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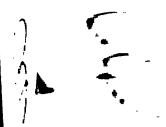
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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

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MDCCCXLIV.

and St. Prosper the chief opponent. That Saint himself; Cassian, by birth a Scythian, and Vincent of Lerins, one or both unhappily on the heterodox side in the controversy, though zealous against Nestorianism and Pelagianism; St. Lupus the brother of Vincent; St. Germanus the associate of St. Lupus in expelling Pelagianism from Britain; and St. Hilary of Arles; are all ornaments of the Gallic Church during the period contained in this Volume. In Syria, Theodoret's public life is commensurate with the whole period, commencing with his controversy with St. Cyril, and terminating in his restoration to his see at the Council of Chalcedon, and his death shortly after it. Africa at the same era is again fruitful in Confessors and Martyrs, under the persecution of the Arian Genseric.

In the preparation of this Volume, the plan has been followed which has been observed in those which preceded it; the references, however, to the Councils are so numerous that, except in some special cases, the notice of Mansi's Edition has been omitted.

For the entire labour of the work, for the revision of the translated text and the original margin, for the valuable Notes and the enlarged Index, and for carrying the Volume through the press, the Editor is indebted, as in former Volumes to other friends, so in the present to the REV. WILLIAM KAY, Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College.

J. H. N.

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THIS VOLUME.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXV.

A. D. 428.
CH. I.

I.
The heresy
of Nesto-
rius.

[¹ Supr. 24.
c. 55.]

[² See
chap. V.
inf. and
the note on
that place.]

³ Liberat.
Brev. c. 4.
Evagr. Hist.

1. c. 2.
Socr. 7.

32. B.
⁴ Ap. Mar.
Mercat.

Pt. 2. p. 5.
sqq.

⁵ Cass. de
Incarn. 7.

6. note a.
Prosper.
Chron.

an. V. Theo-
dosii.

Liberat.
c. 4.

⁶ 1 Cor.
xv. 21.

NESTORIUS had brought with him from Antioch the Priest Anastasius¹, his syncellus² and confidant. He preaching one

day in the church of Constantinople said³, "Let no one call "Mary mother of God; for she was a woman, and it is im-

possible that God should be born of a human creature." These words gave great offence to many both of the clergy

and laity: "for they had always been taught," says the historian Socrates, "to acknowledge JESUS CHRIST as God,

"and not to sever Him in any way from the Divinity." Nestorius, however, declared his assent to what the Priest Anastasius had thus advanced, and several sermons⁴ which he delivered on the subject are still extant.

The first⁵ is supposed to have been preached on Christmas-day, the twenty-fifth of December, A.D. 428, in the Consul-

ate of Felix and Taurus: for it was in this the first year of his Episcopate, that Nestorius began publicly to disseminate his heresy. In this sermon he sets out with some observa-

tions about Providence, he then proceeds to speak of the restitution of mankind, and having quoted the words of

St. Paul⁶, "By one man came death, and by one man the "resurrection," he adds a request that all such as inquire

whether Mary should be called mother of God, or mother of a man, Theotocos, or Anthropotocos, would attend to his dis-

course. "What! hath God a mother? Then are the pagans excusable when they assign mothers to their gods! Then is

Paul a liar, when he says, concerning the divinity of JESUS CHRIST⁷, 'Without father, without mother, without descent!'

Mary did not bring forth a God; for⁸ 'what is born of the 1 is flesh:' the creature did not bring forth the Creator,

"but only a man who was the organ of Deity. The HOLY GHOST A. D. 428.
 "did not create GOD the WORD, [which if Mary were θεοτόκος CH. II.
 "He must have done¹] according to that which we read: [¹ these
 "What is formed in her is of the HOLY GHOST².³ GOD WAS words are
 inserted to
 supply the
 ellipse]
 "incarnate, but did not die; He raised from the dead Him in
 "whom He was incarnate." And later on he says, "I adore 2 Matt. 1.
 "the habit for the sake of Him who wears it; I adore Him who 20.
 "appears outwardly, because of the concealed Deity which is
 "inseparable from Him."

In another discourse³ he reproves the Bishops, whose suc- 3 Mercat.
 cessor he was, in these terms. "I see abundance of zeal and Pt. 2. p. 8.
 "piety in the people, but very little knowledge in divine mat-
 "ters; it is not their fault: but,—how shall I be able to say
 "it?—they who have instructed them, have not had time to
 "do it with care and exactitude." He continued to pro-
 pound his errors respecting the person of the Son of GOD,
 pretending that when Scripture treats of His temporal birth,
 or of His death, it never calls Him GOD, but only CHRIST, SON,
 or LORD. It was most probably at this time that Eusebius⁴, 4 Cyril. c.
 an advocate at Constantinople, who though only a laic was Nest. Lib. i.
 p. 20. E.
 a man of eminent virtue, and well skilled in the doctrines of
 religion, rose up against Nestorius, in full Church, and in
 the warmth of his zeal cried out, "It was the eternal
 "WORD Himself who underwent a second birth according to
 "the flesh, and was born of a woman." The people were
 evidently excited; the larger body, comprising too those who
 were best informed on the question, expressed their great
 approbation of Eusebius; the rest were enraged at him.
 Nestorius, not to be wanting to his adherents, declaimed
 against Eusebius⁵ in a third sermon delivered a short time 5 Mercat.
 after, in the beginning of January 429, (perhaps on the day Pt. 2. p. 11.
 of the Epiphany,) in which under pretence of opposing the
 Arians and Macedonians, he in reality attacks the Catholic
 doctrine, his position throughout being that we ought not to
 say that the *Divine Word* was born of Mary, or died, but
 only *the man in whom the Word was*.

The result was that the advocate Eusebius, who was after- II.
 wards Bishop of Dorylæum, drew up a protest⁶ which ran The oppo-
 sition of the
 Catholics.
 thus; "All who shall receive this paper I conjure by the Holy 6 Conc.
 "Trinity, to make it known to the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 13. p. 338.

A. D. 429. "Readers^a, and Laity, who live in Constantinople, and to give
 CH. II. "them a copy of it for the conviction of the heretic Nestorius,
 "whose opinions are none other than those of Paul of Samo-
 "sata, anathematized some hundred and sixty years ago by
 "the Catholic Bishops." He then draws a parallel between the
 doctrines of the two, quoting their own words, and shewing
 that Nestorius maintains just as Paul did, that the WORD and
 JESUS CHRIST are different, and not, as taught by the Catholic
 faith, one and the same. In refuting them he quotes the
 Creed used at Antioch¹, differing a little in expression from
 the Constantinopolitan in use among us, but the same as
 to sense. He also alleges the authority of St. Eustathius,
 Bishop of Antioch, who had assisted at the Nicene Council;
 intending by all this to prove that Nestorius did not follow
 the tradition of that Church, in which he had been brought
 up. About the same time Marius Mercator², then at Con-
 stantinople, published a letter addressed to all the faithful: in
 which he also compares the doctrine of Nestorius and Paul
 of Samosata, shewing their points of agreement and differ-
 ence. It would seem that these tracts appeared in the same
 month of January. Socrates³ the historian, who was at
 Constantinople at this very time, states that after reading
 the writings of Nestorius, and conversing with his followers,
 he finds that he had not fallen into the error of Paul or
 Photinus^b, since he recognised in CHRIST the hypostasis of

¹ Cass. de
Inc. 6. 3.

² Pt. 2.
P. 17.

³ 7. 32.

^a See above xx. 32. q. Isidore of Seville (ad Luitfrid.) describes their office as being "to read the lessons, "and to preach to the people out of the "Prophets." From St. Cyprian Ep. 38, 39, (al. 33, 34.) and the Council of Toledo, I. can. 2 and 4, it would seem that they read the Epistles and Gospels. At first (Cyprian, u. s.) none but men of tried worth were admitted to the office; it was afterwards conferred on boys and even children: v. Bingham, iii. 5. § 5. where several instances are adduced, and cf. Balsamon in Nomocan. Photii, tit. i. de fide c. 28. "Whereas "the law says that the Reader should "be eighteen years old at least, now- "a-days Readers-cleric are appointed " (σφραγιστοίται), not more than six or "sometimes than three years old."

^b See xviii. 6. q. The truth seems to be, as Socrates states it, that Nes-

torius could not be charged with this heresy; see his own statement at the end of c. 2. infr., which is confirmed by the account given by Epiphanius, Hær. 71. "Photinus follows in the "steps of Paul of Samosata, and as- "serts that CHRIST did not exist from "the beginning, but only began to "exist when He was conceived by the "HOLY GHOST." Nothing, in fact, is more striking in the history of the heresies respecting the Second Person of the Trinity than the way in which the subject-matter of controversy was gradually narrowed down after various oscillations on the one side and the other. Photinus belonged to the Modalists or Sabellians, who made the Trinity not a real but only a metaphysical division of persons. But Nestorius avoided this error, for (as Mar. Mercat. says, p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) "he allowed

the Divine Word; "but," adds Socrates, "he dreaded the word Theotocos as he would a spectre; and this proceeded from his extreme ignorance; for being naturally eloquent, he imagined himself a learned man, which he certainly was not, and so he would not submit to the labour of studying the old commentators on Scripture, being puffed up by his fluency of speech till he fancied himself superior to all others put together." These are the words of Socrates, who proceeds to shew that both Origen and Eusebius¹, the friend of Pamphilus^c, had made use of the word Theotocos, and quotes the very passages where it occurs.

From that time many began to separate themselves from the communion of Nestorius, to treat him as a heretic, and speak against him without any reserve; there were even some of them who threatened to throw him into the sea. It is of this persecution that he complains in a sermon preached in the beginning of Lent², in the same year, 429. He there speaks of the penalty of the sin of our first parents agreeably to the Catholic doctrine, and in language opposed to the erroneous tenets of the Pelagians; and this in the presence of Julian and other Pelagians who had taken refuge at Constantinople³, whom in other respects Nestorius treated with great lenity, nay, whose protector he had avouched himself to be. Celestius had returned to Rome about the year 424, but being driven out of Italy by the order of Pope Cælestine, he came to Constantinople⁴ with Julian of Æculanum, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, all of them Western Bishops, who had been deposed and banished for their heretical opinions. They complained to the Emperor and Nestorius, as if they were unjustly-persecuted Catholics⁵. Nestorius, while he fed them with hopes that he would procure their restoration, continued to preach against them, even in their presence;—whether it was that they had disguised their doctrine or from some other cause of which we are ignorant. Three of these sermons are extant, and speak correctly

A. D. 429.
CH. II.

[¹ Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. III. 43. See Pearson on the Creed, p. 310. note n, with Burton's Annotation.]

² Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 76.

³ Præf. Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 73.

⁴ Ep. Nest. ad Cælest. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 16.

⁵ Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 73.

"not only the λόγος προφορικῶς, or "prolatitium verbum" of Paul of Samosata; he allowed that the Word was substantive and consubstantive with the Father." His heresy related not to the two natures of CHRIST, but to the Incarnation, or junction of

these two natures; which he asserted to be a connection (συνδέφεια) rather than a union (ένωσις).

^c For the account of this surname see Fleury, 9. 28. Nicephorus (H. E. 6. 37.) says that Pamphilus was maternal uncle to Eusebius.

- A. D. 429. enough on the subject of original sin. The two first are on
 CH. II. the history of the creation of man, which were read at the
¹ Chrysost. beginning of Lent¹; the third on the temptation of CHRIST.
 [t. i. p. 1. This last is entire, and in the original Greek; all that re-
 and 56. mains of the two former is the translation of them, or rather
 t. v. p. 1. the extracts from them, given by Mercator.
 Wheatly, p. 136. ed. 1839.]
- ² Supr. 24. Proclus, titular Bishop of Cyzicus², who officiated only as
 44. Priest at Constantinople, preached a sermon there about this
 time on the Incarnation³; it was on some great festival, most
 probably the Annunciation, i. e. the twenty-fifth of March.
³ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. He therein boldly confirms the Catholic doctrine, that the
 c. 1. son of Mary is not a mere man, but truly GOD; that it is
 Mercat. true to say GOD suffered and died, and that the Holy Virgin
 Pt. 2. p. 19. ought to be called, in the strict sense, Mother of God,
 Theotocos, without any matter of scoffing being hereby given
 to the Gentiles, or of calumny to the Arians. Nestorius,
 who was present, was extremely mortified at this discourse,
 the more so because, being very elegant, it drew great
 applause from the people. He answered it on the spot; for
 whenever a Priest or another Bishop spoke in the Church,
 it was customary that the Bishop of the Church, if he were
 present, should also add some word of instruction to the
 people. Nestorius maintains, then, in this sermon⁴, that we
 ought not to say simply GOD is born of Mary, but GOD, the
 WORD of the FATHER, was joined to Him who was born of
 Mary. "I cannot bear," says he, "that it should be said GOD
⁴ Serm. 4. ap. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 26. "was made a Priest⁵," a phrase which Proclus had casually
 made use of. Nestorius maintains that it was the man, and not
 GOD the WORD, who rose from the dead; and that we should
 distinguish between the temple, and GOD who inhabits the
 temple. "It is a gross calumny," he adds, "to accuse me of
⁵ n. 5. "holding the errors of Photinus⁶. He makes the Divine WORD
 "come into existence at the time He was brought forth by
⁶ n. 13. "Mary, whereas I affirm that GOD the WORD existed⁷ always
 "from eternity." Nestorius, however, confesses that he ap-
 pears at first sight to differ from the other Doctors of the
 Church. He composed three additional sermons in answer
 to that of Proclus, but he never attacks him by name. He
 directs his discourse to Arius, Apollinarius, and the other
 heretics.

[⁷ semper
 existere
 ante se-
 cula.]
 n. 6

These sermons of Nestorius¹ were collected into one volume, A. D. 429. being arranged in order with figures, and every other accom- CH. III. paniment which would help to make people remember them. III. They soon spread themselves over all the provinces of the St. Cyril's Letter to the Monks. East and West, and were brought even to Rome, though¹ Cyril. in Nest. I. without the author's name prefixed. They were distributed p. 3. E. among the monasteries of Egypt, and great were the disputes they excited there. St. Cyril², Bishop of Alexandria, received³ Cyril. Ep. ad Mon. ap. Conc. Eph. intelligence on the subject from some Monks, who repaired Pt. 1. c. 2. to him according to an old custom they had, apparently with a view to celebrate some festival. They informed him³ Cyr. Ep. ad Nest. that the sermons staggered weak minds to such a degree ibid. c. 6. that some could hardly any longer endure CHRIST to be acknowledged as GOD, and would have Him to be only⁴ an [4 ἔργανον και ἔργα- λείον τῆς Θεότητος, και ἄνθρωπος Θεοφύ- ρος.] instrument of the Divinity, or a vessel which contained it, Theophoros.

St. Cyril⁵, apprehensive that the error might take root, wrote an encyclical⁴ letter to the Monks of Egypt, wherein he says that they would have done better wholly to have refrained from questions of so great difficulty, and that what he writes to them is intended not to keep up the dispute but to arm them in defence of the truth. "I wonder," he says⁶, "how a question⁴ can be raised as to whether the Holy Virgin should be called⁴ Mother of GOD; for if our LORD JESUS CHRIST is GOD, how⁴ is not the Holy Virgin, his mother, Mother of GOD? This⁴ is the faith we have been taught by the Apostles, although⁴ they did not make use of this expression; it is the doctrine⁴ of our fathers, among the rest of Athanasius, of blessed⁴ memory," and he quotes two passages⁷ in support of his⁴ statement. He next⁸ proves that He who was born of the Holy⁴ Virgin is GOD in His own nature⁹, since the Nicene Creed⁴ says that the only begotten Son of GOD¹, of the same sub-⁴ stance with the FATHER, Himself came down from heaven, and⁴ was incarnate. He proceeds²: "You will say, perhaps, Is the⁴ Virgin, then, mother of the Divinity? We answer, It is⁴ certain that the WORD is eternal, and of the substance of the⁴ FATHER. Now in the order of nature, mothers, who have no⁴

⁴ Καθολικὴν ἐπιστολὴν, which Fleury translates 'Lettre Générale.' The rendering in the text is supported by what Ecumenius says in c. i. Jacob. p. 115.

Καθολικὰ λέγονται αὐταὶ οἰοῦν ἐγκό- κλιοι. Encyclic letters were directed to whole Churches, not to individual members of them.

A. D. 429.
CH. III.

III.
St. Cyril's
Letter to
the Monks.

¹ Cyril. in
Nest. I.
p. 3. E.

² Cyril. Ep.
ad Mon. ap.
Conc. Eph.
Pt. 1. c. 2.

³ Cyr. Ep.
ad Nest.
ibid. c. 6.

[4 ἔργανον
και ἔργα-
λείον τῆς
Θεότητος,
και ἄνθρω-
πος Θεοφύ-
ρος.]

⁵ Cyril. Ep.
ad Cælest.
ap. Conc.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 14.

⁴ Ep. ad
Mon. n. 4.

⁷ Athanas.
Or. III. in
Ar. [t. i.
p. 563. D.
579. B.
563. A. B.]

⁸ n. 5.
⁹ n. 6.

[1 τὴν υἱὸν
τοῦ Θεοῦ,
τὴν γεννη-
θέντα ἐκ
τοῦ πατρὸς
μονογενῆ,
ταυτέστιν

ἐκ τῆς οὐ-
σίας αὐ-
τοῦ.]
⁴ n. 12.

- A. D. 429. " part in the creation of the soul, are still called mothers of the
 CH. III. " whole man, and not of the body only ;—for surely it would
 " be a hypercritical refinement to say Elizabeth is mother of
 " the body of John and not of his soul. In the same way, then,
 " we express ourselves in regard to the birth of Emmanuel ;
 " since the WORD having taken flesh upon Him, is called Son
 " of Man." The reason of St. Cyril's making use of the in-
 stance of St. John Baptist, was its having been employed by
¹ ap. Cyril. Nestorius in one of his sermons¹, where he says, " John
 c. Nest. I. " received the Spirit of God from his mother's womb, yet
 p. 19. D. " no one calls her mother of the Spirit." In the remaining
 part of his letter to the Monks, St. Cyril proves at large the
² n. 13. unity of CHRIST by the abasement of the Son of God², who
³ Phil. 2. 6. " humbled Himself to take upon Him the form of a slave³,—
⁴ n. 16. by the adoration which all creatures pay to Him⁴,—from His
⁵ n. 19. being named God and Lord⁵,—because He is exalted above
⁶ n. 21. Moses and all the Prophets⁶,—because He has redeemed us
⁷ n. 24, 25. by His death⁷;—in fine⁸, if He were not really God, the
⁸ n. 27. Jews and Gentiles would have good reason to reproach us
 with worshipping a mere man.

[⁹ Supr.
 21. 2.]

St. Cyril, as well as his uncle Theophilus⁹, and the rest of his predecessors, wrote paschal letters every year to fix the day on which the moveable feasts, and particularly Easter, should be celebrated ; of these letters we have thirty remaining. In the seventeenth he speaks of the mystery of the Incarnation, and refutes the errors of Nestorius, particularly those broached in his first sermon ; now this letter states that the ensuing Easter would fall on the twelfth day of the Egyptian month Pharmouthi^e, answering to the seventh of April, on which day Easter did actually fall, A.D. 429. It follows that this seventeenth paschal letter of St. Cyril must have been written before the sixth of January, 429, for these letters were always read in the churches on the Epiphany. It was about this time that St. Cyril is supposed to have written his scholia on the Incarnation, in which he explains the

^e Josephus (Ant. Jud. ii. 14. 6.) says that the destruction of the first-born took place in this month. Jablonski (Opusc. i. p. 376.) remarks that the word means 'fatal, deadly,' and so the name may have been given to it in

reference to that great event. In the Anthologia Græca (t. ii. p. 510. ed. Brunck.) we have *Ελαρινῶν Φαρμουθι ῥόδων πρωτάγγελός ἐστι.*—See also a quotation from Theon in Salmas. Exercitationes Pliniane, p. 747, sqq.

words CHRIST, EMMANUEL, and JESUS, and shews the nature of the union which subsists between the humanity and the Word¹, his great object being to prove that this union is a real and substantial one². The work was composed for the instruction of such as were not much conversant with the subject. He adopts the method of geometers, setting out with a definition of terms, and proceeding from the most simple to the most complex propositions.

The letter to the Egyptian Monks was not long³ in reaching Constantinople, where some of St. Cyril's clergy resided, to superintend affairs relating to his own Church. Here it proved to be of great benefit⁴, and several magistrates wrote to thank him for his services. Nestorius was extremely irritated by it; he got a person, called Photius⁵, to write a reply, and sought by every means possible to injure St. Cyril. There happened to be some Alexandrians at Constantinople, whom St. Cyril had condemned for their crimes in accordance with the canons⁶; one for having unjustly oppressed the poor and the blind, another for having drawn his sword upon his mother, another for having stolen some gold in confederacy with a maid-servant, and for having always had a very bad reputation. He names three of them⁷, Cheremon, Victor, and Sophronas, besides a young man whose father's name was Flavian. These men⁸ Nestorius employed to calumniate St. Cyril, and suborned them to present petitions against him, to himself and to the Emperor Theodosius.

St. Cyril was informed⁹ by some trustworthy persons who came to Alexandria, of the resentment which Nestorius displayed against him: moreover he had received a letter from the Pope St. Celestin, and several Bishops who were with him, apparently assembled in Council. The letter informed him that they had received copies of Nestorius's sermons, and wished to know whether he was really the author, declaring that they had caused great offence: many persons also came from the different oriental Churches, all loudly complaining of the sermons. St. Cyril¹, upon this, felt very much inclined to send a synodical letter to Nestorius², stating that unless he altered his language and opinions it would be impossible for him to remain in his communion; "but on reflecting," as

A. D. 429.
CH. IV.

¹ V. Garner. in Mercat. Pt. ii. p. 216.

[² Non σκετικῶν et moralem, sed φυσικῶν et substantivam.]

³ Cyr. Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.

[⁴ Ep. ad Cælest. Ibid. c. 14.

P. 343.]

[⁵ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 12.

[p. 334. A.]

⁶ Ibid. c. 8. [p. 315.]

⁷ Ibid. c. 12. p. 335. A.

⁸ Cyr. Apol. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 3.

c. 13. p. 1054. C.

IV.
St. Cyril's first letter to Nestorius.

⁹ Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.

¹ Ep. ad Cælest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 14.

[² συνοδικῶν ἰσχυρῶν.]

A. D. 429. he says, "that we ought to reach out our hand to raise up a
 CH. V. "brother when he has fallen," he resolved to write to him
 and endeavour to reclaim him. As Nestorius's chief com-
 1 Ep. ad plaint was against the letter to the Monks, he says¹, in re-
 Nest. u. 8. ference to it, "the uproar was not occasioned by my letter,
 "but by the writings which were dispersed, whether pro-
 "ceeding from you or not; the disorder produced by them
 "was so great as to leave me no alternative but that of
 "trying some remedy or other. You have no reason to com-
 "plain or cry out against me; you who were the author of
 "the disturbance rather think of reforming your discourse,
 "and put a stop to this universal agitation of men's minds²,
 [σκανδα- "by calling the Holy Virgin, Mother of God. For the rest,
 λον οικου- "be assured that I am ready to suffer all things for the faith
 μενικόν] "of CHRIST, even imprisonment and death."

Nestorius wished not to answer the letter, but the Alexan-
 drian Priest whom St. Cyril had charged with its delivery
 pressed him so strongly that he was obliged to yield. His
 3 Conc. answer³ is in an air of affected compliment on the pleasing
 Eph. Pt. 1. constraint which had been put upon him. "Experience," he
 c. 7. says, "will shew what fruit we are to derive from it; for my
 "part, I continue in patience and brotherly love, though
 "you (to say nothing more offensive) have forgotten them in
 "your conduct towards me." This letter shewed St. Cyril
 4 Ibid. c. 14. that he need hope for no concession from Nestorius⁴, a con-
 clusion in which he was confirmed by the news which he
 soon after received.

V. There was a Bishop at Constantinople, named Dorotheus,
 Violence of self-interested, fawning⁵, and indiscreet and intemperate in
 Nestorius. his language: he got up in the full congregation⁶, Nestorius
 [ἡ χρειοκό- being seated on the Episcopal throne, and said with a loud
 λαξ.] voice, "If any one says that Mary is the mother of God, let
 [ἔν συ- νάξει.]

¹ There are two meanings of the word 'synaxis,' both common.—1st. The assembling for prayer, praise, and hearing God's word. 2nd. The communion of the Eucharist. V. Supr. 19. 44. f. The Synaxis was held especially on Sundays; see Cass. Coll. vii. c. 34. "Then let us go forth together to church as the solemnity of the Lord's day admonishes, and re- turning after the Synaxis, let us

"with redoubled joy converse on those things which the LORD shall have given us for our mutual edification." Cf. Collat. 18. 15, and 23. 21. Palladius, Lausia. 59, says, "The Abbot Hellen came to some Monks on the Lord's day, and said to them, 'How is it that ye have not held a Synaxis to-day?' they answered, 'Because our Priest has not come,' &c.

“him be anathema.” The people raised a loud cry and ran out of the church, unwilling to communicate¹ with men who used such language. And in truth², to excommunicate those who call the Holy Virgin, ‘mother of God,’ was and could be nothing else than to excommunicate all the Churches and all the Bishops then living throughout the world, who all used this expression, nay, and all the departed Saints too who had been accustomed to speak in the same way. Now there is no room for doubting whether Nestorius approved of what had been said by Dorotheus, since he not only said nothing to him about it, but admitted him immediately³ after to a participation in the Holy Mysteries.

Some⁴ of the Priests of Constantinople repeatedly and publicly admonished Nestorius in their assemblies, but seeing him still pertinaciously refuse to name the Holy Virgin ‘mother of God,’ or to call CHRIST ‘God truly and in His own nature,’ they openly withdrew from his communion: others retired more privately. Others again having preached against this new doctrine in the church of the Maritime Peace^b, were suspended from preaching. The people being in consequence deprived of the Catholic instructions they had been accustomed to listen to, cried out, “We have an Emperor but no Bishop!” some of them were arrested, thrown into prison, and beaten; some reproved Nestorius to his face in the church, and before all the people; but it issued only in their own maltreatment. A Monk, but none of the discreetest, was so carried away by his zeal, as to plant himself in the midst of the church, where the people were assembled, and to attempt to hinder Nestorius from entering, under the plea of his being a heretic; he was beaten and carried before the Prefects, who ordered him to be whipped through

A. D. 429.
ch. v.

[¹ *συνδι-
γασθαι*]
² *Ibid.* c. 10.
c. 22. (ad.
Acac.)

³ *Ibid.* c. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. 30.
(*Libel.*
Basil. *di-*
coni.)
n. 2.

¹ The emphatic words “in His own nature” involve the very essence of the controversy. Nestorius allowed that the WORD was God in His own nature, but said that He who was born of Mary was Son of God not *naturally* but *by adoption*, (ex adoptione non natura. See Mar. Mercat. p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) This view was revived by the Adoptianists of the eighth cent., Felix Bp. of Urgella, and Elipand Abp. of Toledo; and was condemned

at the Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794. See Fleury, 44. 50, sqq.

^b The church here meant is probably the one mentioned in Procop. De Ædific. Justin. i. c. 7. as named after the Martyr Irene; he describes it as being situated at the head of the Ceras (the Golden Horn), whence the name Maritime would be affixed to distinguish it from the great church Irene mentioned by Procop. i. c. 2, as second in magnificence only to that of St. Sophia.

the streets, preceded by a town crier; and afterwards to be banished the city.

Basil a Deacon and Archimandrite¹, Thalassius a Reader and Monk, and some others², went, by appointment, to the Bishop's palace to have an interview with Nestorius, and ascertain whether they had rightly understood what they had heard from him. After putting them off three times, he at length asked them what they would have? "You said," replied they, "that Mary was only mother of a man, of the same nature as herself; and that what is born of the flesh, is flesh; which in this application of the words is not orthodox." He immediately caused them to be seized, and a company of officers drove them to the Bishop's prison, beating them as they went along; on reaching the prison they were stripped and tied to posts, then thrown on the ground and stamped upon. For a long time they were kept under guard, suffering all the pains of hunger. They were then handed over to the Prefect of Constantinople, who sent them to another prison loaded with chains. His next step was to have them brought to his Prætorium, but as no one appeared on the part of the prosecutors, he sent them back under the charge of his officers to their former prison. At length Nestorius sent for them, and after giving them a sophistical exposition of his doctrine, dismissed them.

Basil and Thalassius presented a petition to the [Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian²] in their own name, and that of the whole body of Monks; in which, after detailing all these violent proceedings of Nestorius, they pray the Emperor not to suffer the Church to be corrupted in their time by heretics³. "God knows," they add, "our wish is not to revenge ourselves, but that the faith in CHRIST may remain immoveable. We besecch you, therefore, in this place and at this time to order that a general Council be convened to restore union to the Church, and to re-establish the preaching of the truth before error has time to spread further. Meanwhile let Nestorius be deprived of all power to use either violence or menaces to any man, until the question relating to the faith has been set at rest; and let those who would insult the Catholics be coerced by the Prefect of Constantinople. If you reject our petition⁴, we protest before

“ the eternal King, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead, that we are guiltless of the evils that may follow.” One subject of complaint in this petition was, that Nestorius not only employed his own clergy and Syncelli to support him, but some also belonging to other dioceses; who by the requisition¹ of the canons ought to remain peaceably in the cities² to which they are ordained. Those clerks were called Syncelli¹ who were the most closely attached to the Bishop’s person, and who lay in his chamber to be faithful witnesses of the purity of his manners.

About the same time Marius Mercator published his narrative concerning Cælestius, the head of the Pelagian party at Constantinople³. This narrative he gave to the Church of Constantinople, not to the Bishop, but to the Catholic clergy and several other pious persons; he presented a copy also to the Emperor Theodosius; and as it was published in Greek, the language of the country, he translated it into Latin, which was his mother tongue. It is dated in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, i. e. in the year 429. It comprises a summary of all the transactions relating to Cælestius and Pelagius for the twenty years preceding; that is, from the time their heresy was first

A. D. 429.
CH. VI.

[¹ Bingham.
Ant. vi. 4.
§ 4, 5, 7.]
[² εἰς τὰς
ἰδιὰς παροικίας ἢ πόλεις
ἐξουθενήθησαν.]

VI.
Mercator’s
Memoirs of
Pelagianism.

³ Mercat.
Pt. 1. p. 5.

¹ Dufresne (s. v.) makes this word to be a late formation from the Latin: — ‘ qui in eadem cum summo Pontifice aut Patriarchâ cellâ habitabat.’ The office existed for some time in the Western Church: thus Leo III. in his letter to Kenulph, King of the Mercians (Will. of Malmeab. l. c. 4.—Spelman, vol. i. p. 323), calls St. Augustine the Syncellus of Gregory, who in the Roman synod of A. D. 596. (Conc. t. v. p. 1199.) had ordered that certain clergy should attend the pontifical chamber to be witnesses of their superior’s private life and conversation, and profit by his example.—It would seem from Damasus (Conc. t. i. p. 719.) that this was but the revival of an older statute made by Lucius I. However, Gregory’s constitution was ratified by various Councils, e. g. that of Tours, A. D. 567. (Conc. t. v. p. 855. can. 12.) The Latin name was Cellulanei (t. viii. p. 61. can. 1).

In the East the office was more common, and more deeply rooted in the institutions of the Church. At Constantinople the Syncells possessed a very

high rank; in Constantine’s time they sat by the side of the Patriarch, taking precedence even of the Metropolitan. (Joan. Curopalat. ap. Suicer. s. h. v.) According to Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 257.) the Syncel (by which perhaps we are to understand the Protosyncel) was Patriarch-elect: for in explaining the office of Seriphes (Shereef) among the Saracens, he says, “ As on the death of the Patriarch the Syncel is elected into his place, so does the Shereef succeed the Caliph.” And certainly Nicephorus does give some instances of men in this office being elected Patriarchs, as Theodore, George, Anastasius, and John (Chronogr. p. 314), but these were only isolated cases, in which the succession was incidental.

Heraclius restricted the number of Syncells at Constantinople to two. The office in course of time became titular, and was given by the Emperors to Bishops and Archbishops themselves, whom they styled Syncelli Pontificales or Augustales.

A. D. 429. broached. He notes down their errors, their condemnation,
 CH. VII. and the different expedients they resorted to, and concludes

with these words: "Now that Pelagius and Cælestius have
 " been convicted of these impious errors, Julian and his
 " party ought unhesitatingly to come forward to condemn
 [1 by sub- " them¹, that so they may give satisfaction to the Church;
 scribing " and if they accuse any person of holding opinions contrary
 the letter of " to the faith, it is their duty to point him out by name, and
 Zosimus. " they shall be answered according to the order of the
 V. Supr. " Church, [which is very willing to receive them back,] for
 23. 51.] " many who were adherents of Julian have left him to con-
 " demn Pelagius, and submit themselves to the apostolical
 " see, and all these, on recanting their errors, were thought
 " fit subjects for the Church's compassion."

VII. Nestorius made no great account of this declaration,
 Nestorius' " which neither was addressed to him, nor recognised him as
 letter to " Bishop; but he took occasion from the presence of these
 Cælestine. Pelagians at Constantinople to write to the Pope St. Cæles-

tine, and endeavour to prepossess him in his favour². His
 letter ran thus: "Julian, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, who
³ Conc. " style themselves Bishops of the West, have repeatedly sent
 Eph. Pt. 1. " in addresses to the Emperor, complaining that they are
 c. 16. [P. " suffering from persecution although they are true Catho-
 349.] " lics; they have made similar complaints to us, and though
 Mercat. " frequently rejected, they still persist in making these
 Pt. 1. p. 66. " representations. We have given them the best answer we
 " could, seeing that we are so imperfectly acquainted with
 " the facts of their case: but to prevent their giving any
 " further annoyance to the Emperor, and to remove all risk
 " of our Churches' peace being so seriously endangered as it
 " would be if we undertook the defence of strangers whom,
 " for aught we know, you may have canonically condemned,
 " be so good as to send us some account of them; for new
 " sects have no claim on the protection of true pastors."

