nestorius let him be anathema. The true faith anathematizes him. We anathematize all the letters and dogmas of Nestorius." St. Celestine's letter was next read, in which he fulminates a sentence of deposition against Nestorius, unless he retracts in ten days (30). Finally, the sentence of the Council was pronounced against him: It begins, by quoting the examination, by the Fathers, of his

(27) Orsi, *l.* 29, *n.* 12.

(28) Orsi, *loc. cit.* *n.* 12.

(29) In *actis* Con. Ephes. ap. Bernin.
sec. 4, *c.* 4, *p.* 458.

(30) Orsi, *l.* 13, *l.* 29, *n.* 18.

impious doctrines, extracted from his own writings and sermons, and then proceeds: "Obliged by the Sacred Canons, and the Epistle of our Holy Father and Colleague, Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church, we have been necessarily driven, not without tears, to pronounce this melancholy sentence against him. Therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he has insulted by his blasphemies, deprives him, through this Holy Council, of the Episcopal dignity, and declares him excluded from every Assembly and College of Priests (31)." This sentence was subscribed by one hundred and eighty-eight Bishops. The Session lasted from the morning till dark night (32), though the days were long at that season, the 22nd of June, and the sun did not set in the latitude of Ephesus, till seven o'clock in the evening. The people of the city were waiting from morning till night, expecting the decision of the Council, and when they heard that Nestorius was condemned and deposed, and his doctrine prohibited, and that the Holy Virgin was declared to be the Mother of God in reality, they all, with one voice, began to bless the Council and praise God, who cast down the enemy of the Faith, and of his Holy Mother. When the Bishops left the church, they were accompanied to their lodgings by the people with lighted torches. Women went before them, bearing vases of burning perfume, and a general illumination of the whole city manifested the universal joy (33).

30.—The following day, the foregoing sentence was intimated to Nestorius, and a letter sent to him as follows: "The Holy Synod, assembled in the Metropolis of Ephesus, to Nestorius, the new Judas. Know that you, on account of your many discourses, and your obstinate contumacy against the Sacred Canons, have been deprived, on the 22nd of this month, of all Ecclesiastical dignity, according to the Ecclesiastical Decrees sanctioned by the Holy Synod" (34). The sentence was published the same day through the streets of Ephesus, by sound of trumpet, and was posted up in the public places; but Candidianus ordered it to be taken down, and published an edict, declaring the Session of the Council celebrated null and void. He also wrote to the Emperor,

(31) Orsi, *n.* 21; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 25,
n. 42.

(32) Epis. Cyr. *t.* 3, Conc.

(33) Fleury and Orsi, *loc. cit.*

(34) Apud, Bernin. *sec.* 5, *c.* 4; Nat.
Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *ar.* 12, *s.* 6.

that the decision of the Council was obtained by sedition and violence; and the perfidious Nestorius wrote another letter to Theodosius to the same effect, complaining of the injustice done to him in the Council, and requiring that another General Council should be convened, and all the Bishops inimical to him excluded (35).

31.—Several Bishops of the Nestorian party, who had signed the protest, were even shocked at his impiety, and convinced of the justice of the sentence passed against him, joined the Council (36). But when everything appeared to be about to settle down peaceably, John, Bishop of Antioch, raised another storm (37), in conjunction with other schismatical Bishops, to the number of forty; and, either to please Chrisaphius, Prime Minister of the Emperor, and a great friend of Nestorius, or because it went to his heart to see his friend and fellow-citizen (Nestorius was a native of Antioch) condemned, he had the hardihood to summon a Cabal in the very city of Ephesus, and then to depose St. Cyril, and St. Mennon, Bishop of Ephesus, and to excommunicate all the other Bishops of the Synod, because, as they said, they trampled on and despised the orders of the Emperor. St. Cyril and the other Bishops took no notice of such rash attempts, but, on the contrary, the Council put forth its authority, and deputed three Bishops to cite John, as chief of the Cabal, to account for his insolence, and after being twice more cited, and not appearing, the Council, in the fifth Session, declared John and his colleagues suspended from Ecclesiastical Communion, till such time as they would repent of their fault, and that, if they obstinately persevered, that they would be proceeded against, according to the Canons, to the last extremity (38). Finally, in the year 433, John, and the other Bishops of his party, subscribed the condemnation of Nestorius, and St. Cyril received him to his communion, and thus peace was re-established between the Metropolitans of Alexandria and Antioch (39).

32.—We will, however, return to the Council, and see what was decided on in the subsequent Sessions, and, which we have

(35) Orsi, *l.* 29, *n.* 23, and seq.

(36) Orsi, *n.* 25.

(37) Cabassu. not. Con. *sec.* 5, *n.* 17,
and Orsi, *n.* 33.

(38) Orsi, *l.* cit. *n.* 49.

(39) Orsi, *t.* 13, *l.* 30, *n.* 28.

postponed, to see the end of the Cabal of John of Antioch. Shortly after the first Session, the three Legates of St. Celestine arrived at Ephesus—Philip, Arcadius, and Projectus—and they came not alone in the Pope's name, but also of all the Bishops of the West. The second Session was then held in the palace of St. Mennon, Bishop of the See, and the Legates took the first place (40). First of all, they wished that the letter of St. Celestine, sent by them to the Council, should be read. And when the Fathers heard it, they all agreed to the sentiments expressed in it by the Pope. Philip then thanked the Council, and said: "You, by these acclamations, have united yourselves as holy members with your head, and have manifested that you well know that the Blessed Apostle, Peter, is the head of all the faithful, and chief of the Apostles." Projectus then moved that the Council would put into execution what was mentioned in the letter of the Pope. Fermus, Bishop of Cesarea, in Cappadocia, answered, that the holy Synod, guided by the antecedent letters of the Pope, to St. Cyril, and to the Churches of Constantinople and Antioch, had already put it into execution, and pronounced a Canonical judgment against the contumacious Nestorius. The next day, therefore, all the acts of the Council, and the sentence of the deposition of Nestorius were read, and then the Priest Philip thus spoke: "No one doubts that St. Peter is the chief of the Apostles, the column of the Faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church, and that he received the keys of the kingdom from Jesus Christ, and He lives even to-day, and exercises, in his successor, this judgment. Therefore, his Holiness Pope Celestine, who holds the place of St. Peter, having sent us to this Council to supply his place, we, in his name, confirm the Decree pronounced by the Synod against the impious Nestorius; and we declare him deposed from the priesthood and the communion of the Catholic Church; and, as he has contemned correction, let his part be with him, of whom it is written, 'another shall receive his Bishopric.'" The Bishops Arcadius and Projectus then did the same, and the Council expressing a wish that all the acts of the two Sessions should be joined with those of the first preceding one, that the

(40) Orsi, *n.* 42.

assent of all the Fathers might be shown to all the acts of the Council, it was done so, and the Legates subscribed the whole (41).

33.—This being done, the Fathers of the Council wrote a Synodical Epistle to the Emperor, giving him an account of the sentence fulminated against Nestorius and his adherents, as the Pope, St. Celestine, had already decided, and charged his Legates with the execution of it in their name. They then subjoined the confirmation of the sentence by the Papal Legates, both in their own name, and the name of the Council of the Western Bishops, held in Rome (42). The Council, besides, wrote another letter to St. Celestine, giving him an account of all that had been done, both against Nestorius, and against John, Patriarch of Antioch. They also notified to him the condemnation of the Pelagians and Celestians, and explained to him how the Pelagians disturbed the East, looking for a General Council to examine their cause; but that, as the Fathers had read in the Synod the Commentaries of the Acts of the deposition of these Bishops, they considered that the Pontifical Decrees passed against them should retain all their force. Cardinal Orsi (43) writes, that there is a great deal of confusion regarding the Synod of Ephesus, but there is no doubt but that the Pelagians were condemned in this Council as heretics, by the assembled Bishops of the world. The symbol composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia was also condemned in this Council, and every other formula, except that of the Council of Nice, was prohibited (44). Here, however, Cardinal Orsi justly remarks (45), that that does not prohibit the Church, when she condemns any heresy not formally condemned by the Council of Nice, from making additions necessary for clearing up the truth, as the Council of Constantinople had done already, and other Councils did since that of Ephesus. The heresy of the Messalians (*Art. 3, chap. 4, n. 80*), was also condemned in this Council, and a book, entitled *The Ascetic*, was anathematized at the same time (46).

34.—When all was concluded, the Fathers wrote to Theodosius, requesting leave to return to their Churches; but the

(41) Orsi, *l. 29, n. 42, & seq.*

(42) Orsi, *loc. cit.*

(43) Orsi, *l. 29, n. 52.*

(44) Baron. *Ann. 431, n. 98 & 99.*

(45) Orsi, *n. 58.*

(46) Baron. *n. 101; Orsi, n. 61.*

letter containing this request, as well as all the former ones they wrote to Constantinople, was intercepted by Count Candinianus, who placed guards on the roads for that purpose (47); while, at the same time, the letters of John of Antioch, and the schismatical Bishops of his party, stuffed with lies and calumnies regarding the proceedings of the Council, had already arrived some time at Constantinople; and thus it happened, that the Emperor, poisoned, on the one side, by the false accounts furnished him, and vexed, on the other, with the Fathers of the Council, for, as he believed, not having written to him, and informed him of what they had done in the affair of Nestorius, wrote to them that all the acts of the Synod, as done against his orders, were to be considered invalid, and that everything should be examined anew; and therefore, Palladius, the bearer of the Emperor's letter to Ephesus, commanded, on his arrival, that none of the Fathers should be permitted to leave the city (48). The Fathers were confounded when they discovered how they were calumniated, and prevented from giving the Emperor a faithful account of all that had been done in the case of Nestorius, and the Patriarch of Antioch; they, therefore, devised a plan to send a trusty messenger (49), disguised as a beggar, with copies of all the letters they had already written, but which were intercepted, enclosed in a hollow cane, such as poor pilgrims usually carried. They wrote, likewise to several other persons in Constantinople, so that when the good people of that city discovered the intrigues of the enemies of the Council, they went in a crowd along with the Monk St. Dalmatius, who, for forty-eight years previously, had never left his monastery (50), and all the Archimandrites, singing hymns and psalms, to address the Emperor in favour of the Catholics. Theodosius gave them audience in the Church of St. Mocius, and St. Dalmatius, ascending the pulpit, said: "O Cæsar, put an end, at length, to the miserable imposture of heresy; let the just cause of the Catholics prevail for ever." He then proceeded to explain the rectitude of the acts of the Council, and the insolence of the schismatics. Theodosius, moved by the reasons adduced, revoked his

(47) Baron. Ann. 451, n. 104.

(48) Baron. n. 105 & 107.

(49) Baron. Ann. 451, n. 108; Cabass. sec. v, 17; Fleury, t. 4, l. 26, n. 6.

(50) Orsi, t. 13, l. 30, n. 28.

orders (51), and, concerning the dispute between St. Cyril and the Patriarch of Antioch, he said he wished to try the cause himself, and commanded, therefore, that each of them should send some of his Bishops to Constantinople.

35.—The Legates had now left the Council for Constantinople, but, when matters were just settling down, another storm arose, for the Count Ireneus, a great patron of the schismatics, came to Ephesus, and informed the Emperor that Nestorius was no more a heretic than Cyril and Mennon, and that the only way to pacify the Church of the East, was to depose the whole three of them together. At the same time, Acacius, Bishop of Berea, an honest and righteous man, but who, deceived by Paul, Bishop of Emisenum, joined the party of John of Antioch, wrote to the Emperor, likewise, against St. Cyril and St. Mennon; so Theodosius thought it better to send (52) his almoner, the Count John, to Ephesus, to pacify both parties. When the Count came to Ephesus, he ordered that Nestorius, Cyril, and Mennon, should be put into prison; but the Catholic Bishops immediately wrote to the Emperor, praying him to liberate the Catholic Bishops, and protesting that nothing would induce them ever to communicate with the schismatics. In the meanwhile, the concerns of the Empire all went wrong; the Roman army was cut to pieces by the Goths, in Africa, and the few survivors were reduced to slavery. The clergy of Constantinople clamoured in favour of the Catholics, and they were assisted in their zealous exertions by St. Pulcheria, who opened the eyes of her brother to the impositions of the Nestorians (53). The Emperor, at length, assured of the wickedness of the schismatics, and the virtue of the Catholics, ordered St. Cyril and St. Mennon to be liberated, and gave leave to the bishops to return home to their Sees; he confirmed the deposition of Nestorius, and ordered him to shut himself up once more in his old monastery of St. Euprepus, and there learn to repent; but as he, instead of exhibiting any symptoms of sorrow for his past conduct, only continued to infect the monks of the monastery with his heretical opinions, he was banished to the Oasis between Egypt and Lybia (54), and soon after, as

(51) Baron. Ann. 431, n. 113.

(52) Baron. n. 126 & 127.

(53) Baron. n. 159.

(54) Fleury, t. 4, l. 26, n. 34.

Fleury informs us, was transferred to Panapolis, and from Panapolis to Elephantina, and, from thence, back again to another place near Panapolis, where, at last, he died in misery, worn out by years and infirmities. Some say that, through desperation, he dashed his brains out; others, that the ground opened under him and swallowed him, and others, again, that he died of a cancer, which rotted his tongue, and that it was consumed by worms engendered by the disease—a fit punishment for that tongue which had uttered so many blasphemies against Jesus Christ and his Holy Mother (55).

36.—Nestorius was succeeded in the See of Constantinople, by Maximinian, a monk untainted in the Faith, and Theodosius deprived Count Ireneus of his dignity (56). The Emperor next, in the year 435, made a most rigorous law against the Nestorians. He ordered that they should be called Simonians, and prohibited them from having any conventicle, either within or without the city; that if any one gave them a place of meeting, all his property should be confiscated, and he prohibited all the books of Nestorius treating of Religion. Danæus (57) says, that the heresy of Nestorius did not end with his life; it was spread over various regions of the East, and, even in our own days, there are whole congregations of Nestorians on the Malabar Coast, in India.

37.—When the Nestorians saw their chief rejected by all the world, and his works condemned by the Council of Ephesus and the Emperor, they set about disseminating the writings of the Bishops Theodore and Diodorus, who died in communion with the Church, and left a great character after them in the East (58). The Nestorians endeavoured to turn the writings of those prelates to their own advantage, and pretended to prove that Nestorius had taught nothing new, but only followed the teaching of the ancients, and they translated those works into various languages (59); but many zealous Catholic Bishops, as Theodosia of Ancyra, Acacius of Meretina, and Rabbola of Edessa, bestirred themselves against the writings of Theodore of

(55) Baron. Ann. 520, n. 67; Cabass. sec. 5, n. 18; Orsi, t. 18, l. 30, n. 74; Nat. t. 10, c. 3, ar. 12, n. 18, s. 10; Hermant, t. 1, c. 148.

(56) Baron. n. 177 & 181.

(57) Dan. temp. not. p. 241.

(58) Liberat. Brev. c. 10.

(59) Coll. Sup. c. 199.

Mopsuestia. When St. Cyril heard of the matter, he also wrote against those books, and purposely composed a declaration of the Symbol of Nice, in which, with great particularity and diffuseness, he explains the doctrine of the Incarnation (60).

38.—We should also remark, that Theodoret being soon after re-established in his See, by the Council of Chalcedon, after subscribing the condemnation of Nestorius and of his errors; and Ibas, being, likewise, reinstated, after retracting the errors imputed to him, and anathematized Nestorius, the Nestorians made a handle of that, to insinuate that their doctrines were approved of by the Council of Chalcedon, and thus they seduced a great many persons, and formed a numerous party. God sent them, however, a powerful opponent, in the person of Theodore, Bishop of Cesarea, who prevailed on the Emperor Justinian to cause the writings of Theodore against St. Cyril, and the letter of Ibas, on the same subject, to be condemned. Justinian, in fact, condemned the works of these Bishops, and of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and requested Pope Vigilius to condemn them also, which he did, after mature examination in his *Constitution*, and approved of all that was decided in the fifth General Council, the second of Constantinople, held in the year 533 (61), as we shall see in the next chapter. The condemnation of these works, afterwards called *The Three Chapters*, put an effectual stop to the progress of Nestorianism (62); but still there were, ever since, many, both in the East and West, who endeavoured to uphold this impious heresy.

39.—The most remarkable among the supporters of Nestorianism were two Spanish Bishops—Felix, Bishop of Urgel, and Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo; these maintained that Jesus Christ, according to his human nature, was not the natural, but only the adopted, Son of God, or, as they said, the nuncupative, or Son in name alone. This heresy had its origin about the year 780. Elipandus preached this heresy in the Asturias and Galicia, and Felix in Septimania, a part of Narbonic Gaul, called, at a later period, Languedoc. Elipandus brought over to his side Ascarieus, Archbishop of Braga, and some persons

(60) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 26, n. 36.*

(61) Berti, *t. 1, sec. vi. c. 2.*

(62) Hermant, *t. 1, c. 202.*

from Cordova (63). This error had many opponents, the principal were Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquilea; Beatus, a priest and monk in the mountains of Asturias; Etherius, his disciple, and afterwards Bishop of Osma; but its chief impugner was Alcuinus, who wrote seven books against Felix, and four against Elipandus. Felix was first condemned in Narbonne, in the year 788, next in Ratisbon, in 792, and in 794, in a Synod held at Frankfort, by the Bishops of France, who, as Noel Alexander tells us, condemned him with this reservation (64): "Reservato per omnia juris privilegio Summi Pontificis Domini & Patris nostri Adriani Primæ Sædis Beatissimi Papæ." This error was finally twice condemned in 799, in Rome, under Adrian and Leo III (65). Felix abjured his errors in the Council of Ratisbon, in 792; but it appears he was not sincere, as he taught the same doctrine afterwards. In the year 799, he was charged with relapsing by Alcuinus, in a Synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle, he confessed his error, and gave every sign of having truly returned to the Church, but some writings of his, discovered after his death, leave us in doubt of the sincerity of his conversion, and of his eternal happiness. This was not the case with Elipandus, for though he resisted the truth a long time, he at length bowed to the decision of the Roman Church, and died in her communion, as many authors, quoted by Noel Alexander, testify (66).

40.—Who would believe that after seeing Nestorius condemned by a General Council, celebrated by such a multitude of Bishops, conducted with such solemnity and accuracy, and afterwards accepted by the whole Catholic Church, that persons would be found to defend him, as innocent, and charge his condemnation as invalid and unjust. Those who do this are surely heretics, whose chief study has always been to reject the authority of Councils and the Pope, and thus sustain their own errors. The history of Nestorianism would be incomplete without a knowledge of the modern defenders of the heresy, and the arguments made use of by them. Calvin was the first to raise the standard, and he was followed by his disciples, Albertin, Giles Gaillard, John Croye, and David de Roden. This band was joined by another Calvinistic writer, in 1645, who printed a work, but did not put

(63) Fleury, *t. 6. l. 44, n. 50.*(64) N. Alex. *t. 12, s. 8, c. 2, a. 3, f. 2.*(65) Graves. *t. 3; Colloq. 3, p. 55.*(66) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit. c. 2, a. 3, f. 1.*

his name to it, in which he endeavours to show that Nestorius should not be ranked with the heretics, but with the doctors of the Church, and venerated as a martyr, and that the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus ought to be considered Eutychians, as well as St. Cyril, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Dionisius of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Hilary, who give it such praise. This book was refuted by the learned Petavius, in the year 1646, in the sixth book of his work on Theological Dogmas. Finally, Samuel Basnage, in his *Annals* (67), has joined with Calvin and the other authors above-named, and has taken up the defence of Nestorius; he has even the hardihood to declare, that the Council of Ephesus had filled the world with tears.

41.—We shall let Basnage speak for himself. He says, first, the Council of Ephesus was not a General one, but only a particular Synod, as the bishops refused to wait either for the Pope's Legates, or for the other Bishops of the East. As far as the Legates are concerned, we see (No. 28.) that St. Cyril assisted at the Council, from the beginning, and that he had been already nominated by the Pope as President; that a few days after, the other Legates arrived, and that they confirmed the Council. It is true all the Bishops of the East did not attend it, for eighty-nine Bishops seceded, and formed a Cabal apart, in the very city of Ephesus, in which they deposed St. Cyril; but a few days after, the eighty-nine were reduced to thirty-seven, among whom, were the Pelagian Bishops, and several others already deposed; and the rest, when their eyes were opened to the truth, united themselves to the Fathers of the Council, so that Theodoret, who at first adhered to the party of John of Antioch, wrote to Andrew of Samosata: "*Pars maxima Israelis consentit inimicis, pauci vero valde sunt salvi, ac sustinent pro pietate certamen:*" but John himself, afterwards, together with Theodoret and the rest who repented, subscribed to the Council, which then was recognized as Ecumenical by the whole Church. With what face, then, can Basnage say that it was a particular, and not a General Council?

42.—Basnage says next (68), that it is a false supposition of

(67) Basnage, *ad. an.* 444, *n.* 13.

(68) Basnage, *l. cit.* *ad an.* 430.

Noel Alexander, that Nestorius taught that there were two Persons in Christ, or denied that Mary was the true Mother of God, and he was condemned, he says, only because he was not well understood; but how does he prove this as to the maternity of the Blessed Virgin? By saying that Nestorius, in a certain letter he wrote to John of Antioch, admits, that as far as the words of the Gospel go, he has no objection that the Virgin should be piously called the Mother of God, but these words he afterwards interpreted in his own way. But why should we lose time in trying to interpret these obscure and equivocal expressions of his, when he expressly declares more than once, that Mary was not the Mother of God, otherwise the Gentiles ought to be excused for adoring the mothers of their gods. "Has God," he says, "a Mother?—therefore Paganism is excusable. Mary brought not forth God, but she brought forth a man, the instrument of the Divinity." These are his own words, quoted by Basnage himself, and he also relates that the monks of the Archimandrite, Basil, in their petition to the Emperor Theodosius, stated that Nestorius (69) said, that Mary only brought forth a man, and that nothing but flesh could be born of the flesh, and, therefore they required, that in a General Council, the foundation of the Faith should be left intact, that is, that the Word with the flesh, taken from Mary, suffered and died for the Redemption of mankind. We have, besides, a letter written by Nestorius to the Pope St. Celestine (70), in which he complains that the clergy, "aperte blasphemant, Deum Verbum tamquam originis initium de Christotocho Virgine sumsisse. Sed hanc Virginem Christotochon ausi sunt cum modo quodam Theotocon dicere, cum Ss. illi Patres per Nicæam nihil amplius de S. Virgine dixissent, nisi quia Jesus Christus incarnatus est ex Spiritu Sancto de Maria Virgine;" and he adds, "Verbum Theotocon ferri potest propter inseparabile Templum Dei Verbi ex ipsa, non quia ipsa Mater sit Verbi Dei, nemo enim antiquiorem se parit:" thus, he denies in the plainest terms, that the Blessed Virgin is Theotocon, the Mother of the Word of God, but only allows her to be Christotocon, the Mother of Christ; but St.

(69) Habetur, in Sess. 4; Con. Col.
1103.

(70) Sess. 4; Conc. Col. 1021.

Celestine answers him(71): "We have received your letters containing open blasphemy," and he adds that this truth, that the only Son of God was born of Mary, is the promise to us of life and salvation.

43.—Let us now see what Nestorius says of Jesus Christ. No nature, he says, can subsist without its proper subsistence, and this is the origin of his error, for he therefore gives two Persons to Christ, Divine and human, as he had two natures, and he therefore said that the Divine Word was united to Christ after he was formed a perfect man with appropriate human subsistence and personality. He says: "Si Christus perfectus Deus, idemque perfectus homo intelligitur, ubi naturæ est perfectio, si hominis natura non subsistit" (72)? He also said that the union of the two natures was according to grace, or by the dignity or honour of Filiation given to the Person of Christ, and he, therefore, in general, did not call the union of the two natures a union at all, but propinquity, or inhabitation; he thus admits two united, or more properly speaking, conjoined natures, but not a true unity of person, and by two natures understands two personalities, and therefore could not bear to hear it said in speaking of Jesus Christ, that God was born, or suffered, or died. In his letter to St. Cyril, quoted by Basnage, he says: "My brother, to ascribe birth, or suffering, or death, to the Divine Word by reason of this appropriation, is to follow the Pagans or the insane Apollinares." These expressions prove that he did not believe that the two Natures were united in one Person. When his priest, Anastasius, preaching to the people, said: "Let no one call Mary the Mother of God, it is not possible that God should be born of man," and the people horrified with the blasphemy, called on Nestorius to remove the scandal given by Anastatius, he went up into the pulpit, and said: "I never would call him God, who has been formed only two or three months," and he never called Jesus Christ, God, but only the temple or habitation of God, as he wrote to St. Cyril. It is proper, he said, and conformable to Ecclesiastical Tradition, to confess that the body of Christ is the temple of the Divinity, and that it is joined by so sublime a connexion to his Divine self, that we may say his

(71) Tom. 4; Con. Col. 1023.

(72) Tom. 5; Con. Col. 1004.

Divine nature appropriates to itself something which otherwise would belong to the body alone. Here then, are the very words of Nestorius himself, and nothing can be more clear than that he means to say that Christ is only the temple of God, but united to God in such a manner by Grace, that it might be said that the Divine nature appropriated the qualities proper to humanity. Now, Basnage does not deny that these are the letters and expressions of Nestorius, and how then can he say that he spoke in a pious and Catholic sense, and that the Council of Ephesus, by his condemnation, filled the world with tears, when Sixtus III., St. Leo the Great, and the fifth General Council, together with so many other doctors and learned writers received the Council of Ephesus as most certainly Ecumenical, and all have called and considered Nestorius a heretic. Basnage, however, prefers following Calvin and his adherents, instead of the Council of Ephesus, the fifth Council, the Pope, and all the Catholic doctors. Selvaggi, the annotator of Mosheim, is well worthy of being read on this question (73), he has six very excellent reflections, and makes several useful remarks about Luther and the other modern heretics, who seek to discredit St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. It is the interest of all heretics to weaken the authority of Councils, that there may be no power to condemn them, and expose their errors to the world. But I remark that the devil has made it a particular study to ruin, by his partisans, the credit of the Council of Ephesus, to remove from our sight the immense love which our God has shown us, by becoming man and dying for our love. Men do not love God because they do not reflect that he has died for love of them, and the devil endeavours not only to remove this thought from our minds, but to prevent us from thinking it even possible.

(73) Selvag. in Mosheim, *Part II. n. 82. p. 729.*

ARTICLE IV.

THE HERESY OF EUTYCHES.

§ I.

THE SYNOD OF ST. FLAVIAN.—THE COUNCIL OR CABAL OF EPHEBUS,
CALLED THE "LATROCINIUM," OR COUNCIL OF ROBBERS.

44.—Beginning of Eutyches; he is accused by Eusebius of Dorileum. 45.—St. Flavian receives the charge. 46.—Synod of St. Flavian. 47.—Confession of Eutyches in the Synod. 48.—Sentence of the Synod against Eutyches. 49.—Complaints of Eutyches. 50.—Eutyches writes to St. Peter Chrysologus, and to St. Leo. 51.—Character of Dioscorus. 52 & 53.—Cabal at Ephesus. 54.—St. Flavian is deposed, and Eusebius of Dorileum. 55.—The Errors of Theodore of Mopsuestia. 56.—Death of St. Flavian. 57.—Character of Theodoret. 58 and 59.—Writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril. Defence of Theodoret. 60.—Dioscorus excommunicates St. Leo. 61.—Theodosius approved the Council or Cabal and dies. 62.—Reign of St. Pulcheria and Marcian.

44.—The heresy of Eutyches sprung up (1) in the year 448, eighteen years after the Council of Ephesus. Eutyches was a monk and priest; he was also the abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, containing three hundred monks; he was a violent opponent of his Archbishop, Nestorius, and accused him at the Council of Ephesus, where he went in person to testify to his prevarications, so that he was considered by the friends of St. Cyril, as one of the staunchest defenders of the Faith (2). St. Leo having received a letter from him, informing him that Nestorianism was again raising its head (3), answered him, approving his zeal, and encouraged him to defend the Church; imagining, that he was writing at the time, against the real Nestorians, while he, in that letter, meant all the while the Catholics, whom, he looked upon as infected with Nestorian principles (4). Eusebius, Bishop of Dorileum, in Phrygia, was also one of the most zealous opponents of Nestorius, for, while

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *ar.* 13, *s.* 1;
Baron. An. 448, *ex. n.* 19; Hermant,
t. 1, *c.* 155; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 27, *n.*
23.

(2) Liberat. Brev. *c.* 11.

(3) St. Leo, Ep. 19, *l.* 6.

(4) Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 27, *n.* 23.

yet only a layman, in the year 429, he had the courage to stand up and reprove him publicly for his errors (5). (No. 20, supra.) The conformity of their opinions, therefore, made him a friend of Eutyches, but, in the course of their intimacy, he, at length, perceived that he (Eutyches) went too far and fell into heretical propositions (6). He endeavoured then, for a long time, by reasoning with him, to bring him round; but, when he saw it was all in vain, he gave up his friendship and became his accuser. Even before that the Orientals (7) had already denounced the errors of Eutyches to the Emperor Theodosius; but he so adroitly turned aside the charge, that, instead of being arraigned, he became the accuser. The Bishops of the East exclaimed, that Eutyches was infected with the errors of Apollinares, but as it was an old trick, to charge with the profession of this false doctrine, the adversaries of Nestorius, and especially all who defended the anathemas of St. Cyril; and, as those same bishops, had before defended Nestorius, and, even still upheld the doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia, no one took any notice of their accusation of Eutyches on the present occasion. The unfortunate man, had then nothing to fear from the charges of those bishops, but when Eusebius of Dorileum, took up the matter, it wore a more serious aspect. Eusebius then, having frequently admonished him privately, and seeing that this had no effect on him, considered himself now bound by the Gospel, to denounce him to the Church, and, accordingly, laid the matter before St. Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople (8).

45.—St. Flavian foresaw, that a judicial process and condemnation of Eutyches, would occasion a great deal of tumult, for he was venerated by the people, and respected by the Court, as a man, who, having dedicated himself to God from his infancy, had now grown grey in monastic solitude, and never went outside of his cloister for a day, only, when he joined with St. Dalmatius, to defend the Council of Ephesus; the Archbishop, therefore, advised Eusebius to act with the greatest caution. Eutyches, was also protected by the Eunuch Chrisapius, whose god-father he

(5) Sulp. *l.* 25, *n.* 2, ap. Fleury, cit. *n.* 23.

(6) Orsi, *ibid.* *n.* 16; Fleury, cit. *n.* 23; Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *ar.* 13, *s.* 2.

(7) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 32, *n.* 9.

(8) Orsi, *ibid.* *n.* 16; Fleury, *l. c.*

was, and joined with Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, in opposing the Oriental Bishops, who were the first to accuse him of heresy; it would appear then, in intermeddling at all with the matter, that St. Flavian and Eusebius were joining the enemy, and opposing both the Court and Dioscorus, and thus occasioning a great disturbance in the Church; but neither this, nor any other consideration, could restrain the zeal of Eusebius, so St. Flavian was obliged to receive the charge, and let justice take its course.

46.—While this was going on, St. Flavian held a Synod for the adjustment of some disputes, between Florens of Sardis, the Metropolitan of Lydia, and two bishops of the same province. When this case was concluded (9), the Bishop of Dorileum arose, and presented a document to the Council, requiring that it should be read and inserted in the Acts. The document was read, and in it Eusebius charged Eutyches with blaspheming Jesus Christ, with speaking with disrespect of the Holy Fathers, and with accusing himself, whose whole study it was to make war with heresy, with being a heretic; he demanded, therefore, that Eutyches should be cited to appear before the Council, to give an account of his expressions, and he promised that he would be prepared to convict him of heresy, and thus, those whom he had perverted, could see the evil of their ways and repent. When the paper was read through, St. Flavian besought Eusebius to see Eutyches once more in private, and try to bring him to a better sense. Eusebius answered, that he had done so over and over already, and could bring many witnesses to prove it, but all in vain, and, he therefore, again begged of the Council, at any cost, to summon Eutyches, that he might not lead others astray, as he had already perverted a great number. Still, however, St. Flavian wished that Eusebius should try once more the effect of a private remonstrance, but he refused, as he had so often made the attempt already and could not succeed. The Synod, at length, received the charge against Eutyches, and deputed a priest and deacon to wait on him, and summon him to appear at the ensuing Session of the Council to clear himself. The second Session was then held, and in that, the two principal letters of St. Cyril, on

(9) Orsi, *loc. cit.* n. 17; Fleury, *l.* 27, n. 24.

the Incarnation of the Word, were read, that is, his second letter to Nestorius, approved by the Council of Ephesus, and the other to the Council of John, of Antioch, after the conclusion of the peace. When these letters were read, St. Flavian said, that his Faith was, that Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man, composed of body and soul, consubstantial to his Father, according to his Divinity, and consubstantial to his Mother, according to his humanity, and that from the union of the two natures—Divine and human, in one sole *hypostasis* or person, there results but one Jesus Christ, after the Incarnation of the Word, and all the other Bishops made the same profession. Other Sessions were held, and other citations were sent to Eutyches, calling on him to appear and justify himself, but he refused, and alleged as an excuse—that he never left his convent, and, besides, that he was then sick (10).

47.—Towards the close of the seventh Session, Eutyches, presented himself before the Council, for he could no longer refuse the repeated citations he received, but the Fathers were surprised to see him enter, accompanied by a great troop of soldiers (11), of monks, and of officers of the Prefect of the Pretorium, who would not allow him to enter the Council, till the Fathers promised to send him back safe again. He came into the Council hall, and he was followed by the “Great Silenciary,” (an officer so called among the Romans, whose duty it was to preserve the peace of the Imperial Palace), who presented, and read an order from the Emperor, commanding that the Patrician Florentius, should attend the Council for the conservation of the Faith. Florentius came, and then Eusebius of Dorileum the accuser, and Eutyches the accused, were placed both standing in the midst of the Council. The letter of St. Cyril to the Orientals, in which, the distinction of the two Natures is expressed was then read. Eusebius then said: Eutyches does not agree to this, but teaches the contrary. When the reading of the Acts was concluded, St. Flavian said to Eutyches: You have heard what your accuser has said; declare, then, if you confess the union of the two Natures in Christ? Eutyches answered that

(10) Orsi, n. 18.

(11) Fleury, l. 27, n. 28; Orsi, t. 14,
l. 32, n. 23; Baron. An. 448, n. 48;
Hermant, t. 1, c. 155.

he did. But, replied Eusebius, do you confess the two natures, after the Incarnation; and do you believe that Jesus Christ is consubstantial to us, according to the flesh or not? Eutyches turning to St. Flavian answered: I came not here to dispute, but to declare what my opinion is, I have written it in this paper, let it be read. St. Flavian said, read it yourself. I cannot read it, said Eutyches. He then made this confession: "I adore the Father with the Son, and the Son with the Father, and the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son. I confess his coming in the flesh, taken from the flesh of the Holy Virgin, and, that he has been made perfect man for our salvation." Flavian again asked him: Do you now confess, here present, that Jesus Christ has two Natures? "Hitherto, I have not said so, said he, now I confess it." Florentius asked him: If he professed that there are two Natures in Christ, and that Jesus Christ is consubstantial to us? Eutyches answered: "I have read in Cyril and Athanasius, that Christ was of two Natures, and I, therefore, confess that our Lord was, before his Incarnation, of two Natures, but after these were united, they do not say any longer that he had two Natures, but only one; let St. Athanasius be read, and you will see that he does not say two Natures." Eutyches did not advert, that both his propositions were open heresy, as St. Leo well remarks in his letter: The second proposition, that is, that Christ, after the union of the two Natures, was of only one Nature. The human nature, as Eutyches said, being absorbed in and confounded with the Divine Nature, would prove, that the Divinity itself in Christ had suffered and died, and, that the sufferings and death of Christ were only a mere fable. The first proposition was no less heretical than the second, that Christ, previous to his Incarnation, had two natures—for this could only be sustained by upholding the heresy of Origen, that the souls of men were all created before the beginning of the world, and then, from time to time, sent to inhabit the bodies of men.

48.—When Eutyches spoke thus, Basil of Seleucia said to him: "If you do not say that there were two Natures after the union, you admit a mixture or confusion." Florentius replied: "He who does not admit two Natures in Christ, does not believe as he ought." Then the Council exclaimed: "Faith ought not

to be forced. He will not submit; what do you exhort him for?" St. Flavian then, with consent of the Bishops, pronounced the sentence in these terms: "Eutyches, Priest, and Archimandrite, and fully convicted, both by his past acts, and his present confessions, to hold the errors of Valentine and Apollinares, and more so, as he has had no regard to our admonitions: therefore, weeping and sighing for his total loss, we declare, on the part of Jesus Christ, whom he blasphemes, that he is deprived of every priestly grade, of our communion, and of the government of his monastery; and we make known this, that all those who hold any conversation or communication with him shall be excommunicated" (12). Here are the words of the decree, as quoted by Noel Alexander (13): "Per omnia Eutiches quondam Presbyter, et Archimandrita, Valentini, et Apollinaris perversitatibus compertus est ægrotare, et eorum blasphemias incommutabiliter sequi; qui nec nostram reveritus persuasionem, atque doctrinam, rectis noluit consentire dogmatibus. Unde illacrymati, et gementes perfectam ejus perditionem, decrevimus per Dominum N. Jesum Christum, quem blasphematus est, extraneum eum esse ab omni officio Sacerdotali, et a nostra communione, et primatu Monasterii; scientibus hoc omnibus, qui cum eo exinde colloquantur, aut eum convenerint, quoniam rei erunt et ipsi pœne excommunicationis." This sentence was subscribed by thirty-two Bishops, and twenty-three Abbots, of whom eighteen were Priests, one a Deacon, and four laymen. When the Council was terminated, Eutyches said to the Patrician Florentius, in a low voice, that he appealed to the Council of the Most Holy Bishop of Rome, and of the Bishops of Alexandria, of Jerusalem, and of Thessalonica, and Florentius immediately communicated it to St. Flavian, as he was leaving the hall to go to his own apartment. This expression, thus privately dropped (14), gave a handle to Eutyches afterwards to boast that he had appealed to the Pope, to whom he wrote, as we shall soon see.

49.—This pretended appeal did not prevent St. Flavian from publishing the sentence of excommunication, but Eutyches made use of it, to publish a great many false charges against the

(12) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 27, n. 28*; Orsi, *t. 14, l. 52, n. 23*.

(13) Nat. Alex. *t. 10, c. 3, art. 13, sec. 4*.

(14) St. Leo, Epis. 20, *al. 8*.

Synod, which he accused of trampling on all the rules of justice in his regard. The sentence of the Council was published, by order of St. Flavian, in all the Monasteries, and subscribed by their Archimandrites; but the Monks of the Monastery Eutyches governed, instead of separating themselves from his communion, preferred to remain without Sacraments, and some of them even died without the Viaticum, sooner than forsake their impious master. Eutyches complained very much of St. Flavian, for calling on the heads of the other Monasteries to subscribe his sentence, as a novelty never before used in the Church, not even against heretics; but, on the other hand, it was a new thing to find an Abbot chief of a heretical Sect, and disseminating his pestilent errors in the Monasteries. He also complained that St. Flavian had removed his protests, posted up in Constantinople, against the Council, and which were a tissue of abuse and calumny, as if he had any right to stir up the people against a Council now closed, or to defend his pretended innocence by calumnious libels (15).

50.—He next wrote to St. Peter Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, complaining of the judgment of St. Flavian, with the intention of gaining the favour of this holy Bishop, who had great influence with the Emperor Valentinian, and his mother, Placida, who, in general, resided at Ravenna. St. Peter answered him, that, as he had not received any letter from Flavian, nor heard what that Bishop had to say in the matter, he could give no opinion on the controversy, and he exhorts him to read and obey whatever the Pontiff, St. Leo, would write to him: "Above all things, we advise you, honourable brother, obediently to attend to whatever is written by his Holiness the Pope, since St. Peter, who lives and presides in his See, affords to those who seek it the truth of Faith." This letter is found in Bernini and Peter Annatus (16). Both Eutyches and St. Flavian wrote afterwards to St. Leo—Eutyches, to complain of the grievances he asserted were inflicted on him by the Council of Constantinople, and St. Flavian, to explain the just cause he had to depose and excommunicate Eutyches. St. Leo having

(15) Orsi, cit. n. 33.

(16) Bernin. t. 1, sec. 5, c. 6, p. 510;
Petr. Anat. Ap. par ad Thcol. l. 4,
de Script. Eccl. art. 30.

(17) St. Leo, Epis. 20, ap. Orsi, ibid,
n. 24, 25; Fleury, n. 31, 32.

received the letter of Eutyches before that of St. Flavian, wrote to him (17), wondering that he had not already written to him what he thought of the matter, for he could not make out, from the letter of Eutyches, the reason of his excommunication. He, therefore, ordered him to inform him immediately of the whole transaction, and especially of the erroneous doctrine for which he was condemned, that, as the Emperor wished, an end might be put to this discord, and peace restored, especially as Eutyches professed his willingness to be corrected, if it was proved he had erred. St. Flavian answered the Pope, giving him a full account of every thing, and, among the rest, that Eutyches, in place of repenting, was only endeavouring to disturb the Church of Constantinople, by wicked libels and petitions to the Emperor, for a revision of the Acts of the Synod at which he was condemned, and making charges to the effect that the Acts were falsified. In fact, on the 8th of April, 449, another assembly was held in Constantinople, by order of the Emperor, and St. Flavian (18) was obliged to present his profession of Faith, in which he declares, that he recognizes in Jesus Christ two Natures after the Incarnation, in one Person, and that he did not also refuse to say *one nature* of the Divine Word, if the words *incarnate* and *humanized* were also used, and he excommunicated Nestorius and all who divided Jesus Christ into two persons (19). No other matter of importance was decided in that meeting.

51.—In the meantime, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, at the instigation of Eutyches, and urged on by Chrysaphius, his protector, wrote to the Emperor, that it was necessary to convoke a General Council, and he obtained an order for it, through the influence of Chrysaphius. Before we proceed, however, it will be necessary to give an insight into the character of Dioscorus, as we shall have to speak frequently of his wickedness hereafter. He concealed his vices under an exterior of virtue, to obtain the Bishopric of Alexandria (20), in which, for his own misfortune, he was successful; he was avaricious, immoral, and furiously violent. When placed on the Episcopal throne of Alexandria, he threw aside all restraint; treated most cruelly

(18) Liberat. Brevia. c. 11.

(19) Fleury, t. 4, l. 97, n. 31; Nat. Alex. c. 3, art. 13, sec. 6, 7.

(20) Hermant, t. 1, c. 156.

those Ecclesiastics who were honoured by St. Cyril; some he reduced to beggary, and even burned their houses, and tortured them in prison; others he sent into banishment. He kept improper women in his palace, and publicly bathed with them, to the insufferable scandal of the people. He so persecuted the nephews of St. Cyril, depriving them of all their property, that he drove them as wanderers through the world, while he made a show with their property, distributing it among the bakers and tavern-keepers of the city, that they might sell better bread and wine (21). He was charged with many homicides, and with causing a famine in Egypt by his insatiable avarice. It is even told of him that, a lady having left her property to the hospitals and the monasteries, he ordered it to be distributed among the actors and prostitutes of Alexandria. Hermant asserts (22) that he followed the errors of the Origenists and the Arians: such was the protector of Eutyches. Now to the subject.

52.—Theodosius convoked the Council, in Ephesus, for the 1st of August, 449 (it was not held, however, till the 8th), and sent his diploma to Dioscorus, appointing him President, with power to assemble whatever bishops he pleased to try the case of Eutyches. Never, perhaps, before was the world disgraced by such acts of injustice as were committed by Dioscorus in that Synod, which has been justly called, by Ecclesiastical writers, the *Latrocinium Ephesinum*, or meeting of robbers at Ephesus; for he, abandoning himself to his innate ferocity, used horrible violence towards the Catholic Bishops, and even towards the two Legates, Hilary, Deacon of the Roman Church, and Julius, Bishop of Pozzuoli, sent by St. Leo, to represent him at the Council. When these saw the Holy See excluded from the presidency of the Council, in their persons, for Dioscorus, who usurped the first place, they judged it better to take the last place, and to appear no longer as Legates of the Pope, when they saw his authority slighted. Lucretius, the Pope's Legate in the Council of Chalcedon, charged Dioscorus with this after, and called him to answer for his audacity, in holding a Synod in Ephesus, without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never, he said, has been lawful, nor has ever been done; and he

(21) Baron. Ann. 444, n. 33, ex Lib.

(23) Liberat. Brevia. c. 12.

(22) Hermant, loc. cit.

could not have made this charge, if Hilary and Julius had been received in the Council as Legates of the Pope (23). Nevertheless, they several times requested that the letter of Pope Leo should be read (24); but Dioscorus would never allow it, calling for other documents to be read, according to his own pleasure; neither would he allow any examination of Articles of Faith, fulminating anathemas against any one who would allude to it. It was quite enough, he said, to hold by what was decided in the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, and, since they had decided that, no novelty should now be introduced to interfere with their decisions (25).

53.—Dioscorus now called on Eutyches to read his profession of Faith and the impious heresiarch anathematized Apollinares and Nestorius, or any one that would assert that the flesh of Jesus Christ came down from heaven. When he came to this passage, Basil of Seleucia interrupted him, and asked him to explain the manner in which he believed the Word had taken human flesh? but he gave him no answer, nor did the heads of the Synod, as they ought to have done, oblige him to explain himself, for this was the principal point of the whole question; for, if the Divine Nature destroyed the human nature in the Incarnation, or the human nature was confounded with the Divine Nature, as the Eutychians asserted, how could it be said that the Word of God took human flesh? However, without waiting for the answer to the question of Basil, the notary was ordered to proceed with the reading of the document of Eutyches, in which he complained of the sentence passed on him, and concluded by requiring that his persecutors should be punished (26). When this statement of Eutyches was read, St. Flavian said that it was but just that his accuser, Eusebius of Dorileum, should be heard likewise, but not only this was refused, but St. Flavian himself, was told that he was not allowed to speak, as the Emperor had given positive orders that none of those who had passed judgment on Eutyches before should be allowed to say a word without leave of the Synod (27).

54.—The Acts of the Synod, held by St. Flavian, were then read, and also the two letters of St. Cyril to Nestorius and John

(24) Orsi, n. 41.

(25) Orsi, n. 52.

(26) Orsi, n. 53.

(27) Orsi, n. 14, l. 32, n. 54.

of Antioch, in which St. Cyril approved of the expression of the two Natures. Eustatius of Beyrooth, a partizan of Eutyches, then remarked to the Council that St. Cyril, in two other letters written to Acacius of Melitis and Valerian of Iconium, did not use the words, two Natures, but the one Nature of the Divine Word Incarnate, and thus this Eutychian bishop wished to make it appear that St. Cyril held the same faith as Eutyches, but this was all a calumny against St. Cyril, for the saint in a thousand passages of his writings had expressly spoken of the two Natures of Christ, and besides the expression, the one nature of the Incarnate Word only meant the *union* in Christ of two distinct Natures, the Divine and human. And this was most clearly expressed soon after, in the Council of Chalcedon, in which it was laid down that these words, used first by St. Cyril, and afterwards by St. Flavian, were only used in that sense, and an anathema was pronounced against any one using the expression, "the one nature," with the intention of denying that the flesh of Christ was consubstantial with ours. The votes given in the Council held by St. Flavian were next read, and when the vote of Basil of Seleucia, that two Natures should be required in Christ, was read out, all the Egyptians and the monks, followers of Barsuma, cried out: "Let him be cut in two who speaks of two natures in Christ; he is a Nestorian heretic." It was then read out that Eusebius of Dorileum had pressed Eutyches to confess two Natures in Christ, and when the same party heard this, they cried out with all their force: "To the pile with Eusebius, let him be burned alive; as he has divided Jesus Christ, let him be cut in two halves himself" (28). Dioscorus being now assured of the suffrages of the bishops, for some adhered to him through liking, and more through terror, called on every one to give his sentence; and thus the faith of Eutyches was approved of, and he was re-established in his dignity, and the monks, his adherents, who were excommunicated by St. Flavian, were again received into communion (29).

55.—The great object which Dioscorus had in view, however,

(28) Orsi, n. 55.

(29) Orsi, n. 56; Baron. Ann. 448, n. 91, ad 93.

was the deposition of St. Flavian and of Eusebius of Dorileum, and he therefore ordered the decree of the Synod antecedent to that of Ephesus to be read, prohibiting, under pain of anathema and deposition, any other Symbol but that of Nice to be used. The intention of the Council in passing this law, was to reject the malignant Symbol of Theodore of Mopsuestia, in which, as Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (30), relates, the Nestorian blasphemy was introduced, and it was professed: First—That the Holy Virgin was not the real Mother of God. Second—That man was not united to the Word according to the substance, but through good will. Third—That Jesus Christ ought to be adored but only as the image of God. Fourth—That the flesh of Jesus Christ availeth nothing. Theodore, besides, denied Original Sin, and on that account, when Julian and his fellow Pelagians were banished out of Italy by the Pope St. Celestine, they went to Theodore, who, as Marius Mercator informs us, received them kindly. Cassianus (31) also tells us that the Pelagians taught the same errors as Nestorius and Theodore, that is, that Christ was but a mere man, and they meant to prove by that proposition that it was possible for a man to be without Original Sin, as he was so, and hence they deduced as an inference, that other men might be without sin, likewise, if they wished to be so. But to the point; the intention of the Council then was to reject the Symbol of the impious Theodore, as it was afterwards declared in the fifth Ecumenical Council, in which, as we shall see in the following chapter, the *Three Chapters* were condemned, as was also Theodore and his writings; but it was not the intention of the Council of Ephesus, nor did it ever prohibit the use of other words, besides those used in the Council of Nice, when these expressions are only used to express more clearly the sense of any Catholic dogma, impugned by some new heresy not taken into consideration of the Council of Nice. Still, Dioscorus, intent on the condemnation of St. Flavian and Eusebius, ordered that the Decree of the Council of Ephesus should be read, and then immediately called on the notaries, and without any form of trial, or giving St. Flavian any time to

(30) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 26, n. 36*, in fine.(31) Cassian. *l. 1, de Incar. contra Nestor. c. 2 & 3.*

defend himself, ordered one of the notaries to read the sentence of deposition against these two bishops, on the false charge that they had introduced novelties in Faith, and had not adhered to the words of the Symbol of Nice (32). St. Flavian instantly put into the hands of the Legates of the Pope, an appeal against the sentence (33). Several Bishops, horrified at such a glaring act of injustice, endeavoured to soothe Dioscorus; some of them even throwing themselves at his feet, and embracing his knees, besought him to revoke the sentence, but all to no avail, for he told them he would sooner cut out his own tongue than revoke it; and when they still, in the most pressing manner, continued to implore him to change his mind, he stood up on the steps of the throne and cried out: "Are you then determined to create a sedition; where then are the Counts?" The Counts at once came into the church with a strong body of soldiers, and were joined by the partisans of Diodorus and the monks of Barsumas, so that the church became a scene of tumult and confusion. The Bishops all fled, some to one part of the edifice, some to another, but the doors were all bolted, and guarded, so that no one could escape. Dioscorus then, to give a finishing stroke to this villany, presented a blank paper to the Bishops, that they might subscribe the sentence, and those who showed any disposition to refuse, were threatened with deposition, banishment, and even with death, as partisans of the Nestorian heresy. On all sides shouts arose: "Cut them in pieces if they say there are two Natures." The soldiers obliged them to sign their names, and if they refused, beat them with clubs, threatened them with drawn swords, and even wounded some of them, so that the church was sprinkled with their blood. The Bishops thus constrained, finally all signed the sentence of deposition, but said when the Synod was dissolved, that it was not they, but the soldiers, who deposed St. Flavian; but this excuse went but a little way to justify them, for no Christian, let alone a Bishop, should through fear, condemn an innocent man, or betray the truth (34).

(56).—The wretch Dioscorus was so enraged at the appeal of

(32) Fleury, *l.* 27, *n.* 41.

(33) Orsi, *l.* 33, *n.* 58; Baron. Ann.
449, *n.* 92.

(34) Orsi, *n.* 59 & 60.

St. Flavian, that, not satisfied with having deposed and banished this holy Bishop, he laid violent hands on him, and became his executioner, or, at all events, the cause of his death, for he was so blinded with passion, that he struck him on the face, kicked him in the stomach, and throwing him on the ground, trampled on his belly. Timothy Eleurus, and Peter Mongus, who afterwards disgraced the Episcopal throne of Alexandria, and the impious Barsumas, who cried out in the Synod: "Kill him, kill him," were also parties to his death, and it is on that account, that when Barsumas presented himself afterwards in the Council of Chalcedon, they cried out: "Turn out the murderer Barsumas; cast the murderer to the beasts." St. Flavian did not die on the spot, but being dragged to prison, and given in the hands of the guards the next day to be conveyed to the place of his banishment, after three days' weary travelling, he arrived at Epipa, a city of Lydia, and then gave up his holy soul into the hands of his Maker. This is the account Cardinal Orsi gives of his death (35), and Fleury and Hermant agree with him in the particulars; and it is on this account the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon did not scruple to give him the title of Martyr (36). Eusebius of Dorileum escaped, because he was not allowed admission into this impious meeting; he was deposed and condemned to exile, but escaped to Rome, where St. Leo received him into his communion, and retained him with himself, till his departure for the Council of Chalcedon. In the meanwhile, Dioscorus continued to publish anathemas and suspensions against these Bishops whom he any ways suspected were opposed to the doctrines of Eutyches; he condemned Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, as a heretic, in his absence, and proscribed his works, on account of his having written against the anathemas of St. Cyril (37). It is necessary, in order to explain the injustice of condemning Theodoret as a heretic, to give some account of this learned and remarkable man.

57.—Cardinal Orsi (38) very justly remarks, that if Theodoret never was so unfortunate as to oppose for some time St.

(35) Orsi. *t.* 14, *l.* 32, *n.* 62; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 27, *n.* 41; Hermant. *t.* 1, *c.* 157.

(36) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 62, vide;

Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 67, *n.* 41, *t.* 1; Ber. *p.* 552.

(37) Orsi, *n.* 68.

(38) Orsi, *t.* 12, *l.* 28, *n.* 49.

Cyril, the great defender of the Faith, against Nestorius, his name, at the present day, would be venerated like the venerable names of St. Basil, St. Chrystostom, and St. Gregory, whose equal, perhaps, he was both in virtue and learning. He was born in Antioch (39), about the end of the fourth century. After the death of his parents, who were both rich and noble, he sold all his property, and gave it to the poor, reserving nothing for himself. He retired to the solitude of a monastery, and spent the greater part of the day in prayer, and the remainder in the study of literature, both sacred and profane. His master, unfortunately, was Theodore of Mopsuestia, of whose errors we have already spoken (*n.* 48), but he did not infect his disciple with them. He was forced from his solitude, and against his will made Bishop of Cyrus, a small, but very populous Sec, with eight hundred churches. The desire of assisting the many poor souls in his diocese, infected with heresy, overcame his attachment to his solitude, and his repugnance to accept of any dignity, so he gave up his whole soul to the discharge of his pastoral duties, nourishing the piety of his people, and combatting the heresies which infected part of his diocese; and he succeeded in rescuing eight villages from the darkness of the heresy of Marcion.

58.—On reading the Anathematisms of St. Cyril (40), he wrote against them, and in no measured terms, and appeared rather to favour Nestorius than St. Cyril, who laboured to convince him of his mistake. Although he appeared to recognize only one Christ alone, and called the Holy Virgin the Mother of God, still, his arguments would lead us to believe, that he divided Christ into two persons, and gave Mary the title of Mother of God, in the sense of Nestorius, that is, mother of him who was the temple of God. St. Cyril, withal, justified him, and said, that though his mode of expressing himself was rash, that they agreed in Faith, and, he therefore writes (41), that he did not wish to fall out with Theodoret, as long as he confessed that God was not separated from human nature, and that Christ was not separated from the Divinity, but was both God and man. On

(39) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 4, *n.* 28 ;
Orsi, *loc. cit.* *n.* 50.

(40) Orsi, *l.* 28, *n.* 62.

(41) St. Cyril, Apol. cap.

the other hand, Theodoret (42), being in Antioch when the letters of Pope St. Celestine and St. Cyril were received, joined with John, Patriarch of Antioch, and wrote to Nestorius, that he should not disturb the Church, by denying to Mary the title of the Mother of God, because, said he, that cannot be denied without corrupting the truth of the Incarnation of the Word. It cannot be doubted, but that Theodoret was somewhat reprehensible in his writings, against the Anathematisms of St. Cyril, and the Cabal of Ephesus, and in his defence of Theodore and Nestorius, and those productions were condemned in the second Council of Constantinople; but we should not forget, that he erred, not in holding the doctrines of Nestorius, but in believing that St. Cyril was an upholder of the doctrines of Apollinares, so that when he read (43) St. Cyril's letter, to Acacius of Berea, in which the Saint clears himself from the imputation of being a favourer of the doctrines of Apollinares, and professes, that he firmly believes, that the body of Christ was animated by a reasoning soul, and expresses his detestation of the confusion of the two Natures, and declares that he holds the nature of the Word to be impassable, but that Christ suffered according to the flesh; he at once, thinking that St. Cyril had now forsaken the doctrine of Apollinares (44), and no longer believed in the confusion of the two Natures, felt quite happy, and said, that St. Cyril now followed the pure doctrine of the Fathers, and wrote him a loving letter, because, as he said, he now recognized in the Incarnation of the Word, one Son alone, and one Christ alone, with the distinction of the two Natures; St. Cyril cordially answered him, and this was the commencement of a friendly correspondence between them (45).

59.—Theodoret next wrote his work *Eranistes* (the Beggar), against the Eutychians (46), and, on that account, through the calumnies of Eutyches, he was first confined by the Emperor to his Diocese of Cyrus, and was afterwards deposed by Dioscorus, in the Cabal of Ephesus, but he appealed from this sentence to St. Leo, and subsequently retired to his old monastery, near Apamea (47). He was afterwards recalled from exile, by

(42) Orsi, *t.* 13, *l.* 30, *n.* 66 & seq.

(43) Orsi, *t.* 13, *l.* 30, *n.* 12.

(44) Orsi, *n.* 13.

(45) Orsi, *t.* 13, *l.* 30, *n.* 67.

(46) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 32, *n.* 10 & 11.

(47) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 32, *n.* 68, & seq. ad. 85,

Marcian (48), and St. Leo declared him innocent, and reinstated him in the See of Cyrus (49). Finally, in the Council of Chalcedon, after publicly anathematizing Nestorius, and all who did not call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God, and divided Jesus Christ into two Sons, he was received by all the Fathers, and declared worthy of being restored to his See (50). It is supposed that he lived to the year 458, and that, towards the end of his life, he composed the treatise on Heretical Fables (51).

60.—We now come back to the impious Synod of Ephesus. The majority of the Bishops having now subscribed the condemnation of St. Flavian, the few, who refused to lend themselves to this iniquity, were sent into banishment by Dioscorus. These few confessors alone, and Hilary, the Pope's Legate, were the only members who had the courage to protest, and declared that a Cabal like that would never be approved of by the Pope, or be received, as it undermined the Apostles' Creed, and that they never would, through terror, give up the Faith they professed (52). Dioscorus, in the meanwhile, having now closed the meeting, returned in joy and triumph to Alexandria, and to such a pitch did his arrogance then arrive, that he solemnly published a sentence of excommunication against St. Leo, and partly by cajolery, and partly by terror, obliged about ten Bishops, who returned with him to Egypt, to subscribe to it, though they did it weeping, and lamenting the horrible impiety they were called on to perform (53). Orsi (54) says, on the authority of the statement made to the Council of Chalcedon, by Theodore, a Deacon of Alexandria, that Dioscorus was guilty of this act of madness in Nice, beyond the bounds of Egypt (55).

61.—When St. Leo heard of these atrocious proceedings, he wrote to Theodosius, explaining to him the deplorable state to which Religion was reduced by Dioscorus, but all in vain, for the Emperor, gained over by his courtiers, in favour of Eutyches, and regardless of the prayer of the Pope, and the sage advices of the Princess Pulcheria, instead of punishing the efforts the

(48) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 3.

(49) Orsi, *ibid.* *n.* 20.

(50) Orsi, *ibid.* *n.* 70.

(51) Orsi, *ibid.* *n.* 20.

(52) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 13, *n.* 61.

(53) Hermant. *t.* 1, *c.* 157; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 27, *n.* 41.

(54) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 32, *n.* 97.

(55) Libel. Theo. *æt.* Con. Chal. *v.* Fleury, *l.* *cit.*

Eutychians were making, re-established Eutyches himself in all his honors, condemned the memory of St. Flavian, and approved of all that was done in Ephesus (56). He, therefore, wrote to St. Leo, that as the Council of Ephesus had examined everything according to the rules of justice and of the Faith, and as those unworthy of the dignity of the priesthood were deprived of it, so those who were worthy were re-established in the grade they before held (57). Such was the answer of Theodosius; but God, who always watches over his flock, though he sometimes appears to sleep, soon after removed this Prince out of the world, in the year 450, the 59th of his age; previous to his death, however, as Orsi remarks (58), he listened to the remonstrances of his holy sister, and gave several proofs of his sorrow for having favoured Eutyches. As he died without issue, he left the Empire to his sister, St. Pulcheria, whose piety and wisdom soon healed the disorders caused by the weakness of her brother, in allowing himself to be governed by his courtiers. Though no one could be found more worthy to govern the Empire alone than she was, still her subjects were anxious that she should marry, and give them a new Emperor. She was, however, now advanced in years, and besides, had made a vow of perpetual virginity; anxious, therefore, to please her subjects, and at the same time, remain faithful to her promises to God, she gave her hand to the Senator Marcian, of whose probity and regard for herself, personally, she was perfectly convinced, and who, she well knew, was better qualified than any other to govern the Empire; and his subsequent conduct proved, that her opinion of his goodness was not unfounded. In the beginning of his career, this great man was only a private soldier, but his wisdom and prudence elevated him to the senatorial rank (59).

(56) Hermant. *t.* 1, *c.* 157.(57) Orsi, *l.* 32, *n.* 90.(58) Orsi, *loc. cit. n.* 101.(59) Hermant. *t.* 1, *c.* 158.

§ II.

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

62.—A Council is assembled in Chalcedon, under the Emperor Marcian, and the Pope St. Leo. 63.—The cause of Dioscorus is tried in the first Session. 64.—He is Condemned. 65.—Articles of Faith defined in opposition to the Eutychian Heresy, according to the Letter of St. Leo. 66.—Privileges granted by the Council to the Patriarch of Constantinople. 67.—Refused by St. Leo. 68.—Eutyches and Dioscorus die in their obstinacy. 69.—Theodosius, head of the Eutychians in Jerusalem. 70.—His Cruelty. 71.—Death of St. Pulcheria and of Marcian. 72.—Timothy Eleurus intruded into the See of Alexandria. 73.—Martyrdom of St. Proterius, the true Bishop. 74.—Leo succeeds Marcian in the Empire. 75.—Eleurus is expelled from the See of Alexandria, and Timothy Salofacialus is elected. 76.—Zeno is made Emperor; he puts Basiliscus to death. Eleurus commits suicide. 77.—St. Simon Stilites. 78.—His happy Death. 79.—Peter the Stammerer intruded into the See of Alexandria.