What Nestorius here says was obviously insincere; he could
 not be ignorant that the Pelagians³ had been condemned at
 Constantinople eight or ten years before by his predecessor
 Atticus; indeed, he shews the real object of his letter, when
 proceeds thus:

'Hence it is that having found a considerable deviation

" from the true doctrine in some of the inhabitants of this A. D. 429.
 " city, we daily employ both gentleness and severity with a CH. VIII.
 " view to their cure. The malady is one very much resem-
 " bling that of Apollinarius and Arius; they in a manner
 " confound the doctrinal elements relating to our LORD's
 " Incarnation, and say that GOD the WORD, who is consub-
 " stantial with the FATHER, was built up simultaneously with
 " His temple, and buried along with His flesh; as if He had
 " derived His origin from the Virgin, the mother of CHRIST,
 " (*Christotocos*.) And they affirm that this His flesh did
 " not remain such after the resurrection, but passed into the
 " nature of the Deity. They are not afraid to call the Virgin
 " Theotocos', although the Nicene Fathers [those holy men," [*ⁱ ausi*
 he continues, " who transcend all praise,] only said that our *cum modo*
 " LORD JESUS CHRIST was incarnate of the HOLY GHOST, *quodam*
 " and the Virgin Mary; not to mention the Scriptures, *Theotocoon*
 " which every where call her the mother of CHRIST, and not *dicere.*]
 " of GOD the WORD. I suppose that rumour has already
 " informed your holiness of the contests we have been in-
 " volved in on this subject; time has shewn that these were
 " not without their use; for many have been reformed, and
 " have learnt from us to see that the child must be of the
 " same substance as the mother; that there is no mixture of
 " GOD the WORD with the man; but a uniting to It of our
 " LORD's created humanity which, now joined to God, was at
 " first produced from the Virgin, by the HOLY GHOST. If any
 " one makes use of the term Theotocos to express the con-
 " junction of the humanity to the WORD, rather than any
 " quality of her who brought it forth, we say that the term
 " is improperly applied to her;—for a true mother must be of
 " the same nature with that which is born of her:—but that
 " it may at the same time be tolerated on the ground that the
 " temple of the WORD, which is inseparable from Him, was
 " taken from her: not as implying that she is mother of the
 " WORD; for one cannot bring forth what is older than one's
 " self." Along with this letter, Nestorius sent to the Pope [*ⁱ τερτάδας*
 his writings on the Incarnation², subscribed with his own *ἐπιτηρώσαν.*
 hand; the bearer was a nobleman called Antiochus. *Conc. Eph.*
 p. 351.]

About this time St. Cyril wrote his eighteenth paschal
 letter for the year 430, in which Easter fell on the fourth of *VIII.*
 St. Cyril's *second*
 letter to *letter to*
 Nestorius. *Nestorius.*

“to Him. We do not say¹ that we adore the man along A. D. 430.
 “with the WORD¹, lest the phrase *along with* should suggest CH. IX.
 “the idea of their non-identity; but we adore Him as one [¹ οὐχ ὡς
 “and the same person, because the body assumed by the ἀνθρώπου
 “WORD is in no degree external to or separated from the συμπερυσκυ-
 “WORD.” And afterwards; “It is in this sense that the νοῦντες τῷ
 “Fathers have ventured to call the Holy Virgin ‘Mother of λόγῳ.]
 “‘God;’ not that the nature of the WORD, or His Divinity,
 “did receive beginning of His existence from the Holy
 “Virgin, but because in her was formed and animated with
 “a reasonable soul that sacred body to which the WORD
 “united Himself in hypostasis, which is the reason of its
 “being said that He was born according to the flesh.” In
 the course of this letter he frequently repeats the words
 (καθ’ ἰπόστασιν ἔνωσις) ‘union in hypostasis^m;’ feeling the
 inadequacy of the Greek word *πρόσωπον*, which we ordi-
 narily render ‘person,’ and which does not express the idea
 of unity with sufficient strength. The first time that I have
 met with the expression, ‘hypostatical union,’ is in this letter,
 by far the most celebrated of all that St. Cyril wrote to
 Nestorius.

It was probably about the same time and on the same IX.
 occasion that St. Cyril wrote to those of his clergy who Other let-
 resided at Constantinople², commenting on the propositions ters of
 of peace that were offered on the part of Nestorius. St. Cyril.
 “I have³ read the memorial you sent me,” he says, “and see from Conc.
 “it that the Priest Anastasius has been conversing with you Eph. Pt. 1.
 “and pretending he seeks for peace, and that he said to c. 12. [p.
 331. C.]

¹ St. Cyril probably here refers to what would seem to have been with Nestorius a common way of expressing himself. Thus at the close of his first Sermon (VV. PP. Galland. t. viii. p. 629): “Since the Deity resides in the manhood which He assumed, that which is assumed is called God from Him who assumed it. Look we then with awe on the Divine Incarnation: τῷ Θεῷ λέγον τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ συνθεο-λογῶμεν μορφῆν: let us *along with* the Divine honour we pay to God the WORD, ascribe equal honour to the God-enshrining form.” And again in Sermon ii. (p. 633): “Let us then extol the Sacrament of the Incarna-

tion with never-ceasing hymns: . . . “that visible form joined to the in- visible let us consider equally Divine with God Himself; τὴν φορομένην τῷ φοροῦντι συντιμῶμεν φύσιν, let the exterior nature be honoured *along with* Him, of whom it is the cloth- ing.”

^m St. Cyril himself explains the phrase (De Trin. p. 24. C. at end of t. vi.); “The union of the two natures effected by the second Person (Hypostasis) of the Trinity within Itself, and essentially yet without confusion” (ἀσυχύτως ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν). Cf. Athanas. de Defin. (t. ii. p. 247.)

A. D. 430. " you, ' Our belief agrees with what he has written to the
 CH. IX. " ' Monks ;' and then proceeding to what he really had in
 " view, he says of me, ' He has himself admitted that the
 " ' Nicene Council nowhere makes mention of the word
 " ' Theotocos.' I wrote to say, that the Council did well not
 " to mention it, because this matter was not at that time a
 " subject of controversy ; but in effect, it does say that Mary
 " is Mother of God ; since it says that the same who was
 " begotten of the Father, was incarnate, and suffered."

[¹ p. 334. Afterwards' speaking of a writing of Nestorius he says, " He
 B.] " takes pains to prove that the body alone suffered, and not
 " God the Word ; as if in refutation of some who say that
 " the impassible word is passible. No one has ever said any-
 " thing so absurd. His body having suffered, He is said to
 " have suffered Himself ; as we may say that the soul of man
 " suffers when his body suffers, even when, in strictness, the
 " soul is in its own nature free from suffering. But what
 " they wish to insinuate is, that there are two CHRISTs, and
 [² ἰδικῶς.] " two sons, one properly² man, the other properly God, and
 " to make a union only of persons, (Prosopῶν) ; this is the

[³ διὰ τοῦτο
 ποικίλλου-
 ται.] " object of their chicanery³."

[⁴ p. 334. He next quotes⁴ Nestorius' words to the effect that he had
 D.] found his people in a state of great ignorance, for which his
 predecessors were in fault. " What then," says St. Cyril,
 " is he more eloquent than John, or better qualified for his
 " office than blessed Atticus ? Why not rather frankly own
 " that he is introducing a new doctrine ?" " If I am ac-
 " cused," he adds, " I shall not shrink from travelling to
 " defend myself in a Council ; but let him not expect to be
 " my judge ; I will not acknowledge him : and if it please
 " God, he shall himself be impeached for his blasphemies.
 " He complains that the word Theotocos is uncommon, and
 " that it is not used either in Scripture or by the Council.
 " But in what part of Scripture has he found the words
 " Christotocos or Theodochos [or Theotocos as applied by
 " him to the Father ?]" " To conclude," he says, " however
 " deeply I am offended, tell them that we are at peace the
 " moment he forbears teaching this doctrine, and professes
 " the true faith. If he really desires peace, let him write a
 " sincere and Catholic confession of faith, and let him send

"it to Alexandria; and I will write on my side¹, that it is A. D. 430.
 "not necessary to trouble our brethren the Bishops, because CH. IX.
 "we know that in what he says he means well. But if he ¹ Merc.
 "perseveres in his presumption, it only remains for us to Pt. 2. p. 52.
 "resist it with all our might." n. 20, 21.

"I have read the petition which you sent me, as designed
 "to be presented to the Emperor²; but seeing it was full Ibid. p. 56.
 "of invectives against our brother, I determined not to
 "send it back. I have dictated another, in which I refuse
 "him for my judge, and appeal to another tribunal; this
 "you shall present, if necessary. Should he persevere
 "in his attacks upon me, be careful to write me word,
 "and I will select some men of wisdom and piety from
 "among the Bishops and Monks, to be despatched on a
 "mission at the first opportunity. Act therefore vigorously,
 "for I will write what is necessary to all who should be in-
 "formed of our proceedings. I am resolved to give myself
 "no rest, and to suffer all things for the faith of CHRIST."

He accordingly wrote several other letters on this sub-
 ject. There is one³ to a common friend of St. Cyril and Conc.
 Nestorius, supposed to be Acacius of Melitine, in which Eph. Pt. 1.
 St. Cyril writes: "If it were the loss of my estate only c. 11.
 "that was necessary to appease my brother, I would have
 "made it appear that nothing is so precious to me as
 "charity. But since it is a matter of faith which is in
 "dispute, and offence has been given to all the Churches,
 "necessity is laid upon us: for to us God has entrusted
 "the preaching of His mysteries, and upon our heads will
 "be judged the errors of those whom we have instructed.
 "For they will say at the day of judgment, that they have
 "preserved that faith which they received from us. Every
 "one of the laity shall give an account of his own life,
 "and we shall give an account of all those who believe in
 "CHRIST. His injuries and calumnies I disregard; I would
 "gladly forget them; God will take vengeance for them;
 "let the integrity of the faith be guaranteed, and no one
 "will be a truer friend to Nestorius than myself. I speak
 "it in the presence of God; my desire is that he may be
 "full of glory in CHRIST JESUS, that he may efface the dark
 "spots of the past, and prove that he was unjustly aspersed.

A. D. 430. "If we are commanded to love our enemies, how much more
CH. X. "should we love our brethren and colleagues? But if any
 "one betrays the faith, we are fully resolved not to betray
 "our souls, though our faithfulness cost us our lives; if we
 "acted otherwise, with what face could we ever again set
 "forth the praises of the Martyrs before the people?"

X. Nestorius having received St. Cyril's second letter, answered him at greater length, and not in so courteous a vein as before¹. He advises him to read more carefully the writings of the ancients, and charges him with having said that the Divine Word was passible; although St. Cyril had formally guarded against any such misconstruction. He seems to admit the personal unity, when he says that the name of CHRIST signifies the impassible substance, in one single and passible Person²; and that the two natures are connected in one Person³. But by these words he meant only, as he elsewhere shews, a union of will and of dignity; so that God and man made one Person, not in a real but a moral union. Hence he uses not the word *Hypostasis* but *Prosopon*, which is a word of narrower meaning than the Latin *Persona*. He uses also the word *synapheia*, 'connection,' and not *henosis*, 'union.' He maintains that the Holy Virgin ought to be called only Mother of CHRIST, and not Mother of God⁴; because although the body of CHRIST is the temple of the Divinity, the properties of the flesh, as its being born, its suffering and dying, cannot be ascribed to the Divinity, without falling into the errors of the Pagans, or of Apollinarius, Arius, and the other heretics. In all this he constantly misrepresents St. Cyril, making him say that the Deity was born of Mary, or died; whereas he said, that the Divine Word was born and died in respect of the humanity which he assumed.

¹ n. 4. "I am obliged to you," he adds⁵, "for the anxiety you feel
 "on behalf of those among us who have been offended by
 "my doctrine; but allow me to say that you are imposed
 "upon by men whom the holy Council of this place has
 "deprived for their Manicheism, and by your own clergy.
 "For our Church is day by day improving, and the people
 "advance in the knowledge of God. The royal family re-
 "joice exceedingly that the pure doctrine is taught, and

X.
 Second
 letter of
 Nestorius
 to St. Cyril.
¹ Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 9. p. 321.
 (Mercat.
 p. 57.)
 [The
 heading is
 προς τὸν
 πάπαν
 Κύριλλον.]
² ἐν μονα-
 δικῷ προ-
 σώπῳ
 [n. 1.]
³ εἰς ἑνὸς
 προσώπου
 συνάφειαν.
 [n. 2.]

⁴ i. e. Χριστοτόκος, not Θεοτόκος.

“that the Catholic faith prevails over all heresies.” The Council here alluded to seems to have been held at Constantinople in 429; the pretended Manichees whom it condemned were, not improbably¹, Mercator, and the other Catholics who had been zealous in opposing the Pelagians. For owing to Mercator’s remonstrance², Cælestius, Julian, and the rest of the Pelagians, were expelled from Constantinople, and a consolatory letter from Nestorius to Cælestius is still extant³. Now the title with which the Pelagians were accustomed to reproach the Catholics was that of Manichees. It was apparently before this Council⁴ that Philip, a Priest of Constantinople, and one of those who had been proposed for its Bishop, was summoned. He had censured the errors of Nestorius, and refused to communicate with him any longer; Nestorius, in consequence, got Cælestius to accuse him of being a Manichee. He afterwards cited him to appear before the Council, but when Philip came thither prepared to defend himself, Cælestius was not forthcoming. Nestorius therefore brought another charge against him; which was, that he had held private assemblies, and celebrated the oblation in his own house, although almost all the clergy declared this to have been their practice on particular occasions⁵. This Council is also with great probability supposed⁶ to have published a canon, (falsely ascribed to the Council of Ephesus,) whose import is, “Let him who shall say that the soul of Adam died by sin be anathematized; for the devil does not enter into the heart of man.” This canon evidently derived its origin from Pelagianism.

St. Cyril, perceiving from Nestorius’ letter, confirmed as it would be by the information he received from other quarters, that Nestorius was supported by the Court, and that his heresy was gaining ground in Constantinople, wrote large letters, or rather treatises on the faith, to the Emperor Theodosius, and his sisters the Princesses. In the letter to the Emperor⁷, he enumerates the various heresies relative to the Incarnation⁸,—those of Manes, Cerinthus, Photinus, Apollinarius, and lastly that of Nestorius,—though without mentioning them by name; he refutes each of these heresies⁹, and, enlarging on that of Apollinarius, he observes that he denied the existence of a reasonable soul in CHRIST, from

A. D. 430.

CH. XI.

¹ V. Garn.
in Merc.
Pt. 2. p. 62.
² V. Supr.
c. 6.

³ Mercat.
Pt. 1. p. 71.

⁴ Cyr. Com-
monit. ad
Possid. ap.
Baluz.
Nov. Coll.
p. 377.

[⁵ ἐν κείρῳ
καὶ χρε-
μασ.]
⁶ By Garner
in Merc.
Pt. 2. p. 63.
V. Greg.
Epist. vii.
34. vi. 14.
15. ix. 49.
[and cf.
Fleury 30.
44.]

XI.
St. Cyril
writes to
the Em-
peror and
the Prin-
cesses.

⁷ Conc.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 3.
⁸ n. 6.

⁹ n. 7, 8, &c.

1. fear lest if he acknowledged the whole human nature to be in Him, he should divide Him into two integral parts.

2. Lastly¹, he refutes Nestorius at some length, adducing the same proofs as in his letter to the Monks; with some additional ones. Thus² he urges the words of the Eternal

3. Father: "This is My well-beloved Son³." "Observe," says St. Cyril, "he does not say, 'In this is my Son,' clearly

" intimating therefore that the Person so addressed is but

" one." He also⁴ urges the case of the Eucharist, and says,

" CHRIST gives us life as God, not only by imparting to us

" the HOLY GHOST, but by giving us His flesh to eat." He goes more into detail in the treatise⁵ addressed to the

1. Princesses Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina, who were all Virgins consecrated to God. In it he quotes from several of the Fathers⁶, to prove that they made use of the word Theotocos, and acknowledged the unity of CHRIST. St. Athanasius, Atticus of Constantinople, Antiochus of Phœnicia, Amphilocheus, Ammon of Adrianople, St. John Chrysostom, Severian of Gabala, Vitalis, and Theophilus of Alexandria, are severally referred to. His quoting St. Chrysostom, in spite of what had passed, is worthy of remark. He afterwards selects some passages from the New Testament to prove the Divinity of CHRIST, and the union of the WORD with the Humanity. St. Cyril knew the great talent and exalted piety of these Princesses, especially of St. Pulcheria; and hence it was that he took such pains to instruct them in the whole of this matter.

He wrote a letter also to the Pope St. Celestine⁷, in which he gives him an account of all that had passed; of his letter to the Monks, his two letters to Nestorius, and the hostile

2. position he had been obliged to assume. After stating that

1. Celestine was the first Bishop he had written to on this subject, he thus describes the state of Constantinople: "The

" people now refuse to assemble at church⁴ with him," (i. e. with Nestorius,) "with the exception of a few light-headed

" people, and such as take the opportunity to pay court

" to him. The monasteries almost universally, along with

" their Archimandrites⁹ and many of the Senate, have ceased

" their attendance at Divine Service from fear of receiving

" some injury⁸ to their faith." He proceeds; "Your holiness is

“also to know, that we have all the Bishops of the East on our side; all are shocked and sore grieved, particularly the Bishops of Macedonia.” And afterwards, “I was unwilling openly to break off communion with him, until I had laid these particulars before you. Be so good, therefore, as to give me your opinion, whether we ought still to communicate with him, or to tell him plainly that if he persists in his opinions he will be abandoned by every body. It would be proper for you to send to the Bishops of Macedonia and the East a written exposition of your views on this point. And that your holiness may be thoroughly informed both as to his opinions and those of the Fathers, I send you the books in which the passages are marked: I have got them translated as well as they could be done at Alexandria. I send you also the letters I have written.” This letter to the Pope was carried by the Deacon Posidonius; it was accompanied by a book¹ containing a summary of the doctrine of Nestorius, and an account of his deposition of the Priest Philip.

A. D. 430.
CH. XII.

¹ Baluz. u. a.

St. Cyril wrote, about the same time, to Acacius of Berrhæa², one of the oldest and most famous Bishops of Syria, who had been ordained by St. Eusebius of Samosata³ about fifty years before. St. Cyril declares to him³ how grieved he is at this scandal; he dwells most strongly on the anathema which Dorotheus had pronounced against all such as named the Virgin mother of God, and says that many had in consequence openly denied CHRIST'S Divinity. Acacius, in reply⁴, exhorts St. Cyril to procure a peace; “for many persons,” says he, “have come to us from Constantinople, as well Clerks as laymen, who seem to defend the proposition which has been advanced, and maintain, that if it be thoroughly examined, it contains nothing which contradicts the Nicene or the Apostles' Creed.” He continues: “The holy Bishop John of Antioch to whom I ordered your letter to be read, listened to it

² Fleury, 17, 46.
³ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 22.

⁴ Ibid. c. 23.

² Berrhæa, Beræa, or Beroe, is the modern city Aleppo. “The original name was Chaleb, the Chalybon of Ptolemy,” [the Helbon mentioned by the side of Damascus in Ezek. 27. 18.] “Seleucus Nicator improved the town and named it after the well-

known city in Macedonia, and so it continued to be called under the Romans till its capture by the Arabs in 636, when the old name Chaleb was restored.” Ersch-and-Gruber. Art. ‘Haleb.’

... evident emotion; for although he has not been long in the Episcopate, his sentiments are entirely in unison with those of us old men; and he discharges his functions so well that all the Bishops of the East are very proud of him. Let me then exhort you to manage this affair with that meekness and prudence which befits the Apostolic character, [‘using the power which God has given us for edification and not for destruction.’]”

In the mean time¹ Pope St. Cælestine, having received Nestorius' sermons, and afterwards his writings and letter, from Nestorius' own envoy Antiochus, resolved, before he returned an answer, to have them all translated into Latin. He also ordered a treatise to be composed, defending the Catholic doctrine against this new heresy; and it was doubtless at his recommendation that St. Leo, then Archdeacon of the Roman Church, employed for this work John Cassian, who was the best qualified for it, both by the profoundness of his theological knowledge, and the perfect mastery over the Greek language, which a long residence at Constantinople had given him. Having finished his *Conferences* some time before, he intended to continue silent, but he could not refuse St. Leo's request. He composed therefore a treatise on the Incarnation, in seven books. In the first he gives an account of most of the heresies which opposed this mystery, and then speaks of the Pelagians, whose principles, he maintains, gave rise to the error of Nestorius².

* A little further on Cassian seems to state the converse: that as Pelagianism owed its origin to the Ebionites (*ex antiquâ Ebionitarum stirpe surrexit, c. 2*), so it is virtually involved in and deducible from Nestorianism. "Nestorius," he says, "(novus non veteris hæreses auctor) asserts that our LORD and SAVIOUR was born a mere man: now of course he allows that CHRIST lived without sin; it follows therefore, that he must say as the Pelagians said before him, that all men may, of and by themselves be without sin: whence the doctrine effected by our LORD is altogether nugatory. That his tendency of his views was thus confirmed by defending and patronising that

"heresy." Perhaps Cassian agreed with the verses attributed to Prosper in considering the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies as reciprocally mother and daughter, Pelagianism giving back the life it first received; so that the error, which, first assailing CHRIST the Head, descended to the individual members of His body, afterwards reascended from the members to the Head.

"Nestoriana lues successi Pelagiana"

"Quæ tamen est utero progenerata meo."

See Garner's Dissertation (Mercat. Pt. i. p. 431), who determines that Cassian had confounded Nestorius' doctrine with that of Paul of Samosata and Leporius (who asserted that CHRIST was made God for the meritoriousness of His actions): a mistake he was the more likely to fall into because the Samosatene heresy was at

“For,” says he, “believing that man by his own strength
 “may be without sin, they judge the same of JESUS CHRIST,
 “saying that He was a mere man¹, but that He made so good
 “a use of His free will that He avoided all sin; that He
 “came into the world only to set an example of good works;
 “that He became CHRIST after His Baptism, and God after
 “His resurrection.” This however is not what Nestorius
 affirmed, for he did expressly say that the Divine WORD was
 united to man from the womb of Mary²; the same is clearly
 implied in his comparison of St. Elizabeth³; and his error re-
 lated only to the mode of this union. Indeed Cassian himself
 ascribes the error here spoken of to Leporius⁴, of whose history
 and recantation he gives a brief account⁵. In the second and
 third books he proves that CHRIST is God and man, and that
 the Virgin ought to be called Mother of God, and not only
 Mother of CHRIST. The fourth is occupied with proving the
 unity of CHRIST from Scripture. In the fifth he proceeds to
 shew that this union is real and not moral, and refutes several
 propositions of Nestorius. In the sixth he urges the evidence
 of the Creed used at Antioch⁶, into which Nestorius had been
 baptized. In the last he cites the authorities of the Greek
 and Latin Fathers, especially of his master St. Chrysostom,
 and concludes with a pathetic exhortation to the Church of
 Constantinople. He all along supposes that Nestorius is
 presiding over it as Bishop; from which it is evident that he
 finished this work before the deposition of Nestorius and the
 assembling of the Council of Ephesus.

Nestorius receiving no answer from the Pope, had written
 a second letter¹ to him by Valerius² the Emperor's chamber-

A. D. 430.
 CH. XIV.

[¹ homo
 solitarius]

² Serm. 3.
 n. 6.
 Serm. 4.
 n. 3, 4.
³ Serm. 5.
 n. 5, 6.
 [⁴ Lib. vii.
 c. 11.]
⁵ V. Supr.
 24. 49.

XIV.
 Pope St.
 Cæles-
 tine's letter
 against
 Nestorius.
 Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 17.
 Mercat.
 Pt. 1. p. 69.

that time prevalent at Marseilles, where
 he composed his treatise De Incarn.
 There can indeed be no doubt that if
 Nestorius and Pelagius had fully de-
 veloped their doctrines, these would
 have been found for the most part to
 coincide; for as “all truth may possibly
 “be derived from any one truth,” so
 may any one out of a system of errors
 necessitate the reception of the whole
 system; but it does not appear that
 the doctrines of the one were, explicitly
 and in point of fact, thus dialectically
 connected with those of the other.

¹ i. e. The Creed adopted at the
 Council of Antioch, A.D. 363, which

was in fact the Nicene Creed; and so
 Cassian speaks of it as “symbolum,
 “quod ecclesiarum omnium fidem lo-
 “quitur.” The Creeds adopted in the
 Councils held at Antioch, in A.D. 266
 and 272, being prior to the spread of
 Arianism, do not contain the word
ὁμοούσιος. Alard. Gazæus in l.

² Probably the same as the Valerius
 who was Consul with Actius in 432.
 The Antiochus also who conveyed Nes-
 torius's first letter to Cælestine was
 probably the one who was Consul with
 Bassus in 431. Garner in Merc. Pt. 1.
 p. 70. The powerful interest which
 Nestorius had managed to enlist on his

claiming him ought first to be used. "Therefore," adds he, A. D. 430. CH. XIV.
 "let all those whom he has separated from his communion
 "understand that they continue in ours, and that from this
 "time he himself cannot continue in communion with us, if
 "he persists in opposing the apostolic doctrine. Wherefore
 "you shall execute this judgment with¹ the authority of our
 "see, acting in our stead, and having our power delegated
 "to you; so that if, in the space of ten days, after he has
 "received this admonition, he does not expressly anathe-
 "matize his impious doctrine, and promise to confess, for
 "the future, that faith which the Roman Church and your
 "Church and all Christendom teaches concerning the gene-
 "ration of JESUS CHRIST our GOD, your holiness may forth-
 "with set about to provide for this Church," (i. e. the Con-
 stantinopolitan,) "under the full assurance that in such case
 "it is necessary that he should be utterly separated from our
 "body."

In his letter to Nestorius² he tells him how much he has
 been deceived in the good opinion he had conceived of him,
 from the report of his character. He says that he had read
 his letters and the books which he had sent him, and that
 he had found his opinions concerning the Divine WORD con-
 trary to the Catholic faith. Passing on to the Pelagians;
 "As to those heretics," he says³, "concerning whom you ask"
 "my advice as if you were ignorant of what had passed,
 "they have been justly condemned and deprived of their
 "sees; and it is matter of surprise to us that you who, to
 "judge from your sermons, so thoroughly believe the doc-
 "trine of original sin, should yet suffer men who are under
 "censure for denying it, to remain near your person. There
 "is always room for suspicion when opposite parties thus
 "form a coalition. And how is it that you ask what has
 "passed here, when Atticus your predecessor sent us Acts
 "made against them? How is it that Sisinius, of holy
 "memory, never inquired about them, unless it were that
 "he knew they had been justly condemned in the time of
 "Atticus?" Lastly, he concludes thus; "Know, that if you
 "do not teach concerning JESUS CHRIST our GOD, what is
 "held by Rome, Alexandria, and all the Catholic Churches,
 "and what up to your time was held by the holy Church of

[¹ συναφ-
 θεσις σοι
 τῆς αὐ-
 θεντίας τοῦ
 ἡμετέρου
 θρόνου, καὶ
 τῆ ἡμετέρας
 τοῦ τόπου
 διαδοχῆ ἐν
 ἕξουσιν
 χρησάμε-
 νος.]

² c. Eph.
 Pt. 1. c. 18.

³ p. 360. E.

“Constantinople; and if within ten days after the receipt of this third admonition, you do not unequivocally and in writing condemn this impious novelty,—which tends to put asunder what Scripture joins,—you are excluded from the communion of the whole Catholic Church. We have directed this sentence and all the other writings to be taken by the Deacon Posidonius to the Bishop of Alexandria, that he may act in our room¹; and that our decree may be known to you and all our brethren.”

The letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople² is full of exhortations to constancy in the Catholic Faith, and of consolation to those who were persecuted by Nestorius. The Pope therein declares void all excommunications pronounced by Nestorius from the time that he began to teach his errors. He adds, that not being able to act in person by reason of the distance, he has commissioned St. Cyril to act in his stead³; and concludes with a formal statement of the terms of the sentence. The substance of the letter to John of Antioch⁴ is much the same, the condemnation of Nestorius unless he recants within ten days, and the declaration that all excommunications or depositions which had been pronounced by him are null and void. The three other letters to Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, were only copies of this. Juvenal had not long before⁵ succeeded to the see of Jerusalem on the demise of Praxylus⁶, who had occupied it thirteen years. Juvenal appointed the first Bishop over the nomad Arabs of Palestine, great numbers of whom had been converted by St. Euthymius⁷. The person selected for the office was Peter, whose former name was Apollonius, the father of Terebo; he had been the first convert. His title was Bishop of Parembole, or the Camps, because the Arabs lived in tents dispersed over the whole face of the country¹.

The Hagarenes wishing still to drink of the sweet streams of Euthymius' discourse, crowded round him and prevented him from enjoying that tranquillity of seclusion which he so much prized. He therefore led them away to another place where, according to a plan which he gave them, they built a chapel and er

“circle round about it until such time as they could build dwelling-houses. The great Euthymius constantly paid them visits, and trained them to submit to the rule of a Priest and Deacons. But the sons of Hagar flocked to him in larger numbers than ever and formed several camps (*παρεμβολάς*), so that he sent to Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who

About the same time¹ Pope St. Cælestine commissioned St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre to cross to Great Britain in order to oppose Agricola, the son of a Pelagian Bishop called Severinus, who was corrupting the Churches of Britain by propagating his heresy among them. St. Germain was sent thither as the Pope's Vicar, in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, that is, A.D. 429. Pelagius was a native of Great Britain, it was no wonder therefore that he had disciples there". The Deacon Palladius, who was the Pope's envoy in the district infected by heresy, urged him to send them succour; and the Bishops of Gaul had on their part received a deputation from Great Britain, inviting them to come speedily to the defence of the Catholic Faith. A numerous Council was accordingly assembled, and they unanimsly agreed to entreat St. Germain of Auxerre, and St. Lupus of Troyes, to engage in the enterprize. So that St. Germain received a concurrent mission from this Council and from the Pope.

St. Germain had been made Bishop eleven years before,² as we have already said²; but St. Lupus only two years³. He was born at Toul of a very noble family, had studied rhetoric

A. D. 430.
CH. XV.
XV.
Mission of
St. Ger-
main and
St. Lupus
into Bri-
tain.
¹ Prosper
Chron.
ann. 429.
[p. 655.]
Beda, 1.
Hist. c. 17.
Constant.
Vit. S.
Germ. [ap.
Bolland.
Acta. SS.
tom. 32.
p. 201.]
p. 211. E.

² Supr. 23.
^{46.}
³ Vita S.
Lupi [ap.
Bolland.
tom. 32.
p. 51.] p.
72. F.

"ordained Peter to be Bishop of the Saracens, as one fitted to guide their souls in the way of salvation. So the Saracens flowed in like the waters of a perennial river, and were all received into the Christian fold." S. Euthym. V. c. 38, 39. The account given in the Life leads one to think that these events took place in the wilderness of either Ziph or Paran (the scenes of David's retreat from persecution); otherwise we should have been inclined to take Parembolæ to be Mahanaim,—which has the same meaning, 'camps,'—which is called Παρεμβολή by Josephus, Antiq. vii. 9 (quoted by Reland, Palæstina, p. 924) —and which is the word rendered Παρεμβολαί by the LXX in Gen. 32. 2, and 1 Kings 2. 8. At any rate we may well suppose that St. Euthymius, as he looked at his camps of converts, would often ponder on that passage of Jacob's history, when "as he walked on his way, the angels of God met him, and when he saw them he said "Παρεμβολή Θεοῦ ἀγγέλων:" so he called "the name of the place Παρεμβολαί. . .

"And Jacob said, . . . 'I am not worthy of all Thy mercy, and of all the truth which Thou hast shewed Thy servant, for with this my staff I passed over this Jordan, *ὕπνῳ δὲ γέγονα εἰς δύο παρεμβολάς.*'" Gen. 32.
* Pelagius is only a Hellenized form of Morgan, his original name, which means *near the sea*. Fuller, Ch. H., ann. 401. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 207.

He was educated in the monastery of Bangor, which then consisted of two thousand Monks, and of which he was afterwards Abbot. The success which Pelagianism met with in the hands of Agricola is doubtless to be in a great measure attributed to the indolence and ignorance of the British Bishops, against whom Gildas the Wise declaims as foolish, ambitious, simoniacal, and impure (p. 72. sqq. ed. E. H. Soc. 1838), and who are represented by Constantius (V. S. Germ.) to have sent for the Gallican Bishops because of their own want of learning, "quum illius (i. e. hæretici) syllogisticis conclusionibus simplicibus responsis recessistere non possent."

A. D. 430. in the schools, and was esteemed very eloquent. He married
 CH. XVI. Pemenciola, the sister of St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles; but
 seven years after their marriage they separated by consent,
 in order to live under more exact discipline. Lupus left
 his father's house and retired to the monastery of Lerins,
 under the guidance of its Abbot, St. Honoratus¹. Vincentius,
 brother of Lupus, also retired to Lerins², where he was or-
 dained Priest, and became famous for his writings. Lupus
 after exercising himself for a year with fasting and watching,
 went to Macon to distribute the remainder of his wealth
 among the poor; but when he least thought of it, he was
 forced away to be made Bishop of Troyes, over which Church
 he presided fifty-two years.

[¹ The
 friend and
 teacher of
 St. Hilary.]
 Supr. 24.
 58.

² Eucher.
 ad Hilar.
 de laude
 erem. [p.
 985. D. E.]

XVI.
 St. Gene-
 vieve.
¹ Constant.
 u. s. p. 211.
 F.
 Vit. S. Ge-
 novese
 [ap. Bol-
 land. tom. 1.
 p. 137.]

St. Germain and St. Lupus proceeding on their journey
 to Great Britain³, came to the city of Nanterre, near Paris.
 The inhabitants, familiar with the fame of their sanctity,
 came in crowds to meet them. St. Germain, after address-
 ing them with an exhortation, surveyed the people who
 stood round him, and saw at a distance a young maiden
 whose looks appeared to manifest something heavenly; he
 bade her approach, asked her name, and inquired who were
 her parents. The answer was that she was called Genevieve;
 and presently her father Severius, and mother Gerontia,
 came out from the crowd. St. Germain congratulated them
 on having such a daughter, and foretold that she would one
 day be an example even to men. He exhorted her to dis-
 close her whole heart to him, and say whether she would
 consecrate herself as a Virgin to God; she declared this was
 her purpose, and begged of the holy Bishop the solemn
 benediction usually given to Virgins. They went to church
 for the service of the none⁴; many psalms were then sung,
 and many long prayers repeated, during which, the holy

³ One of the Canonical Hours. The Council of Laodicea (can. 18.) enjoined public prayer to be always held at the ninth hour, i. e. our three o'clock P.M., which was formerly understood by 'noon,' or 'noon-tide.' "The hours were at first only allotted to private prayer, afterwards they were regularly observed in the monasteries, and lastly they came into use in the churches generally. Thus the ninth hour was introduced into the

"Gallican Church till A.D. 530, nor into the Spanish till the time of Martin of Braga. The ninth hour was the time of the Jewish evening sacrifice; at the ninth hour, 'being the hour of prayer,' Peter and John went up to the Temple; at this hour Cornelius was praying when he was visited by an Angel; and above all, at this hour our Saviour expired on the cross, "a sacrifice for the sins of the world." Bingham, xiii. 9. § 8, 13, (abridged.)

Bishop held his right hand upon the head of the maiden; he then retired to take his repast, desiring the parents to bring her to him on the morrow. This they did not fail to do; St. Germain asked St. Genevieve if she remembered her promise; "Yes," she said, "and hope by God's assistance and your prayers to observe it faithfully." Then looking on the ground, he saw a piece of copper money stamped with the sign of the cross; he took it up, and giving it to Genevieve, said, "Keep it for my sake, wear it always about your neck in place of every other ornament, and leave gold and precious stones to those who serve the world." He then committed her again to the hands of her parents, and proceeded on his journey.

A. D. 430.
CH. XVII.

St. Genevieve might be then about fifteen years old; for it is remarked, that from fifteen to fifty years of age she ate only twice a week, namely, on Sundays and Thursdays; and even then only some barley bread and beans, and never drank any wine, or intoxicating liquor. On a certain holiday soon after St. Germain's departure, her mother would have hindered her from going to church, but not being able to keep her at home gave her a blow on the cheek. In an instant the unhappy woman lost her sight, and continued blind for two years. At length calling to mind St. Germain's prediction, she bade her daughter fetch some water from the well, and make the sign of a cross over it. St. Genevieve did so, and washed her mother's eyes with it; upon which her sight gradually returned, and after two or three repetitions was quite recovered. The well is still pointed out with great veneration.

St. Germain and St. Lupus embarking in the winter season, met with a violent storm¹, which St. Germain assuaged by throwing some drops of oil into the sea in the name of the Holy Trinity. Arrived in Britain, they found a crowd assembled to receive them; for their coming had been foretold by some evil spirits which they afterwards cast out, and which, on leaving the possessed, confessed to having been the authors of the tempest. The holy Bishops soon filled Britain with the fame of their doctrine; and so great was the crowd of people that flocked to hear them, that they preached not only in the churches, but in the highways², and in the open country.

XVII.
St. Germain and St. Lupus defeat the Pelagians.
¹ Constant. (u. s.) p. 212. C. Vit. S. Lupi (u. s.) p. 74. D.

[²Per trivias, per ruras, per devia.]

- Thus they every where confirmed the Catholics, and converted the heretics. Their virtue, their doctrine, their miraculous powers, all pointed them out to be thoroughly apostolic men. The Pelagians fled; but at length ashamed of being thus by their silence self-condemned, they came to a conference⁷ attended by a long train of partizans, making a great display of wealth and gorgeously arrayed; a countless number of people thronged to get a sight of the spectacle. The holy Bishops gave the heretics permission to speak first; and after these had delivered a long harangue, the Bishops replied to them with great eloquence, supporting their arguments with so clear quotations from Scripture that their opponents were struck dumb; the people could hardly forbear clapping their hands, and expressed their thoughts by
- C. their acclamations. Upon this¹ a certain person of the rank of tribune, came forward with his wife, presenting their daughter, a little blind girl ten years old, to the holy Bishops, who bid them carry her to the Pelagians, but the latter joined their entreaties to those of the parents, that the Bishops would restore her sight. The Bishops consented, and first of all offered up a short prayer; then St. Germain having invoked the Holy Trinity, took from his neck the relique-box which he carried with him, and, in the sight of the assembled multitude, laid it upon the eyes of the little girl; she immediately recovered her sight; the parents were transported with joy, the people were struck with terror; and from that day no one opposed the teaching of the holy Bishops.
- D. After this² they went to return thanks to God at the tomb of the Martyr St. Alban, the most famous of British Saints³.
- ^{6. 7.} ⁱⁿ St. Germain opened the sepulchre and deposited in it reliques of all the Apostles, and of several Martyrs, which he had collected in various lands; then taking from the very scene of St. Alban's martyrdom some dust which was still crimson

⁷ Matthew of Westminster (ad ann. 446) makes this Council to have been held at Verulam, and so too Camden (Britannia, p. 298). Cf. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 328, and P. Bosch in Acta SS., tom. 32. p. 195.

³ Usher (p. 148.) quotes the following from the Salisbury Breviary (in *actis*. S. Alban).

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum.

Anglorum is a prolepsis; i. e. not a rhetorical figure, but an unconscious expression of their feeling that they belonged to one and the same Church before and after the Angle conquest.

with his blood, he carried it away with him, and on his return built a church in the city of Auxerre to the honour of the Saint, and placed these reliques in its shrine¹.

The Saxons and Picts² made war upon the Britons. The Picts (so called because they painted their bodies with various colours³) were a barbarous people who inhabited the northern part of the island. The Saxons were a German nation whom the Britons had called in to assist them in repelling the Picts. But the allies soon cast a longing eye on the country of their employers, and making common cause with the Picts, found themselves, after a lapse of about twenty-five years, masters of Great Britain. The Britons in consternation at the approach of the enemy, fled to the holy Bishops. It was now Lent, and many under their instructions desired baptism, so that in fact a great part of the army received it at Easter^b, in a church constructed of boughs

A. D. 430.
CH. XVIII.

¹ Hist. Episc. Antislod. p. 536.

XVIII. They overcome the Saxons.

² Const. p. 213. F. Beda. 1. Hist. c. 14, 15.

[³ or from a native word Piht, or Peoht; see Camden's Brit. p. cx. sqq.]

^a The common statement is that the Saxons did not come over until they were invited by Vortigern. Hence some (as Bede and Paulus Diaconus) refer the visit of St. Germain and the Hallelujah victory, as it was called, to the arrival of the Angles in the reign of Marcian, A. D. 449. (Beda. E. H. 1. 15; though in his book *De Sex Ætat.* (p. 27.) he places it in 459). As this would run counter to Prosper's Chronology, others place the first mission of St. Germain in 429, but refer the victory over the Saxons to his second visit. But Usher has well shewn (p. 335) that the Saxon incursions had been frequent from the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I. downward; so much so that it was found necessary to appoint an officer called 'Count of the Saxon coast in Britain;' (Notitia Imperii p. 161). When the Romans withdrew, the Northern pirates would of course increase the boldness and number of their attacks. The easy supposition that one of these attacks took place in 429, is all that is necessary to reconcile Constantius' narrative with the date assigned by Prosper.

Gibbon, speaking of Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, says: "If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the

"pirates of Germany; the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks; and the Saxons might sometimes join the Scots and Picts in a tacit or express confederacy of rapine or destruction." c. 38, (iv. p. 501. ed. 1828).

For the history of the whole period of anarchic independence from 409 to 449, see Gibbon, c. 31. (iv. pp. 151—154). Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, I. c. 8.

^b Of the solemn times for Baptism the most celebrated was Easter; and next to that Pentecost, and Epiphany, or the day on which Christ was supposed to be baptized. These three are plainly referred to by Gregory Naz. (Orat. 40. de Bapt. τὸ πᾶσχα, ἢ πεντηκοστή, τὰ φῶτα). [He is remonstrating with those who put off Baptism under the plea that they were only waiting for these festivals. Cf. Chrysostom, tom. iv. p. 615.] . . . But Easter and Pentecost were the chief. St. Jerome tells us, some referred the prophecy in Zech. xiv. 8. to baptism; 'Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, 'in summer and in winter shall it 'be.' The LXX reads it 'in summer and in spring.' And this they applied to the two solemn times of Baptism, Pentecost and Easter. . . . The great Sabbath, or Saturday, when our Saviour lay in the grave, was the most famous for baptizing catechumens, and infants also, as we learn

A. D. 430. of trees twisted together, and set up in the open plain. The
 CH. XVIII. feast being over, they made ready to march against the
 enemy, animated with fresh courage by the blessing just
 bestowed upon them; and with great confidence expecting
 the assistance of God. St. Germain put himself at their
 head, for he had not yet forgot the rules of that art to
 which so large a portion of his youth had been dedicated.
 He sent scouts to reconnoitre the country, and posted his
 men in a valley, so as not to be observed by the enemy
 who were pushing down in hopes to take him by surprise.
 St. Germain had ordered his people all to raise the same
 shout which he should give them as signal; he now cried
 out three times, Allelujah, and was followed by all the army.
 The sound being reverberated by the echo from the hills,
 made so dreadful a noise that the barbarians were dis-
 mayed; they threw down their arms and fled in disorder,
 leaving their baggage behind them, and many of them
 perished in attempting to cross a river^c. The Bishops having
 thus freed Britain from both the Pelagians and the Saxons,
 passed back into Gaul, and returned to their homes. Pope
 St. Cælestine, to provide for the further security of religion
 in the island, sent thither the Deacon Palladius, having or-
 dained him Bishop of the Scotch¹; he was the first Bishop
 placed over this nation, which up to the present period had
 been very barbarous. St. Jerome^d records that they had no
 regular marriages, and that they devoured human flesh, for
 which they had such a passion that they cut off the breasts
 of women, and the other fleshy parts of such as they found

¹ Prosper.
 Contra
 Collat. c. 41.
 [p. 904.]
² Hieron.
 Ep. ad
 Ocean. et
 2. in Jovin.
 [t. 4. pt. 2.
 p. 648. et
 p. 201.]

“ from Chrysostom (Ep. 1. ad Inno-
 cent. [t. 7. p. 156.]) and the author
 of the Constitutions (Const. Apost.
 5. 19), yet the whole time of fifty
 days was set apart for this purpose
 and counted but as one solemn season
 for Baptism.” Bingham, 11. 6. § 7.
^c “This battle is said to have been
 fought in a place to this day called
 ‘Mæs-Garmon,’ or St. Germain’s
 plain; the river Alen, in which the
 army had been baptized, runs past it.
 It is close by the town called by the
 English ‘Mold,’ by the Welsh ‘Guid-
 cruc.’” Usher de Primord., p. 333.

Fuller says, in his quaintest mood:
 “ Besides the concavity of the valleys
 improving the sound, God sent a

“ hollowness into the hearts of the
 Pagans, so that their apprehensions
 added to their ears, and cowardice
 often resounded the same shout in
 their breasts, till beaten with the
 reverberation thereof, without strik-
 ing a stroke, they confusedly ran
 away, and many were drowned for
 speed in the river Alen, lately the
 Christians’ font, now the Pagans’
 grave.” (Church Hist., ann. 429).

^d “By the pilgrims who resorted
 every year to the Holy Land, the
 Monk of Bethlehem received the
 earliest and most accurate intelli-
 gence.” Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 153.
 note d. Compare Usher, pp. 202—
 204.

in unfrequented places. St. Palladius was sent as Bishop into Scotland in the Consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, that is, in the year 431¹.

St. Cyril having received St. Cælestine's letters from Posidonius the Deacon, sent them as they were directed; and along with those written to John of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, he sent letters from himself. He exhorts John to adopt a resolute course, declaring that he for his part was determined to act in conformity with the opinion of the Pope and the Western Bishops, that he might keep to their communion. To Juvenal² he says that it will be necessary to write to the Emperor, to induce him to espouse the cause of religion, and free the Church from this false pastor. He reminds both of them that he has done all in his power to bring Nestorius to reason.

John of Antioch was a friend of Nestorius, and had been one of his clergy; on receiving St. Cyril's letter, therefore, he wrote to his friend³, enclosing him a copy both of that and of the one from Pope St. Cælestine. "I entreat you," he says, "to read them in such a temper that they may not raise any disturbance in your mind, since from that source often spring disputes and pernicious obstinacy; but at the same time," he continues, "do not treat this business with contempt, for the Devil knows how, by means of pride, to drive evil matters to such an extremity that they become incurable. Read the letters over carefully, and send for such of your friends as will venture to give you sound, even though it be unpalatable advice, to consider them with you. Although the period of ten days appointed by the most holy Bishop St. Cælestine is none of the longest, you may do all that is necessary in one day, or in a few hours. For it is easy in speaking of the incarnation of our Lord to employ a suitable term, used by many of the Fathers, and which expresses truly His being born of the Virgin. Nor ought you either to reject this term as dangerous, or to think that its admission would involve you in inconsistency. If your sentiments are the same as those of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, as we are assured by several of our common friends they are, why should you scruple to de-

A. D. 430.
CH. XIX.

¹ Prosper.
Chron. [p.
658.]

XIX.

Letter from
John of
Antioch to
Nestorius.

² Conc.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 21.

³ Ibid. c. 24.

⁴ Ibid. c. 25.

A. D. 430. "clare this your sound and orthodox belief, especially when
 CH. XX. "so great confusion and disorder has been raised on your
 "account? For know, that this question is debated both
 "far and near; all the Church is disturbed with it, and the
 "faithful in all parts daily contend about it, as you may
 "suppose from the following fact: the West, Egypt, and
 "perhaps Macedonia, have resolved to separate from that
 "union which God has granted to His Church by the
 "labours of so many Bishops, particularly those of the great
 "Acacius." He means Acacius of Berrhæa, and alludes to
¹ Supr. 23. the union which terminated the schism at Antioch¹, in the
 27. time of Bishop Alexander and of Pope St. Innocent.

He proceeds earnestly to advise Nestorius to make use of the word Theotocos, 'Mother of God,' since none of the Doctors of the Church ever rejected it, and many used it without being blamed by those who did not. He shews that the meaning of the words cannot be rejected without falling into dangerous error, since it would thence follow, contrary to the plain authority of Scripture, that it is not God who became incarnate and of no reputation, by taking upon Him the form of a servant. He adds: "If, before these letters appeared, many were so furiously set against us, what will they not do now that these letters seem to justify them in their suspicions? I am not writing this to you unadvised; many Bishops, who are friends to both of us, and were present when these unhappy letters were delivered to me, are now sitting by me; they are Archelaus, Apringius, Theodoret, Helias, Meletius, and Macarius, who has been lately ordained Bishop of Laodicea." He mentions the see of none but this last, because Nestorius knew the rest. John wrote at the same time to the Count Irenæus, their common friend, and to the Bishops Musæus and Helladius.

XX.
 Nestorius'
 mar.
 Nestorius having perused all these letters, returned a civil answer² to John, but in the main still obstinately persisted in his error. "I should have expected," he says, "to have
 "suffered under any other calumny sooner than that of
 "holding an error in the faith. This charge ought not to
 "have been brought against one who up to the present day
 "has fought so many battles of the Church against all sorts
 "of heretics." And afterwards; "I found the Church of

“ this place divided ; some gave the Virgin no title but
 “ that of ‘ Mother of God,’ Theotocos, others only ‘ Mother
 “ ‘ of a man,’ Anthropotocos ; I to reunite them called her
 “ ‘ Mother of CHRIST,’ Christotocos, a name which clearly
 “ expresses both God and man. Do not disquiet yourself
 “ therefore as to this matter, but be assured that my opi-
 “ nions have never swerved from the true faith. If we meet
 “ in the Council, which we hope soon to see convened, we
 “ will settle every thing so as to remove all offence and dis-
 “ cord. You ought to be less surprised than any one at the
 “ presumption of the Egyptian, which is nothing more than
 “ usual, or than what you have seen in so many instances.
 “ In a short time, if it be God’s will, our conduct will be
 “ seen in a more favourable light.” Such was the answer of
 Nestorius.

In the mean time St. Cyril, pursuant to the Pope’s com-
 mission, assembled a Council at Alexandria : perhaps the
 one usually held in October, consisting of all the Bishops of
 the province¹ of Egypt ; and in the name of this Council
 wrote a synodical epistle² to Nestorius as his third and last
 admonition, declaring to him that if within the term pre-
 scribed by the Pope, that is within ten days after the receipt
 of this letter, he does not renounce his errors, they will have
 no further communion with him, and will not look upon him
 any more as Bishop, and that from that time forward they
 are in communion with all persons cleric or laic whom he
 has deprived or excommunicated. “ It will not be sufficient,”
 they continue³, “ to profess your belief in the Nicene Creed,
 “ which you know very well how to evade by dint of forced
 “ interpretations ; you must declare in writing and on oath
 “ that you anathematize your impious tenets, and that you
 “ believe and will teach what we all of us believe ; and when
 “ I say *we*, I include all the Bishops of the East and West,
 “ and all who guide the people. For the holy Council of
 “ Rome, and we, are all agreed that the letters which have
 “ been written to you by the Church of Alexandria are
 “ orthodox, and free from error.”

A. D. 430.
 CH. XXI.

XXI.
 St. Cyril’s
 last letter to
 Nestorius.

[¹ διοική-
 σεις.]
² Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 26.

[³ p. 398.
 B.]

¹ “ The Canons (Con. Nic. c. 5. “ p. 51.) appointed two Synods to be
 “ [Labbe II. p. 56.] Antioch. c. 20. “ held ordinarily every year in each
 “ [II. p. 569.] Can. Apost. c. 38. [I. “ province.” Bingham. 2. li. § 17.

A. D. 430.
CH. XXII.

¹ n. 7. [p.
403. A.]

[² μυστι-
καὶς εὐλο-
γαίς]

[³ Ἰδ(αν
αὐτῷ τῷ
λόγῳ.)]

[⁴ p. 407.
D.]

XXII.
The XII
Anathemas
of St. Cyril.

The synodal letter next enunciates its confession of faith. First, the Nicene Creed; then a full and precise exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation in accordance with the views propounded by St. Cyril in his former letters. The chief objections made by Nestorius are examined, and the following argument is drawn from the Eucharist¹; "When we solemnize in our churches the unbloody Sacrifice, we declare the death of CHRIST, and confess His resurrection and ascension; and so we approach the mystical benedictions², and are sanctified, while we partake of the sacred Flesh and precious Blood of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, which we do not receive as common flesh, God forbid! nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and joined to the WORD by a union of dignity, or of one in whom the Deity resides, but as truly life-giving, and strictly one with the WORD³. He who as GOD is in His own nature life, became one with His flesh, and gave it a quickening virtue; for else how could the flesh of a man be in its own nature life-giving?" The letter concludes with Twelve Anathemas⁴, which form a recapitulation of the whole. They are as follows:

I. If any man confess not that EMMANUEL is truly GOD, and consequently the Holy Virgin, Mother of GOD, (since by her, according to the flesh, was conceived the WORD of GOD who became flesh,) let him be anathema.

II. If any man confess not that the WORD which proceeds from GOD the FATHER is united to the flesh hypostatically, and that with His flesh He makes but one only CHRIST, who is both GOD and man, let him be anathema.

III. If any one, after confessing the union, divide the hypostases of the only CHRIST, joining them indeed together, but only by a connection of dignity, authority, or power, and not by a real union, let him be anathema.

IV. If any attribute to two persons, or to two hypostases, the things which the Apostles and the Evangelists relate, as spoken concerning CHRIST by the Saints or by Himself, and apply some to a man conceived of separately as external to the Divine WORD⁵, and others (such as he deems worthy of GOD) solely to the WORD proceeding from the FATHER; let him be anathema.

[⁵ ἄν-
θρωπῶν
ἐκ θεοῦ
ὄν ἰδι-
οῦ σου-
-φ]

V. If any dare to say that CHRIST is a man who bears GOD within him¹, instead of saying that he is GOD indeed, as only SON, and SON by nature,—inasmuch as the WORD was made flesh, and partook of flesh and blood, even as we;—let him be anathema.

A. D. 430.
CH. XXII.

[¹ θεοφόρον
ἄνθρωπον]

VI. If any dare to say that the WORD proceeding from GOD the FATHER is the GOD or LORD of JESUS CHRIST, instead of confessing that the same is entirely both GOD and man,—since, according to the Scriptures, the WORD was made flesh;—let him be anathema.

VII. If any man say that JESUS as man was possessed by² GOD the WORD, and clothed with the glory of the only SON, as if He were not identical with Him; let him be anathema.

[² ἐνληργη-
σθαι]

VIII. If any dare to say that the man assumed³ by the WORD ought, along with the WORD, to be glorified and adored and called GOD, as if the one existed within the other, (for this is the notion suggested by the perpetual repetition of the phrase *along with*⁴;) instead of honouring EMMANUEL with one entire adoration, and rendering to Him one entire glorification,—forasmuch as the WORD was made flesh;—let him be anathema.

[³ ἀνα-
ληφθέντα]

[⁴ Supr.
c. 8.]

IX. If any say that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was glorified by the HOLY GHOST, as having received from Him a power of acting against unclean spirits and working miracles upon men, which was foreign to Himself, instead of saying that the Spirit by which He worked them belonged to Him essentially⁵; let him be anathema.

X. Holy Scripture says⁶ that JESUS CHRIST was made the High-Priest and Apostle of our faith, and that He offered Himself for us to GOD the FATHER as a sweet-smelling sacrifice⁷; if any man therefore say that since the time when our High-Priest and Apostle was made flesh and man like us, He is not the WORD of GOD but a man born of a woman, as if this man were a different person from the WORD; or if any say that CHRIST offered the sacrifice for Himself, instead of saying that it was solely for our sakes, (for He who knew no sin⁸ stood in no need of any sacrifice;) let him be anathema.

[⁵ ἰδιον

αὐτοῦ]

[⁶ Heb. 3.

1.]

[⁷ Eph. 5.

2.]

[⁸ 2 Cor. 5.
21.]

XI. If any man confess not that the flesh of the LORD gives life, and belongs essentially⁹ to the WORD Himself who

[⁹ ἰδιαν.]

A. D. 430. proceeds from the FATHER, and attribute it to another who
 CH. XXIII. is only joined to Him in respect of dignity, or by virtue of a
 divine indwelling, instead of saying that it gives life because
 it belongs essentially to the WORD, who has the power of
 quickening¹ all things; let him be anathema.

[¹ ἰωωγο-
 ρειν]

XII. If any man confess not that the WORD of GOD
 suffered according to the flesh, was crucified according to
 the flesh, and was the first-born among the dead,—foras-
 much as He is life, and giveth life, as GOD;—let him be
 anathema.

These are the Twelve famous Anathemas of St. Cyril
 against all the heretical propositions advanced by Nestorius¹.
 The synodal letter in which they are inserted, is dated the
 thirtieth of November; but there is reason to think² that
 this was rather the day on which it arrived at Constanti-
 nople. It was accompanied by two other letters, one to the
 clergy and people of Constantinople³, the other to the Abbots
 of the monasteries in that city⁴. In these he remarks that
 he has deferred having recourse to the grievous remedy of
 excommunication until the very last moment; and he exhorts
 them to continue steadfast in the faith, and to communicate
 freely with those whom Nestorius had excommunicated.
 Four Egyptian Bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon,
 and Macarius⁵, were deputed to convey these letters to Nes-
 torius, along with Pope St. Cælestine's letter.

¹ v. not.
 Baluz. p.
 422.

² C. Eph.
 Pt. 1. c. 27.
⁴ c. 28.

⁵ Ibid. p.
 504. A.

XXIII.
 The Coun-
 cil of Ephem
 called.

Before the deputies arrived at Constantinople, the Em-
 3

¹ Garner says of these anathemas (Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 339): "It is evident that they are constructed with exquisite skill and in conformity to the method of geometricians. They first lay down the theorem to be proved,—that IMMANUEL is GOD,—with the principle on which the proof depends—'the WORD was made flesh' (Anath. I.) After this come two lemmas, stating, first, that the union of the WORD to the flesh was hypostatic (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) (Anath. II.); secondly, that it was not a union of dignity or a moral union, (ἐν σχέσει,) (Anath. III.) Then follow nine corollaries (Anath. IV.—XII.) which run up into the two great points of the unity of CHRIST and the redemption of man. And

"whereas there are three kinds of unity; in An. IV. and V. he maintains the subjective or personal unity, (unitas suppositi); in VI., VII., and VIII., the unity of worth, worship, and dignity; in IX., the unity of operation and power. Again, there are three parts also of redemption, sanctification of the soul, vivification of the body, and satisfaction for sin. The first is treated of in An. X., the second in An. XI., the third in An. XII." He further remarks that they are drawn up in the very language made use of by the Church-Fathers, only compressed and concentrated (quasi in fulmina) until they seem to have acquired the force and vividness of lightning.

peror Theodosius had ordered a general Council to be called. This was a step which both parties urged him to adopt. That the Catholics wished for it, is evident from the petition of Basil and the Monks who had been maltreated by Nestorius¹; and Nestorius himself desired it², thinking he should be able to influence it by the assistance of the secular power joined to the support of the Easterns, and so obtain from it a condemnation of St. Cyril on the charges brought against him by Chæremon and his other calumniators. The letter by which the Council was summoned is in the usual form, being written in the name of the two Emperors, and directed to the Metropolitans of each province³. The one which has been preserved⁴ is that addressed to St. Cyril; it is in substance as follows: "The troubles which have arisen in the Church have made us think it an indispensable duty to call together the Bishops of the whole world, though we would willingly have spared them the anxiety and fatigue. Your piety therefore will do well, as soon as the approaching feast of Easter shall be passed, to repair to Ephesus so as to be ready by the day of Pentecost; you will bring with you such Bishops as you shall think necessary, providing that a sufficient number remain to conduct the business of the province, and that so many as shall be sufficient may come to the Council. In the mean time no one shall introduce privately any innovation⁵ until the Council be assembled. We doubt not but that all the Bishops will be prompt in their attendance; which if any fail to be, he shall not be excused before God or before us. Given at Constantinople the thirteenth of the calends of December, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Valentinian," (i. e. the nineteenth of November, A.D. 430.) The city of Ephesus was selected as having easy access both by sea and land, with an abundant supply of all the necessaries of life⁶.

A. D. 430.
CH. XXIII.

¹ Ibid. c. 30.
[p. 430. C.]
² v. Mercat.
Pt. 2. p. 80.]

³ Evagr. 1.
Hist. c. 3.
[p. 252. et
Vales. in
1.]
⁴ C. Eph.
Pt. 1. c. 32.
[It is
headed
θεῖον γράμμα.]

⁵ κειροτο-
μιας]

⁶ Sacra
per Joan.
C. Eph.
p. 721. C.

¹ Ephesus stood at the Eastern side of a beautiful vale, covered with groves of tamarisk and watered by the mazy Cayster (the far-famed Ἄσπυς Λειμῶν of Hom. II. B. 461). It was a place of immense resort, as might be inferred from the single fact of its wondrous temple. At one period it is supposed

to have had a population of six hundred thousand. Strabo calls it "the greatest emporium of the whole of lower Asia;" and modern travellers testify that few cities in the world have so many sad reliques of departed grandeur. It was the seat of the metropolitan of the Asian diocese, but now only contains

30. Besides the circular letter to St. Cyril, there was another¹ written to him privately by Theodosius, in which he charges^{iv.} him with being the author of all the Church troubles, and^{4.]} complains of his having written two different letters, one to himself and his wife Eudocia, the other to his sister Pulcheria, as if the imperial family had been divided; he adds, however, that St. Cyril has his forgiveness, and he entreats him to join with the rest of the Council in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to the Church. This letter shews what prejudices the Emperor had imbibed against St. Cyril^h.

7. St. Augustine was called to the Council by name, out of^{us-} deference to his great reputation; for there appears to be nost other reason why he should have been distinguished from so many Bishops. An officer called Ebagnius² was sent with^{st.} the Emperor's letter; but on his arrival at Carthage, which^{5.]} was not till near Easter in the following year, 431, he was told that St. Augustine had departed this life; he therefore returned to Constantinople with letters from the Bishop Capreolus, informing the Emperor of that event. St. Augustine's last work was the second answer to Julian, which he left imperfect. Julian had written four books against St. Augustine's first book On Marriage and Concupiscence; but when he had seen the second he composed eight books in answer to it, which he addressed to Florus, a Pelagian

among its mud cottages a single Christian family. Its name still preserves the memory of its Holy Apostle, being called by the Turks Aja-salouk, a corruption of *ἅγιος θεολόγος*.

² It would seem from both letters of Theodosius that his main reason for calling a Council was the belief into which he had flattered himself that this step would put an end to what he considered the factious clamour against Nestorius. He was evidently disposed to look on St. Cyril as an unprincipled agitator, and there is a 'vis inertiae' which always operates in favour of what is to us the established order of things. On the mind of a monarch or statesman this influence must be particularly strong; for he, as it were, represents, and is identified with, the existing state of things. Besides, he looks on men in a professional way as beings who are to be governed and

kept quiet; the very fact therefore of a man's having been the active cause (though perhaps not the guilty cause) of dissension, is in his eyes a sufficient reason for condemning him. And if the subject of dissension be of a religious nature, appealing to men's consciences, which are beyond the jurisdiction even of an Emperor, what wonder if the originator of the commotion be viewed with anger and disgust? Who can take pleasure in being made to feel conscious of impotence?

The letter specially directed to St. Cyril is peevish throughout: on the subject of the separate letter sent to Pulcheria he exhibits particular soreness, indicating, perhaps, that the struggle against the ascendancy which the superior intellect of his sister had gained over him was not yet ended. The circular letter is in a far higher tone, and not unworthy of his position.

Bishop, and one of those who had accompanied him to Constantinople. Julian was ignorant of the fact that St. Augustine had composed six books in reply to his first four; indeed, if we are to believe him, he did not know that St. Augustine had ever seen these four books; and this may be the truth, for he was in Cilicia at the time. Pressed as he was by other business, St. Augustine could hardly be prevailed upon to answer these eight books, which contained nothing beyond invectives and vague declamation. At length he yielded to the urgent solicitations of St. Alypius, and undertook it for the sake of those ignorant men who might read Julian's reply without perceiving its weakness. St. Augustine was engaged on this work to the close of his life; he lived to finish six books of it, which were replies to the first six of Julian's eight. His plan is first to quote Julian's own words, and then to answer them article by article. As Julian had done little more than repeat what he had said in his former work, St. Augustine is frequently obliged, in this treatise, to quote himself. In spite of this it contains passages of great force and value, in which the same truths are better developed and more vividly illustrated than before.

A. D. 430.
CH. XXIV.

In the last years of his life, subsequently to his Retractions, he made a compendium of the moral precepts of Scripture, in a work which he entitled *Speculum*, that is, "the Mirror;" because by it the faithful might perceive the state of their souls, and learn what progress they were making in virtue. He sets down in it such precepts only as refer to the regulation of our manners, and of these only such as are delivered in simple, direct, unmetaphorical language; he does not use as formerly the version made from the Greek of the Septuagint, but the more perspicuous one made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew. He begins with the laws which follow the Decalogue in Exodus, and proceeds to draw out the moral precepts of every part of the Old Testament; not omitting the books which the Church receives as canonical, though not included in the Hebrew canon¹. He commences

¹ See Bingham, 14. 3. § 16. "St. " thage" (supr. 20. 26. x. and 22. " Austin seems to have followed the 4. d); for when " Hilary of Arles ex- " canon of the third Council of Car- " pressly told St. Austin that the

A. D. 430. his extract from the New Testament at the Sermon on the
 CII. XXV. Mount, and continues it down to the Apocalypse. As
 among so many passages of Scripture, there were some
 which seemed contradictory, he intended to explain them
 in certain Queries which he would afterwards have proposed,
 but his design was never executed.

XXV.
 Desolation
 of Africa.

In the mean time the Vandals continued to ravage Africa
 with a devastating fury which very much embittered the latter
 part of St. Augustine's life. Such is the account given by
 Possidius Bishop of Calama, an eye-witness, who proceeds
 thus': "He saw the cities reduced to ruins, the buildings
 " in the country levelled with the ground, the inhabitants
 " either slain or saved only by flight, the churches bereft
 " of Priests and ministers, the consecrated virgins and the
 " other religious persons dispersed in every direction. Some
 " had sunk under torture, some had perished by the sword ;
 " others were in captivity, slaves to brutal and cruel enemies,
 " who had rent from them their purity both of body, mind,
 " and faith. Under his very eyes the hymns and praises of
 " God ceased in the churches, nay, the sacred buildings
 " themselves were in many places reduced to ashes. The
 " solemn sacrifices that are due to God were no longer
 " offered in their appointed places, (being performed in
 " private houses, or other unconsecrated buildings, from
 " want of churches.) No one asked for the administration
 " of the Sacraments, or if they did, it was hardly possible to
 " find any to minister them. Those who fled to the woods,
 " or the mountains, into rocks and caverns, or fortresses,
 " were either taken and slain, or died a worse death by
 " hunger ; the Bishops and clergy whom God in His mercy
 " suffered not to fall into the hands of their enemies, or for
 " whom, if taken, He made a way of escape, were yet stripped
 " of every thing, and reduced to the lowest point of penury,
 " so that it was impossible to give them all such assistance
 " as they wanted ; in a word, fruitful as Africa was in
 " Churches, not above three,—Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha,
 " —could now be pointed out as having escaped the de-

' Possid.
 c. 28. [ap.
 Opp. Au-
 gust. x.
 Append.
 p. 257.]

" Churches of France were offended " was not canonical," he only pleads
 " at him because he had used a proof " that it was so received by the Chris-
 " from the book of Wisdom, which " tians of Afric before him."

"vastation which levelled both churches and cities in one common ruin." A. D. 430.
CH. XXV.