62.—Marcian was proclaimed Emperor on the 24th of August, in the year 450, and on assuming the Imperial power, recognizing in his elevation the work of God, he, at once, began to advance His glory, and try every means to banish heresy from his dominions. With that intention, he wrote two letters to Pope Leo, praying him to convoke a Council, and preside at it in person, or, at all events, to send his Legates, and strive to give peace to the Church. St. Pulcheria wrote to St. Leo, likewise, and informed him of the translation of the body of St. Flavian to Constantinople, and, also, that Anatolius, the Patriarch of that city, had already subscribed the letter he, the Pope, had sent to St. Flavian, against the heresy of Eutyches; that all who had been banished were now recalled; and she prayed him, to do what was in his power to have the Council celebrated (1). The Pope was highly delighted that what he sought for so anxiously, during the reign of Theodosius, was now in his power, but he requested that the Council should be put off for a time, for the Huns, under Attila, overran Italy, and

(1) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 27, n. 48*, in fin.

the Bishops could not, with safety, proceed to the place of meeting. The barbarians were soon after defeated by the Franks, and St. Leo now set about convening the Council, and, at once, sent as his Legates to Constantinople, Pascasinus, Bishop of Lilibeum, in Sicily, Julian of Cos, Lucentius of Ascoli, and Basil, and Boniface, Priests of the Roman Church (2). The Emperor, at first, was desirous that the Council should be held in Nice, but, for just reasons, he was satisfied afterwards that it should be transferred to Chalcedon. This Council was celebrated in the year 451, in the great Church of St. Euphemia, Virgin, and Martyr; and St. Leo (3) says, it was attended by six hundred Bishops; but Liberatus and Marcellinus (4) tell us, the number was six hundred and thirty; and Nicephorus (5) raises it to six hundred and thirty-six.

63.—The first matter the Council deliberated on in the first Session, held on the 8th of October, 451, was the examination of the conduct of the impious Dioscorus. He went to the Synod with the hope that his party would be still all-powerful through the Bishops who subscribed the acts of the Cabal of Ephesus, but Pascasinus standing up, said that Dioscorus should not take his seat in the Council, but should present himself as a criminal, to be judged; and seeing him then seated among the Bishops, he called on the Judges and the Senate to have him expelled, otherwise he and his colleagues would leave the Council. The Imperial ministers demanded from the Legate his reasons for calling for the expulsion of Dioscorus, and then Lucentius, another of the Legates, answered that he had dared to summon a Synod, without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never was lawful, nor ever before done (6). Dioscorus then took his seat in the middle of the church, and Eusebius of Dorileum, likewise, as his accuser, on account of the sentence pronounced against himself and against St. Flavian, and he demanded that the Acts of the Council of Ephesus should be read. The letter of the Emperor for the convocation of the Council was first read, and Theodoret, on account of his writings against St. Cyril, was at first prevented from taking his place among the Fathers, but

(2) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 35, *n.* 28 & 29.(3) St. Leo, *Epis.* 52.(4) *Lib. Brev. c.* 13, & *Mar. in Chron.*(5) *Vide. Nat. Alex. t.* 10, *c.* 4, *a.* 13, *s.* 17.(6) *Acta, Con. Chal.*

as St. Leo and the Emperor Marcian, had re-established him in his See, he was introduced as one of the members. His enemies, however, immediately began tumultuously to oppose his admission, so the Imperial Officers ordered him to sit also in the middle as an accuser, but without prejudice to his rights, and he was afterwards re-established in his See by the Council itself, after anathematizing the errors of Nestorius, and subscribing the definition of Faith, and the Epistle of the Pope, St. Leo (7). The Acts of the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus were next read, and the Profession of Faith of St. Flavian, and the Imperial Judges asked the Council if it was Catholic. The Legates answered in the affirmative, as it coincided with the letter of St. Leo. Many of the Bishops then, who sat with Dioscorus's party, went over to the other side, but he, though left alone almost, as only a few Egyptian Bishops held on to him, still persevered in maintaining the Eutychian errors, and asserting that after the union of the Divinity with the humanity of Christ, we should not say those were two Natures, but only one in the Incarnate Word. When the reading of the Acts was finished, the Imperial Minister declared that the innocence of St. Flavian and Eusebius of Dorileum, was fully established, and that those Bishops who had caused them to be deposed, should undergo the same sentence themselves, and thus the first Synod was concluded (8).

64.—The second Synod was held on the 10th of October, to decide on the Faith that should be held; the two creeds of Nice and Constantinople, the letter of St. Leo, and the two letters of St. Cyril, were read, and the Bishops then exclaimed: "We all believe the same. Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo; anathema to him who does not believe likewise." A petition, presented by Eusebius, against the injustice practised by Dioscorus, was then read, but he had left the church. Three Bishops were sent to summon him before the Council, but on various false pretences he refused to appear, though cited three times. The Legates, then, in the name of the Pope, declared him excommunicated and deposed from his Bishopric, and all the Bishops, both verbally and in writing, confirmed the sentence, which was sanctioned, likewise, by Marcian and St. Pulcheria (9).

(7) Orsi, *l.* 23, *n.* 45, 47 & 70.

(8) Orsi, *ibid.*, *n.* 49.

(9) Nat. Alex. *t.* 10, *c.* 3, *ar.* 13, *s.* 17; Orsi, *ibid.*, *n.* 50 & 55.

Some monks of the Eutychian party now presented themselves before the Synod; the principal among them were Carosus, Dorotheus, and Maximus. When these and their party entered the church (and among them was Barsumas, at whose appearance the Bishops all cried out: "Out with the murderer of St. Flavian"), they impudently demanded that Dioscorus and the other Bishops who came with him from Egypt, should be admitted as members of the assembly, and in case this demand was rejected, they would separate themselves, they said, from the communion of the Council. They received for answer, that in that case they would be deposed, and that if they persevered in disturbing the Church, they would be punished, as creators of sedition, by the secular power; but as they pertinaciously persevered, the Council gave them thirty days to consider themselves, at the expiration of which they would be punished as they deserved (10).

65.—After this, the Bishops subscribed the Dogmatical Epistle, of St. Leo, and set about definitively arranging the articles of Faith in opposition to the heresy of Eutyches; a formula composed by Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and some other Bishops, was read, but was not received by the Pope's Legates (11), for it said that Christ was *in* two Natures, but it did not say that he was *of* two Natures. The Bishops, who pertinaciously declared that nothing should be added to the ancient Symbols, were thus reasoned with by the Judges; Dioscorus, said they, is satisfied that it should be declared that Christ is *in* two Natures, but will not allow that he is *of* two Natures; on the other hand, St. Leo says, that there are in Christ two Natures united, without confusion or divisibility; whom then will you follow, Leo or Dioscorus? Then all cried out: "We believe as Leo believes; he has properly expounded the Faith; whosoever contradicts it is an Eutychian." The judges then added: "So you agree to the definition, according to the judgment of our Holy Father, that there are in Christ two Natures, united without confusion or division." Thus the clamours were finally stopped, and a formula adopted (12), in which it was declared, that the Fathers took for the rule of

(10) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 59, 60.

(11) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 62.

(12) Fleury *t.* 4, *l.* 28, *n.* 21; & Orsi, *loc. cit.* *n.* 61.

their definition, the Symbols of the two Councils of Nice and Constantinople, which were also the rule for that adopted in the Council of Ephesus, in which Pope Celestine and St. Cyril presided; in continuation it was said, that although the forementioned Symbols were sufficient for the full knowledge of the Faith, nevertheless, as the inventors of new heresies had adopted new expressions, and corrupting the doctrine of the Mystery of the Incarnation, some of them denied to the Virgin the title of the Mother of God, and others taught, that the nature of the Divinity and of the humanity were one and the same, and, that the Divine Nature was passible in Christ, therefore the holy Council confirmed both the Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nice, and of the one hundred and fifty Fathers of Constantinople; and, as the Council of Constantinople has added some words to the Creed of Nice, not because it was deficient in anything essential, but more clearly to explain the doctrine regarding the Holy Ghost, in opposition to those who denied the Divinity of the third Person of the Trinity, thus, with a similar intention, the Council of Chalcedon, in opposition to those who wish to corrupt the doctrine of the Incarnation, and say, that one Nature alone was born of the Virgin, or deny two Natures to Christ, besides the two forenamed Symbols admits the Synodical letter of the Blessed Cyril, and lastly, the letter of St. Flavian, against the errors of Eutyches, which corresponds with the letter of St. Leo, in which these are condemned, who divide the "Only-begotten" into two Sons; and those who attribute the Passion to his Divine Nature; and those who, of the Divinity and the humanity, make one Nature alone; and those, who say the flesh of Christ is celestial, or of any other substance than flesh; and those, who blasphemously teach, that before the union there were two Natures in Christ, but only one after the union. The Council, therefore, teaches that there is only one Lord Jesus Christ, in two Natures, without division, without change, and without confusion; that the difference of the two Natures was never removed on account of the union, but that each remains properly the same, both one and the other concurring in one person alone, and in one substance, so that Jesus Christ is not divided into two persons, but is always the same, only Son, and only-begotten Word, God. The Council

finally prohibited the teaching or holding of any other Faith, or any other Symbol to be composed for the use of the Catechumens, renewing after this manner the order of the Council of Ephesus, notwithstanding the abuse Dioscorus made of it. When the definitive decree was read, it was uniformly received by all the Fathers, and first the Legates, and next all the Metropolitans, put their signatures to it (13).

66.—When all these matters had been defined, the Council made other regulations, and, especially in the sixteenth and last Session, by the twenty-eighth Canon, the privilege of ordaining the Metropolitans of Pontus, of Asia, and of Thrace, who were, before, subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, was confirmed to Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople. This privilege was already granted to the Bishop of Constantinople, by a Council of one hundred and fifty Bishops, held in that city, in the time of Theodosius the Great, on the plea, that as Constantinople had become the seat of Empire, and the second Rome in the East, it was only proper that it should be decorated with the Primacy of honour, second only to Rome itself, especially as it was already in possession of the honour for sixty or seventy years past. The Legate Pascasinus, Bishop of Lilibeum, opposed this Canon. It was, he said, contrary to the ancient Canons of the Church, and especially to the sixth Canon of the Council of Nice, in which it was recognized that the Church of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, took precedence of Constantinople, not to speak of the Church of Rome, which always enjoyed the Primacy; but notwithstanding the opposition, the Fathers remained firm to the arrangement they decreed (14).

67.—The Bishops then wrote to St. Leo, giving him a statement of all that was done in the Council, and asking for his confirmation of their proceedings. In the Synodical Epistle, they recognize the Pope as the faithful interpreter of St. Peter, and acknowledge that he presided at the Synod as the head over the members. They first praise his Epistle, and next inform him of the sentence fulminated against Dioscorus, on account of his obstinacy, and the re-union of the repentant Bishops, and all these things, they said, were effected with the assistance of the

(13) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 66.(14) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 78 & 79.

Pontifical Vicars. They made some other regulations, they said, on the presumption that his Holiness would confirm them, and, especially, they confirmed the Primacy of honour to the Archbishop of Constantinople, for the reasons already stated (15). Besides this Synodical letter, the Emperor Marcian, St. Pulcheria, and Anatolius, wrote without the least delay to St. Leo, begging him, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legate, to confirm the twenty-eighth Canon of the Council, in favour of the See of Constantinople (16); but, although he was extremely desirous of obliging Marcian and St. Pulcheria, still, he never would agree to the violation of the Canons of the Council of Nice, and he answered them, that the prerogatives of the See of Antioch should be preserved (17).

68.—Before we go any further, we shall relate the fate of Eutyches and Dioscorus. Eutyches was banished by order of the Emperor, in 450, but being confined in the vicinity of the city of Constantinople, St. Leo (Ep. 75, edit. Rom.) wrote to St. Pulcheria (18), and afterwards to Marcian (Epis. 107), that he heard from Julian of Cos, that even in his exile, he continued to infect the people with his pestilent doctrines, and continued to disseminate his errors; he, therefore, besought the Emperor to banish him to some deserted neighbourhood. The Emperor complied with this request of the Pope; Eutyches was banished to a distant place, and there died as he lived, in sinful obstinacy (19). Dioscorus was banished to Gangres, in Paphlagonia, and soon after died without repentance, on the 4th of September, 454, leaving some impious writings, composed by him, in favour of the Eutychian heresy, which were afterwards condemned to be burnt by the Emperor Marcian (20).

69.—The followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus continued for many ages to disturb the Church, and there were several among these leaders of perdition, who excited others, and caused a great deal of harm. The Council of Chalcedon was scarcely over, when some monks from Palestine, who refused submission

(15) Orsi, *l. cit. n. 84.*

(16) Orsi, *l. cit. n. 82 & 63.*

(17) Fleury, *t. 14, l. 28, n. 33*; Orsi, *n. 86.*

(18) Orsi, *t. 14, l. 33, n. 4*; Fleury, *ibid. l. 28, n. 55.*

(19) Berni, *t. 1, c. 6, p. 534.*

(20) Orsi, *t. 14, l. 33, n. 55, in fin.*
133.

to the decree of the Council, excited several other monks of that country to join them, proclaiming that the Council had taken the part of Nestorius, obliging the faithful to adore two Persons in Christ, as they had decided on two Natures. The chief of these was a monk of the name of Theodosius (21), who was expelled by his Bishop from his monastery, on account of his vices, but still retained the monastic habit. He succeeded in gaining over to his side a great many monks in Palestine, through favour of Eudoxia, the widow of the Emperor Theodosius, who after his death retired to that country, to spend the remainder of her days (22). I have said he gained over a great many monks, but not all of them, for, as Evagrius (23) relates, there were very many among those solitaries, who led a most holy life, and we cannot, therefore, believe that all followed the impious Theodosius. When Juvenal returned from the Council, to his See of Jerusalem, he strove in vain to bring these blinded men to reason, but instead of succeeding, they not only did not repent, but had the audacity to attempt to force him to anathematize the Council and St. Leo, and on his refusal, collected a mob of the most depraved characters, and took possession of Jerusalem; they burned several houses, killed a number of persons, opened the prisons, and closed the gates of the city, to prevent the escape of Juvenal, and then proceeded to elect the wretch Theodosius Bishop of the See (24).

70.—When Theodosius was thus so iniquitously placed in the Episcopal throne of Jerusalem, he endeavoured to have Juvenal assassinated, and employed a wretch for that purpose, but this assassin, as he could not come at Juvenal, who escaped to Constantinople, joined some other wretches along with him, and killed St. Saverianus, Bishop of Schytopolis, (commemorated in the Roman Martyrology, on the 21st of February), and some of his adherents. He next set about establishing himself in his usurped See, by persecuting all who opposed his tyranny; some he caused to be cruelly tormented, he burned the houses of others, and, in particular, he put to death a Deacon of the name of Athanasius, and not satisfied with his murder, had his body dragged through the city, and cast to the dogs. Athanasius is

(21) Evag. *l.* 2, *c.* 5.(22) Ap. Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 35, *n.* 91.(23) Evag. *l.* 1, *c.* 31.(24) Orsi, *l.* cit. *n.* 90.

commemorated in the Martyrology, on the 5th of July (25). He next set out on a visitation through the Dioceses of the Patriarchate, accompanied by the monks of his party, and many others of dissipated characters, who spread desolation and destruction wherever they went. He drove several Bishops from their churches, and he even had some of them killed, and put his own partisans in their Sees; one of these, Theodotus, he ordained Bishop of Joppa, and another, Peter of Iberia, Bishop of Majuma, and, it was from one of these afterwards, that the impious Eleurus, the usurper of the See of Alexandria, received consecration (26). When Marcian was informed of the tyranny and insolence of Theodosius and his monks, he appeased the sedition, by proclaiming a pardon to all who would return to the obedience of the Church, and when he saw himself abandoned by his followers, he privately fled. After various wanderings, he came to the Convent of Sinai, and begged the monks to receive him, but they refused, so he fled on to Arabia, and concealed himself in the solitudes of that region. His usurpation lasted only a year and eight months, from the beginning of the year 452, till August, 453, when Juvenal returned to Jerusalem, and again took possession of his See (27).

71.—About this time, that is, in the year 453, St. Pulcheria died; though the learned have agreed as to the year, they have not as to the day of her death; but the Greeks in their Menelogues, and the Latins in their Martyrologies, celebrate her festival on the 10th of September. St. Leo, in one of his Epistles (Ep. 90), says in her praise, that she was possessed of the Royal power, and the Sacerdotal learning and spirit, with which she offered to God a perpetual sacrifice of praise; and to the zeal of this holy Empress he ascribed the stability of the Faith against the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. She preserved her virginity in marriage, and by her example, induced her sisters also to consecrate themselves to God. She built many hospitals, founded several monasteries, and erected a great number of churches, especially in honour of the Divine Mother, and the Church soon venerated her as a Saint (28). Four years

(25) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 94.

(26) Orsi, *n.* 111.

(27) Orsi, *cit. loc.* 33, *n.* 131.

(28) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 34, *n.* 12 & 13.

after, in the year 457, the Emperor Marcian died. St. Leo calls him a Prince of blessed memory, and the Greeks celebrate his festival on the 17th of February. We have already seen how great was his piety, and with what fervour he opposed every enemy of the Faith (29).

72.—We shall now speak of the principal followers of Eutyches. The second hero of iniquity was Timothy Eleurus, a priest, but who, before his ordination, wore the monastic habit, though merely as a mask of piety. He was of a most ambitious character, so that scarcely had he heard of the deposition of Dioscorus when he considered he had pretensions to the Diocese of Alexandria, but when St. Proterius was elected in place of Dioscorus, he was filled with rage, and began to declaim against the Council of Chalcedon. He succeeded in gaining over to his side four or five Bishops and some monks, infected, like himself, with the errors of Apollinares, and thus had the boldness to separate himself from the communion of Proterius. When Marcian was informed of this schism he endeavoured to extinguish it, but could not succeed, so St. Proterius assembled a Synod of all Egypt, and condemned Eleurus, Peter Mongos his companion, and these few Bishops and Monks who adhered to him. With all that, St. Proterius was obliged to be constantly on his guard against him, although he was sent into banishment by the Emperor, and only with difficulty saved his life during the reign of the Emperor Marcian (30). At the Emperor's death he renewed his pretensions, set at nought the decree of banishment he laboured under, returned to Egypt, and endeavoured to drive St. Proterius from the Church of Alexandria. He concealed himself in a Monastery of Alexandria, and to induce the Monks to join his party he used to go about their cells in the night time, telling them in a feigned voice that he was an angel sent from heaven to admonish them to separate themselves from Proterius, and elect Timothy Eleurus for their Bishop. Having by these schemes gained over many Monks to his side, he sent them into Alexandria to excite the people against St. Proterius and the Council of Chalcedon. When all was prepared, and the people sufficiently excited, he came forth into the city, accompanied by his schismatical Bishops, Peter

(29) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 34, *n.* 12 & 13.

(30) Orsi, *t.* 14, *l.* 33, *n.* 105.

Mongos, his Monks, and several other Monks, accomplices of his schism, and caused himself to be proclaimed Bishop in the church. He immediately got himself consecrated by two Bishops of his party, and at once began to ordain Deacons, Priests, and Bishops for the Egyptian Churches, and gave orders that all those ordained by St. Proterius should be expelled, unless they attached themselves to his party (31).

73.—Count Dionisius, the military commander of the Province, on hearing this came to Alexandria, and finding that Timothy had left the city, took measures to prevent his return. His partisans were outrageous at hearing this, and sought St. Proterius, to take away his life; this was on Good Friday, the 29th of March, in the year 457. When Proterius saw the outbreak he took refuge in the Baptistery of the church, but the schismatics, regardless both of the sanctity of the day and the age of this sainted pastor, broke into the Baptistery, and finding St. Proterius there in prayer, gave him several wounds, and killed him with a blow of a sword. They were not even satisfied with his death; they tied a rope to his body, and exposed it in the street before all the people, proclaiming that that was the body of Proterius. They next dragged the body through the whole city, and tore it in pieces, then tore out the entrails and devoured them, and the remainder of the body they burned and cast the ashes to the wind. Eleurus, who in all probability was the mover of this tragic occurrence, now more proud than ever, gave a public festival in rejoicing for the death of St. Proterius, and prohibited the Sacrifice of the Mass to be offered up for him; and even to manifest more strongly the hatred he had for the holy Bishop, he caused all the Episcopal chairs in which he had sat to be broken and burned, and all the altars on which he had celebrated to be washed with sea-water; he persecuted all his family and relations, and even seized on his paternal property; he took his name out of the Dypthicks of the Church, and substituted his own name and that of Dioscorus, but with all that he could not prevent the entire Church from venerating Proterius as a Saint and Martyr (32). The Greek Church has enrolled him among the Martyrs on the 28th of February. Eleurus now began

(31) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 34, *n.* 15; Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 29, *n.* 2.

(32) Orsi, *n.* 16, &c.; Baron. An. 457, *n.* 28.

to exercise all the Episcopal functions; he distributed the property of the Church just as his fancy led him, among his partisans, and he even had the temerity to anathematize the Sacred Council of Chalcedon, together with all those who received it, and especially the Pope St. Leo, Anatolius, and the other Catholic Bishops, declaring that this Council had favoured Nestorius. He also persecuted the Monasteries of monks and nuns who adhered to the Council. In the commencement of his career he had but few Bishops partisans, but he quickly ordained others, and sent them abroad to drive the Catholic Bishops out of their churches (33), but he made an unhappy end of it, as we shall see hereafter (*n.* 76), committing suicide.

74.—Marcian was succeeded in the Empire by Leo, in the year 459, who followed his predecessor's example in vigorous opposition to the heretics, especially the Eutychians: he therefore promulgated an edict through all the East, confirming all the laws passed by his predecessors, and especially the law of Marcian in defence of the Council of Chalcedon. As he found that the followers of Eutyches were the most troublesome to the Church, he considered, acting on the advice of some of his councillors, that it would be well to convoke a new Synod to put a final stop to all controversy. He therefore wrote to the Pope that he considered it would be advantageous to the Church and satisfactory to the recusants, if the Decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were re-examined (34). St. Leo, however, enlightened him on the point, and besought him in the name of the whole Church not to allow the authority of the Council to be called in doubt, or that to be re-examined which had already been decided with such exactitude; there never would be wanting persons, he said, to cavil at the decisions of any Synod, for it is always the practice of heretics to re-examine dogmas of Faith already established, with the intention of obscuring the truth. The Emperor, convinced of the truth of the Pontiff's reasons, thought no more of a new Council. In the following year, 453, he wrote again to the Pope that a great many Eutychians were desirous of being instructed in the truth of the Faith, and were disposed to retract their errors as soon as they would be convinced of their falsehood,

(33) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 33, *n.* 17, & Fleury,
t. 4, *l.* 29, *n.* 2.

(34) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 34, *n.* 18 & 19.

and they therefore prayed that at least a conference might be held between them and the Catholics, to which the Pope's own Legates might come. St. Leo in his answer promised to send his Legates for the good of Religion, but he besought the Emperor totally to set his face against the conference, for he again explained to him that the only intention the heretics had was to throw doubt on what was already definitively settled (35).

75.—Leo, in fact, sent Legates to urge on the Emperor to banish Eleurus from Alexandria, where he impiously persevered in persecuting the Church, and he succeeded at last, for the Emperor published an edict against Eleurus, and gave orders to Stila, commander of the troops in Egypt, to drive him out of the city and banish him to Gangres in Paphlagonia, where Dioscorus had been banished before, and ended his days. Eleurus remained there for some time, but as he continued to excite disturbances by holding schismatical meetings, the Emperor confined him in the Crimea, where he was kept till the year 476, when Basiliscus usurped the Empire. Before he was sent to exile he obtained permission, through some of his friends, to come to Constantinople, and feigning himself a Catholic, obtained pardon, and was restored to the See of Alexandria. When St. Leo was informed of this he wrote to the Emperor (36) that although the profession of Faith made by Eleurus might be sincere, yet the horrible crimes he committed would render him eternally unworthy of the Bishopric (37). The Emperor then gave orders that no matter what took place, he should be banished out of Alexandria, and another Bishop elected in his place. This order was executed, and by common consent of the clergy and people, Timothy Salofacialus was chosen, a man of sound faith and virtuous life, and totally different from his predecessor.

76.—The Emperor Leo died in 474, and was succeeded by his nephew Leo the Younger. He was crowned, but dying soon after, was succeeded by his father Zeno; but during Zeno's reign Basiliscus, a relation of Leo Augustus, and a Roman General, seized on the Empire in the year 476. He was a follower of the Arian heresy, and he therefore recalled Eleurus from exile, in which he had now spent eighteen years, and sent him back to

(35) Orsi, *loc. cit.*, n. 48.

(36) St. Leo, *Epis.* 137, al. 99.

(37) Fleury, *t.* 4, *l.* 29, n. 13; Orsi, n. 61 & 62.

Alexandria, to take possession of that See (38). Zeno, however, regained his throne by means of the Generals who before betrayed him, and banished Basiliscus, who held the Empire a year and a half, into Cappadocia, and there shut him up in a tower with his wife, Zenonida, and his child, and starved him to death, and sent orders, at the same time, that Eleurus should be again banished; but it was told him that the unfortunate man was now decrepit with years, so he allowed him to die in his native place, Alexandria. He gave orders, however, that he should be deprived of the government of the Church, and that Salofacialus should be re-instated (39), but before these commands were received in Egypt, Eleurus had ceased to live, for he cut short his days by poison, under the dread of being again banished from Alexandria. His followers said that he had foretold the day of his death (40), but there is nothing wonderful in that, when he died by his own hand (41).

77.—In this same year, 459, died that great Saint Simon Stilites, the wonder of the world. The Innovators deride the life of this great Saint, especially the Protestant Mosheim and his annotator, Archibald M'Lain (42). They say that St. Simon Stilites, to get nearer to heaven, even in the flesh, built his column; and they assert, that the whole story of his life is nothing but a romance invented by certain ecclesiastical writers. But, in the erudite works of the learned priest, Julius Selvaggi, whom I before lauded, it is proved (*Note 75*), that the life of St. Simon is not nonsense, but a prodigy of holiness. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of his history, as Cardinal Orsi (43) proves by many authorities, both ancient and modern, as Evagrius (44), Theodoret (45), the ancient writers of the lives of St. Theodosius, St. Ausentius, and of Eutinius, Fleury (46), the erudite Canon, Mazzocchi (47), and several others; so that it would be mere rashness to doubt it. As St. Simon was a great defender of the Church against the errors of the Eutychemians, it will not be irre-

(38) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 29, n. 45.*

(39) Orsi, *t. 15, l. 35, n. 66 & 68.*

(40) Liberat. Breviar. *c. 16.*

(41) Fleury, *l. 29, n. 49; cum Gennad. de Scrip. Ecclesias. n. 80.*

(42) Mosheim, *Hist. Ecclesias. cen. v. p. 2, c. 5, n. 12; M'Lain, ibid.*

(43) Orsi, *t. 12, l. 27, n. 14.*

(44) Evagrius, *l. 1, c. 33.*

(45) Theod. Philoch. *c. 26.*

(46) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 29, n. 7.*

(47) Mazzocchi, *t. 3, in Com. in Cal.; Neap. p. 585.*

levant to give here a short account of his life. He was born in the village of Sisan, on the frontiers of Syria, or, as Theodoret says, of Arabia. Up to the age of thirteen, he kept his father's sheep, but after that he gave himself entirely up to God, and lived in several monasteries; but even the austere lives of the monks did not satisfy him, so he accustomed himself to live alone on the top of a column he had built. Moved by a particular divine instinct, he several times changed from one pillar to another, but the last one was forty cubits high, and on that he lived for thirty years till his death, exposed to the sun of summer and the snows of winter. This pillar was so narrow at the top, that he had scarcely room on it. He only ate once a-week, and spent several Lents in the year without any food at all. His only employment was prayer. Besides other exercises of piety, he made a thousand inclinations every day, so performed that he touched his feet with his head, and this caused a great ulcer on his belly, and three of the vertebræ of his spine were displaced, and he had painful ulcers in his thighs, which bled a great deal. The holy monks of Egypt, dreading lest a life of such penance might be dictated only by some extravagant notions, and wishing to test his obedience, and see by that whether it was pleasing to God, sent to him a command to come down from his pillar. When the Saint heard the word obedience, he immediately prepared himself to descend, but the messenger then said, as he had been instructed: Stop where you are, Simon, for we now know that it is the will of God that you should live on this pillar (48). I pass over many wonderful things in his holy and penitential life, but the most wonderful thing of all was to see the thousands of conversions this unlettered Saint wrought from this pillar,—not alone of sinners and heretics, but even of the pagans themselves. People from the most remote regions came to the foot of his column, for his fame had extended through the world. Some he brought out of the darkness of infidelity to the light of faith,—others he led from the ruin of their sins to a holy life; many he saved from the pestilence of heresy—especially of that of Eutyches, which then infested the Church to a great extent. He wrote a most powerful letter to the Emperor Theodosius (49),

(48) Orsi, *t.* 12, *l.* 17, *n.* 14, *infra ex*
Theod. *exc.* *l.* 2.

(49) Evagrius, *l.* 2, *c.* 20

praying him to labour with all his force for the defence of the Council of Chalcedon.

78.—The death of St. Simon was just as stupendous as his life (50). He died in the year 449, and the time of his death was revealed to him forty years previously. Just before his death, a dreadful earthquake took place at Antioch; so the people all crowded round the pillar of the servant of God to beg his prayers in that awful calamity, and it would appear as if God had purposely collected so many persons together, that they might be witnesses of his holy death, and honour his remains. His last sickness lasted five days; and, on the day of his death, the 2nd of September, he recommended to God all his disciples then present. He then made three genuflections, and raised his eyes in ecstasy three times to heaven. The immense multitude, who surrounded him and came to witness his happy transit, all cried out with a loud voice for his benediction. The Saint then looked round to the four parts of the world, raised up his hands, recommended them to God, and blessed them. He again raised his eyes to heaven, struck his breast three times, laid his head on the shoulder of one of his disciples, and calmly expired. His sacred body was brought to Antioch, which was four miles distant. The coffin was borne by Bishops and Priests, and innumerable torches blazed and censurs burned around. Martirius, Bishop of Antioch, and several other Bishops, were in the procession. The General Ardaburius, at the head of 6,000 soldiers, twenty-one counts, and many tribunes, and the magistracy of the city, also attended. When the sacred remains were brought into the city, they were buried in the great church commenced by Constantine and finished by Constans, and his was the first body laid there. A magnificent church, described by Evagrius, was afterwards built near his pillar (51). St. Simon had a perfect imitator in St. Daniel, who also lived on a pillar, and was a powerful defender of the Church against the partisans of Eutyches (52). These are miracles which the Catholic faith alone produces, and which are never seen among heretics. Plants of this sort cannot grow in a soil cursed by God;—they can only take root in that Church where the true Faith is professed.

(50) Orsi, *l.* 15, *l.* 34 & 57.

(52) Orsi, *l.* 15, *l.* 35, *n.* 62.

(51) Orsi, *cit.*, *n.* 57.

79.—We will now revert to the impious heroes of the Eutychian heresy. When Timothy Eleurus died, the heretical Bishops of the Province, by their own authority, chose in his place Peter Mongos, or Moggos, that is, the “Stammerer” (53). He was before Archdeacon, and he was consecrated at night by one schismatical Bishop alone. The Emperor Zeno, when informed of this, determined not to let it pass unpunished; he therefore wrote to Antemius, Governor of Egypt, to punish the Bishop who ordained Mongos, and to drive Mongos himself out of Alexandria, and to restore Timothy Salofacialus to his See. This was in 477, and the Emperor’s orders were immediately executed (54). Salofacialus having died in the year 482, John Thalaia was elected in his place; but as he was not on terms with Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, that Prelate worked on the Emperor to banish him, and place Mongos once more in the See of Alexandria. He succeeded in his plans, by representing to the Emperor that Mongos was a favourite with the people of Alexandria, and that by placing him in that See, it would not be difficult to unite in one Faith all the people of that Patriarchate. The Emperor was taken with the suggestion, and wrote to the Pope Simplicius to re-establish Mongos in the Alexandrian See; but the Pope told him he never would put his hand to such an arrangement. The Emperor was very angry at this refusal, and wrote to Pergamius, Duke of Egypt, and to Apollonius, the Governor, to drive John out of the See of Alexandria, which he held at the time, and to replace him by Peter Mongos (55).

(53) Orsi, *t.* 15, *l.* 35, *n.* 66, 68.

(55) Fleury, *ad cit.* *n.* 49.

(54) Fleury, *l.* 29, *n.* 49, *ex* Gennad.
de Scrip. Eccles. *n.* 80.

§ III.

THE HENOTICON OF THE EMPEROR ZENO.

80.—The Emperor Zeno publishes his Henoticon. 81.—Mongos anathematizes Pope St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. 82.—Peter the Fuller intrusted with the See of Antioch. 83.—Adventures and Death of the Fuller. 84.—Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, dies excommunicated.

80.—Acacius, with the assistance of the protectors of Mongos, induced the Emperor to publish his famous Henoticon, or Decree of Union, which Peter was to sign as agreed on in resuming possession of the See of Alexandria. This decree was afterwards sent to all the Bishops and people, not only of Alexandria, but of all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis (1). This is the substance of the edict: “The Abbots, and many other venerable personages, have asked for the re-union of the Christians, to put an end to the sad effects of division, by which many have remained deprived of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and numberless other disorders have taken place. On this account we make known to you that we receive no other Creed but that of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nice, confirmed by the one hundred and fifty Fathers of Constantinople, and followed by the Fathers of Ephesus, who condemned Nestorius and Eutyches. We likewise receive the Twelve Articles of Cyril, and we confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is God, the only Son of God, who has become incarnate in truth, is consubstantial to the Father, according to his Divinity, and consubstantial to us according to his humanity; he descended and is incarnate from the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary—(Noel Alexander thus transcribes it: ‘ex Spiritu Sancto de Maria Virgine;’ but it would be better to have said, as in the first Council of Constantinople, ‘de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine’—*chap. iv, n. 74*), Mother of God, and is one Son alone, and not two Sons. We say that it is the same Son of God who wrought miracles, and voluntarily suffered in the flesh; and we receive not those who

(1) Evagr. *l. 3, c. 14.*

divide or confound the two Natures, or who only admit a simple appearance of Incarnation. We excommunicate whoever believes, or at any other time has believed differently, either in Chalcedon, or in any other Council, and especially Nestorius, Eutyches, and their followers. Unite yourself to the Church, our Spiritual Mother, for she holds the same sentiments." This is the copy Fleury (2) gives, and the one adduced by N. Alexander corresponds with it in every respect (3). Cardinal Baronius rejects the Henoticon, as heretical (4); but N. Alexander justly remarks, that it does not deserve to be stamped as heretical, for it does not establish the Eutychian heresy, but, on the contrary, impugns and condemns it; but he wisely adds, that it injured the cause of the Faith, and favoured the Eutychian heresy, inasmuch as it said nothing about St. Leo's Epistle or the definition of the Council of Chalcedon on the words *of two* and *in two* Natures, which is the touchstone against the perfidy of the Eutychian heresy (5).

81.—Let us now return to Peter Mongos, who was placed on the throne of Alexandria, received the Henoticon, and caused it to be received not only by his own party, but by the friends of St. Proterius likewise, with whom he did not refuse to communicate, not to give cause to suspect his bad faith; and on the celebration of a festival in Alexandria, he spoke to the people in the church in favour of it, and caused it to be publicly read. While he was acting thus, however, he excommunicated the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of St. Leo, he removed from the Dyptichs the names of St. Proterius and of Timothy Salofacialus, and substituted those of Dioscorus and Eleurus (6). Finally, this faithful companion and imitator of Eleurus, after persecuting the Catholics in various ways, ended his days in the year 490 (7).

82.—We have now to speak of another perfidious Eutychian Priest, who, in the same century, about the year 469, caused a great deal of harm to the Church of Antioch. This was Peter the Fuller. At first he was a Monk in the Monastery of Acemeti, in Bythinia, opposite Constantinople, and was by trade a fuller, from which he took his name. He then went to Constantinople,

(2) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 29, n. 53.*

(3) Nat. Alex. *t. 10, c. 3, a. 15, s. 4.*

(4) Baron. Ann. 428.

(5) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(6) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 29, n. 54.*

(7) Nat. Alex. *t. 10, c. 3, art. 14, s. 5; Fleury, t. 5, l. 30, n. 21.*

and, under the appearance of piety, gained the favour of the great, and, in particular, of Zeno, the son-in-law of the Emperor Leo, who began to look on him with a favourable eye. Zeno him with himself to Antioch, and he set his eye on that See, and induced Zeno to protect him. He commenced by calumniating Martyrius, Bishop of Antioch, and accused him of being a Nestorian. Having thus, by means of a great number of friends of his, Appollinarists, got up a disturbance in the city, he persuaded Zeno that the only way to re-establish peace was, to drive Martyrius out of the city, and then he stepped into his place. The first way he showed himself was, by adding to the Trisagion of the Mass, Holy, Holy, Holy, the words, "who was crucified for us," to show that he believed that the Divinity was crucified in the person of Christ (8). Martyrius went to Constantinople, and appealed to the Emperor, and Peter did the same, and brought with him a bill of calumnious charges against the Bishop; but Leo condemned the usurpation of the Fuller, and sent Martyrius back with honour to his See. On his arrival in Antioch, Martyrius found a large party opposed to him, and though he tried, he could not bring them to terms; he therefore resolved to withdraw, and said publicly in the church: I reserve to myself the dignity of the Priesthood, but I renounce a disobedient people and a rebellious Clergy. When the Fuller thus saw the See again vacated, he took possession of it once more, and was recognized as Patriarch of Antioch. When this was told to St. Gennadius, he (9) informed the Emperor, and he at once gave orders that Peter should be sent in exile to the Oasis; but he had knowledge of the sentence beforehand, and saved himself by flight (10).

83.—On the death of the Emperor Leo, in the year 474, Zeno was declared his successor; but as Basiliscus had seized on the sovereign power in 476, as we have already seen (he was brother to the Empress Verina), the Fuller was reinstated by him in the See of Antioch. In the following year, 477, Zeno recovered his dominions, and had him deposed in a Council of the East, and John, Bishop of Apamea, was elected in his place (11).

(8) Fleury, *t. 4, l. 29, n. 30*; Orsi, *t. 15, l. 35, n. 18*; Nat. Alex. *t. 10, c. 3, art. 17*.

(9) Liberat. Breviar. His. Eutyech.

(10) Orsi, *loc. cit.*

(11) Orsi, *ibid, n. 64 & 69*.

John only held the See three months; he was driven out also, and Stephen, a pious man, was chosen in his place; but he had governed only a year when the heretics rose up against him, stabbed him to death in his own church with sharp-pointed reeds, and afterwards dragged his body through the streets, and threw it into the river (12). Another Bishop of the name of Stephen was now ordained, and Peter the Fuller was sent in banishment to Pitontum, on the frontiers of the empire, in Pontus; but he deceived his guards, and fled to another place (13), and in the year 484 was a third time re-established in the See of Antioch, with the consent of Acacius, who had himself so often condemned him (14). At length, after committing a great many acts of injustice against several churches, and stained with cruelty, he died in 488, having retained his See since his last usurpation little more than three years. Thus, in the end of the fifth century the Divine Justice overtook the chiefs and principal supporters of the Eutychian heresy, for the Fuller died in 488, Acacius in 489, Mongos in 490, and Zeno in 491.

84.—Speaking of Acacius, it would be well if those who are ambitious for a Bishopric would reflect on the miserable end of this unhappy Prelate. He succeeded a Saint, St. Gennadius, on the throne of Constantinople, in 472; but he did an immensity of injury to the Church, for, although not infected with the heresy of the Eutychians, he was their great protector, and, by his bad practices, kept alive a great schism, which was not extinguished till thirty years or more after his death (15). He was accused to the Pontiff, St. Felix, of many negligences of duty, and especially of communicating with the impious Mongos, who had anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of St. Leo. The Pope admonished him to repent; but, taking no notice of his remonstrances, he deposed and excommunicated him, and in that state he lived for the remainder of his life, and died so (16). At his death, in fine, we are horrified at reading of the ruin of religion all over the East, for the churches were either in possession of heretics, or of those who communicated

(12) Orsi, vide *ibid*; Fleury, *loc. cit.*
n. 49, in fin. ex *Evagr. l. 3, c. 10.*

(13) Fleury, *ibid*, n. 50.

(14) Fleury, *t. 5, l. 30, n. 17*; *Nat.*
Alex. loc. cit.

(15) Orsi, *t. 15, l. 35, n. 27.*

(16) Orsi, *t. 16, l. 36, n. 27, 28.*

with heretics, or, at least, of those who, by communicating with heretics, were separated from the Communion of Rome; and almost all this evil originated in the protection given by Acacius to the enemies of the Church. While I write this I tremble. A Bishop myself, and considering how many, on account of being exalted to that dignity, have prevaricated, and lost their souls—many, I say, who if they had remained in a private condition, would be more easily saved. I abstract altogether from the question, whether he who looks for a mitre is in a state of mortal sin, but I cannot understand how any one, anxious to secure his salvation, can wish to be a Bishop, and thus voluntarily expose himself to the many dangers of losing their souls, to which Bishops are subject.

CHAPTER VI.

HERESIES OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE ACEPHALI, AND THE DIFFERENT SECTS THEY SPLIT INTO.

1.—Regulation made by the new Emperor, Anastasius, to the great detriment of the Church. 2.—Anastasius persecutes the Catholics; his awful Death. 3.—The Acephali, and their Chief, Severus. 4.—The Sect of the Jacobites. 5.—The Agnoites. 6.—The Tritheists. 7.—The Corruptibilists. 8.—The Incorruptibilists. 9.—Justinian falls into this error. 10.—Good and bad actions of the Emperor. 11, 12.—The Acemeti Monks; their obstinacy.

1.—When Zeno died, the Catholics hoped for peace; but, in 491, Anastasius was elected Emperor, and he commenced a long and fierce persecution against the Church (1). In his private life he appeared a pious man; but when he was raised to the Empire, and saw all the Churches of the world split into different factions,

(1) Orsi, *t.* 16, *l.* 36, *n.* 67.

so that the Western Bishops would not communicate with the Eastern, nor even the Easterns among themselves, and wishing to see no novelty introduced, as he said, he gave orders (2) that all the Churches should remain in the same state he found them, and banished from their Sees any Bishops who introduced novelties. Nothing could be better than this, if all the Churches were united in the profession of the true Faith; but as there were several at that time which did not adhere to the Council of Chalcedon, to make a law, that no Church should change its ancient usage, was the best possible means of perpetuating discord, and this was precisely the effect it produced.

2.—Although Anastasius had shown some signs of piety, still Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had narrowly watched his sentiments in regard of the Faith, considered him a heretic, and opposed his exaltation with all his might (3); he never even would consent to it, till he had from him a sworn promise, and signed, besides, with his own hand, binding him to defend the Council of Chalcedon. All this Anastasius did; but he not only broke his promise afterwards, but endeavoured (4) to destroy all proof of it, by requiring the restoration of the paper he had signed and sworn to, which was kept in the treasury of the Church; for the retention of such a document, he said, was an insult to the Empire, as if the word of a Prince was not worthy of faith by itself. He favoured the heretics, and persecuted the Catholics, especially the Patriarch Euphemius, whom he succeeded in deposing (5). He favoured, above all others, the Eutychians, who principally infested the Church at that time. He could not, however, be called an Eutychian himself; he was rather one of the sect of *Existants* or *Tolerators*, who permitted every religion except the Catholic (6). He died at last, in the year 518, on the 9th of July, and in the ninetieth, or, at all events, the eighty-eighth year of his age, having constantly persecuted the Church during the twenty-seven years he reigned. According to the account of Cyril, Bishop of Scythopolis, in the life of St. Saba, quoted by Orsi and Fleury (7), he had an

(2) Orsi, n. 68.

(3) Evagr. l. 3, c. 32; Orsi, t. 16, l. 35, n. 37, con Theodoret.

(4) Orsi, loc. cit. n. 70.

(5) Orsi, n. 112.

(6) Orsi, t. 19, l. 37, n. 21.

(7) Orsi, t. 17, l. 38, n. 34; Fleury, t. 5, l. 31, n. 33.

unhappy end. St. Saba, he says, came to Aila, where St. Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was banished. They used to take their meals together, at the hour of noon every day; but, on the 9th of June, the Patriarch did not make his appearance till midnight, and, when he entered, he said, do you eat, for I will not nor can not eat any more. He then told St. Saba, that, at that very hour, the Emperor was dead, and that he should follow him before ten days, to meet him at the bar of Divine Justice, and, in fact, on the 20th of July, he slept in the Lord, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, having taken no food for eight days previously. St. Elias, and St. Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, who also died in exile, banished by Anastasius for defending the Council of Chalcedon, are commemorated in the Roman Martyrology, on the 4th of July (8). The circumstances of the Emperor's death were remarkable: On the night of the 9th and 10th of July a dreadful thunder-storm raged over his palace. Terrified with the frequent flashes of lightning, but much more, on account of his sins, he imagined that God was now about to chastise him for his iniquities, and he fled wandering from chamber to chamber; he, at last, retired into a private cabinet, and was there found dead, whether from the effects of terror, or struck by lightning, authors are undecided. This was the end of this bad man, after twenty-seven years' persecution of the Church of God. On the day of Anastasius's death, Justin was invested with the Imperial dignity; he was a Prince (9) always obsequious to the Apostolic See, and zealous in combatting heresies, and establishing unity and peace in the Church. He reigned nine years, and was succeeded by Justinian, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, and he was succeeded, in 565, by his nephew, Justin II., who began his reign well, but soon fell into dreadful excesses, though he never lost the Faith, and died, at last, with sentiments of Christian piety (10).

3.—The heresies which disturbed the Church in this century were almost all offshoots from the stock of Eutychianism. Those from whom the Catholics suffered most were the Acephali, who were also Eutychians. They were called Monophysites, as they believed only one Nature in Christ (11); but as they separated

(8) Orsi, *t.* 19, *l.* 42, *n.* 89.

(9) Orsi, *t.* 19, *l.* 39, *n.* 37, in fin.

(10) Orsi, *t.* 19, *l.* 43, *n.* 67.

(11) Orsi, loc. cit. *n.* 68.

themselves from Mongos, the pretended Bishop of Alexandria, and refused to adhere, either to the Catholic party, or to their Bishop, Mongos, they were called Acephali, or Headless. They were not without a chief, withal—one Severus, from the city of Sozopolis, in Pisidia. He was a Pagan in the beginning of his days, and it is thought, he never sincerely renounced his errors; he went to Beyrooth to study law, and was convicted there of idolatry and magical practices, so, to escape the punishment his infamies deserved, he pretended to embrace Christianity. He was baptized in Tripoli, in Phenicia (12), but he was not eight days a Christian, when he forsook the Catholic Communion, and threw himself into the arms of the party who had separated from Mongos, and he rejected from that out both the Council of Chalcedon and the Henoticon of Zeno. He was a man of corrupt morals, but, to gain credit with the Monks, he professed the monastic life in the Monastery of the Abbot Nefarius, in Egypt; but he was there discovered to be a heretic, and expelled, and he then went to Constantinople, where he, some time after, found himself at the head of two hundred Monks, and of many other heretics (13), and, with them, committed many excesses, without regard to either the laws or the judges. Anastasius, who then reigned, desirous of upsetting the Council of Chalcedon, winked at his crimes, and thus, under favour of that impious Sovereign, he succeeded in driving out of Constantinople the Bishop of the See, Macedonius, and substituting Timothy, treasurer of the city, in his place, who had the hardihood to cause the Trisagion, composed by Peter the Fuller, to favour the Eutychian doctrines, to be publicly sung in the Church (14). Timothy, likewise, through favour of the Emperor, got Severus elected Bishop of Antioch, and Flavian banished (15); and he, on the very day he took possession of his See, anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of St. Leo.

4.—The Acephali were split into several sects. The Jacobites are among the most remarkable; these took their name from a Syrian Monk of the name of James, a disciple of Severus. He preached the Eutychian heresy in Armenia and Mesopotamia;

(12) Orsi, *l.* 16, *l.* 37, *n.* 62, cum
Evagr. *l.* 3, *n.* 33.

(13) Orsi, *n.* 63.

(14) Orsi, *n.* 71.

(15) Orsi, *n.* 72

and from that time the Syrian Catholics, who received the Council of Chalcedon, were called Melchites, or Royalists, from the Syrian word, *Melk*, a King, because they followed the religion of the Emperors, that is of the Emperors who received the Council of Chalcedon. The Jacobites professed the error of Eutyches, that Christ suffered in the flesh, and they added other errors to this, especially in Armenia, for there they denied that the Word had taken flesh from the Virgin, but taught that the Word itself was changed into flesh and merely passed through the Virgin; they do not mix water with the wine in the celebration of Mass; celebrate Easter the same time as the Jews; do not venerate the cross until it is baptized the same as a human being; when they make the sign of the cross, they do it with one finger alone, to signify that they believe in one nature; they observe singular fasts, and during the lent they cannot eat eggs or cheese unless on holy Saturday.

5.—The Agnoites or *Ignorants* were founded by Themistius, a Deacon of Alexandria. This Eutychian taught that Christ, being of one Nature alone, composed out of, or confounded, rather, between the Divinity and humanity, was, even according to the Divinity, ignorant of many things, as he, in particular, himself alludes to his ignorance of the day of judgment: “But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father” (Mark, xiii, 32); and this ignorance, he said, was just as natural to him as the other inconveniences, hunger, thirst, and pain, which he suffered in this life (16). St. Gregory (17), however, explains the text by saying that Christ did not know it as far his humanity was concerned, but that he knew it by the union of the humanity with the Divinity. God made man, he says, know the day and the hour by the power of his Divinity.

6.—The chief of the Tritheists was John, a grammarian of Alexandria; he was known by the name of Philoponos the labourer. He objected to the Catholics, that if they recognized two Natures in Christ, they should admit two Persons; but he was answered that Nature was one thing and Person another: for, if

(16) Fleury, *t.* 5, *l.* 33, *n.* 2; Nat. Alex. *t.* 11, *c.* 3, *a.* 3; Gotti, loc. cit.

(17) St. Greg. *l.* 10, Ep. 39, *a.* 42.

Nature and Personality were one and the same thing, we should admit three Natures in the Trinity as there are three Persons. This reasoning was so convincing to Philoponos, that he at once admitted its force, but it led him into a much greater error, for he recognized three distinct Natures in the Trinity, and therefore, admitted three distinct Gods, and hence his followers were called *Tritheists* (18). He wrote, likewise, against the resurrection of the flesh (19). With these exceptions, he believed in Christianity, and defended it against Proclus of Licia, a Platonic Philosopher who attacked it at the time.

7.—From this hot-bed of error two other sects sprung up, the Corruptibilists and the Incorruptibilists. Theodosius, a Monk, founded the Corruptibilists, who believed that Christ had a corruptible body. These erred, not because they said that the Word had in Christ taken a corruptible body by its nature, and subject to hunger and thirst and sufferings, but because they asserted that Christ by necessity was subject to these sufferings, in the same manner as all of us were subject to them, so that he should undergo them whether he willed or not (20). The Catholic doctrine is that the Word in the body of Christ put on the common sufferings of mankind, hunger, weariness, pain and death, not through necessity, as they are of necessity with us the punishment of Original Sin, but of his own free will on account of his unbounded charity which induced him to come “in the likeness of sinful flesh” (Romans, viii, 3), to condemn and punish sin in the flesh. And in the same manner, says St. Thomas (21), our Saviour wished to assume the passions of the mind, sorrow, fear, weariness, not in the same way as they are in us, opposed to reason, for all the motions of the sensitive appetites in Christ were ordered according to reason, and were, on that account, called in him *propassions*; for passion in itself, says the Angelic Doctor, is so called when it rules over reason, but it is propassion when it remains in and does not extend beyond the sensitive appetite.

8.—St. Julian of Halicarnassus was the head of the Phantasiasts or Incorruptibilists. These taught that the body of Christ was

(18) Fleury & Nat. Alex. *l. cit.* Berti,
Brev. His. t. 1, s. 6, c. 3.

(19) Niceph. *l. 18, c. 47, 48.*

(20) Gotti, *l. cit. c. 76, s. 6, n. 7.*

(21) St. Thomas, *p. 2, q. 15, a. 4.*

by its nature incorruptible and free from all passions, so that he suffered neither hunger nor thirst, nor weariness nor pain, but that is directly opposed to the words of the Gospel: "When he had fasted he was hungry" (Matt. iv, 2); "Fatigued from his journey, he sat down" (John, iv, 6). The Eutychians were favourable to this doctrine, for it corresponded with their own, that there was only one, an impassible, nature in Christ (22). Julian wrote in favour of the Incorruptibilists and Themistius of the Corruptibilists, and they both stirred up such a commotion among the people of Alexandria, that they burned each other's houses, and murdered each other on account of their difference of opinion (23).

9.—We should here remark that the Emperor Justinian fell into the error of the Incorruptibilists. Who could have imagined that this Prince, who showed himself so zealous against heretics, and above all, against the Eutychians, should have died, as many suppose he did, a heretic himself, and infected with the pestilential dogmas of Eutyches. Fleury and Orsi (24) both attribute his fall to his overweening desire of meddling by his Edicts in matters of Faith which God has committed to the heads of his Church. He had the misfortune to have as a most intimate confidant, Theodore, Bishop of Cesarea, a concealed enemy of the Council of Chalcedon, and a friend of the Acephali, and at his instigation he promulgated an Edict in the year 564, in which he declared that the body of Christ was incorruptible, so that after it was formed in the Virgin's womb, it was no longer capable of any change or natural passion, no matter how innocent, as hunger and thirst, so that although he ate before his death, he only did so in the same manner as after his Resurrection, without having any necessity of food. If the body of Christ, therefore, was not capable of any natural passion, he suffered nothing in the flesh, neither in life nor death, and his Passion was merely an appearance without any reality. Isaias therefore uttered a falsehood when he said, "Surely he hath borne our infirmities, and carried our sorrows" (Isaias, liii, 4). So did St. Peter, where he says, "Who his own self bore our sins in his body upon the

(22) Gotti *l. cit. ex Liberat. in Brev.*
c. 20.

(23) Gotti *ibid.*

(24) Fleury, *t. 5, l. 34, n. 8, cum*
Evagr. l. 4, n. 30; Orsi, t. 19, l. 42,
n. 78.

tree" (I. Peter, ii, 24). Even Christ himself stated what was false when he said, "My soul is sorrowful unto death" (Matt. xxvi, 38); and then exclaiming on the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me" (Matt. xxvii, 46). All this would be false if Christ was insensible to internal and external sufferings. O ingratitude of mankind. Christ died of pain on a cross for the love of man, and men say that he suffered nothing in reality, only in appearance. Justinian required that this doctrine should be approved of by all the Bishops, and he was particularly anxious to induce six learned African Bishops to give it their approbation, but they resisted, and were accordingly separated, and shut up in six different Churches in Constantinople (25). St. Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople, opposed it likewise, and laboured in vain to undeceive the Emperor. He was driven from his See and another put in his place, and all the Patriarchs and many other Bishops refused to sign their approbation (26). When the Oriental Bishops were required to subscribe, they said they would follow the example of Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch, and Justinian therefore, used every effort to induce him to agree to it, but he sent the Emperor an answer in which he learnedly proved that the body of Christ, as to the natural and innocent passions was corruptible, and when informed that it was the Emperor's intention to banish him, he prepared a sermon to take leave of his people, but he never published it, as Justinian died at mid-night, the 13th of November, 566, the eighty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-nine years and eight months (27).

10.—Cardinal Baronius (28) says that the Emperor's death was sudden and unexpected, but it was most serviceable to the empire, which was daily falling from bad to worse, God revenging the injuries inflicted on the Bishops of his Church, and preventing by his death, that fire from spreading, which he enkindled. Evagrius and Nicephorus (29) remark, that he died just at the time he had decreed the exile of St. Anastasius and other Catholic priests, although the order had not been yet promulgated. This Evagrius, a contemporaneous author, as Orsi (30)

(25) Fleury, *l. cit.*

(26) Evagr, *l. 4, n. 33.*

(27) Fleury, *l. c. n. 11.*

(28) Baron. Ann. 565, *n. 1.*

(29) Evagr. *l. 4, c. 40*; Nicph. *l. 16, c. 31.*

(30) Orsi, *t. 19, l. 42, n. 84.*

remarks, gave it as his deliberate opinion that Justinian, having filled the world and the Church with tumult and confusion, only received from God, in the end, that condign punishment his crimes deserved. Baronius adds (31), that although the name of Justinian was not removed from the Ecclesiastical Registers, like that of other heretics, and though the sixth Council and several Pontiffs had entitled him Pious and Catholic, we should not be surprised, if his falling off from the Faith was not published in any public decree. However, his other crimes, the banishment of so many Bishops, his cruelties to so many innocent persons, his acts of injustice in depriving so many of their properties, prove that he was, at all events, unjust and sacrilegious, if not a heretic.

11.—Besides these sects of the Acephali, another sect of the Acemetic * monks sprung up in this century. This was another sprout of Nestorianism, and it was thus discovered. During the reign of Pope Hormisdas, the Scythian monks took on themselves to sustain, as a necessary article of Faith, that one of the Trinity was made flesh, and they sent a deputation to Rome to get a decree from the Pope to that effect; he, however (32), refused to accede to their wishes, dreading that some leaven of Eutychianism might be concealed in the proposition, and that they wished besides to throw discredit on the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of St. Leo, as deficient in the definition of the expressions necessary to condemn the Nestorian and Eutychian heresy. On the other hand, that proposition was embraced by all the Oriental Churches, as a touchstone against the Nestorian heresy, and was impugned by the Acemetic monks alone, who, it is true, in the time of Zeno and Anastasius, had fought strenuously against the heresy of Eutyches, but becoming too warm against the Eutychians, began to agree with the Nestorians, not alone denying that one of the Trinity was made flesh, but also that the Son of God suffered in his

(31) Baron. loc. cit. n. 3.

(32) Orsi, t. 17, l. 39, n. 123.

* Acemetic, or *sleepless* monks, were a celebrated order in the East. They were called the sleepless, because night and day they kept up Divine psalmody without intermission; the community was divided into three sections, and each spent eight hours out of the twenty-four singing the praises of God.—TRANS.

flesh, and that the Blessed Virgin was really and truly the Mother of God (33).

12.—The Emperor Justinian undertook the defence of the proposition upheld by the monks of Scythia, and wrote to Pope John, II., for his approbation, and gave his letter in charge to two Bishops, Ignatius, Archbishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius of Philippi. When the Acemetie monks got a knowledge of this proceeding, they sent two of their body to Rome, Cyrus and Eulogius, to defend their cause (34); so Pope John had the matter most particularly examined. We know, for certain, that Anatolius, Deacon of the Roman Church, wrote to Ferrandus, a Deacon in Africa, a man of most profound learning, and of great sanctity, who, having previously expressed a doubt as to whether this proposition was admissible or not, now, after a rigorous examination, answered that there should be no hesitation in admitting it. Among other proofs, he adduces the words of St. Paul: "Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to rule the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood" (Acts, xx, 28). Now when the Apostle says that God hath shed his blood, every one must understand that he shed the blood of the flesh he had taken from the Virgin, and that it is not God the Father, nor God the Holy Ghost, but God the Son, who has done so, as the Scripture declares in several places: "For God so loved the world as to give his only-begotten Son" (John, iii, 16): "He hath spared not even his own Son, but delivered him up for us all" (Rom. viii, 32): if, therefore, we can say that God has shed his blood for us, we can also say that one of the Persons of the Trinity shed his blood, and suffered in the flesh. After a rigorous examination, therefore, Pope John answered the Emperor, and authentically gave his approbation to the proposition, that one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh. He then strove to get the Acemetie monks who had come to Rome, to accept his definition, but they obstinately refused, and he was obliged to separate them from the communion of the Church (35). We should remark that the letter of Pope John did not contradict

(33) Orsi, loc. cit.

(34) Fleury, t. 5, l. 32, n. 35; Orsi, ibid, n. 24.

(35) Fleury, t. 5, l. 32, n. 39; Gotti, t. 2, loc. cit. c. 77. l. t. 3; Orsi, loc. cit. n. 128.

the letter of Pope Hormisdas, for this Pope did not condemn the proposition, but only withheld his approbation for just causes, lest, as Roncaglia says, a hasty definition at the time, might divide some from the unity of the Church (36).

ARTICLE II.

THE THREE CHAPTERS.

- 13.—Condemnation of the Three Chapters of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret.
 14, 15.—Defended by Vigilus. 16.—Answer to the objection of a Heretic, who asserts that one Council contradicts another.

13.—It was during this sixth century that the controversy about the *Three Chapters* was carried on. These were: First—The books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, in which it was clear he taught the heresy of Nestorius (*supra*, cap. v. n. 48); Second—The Letter of Ibas to Maris of Persia, in which he condemned alike St. Cyril and Nestorius, and praised Theodore of Mopsuestia; and, Thirdly—The writings of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, against the twelve Anathematizms of St. Cyril. This controversy grievously disturbed the Church, but it was put at rest by the condemnation of these Three Chapters, in the year 553, in the fifth General Council, the second of Constantinople. The Emperor Justinian hurried on the condemnation of Theodore and his writings, the Letter of Ibas to Maris the Persian, and the writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril, and, finally, the sentence received the approbation of Pope Vigilus, in his famous *Constitutum*. Danæus (1) says that Vigilus was opposed to the celebration of this Council, but as he had not the power to prevent it, and foresaw that a ruinous schism would spring from his objection, he gave his assent, and, confirmed by the assent of the Holy See, it now ranks among the Ecumenical Councils.

14.—Pope Vigilus was blamed for his conduct in regard to this Council, and for so frequently changing his judgment regarding the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but

(36) Roncaglia, Not. apud.; Nat. (1) Danes.; Nat. Temp. p. 255.
 Alex. t. 11, c. 3, ar. 2.

Cardinal Norris (2), after relating all his changes, defends him—as does Peter of Marca—and says, that his inconstancy was not weakness, but prudence. “Vigilius,” he says, “was a most tenacious upholder of Pontifical authority, even setting at defiance the Sovereign himself, as appears from his actions. He is reproached with inconstancy of mind, and too great a facility in changing his opinions, for in the case of the Three Chapters, he was often inconsistent, and more than once was opposed to his previous opinions. In the beginning, while he was yet in Sicily, he defended the Three Chapters; but, if we are to believe Victor, he had already promised to Theodora Augusta, that he would condemn them. When he came to Constantinople, he suspended Menna for condemning the Three Chapters; but he was soon after reconciled to him, and juridically condemned them himself. Three years after, he revoked his judgment, published a new Constitution, and denied that they could be condemned; but he held this opinion for only a few months, for he forwarded an Epistle to Eutyches, declaring the Constitution of no effect, and coming to the Synod, he proscribed the Three Chapters.” That most learned man, Peter of Marca (*lib.* iii, *De Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii*, *cap.* 13), testifies that this inconstancy of Vigilius has been considered prudence by the learned; he calls it dispensation, for at one time he acted up to the rigour of Law and Canons, and then again dispensed with them for the sake of Faith and public tranquillity.

15.—Peter of Marca, therefore, says, that the Popes, at all times, in questions relating to discipline, have acted according to the rules of prudence, sometimes, when necessary, using all the rigour of the Canon, at other times the Dispensing Power, called by the Greeks, *Economy*, by the Latins, *Dispensation*, to preserve the union of the faithful and the peace of the Church. Cardinal Orsi (3) remarks, besides, that it was the last Constitution or Judgment alone, that was proposed to the Church by Vigilius, as a peremptory decree, and as Theologians say, pronounced *ex Cathedra*. He was unwilling at first to condemn the Three Chapters, because he feared to give a handle to the Nestorians to throw discredit on the Council of Chalcedon, which, it was

(2) De Norris; Diss. Hist. de Syn. (3) Orsi, *t.* 7, *l.* 39, *n.* 84.
v. c. d.

said, approved of the Three Chapters; but when, on one hand he perceived that the Eutychians more vigorously attacked the Council of Chalcedon, which they said (though it was not the case) had approved of these Chapters; and on the other, the Nestorians laying hold of that, boasted that this Council was favourable to the doctrine of Nestorius, then indeed, he was convinced that it was necessary to condemn them absolutely, and he accordingly gave a decree to that effect, in unison with the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, which is, therefore, as Tournelly says (4), considered one of the Ecumenical Councils, as it was approved of by Vigilius, and also by some of his successors, as Pelagius II., Leo II., &c., and Photius, according to Orsi, mentions the same thing in his writings.

16.—How does it happen though, says Maclain, the annotator of Mosheim (5), that in the Council of Chalcedon the writings of Ibas and Theodoret were not condemned, and they themselves were praised for the purity of their Faith, and, for all that, the Council of Constantinople condemns their writings; the decision of the Council of Constantinople then is, he says, opposed to that of Chalcedon, and is a proof that both the Councils and the Doctors differ among themselves. Thus, he endeavours to prove the fallibility of General Councils of the Catholic Church, as these two Councils were opposed to each other. But as Selvaggi, in his sixteenth note, very fairly remarks, this is altogether false, for the Three Chapters were not approved of by the Council of Chalcedon; in fact, as Tournelly also remarks, they were neither approved nor rejected; they were altogether passed over in that Council, lest by condemning them, more disturbance would be raised in the Church, already distracted by the Nestorians. Peter of Marca explains the omission of the condemnation, on the authority of St. Cyril (6). Cyril, he says, prudently teaches that rigorous rules must sometimes be tempered by dispensation, as people at sea frequently throw some of their merchandise overboard to preserve the rest; and in his Epistle to Proclus of Constantinople, he tells him that the Council of Ephesus acted in this manner, for the Synod, indeed, condemned the heretical

(4) Tournelly, *Theol. Comp. t. 3;*
 append. *a. 2, de Con. Constan. 2,*
p. 998.

(5) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Centur. 6,*
 par. 2, *c. 3, p. 839*

(6) Mos. loc. cit.

impiety, but in this condemnation prudently abstained from mentioning the name of Theodorus, lest many, led away by their respect for his person, would forsake the Church itself.

17.—Juenin (7) tells us that the books of Origen were condemned in this Council, and the following errors of his especially were noted: First—That the souls of men are created before they are united to their bodies, and that they are joined to the body as a place of punishment. Second—That the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters above the heavens, are animated and reasoning powers. Third—That in the General Resurrection, our bodies will arise all in a round form, and that the pains of the damned and of the devils will have an end some time or other. Fourth—That in some future ages Jesus Christ will be again crucified for the devils, and that the wicked spirits who are in heaven will inflict this suffering on him. Juenin also remarks that the condemnation of these erroneous doctrines does not appear clearly, from the original Acts of the second Council of Constantinople, as in the edition of L'Abbe, but that Cardinal Norris clearly shows that they were condemned there, though Garner maintains that it was not in this Council they were condemned at all, but in the Constantinopolitan Council, celebrated under Menna.

(7) Juenin, *Theol. t. 1, ar. 5, s. 2, ver. Quinto.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE HERESIES OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

OF MAHOMETANISM.

1.—Birth of Mahomet, and Beginning of his False Religion. 2.—The Alcoran filled with Blasphemy and Nonsense.

1.—The impious sect of Mahometanism sprung up in this century. I have already written the history of Mahomet in my work on the “Truth of the Faith” (1), but I consider it necessary to give a short sketch of it here. Mahomet, the founder of this destroying sect, which has spread over the greater—perhaps, the greatest part of the Christian world, was born in Arabia, in 568, according to Fleury (2), and his family was among the most illustrious of that Peninsula. His uncle put him to trade on the death of his father, and when twenty-eight years of age, he became, at first, the factor of, and, soon after, married, a rich and noble widow, called Cadijah (3). He was brought up an idolater; but, as he grew old, he determined, not alone to change his own religion, but that of his countrymen, who, for the greater part, were idolaters also, and to teach them, as he said, the ancient religion of Adam, of Abraham, of Noah, and of the Prophets, among whom he reckoned Jesus Christ. He pretended to have long conversations with the Archangel Gabriel, in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, where he frequently retired. In the year 608, being then forty years of age (4), he began to give out that he was a Prophet inspired by God, and he persuaded his relatives and domestics of this first, and then began publicly to preach in Mecca, and attack idolatry. At first, the people did not very willingly listen to him, and asked him to prove his

(1) Ver. del. Fede, *part* 3, c. 4, nota a.

(2) Fleury, *t.* 7, l. 38, n. 1.

(3) Nat. Alex. *t.* 12, c. 12, a. 2.

(4) Fleury, loco cit.

mission by a miracle; but he told them that God sent him to preach the truth, and not to work miracles. The impostor, however, boasts of having wrought one, though ridiculous in the extreme: a piece, he says, fell off from the moon once into his sleeve, and he fixed it on again; and it is said, that this is the reason for the Mahometans adopting the half-moon as the device of their Empire. He gave out, in the commencement of his career, that God commanded him not to force any one to embrace his religion, but the people of Mecca having risen up against him, and driven him from their city, he then declared that God commanded him to pursue the infidels with arms, and thus propagate the Faith; and from that till his death he was always at war. Now Lord of Mecca, he made it the Metropolis of the Faithful, and before his death he saw almost all the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula subject to his spiritual and temporal sway.

2.—He composed the Koran (*Al Koran*—the book), assisted, as some think, by Sergius, a Monk. It is a collection of precepts, taken from the Mosaic and Christian Law, together with many of his own, and interspersed with fables and ridiculous revelations. He recognizes the Divine Mission of Moses and Jesus Christ, and admits many parts of the Scriptures; but his law, he says, is the perfection of the Jewish and Christian law, and he is the reformer of these codes, though, in truth, it is totally different from both one and the other. He professes that there is but one God; but in his Alcoran he relates many trivialities unworthy of the Supreme Being, and the whole work is, in fact, filled with contradictions, as I have shown in my book on the “Truth of the Faith.” Jews or Christians, he says, may be saved by the observance of their respective laws, and it is indifferent if they exchange one for the other; but hell will be for ever the portion of the infidels; those who believe in one God alone will be sent there for a period not exceeding, at most, a thousand years, and then all will be received into the House of Peace, or Paradise. The Mahometan Paradise, however, is only fit for beasts; for filthy sensual pleasure is all the believer has to expect there. I pass over all the other extravagancies of the Koran, having already, in the “Truth of the Faith,” treated the subject more fully.

3.—The Mahometans shave the head, and leave only a lock of

hair on the crown, by which they hope Mahomet will take them up to heaven, even out of hell itself. They are permitted to have four wives by their law, and they ought, at least, to have one; they may divorce each wife twice. It is prohibited to dispute on the Alcoran and the Scriptures; and the devil appears to have dictated this precept himself, for, by keeping those poor people in ignorance, he keeps them in darkness. Mahomet died in 631, in the sixty-third year of his age, and nine years after he was recognized as Sovereign of Arabia. He saw almost the whole Peninsula subject to his sway, and for four hundred leagues to the North and South of Medina no other Sovereign was known. He was succeeded by Aboubeker, one of his earliest disciples, and a great conqueror likewise. A long line of Caliphs united in their own persons the Spiritual and Royal power of the Arabian Empire. They destroyed the Empire of Persia; and Egypt, and Syria, and the rich provinces and kingdoms of the East yielded to their arms (5).

ARTICLE II.

HERESY OF THE MONOTHELITES.

4.—Commencement of the Monothelites; their Chiefs, Sergius and Cyrus.
 5.—Opposed by Sophronius. 6.—Letter of Sergius to Pope Honorius, and his Answer. 7.—Defence of Honorius. 8.—Honorius erred, but did not fall into any Error against Faith. 9.—The Ecthesis of Heraclius afterwards condemned by Pope John IV. 10.—The Type of the Emperor Constans. 11.—Condemnation of Paul and Pyrrhus. 12.—Dispute of St. Maximus with Pyrrhus. 13.—Cruelty of Constans; his violent Death. 14.—Condemnation of the Monothelites in the Sixth Council. 15.—Honorius Condemned in that Council, not for Heresy, but for his negligence in repressing Heresy.

4.—In the year 622, according to Noel Alexander (1), or 630, according to Fleury (2), the Monothelite Heresy sprung up; and this was its origin:—Some Bishops who had received the Council

(5) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 38, n. 4, 5.*

(1) Baron. Ann. 163, *n. 4*; Nat. Alex. *t. 12, c. 2, a. 1, sec. 2.*

(2) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 37, n. 41.*

of Chalcedon, recognizing two Natures in Christ, still asserted that as both Natures were but one Person, we should only recognize in him one operation (3). N. Alexander (*loco cit.*) says that the founder of this error was Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople; he communicated his opinions to Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, and he answered him that his sentiments were the same. It happened also about this time that the Emperor Heraclius was in Gerapolis in Upper Syria, when he was visited by Athanasius, Patriarch of the Jacobites, a crafty and wicked man; he gained the Emperor's confidence, who promised to make him Patriarch of Antioch, if he would receive the Council of Chalcedon. Athanasius pretended to receive it, and confessed the two Natures; he then asked the Emperor, if, having received the two Natures, it was necessary to recognize in the person of Christ two wills and two operations, or one alone. This question posed him, and he wrote to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and asked also the opinion of Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, and both persuaded him, that he should confess in Christ one will alone, and only one operation, as he was only one Person. The Eutychian Athanasius was quite satisfied with this false doctrine, because, if we recognize in Christ only one operation, we should, according to the Eutychian system, only recognize one Nature also. Thus Sergius, Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, Athanasius, and Cyrus joined together, and as, on the death of George, Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus was raised to that dignity, and Athanasius was immediately appointed Patriarch of Antioch, three of the Eastern Patriarchs embraced the heretical doctrine, that there was but one will in Jesus Christ; and, on that account, this sect was called the Monothelites, from the two Greek terms composing the word, and signifying one will (4). Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, remained faithful to the Church, and never could be induced to embrace the heresy.

5.—Cyrus, being now Patriarch of Alexandria, formed a union there of all the Theodosians, a very numerous Eutychian sect. This Act of Union was concluded in 633, and contains nine Articles; but the seventh is the one that contains all the poison

(3) Fleury, *al luogo cit.*

(4) Fleury, *loc. cit.*; Van Ranst, *sec.* 6, p. 125; Herm. Hist. t. 1, c. 235.

of heresy. This asserts that Christ is the Son himself, who produces the Divine and human operations by means of one *Theandric* operation alone—that is, we may say, a human-Divine operation, both Divine and human at the same time—so that the distinction exists not in reality, but is only drawn by our understandings (5). Cyrus gave these articles to be examined by the Monk Sophronius; but when he read them, he threw himself at the Bishop's feet, and, with tears, implored of him not to promulgate them, as they were contrary to Faith, and conformable to the doctrine of Apollinares. Cyrus, however, would not listen to him, but published the Act of Union, and Sophronius, seeing he could make no impression in Alexandria, betook himself to Constantinople, to lay the affair before Sergius; but he being one of the firmest supporters of the error, refused to see him, and, under pretext of re-uniting all the heretics of Egypt, approved the doctrine of Cyrus (6).

6.—Sophronius returned again to the East, and was elected this same year, 633, Patriarch of Jerusalem, much to the displeasure of Sergius, who endeavoured to blacken him in the estimation of Pope Honorius, to whom he wrote a long letter, filled with deceit and lies. He pretends to have been ignorant altogether of the question of two wills, until Cyrus of Phasis wrote to him, and lays great stress on a pretended work of Menas, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, written to support Monothelism. Some of the Fathers, he says, teach one operation in Christ, but not one of them ever speaks of two, and he then falsely reports that St. Sophronius, when he was made Patriarch of Jerusalem, entered into an agreement with him not to say anything about the controversy at all. The Pope, ignorant of the artifices of Sergius, answered him, and commended him for putting a stop to this novel doctrine (the two operations in Christ, maintained by Sophronius), as only calculated to scandalize the simple, and he then adds: "We confess one will alone in Jesus Christ, for the Divinity did not assume our sin, but our nature, as it was created before it was corrupted by sin. We do not see that either the Sacred Scriptures or the Councils teach one or

(5) Epist. Cyri, p. 952, ap. Fleury,
loc. cit. n. 42.

(6) Fleury, cit. n. 42.

two operations. That Jesus Christ is one alone, operating by the Divinity and humanity, the Scriptures prove in many places; but it is of no consequence to know whether by the operation of the Divinity or of the humanity we should admit one or two operations. We should leave this dispute to the grammarians. We ought to reject these new expressions, lest the simple, hearing of two operations, might consider us Nestorians, or perhaps might count us Eutychians, if we recognize one operation alone in Christ" (7).

7.—Not alone the heretical, but even some Catholic writers, have judged, from these expressions of Pope Honorius, that he fell into the Monothelite heresy; but they are certainly deceived; because when he says that there is only one will in Christ, he intends to speak of Christ as man alone, and in that sense, as a Catholic, he properly denies that there are two wills in Christ opposed to each other, as in us the flesh is opposed to the spirit; and if we consider the very words of his letter, we will see that such is his meaning. "We confess one will alone in Jesus Christ, for the Divinity did not assume our sin, but our nature, as it was created before it was corrupted by sin." This is what Pope John IV., writes to the Emperor Constantine II., in his apology for Honorius: "Some," said he, "admitted two contrary wills in Jesus Christ, and Honorius answers that, by saying that Christ—perfect God and perfect man—having come to heal human nature, was conceived and born without sin, and, therefore, never had two opposite wills, nor in him the will of the flesh ever combatted the will of the Spirit, as it does in us, on account of the sin contracted from Adam." He, therefore, concludes that those who imagine that Honorius taught that there was in Christ but one will alone of the Divinity and of the humanity, are at fault (8). St. Maximus, in his dialogue with Pyrrhus (9), and Anastasius Bibliothecarius (10), make a similar defence for Honorius. Graveson, in confirmation of this (11), very properly remarks, that as St. Cyril, in his dispute with Nestorius, said, in a Catholic sense, that the Nature of the Incarnate Word was one, and the Eutychians seized on the expression

(7) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 37, n. 43, 44.*

(8) Fleury, *loc. cit. l. 28, n. 25.*

(9) Nat. Alex. *t. 12, dis. 2, p. 3.*

(10) Anasta. Præf. ad Joan. Diacon

(11) Graveson, *Hist. Ecclesi. t. 3, p. 48, c. 3.*

as favourable to them. In the same manner, Honorius saying that Christ had one will (that is, that he had not, like us, two opposite wills—one defective, the will of the flesh—and one correct, the will of the Spirit), the Monothelites availed themselves of it to defend their errors.

8.—We do not, by any means, deny that Honorius was in error, when he imposed silence on those who discussed the question of one or two wills in Christ, because when the matter in dispute is erroneous, it is only favouring error to impose silence. Wherever there is error it ought to be exposed and combated, and it was here that Honorius was wrong; but it is a fact beyond contradiction, that Honorius never fell into the Monothelite heresy, notwithstanding what heretical writers assert, and especially William Cave (12), who says it is labour in vain to try and defend him from this charge. The learned Noel Alexander clearly proves that it cannot be laid to his charge (13), and, in answer to the great argument adduced by our adversaries, that in the Thirteenth Act of the Sixth Council it was declared that he was anathematized—“Anathematizari prævidimus, et Honorium eo quad invenimus per scripta, quæ ab eo facto sunt ad Sergium, quia in omnibus ejus mentem secutus est, et impia dogmata confirmavit”—replies that the Synod condemned Honorius, not because he formally embraced the heresy, but on account of the favour he showed the heretics, as Leo II. (*Optimo Concilii Interprete*, as N. Alex. calls him) writes to Constantino Pogonatus in his Epistle, requesting the confirmation of the Synod. In this letter Leo enumerates the heretics condemned, the fathers of the heresy, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, successors in the See of Constantinople; he also anathematizes Honorius, not for embracing the error, but for permitting it to go on unmolested: “Qui hanc Apostolicam Ecclesiam non Apostolicæ Traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana proditione immaculatam maculari permisit.” He also writes to the Spanish Bishops, and tells them that Theodore, Cyrus, and the others are condemned, together with Honorius, who did not, as befitted his Apostolical authority, extinguish the flame of heretical doctrine in the beginning, but

(12) Cave Hist. St. Leo, Monoth.

(13) Nat. Alex. t. 11, Hist. Ecclesias. Diss. II. Prop. 3.

cherished it by his negligence. From these and several other sources, then, Noel Alexander proves that Honorius was not condemned by the Sixth Council as a heretic, but as a favourer of heretics, and for his negligence in putting them down, and that he was very properly condemned, for the favourers of heresy and the authors of it are both equally culpable. He adds that the common opinion of the Sorbonne was, that although Honorius, in his letters, may have written some erroneous opinions, still he only wrote them as a private Doctor, and in no wise stained the purity of the faith of the Apostolic See; and his letters to Sergius, which we quoted in the last paragraph, prove how different his opinions were from those of the Monothelites.

9.—On the death of Honorius, in 638, the Monothelite heresy was very much extended by the publication of the *Ecthesis* of the Emperor Heraclius. This was an Edict drawn up by Sergius himself, and published in the name of Heraclius. It was called *Ecthesis*, the Greek word for *exposition*, as it contained an exposition of the Faith regarding the question of one or two operations in Jesus Christ. It commences by an exposition of the Faith regarding the Trinity, speaks of the Incarnation, and distinguishes two Natures in the single person of Christ, and it then proceeds: “We attribute all the operations of Christ, Divine and human, to the Incarnate Word, and we do not permit it to be said or taught that there are one or two operations, but rather, according to the doctrines of the Ecumenical Councils, we declare that there is one Jesus Christ alone, who operates things Divine and human, and that both one and the other operations proceed from the same Incarnate Word, without division or confusion; for although the expression of one or two Natures has been made use of by some of the Fathers, still others look on it as strange, and dread lest some may avail themselves of it to destroy the doctrine of the two Natures in Christ. On the other hand, the expression of two operations scandalizes many, as it was never made use of by any of the principal Doctors of the Church, and because it appears to be the same thing to admit two contrary wills in Christ, as to admit two Persons. And if the impious Nestorius, although he admitted two Sons, did not dare to say that there were two wills—nay, more, he declared that in the two Persons supposed by him, there

was only one will—how then can Catholics, who recognize one Jesus Christ alone, admit in him two wills, and even one will contrary to the other? We, therefore, following in all things, the Holy Fathers, confess in Christ one will alone, and we believe that his flesh, animated with a rational soul, never of itself made any movement contrary to the Spirit of the Word which was united in one Person.” Such was the famous *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, confirmed afterwards by its author, Sergius, in a Cabal or Council held by him in Constantinople; we perceive that in the commencement it prohibits the expression of one or two operations, to deceive the people, but afterwards the dogma of one will, the formal heresy of the Monothelites, is maintained (14). This *Ecthesis* was sent to Pope Severinus, but, either because it did not come to hand, or that he died before it reached Rome, we hear nothing of its condemnation then, but it was subsequently condemned by Pope John IV. (15).

10.—Notwithstanding the condemnation of the *Ecthesis*, the Monothelite heresy still continued to flourish, through the malice of Pyrrhus and Paul, the successors of Sergius in the See of Constantinople. Paul pretended, for a long time, to be a Catholic, but at length, he threw off the mask, and induced the Emperor Constans to publish, in 648, an edict called the “Type,” or formula, imposing silence on both parties. In this formula there is a summary review of the reasons on both sides, and it then proceeds: “Wherefore, for the future, we forbid all our Catholic subjects to dispute about one or two wills or operations, without prejudice, however, to what was decided by the approved Fathers, relative to the Incarnation of the Word. We wish, therefore, that they should hold by the Holy Scriptures, the five General Councils, and the simple expressions of the Fathers, which doctrine is the rule of the Church, without either adding to, or diminishing, anything, nor explaining anything by the private opinions of others, but let everything be in the same state as it was before this controversy sprung up at all, and as if it had never taken place. Those who will dare to contravene this decree, if they are Bishops or clergymen, they shall be deposed; if Monks, excommunicated and banished from their

(14) *Nat. Alex. t. 12, c. 2, s. 2, n. 4;*

(15) *Fleury, loc. cit. n. 22.*

Fleury, t. 6, l. 38, n. 21.

Monasteries; if in public employments, cashiered; if private individuals, their property shall be confiscated; and all others shall suffer corporal punishment, and be transported." Such is the "Type" of Constans (16).

11.—We should here remark, that on the death of Sergius, he was succeeded by Pyrrhus, and he resigned the See, of his own free-will, afterwards, on account of disputes he had with his people, and Paul, the Econome of the Cathedral Church, was elected in his place (17), and he followed the heretical doctrines of both his predecessors. Pope Theodore laboured hard, both by writing to him and through his Legates, to bring him back to the Catholic Faith, but finding it all in vain, at length, by a formal sentence, deposed him (18). It is supposed that this took place in the same Council in which Theodore condemned Pyrrhus, for after he had made his retraction in Rome at the Pope's own feet, as he had promised St. Maximus he would do, when he disputed with him in Africa (as we shall see hereafter), he went to Ravenna, and again relapsed into Monothelitism. It is probable he was induced by the Exarch, who was a heretic himself, to take this step, hoping to regain his See of Constantinople, and in fact he again got possession of it in the year 655. When Pope Theodore heard of his relapse, he convoked a partial Synod of Bishops and the Roman clergy, and pronounced an anathema and sentence of deposition against him, and not only that, but he had the chalice with the Consecrated Blood of the Redeemer, brought to him, dipped the pen in it, and thus signed the awful sentence with the precious Blood of Christ (19).

12.—We have spoken of the dispute of Pyrrhus with St. Maximus the Abbot, in Africa. The controversy was about the one or two wills and operations, and it is worthy of remark how forcibly the learned St. Maximus refuted him. If Christ is one, said Pyrrhus, he should only will as one person, and, consequently, he has but one will. Tell me, Pyrrhus, said St. Maximus, Christ is certainly only one, but he is, at the same time, both God and man. If, then, he is true God and true man,

(16) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. n. 6; Fleury, loc. cit. n. 45.

(17) Fleury, t. 6, l. 38, n. 24, in fine.

(18) Anast. in Thed. Con. Lat. s. 2, p. 116.

(19) Fleury, loc. cit.

he must will as God and as man in two different manners, though but one person all the time, for, as he is of two natures, he must certainly will and operate according to the two natures, for neither of these natures is devoid of will, nor devoid of operation. Now, if Jesus Christ willed and operated according to the two Natures, he had, as they were, two, we must admit that he had two natural wills and two essential operations, and as the two Natures did not divide him, so the two wills and operations essentially attached to the two natures did not actually divide him, and being united in Christ did not prevent him from being one alone. But, Pyrrhus replied, it is not possible, for as there are several wills there should be several persons. Then you assert, said St. Maximus, that as there are many wills there must be many persons to wish; but if you go by this rule, you must also admit, reciprocally, that as many persons as there are, so many wills must there be; but if you admit this, you must grant that there is but one Person, as Sabellius teaches, for in God and in the Three Divine Persons there is but one will alone, or, you must grant that as there are in God Three Persons, so there are three wills, and consequently three Natures, as Arius taught, if according to the doctrine of the Fathers the number of wills must correspond to the number of Persons. It is, therefore (concludes St. Maximus), not true that wherever there are many wills, there are many persons, but the real truth is that when several Natures are united in the same Person, as in Jesus Christ, there are several wills and operations, though only one person. Pyrrhus raised more difficulties, but St. Maximus answered them all so clearly that he was at last convinced, and promised him that he would go to Rome, and retract his errors at the feet of the Pope, which he soon after did, and presented to his Holiness the instrument of his retractation (20); but again, as we have seen, relapsed.

13.—But to return to the Type of Constans; that together with all the Monothelite doctrine, was condemned in Rome in a Synod held by Pope Martin; and in consequence, the holy Pontiff was bitterly persecuted by Constans, and ended his days in the Crimea, in 654, where he was banished (21). Constans himself, after

(20) Fleury, *t.* 6, *l.* 38, *n.* 36 & 40.

(21) Danæus. *Temp. Natio.* *p.* 158.

practising so many cruelties against the Pope and the faithful, especially in Syracuse, was called away by God, in the year 668, the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and met an unhappy end. He went into the bath along with an attendant, who killed him with a blow on the head, inflicted with the vessel used for pouring out water, and instantly took to flight; his attendants, astonished at his long delay in the bath, at last went in to see what was the matter, and found him dead (22). Cardinal Gotti (23) says, he also put St. Maximus to death; and among his other acts of cruelty related by Noel Alexander (24), on the authority of Theophanes, Cedrenus, Paul the Deacon, &c., is the murder of his brother Theodosius. He first got him ordained a Deacon through envy, by the Patriarch Paul, but he never after enjoyed peace of mind, for he frequently dreamed he saw his brother clad in the Diaconal robes, and holding a chalice filled with blood in his hand, and crying out to him, "Drink, brother, drink."

14.—The scene was changed. Constantine Pogonatus, son to Constans, mounted the Imperial throne; he was a lover of Faith and Justice, and lost no time in procuring the assembly of the Sixth General Council in Constantinople, in 680 (25), which was presided over by the Legates of Pope Agatho. Noel Alexander informs us that authors are not agreed as to the number of Bishops who attended; Theophanes and Cedrenus reckoned two hundred and nineteen, while Photius only counts one hundred and seventy. This Council was happily brought to a conclusion in eighteen Sessions, and on the 18th of October, the definition of the Faith, in opposition to the heresy of the Monothelites was thus worded: "We proclaim.....that there are in Christ, two natural operations, invisibly, inconvertibly, inseparably, and unconfusedly, according to the doctrine of the Fathers." This definition was subscribed by all the Fathers (26). Thus was concluded the Sixth General Council; the zeal of the Prelates was seconded by the approbation and authority of the Emperor,

(22) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 39, n. 42.*

(23) Gotti, *Vic. adver. Her. c. 68, f. 4, n. 41.*

(24) Nat. Alexander, *t. 12, c. 5, ar. 3.*

(25) Nat. Alexander, *t. 12, c. 2, a. 1, s. 4; Herm. c. 240; Fleury, t. 6, l. 4, n. 11; Berti. t. 1, sec. 7, c. a.*

(26) Tournely. *Theol. Com. t. 3, in appen. p. 304.*

whose Faith was lauded by the assembled Fathers, and he was decorated with the title of the Pious Restorer of Religion. The Pope, St. Leo II., the successor of Agatho, who died during the celebration of the Council, confirmed its decisions and decrees, and, as Graveson (27) says, confirmed by his Apostolic authority, this Sixth Council, and ordained that it should be numbered among the other General Councils.

15.—We should here remark, that Cardinal Baronius (28), to wipe off the stain of heresy from Pope Honorius, says, that the Acts of this Council have not been handed down to us fairly, but were corrupted through the artifice of Theodore, the Bishop of Constantinople. But Graveson properly remarks, that this conjecture is not borne out by the learned men of our age, because (as he says,) Christian Lupus, Noel Alexander, Anthony Pagi, Combesis and Garner, clearly prove the authenticity of the Acts. Graveson (29), besides, remarks that several follow Cardinal Bellarmine's opinion, and endeavour to clear Honorius, by saying, that the Fathers of the Council were in error in the examination and judgment of Honorius; but, he adds, it is very hard to believe that all the Fathers, not alone of this Council, but also of the Seventh and Eighth General Councils, who also condemned Honorius, were in error, when condemning his doctrine. I think it better, then, to keep on the highway, and conclude, that Honorius can, by every right, be cleared from the Monothelite heresy, but still was justly condemned by the Council, as a favourer of heretics, and for his negligence in repressing error. Danæus (30) says the same thing; there is no open heresy in the private letter of Honorius to Sergius, but he is worthy of condemnation for his pusillanimity in using ambiguous words to please and keep on terms with heretics, when it was his duty to oppose them strenuously in the beginning. Hermant says (31), that Honorius was condemned, because he allowed himself to be imposed on by the artifices of Sergius, and did not maintain the interests of the Church with the constancy he should have done. It is dreadful to see the blindness and obstinacy of so many Prelates of the Church poisoned by this heresy. Among the rest, Noel Alex-

(27) Graveson, *Hist. Ecclesias. t. 3, p.*
60; *Collog. 4.*

(28) Baron. ap. Grav.

(29) Grav. loc. cit. p. 27.

(30) Danæus *Temp. Not. p. 259.*

(31) Hermant. *t. 5, c. 242.*

ander tells us, was Macarias, Patriarch of Antioch, who was present at the Council (32), who, when the Emperor and the Fathers asked him if he confessed two natural wills, and two natural operations in Christ, answered that he would sooner allow himself to be torn limb from limb, and thrown into the sea; he was very properly deposed, and excommunicated by the Synod. The same author informs us (33), that the heresy continued to flourish among the Chaldeans, even since the Council (but they abandoned it in the Pontificate of Paul V.), and among the Maronites, and Armenians, likewise; among these last another sect, called Paulicians, from one Paul of Samosata, took root in 653. They admitted the two Principles of the Manicheans, denied that Mary was the Mother of God, and taught several other extravagances enumerated by Noel Alexander (34). Before I conclude this chapter, I wish to make one reflection; we see how it displeases the powers of hell, that mankind should be grateful to our Redeemer, and return him love for love; for the devil is constantly labouring to sow amongst Christians, by means of wicked men, so many heresies, all tending to destroy the belief of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and, in consequence, to diminish our love for Jesus Christ, who, by the assumption of the flesh of Man, has constituted himself our Saviour. Such were the heresies of Sabellius, of Photinus, of Arius, of Nestorius, of Eutyches, and of the Monothelites; some of these have made of Christ an imaginary personage, some deprived him of the Divinity, others again of his humanity, but the Church has always been victorious against them.

(32) Nat. Alexander, *t.* 12, *ar.* 1, *s.* 4.

(34) Nat. Alexander, *loc. cit.* *a.* 3.

(33) Nat. Alexander, *t.* 12, *c.* 2, *ar.* 12, *s.* 2, in fine.

CHAPTER VIII.

HERESIES OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

THE HERESY OF THE ICONOCLASTS.

1.—Beginning of the Iconoclasts. 2, 3.—St. Germanus opposes the Emperor Leo. 4.—He resigns the See of Constantinople. 5.—Anastasius is put in his place; Resistance of the Women. 6.—Cruelty of Leo. 7.—Leo endeavours to put the Pope to death; opposition of the Romans. 8.—Letter of the Pope. 9.—A Council is held in Rome in support of the Sacred Images, but Leo continues his Persecution. 10.—His hand is miraculously restored to St. John of Damascus. 11.—Leo dies, and is succeeded by Constantine Copronymus, a greater Persecutor; Death of the impious Patriarch Anastasius. 12.—Council held by Constantine. 13.—Martyrs in honour of the Images. 14.—Other tyrannical Acts of Constantine, and his horrible Death. 15.—Leo IV. succeeds to the Empire, and is succeeded by his Son, Constantine. 16.—The Empress Irene, in her Son's name, demands a Council. 17.—Seditions against the Council. 18.—The Council is held, and the Veneration of Images established. 19.—Erroneous opinion of the Council of Frankfort, regarding the Eighth General Council. 20.—Persecution again renewed by the Iconoclasts.

1.—The first and fifth Acts of the Eighth General Council attest that the Gentiles, the Jews, the Marcionites, and the Manicheans, had previously declared war against Sacred Images, and it again broke out, in the year 723, in the reign of Leo Isaurus. About this period, a Captain of the Jews, called Sarantapechis (or four cubits), induced the Caliph Jezzid to commence a destructive war against the Sacred Images in the Christian Churches, and promising him a long and happy reign as his reward. He, accordingly, published an edict, commanding the removal of all Images; but the Christians refused to obey him, and six months afterwards God removed him out of the way. Constantius, Bishop of Nacolia, in Phrygia, introduced this Jewish doctrine among Christians. He was expelled from his See, in punishment of his perfidy, by his own Diocesans, and

ingratiated himself into the Emperor's favour, and induced him to declare war against Images (1).

2.—Leo had already reigned ten years, when, in the year 727, he declared publicly to the people, that it was not right to venerate Images. The people, however, all cried out against him; and he then said, he did not mean (2) to say that Images should be done away with altogether, but that they should be placed high up, out of the reach, that they should not be soiled by the people kissing them. It was manifest his intention was to do away with them altogether; but he met the most determined resistance from St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who proclaimed his willingness to lay down his life for the Sacred Images, which were always venerated in the Church. The Holy Pontiff wrote many letters to those Bishops who held on to the Emperor's opinion, to turn them from their evil ways, and he also wrote to Pope Gregory II., who answered him in a long letter, approving of his zeal, and stating what was the doctrine of the Catholic Church in the veneration of the Sacred Images which he was contending for (3).

3.—The Emperor continued his rage against Images, and the displeasure of the people of Continental Greece and the Islands of the Cyclades at length broke out into open rebellion. Zeal for religion was the motive assigned for this outbreak, and one Cosimus was elected as their Emperor, and they marched to Constantinople to have him crowned. They fought a battle near Constantinople, under the leadership of Cosimus, Agallianus, and Stephanus, but were totally defeated; so Agallianus threw himself into the sea, and Stephanus and Cosimus were taken and beheaded. Leo was emboldened by this victory to persecute the Catholics with greater violence. He sent for the Patriarch, St. Germanus, and strove to bring him over to his way of thinking; but (4) the Saint told him openly, that whoever would strive to abolish the veneration of Images was a precursor of Antichrist, and that such doctrine had a tendency to upset the Mystery of the Incarnation; and he reminded him of his coronation oath,

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 12, *sec.* 8, *c.* 2, *a.* 1; Hermant, *t.* 1, *p.* 283; Fleury, *t.* 6, *l.* 42, *n.* 1; Baron. Ann. 723, *n.* 17, & vide Ann. 726, *n.* 3.

(2) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Fleury, loc. cit.

(3) Fleury, *t.* 6, *l.* 42, *n.* 3.

(4) Fleury, loc. cit. *n.* 4, ex Theophil.

not to make any change in the Traditions of the Church. All this had no effect on the Emperor; he continued to press the Patriarch, and strove to entrap him into some unguarded expression, which he might consider seditious, and thus have a reason for deposing him. He was urged on to adopt this course by Anastasius, a disciple of the Patriarch, but who joined the Emperor's party, and was promised the See of Constantinople, on the deposition of St. Germanus. The Saint, knowing the evil designs of Anastasius, gave him many friendly admonitions. One day, in particular, he was going in to see the Emperor, and Anastasius followed him so closely that he trod on his robe: "Do not be in a hurry," said the Saint; "you will be soon enough in the Hyppodrome" (the public circus), alluding to his disgrace fifteen years afterwards, when the Emperor Constantine, who placed him in the See of Constantinople, had his eyes plucked out, and conducted round the Hyppodrome, riding on an ass, with his face to the tail; but, for all that, kept him in the See, because he was an enemy to the Sacred Images. The Emperor, in the meanwhile, continued a bitter enemy of the Patriarch St. Germanus, and persecuted, not alone the Catholics who venerated the Sacred Images, but those also who honoured the Relics of the Saints, and invoked their intercession, not knowing, or, perhaps, not wishing to learn, the difference between supreme worship, which we Catholics pay to God, and that veneration which we pay to Relics and Holy Images (5).

4.—The Emperor convoked a Council in the early part of the year 730 (6), in which he made a decree against Sacred Images, and wanted the Patriarch to subscribe it, but he firmly refused, and preferred resigning his dignity; he threw off his Pallium, and said: "It is impossible, my Lord, that I can sanction any novelty against the Faith; I can do nothing without a General Council;" and he left the meeting. The Emperor was enraged, and he sent some armed officials to eject him from the Archiepiscopal Palace, which they did, with blows and outrages, not even respecting his venerable age of eighty years. He went to the house of his family, and lived there as a monk, and left

(5) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 42, n. 4.*

(6) Theoph. Ann. 10, *p. 340, ap. Fleury, loc. cit.; Baron. Ann. 754, n. 42.*

the See of Constantinople, which he had governed for fourteen years, in a state of the greatest desolation. He then died a holy death, and the Church venerates his memory on the 12th of May (7).

5.—A few days after the banishment of St. Germanus, Anastasius was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, and, by force of arms, was put in possession of the See. The impious usurper, at once, gave up all power over the churches to the Emperor, and he having now no one to contradict him, began vigorously to enforce his decree against the Holy Images. In the vestibule of the imperial palace, at Constantinople, there was an image of our Redeemer crucified, held in extraordinary veneration by the people, as it was believed to have been erected by Constantine, in memory of the Cross that appeared to him in the heavens. Leo intended to begin with this most sacred image, and he ordered Jovinus, one of his guards, to throw it down; a number of women who were present, endeavoured to dissuade him from the sacriligious attempt, but he despised their supplications, mounted on a ladder, and gave three blows with an axe on the face of it. When the women saw this, they dragged back the ladder, threw him on the ground, killed him, and tore him in pieces. Withal, the holy image was cast to the earth and burned, and the Emperor put in its place a plain cross, with an inscription, telling that the image was removed, for the Iconoclasts venerated the cross, and only did away with images representing the human figure. The women, after killing Jovinus, ran off to the Bishop's palace, hurled stones against it, and poured out all sorts of abuse on Anastasius: Wretch that you are, said they, you have usurped the priesthood, only to destroy everything sacred. Anastasius, outrageous at the insult, went at once to the Emperor, and had the women all put to death; ten more suffered along with them, and the Greek Church honours them as martyrs on the 9th of August (8).

6.—The Emperor Leo, a man of no learning himself, was a bitter persecutor of learned men, and abolished the schools of sacred literature, which flourished from the time of Constantine. There was a library founded by the ancient Emperors, near the

(7) Fleury, *loc. cit.*

(8) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 42, n. 5.*

Imperial palace of Constantine, containing over three thousand volumes. The librarian, Lecumenicus, was a man of great merit, and he superintended the labours of twelve professors, who taught gratuitously both the sacred and the profane sciences. This learned corporation had so high a character, that even the Emperor himself could not make any unusual ordinance without consulting them. Leo used every means in his power, both threats and promises, to induce these professors to give their sanction to his proceedings; but when he found it was all in vain, he surrounded the library with faggots and dry wood, and burned both the professors and the literary treasures together. Partly by threat, and partly by seduction, he got all the inhabitants of Constantinople to bring together into the middle of the city, all the images of the Redeemer, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, and burn them, and the paintings in the churches were all destroyed, and covered over with whitewash. Many refused obedience, and he beheaded some, and mutilated others, so that many clergy, monks, and even lay people suffered Martyrdom (9).

7.—When the news of this persecution reached Italy, the images of the Emperor were thrown down and trampled (10), and when he sent his impious decree against holy images, to Rome, and threatened Pope Gregory II. to depose him, if he resisted its execution, the Pontiff rejected the impious command, and prepared to resist him as an enemy to the Church, and wrote to the faithful in all parts, to put them on their guard against this new error. The people of the Pentapolis, and the army quartered in the Venetian territory, refused obedience to the Imperial decree, and proclaimed that they would fight in defence of the Pope. Paul the Exarch of Ravenna, the Emperor, who sent him his orders, and all who would obey them were anathematized, and Chiefs were elected. All Italy, at last, in a general agreement, resolved to elect another Emperor, and conduct him to Constantinople; but the Pope having still some hopes of the conversion of Leo, used all his influence to prevent this plan

(9) Baron. An. 754, n. 37; Fleury, loc. cit. n. 5, con. Anas. in Greg. II. and Theopbil. 15. p. 543, &c.

(10) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 6.

being put into execution. While things were in this state, Exilaratus, Duke of Naples, and his son Adrian, Lord of Campania, persuaded the people of that province to obey the Emperor, and kill the Pope, but both father and son were taken by the Romans, and killed by them, and as it was reported that Peter, the Duke of Rome, had written to the Emperor against the Pope, he was driven out of the city by the people. The people of Ravenna were divided into two factions, one party for the Pope, another for the Emperor; they broke out at last into open warfare, and the Patrician Paul, Exarch of Ravenna, was killed. While all this was going on, the Lombards conquered several strong places of Emilia and Auximum, in the Pentapolis, and finally took Ravenna itself. Gregory II., therefore, wrote to Ursus, Duke of Venice, or rather of the Province of Ravenna, called Venice, to unite with the Exarch, then in Venice, and recover the city for the Emperor. But the Emperor was only more outrageous, and sent the Patrician Euty chius, a eunuch, to Naples, who sent one of his creatures to Rome, to procure the Pope's death, and the death of the chief people of the city likewise; when this was discovered, the people wanted to kill the Patrician, but the Pope saved his life. The whole people then, rich and poor, swore that they would die before they would allow the Pope, the defender of the Faith, to be injured. The ungrateful Patrician sent messengers to the Lombard Dukes, and offered them the most tempting bribes if they would desert the Pope, but they, already acquainted with his perfidy, joined with the Romans, and took the same oath as they did to defend the Pope (11).

8.—Anastasius, the newly-elected Patriarch of Constantinople, sent his Synodical letter to Pope Gregory II., but the Pope knowing him to be a supporter of the Iconoclasts, refused to recognise him as a brother, and gave him notice that if he did not return to the Catholic Faith, he would be degraded from the priesthood (12). Gregory did not long survive this; he died in the February of 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III., who, in the beginning of his reign, wrote to the Emperor an answer to a letter sent to his predecessor, rather than to him. In this

11) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 42, n. 6*

(12) Theoph. *ar. 13, p. 343, apud; Ficur. loc. cit. n. 7.*

able production he thus speaks: "You confess an holy Faith in your letters, in all its purity, and declare accursed all who dare to contradict the decisions of the Fathers. What, therefore, induces you to turn back, after having walked in the right road for ten years? During all that time, you never spoke of the Holy Images, and now, you say that they are the same as the idols, and that those who venerate them are idolaters. You are endeavouring to destroy them, and do not you dread the judgment of God; scandalizing, not alone the faithful, but the very infidels? Why have you not, as Emperor and chief of the Christian people, sought the advice of learned men? they would have taught you why God prohibited the adoration of idols made by men. The Fathers, our masters, and the six Councils, have handed down as a tradition, the veneration of Holy Images, and you refuse to receive their testimony. We implore of you to lay aside this presumption." He then speaks of the doctrine of the Church regarding the veneration of Images, and thus concludes: "You think to terrify me by saying: I will send to Rome, and will break the statue of St. Peter, and I will drag away Pope Gregory in chains, as Constans did Martin. Know then that the Popes are the arbiters of peace between the East and the West, and as to your threats, we fear them not" (13).

9.—He wrote a second letter to Leo soon after, but neither the first or second reached him, for a priest of the name of George, to whom they were entrusted, was afraid to present them, so the Pope put him under penance for his negligence, and sent him again with the same letters, but the Emperor had the letters detained in Sicily, and banished the priest for a year, and would not allow him to come to Constantinople (14). The Pope was highly indignant that his letters were despised, and his Legate, George, detained, so he felt himself called on to summon a Council in Rome, in 732 (15), which was attended by ninety-three Bishops, and by the Consuls, the nobility, the clergy, and people of Rome, and in this assembly it was ordained that all those who showed disrespect to Holy Images should be excluded from the communion of the Church, and this decree was solemnly subscribed by all who attended. The Pope again

(13) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 42, n. 7 & 8.*

(14) Fleury, *loc. cit. n. 9.*

(15) Anast. in Greg. III., *n. 8 & 9*
apud; Fleury, *l. 42, n. 16.*

wrote to the Emperor, but his letters were detained a second time, and the messengers kept in prison for a year, at the termination of which, the letters were forcibly taken from him, and he was threatened and maltreated, and sent back to Rome. All Italy joined in a petition to the Emperor to re-establish the veneration of the holy Images, but even this petition was taken from the messengers by the Patrician Sergius, Governor of Sicily, and they, after a detention of eight months, were sent back, after having received cruel treatment. The Pope, however, again wrote to the Emperor, and to the Patriarch, Anastasius, but all in vain, and Leo, enraged with the Pope and his rebellious subjects in Italy, sent a great fleet against them, but it was shipwrecked in the Adriatic. This increased his fury, so he raised to a third higher the capitation tax in Calabria and Sicily, and obliged a strict registry to be kept of all the male children that were born, and confiscated in all the countries where his power reached in the East, the estates belonging to the Patrimony of St. Peter. He continued to persecute all who still venerated the Holy Images; he no longer, indeed, put them to death, lest they should be honoured as Martyrs, but he imprisoned them, and tortured them first, and then banished them (16).

10.—About this time the cruel persecution of St. John of Damascus took place. This Saint defended, in Syria, the honour due to the sacred Images, so Leo endeavoured to ruin him by an infamous calumny; he had him accused as a traitor to the Saracen Caliph Hiokam, and the false charge proved by a forged letter; the Caliph called his Council together, and the Saint was condemned, and sentenced to have his hand cut off as a traitor. His innocence was, however, miraculously proved; animated with a lively faith, he went before an image of the Blessed Virgin, whose honour he constantly defendèd, placed his amputated hand in connexion with the stump of his arm, prayed to the Holy Mother that his hand might be again united to his body, that he might be able to write again in her defence; his prayer was heard, and he was miraculously healed (17). Noel Alexander says (18), that the wonderful things related of St. John of

(16) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 42, n. 16 & 17.*

(18) Natal. *t. 12, c. 2, a. 1, s. 1.*

(17) Hermant, *t. 1, c. 187; Gotti.*

t. 2, c. 80, s. 1, n. 15, 16, 17.

Damascus, are proved from the book of the life of St. John of Jerusalem.

11.—The Almighty, in the end, took vengeance on the crimes of the Emperor, and evils from all sides fell thick upon him; pestilence and famine ravaged both the city and country, and the fairest provinces of Asia were laid waste by the Saracens. He became a prey to the most direful and tormenting maladies himself, and died miserably in 741, leaving the Empire to his son Constantine Copronimus. He surpassed his father in wickedness, his morals were most debased, and he had no principle of Religion; not alone satisfied with destroying the Images and relics of the Saints, he prohibited all from invoking their intercession. His subjects could no longer bear with his vices, so they rose up against him, and proclaimed his relative, Artavesdes, Pretor of Armenia, Emperor. This Prince, brought up in the Catholic Faith, re-established the veneration of Sacred Images; and Religion began to hope once more for happy days, but Constantine recovered the Empire, took Constantinople, and Artavesdes fell into his hands with his two sons, Nicephorus and Nicetus, and he deprived all three of sight. The justice of God now overtook the false Patriarch, Anastasius; he ordered him to be led through the city, as we have already remarked, mounted on an ass, with his face to the tail, and to be severely flogged; but as he could find no one wicked enough to carry out his designs, he continued him in the Patriarchate; he enjoyed the dignity but a short time after this disgrace; he was attacked by a horrible cholera, in which the functions of nature were disgustingly reversed, and he left the world without any signs of repentance (19).

12.—Constantine, raging more furiously against Sacred Images every day, wished to have the sanction of Ecclesiastical authority for his impiety; he accordingly convoked a General Council, as Danæus tells us, in 754, in Constantinople, and three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops assembled, but the Legates of the Apostolic See, or the Bishops of the other Patriarchates were not present. Theodore, Bishop of Ephesus, and Palla, or Pastilla, Bishop of Perga, at first presided, but the Emperor afterwards appointed

(19) Hermant, *t. 1, c. 289*; Baron. 763, *n. 19*.

Constantine, a Monk, President, a man whose only law was the Emperor's will, and who, having been a Bishop, was degraded and banished from his See, on account of his scandalous vices. In the Cabal which they had the hardihood to call the Seventh General Council, all honour shown to the images and saints, was condemned as idolatry, and all who approved of recurring to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, were anathematized. We find no decision against relics, or against the Cross, which they held in great veneration, for they obliged every one to swear on the Cross to receive the Decree of their Council, and to do away with the veneration of Images. Thus, we always remark, as a particular characteristic of heresy, the spirit of contradiction.

13.—When this Council was brought to a close, the Emperor redoubled his persecutions against the Catholics. Several Bishops and several Solitaries, who forsook their cells to defend the Faith, received the crown of Martyrdom. Among these, three holy Abbots are particularly remembered;—the first was St. Andrew Calabita; he had the courage to charge the Emperor to his face with impiety; he called him another Valens, a second Julian, and he was ordered to be flogged to death: he suffered in 761, and the Church honours his memory on the 17th of October (20). The second was the Abbot Paul; he was taken by Lardotirus, Governor of the Island of Theophanos. This wretch placed on the ground an image of Jesus Christ on one side, and the rack on the other. “Now, Paul,” said he, “choose whichever you like; trample on that image, or you shall be put on the rack.” “O Jesus Christ, my Lord,” said the Saint, “may God never permit me to trample on your holy image,” and throwing himself on the ground, he most devoutly kissed it. The Governor was furious, and commanded that he should be stripped;—he was stretched on the rack; the executioners squeezed him from head to heels, and bored all his limbs with iron nails; he was then suspended by his feet, his head down, and roasted alive, in that posture, with a great fire (21). The third was St. Stephen, Abbot of Mount Auxentium; he was first of all exiled to the Island of Proconesus, near the Hellespont, for two years; afterwards brought to Constantinople, and

(20) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 43, n. 32.*

(21) Fleury, *loc. cit. n. 46.*

put into prison, with chains on his hands, and his feet in the stocks. There he had the consolation to meet three hundred and forty-two Monks from different countries—some had their noses cut off; some their eyes pulled out, or their hands or ears cut off; some were covered all over with scars, from the floggings they had received; and many were afterwards put to death, and all this because they would not subscribe the Decree against Holy Images. After being detained forty days in prison, a number of the imperial satellites came there one day, furiously calling on the guards to bring out Stephen of Auxentium. The Saint came boldly forward, and said: “I am he whom you seek;” they immediately threw him on the ground, tied a rope to the irons on his legs, and dragged him through the streets, kicking and trampling him on the head and body, and striking him with clubs and stones all the way. When they dragged him as far as the Oratory of St. Theodore the Martyr, just outside the first gate of the Pretorium, he raised up his head, and recommended himself to the intercession of the Martyr. “See,” said Philomatus, one of his tormentors, “the scoundrel wishes to die a Martyr,” and he at once struck him on the head with a heavy club, and killed him. The murderer immediately fell to the ground, the devil entered into him, and took possession of him, and he died a death of torment. They still withal continued dragging along the body of St. Stephen; the ground was covered with his blood, and his limbs were torn from his body. If any one refused to insult the sacred remains, he was looked on as an enemy to the Emperor. They came at last to a Convent of Nuns, and the Saint’s sister was one of the community; they thought to make her come out and throw a stone at the remains of her brother, with her own hand; but she concealed herself in a tomb, and they were foiled in this savage intent. Finally, they threw the body of the Saint into a pit at the Church of the Martyr St. Pelagia, where the Emperor commanded that the bodies of malefactors and Pagans should be buried. This Saint was martyred in the year 767 (22).

14.—The churches themselves did not escape the fury of Constantine;—numberless sacrileges were committed in them by his

soldiers. When the Decree of the Council was promulgated in the provinces, the heretics at once commenced the destruction of all pictorial and sculptural ornaments; the images were burned or broken, the painted walls whitewashed, the frames of the paintings were burned (23)—in a word, more barbarity was exercised in the name of a Christian Emperor than under any of his Pagan predecessors. Michael, the Governor of Anatolia (24), collected together, by order of the Emperor, in the year 770, all the religious men of the province of Thrace in a plain near Ephesus, and then addressed them: “Whosoever wishes to obey the Emperor, let him dress himself in white, and take a wife immediately; but those who refuse it shall lose their eyes, and be banished to Cyprus. The order was immediately put into execution. Many underwent the punishment (though some apostatized), and were numbered among the Martyrs. The next year the Governor sold out all the Monasteries, both male and female, with all the sacred vessels, stock, and entire property, and sent the proceeds to the Emperor; he burned all their books and pictures, burned also whatever reliquaries he could lay hands on, and punished those who had them in their possession as guilty of idolatry. Some he put to death by the sword; more expired under the lash; he deprived an immense multitude of sight; he ordered the beards of others to be anointed with oil and melted wax, and then set on fire; and more he banished, after subjecting them to various tortures. Such was the furious persecution by Constantine of the venerators of Holy Images; but with all his cruelty, he could not destroy Religion, and in the end God destroyed him by an extraordinary sickness in the year 775. According to Danæus, his death was like that of Antiochus, and his repentance of the same sort as that of his prototype (25). Fleury says (26), that Constantine having cast his eye on a crown of gems presented to the Patriarchal Church by the Emperor Heraclius, seized it; but he had scarcely put it on his head, when he was covered with carbuncles, and tortured, besides, with a violent fever, and that he died in the most excruciating agony. Van Ranst adds (27), that he

(23) Fleury, *n.* 8.(24) *Nat. Alex. t.* 12, *c.* 2, *art.* 1, *s.* 2; Fleury, *t.* 6, *l.* 44, *n.* 7.(25) Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 299, 300.(26) Fleury, *l.* 44, *n.* 16.(27) Van Ranst, *sec.* 8, *p.* 147.

died consumed by an internal fire, and crying out that he was burning alive as a penalty for the irreverence he showed to the Images of the Mother of God.

15.—Constantine Copronimus was succeeded by his son, Leo IV. ; he pretended to be a Catholic in the commencement of his reign, with the intention of cementing his authority, and more especially he expressed his wishes that the Mother of God should be treated with the greatest respect ; he permitted the Religious scattered in the late persecution to inhabit their monasteries once more, and assisted them to do so, and he appointed Catholic Bishops to the Sees ; but when he felt himself firmly established on the throne, he threw off the mask, and renewed the persecution with all his father's fury : he even banished the Empress Irene, his wife, because he suspected that in private she venerated the Holy Images, and nothing would induce him to see her again. His reign, however, was short ; he was attacked by a strange disorder like his father's, and died, having only reigned about five years. He had associated his son Constantine in the empire with him, but as he was only ten years old at his father's death, his mother, the Empress Irene, took the reins of government, and under her pious care the Christian Religion flourished once more. Paul, then Patriarch of Constantinople, was attacked with a severe sickness, and took the sudden resolution of retiring into a Monastery, and declared to the Empress, that against his conscience he condemned the veneration of Images to please the Emperor Copronimus. Withal, he was a virtuous man, and the Empress endeavoured to force him to resume the government of his Church, but he was firm in his refusal, and said he would spend the remainder of his days weeping for his sins (28).

16.—Tarasius, as yet a layman, and who had been Secretary of State, was, with the good will of all, appointed to succeed Paul ; but as the See was separated from the communion of the other Patriarchates, he accepted it solely on condition that as soon as possible a General Council should be convoked, to re-unite all the Churches in one faith. This condition was agreed to by all, and he was consecrated Patriarch, and immediately sent his profes-

sion of faith to Pope Adrian, and at the same time the Empress also wrote to the Holy Father, both in her own and her son's name, imploring him to consent to the convocation of a General Council, and to assist at it himself in person to re-establish the ancient tradition in regard to the veneration of Holy Images, and if he could not attend himself, at least to send his Legates. The Pope answered this letter of the Empress, and besought her to use all her influence to get the Greeks to pay the same veneration to Holy Images as did the Romans following the tradition of the Fathers; and should it be found impossible, he says, to re-establish this point without a General Council, the first thing of all to be done should be, to declare the nullity of the false Council, held in the reign of the Emperor Leo. He besides required that the Emperor should send a declaration sworn in his own name, and in the names of the Empress his mother, of the Patriarch, and of the whole Senate, that the Council should enjoy full and perfect liberty (29).

17.—The Pope then sent two Legates to Constantinople—Peter, Archpriest of the Roman Church, and Peter, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Saba, and they arrived at their destination while the Emperor and Empress were in Thrace. The Iconoclast Bishops, who were more numerous, and supported by a great number of the laity, took courage from this, and insisted that it was necessary to maintain the condemnation of Images, and not allow a new Council. The Emperor and Empress returned to Constantinople, and the 1st of August of the year 786 was appointed for opening the Council in the Church of the Apostles. The evening before, however, the soldiers went to the Baptistery of the church, crying out that they would have no Council. The Patriarch notified this to the Empress; but, notwithstanding the disturbance, it was determined not to postpone the Council, and it was opened the following day. When the Bishops were assembled, and while the Synodical letters were being read, the soldiers, urged on by the schismatical Bishops, came round the church, and thundering at the doors, told the assembled Prelates that they would never allow what was decreed under the Emperor Constantine to be revoked, and they then

burst into the church with drawn swords, and threatened the Patriarch and Bishops with death. The Emperor sent his own body-guards to restrain them, but they could not succeed, and the schismatical Bishops sung the song of victory. The Patriarch and the Catholic Bishops went into the Sanctuary, in the mean time, and celebrated the Holy Mysteries, without showing any signs of fear; but the Empress sent him word to retire for that time, and avoid the extremity the schismatics might be led to. Every one then went to his own lodging, and the disturbance was quelled. The Empress then, in the ensuing month, brought in a reinforcement of new troops from Thrace, and sent out of the city all those, together with their families, who had served under her father-in-law, Constantine, and were tainted with his errors (30).

18.—Being thus secured against the violence of the soldiery, and the intrigues of the chiefs of the sedition, on the May following, in the year 787, the Bishops were again called on to hold the Council in Nice, in Bythynia; and, on the 24th of September (31), the same year, the first Session was held in the Church of St. Sophia, in that city. Three hundred and fifty Bishops, the Legates of the Apostolic See, and of the three Patriarchal Sees, and a great number of Monks and Archimandrites, attended. The Legates of Pope Adrian presided in this Council, as we gather from the Acts, in which they are named before the Patriarch Tarasius, and before the Legates of the other Patriarchal Sees. Graveson remarks, that the statement of Photius, that Tarasius presided in the Seventh Council, is as false as what he asserts in another place, that the Patriarchs of Constantinople presided at all the former General Councils. Seven Sessions were held in this Council. In the first Session the petition of a great many Bishops was read, condemning the heresy of the Iconoclasts, and asking pardon, at the same time, for having subscribed the false Council of Copronimus. The Council having examined their case, admitted them to mercy; and re-established them in their dignity; but deferred the admission of those Bishops who had lived for a long period in

(30) Fleury, *t. 6, l. 44, 28.*

(31) Fleury, *n. 39; Nat. Alex. t. 11, c. 3, d. 3; Graves. t. 3, col. 4.*

heresy. In the Second Session, the letter of Pope Adrian to the Emperor, and to Tarasius, was read, and several other Bishops were re-established in their Sees. In the Fourth Session, several proofs of the veneration of Holy Images were read from the Scriptures, and from the Holy Fathers. In the Fifth, it was proved that the Iconoclasts had drawn their erroneous doctrines from the Gentiles, the Jews, the Manicheans, and the Saracens. In the Sixth, chapter by chapter of every thing that was defined in the late Cabal of Constantinople was refuted (32); and, in the Seventh Session, the veneration of Sacred Images was defined. Cardinal Gotti (33) gives the Decree in full; this is the substance of it: "Following the tradition of the Catholic Church, we define that, in the same manner as the image of the precious Cross, so should be likewise venerated, and placed in churches, on walls in houses, and streets, the images of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Holy Mother of God, of the Angels, and of all the Saints. For those who frequently have before their eyes, and contemplate those Sacred Images, are more deeply impressed with the memory of those they represent, and give them an honorary adoration, but do not, indeed, offer them that real adoration which Faith teaches should be given to God alone; for the honour paid to the image is referred to the principal, and he who venerates an image venerates the person it represents." It then anathematizes all those who profess or teach otherwise, and who reject the Images, Crosses, Pictures, or Relics, which the Church honours. This Decree was subscribed by all the Bishops.

19.—When the Acts of this Council were brought to France, the Bishops of that nation (34), assembled in Synod, in Frankfort, absolutely rejected them; and so did Charlemagne, in the "Four Books," either composed by him, or more properly published in his name, in the year 790, and called the Four Caroline Books. But as Selvaggi, in his notes on Mosheim, remarks (35), all this was caused by an error of fact, as the Frankfort Fathers believed that the Fathers of Nice decided that images should be absolutely worshipped, and this he proves from the Second Canon of the

(32) Fleury, *t.* 6, *l.* 44, *n.* 29.

(33) Gotti, *Ver. Rel. t.* 2, *c.* 80, *s.* 4.

(34) Graves. *Hist. Eccl. t.* 3, *col.* 4.

(35) Selvag. *nota*, 65, *ad t.* 10, *Mosh.*
p. 1063.

Council of Frankfort itself. "A question has been submitted to us," it says, "concerning the new Synod the Greeks have holden in Constantinople, relative to the worship of images, in which it is reported to have been decided, that those should be anathematized who would not worship them. This doctrine we totally reject:" "Allata est in medium quæstio de nova Græcorum Synodo, quam de adorandis Imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui Imaginibus Sanctorum, ita ut Deificæ Trinitatis servitium, aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema judicaretur. Qui supra sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis adorationem renuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt." This mistake occurred, as Danæus says, on account of the unfaithful version of the Acts of the Council of Nice received in France, and translated from the Greek; whereas the Council of Nice itself, as we have already seen, makes the distinction between honorary reverence and absolute adoration very clearly.

20.—Besides, Graveson informs us, that the French Bishops did not consider this Council of Nice as a General one at all, but merely a Greek National Synod, since it was almost altogether composed of Eastern Bishops, and they did not see the customary letter of confirmation from the Pope to the Emperor, and to the whole Church: but, as Danæus says, as soon as the matter was cleared up, there was no longer any disagreement. Still, he says, in the ninth century, several Emperors, adherents of the Iconoclasts, renewed the persecution of the Catholics, and especially Nicephorus, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Stammerer, and, above all, Theophilus, who surpassed all the rest in cruelty. He died, however, in 842, and the Empress Theodora, his wife, a pious and Catholic lady, administered the Empire for her son, Michael, and restored peace to the Church, so that the Iconoclasts never after disturbed the peace of the Eastern Church. This erroneous doctrine began to spring up in the West, in the twelfth century—the Petrobrussian first, and then the Henricians and Albigenes followed it. Two hundred years after, the same error was preached by the followers of Wickliffe; by the Hussites, in Bohemia; by Carlostad, in Wittemburg, though against Luther's will; and by the disciples of Zuinglius and Calvin, the faithful imitators of Leo and Copronimus; and those, as Danæus says, who boast of following the above-named masters, should add to

their patrons both the Jews and the Saracens. I have explained the doctrine of the Veneration of Holy Images in my dogmatic work on the Council of Trent (*sess. 25, sec. 4, n. 35*), in which this matter is discussed, and the veneration due to the Holy Images of the Trinity, of the Cross of Jesus Christ, of his Divine Mother, and the Saints, is proved from tradition, and from the authority of Fathers, and ancient history; and the objections made by heretics are there answered likewise.

CHAPTER IX.

HERESIES OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

THE GREEK SCHISM COMMENCED BY PHOTIUS.