Amidst these alarms¹, St. Augustine was consulted by Honoratus Bishop of Thiava, as to whether the Bishops and clergy ought to retire at the approach of the barbarians. St. Augustine at first sent him a letter² which he had written on the same subject to a Bishop called Quodvultdeus; but Honoratus was not satisfied with it, and urged certain objections grounded on our LORD's words, "When you shall be persecuted in one city, flee to another³." To which some other Bishop added, "If the LORD commanded us to flee from persecutions in which we gain the Martyr's crown, how much more from the incursions of the barbarians, where there is nothing but fruitless sufferings?" St. Augustine sent a long letter⁴ in reply, and set down the rules which should guide us on such occasions. To the argument drawn from our LORD's words, he opposes⁵ what He elsewhere says, "that the hireling flees when he sees the wolf coming⁶," and adds, "In order to reconcile these two quotations we must say that when the danger extends to all⁷, the pastors and ministers of the Church ought in no case to leave the flock; that ministry which is always so necessary for them, is especially required in time of affliction, for then the people stand in need of consolation and support; besides which, the impending danger makes all sorts of persons crowd to church⁸, and demand baptism, absolution, or at least penance. If ministers are then wanting, what a misfortune to those who leave this world without being regenerated or absolved! and what a reproach to the absent ministers! We ought to fear these spiritual evils more than any temporal calamity⁹, ay, more than torments or death; for it is the first duty of the pastor to give his flock food convenient for them; by deserting them he incurs a certain evil through dread of suffering a contingent one¹, which is surely not the part of a Christian." ' c. 30.
' no longer extant.
' Matt. 10. 23.
' Epist. 228. [opp. II. p. 830.]
' n. 6.
' John 10. 12.
' n. 2.
' n. 8. [Supr. 19. 2.]
' n. 7.
' n. 5.

"But if² the persecutors mark out a particular pastor for their prey, while a sufficient number of ministers remain to supply the wants of the flock, in that case he should fly, as did St. Paul from Damascus, and as St. Athanasius did³." ' n. 2. n. 6.
[² So too St. Cyprian.]

" If the whole flock betake themselves to flight, then the
 " pastor ought to follow them, since it is only for the sake
 " of the flock that he stays. He may also retire when he
 " has no flock left, as happened to some Bishops of Spain¹,
 " whose people had been slain, destroyed in besieged towns,
 " dispersed, or made captives. Some ministers too² may re-
 " serve themselves for the service of the Church, when there
 " are others to supply their absence; but they ought not
 " lightly to allow themselves either to shun that self-sacrifice
 " which they require from the laity³, or to think themselves
 " more necessary to the Church than their brother eccle-
 " siastics; the first would savour of cowardice, the last of
 " presumption. If all resolve to stay⁴, though it is thought
 " proper that some should retire, the matter must be de-
 " cided by lot. Should it be feared⁵ that if all the ministers
 " stay the laity will resume too much confidence, they should
 " be admonished that their pastors stay only for their sakes."
 Thus did St. Augustine encourage his brethren.

XXXI.
 Death of
 St. Augu-
 stine.

" Passed
 " on
 " 28

It was not long before Hippo was besieged by the Vandals;
 Count Boniface, who was then at war with them, having
 shut himself up there, with the Goths who were in the
 Roman alliance. The siege lasted nearly fourteen months,
 and the Vandals cut off from the besieged all communica-
 tion with the sea. Possidius and many other neighbouring
 Bishops had fled thither for refuge⁶. One day, as they were
 at table⁷, St. Augustine said to them, " Know, that while this
 " calamity lasts, I beseech God either to deliver this city
 " from the enemies who encompass it, or if He has otherwise
 " disposed of it, to endue His servants with resignation to
 " His will; or at least to withdraw me from this world."
 From that time they all united with him to make the same
 prayer to God, and he continued to preach in the church
 with all his characteristic vigour of thought and holy bold-
 ness, until his last sickness.

This was a fever, which seized on him in the third month
 of the siege. He now practised what he had often told his
 " disciples", that no one after having received Baptism ought to
 " leave this life without repentance, not even the most virtuous
 " Christians, or even the Bishops. He therefore caused the
 " Penitential Psalm, (" which are few in number," says

Possidius,—probably the seven we still call by that name,) to be written out and fixed to the wall near his bed; he then read them, with tears streaming down incessantly¹. And lest he should be diverted from this pious exercise, he, ten days before his death, desired those about him not to suffer any one to come into his chamber^k except at the hours when his physicians came to visit him, or when his food was brought in. His desire was complied with, and he thus spent the whole time in prayer. He was perfectly sensible at his death, neither his sight nor his hearing being impaired. His friends were at his bedside praying with him when he died. He lived seventy-six years², forty of which were spent in the ministry. His death occurred³ on the fifth of the calends of September, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Valentinian, i. e. on the twenty-eighth of August, A.D. 430; and on that day he is still commemorated by the Church. At his funeral the Sacrifice was offered to God in the presence of the Bishops. He made no will, being so poor that he had nothing to dispose of; but it was always his earnest wish that his library, and all the books belonging to his church, should be carefully preserved. These particulars we learn from Possidius, who had lived in the closest intimacy with him nearly forty years, and who has left us the following relation of his miracles. "I know," he says, "that both when he was Priest, and after he was Bishop, being earnestly desired to entreat God for some possessed persons, he prayed with tears, and the devils went out of them. I know that when he was sick, and in bed, a diseased person was brought to him that he might lay his hands on him and heal him; his reply was, 'If I had power over distempers I should heal

A. D. 430.
CH. XXVI.

[¹ jugiter
ac ubertim
flebat.]

[² Supr. 18.
48.]
[³ Prosp.
Chron. [p.
655.]

¹ "The Sunday following he [Dr. Donne] appointed his servants that if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did; but, as Job, so he waited for the appointed day of his dissolution. . . . He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change." Life by I. Walton. An exemplification of

St. Augustine's rule occurs in an incident of Dr. Johnson's Life which, when taken in connection with the character of the man and his life-long fear of death, is very affecting. "He told me that on the preceding day he had given himself up to fasting, humiliation, and devotion: he had ordered Frank not to admit any one, 'for,' said he, 'your master is preparing to die.'" (Vol. v. p. 153. ed. Croker, 1831).

A. D. 430. " 'myself first.' The other answered, 'A voice in a dream
 CH. XXVII. " 'said to me, Repair to the Bishop Augustine, let him lay
 " 'hands on the sick man, and he shall be healed.' On
 " hearing this he did as he was requested, and the sick
 " person immediately retired in full health." Possidius also

left a catalogue of St. Augustine's works¹, comprising his
 books, sermons, and letters; he makes them amount to a
 thousand and thirty, but states that he had not been able
 to collect the whole of his works. His list contains some
 which are no longer extant.

¹ Vita c. 18.
 et Indicu-
 lus [in
 calce Tomi
 x. App. p.
 282.]

XXVII. About the same time, St. Alexander, founder of the famous
 St. Alexan- institute of the Acemetes, died near Constantinople. He
 der founder of the Acce- was born in Asia Minor², of a noble family, and after study-
 metes. ing at Constantinople, had held office in the Emperor's
² Acta SS. palace. But he soon felt the vanity of the world, and the
 Bolland. disrelish he conceived for it was still further increased when
 Jani. 15. he came to peruse the Scriptures. He gave up his employ-
 [T. i. p. ment, distributed his wealth to the poor, and went into
 1021.] Syria, where he embraced a monastic life, under the govern-
 ment of an Abbot called Elias, to whom he was attracted by
 his great reputation. He continued here four years, and
 then, after the example of the Prophet Elias, retired into
 the desert, where he remained seven years. He converted
 Rabbula the governor of a neighbouring city, and many
 other Pagans. These wished to make him their Bishop,
 and as the gates of the city were kept guarded, Alexander
 got himself let down from the wall by night in a basket¹.
 Rabbula on his conversion emancipated his slaves, dis-
 tributed his wealth to the poor, and retiring into the wilder-
 ness, led the life of an anchorite. He was afterwards taken
 thence and made Bishop of Edessa^m, the metropolis of Meso-

¹ Cf. Josh. 2. 15; 1 Sam. 19. 12; Acts 9. 24, 25; 2 Cor. 11. 33; and see Bloomfield's Rec. Synopt. on Acts 9. 24.

^m This took place in 412, and he continued to hold the see until his death in 435; see the Chronicle of Edessa in Assemanni, Bibl. Or. I. p. 401, 403. (cf. p. 197). Theodorus L. (H. E. 2. 40. Vales. p. 580) mentions him as having accused Andrew of Samosata for writing against the XII Anathemas of St. Cyril. At first he

had espoused the cause of John of Antioch (Baluz. Nov. Coll. p. 705), but he afterwards became so ardently attached to St. Cyril that he assembled a Council at Edessa, in which he renounced communion with John and the other Orientals, and consigned the writings of Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata to the flames (p. 748). St. Cyril in a letter which he wrote to him (Labbe, V. p. 468) calls him "the pillar and ground of the faith to all the Oriental Churches." He joined

potamia². His wife also dedicated herself to God, and built a monastery, where she shut herself up with her daughters and maids, and continued in sanctity to the end of her days.

A. D. 490.
CH. XXVII.

Alexander having escaped from the city where they wished to make him Bishop, walked a two days' journey into the desert, and came upon a place which served as a retreat to thirty robbers. He entreated God for their souls; the captain was the first convert, and died eight days after his baptism. The rest having been also baptized, turned their cave into a monastery, putting themselves under the government of a Superior appointed by Alexander.

Leaving them, he built a monastery on the banks of the Euphrates³, and for three whole years prayed to God that he might be able to establish there a choir who should chaunt the psalms incessantly night and day. His society increased so much that it soon numbered no less than four hundred Monks of different nations; native Syrians, Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians. They were divided into several bands which relieved each other, and so performed divine service without ceasing; they form the earliest instance of the practice that we meet with. These Monks of St. Alexander observed a most rigid poverty, none of them had above one tunic, and

Acacius in opposing the Crypto-Nestorians, who thought to neutralize the effect of the statute against reading Nestorius' Works by circulating those of Theodorus of Mopsueta and Diodorus of Tarsus. (Baluz. p. 942).

² Edessa (called in Syriac Orrhoa and Arach, in Arabic Orfa and Rhoa) is on the great caravan route from Aleppo viâ Bira to Mosul. As the road from Diarbekir also passes through Edessa, it has long possessed that importance which formerly attached to its neighbour Harran, as the entrepôt between Syria and Mesopotamia. (See Mannert, Geographie der R. und Gr. v. p. 202 sqq., and Pococke, Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 158). St. Ephraem (who lived at Edessa) and St. Jerome make it to be the Erech of Gen. 10. 10. built by Nimrod. The ruins of Nimrod's palace are still shewn to the traveller. There are now only two thousand Christians in it, out of a population of fifty thousand; though Abulfeda mentions that in old

times it had three hundred monasteries. St. Helena the mother of Constantine is said to have been a native of the place, and founded the large church which was afterwards reckoned a world-wonder. (Ersch and Gruber. s. v). The account of the conversion of the Edessenes in Euseb. H. E. l. 13. is well known.

³ The Euphrates had always the greatest attractions to the meditative piety of the eremite, being in this respect second (if second) only to the Nile. The more tranquil and subdued would find a congenial retreat in the level plains which stretch from it on both sides in the lower part of its course. The sterner and bolder class of minds would seek the mountain ridges which skirt it in its earlier course. It was in this last district, or the country on the right bank of its western elbow, between Someisât (Samosata) and Bâlis, that the earlier Syrian Monks chiefly resided. (Cf. Fleury, xvii. 7).

- o. no one laid in more provisions than sufficed for one day, and
 1. if any thing remained after their scanty meal it was given to the poor, that nothing might be left till the morrow.

Having continued twenty years in this monastery on the Euphrates, he appointed seventy of his disciples to go and preach the faith to the Gentiles; he chose out a hundred and fifty more to follow him into the desert, and the rest he left in the monastery under the government of Trophimus. He had been formerly at Antioch, and had shewn himself very zealous there in opposing the intrusion of the Bishop Porphyrus¹, A.D. 404; he now, after a lapse of twenty years, returned thither surrounded by his disciples. But Theodosius who was then Bishop being prejudiced against him, banished him from the city, probably mistaking him for one of the
 n. Euchites, or Messalians²; indeed his continual devotions, his erratic habits, and the country he then came from^p, would readily favour such a supposition. An ecclesiastic named Malchus, attended by some laymen, went by the Bishop's order to expel Alexander, and gave him a blow on the ear. Alexander, without shewing any emotion, merely repeated these words from the Gospel³: "Now the servant's name was Malchus." The people, who looked upon him as a Prophet, took his part, and Malchus was obliged to retire. However, the Governor compelled Alexander to leave Antioch, and banished him with his disciples to Chalcis. He disguised himself like a beggar and went to a monastery called Crithenium, where he was somewhat surprised to find his institution of perpetual singing of psalms. He rightly concluded that the convent had been founded by one of his disciples, for this had been in fact the case.

At length he quitted Syria, and went with twenty-four of his Monks to Constantinople, where he founded a monastery near the church of St. Menas; and in a short time there were gathered round him three hundred Monks, speaking different languages, Greeks, Latins, and Syrians, all Catholics; many of whom had previously resided in other monasteries. He divided them into six companies, who chaunted

^p For Mesopotamia was the country from which the Messalians first issued. Epiphanius, de Hær. 80. § 3. (ἀπὸ τῆς

μῆσης τῶν ποταμῶν δρυμόμανοι). Theodoret has himself been quoted for a description of their errors, *supr.* 19. 25.

the service in succession; so that in this monastery God was praised throughout the whole four and twenty hours. Hence their name Acemetes¹, which, in Greek, signifies men that watch, or abstain from sleep; because there was always one part of the society thus watching. As they did not engage in any labour, and had no property except their books, people wondered how they were able to subsist, and many suspected them of belonging to the sect of the Messalians². Alexander was twice arrested, and an attempt was made to interrupt his perpetual singing. His disciples were sent to their former monasteries, and he was then set at liberty under the idea that he would be left companionless; but the very day on which he went out of prison, he was rejoined by his Monks, and they renewed their psalmody. He departed with them towards the mouth of the Euxine sea, where after founding a monastery, he died about the year 430³.

At the close of November, A.D. 430, at which time the Council of Ephesus had been called, Nestorius wrote to Pope St. Caesarine, in these terms⁴: "I am informed that the venerable Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, alarmed at the complaints which have been preferred to us against him, is seeking to avoid the holy Council which is to be held to consider the charges brought against him, and is amusing himself with words, namely Theotocos and Christotocos, one of which he admits, and the other he formally rejects, though sometimes employed even by himself. For my part, I will not oppose any one who has a mind to use Theotocos, provided only he does not understand it in the sense attached to it by Arius and Apollinarius, with a view to confound the two natures; but I have no hesitation in preferring the word Christotocos, as being that which was used by the Angels and Evangelists;" he here refers to those passages in the Gospel, in which, when the temporal nativity of the Son of God is spoken of, He is called JESUS or

A. D. 430.
CH. XXVIII.

¹ ἀκοιμητοι

[² Cf. Nilus ap. Vales. ad Theodoret. H. E. 4. 11.]

XXVIII.

Another letter from Nestorius to the Pope.

⁴ Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 80.

¹ His followers, the Acemetæ, are accused by Nicephorus (15. 23) of favouring the Nestorian heresy. In the Eutychian controversies about A. D. 462 the Acemetæ rejected the Henoticon and remained in communion with

the Church of Rome. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 319. Cf. S. Baunage, Annales, t. iii. p. 701. 713. They were afterwards condemned by the consentient Eastern and Western Churches, A. D. 533. See Fleury, xxxii. 35 and 39.

A. D. 430. CHRIST. He proceeds, "If we consider the two opposite sects, CH. XXIX. " that of Arius or Apollinarius on the one hand, and that of " Paul of Samosata on the other; the former of which uses " exclusively the word Theotocos, and the latter exclusively " Anthropotocos, because the first acknowledges Mary to " be simply mother of God, and the second acknowledges " her simply as mother of a man, ought we not to endeavour " to reclaim both of them, by a word which subincludes both " natures, which is the case with Christotocos? I have written " to this effect to the Bishop of Alexandria, as you will see " by the letters which I sent you. As to the rest, it has " been the pleasure of the most pious Emperor to appoint " a general Council to consider of certain other Church " matters; for this dispute about words, will, I believe, be " easily discussed." It seems probable that Nestorius sent this letter along with the Emperor's mandate for the calling of a general Council.

XXIX.
His last
sermons.
¹ C. Eph.
Actio I.
p. 503. B.

In the mean time¹ the four Bishops who represented the Alexandrian Council, having arrived at Constantinople, went to the Cathedral on Sunday the thirtieth of November, A. D. 430, during the performance of divine service, and in the presence of all the clergy, and of nearly all those who bore the title of Illustres, delivered to Nestorius the letters of St. Cyril and St. Cælestine. Nestorius received them, and appointed a time for a private interview on the next day; but when the Bishops came, he closed his doors against them, and gave them no answer. Six days after, that is, on Saturday the sixth of December², he preached in the church a sermon³, which is a sort of epitome of his doctrinal views. He inveighs against St. Cyril, not indeed by name, but under the sufficiently obvious designation of *the Egyptian*; he challenges him to combat, and accuses him of having commenced his assault with arrows of gold; that is, by distribution of largesses, which was one of the charges brought against Nestorius himself⁴. He remarks that the

² v. not.
Baluzii p.
422.
³ Ap. Mer-
cat. [Pt. 2.
p. 84.]
Serm. 12.

⁴ Libell.
Basil. n. 4.
[θαῦδων
τοῖς χρῆ-
μασι p. 430.
E.]

¹ The personal feelings which were mingled in the controversy are visible in but too many documents on both sides, but especially on the side of Nestorius. The language of Theodosius to St. Cyril (supr. c. 23) is so obviously unbecoming, that the sneer-

ing sceptic who hated or despised both parties alike, after selecting some phrases as exhibiting the 'baleful prejudice,' which 'the Byzantine Pontiff' had instilled into the royal ear, says, 'I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these ex-

Bishops of Alexandria always opposed those of Antioch, as Meletius and Flavian, and St. Chrysostom, who had been elected from the Church of Antioch; and hence he wished it to be inferred that the pending dispute resulted only from the old jealousy between these two sees. He complains that they prosecute him only for the word Theotocos, which he pretends to allow, but with dishonest glosses and constructions. He disclaims the errors of Paul of Samosata and Photinus, of which he gives a careful and discriminating exposition, and proposes the word Christotocos as a remedy for all the prevailing errors*.

On the next day, being Sunday, the seventh of December,

'pressions so mortifying to his rival.' Gibbon, c. 47.

* Garner says of this sermon, "there is none of his discourses from which we can learn so much of the nature of Nestorius' views as from this." It may be worth while therefore to give a fuller account of it than is found in the text. "The LORD of all," he says, "took our nature upon Him as a garment never thenceforward to be put off, as the inseparable robe of the Divine substance. He has placed it at the right hand of His own Divinity; without it He gives nothing to us on earth; without it He will not judge the dead; it partakes in the regal power of His divinity. Away then with Paul of Samosata, who denies divinity to that which is always joined and knit unto divinity, and to which God has given a name which is above every name. Nor let any one incredulously think that this exceeding honour given to the visible depreciates the glory of the invisible divine substance; the visible and invisible are one SON and one CHRIST; the natures are two, the SON one." The people here cried out, 'He says ONE CHRIST, what more do you want?' but Mercator (Pt. 2. p. 117) shews that he meant only a oneness like that subsisting between God and the Church (as in John 17. 21). Nestorius then turns to St. Cyril: "Why dost thou seek to terrify me? I will not fear, but while I breathe will stand up for the sound doctrine. All that they can object to me is, that I will not use the word Θεοτόκος. Search and you will find that Apollinaris, Arius, and Eunomius all used

"the word; why then should it be preached up as if it were the very touchstone of true theology? Only do you condemn those who use the word in the Apollinarian sense, and I will join you in using it, I will do as St. Paul did, when 'he became a Jew that he might gain the Jews.' The heretic may use the word Θεοτόκος, the Catholic uses both Θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος. Use both, and you will escape the toils of Arius on the one hand, and of Paul and Photinus on the other. Paul and Photinus are both ignorant of the divinity of the SON, and of the two natures. Paul makes our LORD to have been a mere man; Photinus confesses that He was the WORD, [i. e. an act of the operative WORD,] but he does not give an eternal pre-existence to the WORD [for an act cannot have pre-existence]; he says 'The WORD was made flesh;' but not 'In the beginning was the WORD.' The SON was 'made of a woman, made under the law.' Who was made under the law? Not the Deity. You must admit the word ἀνθρωποτόκος or you overthrow the whole economy which is essential to our redemption. For my part, I prefer the word Χριστοτόκος, as expressing the other two. Thus then, my brethren," he concluded, "let us study peace, and not set the members of CHRIST at war with each other; if a word cause my brother to offend, I will not use the word so long as the world endureth." The concessions here made are attributable to the remonstrance of John of Antioch.

A. D. 430. he preached another sermon¹, in which he affirmed plainly that the Virgin is mother of God, and mother of the man; but still with the reservation that he thinks the word Theotocos dangerous. By these sermons he pretended to answer the letters of the two Councils of Rome and Alexandria, which the deputies of Egypt had doubtless published; but as the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril were what bore hardest upon him, he endeavoured to combat them by twelve anathemas which he proposed on his side.

John of Antioch, on receiving a copy of St. Cyril's last letter to Nestorius, was also offended at his twelve anathemas, and believed² that in his eagerness to oppose Nestorius, he had himself overstepped the limits of orthodoxy, and fallen into the error of Apollinarius. He therefore ordered two of the most learned Bishops of his province, Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret of Cyrus³, to answer it in writing, which they did. Andrew composed his treatise in the name of the Eastern Churches, who approved of it in Council. Theodoret prefixed his name to his writing, which was in a keener style than that of Andrew. He circulated it in Phœnicia and the neighbouring countries, and sent it to Constantinople, whence Evoptius, Bishop of Ptolemais in the Pentapolis, furnished copies of it to St. Cyril. Andrew and Theodoret both wrote prior to the Council of Ephesus.

Theodoret, who made himself so famous in this dispute, was born at Antioch about the year 387. His parents were noble, rich, and pious, especially his mother, who had obtained this son after thirteen years' barrenness⁴, in answer to the prayers of the famous Hermit Macedonius, surnamed the Barley-eater⁵. This was the reason of his being called Theodoret, or God's-gift. In his infancy he often received the benediction of St. Peter⁶ of Galatia, and of St. Aphraates⁷, and was dedicated to God in the cradle, according to the promise of his parents⁸. He was educated in a monastery three miles distant from Apamea, and seventy-five from Antioch⁹, to which city he occasionally resorted, and in which he was ordained Reader while very young¹. Here he contracted an intimacy both with Nestorius, and with John afterwards Bishop of Antioch, and distinguished himself for his doctrine and eloquence. At length he was raised to the

CH. XXX.
¹ Ap. Mercat. [Pt. 2. p. 93.]
 Sermon. 13.

² Liberat. Brev. c. 4. [p. 127. C.]

³ Opp. t. 4. p. 766.

XXX.
 The origin of Theodoret.

⁴ Theod. Philoth. c. 13. [p. 839. D. 840.]
 [⁵ κριθοφάγος]
 Fleury, 17.

⁶ Philoth. c. 9. [p. 826. c.]
⁷ c. 8. p.

C.
 st. 81.
¹ A. t. 119.
³ A. loth.
⁴ p.
 C.

Episcopate, much against his inclination, about the year 423, having passed the whole of his life up to that time in the monastery, the simple manners of which he ever after retained¹.

The city of Cyrus, of which he was Bishop, was in the part of Syria named Euphratensis. It is said² that the Jews founded it in honour of Cyrus, at their return from the captivity. Though in itself inconsiderable, it numbered eight hundred parishes among its dependencies³. Theodoret distributed his patrimony immediately after the death of his parents, and made no purchase either of house or land, or even of a sepulchre⁴; neither did he or his ever receive aught from any person, not even a garment or a loaf⁵. He was possessed of nothing but the tattered clothes⁶ which he wore. However, out of the revenues of the Church, he built public galleries, and two great bridges, and repaired the baths. He made an aqueduct to ensure a large supply of water to the city, which had previously possessed nothing but the river. He solicited the Empress Pulcheria to relieve the country, which was so loaded with imposts, that several lands were thrown entirely out of cultivation⁷.

As to his spiritual functions⁸ he converted and baptized above ten thousand Marcionites⁹ in eight towns; he converted another town of Eunomians, and one of Arians; in a word, his diocese, which on his accession had been one mass of heresy, was now altogether free from that evil leaven. Such a change, however, was not effected without difficulty. More than once his blood was spilt; he was frequently stoned and in peril of his life. He acknowledged that he had received much assistance in these conversions from the prayers both of James the Hermit¹⁰, whose life he wrote, and of the Saints whose reliques he possessed. By his discourses and writings he assailed in succession all the enemies of religion; the Pagans, Jews, Marcionites, Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians¹. He often preached at Antioch, where, according to his own account², he taught six years under the Bishop

¹ Philoth. c. 17. fin.

² Procop. de œd. Just. II. c. 11. [t. 2. p. 49.]

³ Theod. t. 3. p. 987. A.]

⁴ Ep. 113. [p. 987. D.]

⁵ Ep. 81. [p. 954. οὐκ ἔβωλον, οὐχ ἰματίων ἢ ἄρτων ἢ ὄσων. . . .]

⁶ τῶν βακίων ὧν περιβέβληται.]

⁷ Ep. 45. [p. 930. A.]

⁸ Ep. 81. p. 954. C.]

⁹ Epist. 145. p. 1026. C. Ep. 113. p. 986. D.

¹⁰ Philoth. c. 21. p. 861.

¹ Ep. 145. p. 1023.

² Ep. 83. p. 957.

¹ St. Chrysostom had made an effort to bring them back to the Church (v. supr. 20. 41), but, it seems, without success. With regard to the number of the Marcionites converted, there ap-

pears to be some discrepancy; in Ep. 113, he says, "a thousand souls" (χιλίας); in Ep. 145 'ten thousand' (μυρίους).

A. D. 430. Theodotus, thirteen under John, who was often so excited with joy while listening to him as to stand up and clap his hands, and lastly under Domnus, but at all times drawing great applause from his audience¹. Such was Theodoret, who, prepossessed by his high regard for Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, thought he found in the anathemas of St. Cyril some expressions which favoured the error of Apollinarius, against which he was extremely zealous².

¹ Ep. ad Joann. Germ. t. 4. p. 703.

XXXI. Writings against Nestorius.

² Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 116.

On the other side, Marius Mercator, who was at Constantinople, published an answer to the twelve anathemas of Nestorius, which serves as a vindication of those of St. Cyril. He entitled his answer³, "The Twelve Blasphemous Articles of Nestorius, in which he contradicts the letters sent to him by St. Cælestine Bishop of Rome, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, and endeavours, by very short answers, to refute the twelve articles of faith which had been sent to him. We have given the first place to those of the Bishop

¹ His words are, "The brethren, and Readers, and Deacons, and Priests, and Bishops, all united in praising my discourses at Antioch. After sermon they embraced and kissed me, and called me the light, not of the East only, but of the world." Applauding preachers in church was very common in Africa and elsewhere, but most of all in the Eastern churches. It was done either by acclamation or by clapping of hands, both of them being included in the word *κρότος*. "The custom seems to us altogether alien to the character of a reverend assembly, but it had been gradually introduced first into the senate, and thence into the Church; and we must remember the force of habit, by which τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται." Suicer in v. *Κρότος*. St. Augustine seems not to have discouraged it; see De Doctr. Christ. iv. 26, where he recommends the preacher not to shun those rhetorical decorations which win the good will and favour of the hearers. (Cf. Chrys. de Sacerd. p. 35. ed. Tauchnitz). St. Chrysostom, however, probably saw the system in its more outré forms, (see the account given by Eusebius, E. H. 7. 30, of Paul of Samosata,) and very frequently and strongly spoke against it. tom. 31. on the Acts,

"I have often thought of having a law enacted forbidding you to applaud, and admonishing you to listen in silence and with becoming reverence" (see the note to Hom. 4. on I Cor. in the Oxford Translation); and in Hom. 17. on St. Matthew, "Did you praise what I said? Nay, I want no applause, no clamour, no noise. One thing I wish, that listening to me quietly and intelligently, you would then do what I say." See also the Homily on 'I saw the Lord' (Opp., t. 5. p. 129). A very striking passage occurs in Hom. 30. on the Acts (quoted by Suicer. u. s.); "I tell you the truth; when I am applauded, I feel my natural pride gratified for the time; but when I go home, and think, 'Perhaps thy vanity to-day has lost some men their souls,' I am in anguish, I groan, I weep, I feel as if I had spent myself for nought." Bingham has collected several passages bearing upon the subject in 14. 4. § 27.

² "We may say of Theodoret, as well as of Andrew, that if St. Cyril differed from him in his modes of expression, they yet held both the same faith and the same doctrine." Ceillier, Hist. des Auteurs Eccl. T. 13. p. 342.

"Cyril, which the Roman Church has ratified by a true A. D. 431.
 "decree, and after them those of Nestorius, each translated CH. XXXII.
 "from the Greek into Latin." This version by Mercator
 preserves the Anathemas of Nestorius, the original of which
 is lost. Mercator in this answer conceals himself under the
 general name of Catholic, and quotes several passages from
 the sermons of Nestorius, of which he had made a collection,
 containing the five most important.

St. Cyril wrote three works in defence of his doctrine,
 which was that of the Church Catholic. The first was an
 Apology for his Twelve Articles¹, in answer to the treatise¹ Cyril. t. 6.
 which Andrew of Samosata had composed in the name of P. 157.
 the Eastern Churches. As Andrew had not named him, [Conc.
 St. Cyril names none of his opponents; he takes each Eph. Pt. 3.
 article separately, placing first his own enunciation of doc- p. 828.]
 trine, next the objection of the Easterns, then his defence.
 The second was his Apology against Theodoret². Prefixed² Cyril. t. 6.
 to it is the letter to Bishop Evoptius, who had sent him the P. 200.
 objections. As Theodoret was the avowed author, St. Cyril [Conc.
 attacks him openly, and with far less leniency than he had Eph. Pt. 3.
 shewn to Andrew of Samosata; besides, Theodoret's ob- p. 888.]
 jections contained some heretical statements, which were
 afterwards condemned by the fifth general Council³. St.³ Collat. 6.
 Cyril follows the same method in this work as in the Conc. t. 5.
 former; first giving his own article, next Theodoret's re- p. 504. 508.
 futation, then his own defence. Both these works were
 translated into Latin by Marius Mercator⁴. The third was⁴ Mercat.
 his Answer to the blasphemies of Nestorius, that is, to his Pt. 2. p. 132.
 sermons against Proclus. In this work⁵, which comprises and p. 178.
 five books, St. Cyril quotes the words of Nestorius, and⁵ Tom. 6.
 immediately subjoins his refutation of them; the points⁶ init.
 which he labours most to establish are, the necessity of the word
 Theotocos, the unity of the SON of GOD, His sufferings, and
 His Priesthood. These three works were composed pre-
 viously to the Council of Ephesus.

In the mean time a tragical event took place at Constan- XXXII.
 tinople⁶. Some barbarian slaves of a man of rank, being The law of
 cruelly treated by their master, took refuge in the church, sanctuary.
 and forced their way into the chancel⁷ sword in hand. They⁷ Socrat. 7.
 were entreated to withdraw, but refused with a dogged con- 33.
 [ὄβριστα-
 στήριον]

431. stancy. They prevented divine service from being celebrated, and for several days held their naked swords in their hands, ready to defend themselves against any who should approach them. They killed one of the clergy, wounded another, and at last cut their own throats. This profanation of the church was regarded as ominous. To guard against any similar accident in future, the Emperor Theodosius made a law, addressed to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, and dated the tenth of the calends of April, in the Consulate of the same Antiochus, that is, the twenty-third of March, 431.

It enacts that the temples of God should be open to all who are in peril, and that they shall be in safety, not only near the Altar¹, and in the place of prayers², that is, in the body of the church, but in the entrance, and in all places within the enclosure of the sacred place; the chambers, houses, baths, gardens, courts, galleries. And having all this space to be secure in, they shall not be permitted to eat, or to lie down, or to take up their abode in the sanctuary, or in the temple, and they shall obey the clergy who attempt to hinder them. Those who take refuge in churches are also forbidden to carry any sort of arms with them, and that not only into the sacred place, but into any of its precincts. Those who refuse to obey are to be driven from the asylum, and compelled to leave it, if need so require, even by force of arms. And this is the only case in which it is permitted to enter a church with arms. The Emperor declares that he himself, who is every where else surrounded by guards, leaves the arms outside when he enters church; that he lays aside even his diadem, and never enters the chancel but to present his gifts³. We see from this law,

110-
1] 174-

¹ To which the privilege of asylum was then and previously restricted; see the Homily of St. Chrysostom, headed, 'When Eutropius was seized outside the Church,' (tom. 5. p. 100,) "Didst thou wish to be safe? Thou oughtest to have remained in the sanctuary." *Ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ* is thus used in a wide sense as equivalent to the middle age Sacarium, Presbyterium, *βήμα*, *ἔδουρον*, and our modern chancel or choir; though . . . elsewhere restricted to the

part within the Altar-rails.