1.—St. Ignatius, by means of Bardas, Uncle to the Emperor Michael, is expelled from the See of Constantinople. 2.—He is replaced by Photius. 3.—Photius is consecrated. 4.—Wrongs inflicted on St. Ignatius, and on the Bishops who defended him. 5.—The Pope sends Legates to investigate the affair. 6.—St. Ignatius appeals from the Judgment of the Legates to the Pope himself. 7.—He is deposed in a False Council. 8.—The Pope defends St. Ignatius. 9.—The Pope deposes the Legates and Photius, and confirms St. Ignatius in his See. 10.—Bardas is put to death by the Emperor, and he associates Basil in the Empire. 11.—Photius condemns and deposes Pope Nicholas II., and afterwards promulgates his Error concerning the Holy Ghost. 12.—The Emperor Michael is killed, and Basil is elected, and banishes Photius.

Godeschalcus, of whom we have already spoken (*chap. 5, art. 2, n. 17*), was charged with Predestinarianism in this century; but, as we have already heard his history, we now pass on to the great Greek Schism.

1.—In the reign of the Emperor Michael, the Church of Constantinople was governed by the Patriarch, St. Ignatius. This

great Prelate was son to the Emperor Michael Curopalates; and when his father was dethroned, he was banished to a monastery, and there brought up in all the penitential austerities of monastic life. His virtues were so great, that, on the death of Methodius, Bishop of Constantinople, he was placed in the vacant See, and his appointment gave universal satisfaction; but his fortitude in defence of the Faith, and of the rights of his Church, raised up for him many powerful enemies, and among them, three wretches who were unceasing in their persecution of him—Bardas, uncle to the Emperor, Photius, and Gregory Asbestas, Bishop of Syracuse. Bardas wishing to be sole master in the Empire of his nephew, Michael, had either procured the death or banishment of all who stood in his way at Court. He even shut up in a Monastery his own sister, the Empress Theodora, because he could not bend her in all things to his wishes, and then began a persecution against St. Ignatius, because he refused to give her the veil (1). What irritated him, above all, against the Saint was, he had repudiated his wife, and lived publicly with his step-daughter, a widow. St. Ignatius admonished him of the scandal he was giving; but he took so little note of this, that he presented himself one day in the church to partake of the Holy Mysteries, and the Saint then excommunicated him. Bardas threatened to run him through with his sword, and from that out never ceased misrepresenting him to the Emperor, and at last, on the 23rd of November, in the year 858, got him banished out of the Patriarchal Palace, and exiled to the Island of Terebintum (2), and sent after him several Bishops, Patricians, and some of the most esteemed judges, to induce him to renounce the Bishopric. Their journey was all in vain; and Bardas then promised to each of the Bishops the See of Constantinople, if they deposed St. Ignatius, and these unfortunate Prelates lent themselves to the nefarious scheme, though every one of them had previously taken an oath, that he would not vote for the Patriarch's deposition, unless he was convicted of a Canonical fault; but they were all deceived in the end, for Bardas, after promising that the Emperor would give the Bishopric to each of them, persuaded them that it would be most grateful to the

(1) Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 344.

(2) Van Ranst, *p.* 162.

Emperor, if each one, when called, would at first, through humility, as it were, refuse it, and they took his advice. The Emperor sent for each of them, and proffered the Bishopric; every one declined at first, and was not asked a second time, so that their villany was of no use to them (3).

2.—The Patriarch chosen by the Court, was the impious Photius, a Eunuch of illustrious birth, but of the most inordinate ambition. He was a man of great talent, cultivated by the most arduous study, in which he frequently spent the whole night long, and, as he was wealthy, he could procure whatever books he wanted; he thus became one of the most learned men of his own or of any former age. He was a perfect master of grammar, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, and all the profane sciences; he had not paid much attention to ecclesiastical learning, but became a most profound theologian when he was made Patriarch. He was only a mere layman, and held some of the highest offices in the Court; he was Protospathaire and Proto-secretet, or Captain of the Guards, and Chief Secretary. We cannot say much for his religious character, for he was already a schismatic, as he joined Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, a man convicted of several crimes, and whose character was so bad, that when St. Ignatius was elected Bishop of Constantinople, he would not permit him to attend at his consecration, and Gregory was so mortified at the insult, that he dashed to the ground the wax candle he held in his hand as an attendant at the consecration, and publicly abused Ignatius, telling him that he entered into the Church not as a shepherd but as a wolf. He got others to join with him, and formed a schism against the Patriarch, so that the Saint was in the end obliged, in the year 854, to pass sentence of deposition against him in a Council (4). Noel Alexander remarks, that St. Ignatius deposed Gregory from the See of Syracuse, because the churches of that province were subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as Sicily then formed part of the Empire of the East but in order to confirm the sentence, he appealed to Benedict III., who, having again examined the affair, confirmed what was decided, as Nicholas I.

(3) Fleury, *t.* 7, l. 50, n. 2.

(4) Fleury, *loc. cit.* n. 3.

attests in his sixth epistle to Photius, and his tenth epistle to the clergy of Constantinople (5).

5.—Such was Gregory, with whom Photius was leagued, and as this last was elected Bishop of Constantinople, not according to the Canons, but solely by the authority of Bardas, he was at first rejected by all the Bishops, and another was elected by common consent. They adhered to their resolutions for many days, but Bardas by degrees gained them over. Five still held out, but at length went with the stream, and joined the rest, but only on condition that Photius would swear to, and sign a paper, promising to renounce the schism of Gregory, and to receive Ignatius into his communion, honouring him as a father, and to do nothing contrary to his opinion. Photius promised every thing, and was accordingly consecrated, but by the very same Gregory, and took possession of the See (6).

4.—Six months had not yet passed over, since his consecration, and he had broken all his oaths and promises; he persecuted St. Ignatius, and all the Ecclesiastics who adhered to him; he even got some of them flogged, and by promises and threats, induced several to sign documents, intended for the ruin of his sainted predecessors. Not being able to accomplish his design, he laid a plot, with the assistance of Bardas, that the Emperor should send persons to take informations, to prove that St. Ignatius was privately conspiring against the state. Magistrates and soldiers were immediately sent to the island of Terebintum, where St. Ignatius dwelt, and endeavoured by every means, even resorting to torture, to prove the charge, but as nothing came out to inculpate him, they conveyed him to another island called Jerium, and put him in a place where goats were kept, and, in a little time after, brought him to Prometum, near Constantinople, where he underwent cruel sufferings, for they shut him up in a confined prison, and his feet were fastened to the stocks by two iron bars, and the captain of his guard struck him so brutally with his clenched fist, that he knocked two of his teeth out. He was treated in this brutal manner, to induce him to sign a renunciation of his See, to make it appear, that of his own free will he

(5) Nat. Alex. *t.* 13, Dis. 4, *s.* 2.

(6) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *s.* 2; Fleury, *t.* 7, *l.* 50, *n.* 3; Baron. An. 858, *n.* 25.

gave up the Patriarchate. When the Bishops of the province of Constantinople were informed of this barbarous proceeding, they held a meeting in the Church of Peace, in that city, declared Photius deposed, and anathematized him and all his adherents; but he, supported by Bardas, called together a Council in the Church of the Apostles, in which he deposed and anathematized St. Ignatius, and, as several Bishops complained loudly of this injustice, he deposed them likewise, and put them in prison along with Ignatius. Finally, in the month of August, of the year 859, St. Ignatius was banished to Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, and all his adherents were banished from Constantinople, many of them severely beaten, and one, who complained against this act of injustice, had his tongue cut out (7).

5.—Photius could not but see that he was very much censured for all this, so he sent some of his partisans to Rome, to Pope Nicholas, to request that he would send his Legates to the East, under the pretext of extinguishing the remains of the Iconoclastic heresy, but in reality, to sanction the expulsion of St. Ignatius by their presence, and the Emperor wrote to the Pope on the same subject, at the same time (8). When the Imperial Ambassador and the Legates of Photius arrived in Rome, the Pope deputed two Legates, Rodaldus, Bishop of Porto, and Zacchary, Bishop of Anagna, to arrange the affairs of the Iconoclasts, by holding a Council, and deciding any supplementary matters necessary to carry out the provisions of the Seventh Council, and regarding the affair of Photius himself, as he received neither a letter or messenger from St. Ignatius (for his enemies deprived him of all intercourse with the Holy See), he directed his Legates to take juridical informations on the spot, and forward them to him. On the arrival of the Legates in Constantinople (9), they were kept three months by the Emperor and Photius, and even not permitted to speak with any one, except those appointed to visit them, lest they might be informed of the true state of things regarding the deposition of St. Ignatius. They were made to understand that if

(7) Bar. An. 859, n. 54; Fleury, loc. cit. n. 3 & 4; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(8) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 4. cum Anas. in Nic. 4.

(9) Nat. Alex. t. 13; Diss. 4. s. 3, ex. Epis. 6; Nichol.

they did not bend, in all things, to the Emperor's will (10), they would be banished to a place where nothing but a miserable death awaited them. At first they resisted, but finally, after spending there eight months, yielded, and soon after, Photius called together a Council in Constantinople, which was attended by them, and three hundred and eighteen Bishops, but, as Noel Alexander remarks (11), they were merely the nominal Legates of the Pope, for that meeting did not even preserve the forms of a General Council, for it was the Emperor himself who presided, and everything was done according as he wished, at the instigation of Photius.

6.—When the Council was assembled, a message was sent to St. Ignatius, to appear, and defend his cause; he at once put on his Pontifical ornaments, and went on foot, accompanied by Bishops and Priests, and a great number of the Monks and the laity, but on his way he was met by the Patrician, John, who, on the part of the Emperor, prohibited him, under pain of death, from appearing in the Pontifical robes, but merely in the habit of a simple Monk. He obeyed, and presented himself in this garb in the Church of the Apostles; he was there separated from the friends who accompanied him, and brought alone into the Emperor's presence, who loaded him with abuse. Ignatius asked leave to speak, and then asked the Pope's Legates what brought them to Constantinople. They answered, that they came to try his case. The Saint asked them if they brought letters for him from the Pope, and was told they had not, as he was no longer considered as Patriarch, having been deposed by a Council of his province, and that therefore they were there to judge him. "Then banish the adulterer Photius, first of all," said St. Ignatius, "and if you cannot do that, you are no longer judges." The Emperor said they, wishes us to be judges; but the Saint peremptorily refused to recognise them as such, and appealed to the Pope, on the authority of the fourth Canon of the Council of Sardis, which decrees, that, "If a Bishop be deposed, and he declares that he has a defence to make, no one must be elected in his place till the Pontiff of the Roman Church decides his case."

(10) Nichol. Ep. 9.

(11) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 4.

7.—Notwithstanding this, seventy-two false and bribed witnesses were examined, and deposed that the Saint had been guilty of tyranny in the government of his Church, and that he was intruded into the See by the secular power, and that, therefore, he should, according to the Apostolical Canon, be deposed: “If any Bishop obtain his See by secular powers, let him be deposed.” On this testimony, the Bishops of the Council, if it could be called such (with the exception of Theodulus of Ancira, who hated the injustice), and the Legates, deposed St. Ignatius, all crying out, *unworthy, unworthy* (12). He was then handed over to the executioners, to be tormented till he would sign his own deposition; they first nearly starved him for a fortnight, and afterwards hung him up by the feet over a deep pit, which was the tomb of Copronimus, and dashed him from side to side, till the marble lining of the tomb was stained with his blood. When he was thus reduced to the last extremity, and scarcely breathing, one Theodore, a bravo employed by Photius, took hold of his hand, and forcibly made him sign a cross on a sheet of paper, which he brought to Photius, who then wrote on it himself: “I, Ignatius, unworthy Bishop of Constantinople, confess that I have not been lawfully appointed, but have usurped the throne of the Church, which I have tyrannically governed.” But even after this act of villany, Photius did not consider himself safe, so he laid a plot with Bardas, and sent soldiers to take St. Ignatius, who, after his liberation from prison, lived at home with his mother, but he escaped in the disguise of a poor man, carrying two baskets slung on a pole over his shoulder. Six light horsemen were sent after him, with directions to kill him wherever he was found, but God delivered him out of their hands. For forty days, Constantinople was shaken by earthquakes, and so Bardas and the Emperor gave him leave to retire to his monastery, and live in peace (13), though he was again banished.

8.—In the meantime the Legates returned to Rome loaded with presents by Photius, and merely told the Pope verbally that Ignatius was deposed by the Council, and Photius confirmed.

(12) Baron. Ann. 861, n. 1; Nat. Alex. cit. s. 4, and Bernin. s. 9, c. 9. ex. Niceta in Vit. St. Ig. Nat.

(13) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 4; Fleury, t. 7, c. 53, n. 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, & Nat. Alex, t. 14; Diss. 14, s. 6.

Two days after, Leo, secretary to the Emperor, arrived in Rome, and presented a letter to the Pope from the Emperor, containing a long defence of the acts of the Council, and of Photius. Nicholas began then to suspect that his Legates had betrayed him, and so he immediately summoned together all the Bishops then present in Rome, and publicly declared in presence of the secretary Leo himself, that he never had sent his Legates either to depose Ignatius or confirm Photius, and that he never had, nor ever would consent to either one or the other (14). He wrote both to the Emperor and to Photius to the same effect (Epis. 9), and wrote likewise another letter to all the faithful of the East (Epis. 4), in which, by his Apostolic authority, he particularly commands the other Patriarchs of the East to hold the like sentiments regarding Ignatius and Photius, and to give all possible publicity to this letter of his. Photius, in the meantime, without taking any notice of this letter of his Holiness, planned that a certain Monk of the name of Eustrates should present himself in Constantinople, pretending that he had been sent to the Pope by Ignatius as the bearer of a letter, complaining of all he had suffered; but he said the Pope did not even deign to receive him, but on the contrary, sent a letter by him to Photius, assuring him of his friendship. Photius immediately brought these two letters to the Emperor and to Bardas; but when the whole matter was sifted, it was discovered that it was all a scheme got up by Photius, and Bardas felt so indignant at the imposition, that he commanded that the Monk Eustrates should receive a severe flogging (15).

9.—The Pope convoked a Council of several provinces, which was held in the beginning of the year 863, first in St. Peter's, and then in the Lateran Church, to try the Legates for betraying the Roman Church. One alone of them, the Bishop Zacchary, made his appearance (Rodoaldus being in France), and he being convicted, on his own confession, of having signed the deposition of Ignatius, contrary to the orders of the Pope, was excommunicated and deposed by the Council, and the following year the same was decreed in regard to Rodoaldus, in another Council

(14) Nichol. Epis. 13.

(15) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 15, 18, 19,
& Nat. Alex. t. 13, diss. 14, s. 6.

held in the Lateran, and he was threatened with anathema, if he ever communicated with Photius, or opposed St. Ignatius. Besides, in this first Lateran Council, Photius was deprived of all sacerdotal offices and honours, on account of his many crimes, and especially for having got himself ordained, he being a layman, by Gregory, the schismatical Bishop of Syracuse, and for having usurped the See of Ignatius, and daring to depose and anathematize him in a Council; besides, for having bribed the Legates of the Holy See to contravene the orders of the Pope, for having banished the Bishops who refused to communicate with him, and, finally, for having persecuted, and continuing to persecute, the Church. It was then decreed that if Photius should continue to hold possession of the See of Constantinople, or prevent Ignatius from governing it, or should exercise any sacerdotal function, that he should be anathematized, and deprived of all hope of communion, unless at the hour of death alone. Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, was condemned in the same manner, for having dared to exercise Ecclesiastical functions after his deposition, and for consecrating Photius Bishop. It was finally decreed that Ignatius never was deposed from his See, and that for the future every cleric should be deposed, and every layman anathematized, who would show him any opposition (16).

10.—When the Emperor Michael heard of the decrees of the Roman Council, he wrote a most abusive letter to Pope Nicholas, threatening him with his displeasure if he did not revoke his judgment (17). The Pope answered him (Epis. 70), that the Pagan Emperors were Princes and Pontiffs, but that after the coming of Jesus Christ the two powers were divided, as temporal things were different from spiritual things, and Noel Alexander particularly calls attention to these expressions in the Pope's letter: "It is plain that as there is no higher authority than the Apostolic See, that no one can revoke its judgment; nor is it lawful for any one to pass judgment on its judgments, since, according to the canons, appeals come to it from all parts of the world; but from it no one is permitted to appeal." He then

(16) Baron. Ann. 663, n. 3; Fleury, (17) Nichol. Epis. 8.
t. 7, l. 50, n. 19, 26.

says that the case of Ignatius and Photius can only be decided by appearing in person, or by deputy, in Rome, when both can state their causes of complaint, and defend themselves (18). Some time after the Emperor took the field to conquer Crete, and was accompanied by his uncle, Bardas, who was so strongly suspected of being a traitor, that he resolved to put him to death. He was in the Emperor's tent when he saw the soldiers come to take him, and he threw himself at his nephew's feet, imploring mercy, but his prayer was in vain; he was dragged out, and cut in pieces, and a piece of his flesh was carried round the camp in mockery, fixed on a spear, and thus, in the year 886, the unfortunate Bardas closed his mortal career. The Emperor immediately returned to Constantinople, and appointed Basil the Macedonian, who was one of the chief instigators of the death of Bardas, Prime Minister, and as he was aware of his incapacity in governing by himself, he soon after associated him in the empire, and had him solemnly crowned (19).

11.—Although Photius lost his protector, he did not lose heart; he continued to retain the Emperor's friendship, and ingratiated himself with Basil. He was abandoned by many of his adherents after he incurred the censures of the Pope, and he then bitterly persecuted them whenever he could;—some he deprived of their dignities; some he imprisoned, and he banished the hermits from Mount Olympus, and burned their cells (20). On the 13th of November, 866, the Pope sent three Legates to Constantinople, to appease the Emperor, and put an end to the discord caused by Photius; but they were arrested in Bulgaria by an Imperial officer, who treated them very disrespectfully, and told them that the Emperor would have nothing to say to them; so when they perceived the treatment they were likely to receive if they proceeded to Constantinople, they returned to Rome (21). It came to the knowledge of Photius at the same time that the Pope had sent other Legates to the Bulgarians, to protest against the new mode of Unction introduced by him (Photius) among them, in the administration of the sacrament of Confirmation, and he felt so indignant at this interference, that

(18) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 41; Nat.
Alex. cit. s. 6.

(20) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 41.

(19) Fleury, n. 42.

(21) Nat. Alex. t. 13, diss. 4, s. 7;
Fleury, n. 52, 53.

he summoned a Council, which he called an Ecumenical one, in which he got the two Emperors, Basil and Michael, to preside, and had it attended by the Legates of the other Patriarchal Sees, and by many Bishops of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to revenge himself on the Pope. Persons came forward there, and made several charges against Pope Nicholas. Photius received the accusations, and tried the cause, and finally condemned the Pope for many supposed crimes, and deposed and excommunicated him and all who would hold communion with him. Twenty-one Bishops were mad enough to approve of and subscribe this sacrilegious sentence, and Photius afterwards forged nearly a thousand other signatures to the same document (22). He had now lost all respect for the Pope, and his insolence arrived at such a pitch, that he sent a circular letter of his composition to the Patriarch of Alexandria, condemnatory of several practices and doctrines of the Roman Church, as the fast on Saturdays, the celibacy of the Clergy, but, above all, the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, not from the Father alone, but from the Father and Son (23). Baronius (24) even says, that he taught that every man had two souls. He obtained the Emperor's permission to summon a second Council in Constantinople, and having done so, he again excommunicated and deposed the Pope (25).

12.—In the year 867, the Emperor Michael was killed, while drunk, by his own guards, at the instigation of Basil, whose life he sought, on account of some disagreements they had. When Basil thus obtained the undivided sovereignty of the Empire, he banished Photius from the See of Constantinople, and exiled him to a distant Monastery (26), and the next day he sent the Imperial galley to the island where the Patriarch St. Ignatius was confined, to convey him back to Constantinople, and received him with the highest honours on his arrival, and solemnly put him in possession of his See once more (27). He sent orders then to Photius to restore all the documents with the Emperor's signa-

(22) Baron. Ann. 663, n. 13; Nat. Alex. cit. s. 7.

(23) Fleury, t. 7, l. 52, n. 55, 56.

(24) Baron. Ann. 869, n. 49.

(25) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. & Grav. t. 3, s. 9, coll. 4.

(26) Baron. Ann. 367, n. 92; Nicetas in Vita, St. Ignatii, p. 1226.

(27) Fleury, t. 7, l. 51, n. 1, 2.

ture he had in his possession; but he sent back word, that as he left the palace, by the Emperor's command, in a hurry, that he left all his papers behind him; but while he was making this excuse to the Prefect sent to him by Basil, his officers perceived the servants of Photius busy in hiding several bags filled with documents, with leaden seals appended to them; these were immediately seized on, and brought to the Emperor, and among other papers, two books, beautifully written, were found, one containing the acts of the imaginary Council condemning Ignatius, and the other the Synodical Letter against Pope Nicholas, filled with calumnies and abuse (28). Basil then wrote to Pope Nicholas, giving him an account of the expulsion of Photius and the re-establishment of Ignatius; but this letter was delivered into the hands of Adrian II., in 868, the successor of Nicholas, who died in 867. Adrian answered the Emperor, and said that he would put into execution, in regard to Photius and Ignatius, whatever was decided by his predecessor (29), and the same year he condemned the Council of Photius in a Council held at Rome, and the book we mentioned was burned there, being first thrown on the ground, with this anathema: "Cursed at Constantinople; be again cursed at Rome" (30).

(28) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 9, & Fleury, loc. cit.

(29) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 18.

(30) Baron. Ann. 868, n. 38; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 9, & Fleury, cit. n. 19.

ARTICLE II.

THE ERRORS OF THE GREEKS CONDEMNED IN THREE
GENERAL COUNCILS.

13, 14, 15.—The Eighth General Council against Photius, under Pope Adrian, and the Emperor Basil. 16.—Photius gains over Basil, and in the mean time St. Ignatius dies. 17.—Photius again gets possession of the See. 18.—The Council held by Photius, rejected by the Pope; unhappy death of Photius. 19.—The Patriarch, Cerularius, revives and adds to the errors of Photius. 20.—Unhappy death of Cerularius. 21, 22.—Gregory X. convokes the Council of Lyons, at the instance of the Emperor Michael; it is assembled. 23.—Profession of Faith written by Michael, and approved of by the Council. 24.—The Greeks confess and swear to the Decisions of the Council. 25.—They separate again. 26.—Council of Florence, under Eugenius IV.; the errors are again discussed and rejected; definition of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. 27.—Of the consecration in leavened bread. 28.—Of the Pains of Purgatory. 29.—Of the Glory of the Blessed. 30.—Of the Primacy of the Pope. 31.—Instructions given to the Armenians, Jacobites, and Ethiopians; the Greeks relapse into schism.

13.—Pope Adrian (1) made arrangements to celebrate a General Council in Constantinople, which was accomplished in the year 869, in the reign of the Emperor Basil; he sent three Legates to preside in his name: Donatus, Bishop of Ostia, Stephen of Nepi, and Marinus, one of the seven deacons of the Roman Church, who was afterwards Pope. The Legates proceeded to Constantinople, and were most honourably received by the Emperor; he sent all the officers of the palace to meet them at the gate of the city, and they were received there by the clergy in their robes, likewise. They were then presented to the Emperor in his palace, and he received them with all honour and reverence, kissed the Pope's letters when presented to him, and told them that he, as well as all the Bishops of the East, were for two years waiting for the decision of the Roman Church, their mother, and he, therefore, most earnestly besought

(1) Nat. Alex. s. 11, & Graveson, t. 3, coll. 3, p. 153.

them to make every endeavour to re-establish union and peace. The day for the opening of the Council was then appointed.

14.—The Legates presided in this Council in the name of the Pope; although in the eighth and tenth act, Basil and his two sons, Constantine and Leo, are called Presidents, still, as Noel Alexander (2) remarks, the Emperor is called the President, not because of any authority he held in the Synod, but because he was honoured as the protector of the Church, but not as the judge of Ecclesiastical affairs. The first Session was held on the 5th of October, in the year 869, and eight others were held, the last in the February of 870. The Bishops and priests who had joined the schism, presented themselves in the fifth Session, and were mercifully received again. Photius also came forward, but when he was asked by the Legates whether he received the exposition of Pope Nicholas, and of his successor Pope Adrian, he refused to answer (3). He was pressed for a reply, but he only said: "God understands what I mean, though I do not speak." "But," said the Legates, "your silence will not preserve you from condemnation; Jesus Christ said he was silent, likewise, and was condemned." They told him that if he wished to be reconciled to the Church, he should confess his crimes, and all the wrongs he had inflicted on Ignatius, and promise to recognise him as his pastor for the future, still he continued silent; then the Patrician Baanes, addressed him, and said: "My Lord Photius, your mind is now confused, so the Council gives you time to think on your salvation; go, you shall be again recalled." He made his appearance again in the seventh Session, with the crozier in his hand, but it was taken from him, for the Council said he was a wolf, and not a shepherd; he was again asked if he was willing to retract his errors, but he answered, that he did not recognize the Legates as his judges. Several other questions were put to him, but he answered them in a haughty manner, so he was anathematized in these words: "Anathema to Photius the invader, the schismatical tyrant, the new Judas, the inventor of perverse dogmas." In these and such like terms was he condemned, and, together with him, Gregory of Syracuse, and all their followers, who persevered in their obstinacy (4).

(2) Nat. Alex. *t.* 13; Diss. 4, *s.* 12.

(4) Baron. Ann. 869, *n.* 37, & Fleury, *t.* 7, *l.* 51, *n.* 29, & seq.

(3) Baron. Ann. 869, *n.* 28.

15.—Twenty-seven Canons were promulgated in this the Eighth General Council. Among the rest it was decreed, that all the orders conferred by Photius were invalid, and that the churches and altars he consecrated should be consecrate dagain. All Bishops and Clerks who continued to hold by his party were deposed, and all who held with him that man had two souls were anathematized. It was prohibited, under pain of deposition, to consecrate Bishops, at the command of the Sovereign (5). All the works of Photius were burned in the midst of the Assembly; the definitions of the other seven General Councils were received, and the Council was closed. It was afterwards confirmed by Pope Adrian, at the request of the Fathers (6), who besought him to confirm the Decrees of this General Synod as his own, that the words of truth and the decrees of justice should be received through the whole world confirmed by his authority. It is worthy of remembrance what Nicetas tells us of this Council (7), that the Fathers signed the Decree with a pen dipped in the Sacred Blood of Jesus Christ. The Emperor Basil did not look sufficiently to the safety of the Legates on their return to Rome; and the consequence was, that they were seized by the Sclavonians, and robbed of all they had, the Original Acts of the Council among the rest, with the autograph signatures of the Fathers. They were freed from captivity by the joint exertions of the Pope and the Emperor, and, on the 22nd of December, 870, arrived in Rome. The Pope received through another channel the authentic copy of the Synodical Acts, and confirmed the Council (8). The cause of the Emperor's displeasure with the Legates was, because they refused to accede to the wishes of the Ambassadors of the King of Bulgaria, in Constantinople, who wished to be subjected, not to the Roman Church, but to the See of Constantinople, and the Legates of the other Oriental Patriarchates seconded this request (9).

16.—Photius, in the meantime, never ceased to asperse the Council. He wrote several letters to that effect to his friends, and one, especially, to a Monk of the name of Theodosius (10),

(5) *N. Alex. sec. 22, & Fleury, l. 51, n. 55.*

(6) *N. Alex. loc. cit.*

(7) *Nicep. ap. Fleury, loc. cit. 46.*

(8) *Hermant, t. 1, c. 374.*

(9) *Fleury, t. 7, l. 31, n. 44, 49.*

(10) *Fleury, loc. cit. n. 41.*

in which he says: "Why do you wonder that those who have been themselves condemned presume to judge the innocent? Have you not examples? Caiphas and Pilate were judges; my God Jesus was the accused." He then alludes to the examples of St. Stephen, St. James, St. Paul, and so many Martyrs, who had to appear before judges worthy of being put to death a thousand times. "God," said the impious Photius, "disposes of every thing for our advantage." Noel Alexander and Fleury tell us, that, during the whole ten years of his exile, he never ceased plotting and scheming to injure the holy Patriarch, St. Ignatius, and to get back to the See himself, and he left no means untried to accomplish his purpose. He laid one plan, in particular, to ingratiate himself into the Emperor's favour: He wrote a genealogy and prophecy on a piece of old parchment, and in the antique Alexandrian character. This was called "Beclas," the name of Basil's father. In this he pretended that Basil, though his father was but a man of low birth, was descended from Tiridates, King of Armenia, and that his reign would be longer and happier than that of any of his predecessors. He got this bound up in an old cover, and privately conveyed into the Imperial library. He then got one of his friends, as great a schemer as himself, to suggest to the Emperor, that there was not a man in the Empire who could interpret that but Photius. The Emperor took the bait, and recalled him, and he soon ingratiated himself into his good graces, and endeavoured to obtain permission from St. Ignatius, through the Sovereign's influence, to exercise Episcopal functions; but the Saint never would permit him, for, as he was excommunicated by a Council, he said he could not be re-habilitated, unless by another Council; but, notwithstanding, he administered Orders, and exercised other Episcopal duties (12). The Holy Patriarch, Ignatius, died in the year 878, the eightieth year of his age, and there are strong suspicions, according to Noel Alexander, and Van Ranst, that Photius was the author of his death. Fleury says (13), that Stilianus, the Metropolitan of Neocesarea, wrote to Pope Stephen,

(11) Nat. Alex. *t.* 7, *diss.* 4, *sec.* 25; Fleury, *t.* 8, *l.* 53, *n.* 1, ex Nicet.

(12) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 25; Baron. Ann. 878, *n.* 53; Fleury, *t.* 8, *l.* 53, *n.* 1, & seq.; Van Ranst, *p.* 154.

(13) Fleury, *cit.* *l.* 53, *n.* 52.

and openly charged Photius with employing some wretches to take away the Holy Patriarch's life. Both the Greek and Latin Churches honour the memory of St. Ignatius, on the 23rd of October.

17.—Three days had not elapsed since the death of St. Ignatius, and Photius managed to mount the Patriarchal throne once more, and at once began to banish, flog, and incarcerate the servants of his holy predecessor. He restored some of the deposed Bishops; and those who rejected his communion, and adhered to the Council, he delivered into the hands of his relative, Leo Catacalus, who gained over many of the weak by torments, and punished the constancy of many more with death (14). He was most desirous of having the sanction of Pontifical authority for his re-establishment, and tried numberless schemes to accomplish it. Among the rest he sent a letter to the Pope then reigning, John VIII., telling him that he was forced to resume the See, and he surreptitiously obtained the signatures of the other Oriental Patriarchs to this, by pretending that it was a contract for a purchase to be secretly made. He sent another letter, forged in the name of St. Ignatius (then dead), and several other Bishops, begging of the Pope to receive Photius, and he sent along with those, letters from the Emperor, which he obtained in his favour (15). When the Pope received those letters, in Rome, in the year 879—desirous of not displeasing the Emperor, especially—he answered, that, for the good of the Church, and for peace sake, he was willing to dispense with the Decrees of the Eighth Council, and of his predecessors, and receive Photius into his communion, but only on condition of giving public proofs of penance, in a Council, to be held in presence of his Legates, then in Constantinople, and he, accordingly, sent Peter, a Cardinal, as his Legate, to preside at a Council in his name. Cardinal Baronius, Noel Alexander, Fleury (16), and several others, severely censure this condescension of the Pope; but Peter de la Marca excuses him (17), for, solicited as he was by the Emperor, and having the authority of

(14) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *sec.* 25.

(15) Fleury, loc. cit. *n.* 3, 4; N. Alex. *cod. sec.* 25.

(16) Baron. Ann. 879, *t.* 10; N. Alex. *t.* 13, *diss.* 4, *sec.* 26; Fleury, *t.* 8, *l.* 53, *n.* 7.

(17) De Marc. de Concordia, Sac. & Imp. *l.* 3, *c.* 14.

his predecessors, Leo, Gelasius, and Felix, and of the Council of Africa, all which teach that the rigour of the law must be dispensed with in time of necessity, he naturally considered that the good of the Church required he should yield the point, and thus, with the consent of the other Patriarchs, he consented that Photius should retain possession of the See.

18.—Photius put the finishing stroke to his plans on the arrival of the Legate in Constantinople; he deceived him, by asking for the Pope's letter that he might translate it into Greek, and when he got it into his hands, he curtailed it, and interpolated it to suit his own purpose, as Cardinal Baronius shows, and on the strength of this deception, a Council was held, called the Eighth General Council, by the schismatic Greeks, though it was nothing more than a Cabal, for though it was attended by four hundred and eighty Bishops, they were all adherents of Photius, and he presided himself and carried everything just as he liked, in opposition to the sentiments of the Legate and the Pope. This Council was closed after five Acts, and the impious Photius was re-established in the Pope's name, in the See of Constantinople. When Pope John learned what passed in Constantinople, as Noel Alexander (18) relates, he had sent anew his Legate, Maximus, to Constantinople to annul by Apostolical authority all that had been done in that wicked Council; and the Legate proceeded with courage, and confirmed, in the Pope's name, the condemnation of Photius, decided by the General Council; this so displeased the Emperor, that he cast the Legate into prison, and kept him there for thirty days, but, withal, the Pope confirmed the decrees passed against Photius by his predecessors, Nicholas I. and Adrian II., and again solemnly excommunicated him. Cardinal Gotti (19) adds, that this sentence of John VIII. was, after the death of Basil, which took place in 886, put into execution by his son and successor, Leo VI., the philosopher. Fleury tell us (20) that the Emperor sent two of his principal officers to the church of Sancta Sophia, and they went into the gallery, and publicly read all the crimes of Photius, and then banished him from the Metropolitan See,

(18) Nat. Alex., loc. cit. *sec.* 28.

(20) Fleury, *t.* 53, *n.* 51.

(19) Gotti, *Ver. Relig. t.* 2, *c.* 85,

sec. 1.

and sent him to an Armenian Monastery, where he died, but we do not know how or when. Cedrenus (21), in his annals, however, says that the Emperor ordered his eyes to be put out, as suspected of rebellion; and Noel Alexander says he died obstinately in his schism, and separated from the communion of the Church.

19.—Noel Alexander (22) says that the schism was extinguished on the death of Photius, but that it broke out again; but Danæus (23) says, that, on the contrary, his death left it as it was, and that it broke out with more violence in the time of Nicholas Chrisobergus, Patriarch, in 981, of Sisinnius, his successor, in 995, and, more than all, in the reign of Sergius, also Patriarch, who sent, in his own name, to the Bishop of the East, the Encyclical letter written by Photius against the Pope. It gained new strength in the eleventh century, under the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. This Prelate was of noble birth, but proud and intriguing; and he was imprisoned in a monastery, by the Emperor Michael Pophlaganius, and was not released till the reign of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, in the year 1043; he uncanonically seized on the See of Constantinople, but naturally fearing the censures of the Pope for this act of violence, he laboured to bring to maturity the seeds of division, previously sown between the two Churches. He commenced the attack, by writing a letter to John, Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, charging the Roman See with holding erroneous doctrines regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; that the soul after leaving Purgatory, went directly to enjoy beatitude before the General Resurrection; that the Pope usurped the authority of Universal Pastor, without having any authority to do so, and more, that the Latins, by consecrating the Eucharist in unleavened bread, followed the Jewish practice of celebrating the Pasch in unleavened bread. In making a charge of this sort against the Roman Church, he was most surely astray, for our Lord celebrated the Pasch on the first day of the feast of the unleavened bread; and then, according to the precept of God himself, in Exodus, it was unlawful to have even in the house,

(21) Apud. Gotti, loc. cit.

(22) Nat. Alex. s. 29.

(23) Danæus tem. net. p. 271

leavened bread : "Seven days there shall not be found any leaven in your houses" (Exod. xii.); and, besides, there was a most ancient tradition handed down direct from St. Peter himself, as Christian Lupus (24) says, that Christ offered up the Sacrifice in unleavened bread, and such was indubitably the universal practice, during the first centuries in the West, unless, for a short time, when the discipline was changed, lest the Christians should be scandalized, as if they were Judaizing. It is true, the Greeks have always made use of leavened bread; and by doing so, never offended against Faith, for one Church has never reprobated the custom of another; but Cerularius was altogether astray in accusing the Latin Church of heresy, for using unleavened bread.

20.—Pope Leo, to extinguish the fire of schism which was every day spreading more widely, sent as his Legates to the East, Umberto, Bishop of Silva Candida, the Cardinal Archdeacon of Rome, and Peter, Archbishop of Amalphi; they brought letters from the Pope to the Emperor Constantine, threatening to excommunicate Cerularius, unless he desisted from censuring the Roman Church, on account of the custom of celebrating with unleavened bread. The question then was discussed in Constantinople itself, and the Latin practice was justified; but Cerularius refused all along to meet the Legates, and continued to give them every opposition in his power. The Legates, despairing of any change in him, after celebrating Mass one day in St. Sophia, publicly laid the letter of excommunication on the altar. This only exasperated him more, and he removed the Pope's name from the Diptychs, and following the Legates' example, he excommunicated them, and sent letters through all Asia and Italy, filled with calumnies and abuse of the Roman Church. He lived and died obstinately in schism: he was banished to Proconesus by the Emperor, Isaac Comnenus, who deposed him from the Patriarchate, and he there ended his days (25).

21.—The schism was not extinguished at his death, but spread more widely; and though several Greek Churches in the eleventh and following centuries continued in communion with the Roman

(24) Chris. Lupus. *p.* 3, Conc. Diss. de Act. St. Leo VII.

(25) Bernin. *t.* 3, *sec.* xi, *c.* 6; Van Ranst, *sec.* 10, *p.* 171; Bask. *t.* 2, *sec.* 11, *c.* 3.

Church, still the breach was every day becoming wider, till Constantinople was conquered by the Latins. Union was again restored under the Frankish Monarchy, from the reign of Baldwin, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, in 1204, till 1261; but when Constantinople was re-taken by Michael Paleologus, the Greeks renewed the schism, which to all appearance they had eternally forsaken, and for the four subsequent centuries the Churches were disunited, till the chastisement of God bore heavily on the sinful Empire. Michael Paleologus (26) sent a Franciscan Doctor to Gregory X., the bearer of letters requesting an union between the Greek and Roman Churches once more, and he wrote to St. Louis, King of France, also, to induce him to co-operate to the same end. The Pope was most desirous to accede to his wishes, and he sent four Friars of the Order of St. Francis (or according to others, two of the Franciscan and two of the Dominican Order,) as his Legates, to conclude a peace. This happened in 1272, and he convoked a General Council at the same time to meet in two years after in Lyons, to concert with the Christian Sovereigns for the conquest of the Holy Land; to reform some matters of discipline; but principally to re-unite the Greek and Latin Churches; and to facilitate this object, so dear to his heart, he sent a formula of Faith to the Emperor by the four religious delegates, which the Greek Bishops were called on to sanction. He prayed the Emperor to come to the Council himself, or, at all events, to send his Legates, and he also invited the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other Greek Bishops to the Council.

22.—At the appointed time the Council assembled in Lyons, and besides the Latin Prelates, two of the Greek Patriarchs, Pantaleon, of Constantinople, and Opizio, of Antioch, and several other Greek Bishops, attended. Five hundred Bishops altogether, seventy Abbots, and about one thousand inferior Prelates, were assembled. St. Bonaventure was also present, and took the first place after the Pope, and to him was committed, by his Holiness, the whole arrangement of the Council. The Pope had summoned St. Thomas of Aquin, likewise, but he died on his way

(26) Nat. Alex. t. 17, diss. 7, de Con. Lug. 11, a. 1.; Graveson, t. 4, coll. 4, p. 116.

thither, in the Convent of Fossa Nova. The Ambassadors of the Kings of France, England, and Sicily, were also in attendance. Several authors, among others Trithemius and Platina, assert, that the Emperor Michael was present; but Noel Alexander proves (27) indubitably, that he was not, but only his Ambassadors, and, it is on that account, that his letter was read in the Council, and approved of, because the Ambassadors, in his name, took an oath assenting to the union, and, besides, Pope Gregory, immediately on the conclusion of the Council, wrote to him an account of all that had taken place there, which he assuredly would not have done, had he been present in person.

25.—In the fourth Session, the letter of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, was read, professing the Faith taught by the Roman Church, as laid down in the formula, sent to him by the Pope. In this, he professes that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, the existence of Purgatory, the validity of Consecration with unleavened bread, and finally, the primacy of the Pope. Noel Alexander (28), and Raynaldus (29), quote his words: "That the Holy Roman Church has full and plenary primacy, and principality over the whole Catholic Church, and that it received the plentitude of power in the Apostle St. Peter, whose successor, the Roman Pontiff is, through Christ himself; and, as it is bound, above all others, to defend the truth of the Faith, so its judgment should be definitive, in all controversies regarding Faith. That all persons having any Ecclesiastical business, can appeal to it, and that it can examine and judge all Ecclesiastical cases, and all other Churches owe it reverential obedience." The plentitude of power consist in this, that it admits the other Church to a part of its solitudes, and it honours others, but above all the Patriarchal Churches, with divers privileges, never, however, giving up its prerogatives, both in General Councils and elsewhere, but always keeping the purity of the Faith, as faithfully explained;" and then he adds: "We, of our own free will, confess and receive the Primacy of the Holy Roman Church." He then begs of the Pope, to allow the Symbol or Creed to be sung in the Greek Church, as it was

(27) Nat. Alex. cit. a. 2, n. 1.

(29) Raynal. Ann. 1274, n. 14.

28) Nat. Alex. cit. n. 2.

before the schism, and to permit the Greeks to observe the same rites as before, when not opposed to Faith, to the Divine Commandments, to the Old or New Testament, to the Doctrines laid down by General Councils or Holy Fathers, and received by the Councils, celebrated under the spiritual power of the Roman Church. The letters of the several Greek Bishops were then read, submitting themselves to the power of the Roman Church, and professing in all things the same Episcopal obedience, to the Apostolic See as their fathers did before the schism.

24.—When these letters were read, George Acropolita, the *great Logothete*, or High Chancellor, the Emperor's Ambassador, renounced the schism in his name, professed the Faith of the Roman Church, and recognized the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff; he also took an oath, promising that the Emperor never would depart from his Faith and obedience. The Legates of the Greek Bishops did the same, and now the Council having approved and accepted the profession of Faith, the Synodical Constitution was promulgated: "We confess, said the Fathers, with a faithful and devout profession, that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but, as from one principle, not from two spirations, but one spiration. The Holy Roman Church, the Father and Mistress of all Churches, has always professed, and firmly holds and teaches this Doctrine, and, this is also the true and unchangeable opinion of the orthodox Fathers and Doctors, both of the Latin and Greek Churches. But as some, on account of not knowing this undoubted truth, have fallen into various errors, we, wishing to prevent any from going the same false way in future, with the approbation of the Sacred Council, condemn and hand over to reprobation, all who presume to deny, that the Holy Ghost eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son, or who dare to assert that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles, and not from one." The Council closed at last, and Gregory sent back the Greeks to their own country, loaded with presents, and wrote to the Emperor Michael, and to his son, Andronicus, congratulating them on the completion of the Synod. The Emperor was so highly pleased that all was so happily concluded, and, as Joseph, the Patriarch of Constan-

tinople, who was always opposed to the union, would not now give his consent to it, he obliged him to renounce his dignity, and retire to a Monastery, and had John Veccus elected in his place, and he imprisoned, banished, and even put to death, some Ecclesiastics and Nobles, who refused to receive the decrees of the Council (30).

25.—Two Synods were held in Constantinople in the year 1276, under Pope John XXI., in which the Patriarch Veccus, and the other Greek Bishops, professed the Faith, according to the rule laid down by the Roman Church; and the Emperor Michael and his son Andronicus wrote to the Pope, that all that the Roman Church believes and teaches was confirmed by these Synods. The Emperor wrote another letter, in 1278, to Nicholas III., the successor of John, informing him that he used every means in his power to consolidate the union, but that so many outbreaks occurred, and so many plots were laid against him, that he feared he would be deposed if he tried any further, and he begged of his Holiness not to be angry if he appeared to yield a little in so delicate an affair. The end of the matter was, that the Greeks, with few exceptions, every day more and more separated themselves from the union they had sworn to, and at last Martin IV., the successor of Nicholas III., excommunicated the Emperor, Michael Paleologus, in 1281, as a supporter of the Greek schism and heresy, and forbade all Princes, Lords, and Universities, and the authorities of all cities and towns, under pain of personal excommunication and local interdict, from having any connexion with him, as long as he was under ban of excommunication. Noel Alexander, on the authority of two authors, says that the Pope excommunicated the Emperor at the instigation of Charles, King of Sicily, who hoped that when Michael was by this measure deprived of assistance, that he could easily banish him from the throne, and place his son-in-law on it; but Roncaglia, in his notes on Alexander, shows that Martin having renewed the excommunication the following year, (as Raynaldus relates, *Ann.* 1281, N. 8), proves that the only reason he could have for doing it was, that the Emperor broke faith, and gave up the union he had sworn to maintain (31).

(30) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. a. 2, n. 6,
ex Nicephor. l. 5, & aliis.

(31) Nat. Alex. t. 17, diss. 7, a. 2,
per totum.

26.—This schism continued for about a hundred and twenty years longer, from the Council of Lyons, till the year 1439, when the Greeks were reduced almost to the last extremity, for the Almighty permitted the Turks to punish them, and, after conquering the greater part of their empire, now threatened their total destruction. In their distress, they now made overtures for a re-union with the Roman Church once more, and Pope Eugenius IV., who was extremely desirous of acceding to their wishes, convoked a Council, principally for this object, in Ferrara; and when the plague broke out in that city, afterwards in Florence, and invited the Emperor, the Patriarchs, and the other Greek Bishops to attend. The Emperor John Paleologus, accepted the invitation, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, the two chief Metropolitans, Basil Bessarion, Archbishop of Nice, and Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, several other Greek Bishops, seven hundred other distinguished personages, and a hundred and sixty Latin Bishops, assembled in Florence. The points of disagreement, which were the same as those decided on in the Council of Lyons (32), were again examined. The word, *Filioque*, “and from the Son,” which was added to the Creed by the Latin Church, to explain that the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son, as from one principle, was again debated. Mark, the Greek Archbishop of Ephesus, was the most strenuous opposer of this addition; it was unlawful, he said, to add anything to the ancient Symbols of the Church, but our Theologians replied, that the promise made by Jesus Christ to assist his Church, was not confined to any period, but lasts till the end of time: “Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world” (Matt. xxviii, 20). The word, *Consubstantial*, was not, said they, in the Creed at first; and for all that the Council of Nice thought it necessary to add it; to put an end to the subterfuges of the Arians, and explain that the Word was of the same substance as, and in all things equal to, the Father. The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, also, made an addition to the Nicene Creed, to explain the two Natures of Christ, Divine and human, against Nestorius, who taught that he was a mere man; and against Eutyches, who asserted that the

(32) Spondan. ad. Ann. 1438, n. 28.

human was absorbed by the Divine Nature. Hence they argued that the words, "and from the Son," were added to the Symbol; not to prove that the ancient Symbols were imperfect, but to declare more clearly the truth of the Faith, and that the declaration of the truth ought not to be called an addition, but rather an explanation. The Council, therefore, defined: "That this truth should be believed by all Christians; that the Holy Ghost is eternally from the Father and the Son, and that his essence and being is both from the Father and the Son, and that he proceeds eternally from both, as from one principle, and by one spiration; and that this is what the Holy Fathers mean by saying that he proceeds from the Father by the Son; and when the Greeks speak of the Son, as the cause, and the Latins the principle, together with the Father, of the subsistence of the Holy Ghost, they both mean the same thing." Here are the words: "Diffinimus, ut hæc fidei veritas ab omnibus Christianis credatur, quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre, et Filio æternaliter est; et essentiam suam, suumque esse subsistens habet ex Patre simul et Filio; et ex utroque æternaliter tanquam ab uno principio, et unica spiratione procedit, declarantes, quod id quod SS. Patres dicunt ex Patre per Filium procedente Spiritum Sanctum; ad hanc intelligentiam tendit, ut per hoc significetur, Filium quoque esse secundum græcos quidem causam, secundum latinos vero principium subsistentiæ Spiritus Sancti, sicut et Patrem. Et quoniam omnia quæ Patris sunt, Pater ipse unigenito Filio suo gignendo dedit, præter esse Patrem, hoc ipsum quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, ipse Filius a Patre æternaliter habet, a quo etiam æternaliter genitus est. Diffinimus insuper, explanationem verborum illorum *Filioque*, veritatis declarandæ gratia, et imminente tunc necessitate, ac rationabiliter Symbolo fuisse appositam."

27.—The question of the validity of the consecration of the Eucharist in unleavened bread was then discussed, but the parties soon agreed on this, as there was no doubt that wheaten bread was the essential matter of the Sacrament, and it was but a matter of discipline whether it was leavened or unleavened; and it was then defined that each Priest should follow the custom of his own Church, whether of the East or the West.

28.—Purgatory, and the state of beatitude the just enjoy,

previous to the General Resurrection, was then discussed. Both parties soon agreed on these points, for as to Purgatory, the Greeks never denied its existence, but they taught that the stains of sin are there purged away by the penalty of sorrow, and not of fire; and they, accordingly, at once agreed to the definition of the Council, which decided that the souls are purged from the stain of sin, in the next life, by punishment, and that they are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful, and especially by the Sacrifice of the Mass, but does not specify either the penalty of sorrow or of fire; and the Council of Trent, in the Twenty-fifth Session, in the Decree on Purgatory, decided the same, though many of the Holy Fathers, as St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Gregory, Bede, and the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas, particularly mention the penalty of fire, as I have remarked in my Dogmatic Work on the Council of Trent, in opposition to the Innovators (33); and they found their opinion on the text of St. Paul (I. Cor. iii, 12). The following is the Decree of the Council: “Item (*definimus*) si vere pœnitentes in Dei charitate decesserint, antequam dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus de commissis satis fecerint, et omissis, eorum animas pœnis purgatoriis post mortem purgari, et ut a pœnis hujusmodi releventur, prodesse eis Fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum scil. Sacrificia, orationes, et eleemosynas, et alia pietatis officia, secundum Ecclesiæ instituta.”

29.—The Greeks also accepted the definition of the Council, that the just enjoy the beatific vision previous to the General Resurrection. This is the Decree: “Illas (*Animas*) etiam, quæ post contractam peccati maculam, vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutæ corporibus (prout superius dictum est), sunt purgatæ, in Cælum mox recipi, et intueri clare ipsum Deum trinum, et unum sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate, alium alio perfectius; illorum autem animas, qui in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali decedunt mox in infernum descendere, pœnis tamen disparibus puniendas.” Theologians commonly teach that the blessed will not have the fulness of beatitude, till after the General Judgment, when their souls will be united with their bodies. This, St. Bernard (34), speaking of the two stoles of

(33) In cit. Sogg. 25, n. 7, & 27.

(34) S. Bernard, *t.* 1, q. 1033; Serm. 3, om. SS. n. 1.

the blessed, says: "The first stole is the happiness itself, and the rest of the soul; but the second is immortality and the glory of the body.

30.—The greatest dispute was concerning the Primacy of the Pope, and Mark of Ephesus not only obstinately opposed this doctrine to the end of the Council, but after its conclusion, as we shall see, succeeded in again perverting the Greeks. The Greeks, indeed, admitted that the Pope was the head of the Church, but would not allow that he could receive appeals from sentences passed by the Four Patriarchal Sees of the East, or convoke a General Council without their assent. They were so firm on this point, especially, that there would be no hope of agreement, had not Basil Bassarion, the Archbishop of Nice, suggested a mode of reconciling both parties, by putting in the clause: "Saving the rights and privileges of the Greeks;" and to this the Greeks at last consented, for they then maintained their privilege, and at the same time confessed their subjection to the Roman Church; for the very word privilege implies a concession from a superior power, and thus the power of the Pope over all Christian Churches is confirmed. "We define," says the Council, "that the Holy Apostolic See, and the Roman Pontiff, has the primacy over the whole world, and that the Pope is the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and our Father and Doctor; and that full power has been given him by our Lord Jesus Christ, in St. Peter, to feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church, as is contained in the Acts of the Universal Councils, and the Sacred Canons. We also renew the order laid down by the Sacred Canons, in regard to the other venerable Patriarchs, that the Patriarch of Constantinople should have the second place after the Holy Roman Pontiff; the Patriarch of Alexandria, the third; of Antioch, the fourth; and of Jerusalem, the fifth; saving all their rights and privileges."

31.—When all this was concluded, and before the Council was dismissed, the Armenians arrived in Florence, on the invitation of the Pope, as their provinces were infected with errors. The Armenian Patriarch sent four delegates, who were most kindly received by the Pope, and as they were extremely ignorant, his Holiness judged it proper to cause a compendium of the whole Christian doctrine to be drawn up, which they should swear to

profess, and take with them as a rule for their countrymen. This Instruction or Decree was accepted and sworn to, by the Armenians, and is quoted at length by Cardinal Justinian and Berninus (35). The Jacobites, also, on the invitation of the Pope, were represented in the Council by the Abbot of St. Anthony, sent by the Armenian Patriarch. The Ambassadors of the Sovereign of Ethiopia, the *Prester John*, of that age, presented themselves at the Council, likewise, and promised obedience to the Roman Church, and a book of instructions were given them by the Pope, when he transferred the Council from Florence to Rome (36). This peace, however, was but of short duration, for the Greeks, on their return home, again fell back into their former errors, principally at the instigation of the wicked Mark of Ephesus. The chastisement of God soon overtook that fickle people; in 1453, Mahomet II. took Constantinople by assault, and gave it up to sack and slaughter; the infuriated soldiery slew all who came in their way, cast down the altars, profaned the monasteries, and despoiled the wretched inhabitants of all their property. Thus fell the empire of the East, after eleven centuries of a glorious existence. The Greeks continue, to the present day, obstinately attached to their errors; they are the slaves of the Turks in their ancient capital. That noble Church that gave to the world, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, and so many other learned and holy Doctors, now lies trampled under foot, vice usurping the place of virtue, and ignorance seated in the chair of learning. The Greek Church, in a word, the Mother of many Saints and Doctors of the Church, has, on account of its separation from the Roman See, fallen into a state of deplorable barbarity and wretched slavery (37).

(35) Card. Justin. in Concil. Floren.
par. 3, p. 263, & ap. Bernin. t. 4, s.
5, 6, p. 134.

(36) Rainal. Ann. 1442, n. 1 & 2.

(37) Hermant, t. 2, c. 201; Berti, Br.
H. t. 2, s. 16, c. 5.

CHAPTER X.

THE HERESIES WHICH SPRUNG UP FROM THE ELEVENTH
TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

We pass over the Tenth Century, because in that age no new heresy sprung up in the Church; but Danæus (1) says, that there was both great ignorance and great disunion in the West, so that even the Apostolic See was not exempt from intrusions and expulsions. Graveson (2) states the same, and says, that it was a great mark of Divine Protection, that, amid so many evils, a schism did not arise in the Church.

ARTICLE I.

HERESIES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

- 1.—Stephen and Lisosius burned for their Errors.
- 2.—The new Nicholites and the Incestuosists.
- 3.—Berengarius, and the principles of his Heresy.
- 4.—His Condemnation and Relapse.
- 5.—His Conversion and Death.

1.—The first heresy of this century was an offshoot of Manicheism, or, rather, a collection of errors, which may be called Atheism itself. It was first discovered in Orleans, in France, where it was introduced by an Italian lady, and was embraced by many persons, but especially by two Ecclesiastics, of the name of Stephen and Lisosius, who were considered both holy and learned men. They taught, that all that the Scriptures say about the Trinity and the Creation of the World is mere nonsense, as the heavens and the earth are from all eternity, and never had a beginning. They denied the Incarnation and the Passion of Christ, and, consequently, the value of Baptism.

(1) Danes, gen. tem. not. p. 275.

(2) Graveson, His. Ecclesias. t. 3, sec. 10, coll. 2.

They condemned Matrimony, and denied that good works were rewarded, or evil ones punished, in the next life. They used to burn an infant eight days old, and preserved his ashes for the Viaticum of the Sick. A Norman gentleman, called Arefastus, informed Robert, King of France, of the practices and doctrines of those wretches, and he, at once, went to Orleans himself, accompanied by the Queen, and a number of Bishops. These Prelates finding Stephen and Lisosius obstinate in their errors, held a Synod, and deposed and degraded them, and they were then, by the King's orders, brought outside the city, shut up in a cabin with several of their followers and burned alive (1).

2.—The new Nicholites also made their appearance in this century. These were some clergymen in Holy Orders, who preached that it was lawful for them to marry. The sect called Incestuosists also then disturbed the Church. These taught that it was lawful to contract marriage within the four prohibited degrees of consanguinity (2).

3.—The remarkable heresy of Berengarius also sprung up in this century, and it is one of the prodigies of Divine Mercy, to see that this heretic, after so many relapses, in the end died a true penitent, and in communion with the Church. Berenger, or Berengarius, was born in the early part of this century, in Tours; he first studied in the school of St. Martin, and then went to prosecute his studies at Chartres, under Fulbert, the Bishop of that city. A certain author (3), speaking of his haughtiness, says, that while only a scholar he cared but very little for his master's opinions, and despised altogether anything coming from his fellow-students; he was not, however, deeply grounded in the abstruse questions of philosophy, but took great pride in quibbles, and strange interpretations of plain words. His master, Fulbert, well aware of his petulant genius, and his desire of novelty, frequently advised him to follow in every thing the doctrine of the Fathers, and to reject all new doctrines. He returned to Tours, and was received among the

(1) Fleury, *t. 8, l. 58, n. 53 & 55*; Graves, *t. 3, sec. 11, coll. 3*; Gotti, *Ver. Relig. t. 2, c. 86, sec. 1*; Berti, *sec. 11, c. 3*; Van Ranst, *sec. 11, p. 173, & seq.*

(2) Van Ranst, *sec. 11, p. 167*; Berti, *Brev. His. sec. 11, c. 3.*

(3) Quidmond, *l. 1, de Corp. xti. ver. in Euch.*

Chapter of the Church of St. Martin, and was appointed a dignitary, the Master of the School, as it was called. He next became Treasurer of the Church, and then went to Angers, and was appointed Archdeacon by the Bishop Eusebius Bruno, one of his own scholars. It was in Angers, according to Noel Alexander and Graveson (4), that he first began, about the year 1047, to disseminate his errors; and Baronius says, that the Bishop Eusebius connived at it, though Noel Alexander acquits him (5). At first, he attacked the Sacrament of Matrimony, the Baptism of infants, and other dogmas of the Faith; but he soon gave up all other questions, and confined himself to one alone—the denial of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. He attacked Paschasius Radbert, who, in 831, wrote a learned treatise on the Eucharist, and held up to admiration John Scotus Erigena, who flourished in the ninth century, and is believed to have been the first who attacked the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Cardinal Gotti, however, remarks that Berenger is looked on as the founder of this heresy, as the Church was obliged to summon several Councils to condemn it, as we shall see hereafter (6).

4.—Berengarius was first condemned in the year 1050, in a Roman Council, held under Pope St. Leo IX., but he took so little notice of this, that he called it the Council of Vanity. He was condemned, likewise, in the Council of Vercelli, held the same year, and that Council also condemned the book of John Scotus. He was again condemned in a Council held in Paris, under the reign of King Henry I.; and Victor II., the successor of St. Leo, condemned him in a Synod, held in Florence, in the year 1055. In this same year he abjured his errors—convinced by Lanfranc that he was wrong—in a Council held at Tours, and swore never again to separate himself from the Faith of the Catholic Church; but his subsequent conduct proved that he was not sincere in this recantation. In the year 1059, therefore, Pope Nicholas II. convoked a Council in Rome of 113 Bishops, and then Berengarius again made his profession of Faith, according to the form prescribed to him, and swore again never to

(4) Nat. Alex. *t.* 14, *sec.* 11, *c.* 4, *art.* 2; Graves. *t.* 3, *sec.* 11, *coll.* 3.

(5) Nat. Alex. *t.* 14, *diss.* 1, *art.* 4.

(6) Gotti, Ver. Rel. *t.* 2, *c.* 87, *sec.* 1 & 2; Fleury, *t.* 8, *l.* 59, *n.* 65; Graves. loc. cit.

deviate from it, and threw his own works, and those of John Scotus, into a great fire, which was lighted in the midst of the Council. Still he was unchanged: on his return to France, he again relapsed, and even wrote a book in defence of his heresy, and in defiance of the Church of Rome. Alexander II., the successor of Nicholas, paternally admonished him by letter; but he not only obstinately held out, but even sent him a disrespectful answer. Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, therefore, considered himself obliged to adopt extreme measures, and in a Council, held in 1063, excommunicated him and all his followers, and the Decrees of this Council were confirmed by another, held in Poitiers, in 1075. Finally, St. Gregory VII., to put an end to the scandal altogether, convoked a Council, in Rome, of one hundred and fifty Bishops, in 1079, in which the Catholic doctrine was confirmed, and Berengarius, confessing himself convinced, took an oath to the following effect: "I confess that the bread and wine placed on the altar are substantially converted into the true Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, by the mystery of Sacred Prayer and the words of our Redeemer, not alone by the sign and virtue of a Sacrament, but by the truth of substance, &c." (7).

5.—Notwithstanding all this, when Berengarius returned to France, he again retracted his confession by another writing (8); but in the year following, 1080, he obtained from the Divine Mercy the grace of a true conversion, and in a Council, held at Bordeaux, retracted this last work of his, and confirmed the profession of faith he made at Rome; and he survived this last retractation for nearly eight years, and in the year 1088, at the age of nearly ninety years, he died a true penitent, in communion with the Church, after spending these eight years in retirement in the island of St. Cosmas, near Tours, doing penance for his sins (9). William of Malmesbury (10) says, that when just about to die, Berengarius exclaimed, remembering all the perversions his heresy had caused: "To-day Jesus Christ shall appear to me—either to show me mercy on account of my repentance, or, perhaps, to punish me, I fear, for having led

(7) Fleury, *t. 9, l. 62, n. 60*; N. Alex. loc. cit. *art. 17*; Gotti, loc. cit. *s. 3*.

(8) Mabillon, *pref. 2, sec. 6, n. 31*.

(9) Fleury, *t. 9, l. 63, n. 40*.

(10) Villel. Malmesb. *de rebus, Angl. l. 3*.

others astray." St. Antoninus, De Bellay, Mabillon, Anthony Pagi, Noel Alexander, Graveson, and several other authors, assert that his repentance was sincere, and that he never relapsed during the last years of his life—a remarkable exception to so many other heresiarchs, who died in their sins.

ARTICLE II.

HERESIES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

6.—The Petrobrussians. 7.—Henry, and his Disciples. 8.—Their condemnation. 9.—Peter Abelard, and his Errors concerning the Trinity. 10.—His condemnation. 11.—His Conversion and Death. 12.—His particular Errors. 13.—Arnold of Brescia; his Errors and condemnation. 14.—Causes a Sedition, and is burned alive. 15.—Gilbert de la Poree; his Errors and Conversion. 16.—Folmar, Tanquelinus, and the Abbot Joachim; the Apostolicals and the Bogomiles. 17.—Peter Waldo and his Followers under different denominations—Waldenses, Poor Men of Lyons, &c. 18.—Their particular Errors, and condemnation.

6.—The Petrobrussians made their appearance at this time; they were followers of a Monk, Peter of Bruis, who, tired of the restraint of the cloister, apostatized, and fled to the province of Arles, and, about the year 1118, began to preach his errors in that neighbourhood. These may be reduced to five heads, as Peter, Abbot of Cluny (1), tells us: First—He rejected the baptism of infants till they came to the use of reason. Second—He rejected altars and churches, and said they should be destroyed. Third—He prohibited the veneration of the Cross. Fourth—He rejected the sacrifice of the Mass, and the sacrament of the Eucharist. Fifth—He rejected prayers and suffrages for the dead. It is very likely, Graveson says (2), that these errors were condemned in the Third Canon of the Council of Toulouse, in the year 1119, at which Pope Celestine II. presided, and that they were again condemned in the Second Council of Lateran, under Innocent II. It is the opinion of

(1) Bibli. Cum. p. 1120.

(2) Graves. Hist. t. 3, sec. 12, coll. 2.

some, that Peter of Bruis was a follower of the Manichean doctrine; but Noel Alexander and Cardinal Gotti (3) are of the contrary opinion, because he baptized with water, made use of flesh-meat, and venerated both the Old and New Testaments, all which the Manicheans rejected. He had a horrible death. He collected together a great number of crosses on Good Friday, in the town of St. Giles, in the Diocese of Nismes, and making a great fire with them, he caused a great quantity of meat to be roasted at it, and distributed it to his followers, but the Archbishop of Arles got him into his power some time after, and sentenced him to be burned alive (4).

7.—After the death of this unfortunate man, another Monk, named Henry, some say an Italian, others a Provençal (5), took his place, and about the year 1142, increased the numbers of the sect, and added new errors to those of his master. He was highly esteemed for his learning and piety, and on that account disseminated his errors most extensively in several places, especially in the Diocese of Mans; but before he proceeded to that city himself, he sent two of his disciples, bearing, like himself, a cane with an iron cross on the top, and they obtained leave for him to preach in that city, from the Bishop Ildebert. When he began to preach, his eloquence soon drew crowds after him, and he so excited the fury of the populace against the priests, that they looked on them as excommunicated, and would have burned down their dwellings, robbed them of their property, and even stoned them to death, if the principal people of the city had not opposed these violent proceedings. The Bishop Ildebert himself, was not allowed to pass free by Henry's followers, so he banished him from his Diocese, and received two of his disciples, whose eyes were opened to his errors, and abandoned him (6). After his banishment from Mans, he first went to Poitiers, and next to Toulouse, where he principally added to his followers. St. Bernard describes (Epis. 241) the ruinous consequences that ensued from his preaching in that city; the Priests, the churches, the Festivals, the Sacra-

(3) Nat. Alex. *t.* 14, *sec.* 12, *c.* 4, *art.* 4; Gotti, Ver. Rel. *t.* 2, *c.* 89, *s.* 1.

(4) Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 10, *l.* 69, *n.* 24; N. Alex. loc. cit.; Graves. loc. cit.

(5) Gotti, *c.* 79, *sec.* 2.

(6) Nat. Alex. cit. *art.* 7; Fleury, cit. *n.* 24.

ments, and all holy things, were treated with supreme contempt; people died without confession, and without the Viaticum, and Baptism was refused to children. He even adds, that Henry himself shamelessly spent what he got at his sermons at the gaming-table, and that so great was his depravity, that he frequently, after preaching in the day, spent the night in houses of ill fame. When the Pope, Eugene III., learned that the number of the heretics was daily increasing in Toulouse, he sent thither, as Legate, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Alberic, and he took along with him, Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, and St. Bernard, who, by his sermons, conferences, and miracles, converted many from their evil ways, and accordingly, in his Epistle to the people of Toulouse, in 1147 (Ep. 242), he says: "We thank God that our sojourn among you was not an idle one, and although we tarried but a short time with you, still our presence was not unprofitable."

8.—The Legate, Alberic, published a sentence of excommunication against all holding any communication with the Henricians, or with their protectors. St. Bernard promised Henry himself that he would receive him as a Monk into Clairvaux, in case it was his wish to retire and do penance (7); but the unfortunate man always shunned him. The Saint still continued to follow his traces, and wherever he went and preached, went after him and preached likewise, and generally re-converted those who had fallen by him. He was taken at last, and put in chains into the hands of the Bishop, and he, as Noel Alexander, tells us, delivered him up to the Legate Apostolic, and it is supposed that he was by him, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, that he might not have any longer an opportunity of preaching his heresy (8).

9.—Peter Abelard was born in 1079, in the village of Palais, three leagues from Nantes. At first he taught philosophy and theology with great credit, but the disastrous consequences of an intrigue with Heloise, the niece of Fulbert, a Canon of Paris, drove him from the world, and he retired, to bury his shame and regret in the Abbey of St. Denis, and took the monastic habit at the age of forty years (9). He soon got tired of the life of the cloister, and went to the territories of the Count of Champagne,

(7) Fleury, *n.* 25.

(8) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(9) Fleury, *t.* 10, *l.* 67, *n.* 22.

and opened a school which soon became celebrated, and it was there he published his book, filled with several errors concerning the Trinity. His work was condemned by Conon, Bishop of Palestrina, the Pope's Legate, in a Council held in Soissons in 1121, and Abelard was summoned there, and obliged to cast the book into the fire with his own hands, and was then given into the keeping of the Abbot of St. Medard of Soissons, who received orders to keep him in close custody in a Monastery (10).

10.—Notwithstanding all this, Abelard continued for eighteen years teaching theology and works tainted with various errors. St. Bernard, when this came to his knowledge, endeavoured to get him to change his sentiments, without giving him any pain; but though Abelard promised amendment, there was no change, and knowing that there was soon to be a Council at Sens, he called on the Archbishop, and complained that St. Bernard was privately speaking against his works, and begged the Archbishop to summon the Saint to the Council, promising publicly to defend his writings. St. Bernard at first refused; but finally conquered his repugnance, and although not prepared for the dispute, attended on the appointed day, the 2nd of June, 1140. He produced Abelard's book in the assembly, and quoted the errors he marked in it; but Abelard, instead of answering, judging that the Council would be opposed to him, appealed to the Pope previous to the delivery of the sentence, and left the meeting. Though the Bishops did not consider his appeal canonical, still, out of respect for the Pope, they did not condemn Abelard in person; but St. Bernard having proved that many propositions in the book were false and heretical, they condemned these, and then forwarded an account of the whole proceedings to Innocent II., requesting him to confirm their condemnatory sentence by his authority, and to punish all who would presume to contravene it (11). St. Bernard wrote to the same effect to Innocent, and the Pope not only condemned the writings of Abelard, but his person likewise, imposing perpetual silence on him as a heretic, and excommunicating all who would attempt to defend him (12).

(10) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 21; Nat. Alex. t. 15, diss. 7, a. 7.

(11) Fleury, t. 10, l. 68, n. 61, 62; Nat. Alex. c. 1.

(12) Fleury, loc. cit. n. 67; Nat. Alex. art. 8 in fine.

11.—Abelard was on his way to Rome to prosecute his appeal, but happening to pass by Clugni, he had a meeting with Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of that Monastery, and with the Abbot of Citeaux, who came on purpose to reconcile him with St. Bernard. The Abbot of Clugni joined his entreaties to those of his brother of Citeaux, and persuaded him to go and see St. Bernard, and retract the errors this holy Doctor charged him with. Abelard yielded at last; he went to Citeaux, became reconciled to St. Bernard, and returned to Clugni, and being there informed that the condemnation of the Council was confirmed by the Pope, he resolved to abandon his appeal, and to remain in that Abbey for the remainder of his life. The Abbot offered to receive him with all his heart, if the Pope had no objection. Abelard wrote to the Pope, and obtained his consent, and then became an inmate of the Abbey of Clugni. He lived there for two years, wearing the habit of the Convent, and leading a life of edification, and even gave lessons to the Monks; but he was obliged, on account of a heavy fit of sickness, to go for change of air to the Priory of St. Marcellus, in Burgundy, and he died there on the 21st of April, in the year 1142, the 63rd of his age, and went to enjoy, we hope, eternal happiness (13).

12.—The following errors were attributed to Peter Abelard: First—He said that the names of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are improperly attributed to God, and that they only describe the plenitude of the Supreme Good. Second—That the Father has a plenary power, the Son a certain power, but that the Holy Ghost has not any power. Third—That the Son is of the substance of the Father, but that the Holy Ghost is not of the substance of the Father and the Son. Fourth—That we can do good without the assistance of grace. Fifth—That Jesus Christ, as God and man, is not a third person of the Trinity. Sixth—That mankind derives from Adam the penalty alone, but not the fault of original sin. Seventh—That no sin is committed with desire or with delectation, or with ignorance (14). Graveson (15) says that Abelard asserted in his Apology that these errors were falsely attributed to him by the ignorance or malice of others,

(13) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. art. 12, & Fleury, loc. cit.

(14) Fleury, n. 61, Alex. art. 5, ex Ep. St. Bernar.

(15) Graveson, t. 3, sec. 12, coll. 3.

and Berenger, Bishop of Poitiers, one of his disciples, also wrote an Apology in defence of his master. But then the authority of St. Bernard, the Decrees of the Council, and the condemnation of Innocent II., should have more weight with us than these Apologies. Graveson and Alexander justly remark, that although Abelard may undoubtedly have been the author of those heretical propositions, still, that he cannot be called a heretic, as he repented and abjured them. Cardinal Gotti (16) speaking of him, says: "There is no doubt but that he rendered himself suspected in explaining the Articles of the Faith, so that at one time he seems an Arian, then a Sabellian, next a Macedonian, now a Pelagian, and frequently a founder of a new heresy altogether; but he finally wiped away all stains by his retraction."

13.—Arnold, of the city of Brescia, in Italy, lived also in this century. He went to study in Paris under Abelard, and was infected with his master's errors. He then returned to Brescia, and to gain an opinion of sanctity, took the monastic habit, and, about the year 1138 (17), began to preach and dogmatize against the truth of the Faith. He was more flippant than profound, and always attached to new opinions. His sentiments regarding Baptism and the Eucharist were not Catholic, but his principal declamations were against Monks, Priests, Bishops, and the Pope. Those Monks, he said, would be damned who possessed estated property—the Priests who held property also—and the Bishops who were in possession of lordships or feudalties would share the same fate; the Clergy, he said, should live on the tithes and oblations of the people alone. The effect of his sermons of this nature was to cause the Clergy of Brescia and the neighbouring cities to be despised and contemned by the people, and he was, therefore, charged by his Bishop and others, before the Second Council of Lateran, held in 1139, by Pope Innocent II.; and the Council condemned and imposed perpetual silence on him (18). When Arnold heard of this sentence, he fled to Zurich, in the Diocese of Constance, and did a great deal of

(16) Gotti. *Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 90, s. 3, cum Baron. Ann. 1140, n. 11, & seq.*

17) *Nat. Alex. t. 14, s. 12, c. 3, art. 8.*

(18) Fleury, *t. 10, l. 68, n. 55; Gotti, loc. cit. s. 1; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.*

harm there, as the austerity of his life gave authority to his words, and he was, besides that, supported by the nobles of the country. When St. Bernard heard this, he wrote to the Bishop of Zurich (Epis. 195), exhorting him to be on his guard against so dangerous a character, and to put him in prison, as the Pope had commanded, because if he rested satisfied with only banishing him out of his own Diocese, he would be allowing the plague to infect some other place. He also wrote to Guido, the Pope's Legate, with whom it was said Arnold had taken refuge (Epis. 146), putting him on his guard in like manner.

14.—In the first year of the Pontificate of Eugenius III., 1145, Arnold went to Rome, and blew up the coals of a sedition already enkindled. He went about saying that the dignity of the Senate and the Order of Knights should be re-established, and that the Pope had no right to the government of Rome, as his power was spiritual alone. The Romans, excited by these discourses, rose up against the authority of the Prefect of Rome, tore down some of the houses of the nobility and Cardinals, and maltreated, and even wounded, some of them (19). While Arnold was stirring up this sedition, he was taken prisoner by Gerard, Cardinal of St. Nicholas, but was rescued by the Viscounts of the Campagna, and fell into the hands of Frederic Barbarossa, then King of the Romans, and when he went to Rome he was met by three Cardinals, sent to him by Adrian IV., and they, in the Pope's name, demanded that Arnold should be delivered up to them. Frederic gave him up at once, and he was brought back to Rome, and according to the sentence passed on him by his judges, he was burned to death in public, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. Such was the end of this disturber of Rome and of the world, as Van Ranst calls him, in 1155 (20).

15.—Gilbert de la Poree, a native of Poitiers, was at first a Canon of that city, and afterwards its Bishop, in 1141. From the very first day he began to study philosophy, he was so taken with logical subtleties, that when he afterwards applied himself to scholastic theology, which was then just beginning to be developed,

(19) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Fleury, *t.* 10, *l.* 69, *n.* 10; Gotti, loc. cit.

(20) Van Ranst His. *p.* 148; Fleury, *t.* 10, *l.* 70, *n.* 1; Nat. Alex. & Gotti, loc. cit.

he wished to judge every thing by the rules of philosophy, and to use them as a standard for the articles of the Faith; and hence the origin of his errors. He said that the Divine Essence was not God, and that the *proprietas* of the Persons are not the Persons themselves; that the Divine Nature did not become incarnate, but only the Person of the Son, and that Baptism is received alone by those predestined to glory. He was charged with these errors in the year 1145, and Pope Eugenius III., to whom the complaint was made, ordered his accusers to have the whole affair investigated in a Council in Paris. The Synod was accordingly held, and St. Bernard attended, and strenuously combated his errors; but nothing was decided till the following year, in which a Council was held in Rheims, at which the Pope himself attended, and condemned Gilbert's doctrine. He at once bowed to the decision of the Pontiff, abjured his errors, was reconciled to his accusers, who were two of his own Archdeacons, and returned with honour to his Diocese (21).

16.—Other heretics disturbed the peace of the Church in this century. One of these was Folmar, Principal of the Church of Trieffenstein, in Franconia; he said that in the Eucharist, the blood alone of Jesus Christ was received under the appearance of wine, and the flesh alone, not the bones or the members, under the appearance of bread, and that it was not the Son of Man that was received, but the flesh alone of the Son of Man. He, however, soon retracted, and abjured his errors in a letter he wrote to the Bishops of Bavaria and Austria (22). Tanquelinus taught that the reception of the Holy Eucharist was of no avail for salvation, and that the ministry of Priests and Bishops was of no value, and was not instituted by Christ. He infected the city of Antwerp, but it was afterwards purged from this heresy by St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians and Archbishop of Magdeburg (23). Joachim, an Abbot in Calabria, lived also in this century; he fell into some errors regarding the Trinity, in a treatise he wrote against Peter Lombard; he denied that the three Divine Persons are one and the same as the Divine Nature, and he also said that in the mystery of the Trinity,

(21) Nat. Alex. t. 14, s. 12, c. 4, a. 9;
Graveson His. Eccles. t. 3, sec. 12,
coll. 3; Fleury, t. 10, l. 69, n. 23.

(22) Nat. Alex. t. 14, s. 12, c. 4, ar.
12.

(23) Nat. loc. cit. ar. 6.

essence generates essence, insinuating by that, that each Divine Person has a particular essence. This was a renewal of the Tritheism of John Philiponus, infected with the Eutychian heresy, who taught that there are three Natures in the Trinity, confounding the three Persons with the three Natures. This treatise was condemned in the Fourth Council of Lateran, celebrated by Innocent III., in 1215. Joachim, however, had previously died in 1201, and submitted all his writings to the judgment of the Church, so Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, would not have him considered as a heretic (24). The Apostolicals also infested the Church about this time; among other errors, they condemned marriage, and even bound themselves by a vow of chastity, though the licentiousness of their lives showed what little regard they had for that angelic virtue (25). We have already spoken of the Bogomiles (*Chap. iv, N. 81*), treating of the heresy of the Messalians. We have now to investigate the history of the Waldenses.

17.—Peter Waldo, the founder of the sect of the Waldenses, began to preach his heresy in the year 1160, on the occasion of the sudden death of a great personage in Lyons, who dropped dead in the presence of a great many people. He was so terrified at the occurrence, that he immediately distributed a large sum of money to the poor, and a great many people joined him out of devotion, and became his followers. He was a man of some learning, and began to explain the New Testament to his followers, and taught several errors. The Clergy immediately took up arms against him, but he set them at defiance, telling his followers that they (the Clergy) were both ignorant and corrupt, and that they were envious of his exemplary life and learning. Such is the origin of the Waldenses, according to Fleury, Alexander, and Gotti (26); but Graveson gives another account (27); he says, that Peter Waldo, having either heard or read the 19th chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which our Lord tells us that we should sell our goods, and give the price to the poor, persuaded himself that he was called on to

(24) Graves. *t. 3, s. 12, Coll. 3*; Fleury, *t. 11, l. 77, n. 46*; Berti, *s. 12, c. 3*; Van. Ranst. *p. 214*.

(25) N. Alex. *loc. cit. ar. 11*.

(26) Fleury, *t. 11, l. 73, n. 55*; Nat. Alex. *t. 14, c. 4, art. 13*; Gotti, *t. 2, c. 93, s. 1*.

(27) Graves. *t. 3, s. 12, Coll. 3*.

renew the Apostolic life, and accordingly sold his property, gave all to the poor, and led a life of poverty himself. A person of the name of John, terrified at the sudden death already spoken of, sold his patrimony, likewise, and joined him; many others followed their example, and in a little time the sect became so numerous, that in the diocese of Poitiers alone, they had forty-one schools. From these seats of iniquity sprung several sects, enumerated by Rainer (28), who for seventeen years was a Waldensian, but his eyes at length being opened to their impiety, he forsook them, joined the Catholic Church, and became a distinguished member of the Order of St. Dominick. The different sects that sprouted out from the parent stock, took various names; they were called Waldenses, from Peter Waldo; Lionists, or Poor Men of Lyons, from the city whence they originated; Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Bulgarians, from the provinces they overran; Arnaldists, Josepeists, and Lollards, from Doctors of the sect; Cathari, from the purity of heart they boasted of; Bons Hommes, or good men, from their apparent sanctity and regularity of life; Sabbatists, or Insabatists, either from the peculiar shoe or sandal, with a cross cut on the top, which they wore, or because they rejected the celebration of the Sabbath and other festivals (29).

18.—The Waldenses fell into very many errors, which Ranier, quoted by Noel Alexander, enumerates (30). We will only mention the principal ones here. The Roman Church, they said, failed in the time of Pope St. Sylvester, when it entered into the possession of temporal property, and that they alone were the true Church, as they followed the Apostles and the Gospel in holding no possessions. The Pope, they said, was the head of all errors, the Bishops, Scribes, and the Religious, Pharisees. Tithes ought not to be paid, as they were not paid in the primitive Church. They only believed in two Sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, and Baptism, they said, was of no use to infants. A priest falling into mortal sin, according to them, lost the power of absolving and consecrating, and, on the contrary, a good layman has the power of giving absolution. They rejected

(28) Rainer, *Opuse de Hæret.*

(29) Graves, *loc. cit.* & Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*

(30) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit. ar. 13, s. 2, & seq.*

Indulgences, and the dispensations of the Church, the fasts commanded to be observed, and all the ceremonies of the Roman Church. They abhorred Holy Images and the sign of the Cross even; denied the distinction between mortal and venial sin, and said it was unlawful to take an oath, even in judgment. These heretics were first condemned by Alexander III., in 1163; in the Synod of Tours, in 1175 or 1176; in the Synod of Lombes, in 1178; in one held in Toulouse by Peter, Cardinal and Legate of the Pope; in the Third General Council of Lateran, in 1179; in the Fourth General Council of Lateran, in 1215; and finally, in the Constitution of Gregory IX., "Cap. excommunicamus, 15 de Herat," in which all the heretics of all the above-named sects are anathematized (31).

ARTICLE III.

HERESIES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

- 19.—The Albigenses and their Errors. 20.—The Corruption of their Morals. 21.—Conferences held with them, and their Obstinacy. 22.—They create an Anti-Pope. 23.—Glorious Labours of St. Dominick, and his stupendous Miracles. 24.—Crusade under the command of Count Montfort, in which he is victorious. 25.—Glorious death of the Count, and Destruction of the Albigenses. 26.—Sentence of the Fourth Council of Lateran, in which the Dogma is defined in opposition to their Tenets. 27.—Amalric and his Heresy; the Errors added by his Disciples; they are condemned. 28.—William de St. Amour and his Errors. 29.—The Flagellants and their Errors. 30.—The Fratricelli and their Errors, condemned by John XXII.

19.—The heretics called the Albigenses, sprung from the Waldenses, made their appearance in this century, and were so called, because they first spread themselves in the territory of the city of Albi, or that part of Narbonic Gaul called Albigensum, and subsequently in the province of Toulouse (1). Graveson (2) says that the impurities of all other heresies was joined in this one sect. This sect was in existence previous to the reign of Innocent III., but it was so strong in the year 1198, that Cesarius (3), a contemporaneous author, says, that almost all

(31) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 7.

(1) Nat. Alex. t. 16, c. 3, ar. 1.

(2) Graves. t. 3, s. 12, Coll. 3.

(3) Casar Heisterb. Dial. Mirac. Diss. 5, c. 2.

the pure grain of the Faith of the people was turned into tares. Spondanus gives the following list of their errors (4): First—They received the New Testament alone, rejecting the Old, with the exception of the passages quoted by our Lord, and his Apostles; they, likewise, renounced all Catholic Doctors, and when asked for an account of their Faith, they said they were not bound to answer. Second—They taught that there were two Gods, a good and a bad one; the good one, the author of the New Testament, and the Creator of all invisible things; the bad one, the author of the Old Testament, the creator of man, and of all visible things. Third—They said that Baptism was useless to infants. Fourth—That an unworthy Priest had not power to consecrate the Eucharist. Fifth—That matrimony was nothing more than concubinage, and that no one could be saved in that state, and still their morals were most corrupt. Sixth—That no one should obey either Bishops or Priests, unless they have the qualities required by the Apostles; and that they have no power in the Sacraments or in Divine things, and that no one, therefore, should pay tithes to them. Seventh—That churches should not be dedicated to God or the Saints, and that the faithful are not bound to pray or to give alms, either to the poor or to churches, and that it was quite sufficient to confess to any one at all, and that Penance was of no use. Noel Alexander (5), besides these errors, enumerates several others, as that the Fathers of the Old Testament were all damned; that St. John the Baptist was a demon; that the Roman Church is the harlot of the Apocalypse; that the resurrection of the body is all a lie; that the Sacraments are all false, and that the Eucharist, Confirmation, Orders, and the Mass are nothing more than superstitions; that the souls of men are no other than the rebellious spirits who fell from heaven; that there was no purgatory, and they blasphemously applied to the Virgin Mother of God, a term we dread to make use of.

20.—They led most horribly immoral lives. Lucas Tuden-sis (6) horrifies us by recounting what he heard from some of them who forsook the sect, and joined the Catholic Church. Murder, cheating, theft, and usury were quite common among

(4) Spondan. Epit. Baron. ad. Ann. 1181.

(5) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 2.

(6) Lucas Tuden, l. 3, Adv. Albig.

them, but their impurities were, above all, of the most horrible description; the nearest relatives had no regard to the decencies of life, or the very laws of nature itself. The old people, he says, are blasphemous and cruel; the young ripe for every wickedness; the children, from the universal depravity, belonging to no father in particular, are depraved from their childhood; and the infants imbibe the most pernicious errors with their mothers' milk; the women, without shame or modesty, go about among their neighbours, making others as bad as themselves. Among the other proofs of their impiety, Cesarius (7) tells us, that when they were besieged by the Catholics in Bessiers, they indecently defiled a book of the Gospels, and threw it from the walls into the ranks of the besiegers, amidst a shower of arrows, crying out: "Behold your law, wretches."

21.—The Albigenses laboured to gain proselytes not alone by persuasion, but by force of arms likewise; and the Catholics, therefore, found it necessary to have recourse not alone to preaching, but were obliged to summon the power of the Prince to their aid. Peter of Castlenau and Rodulph, Cistercian monks, together with their Abbot, Arnold, appointed Apostolic Legates by Innocent III., were the first to oppose them. The Holy Bishop of Osma joined them, and without attendance or money, like the Apostles, they proceeded on foot to preach to the heretics, and their first conference was held in Montreal, in the Diocese of Carcassonne. They disputed for fifteen days in presence of judges chosen for the purpose, and the heretics were convinced, but the judges being favourable to the heretical party, suppressed the sentence, and would not even give up the acts of the disputation. The preachers remained in the city to instruct the people, and supported themselves by begging from door to door. The Abbot of Citeaux and twelve of his Monks, together with the Bishop of Osma, spread themselves through the country, preaching and disputing with the heretics. The Bishop of Osma and some other Prelates held another conference with the Albigenses in Pamiers, and the heretics were so confounded that the judge of the conference, a nobleman of the city, abjured his errors, and more followed his example every day (8). The

(7) Cæsar, *l. 5, de Demon.*

(8) Gotti, *Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 94, s. 3.*

Cistercian, Peter of Castlenau, the Pope's Legate, having found it necessary to excommunicate Raymond, Count of Toulouse, the chief favourer of the heretics, was summoned before him to clear himself from charges laid against him; he went accordingly, but nothing was decided on in the interview; the Count even uttered threats against him when he was about to take his departure, and sent two of his servants to accompany him. One of them, while the Legate was passing the Rhone, ran him through with a lance. Peter at once felt that the wound was mortal. "God pardon me," said he, "as I pardon you," and died shortly after. Pope Innocent, when informed of his death, declared him a martyr, and excommunicated his murderers and all their accomplices, and gave orders to the Bishops of the Provinces of Arles and Narbonne and the neighbouring territories again to excommunicate the Count of Toulouse (9).

22.—A few years after the Albigenses elected a person of the name of Bartholomew, an anti-Pope. He resided on the borders of Dalmatia and Bulgaria, and was the chief adviser of the heretics. He appointed another person of the same name as his Vicar, and he took up his residence in the territory of Toulouse, and sent round to all the neighbouring cities his Principal's letters, headed, "Bartholomew, Servant of the Servants of the Holy Faith, to N. N., health." This Vicar pretended to consecrate Bishops, and regulate the Church (10), but the Almighty soon put a stop to all by the death of the anti-Pope (11).

23.—It is now time to speak of the glorious labours of St. Dominick, who may justly be called the exterminator of the Albigenses. He was engaged nine years, according to Gravelson, or seven, according to Van Ranst, in battling with them, and, finally, he instituted the Order of Preachers, to bring back the strayed sheep to the fold of the Catholic Church. He attended the Bishop of Osma at the conference he held with the heretics, and was a most strenuous opponent of their errors, both by preaching and writing, and God confirmed his exertions by miracles. Peter de Valle Sernai, a Cistercian Monk (12), relates the following miracle, and says he had it from the man himself

(9) Fleury, *t.* 11, *l.* 76, *n.* 36; Gotti, *loc. cit.*; Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*

(10) Parisius, *Hist. Anglic. an.* 1223.

(11) Fleury, *t.* 11, *l.* 78, *n.* 60; Gotti, *loc. cit.*; Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.* s. 2.

(12) Pat. Vallis. Ser. His. Alb. c. 7.

in whose possession the paper was. After the conference of Montreal, St. Dominick wrote down the texts he cited on a sheet of paper, and gave it to one of the heretics to peruse them at his leisure. The next evening several Albigenses were seated round a fire considering it, when one of them proposed to throw the paper into the fire, and if it burn, said he, that is a proof that our faith is the true one, but should that not be the case, we must believe the Catholic Faith. All agreed; the paper was cast into the flames, and, after lying there some time, it leaped out unscorched. All were surprised; but one of the most incredulous among them suggested that the experiment should be tried again; it was done so, and the result was the same. Try it a third, said the heretic; a third time it was tried, and with the same effect. But for all that they agreed to keep the whole affair a secret, and remained as obstinate as before. There was a soldier present, however, somewhat inclined to the Catholic Faith, and he told it to a great many persons (13). God wrought another more public miracle through his servant, in Foix, near Carcassonne; he challenged the heretics, in one of his sermons, to a formal disputation, and each party agreed to bring, in writing, to the Conference their profession of Faith, and the principal arguments in support of it. The Saint laid down his document—the heretics did the same; they then proposed that each paper should be thrown into the fire, and leave the judgment to God. St. Dominick, inspired by the Almighty, immediately cast his paper into the flames; the heretics also threw in theirs, which was immediately burned to ashes, while the Saint's remained intact on the top of the burning coals. Three times it was cast into the fire, and always came forth untouched by the flames (14).

24.—Neither miracles nor missions had any effect on the Albigenses, however, who every day became more powerful, under the protection of several princes, and especially of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. Pope Innocent III., therefore, considered it necessary at last to call on the Catholic princes to free the Church from these enemies, and, therefore, wrote to Philip, King of France, and to the other princes of that kingdom, and

(13) Nat. Alex. *t.* 16, *c.* 3; Gotti, (14) Gotti, *loc. cit.*
Ver Rel. *t.* 2, *c.* 94, cap. 3.

likewise to the Bishops and faithful, calling on them to take up arms for the extermination of these heretics, and granting them the same indulgences as were granted to those who put on the cross for the liberation of the Holy Land. This bull was published in 1210, and immediately a great number of soldiers not only from France but elsewhere, enrolled themselves in this Crusade under the command of Count Simon of Montfort. The Albigenses numbered a hundred thousand, the Crusaders only twelve hundred, and Count Montfort was advised not to risk an engagement; but he said: "We are numerous enough, for we fight for God, and God for us." He divided his small army into three bodies, and made a feint, as if about to march on Toulouse, but turned on the vanguard of the enemy, and attacked them with such fury, that at first they wavered, and finally took to flight. Montfort, encouraged by this success, gave orders to his three small divisions to unite, and without loss of time, attacked the main body of the enemy, among whom was the King of Arragon. The Count broke through the ranks, and singled out the King; he charged him with his lance, but Montfort, parrying the blow with one hand, seized the King with the other, and unhorsed him, and his Esquire immediately dispatched the fallen Monarch. The enemy was panic-struck with the King's death, and fled in every direction, and the Crusaders cut them down almost without opposition. It is said that between the Albigenses and the Arragoneses twenty thousand fell that day, with only a loss of six or seven persons to the Catholics (15). The letters written by the French Bishops to all the Churches of Christendom, on the occasion of this glorious and stupendous victory, are still extant (16).

25.—Count Montfort, after so many glorious actions in defence of the Faith, died gloriously, like Judas Maccabeus, at the second siege of Toulouse. He was told that the enemy were concealed in the trenches; but he armed, and went to the church to hear Mass, and recommend himself and his cause to God. While he was hearing Mass, he was informed that the people of

(15) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. s. 4; Gotti, loc. cit. s. 4; Bernin. t. 3; sec. 13, c. 1; Graveson, t. 4, sec. 33; Coll. 3.

(16) Rainald Ann 1213, n. 60.

Toulouse were attacking the troops who had charge of the besieging engines; but he refused to move until, as he said, he had heard Mass, and seen his God on the altar. Another messenger came in haste to tell him that his troops were giving way, but he dismissed him, saying: "I want to see my Redeemer." After adoring the Sacred Host, he raised up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed: "Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace, because mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Now," said he, "let us proceed, and die, if necessary, for him who died for us." His soldiers rallied at once when he appeared among them; but he approached too near to the engines, and a stone from one of them struck him in the head, and he had barely time to recommend himself to God and the Blessed Virgin, when his spirit fled. This was on the 25th of June, 1218 (17). After the death of this great champion of the Lord, and Martyr of Christ, as Peter de Valle Sernai (18) calls him, Louis VIII., King of France, prosecuted the war, and in the year 1236 took Avignon from the enemy, after a siege of three months, and several other strong places besides. St. Louis IX., by the advice of Pope Gregory IX., prosecuted the war, and having taken the city of Toulouse, the young Count Raymond—for his wicked father met with a sudden death—signed a treaty of peace, on the conditions prescribed to him by the King and the Pope's Legate, the principal one of which was, that he would use all his power to extirpate the Albigensian heresy in his territory. The heretics, thus deprived of all assistance, dwindled away by degrees, and totally disappeared, as Graveson tells us (19), though Noel Alexander and Cardinal Gotti say that they were not totally put down (20).

26.—These heretics having been previously condemned in particular Synods, at Montilly, Avignon, Montpellier, Paris, and Narbonne, were finally condemned in the Fourth General Council of Lateran, celebrated and presided over by Pope Innocent III., in 1215. In the first Chapter of this Council it was decreed, in opposition to these heretics, "that there was one universal principle, the Creator of all, visible and invisible, corporeal and

(17) Fleury, *t.* 11, *l.* 78, *n.* 18; Nat. & Gotti, *loc. cit.*

(18) Pet. Vallises. *His. Albig. c.* 86.

(19) Grav. *loc. cit.*

(20) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit. sec.* 4, & Gotti, *loc. cit.*

spiritual things, who by his Almighty power in the beginning of time, created from nothing both spiritual and corporeal, angelic and earthly beings, and man likewise, as consisting of body and spirit. The devil, and all other evil spirits, were created by God good, according to their nature, but became bad of themselves, and man sinned at the suggestion of the devil. The Holy Trinity, undivided, as to its common essence—divided, as to its personal *proprieties*—gave saving doctrine to mankind, by Moses and the Holy Prophets, and other servants, according to the properly-ordained disposition of time; and, at length, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, by the whole Trinity in common, incarnate of Mary, ever Virgin, conceived by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, and made true man, composed of a rational soul and a real body, one person in two Natures, more clearly pointed out to us the way of life; who, according to his Divinity, being impassible and immortal, was made passible and mortal, according to his humanity, and suffered and died on the wood of the Cross for the salvation of mankind, descended into hell, arose from the dead, and ascended into heaven; but he descended in the spirit, arose in the flesh, and in both ascended into heaven, and shall come in the end of the world to judge both the living and the dead, and shall render to each—both the reprobate and the elect—according to their works. For all shall arise in the same bodies they now have, to receive, according to their deserts, either rewards or punishment—the wicked, eternal punishment with the devil—the good, eternal glory with Christ. There is one universal Church of all the faithful, out of which there is no salvation, in which Jesus Christ is, at the same time, priest and sacrifice, and his body and blood is truly contained under the appearance of bread and wine, the bread being, by the Divine power, transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, that we might receive from him what he received from us to perfect the mystery of Unity; and no one but a Priest rightly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ himself granted to the Apostles, and to their successors, can consecrate this Holy Sacrament. The Sacrament of Baptism, consecrated to the invocation of the undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, properly administered in water, both to infants and adults, by any person,

according to the form of the Church, is available to salvation. And should any one, after receiving Baptism, fall into sin, he can be always healed by true repentance. Not virgins alone, and those who observe continence, but married persons, likewise, pleasing God by true faith and good works, shall deservedly obtain eternal happiness (21).

27.—In this century also lived Amalric, or Amaury, a priest, a native of Bene, near Chartres. He studied in Paris, and was a great logician, and taught this science with great applause. He then applied himself to the study of Sacred Scripture and Theology, and as he was fond of new-fangled opinions, he had the rashness to teach that every Christian ought to believe himself a *natural* member of Christ, and that no one could be saved unless he so believed. The University of Paris condemned this opinion in 1204, but Amalric refused to submit to the sentence, and appealed to Innocent III., and went to Rome, to prosecute his appeal in person; the Pope, however, confirmed the sentence, and obliged him to make a public abjuration in the presence of the University. He obeyed the Pope's orders in 1207, but his heart belied what his lips uttered, and so great was his chagrin that he soon after died. His disciples added new errors to those taught by their master. The power of the Fathers, they said, lasted only during the period of the Mosaic Law; the New Law lasted from that till their own times—that is, twelve hundred years; and then the Law of the Holy Ghost began, when all Sacraments and all other assistances to salvation ceased, and every one could be saved by the Grace of the Holy Ghost alone, without any act of his own. The virtue of Charity, they said, caused that that which before was sinful, if done through Charity was sinful no longer, and thus, under the pretext of Charity, they committed the most impure actions. They asserted that the body of Christ was only in the Consecrated Host as in any other bread, and that God spoke as much through Ovid as through St. Augustin, and they denied the Resurrection, heaven, and hell, for those who thought about God as they did had heaven in themselves, and those who fell into mortal sin had hell in their own bosoms (22).

(21) Nat. Alex. t. 16, c. 3, s. 5;
Gotti, t. 2, c. 94.

(22) Fleury, t. 11, l. 67, n. 59; Nat.
Alex. c. 16, l. 3, a. 2; Graveson, t.
4, sec. 13, coll. 3.

Raul of Nemours, and another priest, laboured assiduously to discover these heretics in several dioceses, not only many of the laity, but also some priests, being infected with it, and, when they discovered them, had them conveyed to Paris, and put in the Bishop's prison. A Council of Bishops and Doctors was held in 1209, in which some of those unfortunate people retracted; but others obstinately refused, and were degraded, and handed over to the Royal power, and were, by orders of the King, burned outside the gates of Paris; and the bones of Amalric were exhumed at the same time, and burned, and thrown on the dunghill. It was also ordered, that Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which was the fountain of this heresy, should be burned likewise, and all persons were prohibited, under pain of excommunication, from reading or keeping the work in their possession. In this Council were, likewise, condemned the books of David of Nantz, who asserted that God was the *Materia Prima*. St. Thomas wrote against him in 1215 (23). The heresy of Amalric was condemned in express terms, in the Fourth General Council of Lateran, cap. ii (24).

28.—William de St. Amour, a Doctor of Sorbonne, and Canon of Beauvais, lived in this century also. He wrote a work, entitled, “*De periculis adversus Mendicantes Ordines*,” in opposition to the Friars, who made a vow of poverty, in which he asserted that it was not a work of perfection to follow Christ in poverty and mendicancy, and that, in order to be perfect, it was necessary, after giving up all we had, either to live by manual labour, or to enter into a monastery, which would afford all the necessaries of life; that the Mendicant Friars, by begging, acted contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and that it was not lawful for them to teach the laity, to preach, to be enrolled as Masters in Colleges, or to hear the confessions of the laity. This work was condemned by Pope Alexander IV., in the year 1252, and publicly burned, and the following year the author was banished from all the dominions of France, and a few years after died a miserable exile (25).

29.—In the year 1274, the sect of the Flagellants sprung up,

(23) St. Thomas, 1, p. 9, 3, ar. 8.

(24) Fleury, Nat. Alex. Graveson, loc. cit.

(25) Fleury, t. 12, l. 84, n. 30; Nat. Alex. t. 16, c. 3, ar. 7; Berti, Brev. Histor. sec. 13, c. 3.

and first made its appearance in Perugia, and thence spread on, even to Rome itself. A torrent of vice had overspread the Italian Peninsula about that time, and a violent spirit of re-action commenced. All were seized on by a new sort of devotion, and old and young, rich and poor, nobles and plebians—not alone men, but even ladies—terrified with the dread of Divine judgments, went about the streets in procession, nearly naked, or, at least, with bared shoulders, beating themselves with scourges, and imploring mercy. Even the darkness of the night, and the rigors of winter, could not subdue their enthusiasm. Numerous bodies of penitents—sometimes even as many as twelve thousand—marched in procession, preceded by priests, and crosses, and banners; and the towns, and villages, and plains resounded with their cries for mercy. A great change for the better in the morals of the people was the first fruit of this wonderful movement—enemies were reconciled, thieves restored their ill-gotten wealth, and all were reconciled to God, by confession. They used to scourge themselves twice a day, it is said, for thirty-three days, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life, and sung, at the same time, some canticles in honour of his Sacred Passion. From Italy this practice spread into Germany, Poland, and other kingdoms; but, as neither the Pope nor the Bishops approved of this public form of penance, it speedily degenerated into superstition. They said that no one could be saved unless by adopting this practice for a month; they used to hear the confessions of each other, and give absolution, though only lay people; and they had the madness to pretend that even the damned were served by their penance. Pope Clement VI. formally condemned this heresy, and wrote to the Bishops of Germany, Poland, Switzerland, England, and France, on the subject, which proves how widely it was spread; he also wrote to all secular princes, calling on them to scatter these hypocrites, to disperse their conventicles, and, above all, to imprison their leaders (26).

30.—Another sect—the offspring of an ill-judged piety, also—sprung up in this century, that of the Fratricelli. This sect originated with Peter of Macerata and Peter of Fossombrone,

(26) Nat. Alex. *t.* 16, *sec.* 13, *art.* 5; Fleury, *t.* 13, *l.* 84, *n.* 62.

two apostate Franciscan friars, who, playing on the simplicity of Pope Celestine V., got permission from him to lead an eremetical life, and observe the rule of St. Francis to the very letter. Boniface VIII., Celestine's successor, soon saw that this institute was a source of error, which was spreading every day more widely, and he, accordingly, in express terms, condemned it; but notwithstanding this sentence, the Fratricelli every day increased in numbers, and openly preached their tenets. John XXII., therefore, found it necessary to publish a Bull against them in 1318, and, as Noel Alexander relates, condemned the following errors adopted by them: First—They taught that there were two Churches—one carnal, abounding in delights, and stained with crime, governed by the Roman Pontiff, and his Prelates—the other spiritual, adorned with virtue, clothed in poverty, to which they alone, and those who held with them, belonged, and of which they, on account of their spiritual lives, were justly the head. Second—That the venerable Churches, Priests, and other Ministers were so deprived both of the power of order and jurisdiction, that they could neither administer the Sacraments, nor instruct the people, as all who did not join their apostacy were deprived of all spiritual power, for (as they imagined), as with them alone holiness of life was found, so with them alone authority resided. Third—That in them alone was the Gospel of Christ fulfilled, which hitherto was either thrown aside or totally lost among men (27).

(27) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

ARTICLE IV.

HERESIES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

- 31.—The Beghards and Beguines ; their errors condemned by Clement V.
 32.—Marsilius of Padua, and John Jandunus ; their writings condemned as heretical by John XXII. 33.—John Wickliffe, and the beginning of his heresy. 34.—Is assisted by John Ball ; death of the Archbishop of Canterbury. 35.—The Council of Constance condemns forty-five Articles of Wickliffe. 36, 37.—Miraculous confirmation of the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. 38.—Death of Wickliffe.

31.—The Beghards and Beguines sprung up in Germany in this century. Van Ranst (1) draws a distinction between the good Beghards, who, in Flanders, especially, professed the third rule of the Order of St. Francis, and the heretics ; and also between the Beguines, ladies, who led a religious life, though not bound by vows, and the heretical Beguines, whose conduct was not remarkable for purity. The religious Beguines deduce their origin either from St. Begghe, Duchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pepin, Mayor of the Palace to the King of Austrasia, or from Lambert le Begue, a pious priest, who lived in 1170. The origin of the name adopted by the heretics is uncertain ; but the followers of the Fratricelli were called by that name in Germany and the Low Countries, as were also the followers of Gerard Segarelli, and Dulcinus, who both were burned alive for their errors. The doctrines professed by the Beghards was as absurd as it was impious. Man, said they, might arrive at such a degree of perfection, even in this life, as to become totally impeccable, and even incapable of advancing any more in grace, and when he arrives at this state, he should no longer fast or pray, for sensuality is then so entirely subjected to reason and the spirit, that anything the body desires may be freely granted to it. Those who have arrived at that pitch of perfection are no longer subject to human obedience, or bound by the precepts of the Church. Man can, even in the present life, being thus per-

(1) Van Ranst, *His. Heres* p. 221.

fect, obtain final beatitude, as well as he shall obtain it hereafter in the realms of the blessed, for every intellectual nature is in itself blessed, and the soul does not require the light of glory to see God. It is only imperfect men who practise acts of virtue, for the perfect soul throws off virtue altogether. “*Mulieris osculum (cum ad hoc natura non inclinēt) est mortale peccatum, actus autem carnalis (cum ad hoc natura inclinēt), peccatum non est maxime cum tentatur exercens.*” When the body of Christ is elevated, a perfect man should not show any reverence, for it would be an imperfection to descend from the summit of his contemplation, to think on the Eucharist or on the humanity of Christ. It is remarkable, that many of their opinions were adopted by the Quietists in a subsequent century. Clement V. condemned these heretics in a General Council, held in Vienna, in Dauphiny, in 1311.

32.—Marsilius Menandrinus, of Padua, and John Jandunus, of Perugia, also lived in this century. Marsilius published a book, called “*Defensorum Pacis,*” and Jandunus contributed some additions to it. The errors scattered through the work were condemned by Pope John XXII., as heretical, and refuted by several Theologians, especially by Noel Alexander, who gives the following account of them (2). When Christ paid tribute to Cæsar, he did it as matter of obligation, and not of piety, and when he ascended into heaven, he appointed no visible head in the Church, left no Vicar, nor had St. Peter more authority than the rest of the Apostles. It is the Emperor’s right to appoint, remove, and punish Prelates, and when the Papal See is vacant, he has the right of governing the Church. All Priests, not even excepting Bishops and the Pope, have, by the institution of Christ, equal authority and jurisdiction, unless the Emperor wishes that one should have more power than another. The whole united Church has not the power to punish any man, and no Bishop or meeting of Bishops can inflict a sentence of excommunication or interdict, unless by authority of the Prince. Bishops collectively or individually can no more excommunicate the Pope than he can them. The dispensation for marriages, prohibited by human law alone, and not by Divine law, belongs, of right, to the Prince. To the Prince, by right, it belongs to

(2) *Nat. Alex. t. 16, c. 3, ar. 13, p. 193.*

give a definitive judgment, in regard to persons about to be ordained, and Bishops should not ordain any one without his authority. We will now speak of Wickliffe, the leader of all the so-called Reformers.

33.—John Wickliffe began to preach his heresy in 1374, some say because he was disappointed in the Bishopric of Winchester.* He was learned in Scholastic Theology, which he taught at Oxford, and was a favourite preacher, always followed by the people. He led an austere life, was meanly clothed, and even went barefooted. Edward III. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Richard, the son of Edward the Black Prince, who was then only eleven years of age; and his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, was a man of very lax sentiments in regard to religion, and extended his protection to Wickliffe, who openly preached his heresy (3). Gregory IX., who then governed the Church, complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, that they were not active enough in putting a stop to this plague, and he wrote on the same subject to the King and the University of Oxford (4). A Synod of Bishops and Doctors was accordingly summoned, and Wickliffe was cited to appear and account for himself; he obeyed the summons, and excused himself by explaining away, as well as he could, the obnoxious sense of his doctrine, and putting another meaning on it. He was then only admonished to be more prudent for the future—was absolved and commanded to be silent from thenceforward (5).

34.—Wickliffe was assisted by a wicked priest of the name of John Ball, who escaped from the prison where his Bishop had confined him for his crimes, and joined the Reformers, who gladly received him. The subject of his discourses to the people was that all ranks should be levelled, and the nobility and magistracy done away with, and he was joined by over an hundred thousand

(3) Nat. Alex. s. 6, n. 1; Gotti, loc. cit. n. 2.

(4) Gotti, ib. n. 3; Nat. Alex. 6, n. 1; Grav. loc. cit.

(5) Nat. Alex. s. 6, n. 1; Gotti, ibid. n. 5, & Grav. loc. cit.

* I believe the holy Author was misled in this fact; it is generally supposed that the primary cause of his rancour against the Monastic Orders and the Court of Rome were his expulsion from the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall, into which he had illegally intruded himself.—See LINGARD, vol. IV., c. 2.

levellers. They laid their demands before the Sovereign, but could not obtain what they desired; they considered that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, a good man in the main, but too weak a disposition to cope with the troubles of the times, influenced the Sovereign's mind against them; they resolved on his death, therefore, and stormed the Tower, where he had taken refuge, and found him praying, and recommending his soul to God. He addressed them mildly, and tried to calm their rage, but his executioner, John Sterling, stepped forward, and told him to prepare for death. The good Bishop then confessed that he deserved that punishment for not being more vigorous in the discharge of his duties, perhaps, and stretched forth his neck to receive the fatal stroke; but whether it was that the sword was blunt, or the executioner awkward, his head was not cut off till he received eight blows (6). Berninus, quoting Walsingham (7), says that the executioner was immediately possessed by the devil, and that he ran through the streets with the sword hanging round his neck, boasting that he had killed the Archbishop, and entered the city of London to receive his reward; this was, however, different from what he expected, for he was condemned to death, and Ball was hanged and quartered, at the same time, together with his accomplices.

35.—William of Courtenay being appointed Archbishop, in place of Sudbury, held a Synod in London, and condemned twenty-four propositions of Wickliffe—ten of them, especially—as heretical. These were afterwards condemned by the University of Paris, and by John XXIII., in a Council held at Rome, and, finally, in the eighth Session of the Council of Constance, in 1415, in which forty-five articles of Wickliffe were condemned—the greater part as heretical, the rest as erroneous, rash, &c.—and among these the twenty-four condemned previously were included. The following are the errors condemned by the Council, as Noel Alexander quotes them (8): The material substance of bread and wine remains in the Sacrament of the Altar, and the *accidence* of the bread is not without the substance in

(6) Gotti, loc. cit. n. 5; Van Ranst, dicto, n. 241; Bernin. t. 3, c. 9.

(7) Bernin. loc. cit. c. 9, con Richard, Ann. 1381, ex Walsingh.

(8) Nat. Alex. t. 16, sec. 14, c. 3, art. 22, s. 6; Gotti, ibid, Van Ranst.

the Eucharist. Christ is not identically and really there in his proper presence. If a Bishop or Priest be in mortal sin he cannot consecrate, nor ordain, nor baptize. There is nothing in Scripture to prove that Christ instituted the Mass. God ought to obey the devil. If one be truly contrite, all external confession is superfluous and useless. If the Pope is foreknown and wicked, and, consequently, a member of the devil, he has no power over the faithful. After Urban VI. no other Pope should be elected, but, like the Greeks, we should live under our own laws. It is opposed to the Holy Scriptures that Ecclesiastics should have possessions. No Prelate should excommunicate any one, unless he knows him to be already excommunicated by God, and he who excommunicates otherwise, is, by the act, a heretic, or excommunicated himself. A Prelate excommunicating a Clergyman who appeals to the King, or to the Supreme Council of the Realm, is, by the fact, a traitor to the King and the Realm. Those who cease to preach, or to listen to the Word of God, on account of the excommunication of man, are excommunicated, and in the judgment of God are traitors to Christ. Every Deacon and Priest has the power of preaching the Word of God, without any authority from the Holy See or a Catholic Bishop. No one is a Civil Lord—no one a Prelate—no one a Bishop, while he is in mortal sin. Temporal Lords can, whenever they please, take temporal goods from the Church. *Possessionatis habitualiter delinquentibus id est ex habitu non solum actu delinquentibus.* The people can, whenever they please, punish their delinquent Lords. Tithes are merely eleemosynary offerings, and the parishioners have the right, whenever they please, of keeping them from their Prelates on account of their sins. Special prayers applied by Prelates or Religious to any one individual, are of no more value to him than general ones *ceteris paribus.* Any one giving charity to Friars is excommunicated by the fact. Any one entering a religious Order, either mendicant or endowed, becomes weaker, and less able to observe the commandments of God. The Saints who founded religious orders sinned by doing so. Religious living in Orders do not belong to the Christian Religion. Friars are obliged to live by the labour of their hands, and not by receiving the oblations of the Faithful. Those who oblige themselves to pray for others,

who provide them with the things of this life, are guilty of Simony. The prayer of the *foreknown* availeth nothing. All things happen through absolute necessity. The confirmation of youth, the ordination of Priests, and the consecration of places, are reserved to the Pope and Bishops, on account of the temporal gain and honour they bring. Universities and the studies, colleges, degrees and masterships in them, are only vain things introduced from paganism, and are of no more utility to the Church than the devil himself. The excommunication of the Pope, or of any other Prelate, is not to be feared, because it is the censure of the devil. Those who found Convents sin, and those who enter them are servants of the devil. It is against the law of Christ to endow a Clergyman. Pope Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine erred by endowing the Church. All members of the mendicant orders are heretics, and those who give them alms are excommunicated. Those who become members of any religious order are by the fact incapable of observing the Divine commandments, and, consequently, can never enter the kingdom of heaven till they apostatize from their institute. The Pope, and all his Clergy having possessions, are heretics, by holding these possessions; and temporal Lords, and the rest of the laity who consent to their holding them, are heretics also. The Roman Church is the synagogue of Satan, and the Pope is not the proximate and immediate Vicar of Christ. The Decretal Epistles (canon law) are apochryphal, and seduce from the Faith of Christ, and the Clergymen are fools who study them. The Emperor and secular Lords have been seduced by the devil to endow the Church with temporalities. It is the devil who introduced the election of the Pope by the Cardinals. It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman Church is supreme among all other Churches. It is folly to believe in the Indulgences of the Pope and Bishops. The oaths which are taken to corroborate contracts and civil affairs are unlawful. Augustin, Benedict, and Bernard, are damned, unless they repented of having possessions, and of instituting and entering into religious Orders; and so from the Pope to the lowest Religious they are all heretics. All religious orders altogether are invented by the devil.

36.—Enumerating these errors, I cannot help remarking that

Wickliffe, the Patriarch of all the modern heretics, attacks especially the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, as we see in his three first propositions, and in this he was followed by all the modern heresiarchs; but God, at the same time, confirmed the faith of his people by extraordinary miracles; and I will just mention three of them (among a great number), on the authority of authors of the first character. Nicholas Serrarius (9) relates, that when the Wickliffites first began to attack this dogma of the Faith in 1408, the following miracle took place: A Priest, called Henry Otho, was one day saying Mass in Durn, in the Diocese of Wurtzburg, and, through his want of caution, upset the chalice, and the Sacred Blood was spilled all over the corporal. It appeared at once of the real colour of blood, and in the middle of the corporal was an image of the Crucifix, surrounded with several other images of the head of the Redeemer, crowned with thorns. The Priest was terrified, and although some other persons had already noticed the accident, he took up the corporal, and laid it under the altar-stone, that it might decay in some time, and nothing more would be known about it. God, however, did not wish that such a miracle should be concealed. The Priest was at the point of death, and remorse of conscience troubled him even more than the agony he was suffering; he could bear it no longer, but confessed all, told where the corporal was concealed, and then died immediately. All was found to be as he stated, and God wrought other miracles to confirm its truth. The Magistrates investigated the whole affair with the greatest caution and deliberation, and sent an authentic account of it to the Pope, and he published a brief, dated the 31st of March, 1445, inviting all the devout faithful to ornament and enlarge the church honoured by so stupendous a miracle.

37.—Thomas Treter (10) relates the next miracle. Some Jews bribed an unfortunate Christian servant woman to procure a consecrated Host for them, and when they got it, they brought it into a cavern, and cut it in little bits on a table with their knives, in contempt of the Christian Faith. The fragments immediately began to bleed, but instead of being converted by the

(9) Serar. Moguntinar. rerom, l. 5.

(10) Treter de Mirac. Eucharis.

miracle, they buried them in a field near the city of Posen, and went home. A Christian child soon after, who was taking care of some oxen, came into the field, and saw the consecrated particles elevated in the air, and shining as if made of fire, and the oxen all on their knees, as if in adoration. He ran off at once, and told his father, and when he found the fact to be as the child stated, he gave notice to the Magistrates and the people. Crowds immediately followed him to the place, and all saw the particles of the Sacred Host shining in the air, and the oxen kneeling in adoration. The Bishop and Clergy came at once in procession, and collecting the holy particles into the paxis, they brought them to the church. A little chapel was built on the spot soon after, which Wenceslaus, King of Poland, converted into a sumptuous church, where Stephen Damaleniski, Archbishop of Gnesen, attests that he saw the sacred fragments stained with blood.

Tilman Bredembach (11) relates that there lived in England, in 1384, a nobleman of the name of Oswald Mulfer; he went to his village church one Easter, to receive his Paschal Communion, and insisted on being communicated with a large Host. The Priest, fearful of his power, if he denied him, placed the large Host on his tongue, but in the very act the ground opened under his feet, as if to swallow him, and he had already sunk down to his knees, when he seized the altar, but that yielded like wax to his hand. He now, seeing the vengeance of God overtaking him, repented of his pride, and prayed for mercy, and as he could not swallow the Host—for God would not permit him—the Priest removed it, and replaced it in the Tabernacle; but it was all of the colour of blood. Tilman went on purpose to visit the place where this miracle happened: he saw, he says, the Host tinged with blood, the altar with the marks of Oswald's hands, and the ground into which he was sinking still hollow, and covered with iron bars. Oswald himself, he says, now perfectly cured of his pride, fell sick soon after, and died with sentiments of true penance.

38.—We now come back to Wickliffe, and see his unhappy end. On the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in 1385, he

(11) Bredembach in *Collat. l. 1, c. 35.*

prepared to preach a sermon, not in honour of, but reprobating the Saint; but God would no longer permit him to ravage his Church, for a few days after, on St. Sylvester's Day, he was struck down by a dreadful palsy, which convulsed him all over, and his mouth, with which he had preached so many blasphemies, was most frightfully distorted, so that he could not speak even a word, and as Walsingham (12) informs us, he died in despair. King Richard prohibited all his works, and ordered them to be burned. He wrote a great deal, but his principal work was the *Triologue* between Alithia, Pseudes, and Phronesis—Folly, Falsehood, and Wisdom. Several authors wrote in refutation of this work, but its own contradictions are a sufficient refutation, for the general characteristics of heretical writers is to contradict themselves (13). The University of Oxford condemned two hundred and sixty propositions extracted from Wickliffe's works; but the Council of Constance included all his errors in the one hundred and forty-five articles of his it condemned.

ARTICLE V.

HERESIES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE HERESY OF JOHN HUSS, AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.

39.—John Huss's character, and the commencement of his Heresy. 40.—His Errors. 41.—He is condemned in a Synod. 42.—Council of Constance—he is obliged to appear at it. 43.—He comes to Constance, and endeavours to escape. 44, 45.—He presents himself before the Council, and continues obstinate. 46.—He is condemned to death, and burned. 47.—Jerome of Prague is also burned alive for his obstinacy. 48.—Wars of the Hussites—they are conquered and converted.

39.—In the reign of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, and son of the Emperor Charles IV., about the beginning of the fifteenth century, the pestilence of the heresy of Wickliffe first made its appearance in Bohemia. The University of Prague was then in

(12) Walsingham, ap. Bernin. *t.* 3, *c.* 9; Van Ranst, *p.* 241; Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 1, & Gotti, *loc. cit.*

(13) Graveson, *t.* 4, *sec.* 15, *coll.* 31; Bernin. *t.* 3, *l.* 9, *p.* 609, *c.* 8.

a most flourishing condition; but the Professors who had the management of it kept up a very lax system of discipline. They were of four nations, each of which enjoyed equal privileges in that seat of learning—Bohemians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles; but mutual jealousies blinded them to the danger the Catholic faith was exposed to, for want of due vigilance. Such was the state of things when John Huss, one of the Bohemian professors, obtained a privilege from the King, that in all deliberations of the University, the vote of the Bohemian nation alone should count as much as the three others together. The German professors were so much offended at this ordinance, that they left Prague in a body, and settled in Leipsic, where they contributed to establish that famous University, and thus the government of the whole University of Prague, we may say, fell into the hands of John Huss (1). This remarkable man was born in a village of Bohemia, called Huss, and from which he took his name, and his parents were so poor, that at first the only means of learning he had, was by accompanying a gentleman's son to school as attendant; but being a man of powerful mind, he, by degrees, worked himself on, until he became the chief professor of the University of Prague, which he infected, unfortunately, with heresy. Having, as we have seen, ousted the German professors, and become almost supreme in his College, it unfortunately happened that one of Wickliffe's disciples, Peter Payne, who had to fly from England, arrived in Prague, and brought along with him the works of his master. These works fell into the hands of Huss, and though filled with blasphemy, pleased him by the bold novelty of their doctrines, and he imagined that they were well calculated to make an impression on the ardent minds of the youth of the University. He could not at once begin to teach them, for he was one of the Doctors who, a little while before, had subscribed the condemnation of Wickliffe's errors (2), so he contented himself, for the present, with merely making them subjects of discussion with his pupils; but little by little he became more bold, and not alone among the students of the

(1) Coclæus, *Hist. Hussit. Æneas Silv. Hist. Bohem. c. 35*; Bernin, *t. 4, sec. 15, c. 2, p. 9*; Graves, *t. 4, coll. 3, p. 75*; Gotti, *Ver. &c. c. 105*.

(2) *Nat. Alex. sec. 14, c. 3, a. 22, sec. 6*; Æneas *Silv. Hist. Bohem. c. 35*.

University, but even among the people in the churches, he disseminated the pestilence. At length, he threw off the mask altogether, and preaching one day in the Church of SS. Matthias and Matthew, in Prague, he publicly lauded the works of Wickliffe, and said, if he were dying, all he would desire is to be assured of the same glory that Wickliffe was then enjoying in heaven.

40.—He next translated some of Wickliffe's works into Bohemian, especially the *Triologue*, the worst of them all. He was joined at once by several Priests of relaxed morals, and also by several Doctors, discontented with the unjust distribution of church patronage, which was too often conferred on persons whose only qualification was nobility of birth, while humble virtue and learning was neglected. Among the Doctors who joined him was Jerome of Prague, who, in the year 1408, had, like Huss, condemned the errors of Wickliffe, but now turned round, and even accused the Council of Constance of injustice, for condemning them. Sbinko, Archbishop of Prague, summoned a Synod, which was attended by the most famous Doctors, and condemned the propositions broached by Huss, and he was so enraged at this, that he endeavoured to stir up the people to oppose it; the Archbishop, accordingly, excommunicated him, and sent a copy of the condemnation of his doctrine to Pope Alexander V., but Huss appealed to the Pope, who was badly informed, he said, of the matter, and in the meantime, the Archbishop died, and thus Bohemia became a prey to heresy. Huss was now joined by Jacobellus of Misnia, and Peter of Dresden, who went about preaching to the people against the error the Church was guilty of, as they said, in refusing the people communion under both kinds, and proclaimed that all who received under one kind were damned. John Huss and his followers took up this new doctrine, and so deeply was the error implanted in the minds of the Bohemian Hussites, that even all the power of the Imperial arms could scarcely eradicate it.

41.—Noel Alexander enumerates the errors of Huss under thirty heads (3). We will only take a succinct view of the most important ones. The Church, he said, was composed of the

(3) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 15, *c.* 2, *a.* 1, *sec.* 2.

predestined alone (*Art. 1, 3, 5, 6*); and the two Natures, the Divinity and the Humanity, are one Christ (*Art. 4*). Peter neither was nor is the head of the Catholic Church (*Art. 7, 10, 11*); and Civil and Ecclesiastical Lords, as Prelates and Bishops, are no longer so while in mortal sin (*Art. 30*); and he says the same of the Pope (*Art. 20, 22, 24, 26*). The Papal dignity is derived from the power of the Emperor (*Art. 9*); and Ecclesiastical obedience is an invention of the Priests (*Art. 15*). Every thing the wicked man does is wicked, and every thing the virtuous man does is virtuous (*Art. 16*). Good Priests ought to preach, though they be excommunicated (*Art. 17, 18*); and in *Art. 19*, he reprobates Ecclesiastical censures. It was an act of iniquity to condemn the forty-five Articles of Wickliffe (*Art. 25*). There is no necessity of a head to rule the Church, for the Apostles and other Priests governed it very well before the office of Pope was introduced (*Art. 27, 28, 29*). These are, in substance, the errors of John Huss. Van Ranst (*p. 275*) remarks, that it appears from his own works, that he always held the belief of the Real Presence, and when, in the Fifteenth Session of the Council, he was accused of teaching that, after the consecration, the substance of bread remained in the Eucharist, he denied that he ever either taught or believed so. He also admitted Sacramental Confession, with its three parts, as we do—Extreme Unction, and all the other Sacraments—prayers for the dead—the invocation and intercession of Saints. How unjustly, then, says the same author, do the Lutherans and Calvinists condemn in the Church of Rome these dogmas held by Huss himself, whom they venerate as a witness of the truth, and through whom they boast that they have derived the original succession of their Churches.