² Cf. Chrysostom, tom. 5. p. 979. "Our King (Arcadius) who is here present, young in years, in wisdom hoary-headed, lays aside his diadem to take up the cross, forgetting his royalty while in church; spears and shields are left outside, that he may be admitted to the mysteries inside." The custom of the Emperor, in retiring from the chancel, as soon as he had given his oblations, was brought to

ng other things, how large a number of buildings were A. D. 431.
 ad to the churches¹, and the great compass of the en- CH. XXXIII.
 ure about them. An abstract of this law is inserted in ¹ Supr. 18.
 Theodosian code², but it is found entire in the Councils³, 42.
 the date of its publication in Egypt (which was in the ² IX. Cod.
 teenth indiction, the twelfth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the Theod.
 nth of April, 431); for it was a general law for the Tit. 45.
 le empire. [t. 3. p. 363.]
 Tom. 3.
 p. 1233.

was in this year, A.D. 431, that the Western Church XXXIII.
 St. Paulinus of Nola^a. He had been Bishop about twenty The end of
 s, and in the discharge of his duties had always sought St. Pauli-
 way men's minds rather by the sceptre of love than by nus of Nola.
 yoke of fear⁴. In judicial proceedings he examined with ^a Uranus
 ur, and decided with mildness. Though he had formerly de obitu
 ibuted his own revenues with so liberal a hand^b, he took Paulin. § 9.
 t care to see that those of the Church were faithfully dis-
 d of^c. He gave to all men of his money, his forgiveness, ^b Pomer.
 consolation; he edified some by his discourses and letters, de Vit.
 rs by his example: his reputation was spread not only Contempl.
 ough the whole empire, but among barbarous nations. II. c. 9.
 was, probably, seventy-eight years of age when he was
 d with a pain in his side, and his life being despaired
 wo Bishops, Symmachus and Acindynus, came to visit

In the joy caused by their arrival he seemed to forget
 illness, and, as if he were now ready to ascend to God, he
 manded the holy vessels to be placed by his bed-side, in
 r to offer the Sacrifice in company with the Bishops, and
 o commend his own soul to God, and reconcile those
 n he had separated from the holy ministry in further-
 of the wholesome discipline of the Church. Having
 ned all with joy, he suddenly cried aloud, "Where are
 r brothers?" One of the standers by, thinking that he

antinople from Milan by The-
 s the Great. See Theodoret,
 5. 17.

or the prierious notices of St.
 us, see xix. 55—57; xxi. 31, &c.
 account is given in 'Primitive
 ness set forth in the life of
 ed Paulinus,' at p. 57. vol. ii.
 e 'Flores Solitudinis,' by H.
 an (London, 1654), and the
 ate life by Muratori prefixed to

his Works.

^b "The goods I carried about me,"
 he says (Ep. 24. ad Sever. p. 161),
 "by the slipping of my skirt from my
 " hands, fell easily from me." " Grace,
 says Vaughan, "is an elixir of a con-
 " trary nature to the philosopher's
 " stone; it turned all the gold and
 " silver vessels of this great senator
 " into earthen dishes and wooden
 " spoons." (u. s. p. 120).

A. D. 431. spoke of the Bishops who were present, said, "Here they
 CH. XXXIII. "are." St. Paulinus replied, "I speak of my brothers
 "Januarius and Martin^c, who have just been conversing
 "with me, and told me they would presently return." He
 meant St. Januarius, Bishop of Capua and Martyr, whose
 reliques were then at Naples, and St. Martin of Tours, who
 had appeared to him. He then stretched out his hands to
¹ Ps. 121. heaven, and chaunted the Psalm¹, "I have lifted up mine
 "eyes to the hills," &c. and concluded with a prayer. Then
 the Priest Posthuvian informed him that he was forty sols
 [² solidis] of gold² in debt for some clothes which had been given to the
 poor. St. Paulinus answered with a sweet smile, "My son,
 "give yourself no pain about that, some one will be found
 "to discharge the debt of the poor." A short time after, a
 Priest from Lucania was seen entering; he had been sent
 by the Bishop Exuperantius and his brother Ursatius, (who
 was of the rank of the Clarissimi,) to bring St. Paulinus
 fifty sols of gold, simply as a present. St. Paulinus having
 received them, said, "I thank Thee, O LORD, because Thou
 "hast not forsaken him who trusteth in Thee." He gave
 two sols of gold with his own hand to the Priest who brought
 them, and ordered the rest to be employed in paying the
 tradesmen who had furnished the clothes to the poor.

At the close of the day he enjoyed a little quiet rest,
 which lasted till midnight, when the pain in his side re-
 doubled the violence of its attacks. In addition to this, and
 to the torture of having fire frequently (though ineffectually)
 applied to the part, he suffered a great deal from oppression
 at the stomach^d until the fifth hour of the night, that is, an

^c Severus had erected a font with
 pictures of St. Martin and St. Paulinus
 upon it. Paulinus wrote to him in
 consequence; "You did well to have
 "a picture of Martin on the place of
 "man's regeneration; for he bore the
 "marks of true likeness to his hea-
 "venly Master; and when men come
 "to the laver to put off the old man,
 "it were good for them to have the
 "lineaments of His holy soul recalled
 "to their mind. But what have I to
 "do there, neither in innocency a
 "child, nor in wisdom a man? The
 "wolf and the lamb, the serpent and
 "the dove, milk and gall, might as

"well be joined as I and Martin.
 "However, let us stand, my darkness
 "shall add to his brightness, my lack-
 "lustre virtue be as a foil to the bril-
 "liancy of his." This was in him no
 affectation, for his whole life was an
 impress of humility. Vaughan says
 beautifully, "He was one of the Saints
 "of GOD, who, while they labour to
 "conceal and obscure themselves, shine
 "the more, like those trees in the poet,
 " 'Which silently and by none seen,
 " 'Grow great and green.' "

^d This, as well as the inability to
 speak, which seems to be alluded to
 afterwards, is a usual concomitant of

hour before day. At break of day, following his usual practice, he roused all his family, and said Matins, or rather *Laudes*, as formerly; as the day advanced, he spoke to the Priests, Deacons, and all the clergy, exhorting them to peace; he then continued silent till evening. Afterwards, making an effort as if to rouse himself from slumber, he perceived it was the time of the office of lamps, that is, of vespers, and stretching out his hands, he sung, with a low gentle voice, "I have prepared a lamp for my CHRIST¹." Then an interval of silence succeeded, but about the fourth hour of the night, or ten o'clock, all who were present being broad awake, his cell was shaken by so great an earthquake, that they fell down to prayers in no small alarm, though the people outside the chamber felt nothing of the shock. It was the moment of his departure. After death, his face and his whole body appeared as white as snow. This event took place on the tenth of the calends of July, in the consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, i. e. the twenty-second of June, A.D. 431, and on that day the Church still honours his memory². The circumstances of his death were written by a Priest named Uranius, who witnessed it. There remain of the writings of St. Paulinus fifty-two letters, and twenty-six entire poems, (ten of them in praise of St. Felix³) with a few fragments of others.

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIII.

1 Ps. 132. 17.

2 Martyr. R.
22. Jun.

pleurisy. Thus we read of one, who in meekness, purity, devotion, and resignation to God's will, bore a strong resemblance to St. Paulinus. "The next day he was attacked with oppression on the chest, and with cold and stitches, which proved to be the commencement of a pleurisy. On the following day both speech and sense left him; . . . indeed, the disease that carried him off was such by its nature and rapid progress, as to preclude much speaking." Pearson's Life of Abp. Leighton. The circumstances of their death coincided in another point; "His income dropped in slowly from time to time, and the last remittance that he had to expect was made about six weeks before his death; so that (as Bp. Burnet says), his provision and journey failed both at once."

³ The *Lauds* were "the last part of the night service, being, according to

"the Benedictine rule, Psalms 148, 149, and 150, which were also recited at the same time in Cassian's day." Du Cange in v.

We may say of the hours of prayer, as compared with the rest of the day, what St. Paulinus said of the festival days, as compared with the rest of the year. (The version is Vaughan's).

"—Our good God (who would all men bring Under the shadow of His saving wing), Appointed at set times His solemn feasts, That by mean services, men might at least Take hold of Christ as by the hem, and steal Help from His lowest skirts their souls to heal. (Ut saltem officia medicoribus ultima Christi Vestimenta legant, et eos sacra fimbria sanet)."

⁴ These were called *Natalitia Carmina*, being written on the anniversary of the Saint's death, the day of decease from this world being called 'birth-day.' It was in a cottage near the tomb of St. Felix that St. Paulinus passed the last thirty years of his life.

- A. D. 431. Immediately after the feast of Easter, (which this year was
CH. XXXIV. on the nineteenth of April,) St. Cyril and Nestorius set out
XXXIV. each from his place of residence, to repair with all speed to
The arrival Ephesus¹. Nestorius was accompanied by a great number
of the of troops, and by the two Counts Candidian and Irenæus.
Bishops at Candidian was Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the
Ephesus. Emperor's Guards, and was to assist the Council with
¹ Socrat. soldiers; Irenæus went thither in no official capacity, but
7. 34. merely out of friendship to Nestorius², who was also accom-

² Ep. Theod. C. Eph. p. 443. D. panied by ten Bishops, and found many more already assem-
 bled at Ephesus. St. Cyril set out from Alexandria, followed
 by fifty Bishops³, or about half of those in his dependance;
 the others stayed behind to take care of the Churches. The
 weather was favourable as far as Rhodes, from which island
 he wrote to his clergy and people a letter full of paternal
 affection⁴; the rest of his journey was less tranquil, as he
 had some storms to encounter⁵. He at length arrived at
 Ephesus four or five days before Pentecost, which fell this
 year on the seventh of June. On his arrival he wrote
 another letter to his clergy and people, in which he says,
 "The wicked one, the beast that never sleeps, is continually
 going to and fro, watching his opportunity to attack the
 glory of JESUS CHRIST; but the wretch wounds himself,
 and shall perish with his children." Some understand
 him to mean Nestorius, but it is rather the devil, the
 author of all heresies, who is intended, though he might
 perhaps wish thus enigmatically to designate the cabals of
 the opposite party. Juvenal of Jerusalem arrived, five days
 after Pentecost⁶, with the Bishops of Palestine, among whom
 was Peter, formerly named Aspebetus, whom, at the request
 of St. Euthymius, Juvenal had appointed first Bishop of the
 Saracens, as before narrated. St. Euthymius charged him
 at parting to attach himself to St. Cyril and Acacius of
 Melitene, and always to follow their sentiments⁷. St. Eu-
 thymius had himself, when young, been a pupil of Acacius⁸.
 Flavian of Thessalonica also arrived at Ephesus in company
 with the Macedonian Bishops by the time appointed.

³ Vita S. Euth. [p. 246. t. 2. Cotelier.] p. 41. t. 1. Analecta Græca.
⁴ p. 206. Cotelier. He had always borne a strong affec-
 tion to him, and "it was there," says Vaughan, "that he had taken in his
 first love, and had made a private vow

" in his seven and twentieth year," or
 eleven years before his baptism, "to
 become a servant of JESUS CHRIST."
 (p. 98.)

But John of Antioch, and the Syrians, obliged the Council to wait a long time for them. They pretended¹ that it was impossible for them to be at Ephesus by Pentecost, the time appointed. The Bishops, they urged, could not leave their churches before the 'New Sunday,' or 'Sunday of Renewing.' This is the name still given by the Easterns to the day of the octave of Easter²; on which the newly baptized lay aside the white habit, and receive the benediction of the Bishop. In the year we are speaking of, this Sunday was the twenty-sixth of April. The Bishops were first to assemble at Antioch³, from which some of them were distant twelve days' journey; these therefore could not arrive before the eighth of May. From Antioch to Ephesus was thirty days' journey; so that supposing them to have stayed only one day at Antioch, they could not possibly reach Ephesus before the eighth of June, the day after Pentecost. This was the excuse afterwards made by the Eastern Bishops.

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIV.
¹ Evagr. l. 3.

[² then called Theopolis v. Evagr.]

In the mean time, while the Council was thus kept waiting, the Bishops already assembled at Ephesus began to discuss the subject of controversy—the Incarnation—both in their sermons, and in private conversation⁴. We have a sermon preached by St. Cyril at this time, in which, after bestowing great praise on the Bishops assembled⁴, he proceeds to eulogize the city of Ephesus, the Apostle St. John⁵, whose reliques reposed there, and the holy Virgin Mary, whose greatness and dignity he extols, repeating with each article the title of Mother of God⁶. He then turns to Nestorius, and says that it is in vain for him to rely on the Counts and other magistrates whom he has gained over by his presents to undertake his defence. He reproaches him with his blasphemies, which were worse, he said, than those of the Jews, heathens, and all the other heretics put together, and uses the strongest language against him, as against a declared enemy of the Church, who had rejected the wholesome advice given to him. For the truth of this he appeals to Pope St. Cælestine, whom he styles Father, Patriarch, and Archbishop of the whole earth⁷, and concludes by saying that

⁴ Liberat. Brev. c. 5.

⁴ Cyril. t. 5. pt. 2. p. 379. ⁵ p. 380. B.

⁶ pp. 380, 1.

⁷ p. 384. E.

¹ "The Sunday with us called Dominica in Albis is in the Greek Church called Κυριακή διακαιήσιμος, and νέα or καλή Κυριακή." T. Smith, de Statu Eccl. Gr.

A. D. 431. Nestorius ought to be deposed from the Priesthood. In this sermon mention is made¹ of another that had been preached on the preceding day, in which he had spoken of the partridge mentioned parabolically by the Prophet Jeremiah.

¹ p. 382. B.

² Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 7. [p. 983.] Acacius of Melitene also delivered a sermon², in which, after complimenting the Bishops assembled, he expounds the faith of the Church, insisting upon the unity and Divinity of CHRIST, and as a necessary consequence from these, the duty of giving to Mary the title of Mother of God. He says by the way, that the cross is honoured along with the Altars of CHRIST^b, and that it shines on the front of the churches³.

[⁴ p. 987. A.] There were also read on this occasion two sermons by Theodotus of Ancyra on the Nativity of our LORD⁴, in which the error of Nestorius is amply refuted. These two Bishops, Acacius and Theodotus, though Catholics, were friends of Nestorius, and during their stay at Ephesus had several conversations with him, from which it was evident to them that he still persisted in his heresy⁵. St. Cyril occupied himself with making some extracts from the books of Nestorius, which extracts are still preserved in Mercator's translation⁶.

⁵ Ibid. c. 9. 10.

⁶ Act. 1. p. 497. B.

⁷ Ed. Garn. Pt. 2. p. 103.

XXXV.
The delay
of John of
Antioch.

[¹ μαγιστριανόν.]
² C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. ult. [p. 443.]

John of Antioch, being now not more than five or six days' journey from Ephesus, sent information of his approach by some officers of the Master of Offices⁷, and wrote a letter to St. Cyril⁸, filled with professions of friendship and of his impatience to be with him: "By the prayers of your holiness," he says, "I am now in a mauner at the very entrance into Ephesus, after having suffered a great deal in this journey. I have been travelling thirty days without intermission; some of the Bishops have fallen sick on the road, and we have lost a great many horses. Pray then that we may be able to finish the remainder of our journey without difficulty; we hope to accomplish it in five or six days,

^a It seems evident from the silence of all the writers of the three first centuries that crosses were not then erected in churches. Eusebius, who frequently describes the churches of Constantine, and others, never once alludes to it, though he often mentions crosses set up in other public places. From the fourth century downward, it became more common; partly, no doubt, in

consequence of Constantine's victory over Maxentius, and the invention of the cross by Helena (A. D. 326). Sozomen speaks of the cross as laid on the Altar in his day, and Evagrius (6. 21) speaks of silver crosses given by Chosroes to one of the churches in Constantinople to be fixed upon the Altar. Bingham, 8. 6. § 20. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 288.

“and then we shall embrace your dear and holy person¹.
 “The holy Bishops, John, Paul, Macarius, greet your holi-
 ness; we greet all the brethren who are with you.” In
 the mean time two Bishops of his train were announced,
 both of them Metropolitans,—Alexander of Apamea, and
 Alexander of Hierapolis². As St. Cyril and the other Bishops
 complained to them of John’s delay, they answered several
 times; “He charged us to tell you that if his arrival should
 be delayed, the Council need not be deferred on that ac-
 count³, but should proceed with the necessary business.”

A. D. 431.
 CH. XXXVI.

[¹ ἱερὰν
 ἡμῶν καὶ
 ὁσίων κε-
 φαλήν.]

² Relat. ad
 Cœlest.
 act. 5. p.
 660, 661.

[³ μὴ ὑπερ-
 θέσθαι τὴν
 σύνοδον]

Above two hundred Bishops had already assembled at
 Ephesus from different provinces. The Emperor’s letter for
 the assembling of the Council, fixed the precise day when
 those who were absent should be held inexcusable. Fifteen⁴
 days had elapsed beyond that time. Many of the Bishops
 and clergy were incommoded by the expense of so long a
 stay, many were sick, some had died. The whole Council
 cried out that John of Antioch was unwilling to appear
 there lest he should see Nestorius deposed; for as Nestorius
 had been taken from his Church, a sentence of condemnation
 could hardly be passed without some disgrace being reflected
 back upon his instructors. Bishops from more distant places
 had arrived some time before. If John of Antioch was sin-
 cere and in earnest, he had no reason to complain, since he
 had sent express word by the two Alexanders, that they
 might begin without him. All these things considered,
 St. Cyril, and the majority of the Bishops, resolved to hold
 the Council on June the twenty-second, in the great church
 dedicated to the Holy Virgin.

[⁴ Fleury,
 quinze.
 Conc. E.
 ἐφ’ ἑλας
 δέκα καὶ ἑξ
 ἡμέραις]

The day before, (June the twenty-first,) Nestorius had
 been apprized of this intention by four Bishops, Hermogenes
 of Rhinocorura in Egypt, Athanasius of Paralos, or the sea-
 coast, Peter of the Camps, viz. of the Saracens, and Paul
 Bishop of Lampe⁵. These four Bishops went in quest of
 Nestorius, to inform him that his attendance in the Council
 would be required on the next day. His answer was, that
 he would see, and would be there if it was his duty. They
 gave the same notice to six or seven Bishops whom they
 found with him, but received only the same answer. Nes-
 torius requested Memnon Bishop of Ephesus to throw open

XXXVI.
 The pro-
 test of
 Nestorius
 and Can-
 didian.

⁵ Act. 1.
 p. 453. C.

to him the church of St. John, that he might hold his assembly there apart, but Memnon refused, and the people of Ephesus, who were very zealous for the Catholic doctrine, opposed it with all their might. The same day, (June the twenty-first, the Bishops of Nestorius's party made a protestation¹, addressed to St. Cyril and Juvenal of Jerusalem, in which they declared that it was incumbent upon them to wait for John of Antioch, and not to admit those who had been deposed and excommunicated by their Bishops. This protest was subscribed by sixty-eight Bishops, of Syria, Asia, and Thrace; the principal of whom were Tranquillinus of Antioch in Pisidia, Alexander of Apamea, Helladius of Tarsus, Fritilas of Heraclea, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Hierapolis, Eutherius of Tyana, and Theodoret of Cyrus. Nestorius's name did not appear in it. They also procured a declaration from the Bishops, that they would assemble as soon as the Count Candidian should summon them together².

¹ Rel.
Nestor.
Act. 1.
p. 326. B.

² Contest.
Candid.
Synodic.
c. 9.

Candidian, on his part, strained every nerve to prevent the Council from being opened before the arrival of John of Antioch³. As he knew that St. Cyril and the others were assembled that morning in the church of the Holy Virgin, he hastened thither, and represented to them that it was the Emperor's will that no set of persons should assemble apart from the rest, but that all should be done by common consent. The Bishops asked permission to see the Emperor's letter. He at first refused, saying that some who ought to assist at the Council were not there present. They said they were ignorant of the Emperor's injunctions, and pressed him until at last he shewed them the letter which he had hitherto

³ C.E.p. 442.

kept secret. The letter was directed to the Council⁴, but was properly the commission of Candidian; it thus addressed the Bishops: "He is appointed to be present at your holy Council, without interfering in questions of doctrine; that is not permitted to him, since he is not of the number of Bishops. But he is entirely to remove from the city of Ephesus all the seculars and Monks⁵, lest these persons,

[⁵ τοὺς
κοσμικοὺς
καὶ μονα-
χοὺς]

⁴ Of course the word 'secular' is here not used in the modern sense in which we speak of secular clergy; it would

seem to mean laymen bound by a vow, or otherwise, to a life of peculiar sanctity; who, while they remained in pos-

“ whose presence is unnecessary, should raise a tumult, and
 “ hinder the peaceable deliberations of your holiness. He is
 “ likewise to take care that the disputes produce no divisions,
 “ but that every thing be done without bitterness. Above
 “ all, we have enjoined him absolutely to prevent any of you
 “ from withdrawing himself, either under the plea of return-
 “ ing home, of coming to our Court, or of going elsewhere ;
 “ and that no one propose any other question until the one
 “ under immediate consideration has been decided. Further,
 “ it is our pleasure that no action, civil or criminal¹, be insti-
 “ tuted against any person either in your Council or in the
 “ public Court of Ephesus, but that every thing be referred²
 “ to our city of Constantinople. For the rest, know that the
 “ magnificent Irenæus accompanies the most pious Bishop
 “ Nestorius, simply as a friend, without any power to inter-
 “ fere either with the questions to be laid before the Council,
 “ or with the commission of the most glorious Candidian.”

A. D. 431.
 CH. XXXVII.

[¹ χρηματι-
 κή ή εγκλη-
 ματική.]
 [² συγκρο-
 τηθῆναι,
 for συγκ-
 κρατηθῆναι.
 See Suicer.
 s. v.]

The Bishops having heard this letter read, persisted in their resolution of beginning the Council. Candidian continued his opposition to it, entreating them to stay only four days. He several times renewed his proposal, but with so little success that, thinking himself slighted, he indignantly quitted the assembly; and drawing up a protest against their proceedings, he published it at Ephesus on the same day, and sent off a copy of it to the Emperor.

After he had withdrawn, the Bishops opened the Council in St. Mary's church on the same day, which was the twenty-eighth of the Egyptian month, Paüni³, or, in the Roman calculation, the tenth of the calends of July, after the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and third of Valentinian, i. e. Monday the twenty-second of June, 431. Upon the holy throne, (the Bishop's seat) which stood in the centre, was placed the New Testament, to denote CHRIST'S presence among them⁴; the Bishops were ranged down each side. At this first sitting there were a hundred and fifty-eight present, not including Bessüla, Deacon of Carthage, who represented all Africa. St. Cyril presided, as holding the place of Pope St. Cælestine,

XXXVII.
 The open-
 ing of the
 Council.

³ Epist. Cyr.
 p. 573. C.

⁴ Cyr. ad
 Theod. p.
 1043. D.

cession of their worldly property, and lived in the married state, or even followed an active profession, were accustomed to exercise themselves in acts of austeritv and religion like the primitive Ascetica. Bingham, 7. 2. § 6.

A. D. 431. (evidence of which appears in the records,) though he might also have presided in virtue of the dignity of his see^k. Next to him were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, and Flavian of Philippi, the last as deputy of Rufus of Thessalonica, the Metropolitan of Macedonia. Then came Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Acacius of Melitene in Armenia, Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, and Perigenes of Corinth, all Metropolitans, with others, to the number already mentioned¹, most of them of Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt.

¹ p. 445,
899.

[* Πριμ-
κήριος
Νοταρίων]
² p. 451.

When they were all seated, Peter, Priest of Alexandria and chief Notary², said³, “Not many days after the most reverend Nestorius had been appointed Bishop of the holy church of Constantinople, some of his sermons were brought, which disturbed the minds of his readers so much, that a great tumult was raised in the church in consequence. The most pious Bishop of Alexandria, Cyril, being informed of it, wrote to him a first and second letter, full of advice and counsel, all which he rejected, and sent back only a polemical reply. Cyril, being further apprized that Nestorius had sent letters accompanied by

^k As the Patriarch of Rome was unable to come, as the Patriarch of Constantinople was the person assigned, and the Patriarch of Antioch not yet arrived, there was no one in any way capable of rivalling the claims of St. Cyril to the presidency of the Council. Juvenal does indeed afterwards speak (c. 51) of the right possessed by the Bishops of Jerusalem, according to apostolical tradition, to correct those of Antioch; but the revival of an obsolete claim could have been of little weight when opposed to the dignity of the Patriarch of Alexandria, even had the Patriarch not been a man of the energy, talent, and assiduity of a Cyril. It is evident throughout that his was the impelling mind which both first set the Council in motion, and afterwards sustained and directed its movements. Even St. Cælestine appears to have rather shrunk before his *caractère*. The calling of the old Roman intellect was not to analyze questions in higher dogmatic theology, but *regere imperio populos*; as that of the Greeks was *regere animas hominum philosophia*.

According to Balsamon (*Meditat.*,

Lib. vii. p. 461, *Juris Græco-Rom.*), St. Cyril “the Pope of Alexandria,” while presiding in the Council, wore the golden diadem which had been appointed by Constantine to be the badge of the Roman Bishop; and in memory of this, the Alexandrian Patriarchs wore the same mark of honour down to his day. Smith (*de Eccl. Gr.* p. 151) supposes the title of ‘Judge of the Earth’ (*κρίτης τῆς οἰκουμένης*), assumed by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, to date from this Council.

¹ That is, head of the episcopal notaries, who must not be confounded with the civil notaries mentioned *supr.* bk. 22. ch. 26. note z. A Patriarch generally had a large corps of these clerks or secretaries attached to him; thus the Patriarch of Constantinople had twelve (*δωδεκάς πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων*. Balsamon de Chartoph. p. 459. *Juris Græco-Rom.*). Besides acting as copyists and reporters, they were employed as attendants on the Bishop’s person, carrying his staff, &c. (see an instance of this last in Du Cange, s. v.) The Primicerius of the notaries was the Bishop’s Registrar.

"collections of his sermons to Rome, wrote on his part A. D. 431. CR. XXXVIII.
 "to the most pious Bishop of Rome, Cælestine, charg-
 "ing the Deacon Posidonius, who conveyed the letter,
 "thus: 'If you find that he has received the sermons and
 "' letters of Nestorius, deliver mine too; if not, bring them
 "' back undelivered.' The Deacon, finding that the sermons
 "and letters had been delivered, was obliged to deliver his
 "also, and the most holy Bishop of Rome returned such
 "answer as was required, embodying a precise statement of
 "his views. Since, then, the holy Council is assembled here
 "by order of the Emperor, we are bound to declare that
 "we have in our possession the papers which relate to this
 "business, and are ready to make such use of them as shall
 "seem best to your Piety." Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem,
 proposed that the letter of the most pious Emperors, directed
 to each of the Metropolitans, should be read, and placed at
 the head of the Acts there and then to be drawn up. The
 Priest Peter produced it, and it was read. Firmus, Bishop
 of Cæsarea, said, "Let the most holy Memnon, Bishop of
 "Ephesus, testify how many days have passed since our
 "arrival." Memnon said, "Sixteen days have passed since
 "the expiration of the time defined by the Imperial letter."
 St. Cyril said¹, "The holy Council has exercised sufficient [¹p. 464.B.]
 "endurance in waiting thus long for the arrival of the holy
 "Bishops who were to be here. But now, since many of
 "those already assembled have fallen sick (some of them
 "even to death), what remains but that, in pursuance of the
 "Emperors' orders, we should begin to treat of the matters
 "relating to the Faith, and seek to maintain the unity of the
 "whole Church²? Let the papers therefore which relate to is impl. locus hnd. οτι τῆς ἐκ
 "this subject be read in succession, and let us adopt that αὐτοῦ;
 "course which seems more especially binding upon us, since
 "the most magnificent Candidian, Count of the Domestics,
 "has read to the Council the second order of the Emperors,
 "bidding us to examine and settle without delay the matters
 "relating to the Faith."

Theodotus of Ancyra said, "The papers will be read in CR. XXXVIII.
 "their proper place; but order first requires that the most ἐπισημοῦ
 "pious Bishop Nestorius be present, that καὶ τῆς ἐκ
 "religion may be determined by καὶ τῆς ἐκ common consent." Her-

Flavian of Philippi said¹, "Since we would in all things conform to the rules of ecclesiastical procedure; and as it is plain that the most pious Nestorius being cited yesterday and to-day has not appeared, he shall be summoned a third time by Anysius, Bishop of Thebes, Domnus of Opuns, John of Hephæstus, and Daniel of Darnis." These accordingly went to him, attended by Anysius, Notary and Reader to Firmus of Cappadocia, who carried the following monition in writing: "The most holy Council in obedience to the canon, summons your Piety by this third citation, bearing with patience the delay to which you have subjected them. Be pleased therefore even now, late as it is, to attend and clear yourself of those heretical doctrines which you are charged with having publicly propounded in the church, knowing that if you do not appear, the holy Council will be obliged to pass judgment upon you according to the canons."

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXVIII.
p. 457. B.

On their return, they were desired by the Priest Peter to make their report. John, Bishop of Hephæstus in the Augustamnica^m in Egypt, said, "Following the orders of the pious Council, we went to the hotel of the most pious Nestorius, but we found a number of soldiers stationed in front of the porch with clubs. We desired permission to enter the hall, or, if that were denied, we asked that at least they would announce us as having been sent by the holy Council with a third monition, inviting him with all gentleness and mildness to be present at their sitting. Long we waited under the burning sun, for the soldiers would not permit us to stand under shelter, but rudely pushed us back, and refused us a civil answer. We said, 'We are four Bishops, we are not sent to treat him with contumely, but simply, in pursuance of legal order², to invite him to come to the church and take his seat in the Council.' At last the soldiers repulsed us, saying that we should have no further answer if we stayed at the gate till night, and adding that they were placed there to prevent any member of the Council from entering, Nestorius him-

[² μετὰ
πράξης ἀπο-
λουθίας]

¹ The part of Lower Egypt between the right (or Pelusiac) branch of the Nile and the Red sea. Hephæstus is the Hellenized form of Phthas, the god worshipped in Lower Egypt as Amunon was in Upper.

A. D. 431. "self having given order to that effect." This report was confirmed by the three other Bishops.

XXXIX. Juvenal of Jerusalem said¹, "Although the requirements of the Church are satisfied by three monitions, we were not unwilling to send a fourth to the most reverend Nestorius. But as he has surrounded his house with a troop of soldiers, who suffer no one to come near him, it is plainly soreness of conscience which makes him decline attendance on the Council. We must therefore proceed according to the order of the canons, to take such steps as may tend to uphold the integrity of the Faith. Let the Nicene Creed be first read, so that comparing with it the doctrines that have been put forward concerning the Faith, we may approve of those which shall be found conformable to it, and reject those which are not." After the Nicene Creed had been recited, the Priest Peter said, "We have in our hands a letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, written to the most reverend Nestorius, full of counsel and advice: this, if the holy Council order me, I will read aloud." Acacius of Melitene demanded it might be read². It was the second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius, which begins thus: "I understand that some persons slander me³." When it had been read out, St. Cyril said, "You have heard my letter; I believe that in it I have in no respect departed from the Catholic Faith and the Nicene Creed; I desire you to give your opinion respecting it."

Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "The Nicene Creed, and the letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, having been severally read, they both appear agreeable to each other; I consent to, and approve of, this holy doctrine." Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, addressing himself to St. Cyril, said, "What the holy Council of Nice had delivered compendiously your holiness has explained in detail⁴, making it more clear and intelligible to us; wherefore I find nothing ambiguous in it; every thing is perfectly consistent, and free from innovation⁵. I accordingly assent to it as the very doctrine which I received from the holy Bishops my fathers."

Memnon of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, Flavian of Philippi, spoke in substance the same thing; this last not only in his own name, but in the name of Rufus of Thessalonica, and of

[¹ λεπτῶς
καὶ παρὰ
πόδας]

[⁵ νεωτε-
ρισμὸν]

The ex-
amination
of the doc-
trine.

¹ p. 459. C.
[On the
trina mo-
nitione, v.
Can. Apost.
73. Con-
cilia. p. 41.
(74. Beve-
reg. Van
Espen. 76.
Cotelier.)
Cf. Cou-
stant. Fp.
Pont. Rom.
t. I. p. 1121.
not. a.]

² p. 462. A.

³ Supr.
c. 8.

all the Bishops of Illyria, whom he certified to be in the same Faith. Acacius of Melitene, Iconius of [Gortyna in Crete, Hellanicus of Rhodes, Palladius of Amasea, and most of the other Bishops, were of the same opinion, which they delivered singly, to the number of a hundred and twenty-six; saying, in different words, the same thing, namely, that they found the letter of St. Cyril agreeable to the Nicene Creed, and approved of its doctrine^a. The other Bishops, who did not give their opinions singly, declared all together that they agreed in the sentiments expressed¹. Then Palladius² of Amasea, said, "Order now requires that we also have read "to us the letter of the most reverend Nestorius, of which "the very reverend Priest Peter spoke at the beginning, "that we may see if it agrees with the faith of the Nicene "Creed." They read the second letter, which begins, "I will "not dwell upon the wanton injustice done me in your ex- "traordinary letter³." After it had been read, St. Cyril de-⁴manded of the Council what they thought of it. Juvenal⁵ of Jerusalem said⁶, "It is not at all consistent with the⁷ "Nicene Creed. I anathematize all persons of this belief, "for this doctrine is remote from the Catholic Faith." Flavian of Philippi said, "The whole contents of the letter "which has been read, entirely contradict the Nicene "Creed; and we judge those who are of this persuasion to "be strangers to the true Faith." Firmus of Cappadocia said, "He has disguised himself at the beginning under an "appearance of piety, but as he proceeds, unable to conceal "his thoughts, he drops the veil and plainly discovers that "he agrees neither with the Nicene Faith, nor with the "letter of Archbishop Cyril."

Acacius of Melitene enlarged somewhat more than the

^a The following may be added.—Prothymius of Comana said, "As St. Cyril's "exposition differs from that of the three "hundred and eighteen holy Fathers "in expression only; I avouch that in "this faith I was baptized, in this I "grew up, in this I was ordained and "made Priest; in this I pray that I "may die, and in this see my Lord "and SAVIOUR at the resurrection." Valerian of Iconium; "Each form is "dictated by the same Spirit: St. "Cyril's letter is the precious Nicene

"faith re-opened, whereby it again "diffuses its fragrance like ointment "poured forth." Silvanus of Cera- "tapa; "Although I was late in ob- "taining the grace of baptism, yet "this is the faith, as set forth by the "Nicene Creed and expounded by St. "Cyril, into which I was myself bap- "tized, and into which I have baptized "many others. This may I preserve "to the day of the resurrection, and "present it to CHRIST spotless."