42.—We now come to speak of the sad end the obstinacy of Huss brought him to. The Pope condemned Wickliffe and his errors, in a Synod held in Rome, in 1413. When this came to the knowledge of Huss, he published several invectives against the Fathers composing the Synod, so the Pope found himself obliged to suspend him from all Ecclesiastical functions, the more especially as he had been cited to Rome, but refused to come. In the year 1414, a General Council was held in the city of Constance, at which twenty-nine Cardinals, four Patriarchs, and

two hundred and seven Prelates assisted, and the Emperor Sigismund attended there in person also (4). John Huss was summoned by the Emperor to present himself before the Council and defend his doctrine, but he refused to leave Prague until he was furnished by him with a safe conduct. The Emperor gave him the protection he demanded, and he, accordingly, came to Constance, puffed up with the idea, that he would, by his reasoning, convince the Fathers of the Council that he was right. He was quite satisfied, also, that in case even the Council should condemn him, he was quite safe, on account of the Imperial safe-conduct; but it is extraordinary that he never adverted to the clause inserted in it, granting him security as far as he was charged with crimes, but not in regard to errors against the Church (5); for it was stated that he would be exempt from all penalty in regard to his faith, if he would obey the decisions of the Council, after being heard in his defence, but not if he still obstinately remained attached to his errors. But, as we shall see, he refused to obey these conditions. The Lutherans, therefore, are unjust in charging us with upholding that maxim, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and alleging that as their excuse for not coming to the Council of Trent. Our Church, on the contrary, teaches that faith must be observed with even infidels or Jews, and the Council of Basil faithfully observed the guarantee given to the Hussites, though they remained obstinately attached to their errors.

43.—When Huss arrived in Constance, before he presented himself to the Council he fixed his safe conduct to the door of the Church; and while he remained at his lodging, never ceased to praise Wickliffe, and disseminate his doctrines; and, although he was excommunicated by his Bishop, in Prague, he used to say Mass in a chapel; but when the Archbishop heard of this, he prohibited him from celebrating, and his subjects from hearing his Mass (6). This frightened him, and when he saw the charges that would be made against him, and received an order from the Council not to quit the city, he trembled for his safety, and

(4) Labbe, *t.* 12, conc.

(5) Varillas, *His. &c.*, *t.* 1, *l.* 11, *p.* 25; Gotti, *Ver. Rel.* 105, *s.* 3, *n.* 1.

(6) Coclæus, *His. Huss.* *t.* 2; Varillas, *loc. cit.*; Gotti, *cit.*

attempted to escape; he, accordingly, disguised himself as a peasant, and concealed himself in a cart-load of hay, but was discovered by a spy, who was privately placed to watch him, and notice being given to the magistrates of the city, he was taken. This took place on the third Sunday of Lent. He was asked, why he disguised himself in this way, and hid himself in the hay? He said it was because he was cold. He was put on a horse, and taken to prison, and he then appealed to the safe-conduct given him by the Emperor; but his attention was directed to the clause giving him security only as far as he was charged with certain crimes, but not for any erroneous doctrines concerning the Faith, and he was told, that it was decided that he should prove his cause not to be heretical, and if not able to do that, either retract or suffer death (7). He was now truly terrified; but seeing several Bohemians around him, who accompanied him to the Council, he threw himself from the horse among them, and thus thought to escape, but was immediately seized again, and confined in the Dominican Convent, but attempting to escape from that, he was transferred to a more secure prison (8).

45.—He was summoned from his prison to appear before the Council, and defend himself, and as the Council had already condemned the forty-five articles of Wickliffe, he trembled for his own fate. Witnesses were formally examined to prove the errors he had both preached and written, and a form of abjuration was drawn up by the Council for him to sign, for it was decided by the Fathers, that he should not alone retract verbally, but also subscribe the abjuration of his heresy in the Bohemian language. This he refused to do; but he presented a paper himself, in which he declared that he could not conscientiously retract what he was asked to do, but the Council refused to receive it. The Cardinal of Cambray endeavoured to induce him to sign a general retractation, as every thing charged against him had been proved; and he promised him, in that case, the Council would treat him most indulgently. Huss then

(7) Gotti, *loc. cit. sec. 3, n. 3.*

(8) Gotti, *ibid*; Van Ranst, *p. 279*; Varillas, *loc. cit.*; Bernin. *t. 4*; Rainaldus, *Ann. 1415, n. 32.*

made an humble answer : he came, he said, to be taught by the Council, and that he was willing to obey its decrees. A pen was handed to him, accordingly, to sign his retractation in Bohemian, as was commanded in the beginning ; but he said that the fear of signing a lie prevented him. The Emperor himself even tried to bend his obstinacy ; but all in vain. The Council, accordingly, appointed the 6th of July to give the final decision ; but before they came to extremities, the Fathers deputed four Bishops and four Bohemian gentlemen to strive and bring him round, but they never could get a direct retractation from him. The appointed day at last arrived. He was brought to the Church, in presence of the Council, and asked, if he would anathematize the errors of Wickliffe ; he made a long speech, the upshot of which was that his conscience would not allow him to do so.

46.—Sentence was now pronounced on him ; he was declared obstinately guilty of heresy, and the Council degraded him from the priesthood, and handed him over to the secular power. He made no remark while the sentence was read, intending, after the reading was finished, to say what he intended, but he only commenced to speak, when he was ordered to be silent. He was now clothed in the sacerdotal vestments, which were immediately after stripped off him, and a paper cap was put on his head, inscribed : “ Behold the Heresiarch.” Louis, Duke of Bavaria, then took him, and handed him over to the ministers of justice, who cut off his hair in the very place where the pile was prepared to burn him. He was now tied to the stake, but before fire was put to the pile, the Duke of Bavaria again besought him to retract, but he answered, that the Scriptures tell us we should obey God, and not man. The Duke then turned his back on him, and the executioner applied the torch ; when the pile began to light, the hypocrite was heard to exclaim : “ Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on me ;” words inspired by the vain-glorious desire of being considered to have died a martyr’s death, but we should not forget that the devil has martyrs, and infuses into them a false constancy, and as St. Augustin says : “ It is not the punishment, but the cause, that makes a martyr ;” that is the confession of the true Faith. The flames burned so fiercely, that it is thought he was immediately suffocated, for he

gave no other signs of life. His ashes were cast into the lake, and thus the scene closed on John Huss (9).

47.—We have now to speak of Jerome of Prague, who, having joined Huss in his errors, was his companion in a disgraceful death and perdition. He was a layman, and joined Huss in all his endeavours to disseminate his errors, led astray himself, first by Wickliffe's works, and next by the preaching of his master. He came to Constance to try and be of some assistance to Huss, but was taken and obliged to appear before the Council, together with his patron, but he was not finally tried for a year after the death of Huss. A lengthened process was instituted against him, and it was proved, as Raynaldus tells us (10), that he preached the same errors as Wickliffe and Huss, that he was guilty of several excesses, and had caused several seditious movements in divers kingdoms and cities. When first brought before the Council in 1414, he confessed that he was wrong, and said that he was satisfied to abjure his heresy, even according to the formula required by the Council. He, therefore, got permission to speak with whom he pleased, and he then was so imprudent as to tell his friends that his retraction was extorted from him, not by conscience, but because he was afraid of being condemned to be burned alive, but that now he would defend his doctrines to the death. When he was discovered, he was obliged to appear again before the Council, in 1415, and when the Patriarch of Constantinople called on him to clear himself from the new charges laid against him, he spoke out plainly, and said that his former abjuration was extorted by the dread of being burned alive; that he now held as true all the articles of Wickliffe, and that he was anxious to expiate at the stake, the fault of his former retraction. The Fathers of the Council still charitably gave him time to repent, but, at last, in the Twenty-fifth Session, after the Bishop of Lodi endeavoured by every means in his power to induce him to retract, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and handed over to the civil magistrate, who had him led to the pile. Even then, several persons endeavoured to get him to retract, but he said that his conscience would not allow him; he took off his clothes without any assistance, was tied to the stake,

(9) Varill. loc. cit. p. 48; Gotti, loc. cit. s. 3, n. 8; Van Ranst. 279.

(10) Rainal. Ann. 1415, n. 13 & seq.

and the pile was fired. His agony was much longer than that of John Huss, but, like him, he died without any signs of repentance (11).

48.—The unhappy end of John Huss and Jerome of Prague did not put a stop to the progress of their doctrines; on the contrary, as Varillas writes (12), the Hussites, irritated at the punishment of their leader, united together in Bohemia, ruined the churches, seized on the properties of the monasteries, and attempted the life of their King, Wenceslaus; and though they desisted at the time, they were sorry they did not accomplish it after, and they would have done so even then had Wenceslaus not died in the meantime. They then elected Zisca as Commander-in-Chief, and declared war against the Emperor Sigismund, who succeeded his brother Wenceslaus on the throne of Bohemia, and, having gained four victories, they forced him to quit his kingdom. Although Zisca lost both his eyes in battle, he still commanded his countrymen, but was attacked by the plague and died, having previously ordered that his skin should be tanned, and converted into the covering of a drum, that even after his death he might terrify his enemies. After Zisca's death the sect was divided into Orphans, Orebites, and Thaborites, who, though disagreeing among themselves, all united against the Catholics. When those heretics got a Catholic priest into their power, they used to burn him alive, or cut him in two halves. When the Council of Basil was assembled, they sent delegates there to make peace with the Church, having previously obtained a safe conduct, but all to no purpose, as on their return into Bohemia, the war raged with greater fury, and, having collected a powerful army, they laid siege to the capital, but were encountered by Mainard, a noble Bohemian, and totally routed. Sigismund then again got possession of his kingdom, and made peace with the Hussites, who abjured their heresy, promised obedience to the Pope, and were absolved by him from all censures on the 5th of July, 1436 (13).

(11) Varil. *p.* 51, *l.* 1; Gotti, *c.* 105;
Bern. *t.* 4, *c.* 4.

(12) Varil. *Dis. t.* 1 *t.* 2; Gotti, *c.*
105; Van Ranst. *p.* 281.

(13) Van Ranst, *p.* 382; Bernini, *loc.*
cit.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HERESIES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE HERESIES OF LUTHER.

§ I.

THE BEGINNING AND PROGRESS OF THE LUTHERAN HERESY.

1.—Erasmus of Rotterdam, called by some the Precursor of Luther; his Literature. 2.—His Doctrine was not sound, nor could it be called heretical. 3.—Principles of Luther; his familiarity with the Devil, who persuades him to abolish Private Masses. 4.—He joins the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustin. 5.—Doctrines and Vices of Luther. 6.—Publication of Indulgences, and his Theses on that Subject. 7.—He is called to Rome, and clears himself; the Pope sends Cardinal Cajetan as his Legate to Germany. 8.—Meeting between the Legate and Luther. 9.—Luther perseveres and appeals to the Pope. 10, 11.—Conference of Ecchius with the Heretics. 12.—Bull of Leo X., condemning forty-one Errors of Luther, who burns the Bull and the Decretals.

1.—We have now arrived at the sixteenth century, in which, as in a sink, all the former heresies meet. The great heresiarch of this age was Luther; but many writers assert that Erasmus was his predecessor, and there was a common saying in Germany that Erasmus (1) laid the egg, and Luther hatched it (2). Erasmus was born in Holland; his birth was illegitimate, and he was baptized by the name of Gerard, which he afterwards changed to the Greek name Erasmus—in Latin, Desiderius (3). At an early age he was received among the Regular Canons of St. Augustin, and made his religious profession; but weary of a religious life, and regretting having made his vows, he left the

(1) Rainald. Ann. 1516, n. 91; Berlin. t. 4, sec. 26, c. 2, p. 255.

(2) Gotti, Ver. Rel. c. 108. sec, 2, n. 6.

(3) Nat. Alex. t. 19, sec. 15, c. 5, art. 1, n. 12.

Cloister, and lived in the world, having, it is supposed, obtained a Papal dispensation. He would certainly have conferred a benefit on the age he lived in, had he confined himself to literature alone; but he was not satisfied without writing on Theological matters, interpreting the Scriptures, and finding fault with the Fathers; hence, as Noel Alexander says of him, the more works he wrote, the more errors he published. He travelled to many Universities, and was always honourably received, on account of his learning; but a great many doubted of his faith, on account of the obscure way he wrote concerning the dogmas of religion; hence, some of the Innovators, friends of Erasmus, often availed themselves of his authority, though he frequently endeavoured to clear himself from the imputation of favouring them, especially in a letter he wrote to Cardinal Campeggio (4).

2.—A great contest at that time was going on in Germany, between the Rhetoricians and Theologians. The Rhetoricians upbraided the Theologians with their ignorance, and the barbarism of the terms they used. The Theologians, on the other hand, abused the Rhetoricians for the impropriety and profaneness of the language they used in the explanation of the Divine Mysteries. Erasmus, who took the lead among the Rhetoricians, began by deriding, first, the style, and, next, the arguments of the Theologians; he called their Theology Judaism, and said that the proper understanding of Ecclesiastical science depended altogether on erudition and the knowledge of languages. Many writers openly charge Erasmus with heresy: he explained everything just as it pleased himself, says Victorinus (5), and vitiated everything he explained. Albert Pico, Prince of Carpi, a man of great learning (6), and a strenuous opponent of the errors of Erasmus, assures us that he called the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints idolatry; condemned Monasteries, and ridiculed the Religious, calling them actors and cheats, and condemned their vows and rules; was opposed to the Celibacy of the Clergy, and turned into mockery Papal Indulgences, relics of Saints, feasts and fasts, auricular Confession; asserts that by Faith alone man is justified (7), and even throws a doubt on the

(4) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(5) Victor. in Scholiis ad Epist. Hier. ep. 30.

(6) Rainald. & Bernin. loc. cit.

(7) Alberto Pico, *l.* 20.

authority of the Scripture and Councils (8). In the preface to one of his works he says (9), it is rash to call the Holy Ghost God. "Audemus Spiritum Sanctum, appellare, Deum quod veteres ausi, non sunt." Noel Alexander informs us (10), that in 1527 the Faculty of Paris condemned several propositions taken from his works, and that at the Council of Trent the Cardinals appointed by Paul III. to report on the abuses which needed reformation, called on him to prohibit in the schools the reading of the Colloquies of Erasmus, in which are many things that lead the ignorant to impiety. He was, however, esteemed by several Popes, who invited him to Rome, to write against Luther, and it was even reported that Paul III. intended him for the Cardinalship. We may conclude with Bernini, that he died with the character of an unsound Catholic, but not a heretic, as he submitted his writings to the judgment of the Church, and Varillas (11) says he always remained firm in the Faith, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Luther and Zuinglius to draw him to their side. He died in Basle in 1536, at the age of 70 (12).

3.—While Germany was thus agitated with this dispute, the famous brief of Leo X. arrived there in 1613; and here we must introduce Luther. Martin Luther (13) was born in Eisleben, in Saxony, in 1483. His parents were poor, and when he afterwards acquired such a sad notoriety, some were not satisfied without tracing his birth to the agency of the devil (14), a report to which his own extraordinary assertions gave some colour at the time, since he said in one of his sermons to the people, that he had eaten a peck of salt (15) with the devil, and in his work "De Missa Privata," or low Mass, he says he disputed with the devil on this subject, and was convinced by him that private Masses should be abolished (16). "Luther," said the devil, "it is now fifteen years that you are saying private Masses;—what would the consequence be, if on the altar you were adoring

(8) Alberto, *l.* 11, 12.

(9) Erasm. advers. Hil. *t.* 12; Bernin. loc. cit.

(10) Nat. Alex. cit. *art.* 10, *n.* 12.

(11) Varill. *t.* 1, *l.* 7, *p.* 322.

(12) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(13) Gotti, Ver. Rel. *t.* 2, *c.* 108, *sec.* 2; Baron. Ann. 1517, *n.* 56; Varillas Istor. &c. *t.* 1, *l.* 3, *p.* 129; Hermant, Histor. Concili, *t.* 2, *c.* 227.

(14) Gotti, cit. *sec.* 2, *n.* 3.

(15) Nat. Alex. loc. cit; Gotti, loc. cit. *sec.* 2, *n.* 2.

(16) Gotti, *sec.* 5, *n.* 2.

bread and wine? would you not be guilty of idolatry?" "I am a Priest," said Luther, "ordained by my Bishop, and I have done everything through obedience." "But," added the devil, "Turks and Gentiles also sacrifice through obedience, and what say you if your ordination be false?" Such are the powerful reasons which convinced Luther. Frederick Staphil (17) relates a curious anecdote concerning this matter. Luther at one time, he says, endeavoured to exorcise a girl in Wittemberg, possessed by an evil spirit, but was so terrified that he tried to escape, both by the door and window, which, to his great consternation, were both made fast;—finally, one of his companions broke open the door with a hatchet, and they escaped (18).

4.—If Luther was not the child of Satan, however, few laboured so strenuously in his service. His name originally was *Luder*; but as the vulgar meaning of that word was not the most elegant, he changed it to Luther. Applying himself at an early age to literature, he went to Erfurt, in Thuringia, and at the age of twenty years graduated as a Master of Philosophy. While pursuing his legal and philosophical studies in that University, he happened to take a walk in the country with a fellow-student, who was struck dead by lightning at his side. Under the influence of terror, and not moved by devotion, he made a vow to enter into religion, and became an Augustinian Friar, in the Convent of Erfurt (19). "It was not," he says, "by my own free will I became a Monk, but terrified by a sudden death, I made a vow to that effect." This took place in 1504, in the 22nd year of his age, and was a matter of great surprise to his father and friends, who previously never perceived in him any tendency to piety (20).

5.—After his profession and ordination he was commanded by his superiors, as an exercise of humility, to beg through the city, as was the custom of the Order at that period. He refused, and in the year 1508 left the Convent and Academy of Erfurt, in which he was employed, greatly to the satisfaction of his colleagues in that University, who could not bear his violent temper,

(17) Staphil. Resp. contra Jac. Smidelin, p. 404.

(18) Varillas, loc. cit. l. 14, p. 31.

(19) Luther Præfat. ad lib. de Vot. Mon.

(20) Nat. Alex. ibid, sec. 1, n. 1; Gotti, loc. cit. sec. 2.

and went to Wittemberg, where Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, had a little before founded a University, in which he obtained the chair of Philosophy. He was soon after sent to Rome, to settle some dispute raised in his Order, and having satisfactorily arranged every thing, he returned to Wittemberg, and received from Andrew Carlostad, Dean of the University, the dignity of Doctor of Theology. The entire expense of taking his degree was borne by the Elector, who conceived a very great liking for him (21). He was certainly a man of fine genius, a subtle reasoner, deeply read in the Schoolmen and Holy Fathers, but, even then, as Cochleus tells us, filled with vices—proud, ambitious, petulant, seditious, evil-tongued—and even his moral character was tainted (22); he was a man of great eloquence, both in speaking and writing, but so rude and rugged, that in all his works we scarcely find a polished period; he was so vain of himself, that he despised the most learned writers of the Church, and he especially attacked the doctrines of St. Thomas, so much esteemed by the Council of Trent.

6.—Leo X. wishing, as Hermant tells us (23), to raise a fund for the recovery of the Holy Land, or, according to the more generally received opinion (24), to finish the building of St. Peter's Church, commenced by Julius II., committed to Cardinal Albert, Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, the promulgation of a Brief, granting many Indulgences to those who contributed alms for this purpose. The Archbishop committed the publication of these Indulgences to a Dominican Doctor, John Tetzel, who had already discharged a similar commission in aid of the Teutonic Knights, when they were attacked by the Duke of Muscovy, and who was reputed an eloquent preacher. This was highly displeasing to John Staupitz, Vicar-General of the Augustinians, and a great favourite of the Duke of Saxony; he, therefore, with the Duke's permission, charged Luther with the duty of preaching against the abuse of these Indulgences. He immediately began to attack these abuses, and truth compels us

(21) Hermant, *Histor. Conc. t. 1, c. 228*; *Nat. Alex. t. 19, art. 11, sec. 1, n. 1*; Van Ranst *Hær. p. 298*; Gotti *Ver. Rel. c. 108, sec. 2, n. 6*.

(22) *Nat. Alex. sec. 1, n. 3*; Hermant, *loc. cit.*; Van Ranst, *loc. cit.*

(23) Hermant, *loc. cit. c. 227*.

(24) *Nat. Alex. Gotti, Van Ranst, Bernino, &c.*

to admit that abuses had crept into the mode of collecting these alms, which scandalized the people. He, however, not only preached against the abuses which existed, but against the validity of Indulgences altogether, and immediately wrote a long letter to the Archbishop of Mayence, in which he gave an exaggerated account of the errors preached in their distribution, such as, that whoever took an Indulgence was certain of salvation, and was absolved from all punishment and penalties of sin, and to this letter he tacked ninety-five propositions, in which he asserted that the doctrine of Indulgences altogether was a very doubtful matter. He did not rest satisfied with sending them to the Archbishop; he posted them on the doors of the Church of All Saints in Wittemburg, sent printed copies of them through all Germany, and had them publicly sustained by his scholars in the University. He was answered by Father Tetzels in Frankfort, who proved the doctrine of the Church, and as he was armed with Inquisitorial powers, condemned these propositions as heretical. When this came to Luther's ears, he retorted in the most insolent manner, and from these few sparks, that fire was kindled which not only ran through Germany, but through Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the most remote countries of the North (25).

7.—In the year 1518, Luther sent his conclusions to the Pope, in a pamphlet, entitled “*Resolutiones Disputationum de Indulgentiarum virtute* ;” and in the preface, he thus addresses him: “*Holy Father, prostrate at your Holiness' feet, I offer myself, with all I possess; vivify or destroy, call, revoke, reject, as you will, I recognise your voice as the voice of Christ, presiding and speaking in you; if I deserve death, I refuse not to die*” (26). With such protestations of submission did he endeavour to deceive the Pope, but as Cardinal Gotti (27) remarks, in this very letter, he protests that he adopts no other sentiments than those of the Scriptures, and intends merely to oppose the Schoolmen. Leo X. having now received both Luther's and Tetzels writings, clearly saw the poison which flowed from the pen of the former, and accordingly summoned him to Rome, to defend himself.

(25) Hermant, c. 228; Van Ranst, p. 299; Gotti, c. 108, sec. 3, n. 3.

(26) Ap. Van Ranst, His. p. 300.
(27) Gotti, sec. 2, n. 8.

Luther excused himself on the plea of delicate health, and the want of means to undertake so long a journey, and added, that he had strong suspicions of the Roman judges; he also induced the Duke of Saxony, and the University of Wittemberg, to write to his Holiness to the same effect, and to request him to appoint judges in Germany to try the cause (28). The Pope dreaded to entrust the case to the decision of the Germans, as Luther already had a powerful party in his own country; he, therefore, sent as his Legate, a *latere*, Thomas Vio, called Cardinal Cajetan, commissioning him to call on the secular power to have Luther arrested, to absolve him from all censures, in case he retracted his errors; but should he obstinately persist in maintaining them to excommunicate him (29).

8.—On the Legate's arrival in Augsburg, he summoned Luther before him, and imposed three commandments on him: First—That he should retract the propositions asserted by him. Secondly—That he should cease from publishing them, and finally, that he should reject all doctrines censured by the Church. Luther answered that he never broached any doctrine in opposition to the Church, but Cajetan reminded him that he denied the treasure of the merits of Jesus Christ, and his Saints, in virtue of which, the Pope dispensed Indulgences, as Clement VI. declared in the Constitution *Unigenitus*; that he also asserted that to obtain the fruit of the Sacraments, it was only required to have the faith of obtaining them. Luther made some reply, but the Cardinal, smiling, said he did not come to argue with him, but to receive his submission, as he had been appointed (30). Luther was alarmed at finding himself in Augsburg, then totally Catholic, without a safe conduct (although Noel Alexander (31) says, he obtained one from Maximilian; Hermant, Van Ranst, and Gotti, deny it (32), and Varillas wonders at his boldness in presenting himself without it), and asked time for reflection, which was granted him, and on the following day he presented himself before the Legate, together with a Notary Public, and four Senators of Augsburg, and presented a writing signed with his

(28) Gotti, *ibid.* n. 9, & Van Ranst, *loc. cit.*

(29) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *ar.* 11, *sec.* 4; Gotti, *loc. cit. sec.* 2, n. 20; Hermant, *t.* 2, c. 229.

(30) Hermant, c. 230.

(31) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit. sec.* 4.

(32) Hermant, *cit. c.* 230; Van Ranst, p. 302; Gotti, *sec.* 3, n. 10.

own hand, saying that he followed and revered the Roman Church in all her acts and sayings, past, present, and to come, and that if ever he said anything against her, he now revoked and unsaid it. The Cardinal, well aware that he had written several things which were not in accordance with the Catholic Faith, wished to have a still more ample retractation, but still he flattered himself that the one obtained was so much gained. Luther, however, soon slipped through his fingers, for he then persisted that he had neither said nor written anything repugnant to the Scriptures, Fathers, Councils, Decretals, or reason; that his propositions were true, and that he was prepared to defend them, but, nevertheless, that he would submit them to the judgment of the three Imperial Academies of Basle, Fribourg, and Louvain, or of Paris (33).

9.—The Cardinal still insisted on the three primary conditions. Luther asked time to answer in writing, and the next day presented a document, in which he advanced many opinions, not only against the value of Indulgences, but also against the merits of the Saints, and good works, propping up his opinions by false reasoning. Cardinal Cajetan heard him out, and then told him not again to appear before him, unless he came prepared to retract his heresy. Luther then left Augsburg, and wrote to the Cardinal, saying that his opinions were founded on truth, and supported by reason and Scripture, but, notwithstanding, it was his wish still to subject himself to the Church, and to keep silence regarding Indulgences, if his adversaries were commanded to keep silent, likewise (34). The Cardinal gave him no answer, so Luther, fearing sentence would be passed against him, appealed from the Cardinal to the Pope, and had the appeal posted on the church doors (35). Van Ranst censures Cajetan for not imprisoning Luther, when he had him in Augsburg without a safe conduct, knowing him to be a man of such deceitful cunning, and so extinguishing, in its commencement, that great fire, which consumed so great a part of Europe, by introducing to the people a religion so much the more pernicious, as it was so favourable to sensual licence. Luther himself, afterwards,

(33) Nat. Alex. *ar.* 11, *sec.* 4, *n.* 1;
Gotti, *c.* 108, *sec.* 3, *n.* 10.

(34) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*; Van Ranst,
p. 302.

(35) Van Ranst, *p.* 302.

deriding the whole transaction, says (36): "I there heard that new Latin language, that teaching the truth was disturbing the Church, and that denying Christ was exalting the Church." It is then he appealed, first to the Pope, and afterwards from the Pope to the Council (37).

10.—The Legate, seeing the obstinacy of Luther, wrote to the Elector Frederick, telling him that this friar was a heretic, unworthy of his protection, and that he should send him to Rome, or at all events banish him from his States. The Elector immediately transmitted the letter to Luther, who, on his escape from the power of the Legate, began to make the most rabid attacks on the Pope, calling him tyrant and Antichrist: "He (the Pope) has refused peace," said he, "then let it be war, and we shall see whether Luther or the Pope shall be first hurt." Notwithstanding his boasting, the Legate's letter to the Elector terrified him, and he indited a most humble letter, declaring himself guiltless of any crime against Faith, and praying for a continuance of his protection (38). Hermant says the Elector protected Luther, not only on account of his affection for his newly founded University of Wittemberg, on which he shed so much lustre, but also through hatred to the Elector Albert, of Mayence, Luther's most determined enemy (39). This protector of Luther, however, met with a dreadful death, as if to mark the judgment of God. While hunting, he was attacked with apoplexy, accompanied with dreadful convulsions; Luther and Melancthon immediately posted off to assist, or rather to ruin him, in his last agony, but they could not obtain from him a single word; he had lost the use of all his senses, the most dreadful convulsions racked every one of his limbs, his cries were like the roar of a lion, and he died without Sacraments, or without any signs of repentance.

11.—On the 9th of November, 1518, Leo X. published a Bull, on the validity of Indulgences, in which he declared that the Supreme Pontiff alone had the right of granting them without limitation, from the treasures of the merits of Jesus Christ; that

(36) Luther, *t.* 1; *Oper.* p. 208.

(37) Gotti, *sec.* 3, n. 11.

(38) Gotti, *c.* 108, *sec.* 3, n. 12; Van Ranst, p. 302; *Nat. Alex. sec.* 4, n. 1; Hermant, *c.* 229.

(39) Hermant, *c.* 229; *Nat. Alex. sec.* 4, n. 1; Van Ranst, p. 302.

this was an article of Faith, and that whoever refused to believe it, should be excluded from the communion of the Church. Ecchius, a man of great learning, and Pro-Chancellor of Ingoldstad, began to write about this time, and subsequently, in 1519, he had a conference with Luther, through the instrumentality of Duke George, Uncle of the Elector Frederick, a good Catholic. This conference took place in Duke George's city of Leipsic, and in his own palace. After debating on many questions there, they agreed to leave the whole matter to the decision of the Universities of Erfurt and Paris. The University of Paris, after an examination of the writings on each side, received the doctrine of Ecchius, and condemned that of Luther. One hundred and four of his propositions were censured, which excited his ire to a great pitch against that University. The following year there was another conference between Luther, accompanied by Carlstad and Ecchius, in which, in six discussions, the doctrines of free-will, of grace, and of good works, were argued by Carlstad. Luther followed, and disputed on Purgatory, the power of absolving sins, reserving cases, the primacy of the Pope, and Indulgences. In this conference, his doctrines were not so heretical as soon after the dispute, for then the force of truth obliged him to admit the Papal primacy, though he said it was of human, not divine right; he also acknowledged a Purgatory, and did not altogether reject Indulgences, solely condemning the abuse of them. The same year his doctrines were condemned by the Universities of Cologne and Louvain (40).

12.—In the year 1519, the Emperor Maximilian I. died, and there was an interregnum of six months, during which Luther gained many adherents in Wittemberg, not only among the youth of the University, who afterwards scattered themselves through all Saxony, but some of the Professors, and even some of the clergy, secular and regular, became his disciples. Leo X. seeing his party every day gaining strength, and no hope of his retractation, then published in Rome his famous Bull, "Exurge Domine," in which he condemned forty-one of his principal errors as heretical (see third part of this history), and sent his Commissaries to publish it in Germany, ordering, at the same time,

(40) Van Ranst, *p.* 303; Varillas, *l.* 3, *p.* 48.

his books to be publicly burned in Rome. His Holiness, however, even then exhorts Luther and his followers to return to the fold, and promises to receive with clemency whoever returns before the expiration of two months, at the expiration of which, he orders his Commissaries to excommunicate the perverse, and hand them over to the secular power. The two months being passed, he published another Bull, declaring Luther a heretic, and also that all who followed or favoured him, incurred all the penalties and censures fulminated against heretics (41). Luther, as soon as he heard of the publication of the first Bull of 1520, and the burning of his books in Rome, burned in the public square of Wittemberg, the Bull, and the Book of the Decretals of the Canon Law, saying: "As you have opposed the Saints of the Lord, so may eternal fire destroy you;" and then in a voice of fury, exclaimed: "Let us fight with all our strength against that son of perdition, the Pope, the Cardinals, and all the Roman sink of corruption; let us wash our hands in their blood (42)." From that day to the day of his death, he never ceased writing against the Pope and the Catholic Church, and from the year 1521 to 1546, when he died, he brought to light again in his works, almost every heresy of former ages. Cochleus, speaking of Luther's writings, says (43): "He thus defiled everything holy; he preaches Christ, and tramples on his servants; magnifies faith, and denies good works, and opens a licence to sin; elevates mercy, depresses justice, and throws upon God the cause of all evil; finally, destroys all law, takes the power out of the hands of the magistrate, stirs up the laity against the clergy, the impious against the Pope, the people against princes."

(41) Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 230.

(42) Gotti, *c.* 108, *n.* 13.

(43) Cocleus de act, & Script. Luth. Ann. 1523.

§ II.

THE DIETS AND PRINCIPAL CONGRESSES HELD CONCERNING THE
HERESY OF LUTHER.

13.—Diet of Worms, where Luther appeared before Charles V., and remains obstinate. 14.—Edict of the Emperor against Luther, who is concealed by the Elector in one of his Castles. 15.—Diet of Spire, where the Emperor publishes a Decree, against which the heretics protest. 16.—Conference with the Zuinglians; Marriage of Luther with an Abbess. 17.—Diet of Augsburg, and Melancthon's Profession of Faith; Melancthon's Treatise, in favour of the authority of the Pope, rejected by Luther. 18.—Another Edict of the Emperor in favour of Religion. 19.—League of Smalkald broken up by the Emperor. 20.—Dispensation given by the Lutherans to the Landgrave to have two wives. 21.—Council of Trent, to which Luther refuses to come; he dies, cursing the Council. 22.—The Lutherans divided into fifty-six Sects. 23.—The Second Diet of Augsburg, in which Charles V. published the injurious Formula of the Interim. 24, 25.—The heresy of Luther takes possession of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and other Kingdoms.

13.—The first Conference was in the Imperial Diet, assembled in Worms. Luther still continued augmenting his party, and pouring forth calumnies and vituperations against the Holy See. At the request of the Pope, Charles V. then wrote to the Elector of Saxony, to deliver up Luther, or, at all events, to banish him from his territories. The Elector, on receipt of the letter, said that as the Diet was now so near, it would be better to refer the whole matter to its decision. Luther was most anxious to appear in this illustrious assembly, hoping, by his harangue, to obtain a favourable reception for his doctrine, especially as at the request of his patron, the Elector, he obtained not only permission to attend, but also a safe conduct from the Emperor himself. The Diet assembled in 1521, and Luther arrived in Worms, on the 17th of April. Ecchius asked him, in the name of the Emperor, if he acknowledged himself the author of the books published in his name, and if it was his intention to defend them. He admitted the books were his; but as to defending them, he said, as that was an affair of importance to the Word of God, and the salvation of souls, he required time to give an answer. The

Emperor gave him a day for consideration, and he next day said, that among his books some contained arguments on Religion, and these he could not conscientiously retract; others were written in his own defence, and he confessed that he was guilty of excess in his attacks on his adversaries, the slaves of the Pope, but that they first provoked him to it. Ecchius required a more lucid answer. He then turned to the Emperor, and said he could not absolutely retract anything he had taught in his lectures, his sermons, or his writings, until convinced by Scripture and reason, and that both Pope and Councils were fallible judges in this matter (1).

14.—The Emperor, perceiving his obstinacy, after some conversation with him, dismissed him. He might then have arrested him, as he was in his power, but he disdained violating the safe conduct he himself had given him. Notwithstanding, he published, on the 26th of May, an edict, with consent of the Princes of the Empire, and of its Orders and States, in which he declared Luther a notorious and obstinate heretic, and prohibited any one to receive or protect him, under the severest penalties. He moreover ordained, that, after the term of the safe conduct expired, which was twenty days, he should be proceeded against wherever found (2); and he would not have escaped, were it not for the Elector Frederick, who bribed the soldiers who escorted him, and had him conveyed to a place of security. A report was then spread abroad, that Luther was imprisoned before the expiration of the safe conduct, but the Elector had him conveyed to the Castle of Watzberg, near Alstad, in Thuringia, a place which Luther afterwards called his Patmos. He remained there nearly ten months, well concealed and guarded, and there he finished the plan of his heresy, and wrote many of his works. In the works written here, Luther principally attacked the scholastic Theologians, especially St. Thomas, whose works he said were filled with heresies. We should not wonder he called the works of St. Thomas heretical, who centuries before had confuted his own pestilential errors (3).

(1) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 14, *n.* 4; Varill. *t.* 1, *l.* 4, *dalla*, *p.* 175; Van Ranst, *p.* 304.

(2) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*; Van Ranst, *p.* 205.

(3) Hermant, *c.* 230, 231; Van Ranst, *loc. cit.*

15.—In the year 1529, another Diet was held in the city of Spire, by the Emperor's orders, in which it was decided, that in these places in which the edict of Worms was accepted, it should be observed; but that wherever the ancient religion was changed, and its restoration could not be effected without public disturbances, matters should remain as they were until the celebration of a General Council. It was, besides, decided that Mass should freely be celebrated in the places infected with Lutheranism, and that the Gospel should be explained, according to the interpretation of the Fathers approved by the Church. The Elector Frederick of Saxony, George of Branderburg, Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Luneburg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, and fourteen confederate cities (thirteen, according to Protestant historians), *protested* against this Decree, as contrary to the truth of the Gospel, and appealed to a future Council, or to some judge not suspected, and from this protest arose the famous designation of Protestant (4).

16.—The same year another Conference, composed of Lutherans and Zuinglians, or Sacramentarians, was held in Marpurg, under the patronage of the Landgrave of Hesse, to endeavour to establish a union between their respective sects. Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brenzius, and Agricola appeared on one side, and Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, on the other. They agreed on all points, with the exception of the Eucharist, as the Zuinglians totally denied the Real Presence of Christ. Several other Conferences were held to remove, if possible, the discussion of doctrine objected to then by the Catholics, but all ended without coming to any agreement. In this the Providence of God is apparent: the Roman Church could thus oppose to the innovators that unity of doctrine she always possessed, and the heretics were always confounded on this point (5). About this period Luther married an Abbess of a Convent. His fellow-heresiarch Zuinglius, also a priest, had already violated his vows, by a sacrilegious marriage, and Luther would have done the same long before, only he was restrained by the Elector of Saxony, who, though a heretic, shuddered at the

(4) Nat. Alex. t. 9, sec. 4, n. 9, ex Sleidano, l. 6; Van Ranst, q. 306; Hermant, t. 2, c. 244.

(5) Van Ranst, p. 306; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. n. 10.

marriage of a Religious, and protested he would oppose it by every means in his power. On the other hand, Luther was now quite taken with Catherine Bora, a lady of noble family, but poor, and who, forced by poverty, embraced a religious life, without any vocation for that state, in a Convent at Misnia, and finally became Abbess. Reading one of Luther's works, she came across his treatise on the nullity of religious vows, and requested him to visit her. He called on her frequently, and finally induced her to leave her Convent, and come to Wittemberg with him, where, devoid of all shame, he married her with great solemnity, the Elector Frederic, who constantly opposed it, being now dead; and such was the force of his example and discourses, that he soon after induced the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (6) to celebrate his sacrilegious nuptials, likewise. Those marriages provoked that witticism of Erasmus, who said that the heresies of his day all ended, like a comedy, in marriage.

17.—In the July of 1530, the famous Diet of Augsburg was held. The Emperor and all the Princes being assembled at the Diet, and the feast of Corpus Christi falling at the same time, an order was given to the Princes to attend the procession. The Protestants refused, on the plea that this was one of the Roman superstitions; the Elector of Saxony, nevertheless, whose duty it was to carry the sword of state before the Emperor (7), consulted his Theologians, who gave it as their opinion, that in this case he might consider it a mere human ceremony, and that, like Naam, the Syrian, who bowed down before the idol, when the King leaned on his arm in the temple, he might attend. In this Diet the Catholic party was represented by John Ecchius, Conrad Wimpin, and John Cochleus, and the Lutheran by Melancthon, Brenzius and Schnapsius. The Lutheran Princes presented to the Emperor the Profession of Faith drawn up by Philip Melancthon, who endeavoured as much as possible to soften down the opinions opposed to Catholicity. This is the famous Confession of Augsburg, afterwards the Creed of the majority of Lutherans. In those Articles they admitted: First—That we are not justified by Faith alone, but by Faith and Grace. Second—That in good

(6) Varillas, *t.* 1, *p.* 306; Hermant, *t.* 2, *c.* 243.

(7) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *sec.* 4, *n.* 11; Van Ranst, *p.* 307.

works not only Grace alone concurs, but our co-operation likewise. Third—That the Church contains not only the elect, but also the reprobate. Fourth—That free-will exists in man, though without Divine Grace he cannot be justified. Fifth—That the Saints pray to God for us, and that it is a pious practice to venerate their memories on certain days, abstracting, however, from either approving or condemning their invocation. In ten other chapters of less importance they agree with Catholics. They agreed, likewise, in saying that Jesus Christ is present in the Eucharist, in each species, and did not condemn the laity who communicated in one kind only. They allowed the jurisdiction of Bishops, and that obedience was due to them by Pastors, Preachers, and Priests, in Spiritual matters, and that censures published by them, according to the rule of Scripture, are of avail. The Emperor, hoping it would render easier the establishment of peace, joined to the commissions two jurists, for each side, along with Ecchius and Melancthon; but this Conference never was closed, because, as Sleidan tells us, Melancthon was not permitted by Luther to sign the treaty, although he was most anxious for the establishment of peace, as he declares in his letter to the Legate Campeggio: “We have no dogma,” he says, “different from the Roman Church; we are ready to yield her obedience, if, in her clemency, she will relax or wink at some little matters. We still profess obedience to the Roman Pontiff, if he does not cast us off” (8). Varillas (9) mentions a curious fact relative to this. When Francis I., King of France, invited Melancthon to Paris, to teach in the University (in which he did not succeed), he received from him a pamphlet, in which he laid it down as a principle, that it was necessary to preserve the pre-eminence and authority of the Roman Pontiff, to preserve the unity of doctrine. Nothing could exceed Luther’s rage when he heard of this, and he told Melancthon that he had a mind to break with him altogether, and that he was now about to ruin the Religion it cost him twenty years’ labour to establish, by destroying the authority of the Pope.

18.—The Zuinglians presented their confession of Faith at the same Diet, in the name of the four cities of Strasburg, Constance,

(8) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. n. 11; Her-
mant, c. 244.

(9) Varillas, t. 1, l. 10, p. 445, coll. 1.

Meningen, and Lindau, which differed from the Lutheran one only in the doctrine of the Eucharist. At the breaking up of the Diet, the Emperor promulgated an edict, in which the Lutheran Princes and cities were allowed, until the 15th of April following, to wait for a General Council, and again become united with the Catholic Church, and the rest of the Empire. It was forbidden them to allow any innovations in Religious matters, or any works contrary to Religion to be published in their respective territories, and that all should unite in opposition to the Anabaptists and Zuinglians. The Lutherans refused to accept these articles, and all hopes of peace being at an end, asked leave to depart. Before they left, however, the Emperor published an edict, subscribed by the remaining Princes and Orders of the Empire, that all should persevere in the ancient Religion, condemning the sects of the Anabaptists, Zuinglians, and Lutherans, and commanding all to hold themselves in readiness to attend at the Council, which he promised he would induce the Pope to summon in six months (10).

19.—The Protestants refused obedience to this Decree, and met in Smalcald, a city of Franconia, and there, in 1531, formed the famous League of Smalcald, to defend with force of arms the doctrines they professed; but they refused the admission of the Zuinglians into this League, on account of their errors regarding the Holy Sacrament. This was the cause of the famous battle of Mulberg, on the Elbe, in 1547, in which Charles V. was victorious, and John, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, the Landgrave, the two chiefs of the heretical party in Germany, were made prisoners (11). The whole power of Protestantism would have been broken by this defeat, had not Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of the imprisoned Elector, taken up arms against Charles (12). The Landgrave obtained his liberty, but was obliged to beg pardon of the Emperor prostrate at his feet, and surrender his States into his hands (13).

20.—This Philip is the same who obtained, in 1539, from Luther and other faithful Ministers of the Gospel, as they called

(10) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 4, *n.* 10, in fin.
ex Cochläo in Act. Lutheri &
Sleidano, *l.* 7; Van Ranst, *p.* 307.

(11) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 4, *n.* 13; Her-
mant, *t.* 2, *c.* 245.

(12) Van Ranst, *p.* 307; Nat. Alex.
t. 19, *c.* 10, *sec.* 4, *n.* 1.

(13) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*

themselves, that remarkable dispensation to marry two wives at the same time. Varillas says (14), that the Landgrave, though previous to his marriage he always led a moral life, could not, after the loss of his faith, content himself with one wife, and persuaded himself that Luther and the Theologians of his sect would grant him a dispensation to marry another. He well knew whom he had to deal with: he assembled them in Wittemberg, and though they well knew the difficult position in which they were placed, and the scandal they would give by yielding to his wishes, still his influence had greater weight with them than the laws of Christ or the dictates of their consciences. Varillas (*P.* 531) gives the rescript in full by which they dispense with him. They say they could not introduce into the New Testament the provisions of the Old Law, which permitted a plurality of wives, as Christ says they shall be *two* in one flesh, but they likewise say that there are certain cases in which the New Law can be dispensed with; that the case of the Prince was one of these; but that, in order to avoid scandal it would be necessary that the second marriage should be celebrated privately, in the presence of few witnesses; and this document is subscribed by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and five other Lutheran Doctors. The marriage was soon after privately celebrated in presence of Luther, Melancthon, and six other persons. The Landgrave died, according to De Thou, in 1567.

21.—The Council of Trent was opened on the 13th of December, 1545, under Paul III., was continued under Julius III., and being many times suspended for various causes, was formally concluded under Pius IV., in December, 1563. Luther frequently called on the Pope to summon a General Council, but now that it was assembled he would not attend it, knowing full well his doctrines would be there condemned. First, he appealed from the Legate to the Pope—then from the Pope not sufficiently informed to the Pope better informed—then from the Pope to a Council—and now from the Council to himself. Such has been the invariable practice of heresiarchs: to refute the decisions of the Pope they appeal to a Council; condemned by a Council, they reject the decisions of both. Thus Luther refused to attend the

(14) Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 7, *p.* 530, *c.* 2.

Council, and after his death his example was followed by the other Protestants, who refused even to avail themselves of the safe conduct given to them for that effect. While the Fathers were making preparations for the Fourth Session, news of Luther's death was brought to Trent; he went to Eisleben towards the end of January, at the invitation of some of his friends, to arrange some differences, when he was then told he was invited to the Council. He exclaimed in a rage: "I will go, and may I lose my head if I do not defend my opinions against all the world; that which comes forth from my mouth is not my anger but the anger of God" (15). A longer journey, however, was before him; he died in the sixty-third year of his age, on the 17th of February, 1546. After eating a hearty supper and enjoying himself, jesting as usual, he was a few hours after attacked with dreadful pains, and thus he died. Raging against the Council a little before his death, he said to Justus Jonas, one of his followers: "Pray for our Lord God and his Gospel, that it may turn out well, for the Council of Trent and the abominable Pope are grievously opposed to him." Saying this he died, and went to receive the reward of all his blasphemies against the Faith, and of the thousands of souls he led to perdition. His body was placed in a tin coffin, and borne on a triumphal car to Wittemberg, followed by his concubine, Catherine, and his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, in a coach, and a great multitude, both on foot and horseback. Philip Melancthon preached his funeral oration in Latin, and Pomeranius in German. Pomeranius also composed that inscription for his tomb, worthy alike of the master and the disciple: "Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa"—"I was the plague of the Pope while living, dying I will be his death" (16).

22.—The Lutherans were invited to the Council by various briefs of the Popes, but always refused to attend (17). They were afterwards summoned by the Emperor Ferdinand, on the re-opening of the Council; but they required conditions which could not be granted (18). They at first split into two sects,

(15) Cochleus in Actis Lutheri.

(16) Gotti, c. 105, s. 5, n. 7; Van Ranst, p. 308; Bernin. t. 4, sec. 16, c. 5. p.454; Varillas, t. 2, l.14, p.34.

(17) Varillas, t. 2, l. 24, p. 366.

(18) Varillas, l. 25, p. 393.

Rigorous and Relaxed Lutherans (19), and these two, as Lindan afterwards informs us, were divided into fifty-six sects (20).

23.—In another Diet, celebrated in Augsburg, in 1547, the Emperor Charles V. restored the Catholic religion in that city; but in the following year, as Noel Alexander (21) tells us, he tarnished his glory by publishing the famous *Interim*, thus usurping the authority to decide on questions of Faith and ecclesiastical discipline. We should, says Noel Alexander, hold this *Interim* in the same detestation as the *Enoticon* of Zeno, the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, and the *Tiphos* of Constans. In the year 1552 he again tarnished his honour, for after routing Maurice of Saxony, he made peace with him, and granted freedom of worship in his states to the professors of the Confession of Augsburg. In the year 1556 he gave up the government of the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and retired to the Jeromite Monastery of St. Justus, in Estremadura, in Spain, giving himself up to God alone, and preparing for death, which overtook him on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-eighth year of his age (22).

24.—Luther's heresy, through the instrumentality of his disciples, soon spread from Germany into the neighbouring kingdoms, and first of all it infected Sweden. This kingdom, at first idolatrous, received the Catholic Faith in 1155, which was finally established in 1416, and continued the Faith of the nation till the reign of Gustavus Erickson. Lutheranism was introduced into this country in 1523, by Olaus Petri, who imbibed it in the University of Wittemberg; along with many others, he gained over King Gustavus, who gave leave to the preachers to propound, and to all leave to follow, their doctrines, and also permitted the Religious to marry. It was his wish that the old ceremonies should be kept up, to deceive the people; but he caused all the ancient books to be burned, and introduced new ones, written by heretics; thus in four years Lutheranism was established in Sweden. Gustavus, at his death, left the crown to his son, Eric XIV.; but his reign was but short, for his younger brother, John, declared war against him, and dethroned him in

(19) Varill. t. 2, l. 17, p. 122, & l. 24, p. 364.

(20) Lindan Epist. Roræm in Luther.

(21) Nat. Alex. t. 19, c. 10, art. 5, p. 321.

(22) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. c. 10, art. 5.

1569. Before John came to the crown, he was a good Catholic, and desired to re-unite Sweden to the Church, especially as the Pope sent him an excellent missionary to strengthen him in the Faith. He commenced the good work by publishing a liturgy opposed to the Lutheran, and intending gradually to abolish the heresy. He then wrote to the Pope, saying, he hoped to gain Sweden altogether to the Faith, if his Holiness would grant four conditions: First—That the nobility should not be disturbed in the possession of the ecclesiastical property they held. Second—That the married Bishops and Priests should have liberty to retain their wives. Third—That Communion should be given in both kinds. Fourth—That the Church service should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. The Pope consulted the Cardinals, but refused his request, as he could not well grant him what he refused to so many other Princes. When this answer arrived, the King was already wavering in his determination to support the true Faith, fearful of causing a revolt with which he was threatened; this unfavourable answer decided him, and he gave up all hopes, and followed the religion of his States. His Queen, a zealous Catholic, a sister of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, was so much affected by the change in her husband's dispositions, that she survived but a short time. In twelve months after the King followed her, and left the throne to his son Sigismund, then King of Poland. Charles of Sudermania, who governed the kingdom in the Sovereign's absence, usurped the crown, and his crime was sanctioned by the States, who declared Sigismund's right to the throne null and void, on account of his religion. Charles, therefore, being settled on the throne, established Lutheranism in Sweden. He was succeeded by his son, Gustavus Adolphus, one of the greatest enemies Catholicity had either in Sweden or Germany; but his daughter Christina renounced the throne, sooner than give up the faith she embraced, and lived and died in the Catholic Church. She left the kingdom to Charles Gustavus, her cousin, who reigned for six years, and transmitted it to his son, Charles V., and to the present day no other religion but Lutheranism is publicly professed in Sweden (23).

25.—Denmark and Norway underwent a similar misfortune with Sweden. Idolatry was predominant in Denmark till the year 826, when the Catholic religion was established by Regnor I., and continued to be the only religion of the kingdom, till in 1523 Lutheranism was introduced by Christian II. The judgment of God, however, soon fell on him, as he was dethroned by his subjects, and banished, with all his family. His uncle, Frederick, was chosen to succeed him. He gave liberty to the Protestants to preach their doctrine, and to his subjects to follow it. Not, however, content with this, he soon began a cruel persecution against the Bishops, and against every Catholic who defended his religion, and many sealed their religion with their blood. This impious Monarch met an awfully sudden death while he was banqueting on Good Friday, and was succeeded by Christian III., who completed the final separation of Denmark from the Catholic Church. Thus in a short time Lutheranism became dominant in these kingdoms, and continues to hold its sway there. There are many Calvinistic congregations in Denmark, as Christian permitted the Scotch Presbyterians to found churches there. There are also some Catholics, but they *were* obliged to assemble privately for the Holy Sacrifice, and even now, though the spirit of the age is opposed to persecution, they labour under many restraints and disabilities. Norway, till lately, and Iceland at the present day, belongs to Denmark, and Lutheranism is likewise the religion of these countries, though the people, especially in the country parts, preserve many Catholic traditions, but they were till lately destitute of Priests and sacrifice.* In Lapland, some Pagans remain as yet, who adore the spirits of the woods, and fire, and water; they have no Catholic Missioner to instruct them. There are, indeed, but few Catholics altogether in the Northern kingdoms. Formerly, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carthusians, Cistercians, and Brigittines, had Convents there, but now all have disappeared (24).

(24) Joves, cit. p. 343.

* N.B.—Bishops have been appointed lately to Sweden and Norway.

§ III.

ERRORS OF LUTHER.

26.—Forty-one Errors of Luther condemned by Leo X. 27.—Other Errors taken from his Books. 28.—Luther's Remorse of Conscience. 29.—His Abuse of Henry VIII. ; his erroneous translation of the New Testament ; the Books he rejected. 30.—His method of celebrating Mass. 31.—His Book against the Sacramentarians, who denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

26.—First in order, come the forty-one propositions of Luther, condemned by Leo X. in his Bull *Exurge Domine*, published in 1520, which is found in the Bullarium of Leo X. (Constit. 40), in Cochleus's account of Luther's proceedings, and also in Bernini's (1) works. They are as follows: First—It is a usual, but a heretical opinion, that the Sacraments of the New Law give justifying grace to those who place no hindrance in the way. Second—To deny that sin remains in a child after baptism, is, through the mouth of Paul, to trample both on Christ and Paul. Third—The tendency to sin (*Fomes peccati*), although there is no actual sin, delays the soul, after leaving the body, from entering into heaven. Fourth—The imperfect charity of one about to die necessarily induces a great fear, which of itself is enough to make the pains of Purgatory, and excludes from the kingdom. Fifth—That the parts of Penance are three—Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction ; is founded neither in Scripture, nor in the ancient Holy Christian Doctors. Sixth—Contrition, which is obtained by examination, recollection, and detestation of sins, by which a person recollects his years in the bitterness of his soul, pondering on the grievousness, the multitude, and the foulness of his sins, the loss of eternal beatitude, and the incurring eternal damnation—this contrition only makes a man a hypocrite, and a greater sinner. Seventh—That proverb is most true, and better than all the doctrine about conditions given as yet: the highest Penance is not to act so again, and the best

(1) Bernin. *t.* 4, *sec.* 16, *c.* 2, *p.* 285.

Penance is a new life. Eighth—Presume not by any means to confess venial sins, and not even every wicked sin; for it is impossible that you should know all your mortal sins, and hence, in the primitive Church only these manifestly mortal were confessed. Ninth—When we wish clearly to confess everything, we act as if we wished to leave nothing to the mercy of God to pardon. Tenth—Sins are not remitted to any one, unless (the Priest remitting them) he believes they are remitted—yea, the sin remains, unless he believes it remitted; for the remission of sin and the donation of grace is not enough, but we must also believe it is remitted. Eleventh—You should on no account trust you are absolved on account of your contrition, but because of the words of Christ: “Whatsoever thou shalt loose.” Hence, I say, trust, if you obtain the Priest’s absolution, and believe strongly you are absolved, and you will be truly absolved, no matter about contrition. Twelfth—If by impossibility you should confess without contrition, or the Priest should absolve you only in joke, and you, nevertheless, believe you are absolved, you are most certainly absolved. Thirteenth—In the Sacraments of Penance and the Remission of Sins, the Pope or Bishop does no more than the lowest Priest—nay, if a Priest cannot be had, any Christian, even a woman or child, has the same power. Fourteenth—No one ought to answer a Priest that he is contrite, nor ought a Priest to ask such a question. Fifteenth—They are in great error who approach the Sacrament of the Eucharist with trust, because they have confessed, are not conscious to themselves of any mortal sins, have said the prayers and preparations for Communion—all these eat and drink unto themselves judgment; but if they believe and trust, they will then obtain grace: this faith alone makes them pure and worthy. Sixteenth—It seems advisable that the Church, in a General Council, should declare that the laity should communicate under both kinds, and the Bohemians who do so are not heretics, but schismatics. Seventeenth—The treasures of the Church, from which the Pope grants Indulgences, are not the merits of Christ or his Saints. Eighteenth—Indulgences are pious frauds of the faithful, and remission of good works, and are of the number of those things that are lawful, but not expedient. Nineteenth—Indulgences are of no value to those who truly obtain them for

the remission of the punishment due to the Divine justice for their actual sins. Twentieth—They are seduced who believe Indulgences are salutary and useful for the fruit of the spirit. Twenty-first—Indulgences are necessary only for public crimes, and should be granted only to the hardened and impatient. Twenty-second—For six classes of persons Indulgences are neither useful nor necessary—to wit, the dead, those on the point of death, the sick, those who are lawfully impeded, those who have not committed crimes, those who have committed crimes, but not public ones, and those who mend their lives. Twenty-third—Excommunications are merely external penalties, and do not deprive a man of the common spiritual prayers of the Church. Twenty-fourth—Christians should be taught rather to love excommunication than to fear it. Twenty-fifth—The Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, is not the Vicar of Christ instituted by Christ himself in St. Peter, Vicar over all the Churches of the world. Twenty-sixth—The word of Christ to St. Peter, “Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth,” &c., extended but to what St. Peter himself alone had bound. Twenty-seventh—It is not certainly in the power of the Pope or the Church by any means to lay down articles of faith nor laws of morals, nor good works. Twenty-eighth—If the Pope, with a great part of the Church, should think so and so, although not in error, it is, nevertheless, neither sin nor heresy to think the contrary, especially in a matter not necessary to salvation, until by a General Council one thing is rejected and the other approved. Twenty-ninth—We have a way open to us for weakening the authority of Councils, and freely contradicting their acts, and judging their decrees, by freely confessing whatever appears true, no matter whether approved or condemned by any Council. Thirtieth—Some of the articles of John Huss, condemned in the Council of Constance, are most Christian, most true, and most Evangelical, such as not even the universal Church could condemn. Thirty-first—The just man sins in every good work. Thirty-second—A good work, be it never so well performed, is a venial sin. Thirty-third—It is against the will of the spirit to burn heretics. Thirty-fourth—To fight against the Turks is to oppose the will of God, who punishes our iniquities through them. Thirty-fifth—No man can be certain

that he is not in a constant state of mortal sin on account of the most hidden vice of pride. Thirty-sixth—Free will after sin is a matter of name alone, and while one does what is in him, he sins mortally. Thirty-seventh—Purgatory cannot be proved from the Holy Scriptures contained in the Canon of Scripture. Thirty-eighth—The souls in Purgatory are not sure of their salvation—at least all of them; nor is it proved by reason or Scripture that they are beyond the state of merit or of increasing charity. Thirty-ninth—The souls in Purgatory continually sin, as long as they seek relief and dread their punishment. Fortieth—Souls freed from Purgatory by the suffrages of the living, enjoy a less share of beatitude than if they satisfied the Divine justice themselves. Forty-first—Ecclesiastical Prelates and secular Princes would do no wrong if they abolished the mendicant Orders.

27.—Besides the errors here enumerated and condemned by the Bull, there are many others mentioned and enumerated by Noel Alexander, and Cardinal Gotti (2), extracted from various works of Luther, as from the treatise “De Indulgentiis,” “De Reformatione,” “Respon. ad lib. Catharini,” “De Captivitate Babilonica,” “Contra Latomum,” “De Missa privata,” “Contra Episc. Ordinem,” “Contra Henricum VIII. Regem,” “Novi Testamenti Translatio,” “De Formula Missæ et Communions,” “Ad Waldenses, &c.,” “Contra Carlostadium,” “De Servo arbitro,” “Contra Anabaptistas,” and other works, printed in Wittemberg, in several volumes. Here are some of his most remarkable errors: First—A Priest, though he does it in mockery or in jest, still both validly baptizes and absolves. Second—It is a foul error for any one to imagine he can make satisfaction for his sins, which God gratuitously pardons. Three—Baptism does not take away all sin. Fourth—Led astray by wicked Doctors, we think we are free from sin, by Baptism and contrition; also that good works are available for increasing merit, and satisfying for sin. Fifth—Those who have made it a precept, obliging under mortal sin to communicate at Easter, have sinned grievously themselves. Sixth—It is not God, but the Pope, who commands auricular confession to a Priest. Whoever wishes to receive the Holy

(2) Nat. Alex. t. 19, art. 11, sec. 2; Gotti, c. 108, sec. 4; Tournelly, Comp. Thol. t. 5, p. 1, diss. 5, art. 2.

Sacrament, should receive it entire (that is under both kinds), or abstain from it altogether. Seventh—The right of interpreting Scriptures is equal in the laity as in the learned. Eighth—The Roman Church in the time of St. Gregory was not above other Churches. Ninth—God commands impossibilities to man. Tenth—God requires supreme perfection from every Christian. Eleventh—There are no such things as Evangelical Counsels; they are all Precepts. Twelfth—We should give greater faith to a layman, having the authority of Scripture, than to a Pope, a Council, or even to the Church. Thirteenth—Peter was not the Prince of the Apostles. Fourteenth—The Pope is the Vicar of Christ by human right alone. Fifteenth—A sin is venial, not by its own nature, but by the mercy of God. Sixteenth—I believe a Council and the Church never errs in matters of Faith, but as to the rest, it is not necessary they should be infallible. Seventeenth—The primacy of the Roman Pontiff is not of Divine right. Eighteenth—There are not Seven Sacraments, and for the present there should only be established Baptism, Penance, and the Bread. Nineteenth—We can believe, without heresy, that real bread is present on the altar. Twentieth—The Gospel does not permit the Mass to be a sacrifice. Twenty-first—The Mass is nothing else but the words of Christ: “Take and eat, &c.,” the promise of Christ. Twenty-second—It is a dangerous error to call Penance, and believe it to be, the plank after shipwreck. Twenty-third—It is impious to assert that the Sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, unless we should say that when there is undoubted faith, they confer grace. Twenty-four—All vows, both of Religious Orders and of good works, should be abolished. Twenty-fifth—It is sufficient for a brother to confess to a brother, for to all Christians that were, has been addressed: “Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth.” Twenty-sixth—Bishops have not the right of reserving cases. Twenty-seventh—A change of life is true satisfaction. Twenty-eighth—There is no reason why Confirmation should be reckoned among the Sacraments. Twenty-ninth—Matrimony is not a Sacrament. Thirtieth—Impediments of Spiritual affinity, of crime, and of order, are but human comments. Thirty-first—The Sacrament of Orders was invented by the Pope’s Church. Thirty-second—The Council of Constance erred, and many things were rashly

determined on, such as, that the Divine essence neither generates nor is generated, that the soul is the substantial form of the human body. Thirty-third—All Christians are Priests, and have the same power in the words and Sacraments. Thirty-fourth—Extreme Unction is not a Sacrament; there are only two Sacraments, Baptism and the Bread. Thirty-fifth—The Sacrament of Penance is nothing also, but a way and return to Baptism. Thirty-sixth—Antecedent grace is that movement which is made in us without us, not without our active and vital concurrence (as a stone which is merely passive to physical acts), but without our free and indifferent action. It was thus Luther explained efficacious grace, and on this he founded his system, that the will of a man, both for good and evil, is operated upon by necessity; saying, that by grace a necessity is induced into the will, not by coercion, for the will acts spontaneously, but by necessity; and in another place, he says, that by sin the will has lost its liberty, not that liberty which Theologians call a *coactione*, but, a *necessitate*, it has lost its indifference.

28.—In his book on the Sacrifice of the Mass, we may perceive how remorse torments him. “How often,” he says, “has my heart beat, reprehending me—Are you always wise? Do all others err? Have so many centuries passed in ignorance? How will it be if you are in error, and you lead so many along with you to damnation? But at length Christ (the devil he should have said) confirmed me.”

29.—In the year 1522, Henry VIII. wrote a book in defence of the Seven Sacraments. Luther, answering him, calls him a fool, says he will trample on the crowned blasphemer, and that his own doctrines are from heaven. In the same year, he published his German translation of the New Testament, in which learned Catholics discover a thousand errors; he rejects altogether the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apocalypse; he made many changes after the first edition, no less than thirty-three, in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone. In the words of St. Paul, *chap. iii, v. 3*, “For we account a man to be justified by Faith without the works of the law,” he adds the word *alone*, “by Faith alone.” In the Diet of Augsburg, some one said to him, that the Catholics spoke very loudly of this interpretation, when he made that

arrogant answer: "If your Papist prattles any more about this word *alone*, tell him that Doctor Martin Luther wishes it to be so; sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas—I wish so, I order so, let my will be sufficient reason for it."

30.—In the year 1523, he composed his book, "De Formula Missæ et Communionis;" he abolished the Introits of the Sundays, all the Festivals of Saints, with the exception of the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; he retained the Kyrie, the Gloria, and *one* Collect, the Epistle, the Gospel, and the Nicene Creed, but all in the vulgar tongue; he then passed on to the Preface, omitting all the rest; he then says: "Who, the day before he suffered," &c., as in the Catholic Sacrifice of the Mass, but the words of the Consecration are chaunted as loud as the Pater Noster, that they may be heard by the people. After the Consecration, the Sanctus is sung, and the Benedictus qui venit, said; the bread and the chalice is elevated, immediately after the Pater Noster is said, without any other prayer; then the Pax Domini, &c. The communion follows, and while that is going on, the Agnus Dei is sung; he approves of the Orationes Domine Jesu, &c., and Corpus D. N. J. C., custodiat, &c. He allows the Communion to be sung, but in place of the last Collect, chaunts the prayer, Quod ore sumpsimus, &c., and instead of the Ite Missa est, says Benedicamus Domine. He gives the chalice to all, permits the use of vestments, but without any blessing, and prohibits private Masses. To prepare for Communion, he says, Confession may be permitted as useful, but it is not necessary. He allows Matins to be said, with three lessons, the Hours, Vespers, and Complin.

31.—In the year 1525, Carlostad attacked the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, saying that the word *this* did not refer to the bread, but to the body of Christ crucified. Luther opposed him in his book, "Contra Prophetas seu Fanaticos;" in this he first speaks of Images, and says that in the law of Moses it was Images of the Deity alone which were prohibited; he before admitted the Images of the Saints and the Cross. Speaking of the Sacrament he says, by the word *hoc, this*, the bread is pointed out, and that Christ is truly and carnally in the supper. The bread and the body are united in the bread, and (speaking of the Incarnation) as man is God, so the

bread is called his body and the body bread. Thus Luther falsely constitutes a second hypostatic union between the bread and the body of Christ. Hospinian quotes a sermon Luther preached against the Sacramentarians, where, speaking of the peace they wished to have established, if the Lutherans would grant them the liberty to deny the Real Presence, he says: "Cursed be such concord, which tears asunder and despises the Church." He then derides their false interpretation of the words, "This is my body." He commences with Zuinglius, who says the word *is* is the same as *signifies*. "We have the Scripture," says Luther, "which says, This *is* my body; but is there any place in the Scriptures where it is written, This *signifies* my body." He then ridicules the interpretation of the others. "Carlostad," he says, "distorts the word *this*; Ecolampadius tortures the word *body*; others transpose the word *this*, and say, my body which shall be delivered for you is *this*; others say, *that* which is given for you, *this* is my body; others maintain the text, this is my body, for my commemoration; and others again say, this is not an article of Faith." Returning, then, on Ecolampadius, who said it was blasphemous to assert that God was kneaded, baked, and made of bread, he retorts: "It would also, I suppose, be blasphemous to say God was made man—that it was most insulting to the Divine Majesty to be crucified by wicked men—and concludes, by "saying: "The Sacramentarians prepare the way for denial of all the articles of Faith, and they already begin to believe nothing." Speaking of Transubstantiation, he says: "It makes but little difference for any one to believe the bread to remain or not to remain in the Eucharist, if he believes in Transubstantiation." In an agreement made with Bucer, at Wittemberg, in 1526, he granted that the body and blood of Christ remained in the Sacrament only while it was received.

IV.

THE DISCIPLES OF LUTHER.

32.—Melancthon and his Character. 33.—His Faith, and the Augsburg Confession composed by him. 34.—Matthias Flaccus, Author of the Centuries, 35.—John Agricola, Chief of the Antinomians; Atheists. 36.—Andrew Osiander, Francis Stancar, and Andrew Musculus. 37.—John Brenzius, Chief of the Ubiquists. 38.—Gaspar Sneckenfield abhorred even by Luther for his impiety. 39.—Martin Chemnitz, the Prince of Protestant Theologians, and opponent of the Council of Trent.

32.—Philip Melancthon, Luther's chief and best beloved disciple, was a German, born in Brettan, in the Palatinate, of a very poor family, in the year 1497. He was a man of profound learning, and, at the age of twenty-four, was appointed one of the professors of Wittemberg by the Duke of Saxony. There he became imbued with Lutheran opinions, but as he was a man of the greatest mildness of manner, and so opposed to strife that he never spoke a harsh word against any one, he was anxious to bring about a union between all the Religions of Germany; and on that account in many points smoothed down the harsh doctrines of Luther, and frequently, in writing to his friends, as Bossuet, in his History of the Variations, tells us, he complained that Luther was going too far. He was a man of great genius, but undecided in his opinions, and so fond of indifference that his disciples formed themselves into a sect called Indifferentists, or Adiaphorists. The famous Confession of Augsburg was drawn up by him at the Diet, and his followers were on that account sometimes called Confessionists (1).

33.—He divided his Confession into twenty-one articles, and stated his opinions with such moderation, that Luther afterwards complained that Philip, in endeavouring to smoothen down his doctrine, destroyed it (2). He admitted the liberty of human will, rejected the opinion of Luther, that God is the author of

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *a.* 11; *s.* 3, *n.* 4;
Gotti, *Ver. Rel.* *s.* 109, *sec.* 3; Van
Ranst. *p.* 308; Hermant, *c.* 241.

(2) Hermant, *loc. cit.*

sin, and approved of the Mass. All these points were opposed to Luther's system. He was at length so tired with the way matters went on among the Reformers, that he intended to leave them altogether, and retire into Poland, there to wait the decision of the Council, whatever it should be (3). His opinions were very unsteady regarding matters of Faith: thus, he says, man can be justified by Faith alone; and his rival, Osiander, says he changed his mind fourteen times on this one subject. He was selected to arrange a treaty of peace with the Sacramentarians, but notwithstanding all his endeavours he never could succeed (4). Gotti, quoting Cochleus (5), says, that with all his anxiety to smoothen down any harsh points in the system, he only threw oil and not water on the flames. He died in Wittenberg in 1556, according to Van Ranst, or in 1560, according to Gotti, at the age of sixty-one. Many authors relate that, being at the point of death, his mother said to him: "My son, I was a Catholic; you have caused me to forsake that Faith; you are now about to appear before God, and tell me truly, I charge you, which is the better Faith, the Catholic or the Lutheran?" He answered: "The Lutheran is an easier religion, but the Catholic is more secure for salvation" (6). Berti relates (7) that he himself composed his own epitaph, as follows:—

"Iste brevis tumulus miseri tenit ossa Philippi,
Qui qualis fuerit nescio, talis erat."

These are not the words of Faith, and would imply that he much doubted of his eternal salvation.

34.—Matthias Flaccus Illiricus, born in Albona, in Istria, had the misfortune to study in Wittenberg, under Luther, and became afterwards the Chief of the Rigid Lutherans. He was the principal of the compilers of the Centuries of Magdeburg, an Ecclesiastical History, published in 1560, and to refute which Cardinal Baronius published his celebrated Annals. Flaccus died in Frankfort, in 1575, at the age of fifty-five. He disagreed in many things with Luther. Striger (8) sustained an

(3) Varillas Hist. 20, 2, l. 24, p. 363.

(4) Varillas. s. 1, l. 8, p. 364.

(5) Gotti, loc. cit. n. 2.

(6) Floremund, l. 2, c. 9; Van Ranst, & Gotti, loc. cit.; & Nat. Alex. loc. cit. n. 10.

(7) Berti, His. sec. 16, c. 3.

(8) Ap. Spondam. ad. an. 1560, n. 32.

erroneous opinion, bordering on Pelagianism, that Original Sin was but a slight accident, which did not substantially corrupt the whole human race; and Flaccus, on the contrary, renewing the blasphemous errors of the Manicheans, said that Original Sin was the substance itself of man, which deprived him of free will, and of every good movement, and drove him necessarily on to evil, from which Faith in Jesus Christ alone could save him. On that account, he denied the necessity of good works for salvation, and his followers were called Substantialists (9).

35.—John Agricola was a townsman of Luther, and was for a time his disciple, but became afterwards the founder of a sect, called Antinomians, or Law Opposers, for he rejected all authority of law, and taught that you may become a sensualist, a thief, a robber, but if you believe you will be saved (10). Varillas says that Luther brought the errors of Agricola before the University of Wittemberg, as subversive of all the value of good works, and, on their condemnation, he retracted them; but after Luther's death he went to Berlin, and again commenced teaching his blasphemies, where he died without any sign of repentance, at the age of seventy-four (11). Florinundus calls the Antinomians Atheists, who believe in neither God nor the devil.

36.—Andrew Osiander was the son of a smith in the Mark of Branderburg. He taught that Christ was the justifier of mankind, not according to the human, but according to the Divine Nature (12); and opposed to him was Francis Stancaró, of Mantua, who taught that Christ saved man by the human nature, not by the Divine Nature (13). Thus Osiander taught the errors of Eutyches, and Stancaró those of Nestorius (14). In answer to the first, we have to remark that, although it is God that justifies, still he wishes to avail himself of the humanity of Christ (which was alone capable of suffering, and making atonement), as of an instrument for the salvation of mankind.

(9) Gotti, *c.* 109, *sec.* 7, *n.* 1, 2; Van Ranst, *p.* 310; Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 17, *p.* 122, & *t.* 2, *l.* 24, *p.* 363; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *a.* 11, *sec.* 3, *n.* 10.

(10) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *a.* 11, *sec.* 3, *n.* 7; Gotti, *c.* 109, *sec.* 5, *n.* 7; Van Ranst, *p.* 310.

(11) Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 11, *p.* 512.

(12) Remund. in Synopsi, *l.* 2, *c.* 16.

(13) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *sec.* 6, *n.* 1 ad 6; N. Alex, *loc. cit.* *n.* 8; Van Ranst, *cit.* *p.* 310.

(14) Gotti, *sec.* 7, *n.* 8; Van Ranst, *loc. cit.*; Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.* *n.* 11.

The Passion of Christ, says St. Thomas (15), is the cause of our justification, not, indeed, as a principal agent, but as an instrument, inasmuch as the humanity is the instrument of his Divinity, and hence the Council of Trent has declared (*Sess. 6, Cap. 7*) the efficient cause of this justification is God—the meritorious cause is Jesus Christ, who, on the wood of the Cross, merited for us justification (16), and satisfied for us to God the Father. In answer to Stancaró, who teaches that Christ saved mankind, as man alone, but not as God, we have but to consider what is already said, because if Christ, according to the flesh, deserved for man the grace of salvation, nevertheless it was the Divinity, and not the humanity, which granted this grace to man. Andrew Musculus of Lorraine opposed both Osiander and Stancaró, but with just as great a heresy, for he taught that the Divine Nature of Christ, as well as the human nature, died on the Cross. This was nothing else but the blasphemy of Eutyches, that the Divinity suffered for the salvation of mankind (17). Remond (18) tells us, that at that period new churches were every day forming in every corner of Germany, and changing as quickly as the moon, and that two hundred sects existed at one time among the Reformers. No wonder that Duke George of Saxony said that the people of Wittemberg could not tell to-day what their faith would be to-morrow.

37.—John Brenzius, a Suabian, and Canon of Wittemberg, was already a priest, when he became the disciple of Luther, and imitated his master in taking a wife. He taught that the concupiscence which remains in the soul after Baptism is a sin, contrary to the Council of Trent, which declares that the Catholic Church never understood that concupiscence should be called a sin, but that it is from sin, and inclines to sin. He also said that the body of Christ, by the personal union with the Word, is everywhere, and, consequently, that Jesus Christ is in the Host before consecration; and, explaining the words, “This is my body,” he says, that denotes that the body of Christ is already present. Hence the sect who acknowledged him as their

(15) St. Thomas, *p. 3, q. 64, ar. 1.*

(16) Gotti, *sec. 7, n. 8*; Van Ranst, *p. 310.*

(17) Gotti, *loc. cit. sec. 6.*

(18) Remond. in Synopsi, *l. 2, c. 14, n. 2.*

chief was called Ubiquists (19), and even Luther was one of his adherents (20).

38.—Gaspar Schwenkfeldt, a noble Silesian, and a man of learning, while Luther was attacking the Church, took up arms also against her, and attacked the Lutherans as well. We should not mind the Scriptures, he says, as they are not the word of God, only a dead letter, and, therefore, should only obey the private inspirations of the Holy Ghost; he condemns sermons and spiritual lectures, for, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, we are told that we have but one Master, and he is in heaven. He taught, at the same time, the errors of the Manicheans, of Sabelius, of Photius, and also of Zuinglius, denying the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Osius says the devil's gospel commenced with Luther, but was brought to perfection by this monster of hell, who had more followers in many parts of Germany and Switzerland than the arch-heretic himself (21). Gotti informs us, that he sent a messenger to Luther, with his writings, begging of him to correct them; but he, seeing them filled with abominable heresies, returned him the following answer: "May your spirit, and all those who participate with Sacramentarians and Eutychians, fall into perdition." After Luther's death, this sect increased somewhat; but in a Synod, held at Naumburg, in 1554, by Bucer, Melancthon, and some others, all the author's works were condemned (22).

39.—Martin Chemnitz was a poor woolcomber's son, in the Mark of Branderburg. He was born in 1522, and followed his father's business until the age of fourteen, when he commenced his studies in Wittemberg. His Theological Professor was Melancthon, who was so well satisfied with the progress he made, that he called him the Prince of Protestant Theologians. He taught Theology in Brunswick, for thirty years, and died in 1586, the sixty-fourth year of his age. Chemnitz laboured strenuously, along with Bucer, to bring about an agreement between the Lutherans and Sacramentarians, but without effect. He published many works, but his principal one is the "Examen

(19) Nat. Alex. *t.* 1, *sec.* 3, *n.* 8, 9; Gotti, *sec.* 6, *n.* 8 ad 10; Van Ranst, *p.* 293.

(20) Bossuet, *Istor.* *l.* 2, *n.* 41.

(21) Gotti, *c.* 109, *sec.* 5; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *sec.* 3, *n.* 6; Van Ranst, *p.* 311.

(22) Gotti, *loc. cit.*

Con. Tridentini," in which he endeavours to upset the decisions of the Council. He does not admit, as Canonical, any books of Scripture, only those approved of by all the Churches, not those approved of by Councils alone; he praises the Greek and Hebrew text, and rejects the Vulgate wherever it disagrees with them; he rejects tradition, but believes in free will, and thinks that, with the assistance of grace, it can accomplish something good. He says that man is justified by Faith alone, through medium of which the merits of Christ are applied to him, and that good works are necessary to salvation, but still have no merit. Baptism and the Eucharist, he says, are properly the only Sacraments—the rest are but pious rites; and in the Eucharist he rejects both the Transubstantiation of the Catholics, and the Impanation of the Lutherans, but does not decide whether the body of Christ is really present in the bread and wine; he merely says it is not a carnal presence, that Christ is there alone in the actual use of the Communion, and that it must always be taken under both kinds. He admits that the Mass may be called a sacrifice, but not a true sacrifice, only under the general denomination of a good work. It is not necessary, he says, speaking of the sacrament of Penance, to confess all our sins, but he allows the absolution of the Minister, though not as coming from the Minister himself, but from Christ, through his promise. Purgatory, according to him, cannot be proved from Scripture. We should honour the Saints, their images, and relics, but not have recourse to their intercession, and we should observe the Sundays, but no other festival (23).

(23) Apud, Gotti, c. 109, sec. 7, n. 1 ad 7.

§ V.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

40.—The Anabaptists; they refuse Baptism to Children. 41.—Their Leaders—Seditions and Defeat. 42.—Are again defeated under their Chief, Munzer, who is converted at his death. 43.—They rebel again under John of Leyden, who causes himself to be crowned King, is condemned to a cruel death, and dies penitent. 44.—Errors of the Anabaptists. 45.—They are split into various sects.

40.—The Anabaptists were likewise the spawn of Lutheranism. The chief doctrine of those heretics was, that children should not be baptized in infancy, as, not having come to the use of reason, they were incapable of real belief and salvation, according to the words of the Gospel: “He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be condemned” (Mark, xvi, 16); hence they were called Anabaptists, as they taught that those who were baptized in infancy should be re-baptized. Now this error sprung from Luther himself, who asserted it was better to leave infants without Baptism, than to baptize them when they had no Faith of their own (1). These unfortunate persons, however, should remember, that in the text of the Gospel quoted it is adults are meant, who are capable of actual Faith, for infants, who are incapable of it, receive the grace of the Sacrament through the Faith of the Church in which they are baptized, and as, without any actual fault of theirs, they contract original sin, it is but just that they should receive the grace of Jesus Christ without actual Faith, for, as St. Augustin writes (2), as they are sick with the weight of another sin, they are healed by another’s confession, and are saved. Our Lord says, in St. Matthew, xix, 14: “Suffer little children to come to me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.” As, therefore, little children can acquire the kingdom of heaven, so can they receive Baptism, without which no one can enter into heaven. The Church has received it as a tradition from the

(1) Gotti, Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 110, sec. 1, n. 1.

(2) August. Serm. 176, alias 10, de Verb. Apost.

Apostles—so says Origen (3)—to give Baptism to infants, and St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustin, all bear witness to the same practice. Hence, the Council of Trent, anathematizing those who asserted that persons baptized before they came to the use of reason should be re-baptized, uses the following words: “If any one should say that children having received Baptism should not be numbered among the faithful, because they have not actual faith, and, therefore, when they come to the years of discretion, that they should be re-baptized, or that it is better to omit Baptism, than to baptize in the faith of the Church alone those who have not actual faith, let him be anathema.” This Canon condemns most clearly both the Anabaptist and Lutheran heresies.

41.—The chief of the Anabaptists was Nicholas Stork, or Storchius, sometimes also called Pelargus. He was at first a disciple of Luther, but soon the head of a new heresy, which he preached in 1522, saying it was revealed to him from heaven. Being banished from Wittemberg, he went to Thuringia, where, together with his first error, he preached many others, such as that all men enjoy universal freedom from restraint, that all property is common, and should be equally divided, and that all Bishops, Magistrates, and Princes, who opposed his true Church should be put to death (4). Here he was joined by Thomas Munzer, a Priest, a follower of Luther, also, who pretended to lead a most mortified life, and boasted of having frequent ecstasies and extraordinary communications from the Deity. He abused the Pope for teaching too severe a doctrine, and Luther for promulgating too lax a one. He everywhere censured Luther’s morals and conduct, accused him of debauchery and lasciviousness, and said it was impossible to believe God would make use of so wicked a man to reform his Church. Through Luther’s influence, he and all his followers were banished from Saxony (5). He then went to Thuringia, and preached the same errors as Storchius, especially in Munster, teaching the country people that they should

(3) Orig. *t.* 2, *p.* 35, St. Iren. *p.* 147, *n.* 4; Tertul. *p.* 231; St. Greg. Naz. *t.* 1, *p.* 658; St. Amb. *t.* 1, *v.* 349; St. Cypr. Epist. ad Fidum, *n.* 59; St. Aug. Sermon. 10, de Verb. Apost. alias 177.

(4) Nat. Alex. *t.* 18, *art.* 11, *sec.* 12; Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 2.

(5) Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 6, *p.* 266.

not obey either Prelates or Princes. In a short time he rallied round him the great body of the Anabaptists, and led forth three hundred thousand ignorant peasants (6), causing them to forsake their spades for the sword, and promising them the assistance of God in their battles. These poor deluded creatures at first did a great deal of harm, but when regular troops were brought against them, they were soon, notwithstanding their immense numbers, completely routed, not being trained to the use of arms. Those who escaped the slaughter marched towards Lorraine, with the intention of devastating that province; but the Count Claude of Guise, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, slaughtered twenty thousand of them in three victories which he gained (7). Sleidan (8) says that these poor peasants, when they were attacked by the troops, appeared quite demented, and neither defended themselves nor fled, but began to sing a popular hymn, imploring the assistance of the Holy Ghost, whose protection, according to Munzer's promises, they expected.

44.—In the meantime, while Munzer, with his Anabaptist followers, were ravaging Thuringia, they were encountered by an army commanded by Duke George of Saxony, who promised them peace if they laid down their arms; but Munzer, thinking himself lost if the conditions were accepted, encouraged them to refuse all accommodation, and to kill the officer who bore a flag of truce to them. This treachery infuriated the soldiers, who immediately attacked them; they made a stout resistance at first, encouraged by Munzer, who told them he would catch the balls of the enemy in his sleeve, and such was the effect this promise had on them, that many of them stood firm before the cannon of the enemy. This did not, however, last long; the greater part fled, and the rest were taken prisoners. Munzer fled with the rest, and, without being recognized, hid himself in Franchausen, pretending to be sick; he was there discovered, taken and condemned, along with Pfeiffer, an apostate Premonstratensian Canon, to have his head cut off in Mulhausen. This war lasted five months, and it is said cost the lives of a hundred and thirty-five thousand peasants (9). Pfeiffer died an obstinate

(6) Varillas, *p.* 270; Hermant Hist. *t.* 2, *c.* 239.

(7) Hermant, *loc. cit.*; Varill. *p.* 267.

(8) Ap. Gotti *ibid.*, *n.* 7, ex Sleidan, *l.* 5.

(9) Nat. Alex. *t.* 29, *cit. sec.* 12, Gotti, *cit. cap.* 110, *sec.* 1, *n.* 7.

heretic. Munzer's death is related in different ways—some say he died with the greatest boldness, and challenged the Judges and Princes, telling them to read the Bible, the word of God; and these were his last words. But the more general opinion is, and Noel Alexander says it can be relied on as fact, that previous to his death he retracted his errors, confessed to a Priest, received the Viaticum, and after offering up some devout prayers, bared his neck to the executioner's sword (10).

45.—Munzer's death, and the slaughter of so many of the peasantry, did not put an end to this sect. In the year 1534, nearly nine years after his death, a number of people in Westphalia rebelled against their Princes, and seized the city of Munster, when they elected, as their chief, John of Leyden, the son of a Dutch tailor. His first act was to banish the Bishop and all the Catholics of the city, and then pretending to have a revelation from heaven, he caused his followers to crown him King, saying he was elected to that dignity by God himself, and he called himself *Rex Justitiæ hujus Mundi*; he preached polygamy, and put it in practice by marrying sixteen wives, at the same time; he rejected the Eucharist, but, sitting at a table, distributed bits of bread to his followers, saying: "Take, and eat, and ye shall announce the death of the Lord;" and at the same time the Queen, that is, one of his wives, dispensed the chalice, saying: "Drink, and you shall announce the death of the Lord." He next selected twenty disciples, and sent them as Apostles of God, to preach his doctrine, but all these unfortunates were taken and condemned to death, along with himself, in the year 1535 (11). The mercy of the Lord be praised for ever, since he extended it to John of Leyden; he shewed himself a sincere penitent, and bore, with the most admirable patience, the cruel death and torments inflicted on him; he was three times tortured with pincers by two executioners for two hours, and he bore it all without a murmur, saying he deserved it for his sins, and imploring the Divine Mercy; his companions died in their obstinacy (12), and Hermant says, that his sect has spread its roots into many Christian kingdoms (13).

(10) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Gotti, n. 8; Varill. p. 288; Van Ranst, sec. 16, p. 313; Hermant, c. 239.

(11) N. Alex. cit. a. 12, n. 2; Varill. p. 427; V. Ranst. p. 315; Her. c. 241.

(12) Varill. p. 436.

(13) Her. loc. cit.; V. Ranst, p. 314.

46.—The errors of the Anabaptists were: First—That children should not be baptized, but only adults capable of reason. Second—That no Christian could be a civil magistrate. Third—It is in no case lawful for Christians to swear. Fourth—War is unlawful to Christians.

47.—The Anabaptists soon split into several sects—some say fourteen, some, even seventy. Some were called Munzerites, after Thomas Munzer; some who preferred voluntary poverty, Huttites, from John Hut; others, Augustins, from Augustin Bochem, who taught that heaven would not be opened till after the day of judgment; others, Buholdians, from John (Buhold) of Leyden, whose history we have just given—these preached polygamy, and wished to destroy all the wicked; some Melchiorists, from Melchior Hoffman, who taught that Christ had but one Nature, that he was not born of Mary, and various other errors; some were called Mennonites, from Mennon—these held heretical opinions regarding the Trinity; some Davidians, the followers of one George, who called himself the Third David, the true Messiah, the beloved Son of God, born of the Spirit, not of the flesh, the pardoner of sins; he died in 1556, and promised to rise again in three years. This vain prophecy had some truth in it, for three years afterwards, the Senate of Basle caused him to be disinterred, and his remains burned along with his writings. The Clancularists, when asked if they were Anabaptists, denied it; they had no churches, but preached in private houses and gardens. The Demonists, following the errors of Origen, said the devils would be saved in the end of the world. The Adamites appeared naked in public, having, as they asserted, recovered the pristine innocence of Adam. The Servetians, followers of Michael Servetus, joined to the errors of the Anabaptists, blasphemies against the Trinity and Jesus Christ. The Condormientes slept together without distinction of sex, and called this indecency the new Christian Charity. The Ejulants, or Weepers, said there was no devotion so pleasing to God as weeping and wailing. Noel Alexander and Van Ranst enumerate many other classes of these fanatics (14).

(14) *Nat. Alex. t. 19, art. 11, n. 4; Van Ranst, p. 315, & seq.*

ARTICLE II.

THE SACRAMENTARIANS.

§ I.

CARLOSTAD.

48.—Carlostad, father of the Sacramentarians. 49.—He is reduced to live by his labour in the field ; he gets married, and composed a Mass on that subject. 50.—He dies suddenly.

48.—The father of the Sacramentarians was, as Van Ranst informs us, Andrew Carlstad ; he was born in the village from which he took his name, in Franconia, and was Archdeacon of the church of Wittemberg. He was, it is said, the most learned man in Saxony, and was, on that account, a great favourite with the Elector Frederick ; he it was who admitted Luther to the Doctorship, and afterwards became his follower in heresy. His pride, however, would not allow him to remain a disciple of Luther, and thus he became chief of the Sacramentarians, teaching, in opposition to Luther, that Christ was not really present in the Eucharist, and, therefore, that the word *this* (this is my body) did not refer to the bread, but to Christ himself, who was about to sacrifice his body for us, as if he were to say : “ This is my body which I am about to deliver up for you.” Another error he taught in opposition to Luther was the doctrine of the Iconoclasts, that all crucifixes and images of the Saints should be destroyed, and he carried his infidelity to such a pitch in Wittemberg that he abolished the Mass, trampled on the Consecrated Host, and broke the Altars and Images (1). When this came to Luther’s ears, who was then concealed in his Patmos of Watzburg, he could restrain himself no longer, and even against the will of the Elector, went to Wittemberg, and caused the Altars and Images to be restored ; and not being able to convince Carlstad of his errors, he deprived him of his

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *s.* 3 ; Gotti, Ver. Rel. *c.* 109, *s.* 1 ; Van Ranst, *s.* 16, *p.* 217 ; Hermant, *t.* 1, *c.* 231 ; Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 3, *p.* 148.

benefice and dignities by authority of the Elector, who had him seized, and banished from his territories along with the woman he married. Carlostad went to Orlemond in Thuringia, and there wrote that wicked treatise, *De Cœna Domini* (2), which contains in full his heretical opinions. It happened one day, as Berti tells us (3), that Luther came to this town, and Carlostad, in revenge for the treatment he received from him caused him to be pelted with stones, and to fly from the place. It may be as well here to give Bossuet's account of the war between Luther and Carlostad: In the year 1524 Luther preached in Jena, in presence of Carlostad, who went to visit him after the sermon, and blamed him for the opinion he held regarding the Real Presence. Luther, in a tone of mockery, told him he would give him a gold florin if he would write against him, and took out a florin and handed it to Carlostad, who pocketed it, and they then drank together, to cement the bargain; thus the war commenced. Carlostad's parting benediction to Luther was: "May I see you broken on the wheel!" "And may you break your neck before you quit the town!" rejoined Luther. Behold, says Bossuet, the acts of the new apostles of the Gospel (4).

49.—Notwithstanding all that had passed, Carlostad's friends interfered, and finally induced Luther to permit him to return to Wittemberg, but he agreed to this only on condition that he would not oppose his doctrine for the future. Carlostad, however, ashamed to appear in Wittemberg in the poor state he was reduced to, chose rather to live in another town, where he was reduced to such poverty, that he was obliged to become a porter, and afterwards to turn to field labour along with his wife for subsistence (5). We may here remark that Carlostad was the first of all the priests of the new Gospel who married. In the year 1525, he married a young lady of good family, and he composed a sacrilegious service of Mass, on the occasion of his abominable nuptials. Octavius Lavert and Raynaldus have preserved some parts of it* (6).

(2) Hermant, c. 234; Gotti, s. 1, n.

2; Varillas, t. 1, l. 3, p. 211.

(3) Berti. Brev. Hist. s. 3.

(4) Bos. Stor. del. Variaz. l. 2, n. 12.

(5) Gotti, c. 109, n. 3, ex cochleo, ad an. 15, 25; V Ranst, p. 217; Var. 242

(6) Octavius Lavert. p. 117.

* Deus qui post tam longam et impiam Sacerdotum tuorum cœcitatem Beatum Andream Carlostadium ea gratia donare dignatus es, ut primus, nulla habita

50.—The just chastisement of God, however, always pursues the impious, and thus we see him and his wife, who, being a lady, was ashamed to beg, obliged to earn a scanty subsistence, which they could not always obtain, by working as common field labourers (7). Some time afterwards he went to Switzerland, hoping to get a kind reception from the heretics of that country, whose doctrine regarding the Sacrament of the Altar coincided with his own. But Zuinglius, or Zuingle, wishing to have no competitor, gave him a very cool reception; he then went to Basle, where he was appointed preacher, and where a sudden death overtook him in the midst of his sins (8). Varillas says, that he was seized with apoplexy, coming down from the pulpit, after declaiming against the Real Presence, and dropped dead (9). It was also told at the time, that whilst he was preaching a man of fearful mien appeared to him, and that immediately one of his children ran to him telling him that he had seen the same vision, and that it said to him: "Tell your father that in three days I will deprive him of life, breaking his head." All that is known for certain is that he died suddenly, and died, as he had lived, without any signs of repentance.

(7) Rinal. *an.* 1523, *n.* 74.

(8) Varillas, *l.* 8, *p.* 359.

(9) Lancis. *t.* 4, *Ist.* s. 16, *c.* 3; Var.
loc. cit.

Papistici Juris ratione, uxorem ducere ausus fuerit, da quæsumus ut omnes Sacerdotes recepta sana mente, ejus vestigia sequentes ejectis concubinis aut eisdem ductis ad legitimum consortium thori convertantur.

Oremus—Nos ergo concubinis nostris gravati, te Deus poscimus, ut illius, qui Patres nostros sectatus antiquos tibi placet, nos imitatione guadeamus in æternum.

§ II.

ZUINGLIUS.

51.—Zuinglius, and the beginning of his heresy. 52.—His errors. 53.—Congress held before the Senate of Zurich; the decree of the Senate rejected by the other Cantons. 54.—Zuinglius sells his Canonry, and gets married; Victory of the Catholics; and his death.

51.—Ulric Zuinglius was born of an obscure family in a poor village of Switzerland, called Mildenhäusen, some say in Moggi; he was at first Parish Priest of two rural parishes, and was afterwards promoted to a parish in Zurich (1). In his early days he was a soldier, but hoping to better his condition, he changed the sword for the gown, and being a man of talent, became a most eloquent preacher. Hearing, in 1519, that Indulgences were to be published in Switzerland, as had been done in Germany, he hoped that would be a favourable occasion for him to acquire notoriety, and advance himself in the estimation of the Court of Rome. But in this he was disappointed; a Franciscan, Father Sampson, was sent by the Pope, to publish the Swiss Indulgences, and with power to prohibit any one else from doing so, unless with his permission. Zuinglius, seeing his hopes frustrated, imitated the example of Luther in Saxony, and began to preach, first, against Indulgences—then against the power of the Pope—and from that passed on to other errors against the Faith (2).

52.—The following were his principal tenets: First—The Mass is not a Sacrifice, but only a commemoration of the Sacrifice once offered on the Cross. Second—We have no necessity of any intercessor but Christ. Third—Christ is our justificator; and here he deduced, that our works are no good as ours, but only as the works of Christ. Fourth—Marriage is fitted for all. Fifth—Those who make a vow of chastity are held by presump-

(10) *Nat. Alex. t. 19, sec. 16, art. 11, e. 3, n. 2*; Gotti, *Ver. Rel. c. 100, s. 2, n. 1*; Varillas, *t. 1, l. 4, p. 155*.

(11) *Apud. Nat. Alex. s. 3, n. 2*; Gotti, *loc. cit. n. 1*.

tion. Sixth—The power which the Pope and Bishops arrogate to themselves, has no foundation in Holy Writ. Seventh—The confession made to a Priest is not for remission of sin, but should be made solely to obtain advice. Eighth—The Holy Scripture recognizes no Purgatory. Ninth—The Scripture knows no other Priests but those who announce the Word of God. He preached other errors regarding free will. Luther attributed every thing to grace, for salvation; Zuinglius, on the contrary, following the Pelagians, to free will and the force of nature. He broached many other errors regarding the Sacraments, Original Sin, and other points, but his chief blasphemies were against the Holy Eucharist, which turned even Luther against him, who at first called him the strong champion of Christendom, but ended by calling him a heretic. He first said that the Eucharist was a remembrance of the Passion of Christ, but, as Varillas remarks, then came the difficulty, that the Apostle says the Eucharist is to be eaten, but not the remembrance, and he five times changed his mode of explaining the communion; he rejected the Transubstantiation of the Catholics, the Impanation of the Lutherans, and the explanation given by Carlostad (*N.* 48). He then began to teach, that in the words, "This is my body," the word *is* has the same meaning as *signifies*, that is, this bread signifies the body of Christ; but still the difficulty was not solved, for he could no where find that the word *est* was used for *significat* (3), when one morning, at break of day, a spirit, whether a black or white one, he does not remember, spoke to him, and said: "Ignorant man, read the twelfth chapter of Exodus, where it is said, For it is the phase, that is the passage, of the Lord." Behold, said he, here the word *is* stands for the word *signifies*; and thus he began to teach, that as the Pasch of the Jews was but a mere figure of the passing of the Lord, so the Eucharist was the figure of Christ sacrificed on the Cross. To authenticate this discovery of his, he got the translation of the New Testament printed, and where the text says, "This is my body," he inserted, this "signifies my body" (4). Nothing, however, can be more foolish than this argument, for in Exodus, the explanation is annexed—This is the *Phase*, that is the *passage*, of the

(3) Zuinglius, *l. de Subsid. Euch.*(4) Hermant, *t. 1, c. 237.*

Lord ; but surely the text of the Gospel does not give any explanation, that the words "this *is* my body," refers not to the body, but to the figure of Jesus Christ (5). This error we refute at length in the Confutation X., No. 11.

53.—Zuinglius printed sixty-seven propositions, by way of doubt, and placarded them in all the towns of the Diocese of Constance. The Dominicans preached against them as heretical, and offered to convince Zuinglius of his errors in a public disputation. Zuinglius accepted the challenge, but the Dominicans understood that it was to take place in the presence of the judges appointed by the Bishop of Constance, while he, on the other hand, insisted it should be held in presence of the Senate of Zurich, composed of two hundred laymen, the majority of whom knew not how to read or write ; in this move he was successful, for the Senate thought themselves competent judges in religious matters, and would not yield their pretended right to any one ; in effect, the Congress took place in their presence, and the Bishop not being able to prevent it, sent his Vicar-General to try and bring matters to some rational arrangement. This took place, according to Varillas, in 1524, and the Senate commanded all the Ecclesiastics of Zurich to attend. Zuinglius first read his Theses, and explained them without meeting with any interruption ; he then asked if any one had any reply to make ; the Vicar-General answered, that a great deal of what he set forth was an absurdity. Zuinglius replied in his defence. The Vicar-General answered, that he was sent by his Bishop, neither to dispute nor give decisions, that it was a Council alone should decide, and then was silent ; the other Ecclesiastics were asked if they had anything to say ; they followed the Vicar-General's example, and were silent also ; the Senate, therefore, gave the palm of victory to Zuinglius, and made a Decree, that thenceforward the pure Gospel (according to Zuinglius) should be preached in all Zurich, that no more notice should be taken of traditions, and that the Mass and the adoration of the Eucharist should be abolished (6). This decree was opposed by the other Cantons, and in the year 1526, another public disputation was

(5) Gotti, loc. cit. n. 4 ; Varill. l. 7, p. 304 ; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

(6) Varill. t. 1, l. 5, p. 214.

held in Swiss Baden (7), between Zuinglius and Ecolampadius, on the one side, and Ecchius and some others, on the Catholic side, in which the arguments of Ecchius were so convincing, that by a formal Decree, the Swiss recognized the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the Invocation of Saints, and veneration of Sacred Images, and Purgatory, and condemned the doctrine of Luther and Zuinglius.

54.—In the year 1528, Zuinglius sold his Prebend, and married, shamelessly asserting that he had not sufficient confidence in himself, to resist the vice of incontinence (8), and in the same year, the Canton of Berne united with Zurich in embracing his doctrine. Basle, Schafhausen, St. Gall, and three others, soon followed this example; Lucerne, Switz, Zug, Uri, and Underwalden, remained Catholic, and were soon after obliged to go to war with the heretical Cantons, for the following reason (9). The Catholic party deposed two officers who embraced the Zuinglian doctrines; they were received by the Zuinglians, who provided them with places, and through revenge, prevented the merchants who supplied the Catholic Cantons with corn, as they do not produce enough for their own consumption, from passing through their territories. The Catholics complained of this, as an infraction of the Confederation League, but were told, they were only treated as they deserved, for insulting the new religion. Eight thousand Catholics took the field in October, 1532; fifteen hundred of the Zurich troops were entrenched outside the city; the Catholics assaulted them in that position and put them to flight. Twenty thousand of the Zurich troops then marched out to attack the Catholics, and Zuinglius, against the advice of his friends, insisted on marching at their head. The Catholics with their small number, would have no chance against this army in the open field, so they posted themselves in a narrow pass; they were here assaulted by the Zuinglians, and victory was for some time doubtful, till Zuinglius, while valiantly leading on his troops, was struck to the earth; his followers, thinking he was killed, immediately took to flight, and were pursued by

(7) Gotti, *c.* 109, *s.* 2, *n.* 11.

(8) Varill. *l.* 7, *p.* 304; Hermant, *c.* 237; Nat. Alex. *c.* 19, *art.* 12, *s.* 3, *n.* 2.

(9) Varill. *l.* 8, *p.* 354; Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 13.

the Catholics with great slaughter, who are said to have killed five thousand Zuinglians, with only the loss of fifteen on their own side (10). Zuinglius was found by two Catholics, who did not know him, among a heap of the slain, prostrate on his face, but still breathing; they asked him if he wished for a Confessor, but got no answer; another now came up, who immediately killed him, and told their commanders; by their orders he was quartered and burned, and some of his followers collected his ashes, and kept it as a relic (11). He was killed on the 11th of October, 1532, in the forty-fourth year of his age, according to Hermant, but Natalis, Gotti, and Van Ranst, say he was forty years old. The war was not yet ended; five other battles were fought, and the Catholics were always victorious; peace was at length concluded, on condition that each Canton should freely profess its own Religion, and thus, with few interruptions, it has continued to the present day (12). Before I dismiss this subject, I will mention a few words of a sermon, or letter, of his, to Francis I. of France, in which he speaks of the glory that Kings are to expect in heaven: "There," he says, "you will see the Redeemer and the redeemed; there you will behold Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac; there you will see Hercules, Theseus, Numa, the Catos, the Scipios, &c." This was the language of this new Church Reformer after his apostacy; he places, along with Christ and the Holy Patriarchs, in heaven, the idolaters, and the Pagan gods. Bossuet, in his *History of the Variations* (13), gives a large extract from this letter.

(10) Varill. *t.* 1, *l.* 4, *p.* 355.

(11) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*; Gotti, *n.* 13,
& Van Ranst, *p.* 318.

(12) Varill. *loc. cit.* *p.* 358, & seq.

(13) Bossuet, *Hist. de Variat. l.* 2,
n. 19.

§ III.

ECOLAMPADIUS; BUCER; PETER MARTYR.

55.—Ecolampadius. 56.—Bucer. 57.—Peter Martyr.

55.—John Ecolampadius, a faithful follower of Zuinglius, was a Greek linguist, and held the situation of tutor to the Prince Palatine's children; his friends injudiciously importuned him to become a Monk, so he entered into the Order of St. Brigit, and made his profession (1); but we may judge of his intentions, when we are told that he said: "If I make six hundred vows, I will not observe one of them, unless I like it." "Why," says Florimund (2), "should we wonder at his leaving the cloister, when such were his sentiments on entering it. In a few years he laid aside the cowl, and married, as he said, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and became a follower of Zuinglius, who appointed him Superintendent of Basle (3). He followed Zuinglius's doctrine, regarding the Real Presence, but not his explanation of *est* by *significat* (see *N.* 48), as he explained the text, "this is my body," by "this is the figure of my body" (4). How strange that not one of the new Apostles of the Gospel could agree with another. He died in the year 1532, at the age of forty-nine, only a month after Zuinglius's death, to him a source of the most poignant grief. Luther said he was found dead in his bed, strangled by the devil, a generally received opinion at that time, according to Noel Alexander; others say he died of an ulcer in the *os sacrum*; the general opinion, however, is, that he was found dead in his bed. Many writers, Varillas says (5), tell us that he several times attempted to take away his own life, and that he poisoned himself. Cardinal Gotti quotes others (6), who assert, that a short time previous to his death, he was heard to exclaim: "Alas, I shall soon be in hell;" and also that, just before his death, he said: "I, uncertain

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *s.* 3, *n.* 3.(2) Floremund in Synopsi. *l.* 2, *c.* 8,
n. 9.(3) Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 15.(4) Gotti, *n.* 16, & Nat. Alex. loc. cit.(5) Varill. *l.* 8, *p.* 356.(6) Gotti, *n.* 17.

and fluctuating in the Faith, have to give an account before the Tribunal of God, and see whether my doctrine is true or false" (7). Foolish man, he had the Church, the pillar and the ground of truth, which condemned his doctrine, and he wished to have it tried at that Tribunal, where, if he found it false (as it was), there would be no remedy to ward off eternal perdition.

56.—Martin Bucer was the son of a poor Jew in Strasbourg, who left him at his death on the world, without any one to look to him, and only seven years of age. He was taken in by the Dominicans to serve Mass and assist the servants of the Convent; but finding him endowed with great talents, they gave him the habit of the Order, and put him to study (8). He soon became a great proficient in sacred and profane literature, and received Holy Orders, Cardinal Gotti says (9), without being baptized. He was so taken with Luther's doctrine on Celibacy, that he apostatized, and not only married once, but three times successively, saying, that as a divorce was allowed to the Jews, on account of the hardness of their hearts, it was also permitted to Christians of an extraordinary temperament (10). To the errors of Luther he added others: First—That Baptism is necessary as a positive precept, but that it is not necessary for salvation. Second—That there is no Church which does not err in morals and faith. Third—That before we are justified by God we sin in every good work we do, but that after our justification the good we perform we do through necessity. Fourth—That some are so formed by God for the marriage state, that they cannot be forbidden to marry. Fifth—That usury is not contrary to the Divine command. Sixth—He admitted the Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, but said it was not real, but took place solely by faith. On this account he passed over to the sect of the Sacramentarians, and quarrelled with Luther, and it was in defence of that sect he wrote his Dialogue, "Arbogastus" (11). He was selected by the Landgrave as the most likely person to unite the Zuinglians and Lutherans; but though he held many conferences, he never could succeed, for Luther never

(7) Gotti, *c.* 109, *s.* 2, in fine.

(8) Gotti, *t.* 2, *c.* 109, *sec.* 4; Varil.
l. 1, *l.* 8, *p.* 363.

(9) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 1.

(10) Varil. *loc. cit.*

(11) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 2, 3; Varil.
l. 1, *l.* 8, *p.* 364.

would give up the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. He left Strasbourg, where he lived and taught a long time, and in 1549, in the reign of Edward VI., he went to England to join Peter Vermigli, commonly called Peter Martyr, who two years previously was appointed Professor of Theology in Oxford. He had not been three years in England when he died, at the age of sixty-one, in Cambridge, in 1551; and Cardinal Gotti says (12), he was tormented with remorse of conscience in his last moments. His bones were exhumed and burned, by order of Queen Mary, in 1556.

57.—The other celebrated disciple of Zuinglius who, especially in England, endeavoured to disseminate his errors, was Peter Vermigli, a Florentine, commonly called Peter Martyr. He was born in Florence, in 1500, of a noble, but reduced family. His mother, who was acquainted with the Latin language, taught him till he was eighteen years of age, when, according to some authors, he took the Carthusian habit, but the general opinion is, that he became a Canon Regular (13) of St Augustin, in the Monastery of Fiesole. In his noviciate he gave indications of great talent, and was, after his profession, sent to Padua, where he was taught Greek, Hebrew, and Philosophy. He thence went to Bologna to study Theology, and returned with a great stock of learning (14). He next turned his attention to the pulpit, and preached several Lents in the principal cities of Italy. While preaching in the Cathedral of Naples, he had the misfortune to become acquainted with a Spanish lawyer of the name of Valdes, who, by reading Luther's and Calvin's works, became infected with their heresies, and fearing to be discovered in Spain, where the stake awaited him, went to Germany, but the climate not agreeing with him, he came to Naples, and contracted a friendship with Peter Martyr, and then made him a Sacramentarian. As soon as he tasted the poison himself, he began to communicate it to others who used to meet him in a church. This had not gone on long when he was charged with his errors before the Nuncio, and immediately called to Rome. His brethren in religion, with whom he always lived on the best terms, and who certainly believed him innocent, took up his

(12) Varil. *l.* 11, *p.* 297.

(13) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 5.

(14) Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 17, *p.* 106;

Dizion. Port. alla parola Vermigli.

defence most warmly, and he was most fully acquitted and dismissed. From Rome he went to Lucca, where he thought he could establish a Zuinglian congregation, with less risk to himself than in Naples, and he succeeded so far, that among others he made four proselytes among the Professors of the University. They were in a little while discovered, and obliged to fly to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, where they soon became Ministers. Peter being discovered also, and not knowing where to fly, turned his steps likewise to Switzerland, hoping that his disciples there would procure a Professorship for him. He went first to Zurich, and afterwards to Basle; but as he wished to make himself the master of all, he met but a cool reception in either place. He then went to Bucer, in Strasbourg, who received every heretic, and procured him immediately a Professorship of Theology. He remained there till called to England, where he went with a Nun he married, and was received with great honour in London, and was appointed to a Chair in Oxford, with double the salary that was promised to him. He returned to Strasbourg, in 1553, and finally went to teach his blasphemies in Zurich, where he died in 1562, loaded with fruits of perdition, for besides the many years he taught his errors in all these places, he composed and left after him also a number of works to sustain them (15).

(15) Varillas, *l.* 17, *p.* 106; Berti *Hist. sec.* 16, *c.* 3; Van Ranst, *sec.* 16, *p.* 391; Dizion. Portat. *loc. cit.*

ARTICLE III.

THE HERESIES OF CALVIN.

§ I.

THE BEGINNING AND PROGRESS OF THE HERESY OF CALVIN.

58.—Birth and Studies of Calvin. 59.—He begins to broach his heresy; they seek to imprison him, and he makes his escape through a window. 60.—He commences to disseminate his impieties in Angouleme. 61.—He goes to Germany to see Bucer, and meets Erasmus. 62.—He returns to France, makes some followers, and introduces the “Supper;” he afterwards goes to Basle, and finishes his “Instructions.” 63.—He goes to Italy, but is obliged to fly; arrives in Geneva, and is made Master of Theology. 64.—He is embarrassed there. 65.—He flies from Geneva, and returns to Germany, where he marries a widow. 66.—He returns to Geneva, and is put at the head of the Republic; the impious Works he publishes there; his dispute with Bolsec. 67.—He causes Michael Servetus to be burned alive. 68.—Unhappy end of the Calvinistic Mission to Brazil. 69.—Seditious and disturbances in France on Calvin’s account; Conference of Poissy. 70.—Melancholy death of Calvin. 71.—His personal qualities and depraved manners.

58.—John Calvin was born on the 10th of July, 1509, in Noyon, in the ancient province of Picardy—some say he was born in Bourg de Pont; but the almost universal opinion is, that he was born in the city itself, and Varillas (1) says, that the house in which he first saw the light was afterwards razed to the ground by the people, and that a person who subsequently rebuilt it was hanged at the door. He was the third son of Gerard Caudin (he afterwards changed his name to Calvin), the son of a Flemish saddler, and Fiscal Procurator to the Bishop of Noyon, and Receiver to the Chapter. He obtained a Chaplaincy for his son when he was twelve years old, and afterwards a country Curacy in the village of Martville, which he some time

(1) Varillas, *Istor. della Rel. t. 1, l. 12, p. 450.*

after exchanged for the living of Pont l'Elveque (2). Endowed with those benefices, he at an early age applied himself with the greatest diligence to study, and was soon distinguished for talents, which God gave him for his service, but which he perverted to his own ruin, and to the ruin of many nations infected with his heresy. When he had gone through his preliminary studies, his father sent him to Bourges to study law under Andrew Alciati; but wishing to learn Greek, he commenced the study of that language under Melchior Walmar, a concealed Lutheran, and a native of Germany, who, perceiving the acute genius of his scholar, by degrees instilled the poison of heresy into his mind, and induced him to give up the study of law, and apply himself to Theology (3); but Beza confesses that he never studied Theology deeply, and that he could not be called a Theologian.

59.—In the meantime, Calvin's father died, and he returned home, and without scruple sold his benefices, and went to Paris, where, at the age of twenty-eight, he first began to disseminate his heresy (4). He then published a little treatise on "Constancy," in which he advised all to suffer for the truth, as he called his errors. This little work was highly lauded by his friends; but it is only worthy of contempt, as it contains nothing but scraps of learning badly digested, injurious invectives against the Catholic Church, great praises of those heretics condemned by the Church, whom he calls Martyrs of the truth, and numberless errors besides. The publication of this work, and the many indications Calvin had given of using his talents against the Church, aroused the attention of the Criminal Lieutenant, John Morin, who gave orders to arrest him in the College of Cardinal de Moyne, where he then lodged. Calvin, however, suspected what was intended, and while the officers of justice were knocking at the door, he let himself down from the window (5), by the bed-clothes, and took refuge in the house of a vine-

(2) Varillas, *al. loc. cit.*; *Nat. Alex. t. 19, a. 13, sec. 1, n. 1*; Gotti *Ver. Rel. t. 2, c. 111, sec. 1, n. 1*; Hermant *Hist. de Conc. t. 2, c. 271*; Van Ranst *Hist. Hær. p. 119*; Berti *Hist. sec. 16, c. 3, p. 161*; Lancist *Hist. t. 4, sec. 16, c. 5*.

(3) *Nat. loc. cit. n. 1*; Gotti, *ibid. n. 3*; Hermant, *cit. c. 271*; Varil. *al loc. cit. p. 451*.

(4) Gotti, *cit. c. 111, n. 5*; Van Ranst, *p. 320*; Varill. *t. 1, l. 10, p. 452*.

(5) Van Ranst, *p. 330*; Gotti, *loc. cit. n. 5*; *N. Alex. loc. cit. s. 1, n. 1*.

dresser, as Varillas informs us (6), with whom he changed clothes, and left his house with a spade on his shoulder. In this disguise he was met by a Canon of Noyon, who recognized him, and inquired the meaning of this masquerade. Calvin told him everything, and when his friend advised him to return, and retract his errors, and not cast himself away, he, it is said, answered: "If I had to begin again, I would not forsake the Faith of my fathers; but now I am pledged to my doctrines, and I will defend them till death;" and an awful and terrible death awaited him, as we shall see hereafter. Varillas adds, that while he resided afterwards in Geneva, a nephew of his asked him if salvation could be obtained in the Catholic Church, and that Calvin could not find it in his heart to deny it, but told him he might be saved in that Church.

60.—He escaped into Angouleme, and for three years taught Greek, as well as he could from the little he learned from Walmar, and his friends procured him lodgings in the house of the Parish Priest of Claix, Louis de Tillet, a very studious person, and possessor of a library of 4,000 volumes, mostly manuscripts. It was here he composed almost the entire of the Four Books of his pestilent Instructions, the greater part of which he took from the works of Melancthon, Ecolampadius, and other sectaries, but he adopted a more lucid arrangement, and a more elegant style of Latinity (7). As he finished each chapter he used to read it for Tillet, who at first refused his assent to such wicked doctrine; but by degrees his faith was undermined, and he became a disciple of Calvin, who offered to accompany him to Germany, where a Conference with the Reforming doctors, he assured him, would confirm him in the course he was adopting. They, accordingly, left for Germany, but had not gone further than Geneva when Tillet's brother, a good Catholic, and Chief Registrar of the Parliament of Paris, joined them, and prevailed on his brother to retrace his steps and renounce his Calvinistic errors. In this he happily succeeded; the Priest returned, and was afterwards the first in his district to raise his voice publicly against Calvinism (8).

(6) Varillas, . 10, p. 345.

(7) Nat. Alex. t. 19, a. 13, s. 1; Gotti, c. 3, s. 1, n. 3; Van Ranst, p. 330; Varil. l. 30, p. 454.

(8) Varill. cit. p. 454; Gotti, loc. cit. n. 6.

61.—Calvin continued his rout to Germany, and arrived at Strasbourg, where Bucer was labouring to unite the Lutherans and Zuinglians in doctrine, but never could succeed, as neither would consent to give up their peculiar tenets on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Calvin, seeing the difficulties he was in, suggested to him a middle way to reconcile both parties—that is, to propose as a doctrine that in the reception of the Eucharist it is not the flesh, but the substance or power, of Jesus Christ that is received; this, he imagined, would reconcile both parties. Bucer, however, either because he thought Luther never would give up his own particular views, or, perhaps, jealous that the idea did not originate with himself, refused to adopt it. Calvin next visited Erasmus with a letter of recommendation from Bucer, in which he told Erasmus to pay particular attention to what would drop from him; he did so, and after some conversation with him, told his friends that he saw in that young man one who would be a great plague to the Church (9).

62.—Calvin, finding it difficult to make many proselytes to his Sacramentarian doctrines in Germany, returned to France in 1535, and went to Poitiers, where at first, in the privacy of a garden, he began to expound his tenets to a few, but his followers increasing, he transferred his Chair to a hall of the University, called Ministerium, and here the Calvinistic teachers took the name of ministers, as the Lutherans called themselves preachers. Calvin sent out from this several ministers to the neighbouring towns and villages, and, by this means, made a great many proselytes (10). It was there he first published the forty articles of his heresy, and it was there also he introduced the Supper, or Manducation, as he called it, which was privately celebrated in the following manner: First, some part of the Testament relative to the Last Supper was read, then the minister made a few observations on it, but in general the burthen of these discourses was the abuse of the Pope and of the Mass, Calvin always saying that in the New Testament no mention is made of any other sacrifice than that of the Cross. Bread and wine were then set on the table, and the minister, instead of the words of conse-

(9) Van Ranst, *s.* 16, *p.* 323; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 1; Varill. *p.* 459.

(10) Varill. *l.* 10, *p.* 457; Hermant, *t.* 2, *c.* 271; Nat. Alex. *s.* 1, *n.* 1; Gotti, *c.* 111, *s.* 2, *n.* 1.

cration, said : " My brethren, let us eat of the bread and drink of the wine of the Lord, in memory of his passion and death." The congregation were seated round a table, and the minister, breaking off a small portion of bread, gave it to each, and they eat it in silence ; the wine was dispensed in like manner. The Supper was finished by a prayer, thanking God for enlightening them, and freeing them from Papistical errors ; the Our Father and the Creed was said, and they swore not to betray anything that was there done. It was, however, impossible to conceal the existence of this new Church of Poitiers, and as the Royal Ordinances were very rigorous against innovators, and Calvin felt that he could not be safe in Pictou, he went to Nerac in Aquitaine, the residence of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, a patroness of the new doctrine. Even here he was not in safety, as Royal edicts were every day published against heretics, so he went to Basle, where he employed himself in preparing his four books of the Institutes for the press. He was twenty-six years of age when he published this work, with the motto, " I came not to send peace, but a sword ;" showing, like a true prophet, the great evils this work would bring on France, and every other country where its pestilential doctrines would be embraced (11).

63.—While Calvin was at Basle he felt a great desire to propagate his doctrine in Italy, where Luther could make no way ; and understanding that Renee, daughter of Louis XII. of France, and wife of Hercules of Este, Duke of Ferrara, was a woman fond of novelties, and a proficient not only in Philosophy and Mathematics, but also fond of dabbling in Theology, he went to visit her, and, after some time, succeeded in making her one of his followers, so that he held privately in her chamber several conferences with her and others of the party. When this came to the Duke's ears, he was very angry, and bitterly reproved the Duchess, obliging her to give up the practice of the new religion, and all the favour Calvin could obtain was leave to quit his States. He then at once fled from Ferrara to France, for fear of the Inquisition, which was very active just then, on account of the disturbed state of Religious opinions in Europe (12). In the

(11) Nat. Alex. t. 19, a. 13, n. 2 ; Van Ranst, p. 321 ; Goti, c. 111, s. 2, n. 4.

(12) Varill. t. 1, l. 10, p. 465 ; Van Ranst, p. 321.

year 1536 he went to Geneva, which the year before rebelled against the Duke of Turin, and cast off, along with its allegiance, the Catholic Religion, at the instigation of William Farrell; and the Genevese, to commence their infamy, placed a public inscription on a bronze tablet, as follows: "Quum anno Domini MDXXXV. profligata Romani Antichristi tyrannide, abrogatisque ejus superstitionibus, sacrosancta Christi Religio hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesia in meliorem ordinem singulari beneficio reposita, et simul pulsus fugatisque hostibus, Urbs ipsa in suam libertatem non sine insigni miraculo restituta fuerit; S. P. Q. G. Monumentum hoc perpetuæ memoriæ causa fieri, atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quo suam erga Deum gratitudinem testatem faceret." Farrell, perceiving that Calvin would be of great assistance to him in maintaining the new doctrines he had introduced into Geneva, used every means in his power to induce him to stay, and got the magistrates to appoint him Preacher and Professor of Theology (13). One of his first acts after his appointment was to burn the Images of the Saints which adorned the Cathedral, and to break the Altars. The table of the high Altar was formed of a slab of very precious marble, which a wretch called Perrin caused to be fitted up in the place of public execution, to serve as a table for cutting off the heads of the criminals; but by the just judgment of God, and at Calvin's instigation, though the cause is not known, it so happened that in a short time he was beheaded on the same stone himself (14).

64.—Calvin fixed his residence in Geneva, but he and Farrell were accused, in 1537, of holding erroneous opinions concerning the Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Their accuser was Peter de Charles, a Doctor of Sorbonne, who had been a Sacramentarian, and Minister of Geneva; he charged Calvin, who said the word Trinity was a barbarism, with denying the Unity of God in three Persons; besides, he had stated in his Catechism, that the Saviour on the cross was abandoned by his Father, and driven into despair, and that he was condemned to suffer the pains of hell, but his detention, unlike that of the reprobate, which endures for eternity, only lasted for a short time; from this Charles

(13) Apud Berti. Brev. Hist. t. 2, s. 16, c. 3, p. 162.

(14) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. n. 2; Van Ranst, p. 221; Gotti. c. 111, s. 1, n. 6.

(15) Gotti. *ibid.*

argued that Calvin denied the Divinity of Christ. Calvin cleared himself and Farrell from these charges, and his accuser was banished from Geneva, a most fortunate circumstance for him, as it opened his eyes to Divine grace. He went to Rome, and obtained absolution for his errors, and died in the Catholic Church. This affair concluded, Calvin had a serious dispute with his confrere Farrell, who, following the custom of Berne, used unleavened bread for the Supper, while Calvin insisted on using leavened bread, saying it was an abuse introduced by the Scholastic Papists, to use the other. The magistrates, however, were in favour of the use of unleavened bread. Calvin, anxious to differ as much as possible from Zuinglius (16), preached to the people, and got them to declare in his favour, so much so that Easter being now nigh they said they would not communicate unless with leavened bread (17). The magistrates, jealous of their authority, appointed a minister called Maré to administer the Sacrament, with unleavened bread, in St. Peter's Church; but Calvin frightened him so much that he hid himself, and the magistrates then commanded that there should be no communion that day, and banished both Calvin and Farrell from the city (18).

65.—Calvin went to Berne to plead his cause, but met with another adventure there. A Flemish Catholic, of the name of Zachary, was at that time before the Council of Berne; he held a disputation about matters of Faith with Calvin; in the midst of it he took out a letter, and asked him if he knew the writing. Calvin acknowledged it was written with his own hand; the letter was then read, and found to contain a great deal of abuse of Zuinglius (19). The meeting immediately broke up, and he, seeing Berne was no longer a place for him, went to Strasbourg, where he was again received by his friend, Bucer, and appointed Professor of Theology, and minister of a new church, in which he collected together all the French and Flemings who embraced his doctrine; here also, in the year 1538, he married one Ideletta, the widow of an Anabaptist, with whom he lived fourteen years,

(16) Varill. *l.* 12, *p.* 512, & Nat. Alex. *a.* 13; *s.* 1, *n.* 1.

(17) Nat. cit. *n.* in fin; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 7.

(18) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 3; Varill. *p.* 513; Van Ranst, *p.* 121; Gotti, *c.* 111, *s.* 2, *n.* 8.

(19) Varill. *l.* 11, *p.* 514.

but had no children, though Varillas says he had one, but it only lived two days (20).