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIX.

p. 492. E.

⁴ Supr.
c. 10.

p. 494.

A. D. 431. others, and said, "The letter of Nestorius shews that it is
 CH. XXXIX. "not without reason that he is afraid of coming to the
 "Council. He knows, in his conscience, that he has cor-
 [1 παρα- "rupted¹ the Divine writings, and removed the landmarks²
 χυρδξαντα] "of the holy Fathers; and hence the fear which obliges him
 [2 παρα- "to guard his house with soldiers. For his letter clearly
 σαλεύσαντα "shews that he has put out the words which the Nicene
 δρια] "Creed and the holy Bishops made use of in speaking of
 "the only SON of GOD, with a view to attribute the Incarna-
 "tion only to the flesh; saying that the birth and death
 "belong simply and merely to the Temple of God³. And in
 * p. 496. A. "this he has misrepresented the Scriptures, as if they at-
 [ψιλδν τδν "tributed the birth and sufferings to the humanity only,
 νδν] "and not to the Divinity." Acacius means that Nestorius
 seems to deny the eternal generation of the WORD. He
 continued, "He has also slandered the letters of Cyril, as
 "if they affirmed that God is capable of suffering, which
 "neither he, nor any other pious man ever thought of
 "asserting. And it is evident throughout, that he confesses
 "the unity of God with the flesh in name only, while in
 "effect he entirely denies it. He himself shews that he is
 "conscious of having introduced a strange doctrine, where
 "he says that he has succeeded in at length rescuing these
 "doctrines from the darkness in which they had been in-
 "volved. All this being of a character so alien to truth,
 "and so full of impiety, I do renounce, and I separate
 "myself from the communion of those who hold such
 "language."

The other Bishops expressed their opinions to the same
 purpose, condemning the letter of Nestorius as contrary to
 the Nicene Creed; and after thirty-four had spoken, all cried
 * p. 502. B. out together⁴, "Whosoever does not anathematize Nestorius,
 "let him be anathema. The orthodox Faith anathematizes
 "him, the holy Council anathematizes him. Whoso com-
 "municates with Nestorius, let him be anathema. We all
 "anathematize the letter and doctrines of Nestorius. We
 "all anathematize the heretic Nestorius. Those who
 "communicate with Nestorius we all anathematize. We
 "anathematize the impious faith of Nestorius. All the
 "earth anathematizes his impious religion. Whosoever

“ does not anathematize him, let him be anathema.” Then they added, “ Let the letter of the most holy Bishop of Rome be read :” Juvenal thus put the motion ; “ That the letter which the most holy Cælestine, Archbishop of Rome, has written concerning the Faith, be likewise read.” The Priest Peter read Pope St. Cælestine’s letter to Nestorius’ translated into Greek ; then he added, “ Our most pious Bishop Cyril wrote a letter in unison with the sentiments of the one just recited : if it be your pleasure, we will read a copy of it which we have now in our hands.” Flavian of Philippi ordered that it should be read, and inserted in the Acts.

The Priest Peter therefore read St. Cyril’s third letter to Nestorius², which is the Synodical letter containing the twelve anathemas. He then added, “ These letters of Cyril and Cælestine have been sent and delivered to Nestorius by the Bishops Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Macarius. I suggest that Theopemptus and Daniel, who are here present, may be examined as to this point³.” Flavian of Philippi asked them to state whether they had delivered the letters. Theopemptus, Bishop of Cabasa, said, “ We went to the cathedral one Sunday during service-time, and delivered these letters to Nestorius in the presence of all the clergy, and almost all the Illustres⁴.” Daniel, Bishop of Darnis, testified the same. Flavian of Philippi said, “ Did he comply with the demands of the letters ?” “ He told us,” replied Daniel, “ to come on the following day, and we should have a private interview ; but on going to his house, he shut the doors against us without vouchsafing any answer.” Theopemptus added, “ He was so far from complying with the terms of the letters, that ever since the receipt of them, his public discourses in the church have declined more and more from the line of orthodoxy, and still continue to do so.”

Fidus, Bishop of Joppa, said, “ The Bishops Acacius and Theodotus, who are present, can tell you whether he still holds the same doctrine. They have discoursed with him often⁵ ; one of them indeed at considerable risk. We entreat and conjure them by the holy Gospels which lie here before us, to enter their deposition in these Acts, as to what they have heard Nestorius say within the last three

A. D. 431.
CH. XL.

Supr. c. 14.

XL.
The depositions
against
Nestorius.
Supr. c. 21.

p. 503.

Supr. c. 29.

Supr. c. 34.

D. 431. "days." St. Cyril said, "Since the subject we are discussing
 H. XL. "is not one of light moment, but of the very deepest and
 "gravest interest, being no other than the true Faith of
 "JESUS CHRIST, it is but reasonable that Theodotus and
 "Acacius, sincere and pious as they are, should say what
 "they have heard from him here at Ephesus." Theodotus
 of Ancyra said, "I am sorely grieved for my friend, but the
 δαση "claims of religion are paramount to those of any friendship',
 ιας προ- "so that however loath I may be to do it, I feel bound to
 ω τήν "give a simple statement of the truth, in reference to the
 εβελαν.] "questions put to me. I do not however think our testi-
 "mony necessary, for it is sufficiently clear from his letters
 "what his opinions are. As in them, when speaking of the
 "Divine Word, he said that the weaknesses of man's nature
 "cannot be attributed to Him; so too he has said here: as
 "in them he contended that we ought not to say God was
 "born of a virgin, or nourished with her milk; so he has
 "here several times said that one ought not to talk of a
 "God two or three months old. Many other persons besides
 "ourselves heard him talk thus at Ephesus, not many days
 "ago."

Acacius of Melitene said, "Where the Faith is concerned,
 "private affection must be content to lie idle. No one could
 "have loved Nestorius more than I have done, no one have
 "more heartily desired by all means to save him, yet I will
 "speak the truth, lest I bring my own soul into condemna-
 "tion. As soon as I came to Ephesus, I had a conversation
 "with him, and finding his opinions erroneous, did my utmost
 "to reclaim him. I was so far successful as to obtain an
 "oral promise that he would not persist in these opinions.
 "Ten or twelve days afterwards, the discussion being resumed,
 "I again maintained the cause of truth. I saw that he
 επερω- "opposed it, and by an absurd question³ placed his answerers
 σεως "under the necessity of either denying altogether that the
 ύπου "Godhead of the only SON was incarnate, or of confessing
 ης] "with no less impiety, that the Godhead of the FATHER,
 "SON, and HOLY GHOST is incarnate along with the Divine
 "WORD. Thus maliciously was the question constructed, in
 "order to overthrow the Faith. Again, in another conver-
 "sation, a Bishop who was with him took up the discourse,

“and said that the SON who suffered was different from A. D. 431.
 “God the WORD. Unable to bear this blasphemy, I CH. XLI.
 “took leave of the company, and withdrew¹. Another of [¹ συντα-
 “those who were with him, pleaded on behalf of the Jews ξήμενος
 “that their crime had not been against God, but against a πᾶσι
 “man.” ἀπὸ θεοῦ.]

Flavian next requested that the authorities of the Fathers XLI.
 upon the subject might be read, and inserted in the Acts. Authorities of the
 The Priest Peter said, “We have here before us the books of Fathers.
 “the Fathers, Bishops, and Martyrs, out of which I have
 “selected some few chapters which with your permission I
 “will read;” so when Flavian had again put the motion, he
 read a passage from the book of St. Peter, Bishop of Alex-
 andria and Martyr^o, “on the Deity²;” another from St. ^{p. 507.}
 Athanasius against the Arians, and a third from his letter
 to Epictetus³; one from a letter of Pope St. Julius to Docimus, [² p. 509.]
 one from the letter of Pope St. Felix to Maximus and the
 Alexandrian clergy, and two from the (fifth and sixth)
 paschal letters of Theophilus of Alexandria⁴. Of all these [³ p. 511.]
 works, none but those of St. Athanasius are now extant.
 The Priest Peter read likewise a passage from St. Cyprian’s
 treatise on alms-giving; two out of St. Ambrose, in his book
 ‘On the Faith;’ another from the letter of St. Gregory of
 Nazianzus to Cledonius⁵, containing anathemas; another out [⁴ p. 514.]
 of St. Basil, and another from St. Gregory of Nyssa⁶; two from [⁵ p. 515.]
 Atticus of Constantinople, and two out of St. Amphilochius,
 whose works have perished⁷. In all, there are twelve Fathers [⁶ p. 518.]
 whose authority was referred to, but some copyists retrench
 the two last, and Vincentius of Lerins reckons only ten⁸. * Comm.

The Priest Peter said, “We have likewise at hand the c. 42.
 “blasphemous books of the most reverend Nestorius, from [sacrato
 “one of which we have selected some articles; if it is agree- Decalogi
 “able to the holy Council, we will read them⁹.” The Bishop numero] ^{p. 519. A.}
 Flavian said, “Let them be read and inserted in the
 “Acts;” and all the Bishops gave their consent. They read
 twenty articles taken from Nestorius’s book, which was a
 collection of sermons in twenty-seven loose sheets¹. After [¹ τετράδια

Quater-
niones]
^c See Euseb. H. E. vii. 32; viii. 13; Ruinart, Acta Mart. p. 315, and Fleury
 ix. 6. Athanas. Vita S. Ant. c. 47. ix. 37.
 Epiphan. de Hær. c. 68. (t. 1. p. 716.)

A. D. 431. the reading, Flavian said¹, "Since these discourses of Nes-
 CH. XLII. "torius are horrible blasphemies, [let not our ears be
¹ p. 529. C. "polluted by listening to them any further, but] let them
 "be entered among the Acts, to the condemnation of him
 "who uttered them."

The Priest Peter said, "The most reverend Metropolitan
 "and Bishop of Carthage, Capreolus, has written a letter to
 "the holy Council by Bessula the Deacon. If it be your
 "wish, I will read it along with the translation." Its import
 was, that St. Augustine, who had been called by name to the
 Council, was dead when the letter of the Emperor arrived,
 and that the letter was addressed singly and solely to St.
 Augustine; that when Capreolus had received it, he wrote
 to all the provinces of Africa to assemble the national
 Council² in order to choose deputies for the general Council;
 but the desolation of the country, and the ravages of the
 Vandals, made such assemblies impracticable; besides, the
 period of time allotted was too brief; the Emperor's letters
 did not arrive at Carthage till Easter, when there remained
 only two months to elapse before the meeting of the general
 Council, and that time was insufficient even for convening
 the African Council in full peace; that being thus unable to
 send a solemn deputation, Capreolus wished at least to mark
 his observance of ecclesiastical discipline, and his respect for
 the general Council, by sending a Deacon to carry his ex-
 cuses. He therefore entreats the Bishops courageously to
 oppose those who would introduce new doctrines into the
 Church, and not to suffer that which had been already de-
 termined to be again called in question, or to allow the
 decisions of the Fathers to be disputed. St. Cyril desired
 that this letter of Capreolus might be inserted in the Acts,
 as it clearly imported that the ancient opinions concerning
 the Faith ought to be maintained, and the new rejected.
 All the Bishops cried out, "We are of the same opinion, we
 "all desire the same to be done."

[² Cf. supr.
 21. 26.]

XLII. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against
 Nestorius in these terms³; "Nestorius having, among other
 "things, refused to obey our citation, and to receive the
 "Bishops who were sent on our part, we have been obliged
 "to proceed to an examination of his impieties; and having

tence
 nest
 orius.
 e 22.)
 533.

" convicted him, as well by his letters as by his other writ- A. D. 431.
 " ings, and by discourses which he lately held in this city, CH. XLII.
 " (duly attested,) of holding and teaching impious doctrines ;
 " being reduced to this necessity by the canons, and by the
 " letter of our most holy Father and colleague¹ Cælestine, [¹ συλλει-
 " Bishop of the Roman Church ; after having shed many τουργοῦ]
 " tears, we are agreed upon this unhappy sentence. Our LORD
 " JESUS CHRIST, whom he hath blasphemed, has declared by
 " this holy Council that he is deprived of the episcopal dig-
 " nity, and excluded from all ecclesiastical assemblies. Cyril,
 " Bishop of Alexandria ; I have subscribed to the judgment
 " of the Council. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, I have sub-
 " scribed to the judgment of the Council." All the other
 Bishops present subscribed in the same way, to the number
 of one hundred and ninety-eight. Some called themselves
 Bishops by the grace and mercy of GOD ; others, Bishops of
 the Catholic² Church of such and such a place. Some sub- [² ἁγίας]
 scribed by the hand of a Priest, one having his hand dis-
 abled, others being sick. Some Bishops also subscribed who
 were not present till after the first session³ ; so that Nestorius³ p. 548. E.
 was deposed by more than two hundred Bishops, for some of
 them had a delegated authority⁴ as well as their own, since [⁴ ἐξουσιο-
 they represented others who were unable to get to Ephesus. τήρησαν]
 This was the first session of the Council, and it lasted from
 morning till night, although the days were then at the longest,
 for it was the twenty-second of June, and at Ephesus the sun
 does not set on that day till eleven minutes after seven o'clock.
 The people of the city waited from morning till night in ex-
 pectation of their decision⁵ ; and when they heard that Nes-⁵ Ep. Cyr.
 torius was deposed, they began with one voice to bless and p. 573.
 applaud the Council, and to praise GOD that the enemy of
 the Faith was fallen. The Bishops, on coming out of the
 church, were conducted to their hotels with torches, the
 women carried perfumes before them, the city was illu-
 minated with lamps, and every thing expressed universal
 exultation.

On the next day, (June the twenty-third,) they acquainted
 Nestorius with his sentence of deposition, in these terms⁶ ; p. 549. A.
 " The holy Council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of
 " GOD, and in pursuance of the decree of our most pious

A. D. 431. "Emperors, to Nestorius the new Judas: know, that for thy
 CH. XLIII. "impious doctrines, and disobedience to the canons, thou
 "wast deposed by the holy Council agreeably to the laws of
 "the Church, and declared to be excluded from all eccle-
 "siastical dignities, on the twenty-second day of this present
 "month of June." This sentence was fixed up in the public
 places, and published by criers. The Council wrote on the
 same day to Eucharius, defender of the Church of Constan-
 tinople, to the Priests, the Stewards, and the rest of the
 clergy, acquainting them that Nestorius had been deposed
 on the previous day, and desiring them to take care of the
 goods of the Church, as they would give an account of them
 to the future Bishop of Constantinople, "who will be or-
 "dained," says the letter, "according to the will of God,
 "and the permission of our most pious Emperors."

XLIII.
 Letter to
 the Abbot
 Dalmatius,
 &c.

¹ p. 549. E.

[² Bolland,
 t.33.p.213.]

³ Fleury,
 17. 37.

St. Cyril wrote at the same time a letter¹ addressed to the
 Abbot Dalmatius, and to such of his partizans as resided at
 Constantinople; these were, first, the Bishops Macarius and
 Potamon, (two of those who had been deputed to Nestorius
 by the Council of Egypt, in the preceding year; the other
 two, Theopemptus and Daniel, were at Ephesus;) and se-
 condly, two of St. Cyril's Priests at Constantinople, Timo-
 theus and Eulogus. The Abbot Dalmatius² was, of all the
 Monks of Constantinople, the most eminent for his piety.
 He had borne arms under Theodosius the Great, and served
 in the second company of his guards, living even then a life
 of piety. The better to serve God, he left his wife and
 children, taking with him only his son Faustus. Thus ac-
 companied, he went to seek the Abbot Isaac, under whose
 guidance he placed himself, and embraced the monastic life.
 Isaac had dwelt in the deserts from his infancy, living in the
 practice of every virtue. It was he who predicted to the
 Emperor Valens his approaching death³. Under his teaching
 Dalmatius advanced to so high a degree of perfection, that
 Isaac on his death-bed appointed him Hegumen, or superior
 of the monastery, under the Patriarch Atticus. It is said
 that he passed forty days without eating, being enwrapt
 during the whole time in a trance. The Emperor paid him
 visits⁴, and he was looked up to by the Senate with great
 veneration. They granted to him and to his successors the

Abbots of the monastery for ever, the title of Archimandrite, A. D. 431.
 that is, Head of all the monasteries of Constantinople^p; and CH. XLIII.
 this is the title by which St. Cyril addresses him in his
 letter. The Greek Church honours the memory of all three,
 Isaac, Dalmatius, and Faustus, on the same day, the third of
 August¹.

In this letter St. Cyril informed Dalmatius and the others
 of all that had passed in the Council; of the affected delay of
 John of Antioch, the contemptuous behaviour of Nestorius,
 and his deposition. He concludes thus²; "As I am told that"
 "the Count Candidian has sent in some reports³, be on the"
 "look out, and let it be known that the acts relating to the"
 "deposition of Nestorius are not yet copied out fairly; this is"
 "the reason why the report, which is to be sent in to the"
 "Emperor, has not yet been despatched; but if it be God's"
 "will, both it and the Acts shall be sent presently, provided"
 "any one is allowed to carry them. Should the Acts and"
 "report be delayed, you may be certain it is only because we"
 "are not permitted to send them⁴: adieu." The Acts would
 seem to have been conveyed soon after, by the Bishops

¹ Menolog.
 Aug. 3.

² Act. 1. p.
 563.
³ [ἀναφο-
 ραί]

^p Μάρτυρα is explained in the old
 glosses by σπήλιος, σπήλαιον, spelunca
 (see Dufresne). But as the hollows of
 rocks are used in eastern countries for
 folds and stalls (see Grotius on Luke ii.
 7. and cf. *Cavata* in Facciolati), it came
 afterwards to mean, as Hesychius ex-
 plains it, σπήλιος βοῶν καὶ ἵππων, whence
 finally it is used for a 'herd of cattle,'
 as in the 'stantis convicia mandræ'
 of Juvenal (iii. 237). Thus, then, a
 mandrite would at first be a person who
 lived in a solitary cave, but as people
 became attracted around him by his
 wisdom or piety, his cave would gradu-
 ally enclose a fold of monks, so to speak,
 who on rearing a monastery would still
 retain their old title. The head of any
 such monastic establishment was called
 Archimandrite (supr. 20. 6. p.) The
 word was, in course of time, limited to
 the signification mentioned in the text,
 denoting a General-Abbot, or head of
 an aggregation of monasteries; and so
 the word is still used in Mt. Athos,
 and (according to Ersch and Gruber)
 in the St. Salvator's convent at Mes-
 sina.

In the Russian Church, *Archiman-
 drites* are the heads of superior monas-

teries (or Lavras, see Mouravieff, p. 38.
 Oxf. ed.), the *Hegumens* of inferior; cor-
 responding respectively to the Abbots
 and Priors of the Western Church,
 though possessing far less power, since
 they are subject to minute episcopal
 surveillance. In the Coptic Church,
 the Archimandrite is second in dignity
 only to the Patriarch, being Grand-
 Prior of all the convents of the country.

In the letter from the Bishops of
 Constantinople to the Council of Ephesus
 (Conc. p. 752), Dalmatius is only
 called "one of the Archimandrites,"
 and "all the Archimandrites" are said
 to have gone to the palace. Hence it
 would seem that the explanation given
 by Fleury is somewhat premature. The
 Abbey over which Dalmatius presided
 was raised to the dignity of Chief Ab-
 bey, but this precedence was not (as
 yet) indicated by the word Archiman-
 drite. On the 'Abbots of St. Dalma-
 tius' see Dufresne *De Constantinop.*
Christ. lib. iv. p. 155.

⁴ Probably the Nestorian party
 pursued the same tactics at Ephesus
 as at Constantinople. V. infr. xxvi. 4.
 at the end.

A. D. 431. Theopemptus and Daniel¹, whom we next meet with at Constantinople²: they had got there before the arrival of Count

¹ p. 700. D.

² [p. 771. B.]

³ p. 717. B.

XLIV.

Nestorius's

Report.

⁴ Baluz.

Synod. c.

11. [p.

703.]

On the day after the session of the Council, i. e. Tuesday, June the twenty-third, the Count Candidian published an edict⁴ at Ephesus, in which he protested against what had been done on the preceding day, and again admonished all the Bishops to wait for the arrival of John of Antioch, and of the other Bishops who were on the road. He sent to the Court at the same time either Nestorius's own report or another like it. We have that of Nestorius, addressed to the Emperor, in these words⁵:

⁵ C. Eph.
p. 563 E.

“ Being summoned by your Piety to Ephesus, we repaired
 “ thither without delay. In accordance with your injunc-
 “ tions, we were desirous to wait for the Bishops who were
 “ assembling from all parts, but when we found that the
 “ Egyptians were growing impatient, and imputed the delay
 “ to some preconcerted scheme on our part, we promised to
 “ assemble whenever the Count Candidian should think fit.
 “ He, knowing that Bishop John of Antioch and his attend-
 “ ants were near, and that others were on their way from the
 “ west, signified his wish that all should wait for their arrival.
 “ We therefore, in obedience to your orders, remained quiet,
 “ but the Egyptians and Asiatics, in contempt of the
 “ laws both ecclesiastical and imperial, assembled themselves
 “ apart, and have done what every body will inform your
 “ Majesty of. They placed soldiers of their party in the
 “ market-place, they filled the city with confusion, they sur-
 “ rounded our houses, and used terrible menaces against us.
 “ The Bishop Memnon was the leader in this sedition; he
 “ had shut up the churches, that, when pursued, we might
 “ not have any place of refuge; but for the others he opened
 “ the great church, and prepared whatever was necessary for
 “ holding a Council. We therefore beg and conjure you,
 “ that since we came to Ephesus by your order, without fore-
 “ seeing this so barbarous an insult, you would provide for
 “ our safety, and issue orders that the Council may be
 “ held in the usual form, and that none of the clergy or
 “ Monks, whether belonging to us or to the Egyptians, nor
 “ any of the Bishops who were not called, may come in to

“ disturb it, and that there should be admitted to sit with A. D. 431.
 “ the Metropolitan only two Bishops of each province, being CH. XLIV.
 “ men who have some knowledge in questions of this sort :
 “ or if this be not granted, that we may at least have orders
 “ to return to our homes in safety, for they threaten us
 “ even with loss of life.”

The petition for two Bishops of each province with their Metropolitan, had an artifice in it ;—the Patriarch of Alexandria had very few Metropolitans under him^r. This letter was subscribed by Nestorius, Fritilas of Heraclea, Helladius of Tarsus, Dexian of Seleucia, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Apamia, Eutherius of Tyana, Basil of Thessaly, Maximus of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, eleven in all. In the mean time¹, Count Can-^{Ep. Memn.}
 didian annoyed the Bishops of the Council with his soldiers, p. 761. D.
 preventing even the necessaries of life from being brought to them, and permitting the people whom Nestorius entertained, particularly a large body of the peasants belonging to the Church lands², to load them with insult.

When a fair copy had been made of the Acts of Nestorius's deposition, they were sent to the Emperor together with a synodical letter, giving a history of all that had passed, their reasons for not waiting for the eastern Bishops, the contumacy of Nestorius, and so forth. The Pope is spoken of in these terms³: “ We approved of what the most holy Bishop of Rome, [³ χωρινοι
ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐκκλησι-
αστικῶν
κτημάτων]
 “ Cælestine, had done in having already condemned the here-
 “ tical dogmas of Nestorius, and in anticipating us in pass-
 “ ing sentence against him.” It concluded thus: “ We beg,
 “ therefore, of your Majesty to command that Nestorius's doc-
 “ trine be banished from all our holy Churches; that his books,
 “ wherever they are found, be burnt; and if any one fail in
 “ due observance of these commands, that he incur your impe- p. 572. C.

^r Indeed it is doubted whether he had any Metropolitans under him, strictly speaking. In this respect the Primate of Alexandria had more power than any of the other Primates. While his diocese contained six provinces, with as hundred suffragan Bishops, (or fifty-one more than the Primate of Rome had under him,) he possessed a metropolitanical power over the whole, i. e. he had the power of ordaining all the

suffragan Bishops. Bingham, 2. 16. § 23 and 17. § 11. Indeed, if each of the six provinces had had a Metropolitan, St. Cyril's diocese would still have been inadequately represented, if Nestorius's project had succeeded; for Vincentius of Lerins, speaking of this Council, says, p. 142. ed. Cantab., that “ the majority of the Priests assembled were “ Metropolitans,” (pœne ex majori parte Metropolitani).

A. D. 431. "rial displeasure." The Council likewise wrote to the
 CH. XLV. and people of Constantinople, to acquaint them with the
 of Nestorius's deposition, as a piece of agreeable news¹.

¹ p. 573. A. in this letter¹ that the Council joins together the Holy V
 and St. John, as equally honouring the city of Ephesus

² p. 605. A. is certain from another letter², that the sepulchre of St.
 was there, in a Church bearing his name³. St. Cyril also
 an account of the proceedings against Nestorius, to his c

⁴ p. 576. A. and people of Alexandria⁴, and the Monks of Egypt⁴. M
 ["p. 576.D."] while, he preached some sermons; one at the church o

⁵ p. 584. Mary⁵ on the occasion of seven Bishops, who had been atta
 to Nestorius's party, coming over to re-unite themselves

the Council: another at the synaxis or liturgy⁶, which w
 seem to have been celebrated on Friday the twenty-six
 June; Reginus Bishop of Cyprus, and some others, ha
 spoken before him. In these discourses St. Cyril decl
 with great vehemence against Nestorius.

XLV.
 Arrival of
 John of
 Antioch.

On the fifth day after the sentence of deposition, i. e.
 Saturday, June the twenty-seventh, John of Antioch ar
 at Ephesus. The Council, on hearing of his approach, dep
 some Bishops and clergy to meet him, hoping thus at
 to shew him a proper mark of respect, and to caution
 against having any intercourse with Nestorius, who had

⁷ Ep. Memn.
 p. 761. E.

deposed by the Council⁷. The soldiers who accompanied
 of Antioch prevented the deputies from speaking with hi
 the road; however, they followed him to his hotel, and wa
 there several hours, vainly seeking to obtain an interview
 him, and subjected to much insult from the soldiers. At
 [when it suited his humour,] some of the guards were
 to introduce them. As soon as they had declared the
 sage with which they were charged on the part of
 Council, he abandoned them to Count Irenæus, and to
 Bishops and clergy of his train, who beat them so that 1
 lives were in peril. The deputies returned to the Cou
 detailed the way in which they had been treated, and she
 the marks of the blows they had received; Acts were dr
 up to record the transaction in presence of the Gospel,

¹ For a graphic description of the
 joy with which the news was received,
 see C. Eph. p. 753. A. and infr. xxvi. 6.

² At p. 605 A. "the coffin of the

"Apostle" (τὴν λάφρακα) is menti
 The church is called τὸ ἅγιον
 στόλιον. p. 565, E. p. 595, A. p. 71
 Cf. Bingham, 8. 1. § 8.

is, in full Council; but it would seem that some of the Acts A. D. 431.
of the Council of Ephesus are lost, for those just alluded to CH. XLV.
are not to be found in the extant copies.

The interval during which the deputies were kept waiting had been employed by John in holding a Council of his own with the partizans of Nestorius. The moment he alighted from his chariot, and got into his room, covered with dust, and not waiting even to pull off his cloak, he commenced proceedings against St. Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus, and the whole Council'. The Count Candidian, who had gone to meet him, was the first to give evidence, and, according to the Acts of this pretended Council², he spoke thus: "It was my wish to have presented the Emperors' letters, according to their injunctions, in the presence of your Piety and the whole Council; but five days ago the most reverend Bishop Cyril, Memnon Bishop of this city, and the other Bishops who accompanied them, assembled in the church. I attempted to hinder them, and advised them to wait till you were all come. They demanded that I should read to them the Emperors' letter³, which I was constrained to do, that they might not have [their ignorance of the Imperial message to plead as] a pretext for irregular conduct. Before I left the place, however, I conjured them not to do any thing precipitately, as many of the Bishops who were then present can testify; but so little regard had they for what was said, that they contemptuously drove out the Bishops who had been sent by the most holy Nestorius, and all who attended them; they even expelled me, and would not suffer the protest⁴ which the Bishops had drawn up to be read. I sent information of all this to the mighty Sovereigns, representing to them that I awaited the arrival of your holiness, and the attendant Bishops."

Bishop John desired that the Emperors' letter⁵ should be read. The Bishops all stood up, and Candidian read it. The Bishop John next desired him to state if any thing else had happened. Candidian said, "On the following day, knowing nothing of what they had been doing, I suddenly heard that they had deposed the most holy Bishop Nestorius. Meeting with the sentence of deposition fixed up in public, I tore it down, read it, and sent it to the Emperors. A little

¹ Ep. ad Cælest. p. 664. A. Apol. Cyr. p. 1046. A. p. 590. C.

² τῆν ἐδήραν]

⁴ παραγωγιστικὸν]

⁵ τὰ εὐσεβῆ γράμματα] p. 592. C.

D. 431. "after I heard the public criers proclaim it formally in the
 H. XLV. "market-place; on this I sent to inhibit them from doing
 "any thing beyond the Emperors' orders; and I induced
 "those Bishops who were not assembled with them to wait
 p. 594. "for your arrival." Bishop John said¹, "Did they proceed
 "agreeably to the canons, and to the Emperors' mandate,
 "to take full cognizance of the affair, or did they condemn
 ερημην] "Nestorius by default?" Candidian said, "All the Bishops
 "who were present with me know that they neither sifted
 "evidence, nor made any examination." John of Antioch
 said, "Certainly their treatment of us corresponds to the
 "account you give: for instead of giving a brotherly wel-
 "come to men fatigued with a long journey, and of testi-
 "fying to them their affection, they immediately come to
 "trouble and harass us with their usual petulance; but the
 "holy Council, which is with me, refused even to hear them,
 "and will consider what steps should be taken against those
 "who act thus tyrannically and illegally."

After this the Count Candidian withdrew, and John of Antioch put it to the Bishops to say how this contempt of the Imperial letter should be dealt with. The Council said, "It is plain that its provisions have been infringed by the most reverend Cyril, and the most reverend Memnon, who has seconded him throughout, as we very well know, who were here before your Piety, and saw all his proceedings; for Memnon shut up the churches, especially those of the Martyrs, and of the holy Apostle, not suffering the Bishops to solemnize even Pentecost in them; he collected a body of peasants, with whom he disturbed the peace of the city, and lastly, he sent his clergy to the Bishops' hotels, menacing them with the most terrible consequences, unless they attended his disorderly assembly. Their evil consciences drove them to involve every thing in confusion, in hopes that inquiry would thus be diverted from the heretical doctrine contained in the articles which have been lately sent by Cyril to Constantinople, and of which the greater part sanction the impiety of Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius. We must therefore strive courageously in defence of our religion; and those who are at the head of this heretical and seditious movement must receive a condign sentence,

"while those who have suffered themselves to be seduced
"should also be subjected to an ecclesiastical censure." A. D. 431.
CH. XLVI.

John of Antioch said, "Cyril and Memnon, being the
"authors of the disorder, having despised both the laws of
"the Church and the Emperors' mandate, and having put
"forth the heretical articles before mentioned, ought to be
"deposed; those whom they have seduced ought to be ex-
"communicated; to the end that, acknowledging their fault,
"they may anathematize the heretical articles of Cyril, and
"assemble with us to examine the subject of controversy like
"brethren, and so confirm our holy Faith." The Council
approved of his proposal, and sentence was accordingly pro-
nounced and subscribed by three-and-forty Bishops¹. The ^{p. 59e.}
chief of these were John of Antioch, Alexander of Apamea,
John of Damascus, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, Alexander of
Hierapolis, Dexian of Seleucia, Fritilas of Heraclia, Himerius
of Nicomedia, Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, and
Theodoret of Cyrus. Such are the Acts of the false Council
of the Easterns; in which the vaguest accusations were re-
ceived, while no particular witness was called upon to give
evidence, no examination made of any document, no hearing
allowed the accused, nor even any citation sent him.

The sentence was never published at Ephesus, and the
Bishops of the Council knew nothing of their proceedings²; ^{p. 664. C.}
but they sent it to Constantinople, with letters severally
addressed to the Emperor, the princesses, the clergy, the
senate, and the people³; in which the same calumnies against <sup>pp. 601,
3, 89q.</sup>
Cyril and Memnon were repeated in different forms. They
are charged with having effected their deeds of violence by
means of Egyptian seamen and Asiatic peasants⁴, and with ^{p. 604. D.}
having affixed placards to make the houses of those whom
they intended to assault the more conspicuous⁵. John of [^{p. 608. B.}
Antioch avers that St. Cyril had written to him only two
days before the holding of the session, saying that the whole
Council waited for his arrival⁶. ^[*p. 602. C.]

In the mean time, Candidian's report had arrived at Con-
stantinople, and the Emperor, prepossessed by his plausible XLVI.
The Em-
peror's
letter by
Palladius.

¹ Of the sixty-eight who signed the
protest (supr. c. 36) only twenty-six
signed the sentence of deposition against
St. Cyril. The complemental seven-

teen would seem, judging by the names
of their sees, to have all belonged to the
diocese of Antioch.

A. D. 431. statements, had sent a rescript by a magistrian named Palladius.
 CH. XLVI.

(These magistrians, or officers of the Master of the Offices, are elsewhere called Emperor's agents^x.) The rescript declared that the sentence which a part of the Bishops at Ephesus had passed in cabal and passion, (meaning Nestorius's deposition,) should be null and void. "It is for this reason," says the Emperor¹, "that until the doctrines of religion be examined by the whole Council, and until we send some one as associate to Candidian, to ascertain the true character of what has been done and to annul whatever is illegal, we ordain that none of the Bishops assembled leave Ephesus; and lest these letters should be thought insufficient, we have given orders to the governors of the provinces, not to suffer any one to enter their territories, [without a passport from us.]" This letter was dated the third of the calends of July, in the consulate of Antiochus; that is, June the twenty-ninth, A.D. 431, seven days after the session of the Council.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 706. A.

² C. Eph.
p. 745. D.