66.—Calvin sighed to return to Geneva, and in 1541 was recalled. He was received with every demonstration of joy and respect, and was appointed Chief of the Republic. He then established the discipline of his sect, and the Senate decreed that thenceforward the ministers or citizens could never change the statutes promulgated by him. He then also published his great French Catechism, which his followers afterwards translated into various languages, German, English, Flemish, Erse, Spanish, and even Hebrew. He then also published his pestilent books, entitled *Defensio Sacræ Doctrinæ, De Disciplina, De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ*, one against the *Interim* of Charles V., and another against the Council of Trent, called *Antidotum adversus Conc. Tridentinum* (21). In the year 1542, the Faculty of Sorbonne, by way of checking the errors then published almost daily, put forth twenty-five Chapters on the Dogmas of Faith we are bound to believe; and Calvin seeing all his impious novelties condemned by these Chapters, attacked the venerable University in the grossest manner, so as to call the Professors a herd of swine (22). In the year 1453, he procured a union between his sect and the Zuinglians, and being thus safe in Geneva, which he was cautious not to leave, he encouraged his followers in France to lay down their lives for the Faith, as he called his doctrines; and these deluded creatures, while Francis I. and Henry II. were lighting fires to burn heretics, deceived by Calvin and his ministers, set at nought all punishments, even death itself—nay, some of them cast themselves into the flames, and Calvin called their ashes the ashes of Martyrs (23). In the year 1551, he had a great dispute in Geneva with Jerome Bolsee, who, though an apostate Carmelite, nevertheless could not tolerate the opinions of Luther and Calvin concerning free will, who denied it altogether, and said, that as God predestined some to grace and Paradise, so he predestined others to sin and hell. He could not agree with Calvin in this, and he accordingly in-

(20) Gotti, s. 2, n. 9; Varill. loc. cit.
Nat. Alex. *ibid.*

(21) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *ar.* 13, *sec.* 1,
n. 4, & seq. Gotti, *c.* 111, *sec.* 2,
n. 10.

(22) Gotti, *n.* 11.

(23) Gotti, *n.* 11—14.

duced the magistrates to banish Bolsec from Geneva and its territories as a Pelagian, and with a threat of having him flogged, if he made his appearance there again. Happily for Bolsec, this sentence was put in execution: he then began to reflect on the evil step he had taken, again returned to the Catholic Church, and wrote a great deal against Calvin's doctrine, who answered him in his impious work *De Æterna Dei Prædestinatione* (24).

67.—About the year 1553, Calvin caused Michael Servetus to be burned, and thus he who, in the dedication of his work to Francis I., called the magistrates who burned heretics, Diocletians, became, in the case of Servetus, a Diocletian himself. These are the facts of the case (25): Calvin procured from the Fair of Frankfort the Dialogues of Servetus, in which he denied the Trinity, and published several other errors we shall see hereafter. When he read this, he immediately marked his prey, as he had an old grudge against him, since once he proved him in a disputation to have made a false quotation. Servetus was passing through Geneva, on his way to Italy, and as it was Sunday, Calvin was to preach that evening after dinner. Servetus was curious to hear him, and expected to escape observation. He was betrayed, however, to Calvin, who was just going into the pulpit, and he immediately ran to the house of one of the Consuls to get an order for his arrest, on a charge of heresy. By the laws of Geneva it was ordered, that no one should be imprisoned unless his accuser would consent to go to prison also. Calvin, accordingly, got a servant of his to make the charge, and go to prison, and in the servant's name forty charges were brought against Servetus. Undergoing an examination, he asserted that the Divine Word was not a person subsisting, and hence it followed, that Jesus Christ was but a mere man. Calvin was then summoned, and seeing that Servetus was condemned by that avowal of his opinions, he proposed that his condemnation should be sanctioned, not by the Church of Geneva alone, but by the Churches of Zurich, Basle, and Berne, likewise. They all agreed in condemning him to be burned to death by a slow fire, and the sentence was carried into execution on the 17th of

(24) Nat. Alex. cit. sec. 1, n. 8; (25) Varillas, t. 2, l. 20.
Gotti, loc. cit. n. 14.

October, 1553 (26). Varillas quotes a writer who asserts, that when Servetus was led to punishment he cried out: "O God, save my soul; Jesus, Son of the Eternal God, have pity on me." It is worthy of remark, that he did not say Eternal Son of God, and hence it appears that he died obstinately in his errors, by a most horrible death, for being fastened to the stake by an iron chain, when the pile was lighted, a violent wind blew the flames on one side, so that the unhappy wretch was burning for two or three hours before death put an end to his torment, and he was heard to cry out: "Wo is me, I can neither live nor die." Thus he perished at the age of thirty-six (27). In the following year Calvin, to defend himself from the charge of being called a Diocletian, published a treatise to prove that by Scripture and Tradition, and the custom of the first ages, it was lawful to put obstinate heretics to death. This was answered by Martin Bellius; but Theodore Beza wrote a long rejoinder in defence of Calvin, and thus we see how inconsistently heretics act in blaming the Catholic Church at that time, for making use of the secular arm to punish heresy, when in theory and practice they did the same themselves.

68.—In the year 1555, the Calvinists had the vanity to send a mission to America, to endeavour to introduce their poisonous doctrines among these simple people. For this purpose, Nicholas Durant, a zealous French Calvinist, equipped three vessels, with consent of the King, in which he and many other Calvinists, some of them noblemen, embarked for Brazil, under the pretext of a commercial speculation; but their primary object was to introduce Calvinism. When Calvin heard of this, he sent two Ministers to accompany them—one of the name of Peter Richer, an apostate Carmelite; the other a young aspirant of the name of William Carter. In the month of November this impious Mission arrived in Brazil, but turned out a total failure, as the two ministers could not agree on the doctrine of the Eucharist, for Richer said that the Word made flesh should not be adored. According to the words of St. John, "the spirit quickeneth, the flesh availeth nothing," and hence he deduced, that the Eucharist

(26) Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 20, *p.* 219; Gotti, *c.* 111, *sec.* 3, *n.* 1; Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.* *sec.* 1, *n.* 9.

(27) Varillas, *l.* 20, *p.* 221.

was of no use to those who received it. This dispute put an end to the Mission, and Durant himself, in the year 1558, publicly abjured Calvinism, and returned to the Church, which he afterwards defended by his writings (28).

69.—In the year 1557, a number of Calvinists were discovered in Paris clandestinely celebrating the Supper by night in a private house, contrary to the Royal Ordinances. One hundred and twenty were taken and imprisoned, and a rumour was abroad, that many enormities were committed in these nocturnal meetings. They were all punished, and even some of them were burned alive (29). In the year 1560, the Calvinistic heresy having now become strong in France, the conspiracy of Amboise was discovered. This was principally directed against the Princes of the House of Guise, and Francis II., King of France, and Louis, Prince of Conde, and brother of the King of Navarre, was at the head of it. Calvin mentioned this conspiracy in a letter to his friends, Bullinger and Blauret, in which he admits that he was acquainted with it, but says he endeavoured to prevent it. It is easy to see, however, his disappointment at its failure. It is said by some authors that this was the time when the French Calvinists first adopted the name of Huguenots (30). The Conference of Poissy was also held at this time. Calvin expected that his party would have the victory; in this he was disappointed; but the heretics, thus beaten, remained as obstinate as ever, and began to put on such a bold face that they preached publicly in the streets of Paris. A scandalous transaction took place on this account: A Minister named Malois was preaching near the church of St. Medard; when the bell rang for Vespers, the heretics sent to have it stopped, as it prevented them from hearing the preacher. The people in the church continued to ring on, when the Calvinists, leaving the sermon, rushed furiously into the church, broke the images, cast down the altars, trampled on the Most Holy Sacrament, wounded several Ecclesiastics, and then dragged thirty-six of them, tied with ropes, and covered with blood, through the streets of the city to prison. Beza wrote a flaming account of this victory of the Faith, as he called it, to Calvin.

(28) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *ar.* 13, *sec.* 1, *n.* 10; Varillas, *l.* 21, *p.* 256; Gotti, *c.* 111, *sec.* 3, *n.* 5.

(29) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 6.

(30) Varillas, *l.* 23, *n.* 331; Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 8.

70.—At length the day of Divine vengeance for the wretched Calvin drew nigh; he died in Geneva, in 1564, on the 26th day of May, in the 54th year of his age. Beza says he died calmly; but William Bolsec, the writer of his life, and others, quoted by Noel Alexander and Gotti (31), assert that he died calling on the devil, and cursing his life, his studies, his writings, and, at the same time, exhaling a horrible stench from his ulcers, and thus he appeared before Christ, the Judge, to answer for all the souls lost, or to be lost, through his means.

71.—Varillas, in his account of Calvin's character and personal qualities, says (32), he was endowed by God with a prodigious memory, so that he never forgot what he once read, and that his intellect was so acute, especially in logical and theological subtleties, that he at once discovered the point on which every thing hinged in the doubts proposed to him. He was indefatigable in studying, in preaching, in writing, and in teaching, and it is wonderful how any man could write so many works during the time he lived, and besides, he preached almost every day, gave a theological lecture every week, on every Friday held a long conference with his followers on doubts of faith, and almost all his remaining time was taken up in clearing up and answering the knotty questions of his friends. He was very temperate both in eating and drinking, not so much through any love of the virtue of abstinence, as from a weakness of stomach, so that he was sometimes two days without eating. He suffered also from hypochondria, and frequent headaches, and hence his delicate health made him melancholy. He was very emaciated, and his colour was so bad, that he appeared as if bronzed all over. He was fond of solitude, and spoke but little. He was graceless in his delivery, and frequently, in his sermons, used to break out in invectives against the Catholic Church and people. He was prompt in giving advice or answers, but proud and rash, and so rude and intractable, that he easily fell out with all who were obliged to have any communication with him (33). He was very vain of himself, and on that account affected extreme gravity. He was the slave of

(31) Nat. Alex. *sec.* 1, *n.* 16; Gotti, *ibid.*, *n.* 9.

(32) Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 10, *p.* 459.

(33) Spondan. *ad an.* 1564; Nat. Alex. *ar.* 13, *sec.* *n.* 16; Gotti, *loc. cit.* *sec.* 3, *n.* 10; Varillas, *l.* 12, *t.* 1, *l.* 10, *p.* 450.

almost every vice, but especially hatred, anger, and vindictiveness, and on that account Bucer, though his friend, in a letter of admonition to him, says he is a mad dog, and as a writer inclined to speak badly of every one. He was addicted to immorality, at all events, in his youth, and Spondanus says (34), he was charged even with an unnameable offence, and Bolsec even says in his life of him, that he was condemned to death for it in Noyon, but that, through the intercession of the Bishop, the punishment was changed to branding with a red-hot iron. Varillas says (35), that in the registry of Noyon a leaf is marked with this condemnation, but without mentioning the offence; but Noel Alexander says (36) positively, that both the certificate of the condemnation and the offence was preserved in Noyon, and that it was shown to, and read by, Berteler, Secretary of the Republic of Geneva, sent on purpose to verify the fact. Cardinal Gotti says (37), that when he taught Greek in Angouleme the same charge was brought against him by his scholars, and that he was condemned there likewise. Such are the virtues attributed to the pretended Reformers of the Church (38).

(34) Spondan. ad an. 1534.

(35) Varillas, loc. cit.

(36) Nat. Alex. cit. n. 16, in fin.

(37) Gotti, *sec. 1, n. 6.*

(38) Remundus, *l. 1, c. 9, n. 3.*

§ II.

THEODORE BEZA, THE HUGUENOTS, AND OTHER CALVINISTS, WHO
DISTURBED FRANCE, SCOTLAND, AND ENGLAND.

72.—Theodore Beza; his character and vices. 73.—His learning, employments, and death. 74.—Conference of St. Francis de Sales with Beza. 75.—Continuation of the same subject. 76, 77.—Disorders of the Huguenots in France. 78.—Horrors committed by them; they are proscribed in France. 79.—Their disorders in Flanders. 80.—And in Scotland. 81.—Mary Stuart is married to Francis II. 82.—She returns to Scotland, and marries Darnley; next Bothwell; is driven by violence to make a fatal renunciation of her Crown in favour of her son. 83.—She takes refuge in England, and is imprisoned by Elizabeth, and afterwards condemned to death by her. 84.—Edifying death of Mary Stuart. 85.—James I., the son of Mary, succeeds Elizabeth; he is succeeded by his son, Charles I., who was beheaded. 86.—He is succeeded by his son, Charles II., who is succeeded by his brother, James II., a Catholic, who died in France.

72.—At Calvin's death, he left the direction of the unfortunate city of Geneva to Theodore Beza, a worthy successor of his, both in life and doctrines. He was born on the 24th of June, 1519, in Vezelais, in Burgundy, of a noble family, and was educated his uncle, who sent him to Paris, to study his Humanity, and afterwards to Orleans, to learn Greek, under Melchior Wolmar, Calvin's master, first in Greek, and next in heresy. His appearance was agreeable, his manners polished, and he was a great favourite with all his acquaintance. He led, when young, an immoral life, and wrote several amatory poems; he had an intrigue with a tailor's wife in Paris, of the name of Claudia, and he has been charged with even more abominable crimes. His uncle resigned a Priorate, which he held, in his favour, and, likewise, made him his heir; but he spent not only that and his paternal property, but even stole the chalices and ornaments of a church belonging to the natives of Burgundy, in Orleans, of which he was Procurator. For this he was imprisoned, but soon liberated; and soon after he published in Paris a shocking epigram, regarding a person named Audabert, which induced the Court of Paris to order his imprisonment. This terrified him,

for, if convicted of the crime he was charged with, the penalty was burning alive. He was reduced to the greatest poverty, for he not only ran through his property, but also sold his Priorate for twelve hundred crowns; and even in this transaction, he was guilty of dishonesty, for he prevailed on the agents of his benefice to pay him the revenue of it before it came due. Covered with infamy, he changed his name to Theobald May, and fled to Geneva, taking Claudia with him, whom he then married, though her husband was still living. He presented himself to Calvin, who, finding he studied under Wolmar, received him, and procured him a Professorship of Greek, and from that he was promoted to a Professorship of Theology in Lausanne. The Ministers of that city, though apostates, yet having a knowledge of the crimes already committed by Beza, and seeing the debauched life he led, refused to admit him to the Ministry; but he was sustained by Calvin, whom he venerated almost to adoration, so that he was called *Calvinolator*, the adorer of Calvin (1).

73.—In his teaching he surpassed even Calvin in impiety, for the one admitted, though obscurely, the body of Christ in the Eucharist, but the other said, in the Conference of Poissy, that the body of Christ was as far from the Eucharist as heaven is from the earth; and although he was obliged to retract, nevertheless, in a letter of his, he again repeats the same sentiment (2); and one of his companions, as Spondanus tells us, said, what wonder is it, that Beza does not believe that, when he scarcely believes in the existence of God (3). On the occasion of the outbreak of the Calvinists against the Priests of the Church of St. Medard (*N.* 69), he boasted not only of the insult to the Church and the Priests, but especially of the horrible profanation of the Holy Eucharist. He wrote a letter of congratulation to the Queen of England, praising her for assisting to plant the Faith in France by blood and slaughter; and when he went to the Congress of Worms, where Calvin sent him, to try and gain friends for his sect, and Melancthon asked him, “Why the French caused so many disasters in France?” He said, “They only did

(1) Gotti, *c.* 114, *sec.* 4, *n.* 1, 6;
Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 18, 137.

(2) Berti, *Brev. Hist. t.* 2, *sec.* 16,
c. 1.

(3) Spondan, *ad An.* 1561, *n.* 19.

what the Apostles had done before them." "Why, then," said Melancthon, do you not suffer stripes, as the Apostles did." Beza made him no answer, but turned his back on him. Although nearly seventy years old when his wife Claudia died, he married a very young widow, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Florimund (4) says, that a nobleman of Guienne returning from Rome, in the year 1600, called on Beza, and found him a venerable old man, with a long white beard, and in his hand a beautifully bound little volume. When the gentleman asked him what it contained, he showed him that it was a book of sonnets, and said: "Sic tempus fallo"—"I thus cheat time." "Oh," said the gentleman to a friend of his, "is it thus this holy man, with one foot already in Charon's bark, passes his time." Beza continued for forty-one years after Calvin's death to govern the Church of Geneva, or, rather, to poison it by his bad example and doctrine; he was, however, called to account for all before God, in the year 1605, the eighty-fifth of his age (5). Let not the reader wonder that I have said so much about the vices of Luther, Calvin, and Beza. I have done so on purpose, that every one may understand that God did not send such men to reform his Church, but, rather, the devil, to destroy it. In this, however, no heresiarch ever can or ever has succeeded, for our Lord has promised to protect it to the end of the world, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

74.—I will here relate a Conference St. Francis de Sales had with Beza, about the year 1597, as we find it in the Saint's life (6). Clement VIII. desired St. Francis to see Beza, and try could he convert him. The Saint made his way into Geneva, at the risk of his life, and called on Beza, whom he found alone. He commenced, by begging Beza not to believe all he heard of him from his enemies. Beza answered, that he always considered St. Francis a man of learning and merit, but that he regretted seeing him devote his energies to prop up anything so weak as the Catholic religion. St. Francis then asked him, if it was his opinion, that a man could be saved in the Catholic Church? Beza demanded a little time, before he would give his

4) Floremund, Remund. *l.* 8, *c.* 17,
n. 6.

(5) Gotti, *loc. cit.* *n.* 7, 10.

(6) Vita di St. Francesco di Sales, da
Pietro Gallo, *l.* 2, *c.* 21, 22.

answer; he went into his study, remained walking about for a quarter of an hour, and then coming out said: "Yes; I believe that a man may be saved in the Catholic Church." "Why, then," said St. Francis, "have you established your Reformation with so much bloodshed and destruction, since, without any danger a man may be saved, and never leave the Catholic Church." "You have put obstacles in the way of salvation," said Beza, "in the Catholic Church, by inculcating the necessity of good works; but we, by teaching salvation by Faith alone, have smoothened the way to heaven." "But you," said St. Francis, "by denying the necessity of good works, destroy all human and divine laws, which threaten punishment to the wicked, and promise rewards to the good; and Christ says, in the Gospel, that not only those who do evil, but, likewise, those who omit to do the good commanded to be done, shall suffer eternal punishment. It is necessary, also," said he, "in order to know the true Faith, that there should be some judge from whom there is no appeal, and to whose judgment all should submit; for otherwise disputes never would have an end, and the truth never could be found." Beza then began talking about the Council of Trent, and said that the only rule of Faith was the Scriptures, and that the Council did not follow them. St. Francis answered, that the Scriptures had different meanings, and that it was necessary that their true sense should be decided by the Church. "But," said Beza, "the Scriptures are clear, and the Holy Ghost gives to every one the internal understanding of their true sense." "How, then, does it happen," said St. Francis, "if the Scripture be clear, and the Holy Ghost inspires the true sense of it to every one, that Luther and Calvin, both, in the opinion of the Reformers, inspired by God, held the most opposite opinions in the most important questions of Religion. Luther says, that the real body of Christ is in the Eucharist; Calvin, on the other hand, that it is only the virtue of Christ. How, then, can we know, when so great a difference exists, to which of the two, Luther or Calvin, the Holy Ghost has revealed the truth? Besides, Luther denies the Canonicity of the Epistle of St. James, and of some other books of the Holy Scriptures; Calvin admits it. Whom are we to believe?" They had now been disputing for three hours, and when Beza saw himself thus hemmed up in a corner,

he lost his temper, and only answered the Saint's arguments by abuse. St. Francis, then, with his accustomed meekness, said he did not come to give him any annoyance, and took his leave.

75.—Some time after, again at the request of the Pope, St. Francis paid him a second visit, and, among many things then discussed, they argued especially concerning Free Will, for Calvin blasphemously asserted, that whatever man does, he does through necessity—that if he is predestined he does what is good—if he is not, he does what is evil. The Saint proved the doctrine of Free Will so clearly, both from the Old and the New Testament, that Beza was convinced of its truth, and, cordially taking St. Francis by the hand, said that he daily prayed to God, that if he was not in the right way, he might lead him to it. This shows the doubts he entertained of his new faith; for those who are certain that they profess the true faith, never pray to God, to enlighten them to adopt another, but to confirm and preserve them in the Faith they profess. Finally, St. Francis thinking him now better disposed after this acknowledgment, spoke to him plainly, and told him, that now his years should lead him to reflect whether he was not letting the time of mercy pass by, and preparing himself for the day of justice—that, as he was now near the close of life, he should defer his conversion no longer, but return immediately to the Church he had forsaken—that if he feared the persecution he would suffer from the Calvinists, he should remember he ought to suffer every thing for his eternal salvation; but as Luther himself remarked, it is hard to expect that the head of any sect will forsake the doctrines he has taught others, and become a convert. Beza said that he did not despair of salvation in his own Church. The Saint then seeing that his heart was made of stone, left him under a promise of returning soon again to visit him; but this was not in his power, for the Genevese put guards to watch their Minister, and determined to put St. Francis to death if he ever came again. Some say that Beza was anxious to see him again, and that he retracted his errors, and that on that account his friends gave out that the violence of his sickness deranged his mind; but we know nothing of this for certain, and it is most probable that he died as he lived. The writer of St. Francis's life says, also, that Des Hayes, Governor of Montargis, being in Geneva, and

conversing familiarly one day with Beza, asked him, why he remained in his new sect? He pointed out to him a young woman in his house, and said, this is what retains me; and it is supposed that this was his second wife, whom he married when he was seventy years old.

76.—We have now to speak of the French Calvinists, or Huguenots, as they are generally called, as is supposed, from the castle of Hugon, near Toulouse, close by which they had their first conventicle, and of the desolation they caused in France. Volumes would not suffice to relate all the destruction caused by Calvin and his followers, not only in France, but in many other countries. I will only then give a sketch of them, to show how much harm one perverse heresiarch may occasion. During the reigns of Francis I. and his son, Henry II., though both zealous Catholics, and ever prosecuting the Calvinists with the utmost rigour, even condemning many of them to the stake, still this heresy was so spread through every province of the kingdom, that there was not a city or town but had its temple and ministers of the new sect. In the year 1559, however, when Henry was succeeded by his son, Francis II., only sixteen years of age, it broke forth like a torrent, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom with errors, sacrileges, sedition, and bloodshed (7). Jeane, Queen of Navarre, was the chief promoter of all this; she used all her endeavours to extinguish the Faith; she encouraged the heretics to take up arms, and when they were worsted, she was always ready to assist them. She encouraged Louis Bourbon, Prince of Conde, too, at his first presentation to her, to take up arms in the cause of the Reformation, and she was the head of the conspiracy of Amboise, which, however, did not succeed according to her wishes (8). The Huguenots, however, are blamed for the death of the young King, Francis II., who, it is said, was poisoned by a Huguenot surgeon, at the age of seventeen, by putting poison into his ear while treating him for an abscess (9).

77.—A royal decree was published in the reign of Charles IX., granting leave to the Calvinists to hold meetings, and preach

(7) Van Ranst, *Hist. sec.* 16, p. 322.

(9) Spondan, *ad an.* 1560, n. 7.

(8) Van Ranst, *loc. cit.* vide *Her. t.*
2, c. 272.

outside the cities, and on this occasion, nothing could equal the disturbances they caused. The first outbreak took place in Vassay, in Champagne, where seventy Calvinists were killed; the Prince of Conde immediately put himself at the head of the Calvinistic party, and they declared war against their King and country. They took several cities, and destroyed the churches, broke open the tombs of Saints, and burned their relics. Many battles were subsequently fought, in which the rebels were beaten, though not conquered. The first was fought in Dreux, in the Vennassain, in which Conde was taken prisoner by Francis of Guise, who commanded the Catholics, and Anthony, King of Navarre, who commanded the royal army, was so severely wounded, that he died shortly after, leaving an only son Henry, who was afterward the famous Henry IV., King of France. In the following year, 1563, while the Duke of Guise, commander of the royal troops, was besieging Orleans, he was treacherously wounded by one John Poltroze, employed by Beza; the wound proved mortal, and the Queen-Mother made a treaty of peace with the heretics, most hurtful to the Catholic interests, but which was subsequently modified by another edict (10).

78.—The Calvinists went to war again in 1567, and were again beaten, and in the year 1569, the Catholics gained the battle of Jarnac, in which the Prince of Conde, leader of the Calvinists, was killed (11). In the year 1572, a great number of Calvinists were killed on St. Bartholomew's day, and it is thought that not less than a hundred thousand Calvinists perished in this war; such were the hellish fruits of the doctrines Calvin taught. It is terrifying to read the details of the excesses committed by the Calvinists against the Churches, the Priests, the Sacred Images, and especially the Holy Eucharist. It is related in the Annals of France, in the year 1563 (12), that a Huguenot went into the church of St. Genevieve, and possessed by a diabolical spirit, snatched the Sacred Host out of the hands of the officiating Priest; he paid dearly, however, for the sacrilege, as he was immediately taken, his hand was cut off, he was then hanged, and his body burned. As an atonement for this

(10) Nat. Alex. t. 19, c. 11, art. 9, n. 3, & 4.

(11) Nat. Alex. n. 5; Hermant, t. 2, c. 306.

(12) Apud Gotti, c. 111, s. 4, n. 15.

irreverence, the same month, the King, his mother, the Princes of the blood, and the Parliament, went in procession from the chapel royal to the church of St. Genievieve, bearing lighted torches in their hands. About this time, also, the Huguenots, burned the body of St. Francis a Paula, which was preserved incorrupt for fifty years, in the church of St. Gregory of Tours, in the suburbs of Tours. Louis XIV. used every means, by sending preachers among these sectaries, to convert them, and finally adopted such rigorous measures against them, that a great many returned to the Faith, and those who refused compliance, left the kingdom. Innocent XI., in the year 1685, wrote him a letter, praising his zeal (13).

79.—Would to God, however, that the plague never spread further than France, and never tainted any other kingdom. The Low Countries were likewise infected by it, and the chief reason of its spreading there, was on account of the Lutheran and Calvinistic troops, maintained by the house of Austria to oppose France; both sects rivalled each other in making proselytes there, but Calvin sent many of his disciples to Flanders, and the Calvinists, therefore, remained the most numerous. The Flemings, also, felt themselves aggrieved by the Spanish Governors, and succeeded with Philip II., in obtaining the recal of Cardinal Granville, who had been sent as Counsellor of Mary, Queen of Hungary, and sister of Charles V., Regent of the Low Countries. This was a most fatal blow to the Catholic cause, for this great prelate, by his vigorous measures, and his zealous administration of his Inquisitorial powers, kept the heretics in check, but after his departure, in 1556, they broke out into open insurrection, wrecked the churches of Antwerp, broke the altars and images, and left the monasteries heaps of ruins, and this sedition spread through Brabant and other provinces, already infected with heresy, so that the Regent felt herself obliged to grant them a provisional licence for the exercise of their false Religion. King Philip refused to ratify this concession, and the heretics again took up arms; the King then sent the Duke of Alva with a powerful army to chastise them, but the Prince of Orange, though under many obligations to the King of Spain,

(13) Gotti, loc. cit. n. 16, c. 17.

proclaimed himself chief of the rebels and Calvinists, and led an army of thirty thousand Germans into the Low Countries (14). The scale of victory inclined sometimes to one side, sometimes to another, but the whole province was in rebellion against the King of Spain and the authority of the Catholic Church. The best authority to consult regarding this war of the Netherlands is Cardinal Bentivoglio. Although the Calvinists were most numerous in Holland, it is now divided between a thousand sects—Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Socinians, Arians, and the like. There are, likewise, a great number of Catholics; and, although they do not enjoy the free exercise of their Religion, still they are tolerated, and allowed to have private chapels in the cities, and in the country towns and villages they enjoy greater freedom* (15).

80.—Calvinism spread itself also into Scotland, and totally infected that kingdom. Varillas (16) gives the whole history of its introduction there; we will give a sketch of it. The perversion of this kingdom commenced with John Knox, an apostate Priest, of dissolute morals, who was at first a Lutheran, but afterwards residing some time in Geneva, and being intimate with Calvin, became one of his followers, and so ardent was he in his new Religion, that he promised Calvin that he would risk everything to plant it in Scotland; soon after, he quitted Geneva, and came to Scotland, to put his design into execution. The opportunity was not long wanting. Henry VIII., King of England, strove to induce his nephew, James V., King of Scotland, to follow his example, and establish a schism, and separate himself from the Roman Church, and invited him to meet him in some place where they could hold a conference, and discuss the matter. King James excused himself under various prettexts, and the upshot of the matter was, that Henry went to war with him. James gave the command of his army to a favourite of his, Oliver Sinclair, whom the nobility obeyed with the greatest reluctance, as he was not of noble birth, and the consequence was, that the Scots were beaten, and James died of grief (17),

(14) Varillas, *t. 2, l. 27*, dalla *p. 441*,
 Jovet Storia della Relia. *t. 1, p. 95*.
 (15) Jovet loc. cit. *p. 105*.

(16) Varillas Hist. Her. *t. 2, l. 28*,
 dalla *p. 471*; Hermant Histor. de
 Concil. *t. 2, c. 265*.

(17) Varillas, *p. 475*.

* N.B.—This was written in 1770.

leaving an infant only eight days old, to inherit his throne, Mary Stuart. Now this was exactly what Knox wanted; a long regency was just the thing to give him an opportunity to establish his opinions, and he unfortunately succeeded so well, that he substituted Calvinism for Catholicity. The infant Mary, being now Queen of Scotland, Henry VIII., asked her in marriage for his son Edward, afterwards the sixth of that name, and then only five years old. This demand raised two parties in the kingdom. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, then all-powerful in Scotland, and Governor of the kingdom, favoured Henry's wishes, gained over by Knox, who had already instilled heretical opinions into his mind; and one great reason he alledged was, that it would establish a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, David Beatoun (18), afterwards Cardinal, and the Catholics, gave it all the opposition in their power, as tending to make Scotland a province of England; but the chief cause of their opposition to it, was the injury to Religion, for this marriage would draw Scotland into schism.

81.—Meanwhile, the Regent, who was a friend of the heretics, permitted the Calvinists to disseminate their doctrines, and gave liberty to every one in private or in public to pray as he liked, or, in other words, to choose whatever religion he pleased. The Archbishop opposed this concession, but the Calvinists rose in arms against him, and imprisoned him, and made him promise to favour the English alliance. In this, however, they did not succeed, for previous to her departure for England, the Cardinal, with consent of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Lorraine, sister to the Prince of Guise, proposed to Francis I., King of France, to marry Mary to the Dauphin, son of Henry II. The King of France was very well pleased with the proposal, and sent a large body of troops into Scotland, which kept the Calvinists in check, and enabled the Queen Regent to send her daughter to France, and so Mary was sent, before she completed her seventh year, to be brought up in the family of Henry II., and in time to be married to his son, Francis II. On the death of Francis I. and Henry II., Mary was married to Francis II., but was soon left a

(18) Varillas, loc. cit.

widow, and the marriage was not blessed with children. Queen Mary then returned to Scotland, where she found religious affairs in the greatest confusion. The Calvinists assassinated the Archbishop in his very chamber, and afterwards hanged his body out of the window (19).

82.—The rebels, likewise, in this sedition, destroyed the churches, and obliged the Queen-Mother to grant them the free exercise of Calvinism. Such was the miserable state of the kingdom when the Queen returned to it from France; and she immediately set about remedying these religious disorders. About the year 1568 she married Henry Darnley (20), who was afterwards assassinated in the King's house by Earl Bothwell, leaving one son, afterwards James VI (21). Bothwell, blinded with love of the Queen, engaged a body of conspirators, seized her as she was returning from visiting her son at Stirling, brought her to a castle, and obliged her to marry him. On hearing this the Calvinists immediately broke out into rebellion against her, and accused her of being privy to the murder of her former husband, since she married his murderer, but the principal cause of their hatred to her was her religion. Bothwell himself, however, who had to fly to Denmark from this outbreak, declared before his death that the Queen was perfectly innocent of Henry Darnley's murder. The Calvinists, however, glad of a pretext to persecute the Queen, became so bold at last, that they took her prisoner and confined her in a castle, and the perfidious Knox advised that she should be put to death. The rebels did not go so far as that, but they told her that she should consent to be banished either into France or England, and should renounce the crown in favour of her son, and on her refusal they threatened to throw her into the lake, and one of them had the cowardice to hold a dagger to her breast. Under fear of death she then took the pen and signed the deed making over the kingdom to her son, then thirteen months old (22).

83.—The poor Queen was still detained in prison, notwithstanding her renunciation, so some of her friends planned and accomplished her liberation, but not knowing where to seek a place of security, she unfortunately sought it in England from

(19) Varill. *t.* 2, *l.* 28, *p.* 426.

(20) Varill. *p.* 479.

(21) Varill. *p.* 500.

(22) Varill. *p.* 502, 503.

Queen Elizabeth, who promised to aid and assist her as a sister Sovereign. Thus she threw herself into the power of the very woman of all others most anxious to deprive her of life and kingdom, for Mary was her only rival, and the greatest difficulty the Pope had in recognizing Elizabeth was, that while Mary lived she was the lawful inheritor of the English throne. When Mary arrived in England, Elizabeth pretended to receive (23) her; but she imprisoned her—first, at Carlisle, and afterwards in Bolton—under pretence that her enemies wished to make away with her. The national pride of the Scotch was raised when they learned their Queen was a prisoner, and they invaded England with six thousand men. Elizabeth, then unprepared for war, had recourse to craft to avert the blow, and she therefore promised Mary that if she used her authority to make the Scotch retire from England, she would assist her to recover her kingdom, but otherwise that there would be no chance of her liberation till the war was at an end. Mary yielded, and ordered the Scotch to disband themselves, under pain of high treason; the chiefs of the party were thus constrained to obey, but she was still kept in prison, and Elizabeth, to have another pretext for detaining her, induced Murray, a natural brother of Mary, and the Countess of Lennox, mother of the murdered Darnley, to accuse her of procuring her husband's murder. Elizabeth appointed a commission to try her, and though many persons of the greatest weight took up her defence, still after being imprisoned nineteen years, and having changed from prison to prison, sixteen times in England alone, she was condemned to be beheaded. She received the news of her sentence with the greatest courage, and an entire resignation to the divine will. She asked for a pen, and wrote three requests to Elizabeth: First—That after her death her servants might be at liberty to go where they pleased. Second—To allow her to be buried in consecrated ground; and, Third—Not to prosecute any one who wished to follow the Catholic faith.

84.—The execution of the sentence was deferred for two months, but on the day appointed, the 18th of February, 1587, at the dawn of day the officers of justice came to conduct her to

the place of execution. The Queen asked for a confessor to prepare her for death, but was refused, and a minister was sent to her whom she refused to receive. It is said that she received the holy Communion herself, having, by permission of the Pope, St. Pius V., retained a consecrated particle for that purpose (24). She then dressed herself with all the elegance of a bride, prayed for a short time in her oratory, and went to the scaffold which was prepared in the hall of Fotheringay Castle, the last prison she inhabited. Every thing was covered with black, the hall, the scaffold, and the pulpit from which the sentence was read. Mary entered, covered with a long veil, which reached to her feet, a golden cross on her breast, a Rosary pendant at her girdle, and a crucifix in one hand, the Office of the Blessed Virgin in the other. She went forward with a majestic gait, and calling Melvin, her Major-domo, she saluted him with a serene countenance, and said: "My dear Melvin, when I am dead go to my son, and tell him that I die in the Catholic Religion, and tell him if he loves me or himself to follow no other; let him put his trust in God, and He will help him, and tell him to pardon Elizabeth for my death, which I voluntarily embrace for the Faith." She then requested the Governor to allow the persons composing her suite to be present at her death, that they might certify that she died in the Catholic Faith. She knelt down on a cushion covered with black, and heard the sentence signed by Elizabeth's own hand read, she then laid her head on the block, and the executioner cut it off at the second stroke. Her body was buried near Queen Catherine's, the wife of Henry VIII., and it is said this inscription was put on her tomb, but immediately after removed by order of Elizabeth: "Maria Scotorum Regina virtutibus Regiis et animo Regio ornata, tyrannica crudelitate ornamentum nostri seculi extinguitur." Mary's death filled all Europe with horror and compassion for her fate, and even Elizabeth, when she heard it, could not conceal the effect it had on her, and said it was too precipitate, but for all that she continued to persecute the Catholics more and more, and added many martyrs to the Church (25).

(24) Vide P. Suar. *t.* 3, in St. Thom. *c.* 72, *ar.* 8, in fin.

(25) Varillas, *sopra*, *t.* 2, *l.* 28; Bern. *t.* 4, *s.* 16, *c.* 11; Joves Istoria della Rel. *t.* 2, *p.* 84; Dizion. Port.

85.—James VI., King of Scotland, and the son of Queen Mary, took little heed of his mother's advice or example, for, after Elizabeth's death, being then King of Scotland, he succeeded her, and took the title of James I., King of Great Britain, and the year after his coronation, which took place in 1603, he ordered, under pain of death, that all Catholic Priests should quit the kingdom. In the year 1606 he brought out that famous declaration that the King of England was independent of the Roman Church, called the Oath of Supremacy. He died in 1625, the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his English reign. He was the first King who governed the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, but he lived and died a heretic, while his mother lived forty-two years in almost continual sorrow and persecution, but died the death of the just. This unhappy Monarch was succeeded by his son, Charles I., born in the year 1600, and like his father, the Sovereign of three kingdoms; he followed his father's errors in religion, and sent succours to the Calvinists in France, to enable them to retain Rochelle, then in their possession. He was unfortunate; for both the Scotch and English Parliamentarians took up arms against him, and after several battles he lost the kingdom. He took refuge with the Scotch, but they delivered him up to the English, and they, at Cromwell's instigation, who was then aiming at sovereign power, condemned him to be beheaded, and he died on the scaffold on the 30th of July, 1648, the twenty-fifth of his reign and forty-eighth of his age.

86.—He was succeeded by his son, Charles II., born in 1630; at his father's death he went to Scotland, and was proclaimed King of that country and of England and Ireland likewise. Cromwell, who then governed the kingdom, under title of Protector of England, took the field against him, and put his forces to flight, so that Charles had to make his escape in disguise, first to France and afterwards to Cologne and Holland. He was recalled after Cromwell's death, which took place in 1658, and was crowned King of England in 1661, and died in 1685, at the age of sixty-five. He was succeeded by his second brother, James II., born in 1633. James was proclaimed King on the day of his brother's death, the 16th of February, 1685, and was soon after proclaimed King of Scotland, though he openly declared himself a Roman

Catholic, and forsook the communion of the English Church. Ardently attached to the Faith, he promulgated, in 1687, an Edict of Toleration, granting to the Catholics the free exercise of Religion, but this lost him his crown, for the English called in William, Prince of Orange, who, though James's son-in-law, took possession of the kingdom, and, in 1689, James had to fly to France. He soon after went over to Ireland, to keep possession of that kingdom at all events, but being again beaten he fled back again to France, and died in St. Germain, in 1701, the sixty-eighth year of his age. As this sovereign did not hesitate to sacrifice his temporal kingdom for the Faith, we have every reason to believe that he received an eternal crown from the Almighty. James II. left one son, James III., who died in the Catholic Faith in Rome.

§ III.

THE ERRORS OF CALVIN.

87.—Calvin adopts the errors of Luther, 88.—Calvin's errors regarding the Scriptures. 89.—The Trinity. 90.—Jesus Christ. 91.—The Divine Law 92.—Justification. 93.—Good Works and Free Will. 94.—That God predestines man to sin and to hell, and Faith alone in Jesus Christ is sufficient for salvation. 95.—The Sacraments, and especially Baptism. 96.—Penance. 97.—The Eucharist and the Mass. 98.—He denies Purgatory and Indulgences; other errors.

87.—Calvin adopted almost all the principal errors of Luther, who adopted almost all the errors of the ancient heretics, as we shall hereafterwards show in the refutation of Luther and Calvin. Prateolus (1) reckons two hundred and seven heretical doctrines, promulgated by Calvin, and another author (2) makes the number amount to fourteen hundred. At present I will only speak of the principal errors of Calvin, and will give in the last part of the work a particular treatise to refute them.

(1) Prateol. Her. 13.

(2) Francisc. Forvandes. in Theomach. Calv.

88.—As regards the Holy Scriptures, Calvin, in his book against the Council of Trent (3), says the Church has no right to interpret and judge of the true sense of the Scriptures. Second—He refuses to receive the Canon of the Scriptures as settled by the Council. Third—He denies the authority of the Vulgate. Fourth—He denies the Canonicity of the books of Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Tobias, Judith, and the Maccabees, and totally rejects Apostolical Traditions (4).

89.—Regarding the Persons of the Trinity, he does not like the words Consubstantial, Hypostasis, or even Trinity. “I wish,” he says, “all these words were buried in oblivion, and we had this Faith alone, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God” (5). The Church, however, has inserted in the Office of the Breviary the Athanasian Creed, in which it is positively laid down that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are not only one God, but also three distinct Persons; for otherwise one might fall into the errors of Sabellius, who said that these were but simple words, and that in the Trinity there is but one Divine Nature, and one Person, and on that account the Holy Fathers made use of the words Hypostatic and Consubstantial to explain both the distinction and the equality of the Divine Persons. Second—It is a foolish thing, he says, to believe in the continual actual generation of the Son from the Eternal Father (6); but this doctrine is not only the general one among Theologians (7), but is proved by the Scriptures: “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee” (Ps. ii, 7). St. Augustin, explaining this text, says: “This day, that is, from all eternity, and in every continuous instant, he begets me according to my Divine Nature, as his Word and his Natural Son.”

90.—Speaking of Jesus Christ, he says that he was the mediator of mankind with his Eternal Father before he became man, and before Adam sinned (8). “Not alone,” he says in one of his letters, “did Christ discharge the office of a mediator after the fall of Adam, but as the Eternal Word of God.” This is a manifest error, for it was when Christ took flesh in the womb of the

(3) Calvin. Antid. ad Synod. Trident. ad Sess. IV.

(4) Calvin. in Antid. loc. cit.

(5) Calvin. Instit. l. 1, c. 13, sec.

(6) Calvin. vide loc. cit.

(7) Calvin. Epist. ad Stancarum.

(8) Calvin, Instit. l. 2, c. 16.

Virgin Mary that he became the mediator of reconciliation between God and man; as the Apostle says, "for there is one God, and one mediator of God and man, the *man* Christ Jesus" (I. Timothy, ii. 5). He also blasphemously taught, that when Christ descended into hell (and he understands it as the hell of the damned), that he suffered the pains of the damned, and this was the great price he offered to his Eternal Father for our redemption. Cardinal Gotti says (9), that, like Nestorius, he recognized two Persons in Christ (10).

91.—Concerning the Divine law, and the sins of mankind (11), he says it is impossible for us to observe the law imposed on us by God, and that original concupiscence, or that vicious leaning to sin which exists in us, though we do not consent to it, is still sinful, since such desires arise from the wickedness which reigns in us; that there are no venial sins, but that all are mortal; that every work which even the just man performs is sinful; that good works have no merit with God, and that to say the contrary is pride, and proceeds from a wish to depreciate grace (12).

92.—Concerning justification, he says that it does not consist in the infusion of sanctifying grace, but in the imposition of the justice of Christ, which reconciles the sinner with God. The sinner, he says in another place, puts on the justice of Christ by Faith, and clothed in that, appears before God not as a sinner, but as one of the just, so that the sinner, though continuing a sinner still, is justified by being clothed with—masked as it were—the justice of Christ, and appears just by that means (13). He also says, that man, in a state of sin, is not justified by contrition, but by Faith alone, believing in the promises and in the merits of Jesus Christ (14). This was the doctrine of the French Calvinists in their celebrated profession of faith: "We believe that we are made participators of this justification by Faith alone, and this so happens because the promises of life offered to us in Christ are applied to our use." He likewise said, that those who are justified should believe with a certainty of Faith that they are in a

(9) Gotti, *Vera Chiesa*, t. 1, c. 8, sec. 1, n. 9.

(10) Calvin. *Inst.* l. 1, c. 13, sec. 9, n. 23, 24.

(11) *Calv. l. 3, c. 3, sec. 10.*

(12) *Idem l. 3, c. 14, sec. 4.*

(13) *Idem. l. 3, c. 11, sec. 15, 16.*

(14) *Idem, l. 3, c. 11, sec. 3.*

state of grace, and that this certainty should be understood not only of perseverance, but even of eternal salvation; so that one should consider himself as one of the elect, as St. Paul was by the special revelation he received from God (15). He likewise said, that Faith and justification belong to the elect alone, and that once in possession of them, they cannot be lost, and if any one thinks he lost them, he never had them. The Synod of Dort, however (16), opposed this doctrine, when it decided that in particular instances one may lose the Divine grace. We should not at all be surprised at this disagreement in the same sect, for as the heresiarchs separate from the Church, they cannot blame their disciples for separating from them; as Tertullian says, when each follows his own will, the Valentinians have the same right to their own opinion as Valentine himself (17).

93.—He uttered horrible blasphemies when speaking of human actions as meritorious to salvation, or otherwise. The first is, that man has no free will, and that this word, free will, is but a name without the substance (18). The first man alone, he said, had free will, but he and all his posterity lost it through sin; hence, anything that man does, he does through necessity, for God has so willed it, and it is God himself moves him to do it, which movement man cannot resist. But then, it may be said, when man acts without free will, and through necessity, both when he does what is good, as well as when he does what is evil, how can he have merit or demerit? Calvin again blasphemously answers this, and says, that to acquire merit, or deserve punishment, it is enough that man should act spontaneously, without being driven to it by others, though all the while he acts without liberty and through necessity. But if God moves the will of man even to commit sin, then God is the author of sin? “No,” says Calvin, “because the author of sin is he alone who commits it, not he who commands or moves the sinner to commit it.” He does not blush, then, to give utterance to a third blasphemy, that every sin is committed by the Divine authority and will; and those, he says, who assert that God merely permits sins, but does not wish them, or instigate them, oppose the Scriptures.

(15) Calv. Inst. l. 3, c. 2, sec. 16, &
seq.

(16) Idem, l. 3, c. 2, sec. 11, 12.

(17) Tertull. de Script. Hærat. c. 42.

(18) Calv. Inst. l. 2, c. 2.

“ They feign that he permits those things, which the Scripture pronounces are done not only by his permission, but of which he is the author” (19). He bases this falsehood on that text of David (20): “ Whatsoever the Lord pleased he both done in heaven and on the earth” (Psalms, cxxxiv, 6); but he appears to forget what the Psalmist says in another place: “ Thou art not a God that willest iniquity” (Psalms, v, 5). If God, I ask, moves man to commit sin, how can he avoid it? Calvin not being able to get out of this difficulty, says, that carnal men, as we are, we cannot understand it (21).

94.—It is a necessary consequence of this doctrine, that the sinner who is lost, is lost by Divine ordinance, and even this horrible blasphemy did not affright Calvin; monstrous as it is, he agrees to it, and concludes that God, knowing beforehand the salvation or reprobation of each person, as he has decreed it, that some men are predestined to eternal torment by the Almighty, solely by his will, and not by their evil actions (22). Such, reader, is the fine theology of these new Reformers of the Church, Luther and Calvin, who make the Almighty a tyrant, a deceiver, unjust and wicked—a tyrant, because he creates men for the purpose of tormenting them for all eternity; a deceiver, because he imposes on them a law which they never can, by any means in their power, observe; unjust, since he condemns men to eternal punishment, while, at the same time, they are not at liberty to avoid sin, but constrained to commit it; and wicked, for he himself first causes a man to sin, and then punishes him for it. Finally, they make God distribute his rewards unjustly, since he gives his grace and heaven to the wicked, merely because they have Faith; that they are justified, though they should not even be sorry for their sins. Calvin says that this is the benefit of the death of Christ; but I answer him thus: If, according to his system, a man may be saved, then good works are no longer necessary, and Christ died to destroy every precept both of the old and new law, and to give freedom and confidence to Christians to do whatever they like, and to commit even the most enormous sins, since it is enough to secure their salvation without any co-

(19) *Calv. l. 2, c. 3.*(20) Calvin, *de Prædest. Dei, æterna.*(21) *Calv. Inst. l. 3, c. 23.*(22) *Calv. ibid.*

operation on their part; that they should merely believe firmly that God does not impute to them their sins, but wishes to save them through the merits of Christ, though they do everything in their power to gain hell. This certain faith in our salvation, which he calls *confidence*, God, he says, gives to the elect alone.

95.—Speaking of the Sacraments, he says, that they have effect on the elect alone, so that those who are not predestined to eternal happiness, though they may be in a state of grace, receive not the effect of the Sacrament. He also says that the words of the ministers of the Sacraments are not consecrating, but only declaratory, intended alone to make us understand the Divine promises (23), and hence he infers, that the Sacraments have not the power of conferring grace, but only of exciting our faith, like the preaching of the Divine Word (24), and he ridicules our Theological term, *ex opere operato*, for explaining the power of the Sacraments, as an invention of ignorant Monks; but in this, he only shows his own ignorance, as he understands by *opus operatum*, the good work of the ministers of the Sacraments (25). We, Catholics, understand, by *opus operatum*, not the act of the minister himself, so much as the power which the Almighty gives to the Sacraments (if not hindered by sin), of operating in the soul; that which the Sacrament signifies as Baptism, to wash; Penance, to forgive; the Eucharist, to nourish. He denies that there is any difference between the Sacraments of the Old and the New Law (26); but St. Paul says that the former were but weak and needy elements (Gal. iv, 9), and a shadow of things to come (Collos. ii, 17). He ridicules the Sacramental character, which is impressed by Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders (27), and Christ, he says, only instituted three Sacraments—Baptism, the Supper, and Ordination; the first two he positively asserts to be Sacraments, and the third he admits. “The imposition of hands,” he says, “which is performed in true and lawful Ordinations, I grant to be a Sacrament;” but he totally rejects the Sacraments of Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony (28). Though

(23) Calvin. Instit. l. 4, c. 14, s. 4.

(24) Idem, l. 4, c. 14, s. 11.

(25) Idem, l. 4, c. 14, s. 26.

(26) Idem, l. 4, c. 14, s. 23.

(27) Calvin, Instit. in Antid. Conc. Trid. ad Can. 9, Sess. 7.

(28) Idem, l. 4, c. 19, s. 19, 20.

he admits Baptism as a Sacrament, he denies that it is necessary for salvation (29), because children, he says, snatched off by death, though they are not baptized, are saved, for they are members of the Church when they are born, for all children of Christians, he says, being born in the alliance of the New Law (30), are all born in grace (31), and he teaches that laymen and women cannot baptize a child even in danger of death (an error most dangerous to the salvation of these poor innocents), because, though they die without baptism, they are saved (32). Finally, he teaches that the Baptism of John the Baptist was of the same efficacy as the Baptism instituted by Jesus Christ (33).

96.—He not alone denies that Penance is a Sacrament, but he teaches many errors concerning it; for the sins committed after Baptism, he says, are remitted by the remembrance of Baptism, and do not require the Sacrament of Penance (34); that the absolution of the Confessor has no power to remit sins, but is merely an abstraction of the remission God grants us, by the promise made to Christians; that the confession of sins is not of Divine right, but only ordained by Innocent III., in the Council of Lateran; and that it is not necessary to make satisfaction for our sins, because God is not to be pleased with our works, and such satisfaction would be to derogate from that atonement made by Christ for our sins.

97.—Regarding the Sacrament of the Eucharist, against which all his malice is directed, as we see in his book, “*De Cæna Domini*,” he says, that Transubstantion, as believed by Catholics, is nothing but a mere invention, and that the Eucharist ought not to be preserved or adored, because it is a Sacrament only while it is used, and that the essence of this Sacrament is eating by Faith (35). He denies (and this is the error he most furiously defends) the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. The words of consecration: “This is my body, and this is my blood,” are to be taken, he says, not in reality, as we believe them, but figuratively, and that they do not mean the conversion

(29) *Idem*, c. 19, s. 31.

(30) *Idem*, l. 4, c. 15, s. 20.

(31) Bossuet *Variat. l. 3, l. 14, n. 37.*

(32) Calvin, l. 4, c. 15, s. 20 & seq.

(33) *Idem*, l. 3, c. 15, s. 3 & 4.

(34) *Vide loc. cit.*

(35) Calvin, loc. cit. de *Cæna Dom.*

of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but that the bread and wine in the Sacrament are merely figures of the body and blood of our Lord (36), and that in the communion, we receive the life and substance of Jesus Christ, but not his proper flesh and blood; then he says, "we do and do not receive Jesus Christ," proving that he did not believe in, or admit, the Real Presence in the Eucharist (37). Nothing, he says, can be more reprehensible than dividing the Supper—in other words, giving communion under one kind. When such is their doctrine, we ought surely be surprised to see the Calvinists in their famous Synod of Charenton, in 1631, deciding that the Lutherans, who they knew believed in the Real Presence, should be admitted to their communion, because, as they asserted, both believed in the fundamental articles (38). Daille denies (39) that there is anything in this Decree contrary to piety or to the honour of God; but we may ask the Calvinists: Is not idolatry contrary to the honour of God? and are not the Lutherans idolaters, when they adore as God, mere bread? Calvin denies, also, that the Mass is a Sacrifice instituted by Jesus Christ for the living and the dead (40), and it is, he says, injurious to the Sacrifice of the Cross to say so, and that private Masses are in direct opposition to the institution of Christ.

98.—Calvin, likewise, denies Purgatory (41), the value of Indulgences (42), the Intercession of Saints, and the Veneration of Images (43); and St. Peter, he says, enjoyed among the Apostles merely a supremacy of honour, but not of jurisdiction (44), and then he rejects the primacy of St. Peter and the Pope (45). The Church and General Councils, he says, are not infallible in the definition of articles of Faith, or the interpretation of the Scriptures. He entirely renounces Ecclesiastical Laws, and the rites appertaining to discipline (46), such rites, as he alleges, being pernicious and impious, and he rejects the Fast of Lent (47), and the Celibacy of the Clergy (48); vows to fast or to

(36) Calvin. *Instit. l. 4, c. 17, s. 32.*(37) *Idem, loc. cit. s. 33, 34.*(38) Calvin. *l. 4, c. 17, s. 46—48.*(39) Dallæus *Apol. Eccl. Reform, p. 43.*(40) Calvin. *Instit. l. 4, c. 18.*(41) *Idem, l. 3, c. 5, s. 6, 10.*(42) Calvin. *Inst. Idem l. 3, c. 5, s. 2.*(43) *Idem l. 3, c. 20.*(44) *Idem I. c. II.*(45) *Idem l. 4, c. 6.*(46) *Idem l. 4, c. 9.*(47) *Idem l. 4, c. 20.*(48) *Idem l. 4, c. 12, s. 19 & 20.*

go on a pilgrimage, and the religious vows, he says, are superstitious (49). Usury, he says, may be permitted, for there is no text of Scripture prohibiting it. Noel Alexander and Cardinal Gotti (50) enumerate many other errors of his, and in a word, he preached and wrote so many blasphemies, that it was not without reason, at his death, that he cursed his life, his studies, and his writings, and called on the devil to take him, as we read above (*N.* 70) (51).

§ IV.

THE DIFFERENT SECTS OF CALVINISTS.

99.—The Sects into which Calvinism was divided. 100.—The Puritans. 101.—The Independents and Presbyterians. 102.—The difference between these Sects. 103.—The Quakers and Tremblers. 104.—The Anglo-Calvinists. 105.—The Piscatorians. 106.—The Arminians and Gomarists.

99.—The sect of Calvin was soon divided into numerous other sects—in fact, we may say that from every sect a thousand others sprung, and that is the case, especially in England, where you can scarcely find the members of the same family believing the same thing. We shall speak of the principal sects described by Noel Alexander and Cardinal Gotti (1). These are the Reformed, who are found in France, in the Palatinate, in Switzerland, and Flanders, and these, in general, follow the doctrine of Calvin to the letter. In England and Scotland they are called Puritans, and, besides, we find among his followers, others called Independents, Presbyterians, Anglo-Calvinists, Piscatorians, Arminians, and Gomorists.

100.—The most rigid of all the Calvinists are the Puritans, who hate all who do not follow their own way of thinking, but abhor the Catholics especially, and do not even like to pray in the churches consecrated by them. They rejected Episcopacy—

(49) *Ibid*, s. 23.

(50) *Idem*, l. 4, c. 13, s. 6.

(51) Calvin Respons. de Usur. inter Epist. p. 223; Nat. Alex. t. 19, art. 13, s. 2; Gotti, t. 2, c. 3, s. 5.

(1) Nat. Alex. t. 19, art. 13, sec. 3; Gotti, Ver. Rel. c. 312, sec. 1, 2.

the rites, and ceremonies, and Liturgy, both of the Catholic and Anglican Churches, not even keeping the Lord's Prayer. They are as exact in the observance of the Sunday as the Jews are of the Sabbath. They are no friends to royalty, and it was through their means that Charles I. was brought to the block (as we have seen above, *N.* 85), in 1649.

101.—The Independents and Presbyterians believe much the same as the Puritans, but their system of church government is different. When Oliver Cromwell became Protector of England (*N.* 86), he was an Independent. They believe just what they like, and recognize no superior as invested with the power of teaching them. According to them, that supreme power resides in each sect which they would not allow to the Councils of the Universal Church. They allow no one to preach who does not follow their doctrine. They celebrated the "Supper" on Sundays; but they do not admit to the "Supper," nor to Baptism, only those of their own sect. They celebrated the Supper, with their hats on, without Catechism, sermon, or singing; and they were the progenitors of all the other sects that overran England, as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians (who rejected all law, *N.* 35), disciples of John Agricola, and the Anti-Scripturists, who totally rejected the Scriptures, boasting that they had the spirit of the Prophets and Apostles.

102.—The Presbyterians are a powerful body in the British islands. They separated themselves from the Independents. Their Churches are formed into classes; the classes are subject to Provincial Synods; and these to a National Synod, whose decisions must be obeyed, as if almost of Divine authority. They are called Presbyterians, because they adopt a form of Church government by lay elders, and they say that Bishops have no more authority than Presbyters. Their Elders are generally men of years, unless in the case of some specially gifted young person; the name is derived from the Greek word, *Presbuteroi*, which means our Elders.

103.—There are also Quakers, or, as they were sometimes called, Tremblers, who considered themselves perfect in this life. They imagined they were frequently moved by the Spirit to such a pitch, that they trembled all over, not being able to endure the abundance of the Divine light they enjoyed. They

reject not only all Ecclesiastical, but even civil ceremonies, for they never uncover for any one. They say no prayers in their meeting-houses; they even look on prayer as useless, for they are justified by their own justice itself. They did believe, though it is supposed they hold those opinions no longer, that Jesus Christ despaired on the cross, and that he had other human defects. They held erroneous opinions even on the first dogmas of Faith, not believing in the Trinity, or the second coming of Christ, or in hell or heaven after this life; many of these opinions, which were held by the first Quakers, are now changed or modified, and it is difficult at present to know exactly what their creed is. Their founder was an Englishman, John Fox, a tailor. There is another sect, called Ranters, who believe that nothing is vile or unlawful which nature desires. Another sect was called Levellers, enemies of all political order; they wished that all men should dress exactly alike, and that no one should be honoured more than another, and they frequently had to be punished for seditious conduct by the magistrates.

104.—The Anglo-Calvinists are different from the Puritans, Independents, and Presbyterians, both in Church discipline and doctrine. Unlike all these sects, they have preserved the Episcopal Order, not alone as distinct from other offices, but as superior by Divine right; they retain a sort of form of consecration for Bishops; they ordain Priests, and confirm those who have received Baptism, and show some honour to the Sign of the Cross, which their cognate sects reject totally. Besides Bishops, there are Chancellors, Archdeacons, Deans, and Rectors of Parishes; they have preserved the Cathedrals, and have Canons and Prebends, who say morning and evening prayers, and the surplice is used as a vestment. They recognize both the orders of Priesthood and Deaconship. The King, according to the laws of Henry and Elizabeth, is head of the Church, and the fountain of all ecclesiastical authority. The Sovereign, they say, has the power of making new laws, and establishing new rites, with consent of the Metropolitan and Convocation; and his royal tribunal decides all judgments brought before it. He can, with his Council, decide on matters of Faith, publish ordinances and censures. Such are the powers granted to the Sovereign, in the

work entitled, "The Policy of the Church of England," published in London, in the year 1683.

105.—The Piscatorians were so called, from John Piscator, a Professor of Theology, and Pastor, at Herborne, a proud and vain man. He differed in several points with the Calvinists. He divided the justification of Christ into active and passive; the active he acquired by the holiness of his life—the passive, by his sufferings; the active justification was profitable to himself alone—the passive to us, and it is by this we are justified. It is, on the contrary, our doctrine, that Christ, by his labours and sufferings, gained merit both for himself and us; as the Apostle says: "He humbled himself, being made obedient unto death... ..For which God exalted him, &c." (Philip. ii, 8, 9). Hence God exalted him, both for the sanctity of his life, and for his passion. He, likewise, taught that the breaking of the bread in the "Supper" was essential; and the academy of Marpurg embraced this opinion, but the other Calvinists did not. The Mosaic Law, he said, should be observed, as far as the judicial precepts go. He differed almost entirely with Calvin, regarding Predestination, the Atonement, Penance, and other points, and composed a new Catechism. He likewise published a new version of the Bible, filled with a thousand errors. Both himself and his doctrines were unanimously condemned by the Reformers.

106.—Two other Calvinistic sects had their origin in Holland, the Arminians and Gomarists. Arminius or Harmensen, and Gomar, were Professors of Theology in the University of Leyden. In 1619, Arminius published a Remonstrance, and, on that account, his followers were called Remonstrants. In this writing, or Catechism, which in several articles comes near to the Catholic doctrine, he rejects eight errors of Calvin. The first error he attacks is, that God gives to the predestined alone, faith, justification, and glory; God, he says, wishes the salvation of all men, and gives all sufficient means of salvation, if they wish to avail themselves of them. He rejects the second error, that God, by an absolute decree, has destined many to hell before he created them; he says, that such reprobation is because of the sins they commit, and die without repenting of. Of the third error, that Christ has redeemed the elect alone, he

says that no one is excluded from the fruit of Redemption, if he is disposed to receive it as he ought. The fourth error he reproves, is that no one can resist grace; this, he says, is false, for man by malice can, if he likes, reject it. The fifth error is, that he who has once received grace cannot again lose it; but he teaches that in this life we may both lose the grace received, and recover it again by repentance. Gomar (2), on the other hand, though a Professor in the same University, adopted all the dogmas of Calvin, and opposed Arminius and his Remonstrants with the greatest violence, and his disciples were called Anti-Remonstrants, and they accused the Arminians of Pelagianism. The dispute, at length, became so violent, that the States-General convoked a Synod, at Dort, to terminate it, and invited deputies from England, Scotland, Geneva, and other kingdoms. The Synod was held; but as almost all the deputies who attended were Calvinists, or differed but slightly from the Calvinistic doctrines, the Arminians were condemned, and the Gomarists got the upper hand. The States' Chancellor, Barneveldt, and Hugo Grotius, took the part of Arminius, for which Barneveldt perished on the scaffold, and Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but was saved by a stratagem of his wife, who obtained leave to send him a chest of books, to amuse him in his solitude; after a time, the chest was sent back, and, instead of the books, Grotius was concealed in it, and he thus escaped (3).

(2) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 3, *art.* 11, *sec.* 13, *n.* 6.

(3) Nat. Alex. *loc. cit.*; Gotti, *Ver. Rel. c.* 12, *sec.* 2, *n.* 40; *Dizion. Port. alla parola Grozio.*

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