The Council returned an answer by Palladius², complaining that the Count Candidian had pre-occupied the Emperor's mind, before he could be informed, by the Acts, of what was the real truth: that Candidian still prevented him from having this information, and that John of Antioch only arrived twenty-one days after the time fixed for the Council. "We beg your Majesty," they add, "to send for Count Candidian, with five Bishops of the Council, who will place before you a defence of what has been done; for the apostates from the Faith are so skilful in concealing³ their error, that they even seduced, for a time, some Bishops who have since returned and joined us in condemning Nestorius. Those who still remain with him and John of Antioch, number only seven and thirty, or thereabouts; the greater part of whom are attached to Nestorius, because they share in his guilt and fear the judgment of the Council. We have sent you their names: some are Pelagian heretics, others were deposed some years back. We may add that the Council has the consent of all the Bishops of the world,

[³ στυκιδ-
ξείω]

^x They are also frequently called Ἀγγελιδόφοροι, or Royal Messengers. Their duties are detailed in full by

Gothofr. ad C. Theod. tom. ii. p. 163; see also supr. xviii. 23. l. xix. 33. p. and xxii. 32. c.

“ since the Bishop of Rome and those of Africa have assisted A. D. 431.
 “ at it, in the person of the most holy Archbishop Cyril. If CH. XLVI.
 “ we had not been so pressed for time, we might have written at
 “ length the hardships we have suffered from Count Irenæus;
 “ but if you grant our petition, the five who shall repair to
 “ you will inform you of every thing. More than two
 “ hundred of us [from every part of the world] pronounced
 “ the sentence of Nestorius’s deposition, having with us the
 “ consent of the whole west; the reason why so few of us
 “ subscribe this letter, though we are all present, is that
 “ the magistrian Palladius hastens us, and cannot wait all
 “ the time that such subscriptions require.” Then follows
 a list of the names of the schismatics, amounting only to
 thirty-four.

The schismatics also sent an answer to the Emperor by
 the same Palladius¹; their letter is full of adulation to the 1 C. Eph.
 Emperor, and calumny against St. Cyril and the Council. p. 705.
 They mention the sentence they had passed in their would-
 be-council²; they repeat Nestorius’s request, that each Metro- [² con-
 ciliabulum]
 politan should be accompanied by only two Bishops of his
 province, saying that for their part they had brought no
 more; that the Egyptians numbered fifty, that the Asiatics
 at the beck of Memnon were forty, that there were twelve
 Messalian heretics of Pamphilia, besides others who accom-
 panied Memnon, and some who had been deposed and ex-
 communicated; “ making up altogether,” they say, “ a troop
 “ of ignoramuses, fit for nothing but to breed confusion.”
 At any rate, on their own shewing, there were no less than
 a hundred and fifty opposed to them. They proceed:
 “ We imagined that your letter would have restored them to
 “ reason; so when we had read it, we went to the church of
 “ St. John the Apostle, to thank God and pray for your
 “ Majesty; but as soon as they saw us, they closed the doors.
 “ After we had prayed outside the church, we were return-
 “ ing in silence, when a company of servants rushed out,
 “ who seized some of us, took away the horses of others,
 “ wounded some, and pursued us with clubs and stones a
 “ great distance. Memnon had contrived the whole long
 “ before, not suffering any of us to pray in the churches, or
 “ to treat in quiet of ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore, we pray

A. D. 431. "you more particularly to expel from the city this tyrant,
 CH. XLVII. "whom we have already deposed, and who is now throwing
 "every thing into confusion only because he fears the result
 "of an examination into his conduct."

A letter written by Memnon to the clergy of Constantinople about this time, reveals to us the occasion of this tumult, and of the pretended outrages of the Catholics. The Bishops, whom the Council had sent to meet John of Antioch, and who had been so ill treated¹, after complaining of it to the Council, declared him to be excommunicated, and sent him a notification of the same. [Some such measure was now indeed absolutely requisite,] for the Council had heard that a writing, without name or subscription, was fixed up in a certain part of the city, containing the sentence of John against Cyril, Memnon, and the whole Council. John went every day to solicit the common council of the city of Ephesus and the magistrates, to grant an order for the installation of another Bishop in the room of Memnon; but the inhabitants of the city, being all orthodox, took possession of the churches, and remained there to prevent John from putting his design into execution. He went so far as to give out that he would hold the ordination² in St. John's church, and actually went up to the church for the purpose, but the people resisted him, and as he had brought several armed men with him, a riot ensued, in which some of the poor belonging to the church were left half dead on the spot. Memnon's letter, after furnishing us with this account of the transaction, concludes by requesting the clergy of Constantinople to publish the violent proceedings of John and his party, and to procure the removal of Counts Candidian and Irenæus, who only fomented discord, from Ephesus. In the case of Irenæus, this was unnecessary, as he was sent by the schismatics to Constantinople, more effectually to solicit the Court in their favour. He was furnished by them with a letter, and a second "report," which contained the same calumnies against Cyril and Memnon, and expressed a desire that the Council should be transferred to some other place³. The letter supplied him with credentials.

¹ Supr. C.
 45. Ep.
 Memn. p.
 764. C.

[² χειρο-
 τονῆσαι.]

³ C. Eph.
 p. 713. E.

X
 A

Meanwhile, the legates of the Holy See arrived at Ephesus, and a second session of Council was immediately held in

the episcopal house of Memnon; on the sixth of the ides of July, in the Roman style, or in the Egyptian, on the sixteenth of Epiphi; i. e. July the tenth, in the same year, 431¹. St. Cyril always presided, having the Pope's authority also committed to him². Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, (representing also Rufus of Thessalonica,) Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cappadocia, and all the other Bishops, with Bessula the Deacon of Carthage, assisted. The Deputies of the West, who were three in number, Arcadius and Projectus Bishops, and Philip who was Priest, were introduced to sit with them. Philip spoke first, and said³, "We render thanks to the adorable Trinity,"⁴ p. 611. "for having brought us to your holy assembly. Our Father Cælestine long ago declared his judgment on this subject in the letters to the holy Bishop Cyril, which have been shewn you: he has now sent others to you, which we here present; let them be read and inserted in the ecclesiastical Acts." The two episcopal deputies, Arcadius and Projectus, seconded the proposal. As they all three spoke in Latin, what they said was interpreted in Greek, the language of the Council. St. Cyril ordered St. Cælestine's letter to be read, and Siricius, 'Notary of the Holy Catholic Church, of the City of Rome,' read it in Latin. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, moved "that it be inserted in the Acts." All the Bishops asked that it might be translated into Greek, and read. The Priest Philip said, "We have satisfied custom⁵, which requires us to read the letters of the Apostolical See⁶ first in Latin; but we have taken care to have

A. D. 431.
CH. XLVII.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 610.
[² δ. ἐπίσκοπος
καὶ τὸν τό-
πον Κελε-
στίνου.]

¹ More literally, "acting also as proxy for Cælestine," i. e. concurrently with his own right of presidency, he held the authority of the Bishop of Rome. See Baluz. in l. (p. 488.) supr. c. 36. Palmer 'on the Church of Christ,' vol. ii. p. 522.

² Such was also the custom of the old Roman magistrates. Baluz. quotes Vaer. M. ii. 1; "Among other expressions of the dignity they wished to maintain, was one which they always scrupulously observed, — never to give an answer to Greeks except in Latin." He also refers to Sueton. in Tib. c. 71; and in Claud. c. 16; and Ritterhus. iii. Sac. Lect. c. 1. The Greeks on their part were singu-

larly firm in resisting the encroachments of the Latin language. Centuries after Britain, Gaul, Spain, North Africa, Switzerland and Hungary had (more or less fully) adopted it, the population of South Italy still spoke Greek. "The Greek language in Calabria did not begin to give way until the fourteenth century." Niebuhr, Rom. H., vol. i. p. 61.

³ In the western part of the Church this title was given pre-eminently to Rome, as being the only western see founded by an Apostle. In the Eastern Church there were several sees to which the designation was applied. Thus Sozomen (H. E. i. 17.) calls Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, "apostolic

- A. D. 431. "it translated into Greek:" "and that," as the Bishops
 CH. XLVII. Arcadius and Projectus added, "because many of the Bishops
 "do not understand Latin." Priest Peter of Alexandria
¹ p. 614. then read Pope St. Cælestine's letter in the translation¹.
 [² *ἱερῶν.* It began thus: "The assembly of Priests² is the visible
 Fleury *ἐκκλησίας.* "display of the presence³ of the HOLY GHOST; [He who
³ *ἐμφανίζει* "cannot lie has said, 'Where two or three are gathered
 τὴν παρου- "together in My Name, I am in the midst of them⁴;' much
 σίαν] "more will He be present in so large a crowd of holy
⁴ Matt. 18. "men;] for the Council is indeed holy in a peculiar sense,—
 20. "it claims veneration as the representative of that most
 [⁵ *τῆς με-* "noble⁵ Synod of Apostles [which we read of⁶.] Their
 γίστης "Master, whom they were commanded to preach, never
 Fleury, la "forsakes them; it was He who taught them, it was He
 nombreuse] "who instructed them what they should teach others; and
⁶ Acts 15. "He has assured the world, that in the person of His Apo-
⁷ Luke 10. "stles, they hear Him⁷. This charge of teaching has de-
 16. "scended equally upon all Bishops. We are all engaged to
 "it by an hereditary right; all we who, having come in their
 "stead, preach the name of our LORD to all the countries of
 "the world, according to what was said to them, 'Go ye and
⁸ Matt. 28. "'teach all nations⁸.' You are to observe, my brethren, that
 19.

"sees" (*ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι*). So Eusebius H. E. vii. 32, (*ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον*) of Jerusalem; and Gregory the Great, Ep. iv. 37, of Antioch (which is also called *πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολική*, Theodoret. v. 9). It would seem from Tertullian, de Proscr. Hær. c. 36. (p. 215. ed. Rigalt.) that the very chair (cathedra) of the first Bishops was preserved in most of the apostolical Churches. St. Augustine frequently refers to the apostolical sees as the great bond of orthodoxy; See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. n. 5. To the instances there given add, De Doctr. Chr. ii. c. 8. (T. iii. p. 23). "Among the Catholic Churches surely must be placed those which had the honour to have the apostolic chairs (sedes), and to receive letters from the Apostles." And even Isidore of Seville, (died 636.) De Off. ii. 5. (p. 597. ed. Prieul.) "The rest of the Apostles, receiving equal honour with Peter, preached the Gospel throughout the world, and were succeeded by the Bishops who are placed throughout the world on the

"sees of the Apostles." In a secondary sense, all Catholic Churches are called apostolical (Tertull. Præscr. Hær. 32.) (p. 213): first, as deriving their succession of Bishops ultimately from the Apostles (*apostolici seminis traduces*); secondly, as holding the Apostles' doctrine (*pro consanguinitate doctrinæ*). "In this sense," says Tertullian (c. 20. p. 209), "all are first, all are apostolical, so long as all seek to maintain the same unity. (*Omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ, dum unam omnes probant imitatem.*)" Thus Sidonius (vi. Ep. 1. Galland. x. p. 513) says to St. Lupus of Troyes, "You who have now sat on the apostolic see forty-five years;" and in Synod. Chalc. Act. x. p. 644. A, the see of Constantinople is called apostolical; though this may have been intended in the first sense, according to the tradition that it was founded by St. Andrew. See also Bingham, 2. 2. § 3. and 11. § 24. Baluz. not. ad Agobard., p. 162. (ed. 1666.) Neander's Church History, vol. i. p. 210. ed. 1842.

"the order we have received is a general order¹, and that
 "He intended that we should all execute it, when He charged
 "them with it as a duty, devolving equally upon all. We
 "ought all to enter into the labours of those whom we have
 "all succeeded in dignity^b."

A. D. 431.
 CH. XLVII.
 [1 γενικῶν
 ἐπιτολήν.]

Thus Pope St. Cælestine acknowledged that it was CHRIST Himself who established Bishops, in the persons of the Apostles, as the teachers of His Church: he places himself in their rank, and declares that they ought all to concur for the preservation of the sacred deposit of apostolical doctrine. This is, in fact, the tendency of all the remainder of the letter; in which, among other considerations, he refers to the place in which they were assembled,—the city of Ephesus, where St. Paul and St. John had preached the Gospel: "St. John," says the letter², "whose present reliques you honour." It contains credentials for the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest Philip, "who will be present," says the letter, "at your Acts, and will execute that which we have long ago determined upon." The date is the eighth of the ides of May, which coincides with the eighth day of that month.

C. Eph.
 p. 615. D.

When the letter was ended, all the Bishops cried out³,
 "This is a just judgment. To Cælestine the new Paul, to
 "Cyril the new Paul; to Cælestine the guardian of the
 "Faith, to Cælestine who has but one soul with the Council;
 "the whole Council gives thanks to Cælestine. One Cælestine,
 "one Cyril, one Faith of the Council, one Faith of the
 "whole earth." The Bishop Projectus said, "Remark the

p. 618.

^b The views of the episcopal office maintained in this truly apostolical letter are often dwelt upon by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. Thus St. Cyprian, de Unitate Eccl. p. 108. ed. Oxon., "The Episcopate is one, and each individual Bishop has an equal share in it as *joint-tenant*" (in solidum, v. Fell. ad l.), and Ep. 55. p. 112. "The one Episcopate diffused through the harmonizing numerosity of the Bishops," and Ep. 68. p. 178. (to Stephanus, Bp. of Rome). "Hence, my dearest brother, it is that the body of Priests is united by the bonds of concord and unity; that if any of our colleagues should attempt to introduce heresy, and so tear and waste the flock of Christ, the rest

"should all come to its aid, and, like good and kind shepherds, re-collect the Lord's sheep into the fold." And August. ad Bonifac. c. duas. Ep. Pel. i. 1. (t. x. p. 411), "To sit on our watch-towers and guard the flock, belongs in common to all of us who have episcopal functions, although the hill on which you stand is more conspicuous than the rest." And St. Jerome, Ep. 101 (al. 85) ad Evang. (iv. p. 803.) "Wheresoever a Bishop is, at Rome, at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood; power of wealth or lowness of poverty do not make a Bishop higher or lower, but all are successors of the Apostles."

A. D. 431. " form of the Pope's letter ; he does not pretend to instruct
 CH. XLVII. " you as if you were ignorant, but aims at putting you in
 " remembrance of what you know already : wishing you to
 " execute that on which he has long ago adjudicated." Firmus of Cappadocia said, " The holy see of Cælestine decided
 " this affair and pronounced sentence on it before, in the
 " letters addressed to Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and to the Churches of
 " Constantinople and Antioch. In accordance with which
 " sentence and in furtherance thereof, we have pronounced a
 " canonical judgment against Nestorius, the term which was
 " granted him for recantation being overpast, and we having
 " waited at Ephesus long beyond the day fixed by the
 " Emperor."

Bishop Arcadius, one of the legates, said, " The length of
 " our voyage, arising from bad weather, prevented our arriving here so soon as we wished. We therefore beg to be
 " informed what you have decreed." The Priest Philip, after having thanked the Council for their acclamations in honour of the Pope, and having extolled the primacy of St. Peter, made the same request. Theodotus of Ancyra said, " God has shewn how just the sentence of the Council
 " is, by the coming of the most pious Bishop Cælestine's
 " letters, and by your presence. But as you ask what has
 " passed, you shall receive full information from the Acts of
 " Nestorius's deposition. You will there see the zeal of the
 " Council, and the conformity of its faith with that which
 " Cælestine so loudly publishes." Thus ended the second session of the Council.

The Pope's legates had written instructions, bearing the same date as the letter to the Council, (May 8,) and to this effect¹: " Injunctions of Pope St. Cælestine to the Bishops
 " and Priests going to the East. When by the grace of
 " God, as we hope, you shall have reached your destination,
 " bend all your thoughts upon our brother Cyril, and do
 " whatever he shall think advisable. We also recommend
 " to you to watch over the authority of the Apostolic See ;
 " since the instructions which have been given you import
 " that you are to attend at the Council, but in case of disagreement you are to judge of their opinion without enter-

¹ Baluz.
 Nova Coll.
 p. 382.

“ing into discussion. If you find that the Council is over, and that the Bishops are returned, you are to inquire how matters were concluded. If it be in favour of the ancient Catholic Faith, and if you find that my brother Cyril has gone to Constantinople, you are to follow him and present our letters to the Prince. If it happen otherwise, and dissension prevail, you will judge by the state of affairs, with the advice of our aforesaid brother, how you are to act.” The instructions here mentioned are not in existence; but we have a letter from the Pope to the Emperor Theodosius¹, dated May 15, which contains credentials for the three legates, and another to St. Cyril², dated May 17, advising that he who retracts his errors should always be admitted to penitence.

A. D. 431.
CH. XLVIII.

C. Eph.
p. 619.
p. 621.

On the next day, the fifth of the ides of July, or the seventeenth of Epiphi, i. e. July 11, the Council again assembled in the episcopal house of Memnon. Juvenal of Jerusalem asked the Pope's legates, if the Acts of Nestorius's deposition had been communicated to them pursuant to the order of the Council. The Priest Philip said that they had found, by a perusal of the Acts, that the Council had proceeded throughout in accordance with the canons. He desired, however, that the documents might be again read in full Council³; and the Bishop Arcadius joined in the request. Memnon of Ephesus ordered that their wish should be complied with, and Priest Peter of Alexandria read the Acts of the first session, the beginning of which, along with the sentence of deposition against Nestorius, was inserted in this third. When the reading was ended, the Priest Philip said⁴, “No one doubts but that St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, pillar of the Faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our LORD JESUS CHRIST the keys of His kingdom, and power to bind and loose sins, and that even to the present time he lives, and exercises this judicial power in his successors^c. Our holy Pope, Bishop Cæles-

XLVIII.
The legates confirm Nestorius's deposition.
(July 11.)

p. 623.

p. 626.

^c The other Apostles, it is true, shared in this commission: as St. Cyprian says, *De Unit. Eccl.* (p. 107. ed. Oxon.) “Of course the rest of the Apostles were what Peter was, being endowed with an equal joint-possession (*pari consortio*) both of honour and

“power;” and St. Ambrose (in *Ps.* 38. t. 1. p. 858), “Hear Him saying, ‘I will give thee the keys;’ That which is said to Peter is said to all the Apostles.” But though thus equal, it could not be in the nature of things but that one should have a *præ-*

A. D. 431. "tine, who at this time holds his place¹, has sent us to represent him in this holy Council, which our most Christian Emperors have convened in order to preserve intact the Catholic Faith, which has descended to them from their ancestors." He then briefly sums up the proceedings against Nestorius, and adds, "The sentence pronounced against him remains firm, agreeably to the judgment of all the Churches, since the Eastern and Western Bishops have either in person, or by deputy, assisted at the Council; let Nestorius, therefore, know that he is cut off from the communion of the priesthood of the Catholic Church."

CH. XLVIII.
[¹ δίδδοχος
καὶ τοῦ-
τηρητής]

The Bishop Arcadius spoke next, concluding thus: "According to the tradition of the Apostles and the Catholic

rogativa, or precedence in order, though not a superiority in rank, and this precedence is unanimously assigned to St. Peter. Hence it was that he was chosen to represent the whole Church; for the ancient Fathers "teach with one consent that the keys were given to the whole Church in the person of Peter" (Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Disc. p. 308. ed. 1686), and this as St. Cyprian (u. s.) in particular urges, "with a view to exhibit the oneness of the Church."

Whatever may be thought of the dogma that this precedence remained *de jure divino* with the Bishops of Rome as his successors, the *fact* is certain, that from an early period the Bishops of that city were looked up to by all the Christian Churches. The number of its martyrs, its apostolic origin, (unique in the West,) its active charity, and more than all, its singularly unswerving orthodoxy, all tended in this direction; and the resultant of these forces was increased in intensity by the respect and influence which naturally attached to the centre of political government. (Such interdependence of ecclesiastical and temporal power is evidently recognised by the canon which forbids Bishops to be ordained to villages). The history of its gradual increase up to the period we are now considering is of too wide a range for a note; but it may be as well to point out the principal steps to be observed. First, the maintenance of the time of celebrating Easter, by Anicetus against Polycarp, and by Victor against the Churches of Asia Minor; an opposition, however, not grounded on any

alleged superiority in power, but on the possession of primitive tradition. Secondly, the distinct assertion of a derived primacy in the Bishops of Rome by Irenæus; (this interpretation of the passage is vindicated by Neander, vol. i. p. 216). Thirdly, St. Cyprian's recognition of Rome as the centre of the Christian Theocracy (De Unit. Ecc. p. 108), though in practice he did any thing rather than countenance the supposition of an inherent superiority in the see of Rome. (Ep. 73, &c.) Fourthly, the decision of Aurelian; Euseb. vii. 30. (Fleury, viii. 8.) Fifthly, the flight of the orthodox Bishops to Rome, under Pope Julius, A. D. 341. Socrat. ii. 15; Sozomen, iii. 8; Fleury, xii. 20. In his letter to the Easterns, Julius only claims a share in the decision of a Council of Bishops. (Mansi, ii. p. 1219, C.) Sixthly, the letter of the Council of Sardica. Concilia, t. ii. p. 660, and Canons, 3, 4, 5. pp. 628, 9. Seventhly, the rescript of Gratian and Valentinian (Mansi, iii. p. 627), and the laws of Theodosius I. (Codex xvi. tit. 1. p. 4). Eighthly, the decision of Can. 3. of the Council of Constantinople, though this Council (virtually) repealed the Canon of Sardica. Ninthly, St. Chrysostom's appeal to the Pope, *supr.* xxi. 49 (though to him in common with the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia), and St. Innocent's decretal letter, *supr.* xxiii. 26. Tenthly, the affair of Apollinaris, *supr.* xxiv. 6, 11, 35, and Bingham, 9. 1. § 11. Cf. Casaubon De Rebus Eccl. Exercit. p. 424.

“ Church ; pursuant also to the decision of the most holy Pope Cælestine, who sent us to execute his share in this business ; and pursuant to the decrees of the holy Council, we declare to Nestorius that he is deprived of the episcopal dignity, excluded from the whole Church, and from the communion of all Bishops.” The Bishop Projectus concluded thus¹: “ I too, by my authority as legate of the apostolical see, being joined with my brethren to execute this sentence, declare that Nestorius, enemy of the truth and corrupter of the Faith, is deprived of the episcopal dignity, and of the communion of all orthodox Bishops.” St. Cyril said, “ The Council sees what has been declared in the name of the apostolical see and the whole Council of the holy Bishops of the West. Since, then, they have executed the sentence of the most holy Bishop Cælestine, and have approved of the judgment passed by the holy Council against the heretic Nestorius ; let the Acts of what passed yesterday and to-day be joined to the preceding, that they may signify their consent by subscription.” The legates offered to subscribe, the Council ordered the Acts to be presented to them, and they all three subscribed to Nestorius’s deposition. Thus ended the third session of the Council.

They sent the Emperor an account of what they had done in a synodal letter, which ran thus²: “ God, favouring your zeal, has stirred up that of the Bishops of the West to avenge the injury done to JESUS CHRIST ; for although the length of the journey is such that they could not all come to us, yet they assembled in a synod of their own, Cælestine the holy Bishop of Rome himself presiding ; they approved our opinions concerning the Faith, and cut off from the priesthood³ those who differ from us. Cælestine had already declared the same before the meeting of the Council, by his letters to the most holy Bishop Cyril, whom he also appointed to act in his stead ; he has now again confirmed it by letters sent to the Council of Ephesus by the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest Philip, his Vicars. On their arrival they made known to us the opinion of the whole Council of the West, and have also witnessed, in writing, that they perfectly agree with

A. D. 431.
CH. XLIX.

p. 627. C.

XLIX.
Synodal
letters.
C. Eph.
p. 630.

[³ πάντες
ἐρατικοῦ
κλήρου καὶ
βασιμῶν]

A. D. 431. " us in regard to the Faith. We therefore inform your
 CH. L. " Majesty of this, that you may be assured that the sen-
 " tence we have now pronounced is the common judgment
 " of the whole world. Thus, since the business for which we
 " assembled is happily concluded, we beg your permission to
 " depart; for some among us are oppressed with poverty,
 " others with diseases, and others sunk under the weight of
 " years, so that we are unable to endure the inconvenience
 " of staying longer in a foreign country, to which some of
 " the Bishops and clergy have already fallen victims. The
 " whole world is unanimous, except the interested few who
 " prefer Nestorius's friendship to religion. It is but just,
 " therefore, that some one should be appointed to fill up
 " his place, and that we should be left in peace, to enjoy
 " the confirmation of the Faith, and offer up our sincere
 " prayers on behalf of your Majesty." This letter was sub-
 scribed by St. Cyril and all the other Bishops.

p. 634. A letter was also sent by the Council to the clergy and
 people of Constantinople, in which¹, after acquainting them
 with the sad necessity they had been under of deposing
 Nestorius, they exhort them to pray to God that a successor
 may be appointed who shall be worthy of ruling over so
 great a city. This letter is subscribed first by St. Cyril,
 then by the Priest Philip, the Pope's legate, (who styles
 himself Priest of the Apostles' Church;) by Juvenal of
 Jerusalem; by the two legates, Bishops Arcadius and Pro-
 jectus; by Firmus of Cæsarea, Flavian of Philippi, Memnon
 of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, and Berinian of Perga.
 A note is appended, saying, "Although more than two
 " hundred united in deposing Nestorius, we think these
 " subscriptions sufficient."

L. Five days after the third session the Council held a fourth
 The com- in St. Mary's church, on the seventeenth of the calends of
 plaint of St. August, i. e. July 16. St. Cyril is named in it first, hold-
 Cyril and ing the place² of Pope St. Cælestine; afterwards the three
 Memnon. legates; first the two Bishops, Arcadius and Projectus, then
 uly 16.) the Priest Philip; Juvenal, Memnon, and the rest, follow.
 διέποντος This variation in the order of their sittings and subscriptions
 ἢ τῶν τῶ- is a pretty fair proof that they were no sticklers for preced-
 ον] ency; nor do we meet with any incident at all bearing

upon this subject. Since the proceedings in this case related to the interests of St. Cyril, the Priest Peter of Alexandria resigned his office of Proctor¹ into the hands of Hesychius, Deacon of Jerusalem; who said, "The most holy Archbishop of Alexandria, Cyril, and the most holy Bishop of Ephesus, Memnon, have presented a petition to the most holy Council. It is in our hands; under your order, we will read it." Juvenal of Jerusalem gave an order to that effect, and the Deacon Hesychius read it.

A. D. 431.
CH. L.

[¹ Fleury,
promoteur.]

It complained² that John of Antioch, vexed at Nestorius's³ deposition, had assembled about thirty Bishops who were his partizans, some of them long ago deposed, others only titular Bishops without a see⁴; "With these," says the petition, "he pretends to have deposed us, as appears from an insulting and illegal document which he has put forth; although neither by the laws of the Church, nor by the Emperor's order, has he power to judge any one of us, or to attempt any thing of the kind, much less against a superior see. And if he had possessed the power, he ought to have observed the canons, by sending us an information, and summoning us, with the rest of the Council, to make our defence. But from the hour that he arrived in Ephesus, he has done every thing clandestinely, and has left us in ignorance of what he has been doing up to this day. He would not have treated in this way the meanest of the clergy under his authority. Since, then, he is here with his accomplices⁵, we conjure you⁶ by the holy Trinity to summon them to give an account of their proceedings, for we are ready to make it appear that they are both impious and illegal."

[⁵ συνδραματουργήσαντας]

Acacius of Melitene said⁴, "The charge here brought against the accused, however true it may prove, yet need not have been inquired into, and so the request of the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon is unnecessary; it is altogether unlawful for men who have separated from the holy Council and joined Nestorius, while they themselves are charged with so heinous a crime, to undertake to pass sentence against the presidents of the general Council; but since

[⁴ περιτή μὲν ἢ περὶ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων ὑπόβοια, εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀληθῆς εἴη, καὶ περιτή.] p. 638. E.

¹ The law with regard to titles (supr. xix. 57, note r) applied to Bishops as well as to the inferior clergy. "The Nullatenenses of later ages, as Panor-

"mitanus calls Titular and Utopian Bishops, were rarely known in the Primitive Church." Bingham, 4. 6. § 2.

A. D. 431. "you have thought it advisable to prosecute them, John of
 CH. LI. " Antioch, the leader of the schismatics, shall be summoned
 " by the pious Bishops Archelaus, Paul, and Peter, to give
 " an account of his deed." The three Bishops immediately
 " set out, namely, Archelaus of Myndus in Caria, Paul of
 Lampe in Crete, and Peter of the Camps in Palestine; and
 on their return, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia desired
 them to state how they had succeeded on their mission.

LI. The Bishop Paul said¹, "Drawing near to the hotel of
 The cita- " the reverend John of Antioch, we saw several soldiers and
 tions of " other persons carrying arms, who guarded the door; after
 John of " much ado we got near them, and said, 'We are but three
 Antioch. " 'in number, the Council has sent us to the most reverend
¹ p. 639. " 'Bishop John, with words of peace, concerning an eccle-
 " 'siastical affair.' A large crowd gathered around us, and
 " among other discourses, they spoke disrespectfully of the
 " Council and the orthodox Faith; the noise and confusion,
 " however, was such that we cannot repeat exactly the blas-
 " phemies they uttered." The Bishop Archelaus said, "The
 " people about us were in an uproar, and we were exposed to
 " some danger; the soldiers threatened us, with their swords
 " drawn and clubs in their hands." Bishop Peter added,
 " Some of John's clergy, who were present, were informed by
 " us that we were sent from the Council, but no one would
 " give us admittance."

St. Cyril said, "The Council sees that Memnon and I are
 " here present, relying on the purity of our consciences; but
 " the heretic Nestorius, and John his abettor, suffer no one
 " to have access to them, and are afraid to attend the Council.
 " Order, then, that the sentence pronounced against us be
 " declared null, and set forth such a decree against John as
 " may seem to you called for by the occasion." Juvenal of
 * p. 641. B. Jerusalem said², "The Bishop John ought to respect the apo-
 " stolic see of Rome, which is here present, and [the apostolic
 " see] of Jerusalem, whose custom it is, agreeably to apostolic
 " tradition, to judge and correct that of Antioch^e. However,

¹ Respecting this claim, see c. 58. infr.
 St. Jerome in his letter against John of
 Jerusalem (Ep. 38. t. 4. pt. 2. p. 330),
 says, "But why go to the Patriarch of
 " from Palestine? Did not

" the Nicene Council decree that Cæ-
 " sarea should be the metropolis of
 " Palestine, and Antioch the metro-
 " polis of the whole East? Your ap-
 " peal, therefore, should be either im-

43 ' *we therefore beseech you the Emperor and the Emperor which will be*
 ' *to send some one of his officers, that have gained their*
 ' *name by it in the writing and forth, to shew that*
 ' *we maintain the necessity of Apollinaris. Let them appear*
 ' *open now and if they can convince us of it, instead of*
 ' *expending their strength in idle words. For our parts, we*
 ' *have never seen the heresies of Apollinaris, Arius, or*
 ' *Eusebiana, but have been instructed in sound learning, and*
 ' *educated under religious Fathers from infancy. We*
 ' *anathematize Apollinaris, Arius, Eusebians, Macedonius,*
 ' *Nabellius, Photinus, Paul, the Manichees, and all other*
 ' *heretics: ay, and Nestorius too, the inventor of new*
 ' *blasphemies, with all who adhere to his communion and*
 ' *sentiments, and those who hold the opinions of Cælestius*
 ' *and Pelagius. We desire the Council canonically to*
 ' *summon John of Antioch, and those who, with him, were*
 ' *the authors of this calumny against us, to come and make*
 ' *it appear that we are heretics, under pain of having the*
 ' *censure returned upon themselves; and this more espe-*
 ' *cially, because, as the writing implies, they have now*
 ' *carried these stale calumnies to the Emperor's ears."*

44 The Council deputed three Bishops', Daniel of Colonia,
 Commodus of Tripolis in Lydia, Timotheus of Germa in the
 Hellespont, with a Notary named Musonius, and a written
 citation against John of Antioch, suspending him, for the
 time, from the exercise of episcopal functions; and inform-
 ing him, that if he should refuse obedience to this third
 citation, they would pronounce against him such sentence as
 the canons prescribed. When they returned, Bishop Daniel
 said, "On our way to Bishop John's house we alighted at
 " some distance, and in the most conciliating manner possible
 " informed his clergy that we were sent from the holy Council.
 " We found the Priest Asphalius standing there, who belongs
 " to the Church of Antioch, and resides at Constantinople
 " to represent and watch over the interests of that Church^f.

^f It was customary for each Patri-
 arch to have one of his clergy stationed
 at Constantinople, to represent the in-
 terests of his Church, thus anticipat-
 ing the modern institution of resident
 ambassadors. We have seen that
 'us was placed there to defend

the cause of the Egyptian Church,
 supr. c. 8. This practice was con-
 tinued down to modern times. Thus
 in 1584, the new Russian Patriarch
 was advised to select some Greek
 Metropolitan to represent him, and
 " cause him to reside constantly near

" He accompanied us, and procured us a nearer approach to
 " the house, stopping those who came out to oppose us. A. D. 431.
CH. LII.
 " We must also acknowledge our obligation to the soldiers ;
 " for on recognising the Bishop Commodus, in whose city
 " they had been quartered, they kept off the clergy who
 " would have insulted us. Asphalius and the other clergy
 " having informed Nestorius of our presence, his Archdeacon
 " came down to us. We do not know his name, but he is a
 " little pale man, with a light beard¹. He brought a paper, [¹ στωαρδς,
 " which he presented to us, saying, ' The holy Council sends <sup>δπωχρος,
 " ' you this, for your acceptance.' We told him that we ^{μικροφυης.]}
 " were sent to speak on the part of the holy Council, and not
 " to receive writings. ' The Council invites the Lord John to
 " come and take his seat in it.' The Archdeacon replied,
 " ' Wait till I go and speak to the Bishop.' He went, and
 " coming back, presented us again with the same paper,
 " saying, ' Send us nothing, and we will send you nothing
 " ' further ; we wait for the Emperor's decision.' We said,
 " ' Hear, then, what the Council enjoins.' But he immedi-
 " ately withdrew, saying, ' You have not received my paper,
 " ' I will hear nothing that the Council has to say.' " The
 two other Bishops confirmed this statement.</sup>

The Council said², " This citation is sufficient to preclude LII.
 " Bishop John from hereafter making use of the plea of The sen-
 tence
 against
 John of
 Antioch,
 (July 17.)
 p. 651.
 " ignorance." St. Cyril said, " I and the Bishop Memnon
 " are again present to hear what defence Bishop John can
 " set up ; but as he continues to absent himself, it now re-
 " mains for the Council to issue its decree." The Council
 pronounced sentence in these words ; " The injuries which
 " the Bishop John of Antioch, and his accomplices, have
 " offered to the Bishops Cyril and Memnon, ought (after
 " their disobedience to this third citation) to move the holy
 " Council to pronounce against them a sentence worthy of
 " their arrogance, but considering that it beseems the meek-
 " ness of Bishops to be long-suffering, we only exclude them
 " for the present from ecclesiastical communion, namely,
 " John of Antioch, and his accomplices, John of Damascus,

" the Œcumenical Patriarch, for that
 " it was usual for the other patriarchs
 " also to have commissioners to act in

" their stead, residing with the Œcu-
 " menical Patriarch at Constantinople."
 Mouravieff, Hist. of Russ. Ch., p. 337.

A. D. 431. "Alexander of Apamea, Dexian of Seleucia, Alexander of
 CH. LIII. "Hierapolis, and the rest," who are named to the number
 of thirty-three, Theodoret being one of them. The Council
 adds: "They shall not be permitted to use the sacerdotal
 [¹ βλέπειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν] "authority, to do good or ill to any one' till such time as
 "they recollect themselves, and confess their error: and they
 "are to know, that unless they do this speedily, they draw
 "upon themselves the extreme sentence [of the canons:] let
 "them understand too, that their uncanonical proceedings
 "against Cyril and Memnon are (as was yesterday declared)
 "of no force whatever, and that all that has passed shall be
 "reported to our most pious Emperors." Juvenal of Jeru-
 salem, the three Deputies of Rome, and all the other Bishops,
 subscribed to this sentence: and thus the fifth session ended.

LIII.
 Synodical
 letters.
 ² p. 656.

The Council wrote a letter to the Emperors, giving an
 account of their acts². It says, that thirty Bishops of Nes-
 torius's party, fearing the punishment due to their crimes, had
 had the audacity to assemble apart, and assume the title of
 Council, being presided over by John of Antioch, who was
 himself afraid of being called to account for his delay. "They
 "have pronounced," says the letter, "a sentence of de-
 "position against Cyril the president of the Council, and
 "against Memnon; no canonical order being observed, no
 "accusation, citation, or examination of evidence being made.
 "Such temerity would have only met with our contempt,
 "had they not gone so far as to report it to your Majesty.
 "We have now proceeded, in accordance with the canons, to
 "receive the complaints of Cyril and Memnon. We have
 "summoned John of Antioch three several times, but as his
 "house was surrounded with soldiers and other people in
 "arms, he would neither admit those who were sent by
 "the Council, nor deign to give them an answer. We
 "have therefore annulled all the proceedings against Cyril
 "and Memnon, and excommunicated these rebels, till such
 "time as they appear before the Council to defend their
 "acts.

"We have thought it our duty to write thus much, that
 "you might not misconceive what is in reality only a party
 "of criminals to be a Council. At the great Council of Nice,
 "some Bishops separated themselves in a similar way from

“fear of being punished, but the great and holy Emperor A. D. 431.
 “Constantine, so far from taking them to be the Council, CH. LIII.
 “punished them for their schism^s. In fact, what can be more
 “absurd than for thirty Bishops to oppose themselves to a
 “Council of two hundred and ten, with whom all the Bishops
 “of the West, and through them the Bishops of the whole
 “world, are consentient? Besides, of these thirty some have
 “been long ago deposed, some have embraced the errors of
 “Cælestius, and others are anathematized for maintaining
 “those of Nestorius. Ordain, therefore, that the decree
 “which the Œcumenical Council has passed against Nes-
 “torius’s impiety remain in full force, receiving from your
 “approval still further sanction.”

The Council wrote also to Pope St. Cælestine¹, giving him C. Eph. p. 660.
 an account of all that had passed since the commencement
 of the proceedings against Nestorius; of the sentence of
 deposition, of the measures concerted by John of Antioch,
 and of his condemnation in presence of the legates of the
 holy see. They add², “As to our brethren, Cyril and Mem- p. 665. C.
 “non, we have all remained in communion with them ever
 “since this piece of childish wantonness was perpetrated,
 “celebrating the liturgy and synaxes all in common. For if
 “men are to be allowed to trample upon the superior sees
 “and those who are beyond their jurisdiction, the Church
 “must be involved in the utmost confusion.” And after-
 wards: “After the Acts relating to the deposition of the
 “impious Pelagians and Cælestians, of Cælestius, Pelagius,
 “Julian, Persec, Florus, Marcellinus, Orontius, and their
 “adherents, had been read in the Council, we ordered, that
 “the sentence which your holiness pronounced against them
 “should remain firm, and we are all unanimous in looking
 “upon them as deposed. For your fuller information we
 “send you the Acts and subscriptions of the Council.” It
 is thus that the Council of Ephesus condemned the Pelagians
 by confirming the Pope’s sentence against them.

^s Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, Bishops, were banished along with Arius (Socr. i. c. 9) into Illyria. (Philostorg. Suppl., p. 552). Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon

at first signed the creed (Sozom. 1. 21) but afterwards changed their minds and were banished to the Western Gauls (i. e. Gaul as contrasted with Galatia). Philostorg. Suppl., p. 553.

A. D. 431. St. Cyril preached a sermon¹ at this time, in which he speaks with great warmth against John of Antioch, complaining, that instead of joining the orthodox in the war against heresy, he had taken up arms in its favour, even to the length of attacking those who were opposing it.

CH. LIV.
¹ C. Eph.
 p. 668.

LIV.
 Letters of
 the schis-
 matics.
² C. Eph.
 p. 697.

The schismatics, on their side, wrote a letter to the Emperor, in which they say², "Cyril and Memnon, when we deposed them for holding the heresy of Apollinarius, presented petitions to those of their own party, and summoned us to trial. We answered that we waited your orders; but in contempt of the dictates of piety, they have re-established in the Priesthood (as they pretend) those who were placed under excommunication and interdict. We pray you, therefore, to defend the Faith and the canons with all possible speed, and to give orders that we may be removed hence to Constantinople, or at least to Nicomedia, that under the shelter of your Piety we may unravel the whole tissue of their wickedness; and we also beg an ordinance to be made that each Metropolitan shall be attended with two Bishops only, for numbers do not aid the investigation of truth, tending only to occasion tumult. This is the reason why so many assembled, wishing to impose on the people by the number of their subscriptions; for our parts, we have brought only three out of each province, and up to the present time, in obedience to your orders, we have refrained from sending Bishops to you, as they have done. We request of you also to order that all persons shall subscribe the faith of Nice, (which we have prefixed to this letter,) and that no addition shall be made to it, either to affirm that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is a mere man, or that His Godhead is passible." To this letter they joined an Act of their pretended Council³, in which they transcribed the Creed of Nice, adding, that this was their faith, and that they rejected the heretical articles of Cyril, with his anathemas. John of Antioch and all the other Bishops of his party subscribed this decree.

³ p. 701.

At the same time they wrote to three of the most powerful friends of Nestorius; to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, and Consul for this year; to Valerius, Master of the Offices, and Consul the year following; to Scholasticus, Præfect of

the Chamber. The same letter was sent to the two first in common; it began thus¹: "We are reduced to such extremity that we have daily, we may say, death before our eyes. The outrages of Cyril and Memnon exceed the utmost fury of barbarians. They constantly attack us, as if in an open war. They have twice placarded our houses, to make them a conspicuous mark for an assault; all the churches are shut against us; and though worn out by disease, we dare not shew our heads to take a little air. We entreat you to take pity of us, to rescue us from death, and to provide that we may be removed to the Imperial city, to give a reason for our faith, and prove the heresy and malice of these people, otherwise we shall fall a prey to their fury. We conjure you by your children, by all you hold most dear, by the judgment of God, not to forsake us, but to deliver us as soon as possible from this place, that we may breathe the air freely." The letter to Scholasticus² [p. 712.] is not so pathetic, although it contains the same complaints; they desire him to contrive that their letters may be read to the Emperor. They sent all these letters to Count Irenæus, who was at Constantinople, and from whom they received, a few days after, an account of the incidents that had followed his arrival³.

A. D. 431.
L.V.
p. 709.

³ p. 717.

"It is with difficulty," he says, "that I am at present able to write to you, or to get a courier to my mind. The Egyptians had arrived at Constantinople three days before me. By their falsehoods and calumnies they had prejudiced every body against us to such a degree that even some persons of rank and dignity believed that this fine deposition" (meaning that of Nestorius,) "had been decreed after due examination and a regular process, and in an assembly of all the Bishops, whom they supposed to have unanimously pronounced that judgment which went by default. They had persuaded the noble Scholasticus, that Nestorius would never suffer any one to utter the word Theotocos at Ephesus. However, having, by the invincible force of truth and by your prayers, overcome the difficulties that presented themselves at the outset, I was at last able to speak with the magistrates, and explained to them the truth of the case. They were obliged to report it to the

L.V.
The letters
of Count
Irenæus.

A. D. 431. " Emperor, and at length, after many discourses on both
 CH. LV. " sides, it was resolved that the Emperor should give an
 " audience to us both, that is, the Egyptians and myself,
 " in the presence of the magistrates. I protested, indeed,
 " as strongly as was possible, that this was not within the
 " sphere of my mission, that I had received no orders of
 " this kind from the Bishops, being only employed to bring
 " their letters. I thought I should have been pulled in
 " pieces for saying this.

" Our adversaries, then, have, by God's assistance, been
 " condemned, as being utterly unable either to justify the
 " Acts of the deposition, or to substantiate the false reports
 " they had spread about: for it was clearly shewn that the
 " Egyptian had not assembled the Council in due order, that
 " he was not competent to sit as judge, being himself one of
 " those who were to be arraigned, and that he ought not to
 " have opened the proceedings without Candidian's consent.
 " All the protests sent in by Candidian, together with the
 " letter which he had brought from the Emperor to the
 " Council, were then read, and the whole case fully explained,
 " so that the enemies of the truth were condemned without
 " one dissenting voice, and your decision approved and
 " ratified. The deposition of the Egyptian was immediately
 " sent into the Church by the Emperor's order, and all his
 " proceeding condemned as tyrannical and illegal. Such
 " was the result of this audience.

" But when John, Cyril's physician and syncellus, was
 " come, (you know how he came,) we found the greater part
 " of the magistrates to be quite altered men; they now re-
 " fused to hear us even speak on the subject which had been
 " decided before, and that too by themselves. Some say that
 " the acts of both parties ought to be confirmed, and so the
 " deposition not only of two, but of all three persons to be
 " authorized: others are for having all the depositions made
 " equally void, and other Bishops sent to ascertain the truth
 " of what has passed at Ephesus. There are some who use
 " every effort to get themselves sent by the Emperor to
 " Ephesus, armed with a discretionary power of making
 " such arrangements as the state of affairs shall seem to
 " demand. They who love you pray God that this advice

"may not be followed, knowing well the intentions and motives of those who desire it; but this must be as the LORD shall please. In the mean time, pray fervently for me, who have been exposed to so many hazards, and am not yet out of danger; for GOD is my witness, when I was called to the audience of the Emperor, I expected no less than to be thrown into the sea." This is Count Irenæus's letter. The latter of these plans was adopted, and John, Count of the Largesses, or grand Treasurer¹, was sent to Ephesus.

While he was on his road, the Council held a sixth session² in the episcopal house of Memnon, on the eleventh of the calends of August, or the twenty-eighth of Epiphi, i. e. July the twenty-second. St. Cyril presided in it, also representing St. Cælestine³; the legates of the holy see [of the Romans⁴] are named in it at the end, after all the Bishops. Priest Peter of Alexandria, Chief of the Notaries, said, "The holy Council, wishing to guard well the faith and the peace of the Church, has put forth a definition of its doctrines, which we have now in our hands." The Council ordered it to be read and inserted in the Acts. They had placed at the head of it the Nicene Creed, after which it proceeds, "This is the holy Faith, in which all the world ought to agree; for it might well suffice to uphold the integrity of the whole Church under heaven. But because some, while in pretence they confess it, explain away its meaning according to their fancies, it has become necessary that we should adduce the sentiments of the orthodox Fathers, and shew in what manner they understood and preached the Faith, and how they whose faith is pure, ought to understand, explain, and preach it." The Priest Peter said, "We have in our hands the books of the holy Bishops and Martyrs, and have made an extract of some few passages from them." The Council ordered them to be read and inserted in the Acts; they were the same passages as were read prior to Nestorius's condemnation at the first session⁵.

Charisius, Steward⁶ and Priest of the Church of Philadelphia in Lydia, next represented to the Council that some heretics of that province, wishing to be instructed in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, had fallen into very great

A. D. 431.
CH. LVI.

[¹ Supr. xviii. 51. note x.]

LVI.
The sixth session, Charisius's petition.

² Ap. Baluz. p. 610.

[³ agente etiam vicem Cælestini] [⁴ apostolicæ sedis Romanorum.]

⁵ Supr. c. 41.

[⁶ οἰκονόμου Labbe, p. 673. dispensator. Baluz. p. 617.]

A. D. 431. errors; for two Priests, named Anthony and James, had
 CH. LVI.
 [1 παρα-
 θέσεως] come from Constantinople with letters of recommendation¹
 from Anastasius and Photius, who were also Priests, but
 who at that time sided with Nestorius. In virtue of these
 letters, James and Anthony had been received by the Bishops
 of Lydia as Catholics, and had induced the heretics, who wished
 to return to the Church, to sign an exposition of the Faith
 which was full of impious doctrines. In order to the better
 explanation of these circumstances, Charisius presented to
 the Council his own petition in writing, along with the false
 exposition of the Faith, and the subscriptions of those who
 had been deceived. The petition accused only the Priest
 James, who had come to Philadelphia and deceived many
 weak persons and even some of the clergy, so that these
 last had testified by letter that James was a Catholic, while
 they deprived Charisius of the Communion, and stripped
 him of his functions, as a heretic. Charisius, at the end of
 his petition, sets down his confession of the Faith, which is
 that of Nice.

The next step was to read the false exposition of the Faith,
 which began thus: "They who would be exactly instructed
 " in the doctrine of the Church, or be converted from any
 " heresy, are to know that we believe one God alone, the
 " eternal FATHER," &c. The mystery of the Trinity is suf-
 ficiently well explained, but on the subject of the Incarnation
 ' p. 677. E. it says², " We do not say two SONS or two LORDS, since there
 " is but one SON by essence, GOD the WORD, the only SON of
 " the FATHER, to whom the manhood being joined, and partak-
 " ing of the Divinity, partakes likewise of the name and honour
 " of SON. GOD the WORD is also LORD by essence; and the man,
 " being conjoined³ to Him, partakes of His honour, for which
 [2 συνημ-
 μένος.] " reason we say neither two SONS nor two LORDS, because
 [4 ἀχώρισ-
 τον συνά-
 φειαν] " of the inseparable conjunction⁴ of the WORD with Him,
 " whom He has taken upon Him for our salvation, which
 " makes Him SON in a special sense, far above that in which
 " we are called the children of GOD. We say, then, that
 " there is one only SON and LORD, JESUS CHRIST, meaning
 " primarily GOD the WORD, but taking into our idea that
 [3 συνεπι-
 ποσούντες δέ
 τὸ λεγόμενον] " which He took upon Him⁵, that is, JESUS of Nazareth."
 The exposition ends thus: "This is the doctrine of the Church;

“ whosoever thinks the contrary, let him be anathema. Who-
 “ soever receives not saving penance¹, let him be anathema.
 “ Whosoever keeps not Easter agreeably to the rule of the
 “ Catholic Church, let him be anathema.” These two last
 anathemas were inserted on account of the heretics who
 were to be restored, and who were Quartodecimans, or No-
 vatians².

A. D. 431.
 CH. LVI.
 [1 τὴν σω-
 τήριον με-
 τάνοιαν. Cf.
 μετάνοιαν
 εἰς σω-
 τηρίαν.
 2 Cor. 7. 10.]
 [2 Supr. xx.
 6. note m.]

The subscriptions amounted to twenty-one in number, and ran in this form: “ I, Budius, son of Vinicus of “ Philadelphia, Quartodeciman, having had my eyes opened “ to see the true Faith of orthodoxy, and praying the “ Bishop Theophanes to receive me, have come over to “ the holy Catholic Church, and anathematize all heresies, “ particularly that of the Quartodecimans, by which I “ was deluded; and I assent to the above exposition of “ the orthodox Faith, anathematizing all who do not keep “ Easter as the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church does. “ I swear this by the holy Trinity, and by the piety and “ victory of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian; and “ in case I ever infringe³ it, I submit myself to the rigour
 “ of the laws. This exposition having been read to me, not
 “ being able to write myself, I have subscribed it by the
 “ senator Hesychius.” Hesychius also subscribed for him-
 self in the same form. Some subscribed for themselves and
 their whole family; many stated that they were unable to
 write; among the rest, a Priest named Patricius.

[3 παρασ-
 χέσω]

After this had been read, the Council forbade any other profession of faith to be written or propounded than that of Nice⁴, and ordained that they who should propose any other⁴ p. 689. A. to people desirous of being converted from paganism, Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever⁵, if Bishops or Clerks, should be deposed; if laymen, anathematized. “ In like manner,” they add, “ if any one is found to believe or teach, respecting the “ Incarnation of the Son of God, what is contained in the

¹ This rule must evidently be interpreted by the occasion which called it forth; otherwise it might seem to be opposed to the practice of requiring the Athanasian Creed, or other dogmatic formulæ of later times, from heretics. Its obvious meaning is; “ Let no individual draw up a confession of faith to be subscribed by converts; let the au-

thorized Creed of the Church, and that “ only, be made use of.” Nor again, does it affect the use of such *negative* forms as are necessary to enable the heretic to protest against his errors, and which will vary with the ever-varying shades of error; these remain as they were left by the Council of Constantinople; can. 7.

A. D. 431. "exposition of faith reported by the Priest Charisius, or the
 CM. LVII. "impious doctrines of Nestorius which are hereto subjoined,
 "the Council condemns him, if a Bishop or Clerk, to be de-
 "posed; if layman, to be anathematized, as aforesaid." They
 then read the extracts from Nestorius's books, which were in-
¹ Sup. c. 41. serted in the first session, and thus the sixth session¹ closed.
 The exposition of faith which they here condemned, was that
 of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, afterwards refuted by Marius
² Ed. Garn. Mercator².
 Pt. 2. p. 250.

LVII. The seventh and last session of the Council of Ephesus
 The claims of the Bishops of Cyprus. (July 31.)
³ p. 787. was held in St. Mary's church³, on the last day of July; for
 so we must read, although the Acts place it on the last day
 of August, since we know that the Council assembled no
 more after the arrival of Count John. In this seventh
 session, Reginus, Bishop of Constantia in the island of Cy-
 prus, presented a petition to the Council, in the name of
 himself and two other Bishops, Zeno and Evagrius, com-
 plaining that the clergy of Antioch had encroached upon
 their legitimate liberty. St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Con-
 stantia, the Metropolis of Cyprus, had been succeeded by
 Sabinus, and Sabinus by Troilus. After his death, John of
 Antioch, pretending that the island was subject to his Pa-
 triarchate, had obtained two letters from Dionysius, Duke of
 the East; one to Theodorus, Governor of Cyprus, the other
 to the clergy of Constantia; both of them suspending the
 election of a Bishop of Constantia till such time as the
 Council of Ephesus had given a decision. However, not-
 withstanding this prohibition, Reginus had been ordained.
 When the petition and the two letters of the Duke Diony-
 sius had been read, the Council desired the Bishops of Cy-
 prus to explain more fully [what had prevailed on the Duke
⁴ p. 800. C. to make him issue such prohibitions⁴.]

The Bishop Zeno said that the letters had been written at
 the suggestion of the Bishop and clergy of Antioch. "What
 "motive had the Bishop of Antioch?" said the Council. The
 Bishop Evagrius answered, "He aims at subjecting our island,
 "and claims for himself the right of ordination, contrary to
 "the canons and the established custom." The Council
 said, "Is any instance known of the Bishop of Antioch's
 "having ordained a Bishop at Constantia?" Zeno said,

“ Since the time of the Apostles, they cannot shew that the Bishop of Antioch, or any other, ever came there to ordain.” The Council said, “ Let us bear in mind the canon of Nice¹, which preserves to every Church its ancient dignity. Make it appear, then, that the Bishop of Antioch has not had the right of ordination among you.” Zeno said, “ We have already affirmed it; he has never been there, nor ever held an ordination there, either in the Metropolis, or in any other city. It was the Council of our province that appointed a Metropolitan. We request you to preserve our ancient privilege.” The Council said, “ Inform us whether the Bishop Troilus, who is just dead, or his predecessor Sabinus, or the venerable Epiphanius, who was before them, were ordained by a Council?” Zeno said², “ Those you have just named, and all the Catholics of Cyprus [from the time of the Apostles,] have been ordained in this manner, without any right of ordination having been possessed by the Bishop of Antioch, or any other person.”

A. D. 431.
CH. LVII.

[¹ can. 6.]

[² p. 802.
A.]

After so precise a declaration, the Council pronounced sentence to this effect³; “ If there be no established custom warranting the Bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in Cyprus, (as the Bishops of the island have declared in writing and by word of mouth that there is not,) they shall be preserved in the free and full privilege to make by themselves ordinations of Bishops, according to the canons and the custom. The same shall be observed in all the other provinces⁴; so that no Bishop may act in any province which has not been always subject to him, and if any one have acted by violence, he shall make satisfaction for it, that so the pride of secular power may not introduce itself under the garb of priestly function⁵, and we insensibly lose that liberty which our LORD JESUS CHRIST purchased for us with His own blood. Every Metropolitan may take a copy of these Acts for his security.” The Council could not decide otherwise on the evidence given by the Bishops of Cyprus in the absence of John of Antioch, who had refused to appear; but had he been present, he might have shewn that his right was well established, and that the right of ordaining the Bishops of Cyprus had only been interrupted during the prevalence of Arianism, as appears from the letter

p. 801.

[⁴ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἐπαρχιῶν.]

[⁵ ἐν προσχήματι ἱερουργίας ἐξουσίας τῶνος παραεισδύηται.]

v. not Justel. in Cod. Can. Eccl. t. i. p. 91.]

A. D. 431. of Pope St. Innocent to Alexander of Antioch, written about
CH. LVIII. twenty years before¹.

¹ Innoc. Ep. 18. [24. Coustant.]
c. 2. [Mansi t. iii. p. 1055.]
Supr. 23. 26.

LVIII.
Other private affairs.
p. 807. A.

The decision of several other private affairs is referred to this last session of the Council of Ephesus. Eustathius, Bishop of Sida, the metropolis of Pamphylia, had been canonically ordained²; but being worn out by the slander and other annoyances which were made use of against him, (though he might have justified himself,) he chose rather, under a sense of his incapacity for business, to lay down the Episcopate, and sent in his resignation in writing. The Council of the province elected Theodorus to supply his place, and he had now governed the Church for a long time. Eustathius came to the Council of Ephesus to desire, not that he might be reinstated in his see, but only that he might retain the title and rank of Bishop, and return as such to his country, from which he had been long absent. The Council was moved with the old man's tears, and restored him to Church communion, of which he had been a long time deprived by his renunciation, for according to the canons no Bishop was permitted to leave his Church³. The Council also granted him the title and rank of a Bishop, but with the proviso that he should perform neither ordination nor any other function, except by the order or permission of Theodorus. We learn this from a letter sent by

¹ St. Innocent's testimony, however, resolves itself into that of Alexander, since he merely decided on the strength of Alexander's assertions (" . . . sané " asseris . . . ") We may therefore say, with Coustant (Rom. Pont. Ep. t. i. p. 853), that his advice to the Cyprians was only hypothetical, that is, it went on the supposition that the information forwarded to him was correct. The question is thus reduced to a balancing of evidence, and there seems to be no reason for preferring Alexander's statement to the clear and explicit testimony of Zeno.

The decision of the Council of Ephesus was confirmed by the Trullan Canons (A. D. 692.) in a remarkable way; the independence of their Metropolitan was guaranteed to them, when they were driven out of their island by a barbarian incursion (can. 39. Labbe, t. vi. p. 1159). Bingham, 2. 18. § 2. See also the account of Peter the Fuller's attempt on the liberties of Cyprus, infr.

xxx. 19. Balsamon (himself Patriarch of Antioch) allows that the Church of Cyprus was independent (*αυτοκέφαλος*, in Can. 2. Conc. Constant.)

² The object of this rule being to place a check on individual indolence or caprice, occasions might arise when its operation might properly be suspended; whenever, for instance (as is provided by Can. Apost. 15. [Labbe, t. i. p. 27.] on a kindred subject), such suspension should be thought necessary for the advancement of religion and piety, so long as it was approved by a large number of other Bishops. Thus Gregory Nazianzen resigned in order to restore peace (supr. xviii. 4), his resignation being accepted by the Council of Constantinople; and so Aurelius, Augustine, and the other African Bishops, offered to resign, supr. xxii. 29. The case of Meletius as narrated by Theodoret, ii. c. 31, was somewhat more arbitrary.

the Council of Ephesus to the Council of the province of Pamphylia; it concludes by saying, "Should you be willing to treat him with yet more indulgence, the Council is not against it."

The Bishops Valerian and Amphilochns, who also belonged to the province of Pamphylia, spoke to the Council¹ of the Massalian heretics, who were in their country. Valerian brought forward an ordinance of the Council held at Constantinople under Sisinnius four or five years before²; the Council of Ephesus confirmed it, and authorized Valerian, Amphilochns, and all the other Bishops of Pamphylia and Lycaonia to put it in execution. It provided that all who were infected with that heresy, or suspected of being so, should be summoned to anathematize it in writing; such as refused, if Clerks, were to be deposed and excommunicated; if laymen, to be anathematized; and none who were convicted of it were to be permitted to have the care of monasteries. The manual of these heretics, called Asceticon, (presented by the Bishop Valerian,) and all books of a like tendency, were anathematized.

Two Bishops of Thrace, Euprepius of Byza, and Cyril of Cela, presented a petition to the Council; setting forth, that it was an ancient custom in their province, for every Bishop to have two or three sees¹. Thus the Bishop of Heraclea, had Heraclea and Panium; the Bishop of Byza, had Byza and Arcadiopolis; the Bishop of Cela, Cela and Callipolis; the Bishop of Sabsadia, had Sabsadia and Aphrodisias. These cities had never had distinct Bishops; in other words, the Bishoprics had been always held conjointly; "Hence," they add, "as Fritilas, Bishop of Heraclea, has quitted the Council to join himself to Nestorius, we are apprehensive that, in order to be revenged upon us, he will

¹ Throughout the whole *diocesis* of Thrace, the dioceses were very large; that of Tomi comprised all the northern province called Scythia. "To this day," says Sozomen, "the Scythians retain the old custom of having all the churches of the province subject to but one see" (vi. c. 21, and again, vii. 19). As to the cities mentioned in the text, Bingham observes (9. 4. § 2.) that at the Council of Chalcedon there

was a Lucian still styled Bishop of Byza and Arcadiopolis (Act. 16. t. iv. p. 800); but that in the Council of Constantinople under Mennas (Conc. t. v. p. 59, 74) Panium is mentioned as separate from Heraclea, and Callipolis from Cela, and in the Notitia of Leo the Wise (in Leunclavius) Byza and Arcadiopolis are both raised to the dignity of Autocephali, or independent sees.

A. D. 431.
CH. LVIII.

¹ p. 809.
Phot. Cod.
52 [p. 13.
ed. Bekker.]
² Supr. 24.
44.

A. D. 431. "ordain Bishops to these cities. That no such innovation
CH. LIX. "may take place, we entreat you to order that we may not
 "be deprived of our Churches, (in which we have laboured
 "so much,) and that the ancient custom may not be altered."
 The Council ordered that no innovation should be made in
 respect of these cities of Europe, to the prejudice of the
 canons and the civil laws and ancient custom, which is of
 equal force with law.

In this same Council of Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem
 pretended to assume to himself the primacy of Palestine, and
 offered to prove his claim by some supposititious writings¹;
 but St. Cyril opposed it, and wrote to the Pope about it,
 earnestly begging him not to give his consent to such an
 attempt. We gather this from a letter of St. Leo, written
 twenty-two years after; but the Acts of the Council make
 no mention of this claim of Juvenal, which shews that, as I
 have before observed², they are not entire as we have them;
 the greater part, too, of the Acts of the last session, are only
 extant in Latin.

LIX. The canons composed by this Council are preceded by a
Canons of the Council of Ephesus. synodical letter addressed to all the Churches³. The names
p. 801. of the schismatics who joined with John of Antioch are set
p. 804. down in it, to the number of thirty-five; the letter adds⁴,
 "The holy Council has, with one consent, deprived them of
 "all Church communion and sacerdotal function." After
 this follow the canons, which are to inform those who could
 not assist at the Council, of the regulations which had been
 made in reference to the schismatics. The first canon directs
[Conciliabulum] "that the Metropolitan who shall have quitted the Œcu-
 "menical Council to attach himself to the self-styled Council⁵,
 "or who shall maintain the opinions of Cælestius, shall not
 "have power to act against the Bishops of his province, being
 "excommunicated and interdicted; on the contrary, he shall
 "be subject to these very Bishops, and the neighbouring
can. 1. "Metropolitans⁶. The Bishops who are not Metropolitans,
 "and have joined in the schism, either in the first instance,
 "or after having subscribed to Nestorius's deposition, shall
can. 2. "be cut off from the priesthood and deposed⁷. The clergy
 "who may have been interdicted by Nestorius or his party,
 "for maintaining right opinions, shall be re-established; and

[¹ Com-
mentitia
Scripta]
Leo, Ep. 62.
ad Max. c.
4. [p. 397.]

² c. 45.

LIX.
Canons of
the Council
of Ephesus.
³ p. 801.
⁴ p. 804.

[⁵ Concilia-
bulum]

⁶ can. 1.

⁷ can. 2.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVI.

IN the mean time¹ Count John, by dint of hard travelling, had arrived at Ephesus. He immediately went to visit the Bishops of each party separately, since their dissension prevented him from seeing them all together. Neither St. Cyril nor Memnon appeared. Count John, besides issuing a manifesto to the absent, personally requested those who were present to assemble on the morrow at his hotel: and as such evident animosity prevailed on both sides, he deemed it necessary to station some troops of soldiers between them, in the vicinity of their respective quarters. Along with the dawn of next morning Nestorius made his appearance; John of Antioch came up soon after, with the Bishops of his party; and St. Cyril also came, attended by all the other Bishops, Memnon alone excepted. It was not long before a great tumult arose amongst them; those who were with St. Cyril, that is, the Catholics, refusing to tolerate the presence of Nestorius. Count John wished that the letter with which he was charged from the Emperor should be recited: but the Catholics would not consent either that Nestorius and the eastern schismatics should be present, or that St. Cyril should withdraw as the easterns demanded. A long dispute ensued, in which the greater part of the day was wasted. Count John proposed that both Cyril and Nestorius should retire, since neither of them was mentioned in the Emperor's letter. In spite of much opposition from the Catholics, who wished that none of the schismatics should be present, he at length carried his point, and St. Cyril and Nestorius both withdrew.

About eventide therefore, all the other Bishops remaining,

A. D. 431.
CH. I.

I.

Arrival of
Count John
at Ephesus.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 723.

Synodic.
Baluz. c.

16. [p.
708.]

of Ephesus, and telling them of Memnon's condemnation, he charged them to take great care of the money belonging to the Church, since they would be held responsible for it¹. He supposed that the see of Ephesus had been vacated in consequence of this deposition.

A. D. 431.

CH. II.

[¹ Baluz. p. 710.]

After this, Count John went down to the great church to prayers, and understanding that Memnon was in the episcopal house, he sent one of the officers of his suite thither, to see whether he would speak with him, or would refuse to come. Memnon immediately came, and being reproached by Count John with his absence in the morning, he replied that he had been indisposed; and to shew that this was no studied excuse, he went of himself to Count John's hotel to submit himself to the Emperor's orders. He too was delivered to Count James; who placed over him, as over St. Cyril, a guard composed of the soldiers called Scutarii and Palatini. Count John immediately sent off to the Emperor this account of the first day's proceedings, adding, that he had exhorted the Bishops to peace, and that he would use every expedient in his power, though he had little hope of success, so mutually embittered and estranged were the minds of both parties.

The Catholic Bishops, that is, all the true Council, were very dissatisfied with the whole transaction. They complained of it to the Emperor in a letter, which, after recounting the measures adopted by the schismatics against the heads of the Council, proceeds²: "They have sent you an account of this deposition, as if it had been the act of the whole Council, and your Majesty has received and ratified it, doubtless under the impression that it had emanated from the Council; instead of which, it was done in opposition to the Council, by the partizans of Nestorius, and out

II.
Complaints
of the Ca-
tholics.² C. Eph. p. 766. C.

from the clergy of the Church, and to take charge of the Church revenues during the vacancy of the see: (Can. 25. *infr.* xxviii. 29). The *second* (*ἐκδικος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* or *ἐκκλησιάζδικος*) had to defend the rights of the Church, in the courts of law. According to Gothofred, in Cod. Theodos. (t. vi. p. 76, 77), he was generally a clerk, until the law of Honorius (l. 16. tit. 2. leg. 38) allowed the Churches to select their Defensors from the Scholastici or Law Advocates. The *last*, according

to Salmasius, was originally the same as Archdeacon, though the Archidiaconate afterwards ceased to be determined by seniority and became an elective office (de Primatu, p. 89). He was possessed of very great influence, and in the Church of Rome was looked upon almost as Bishop elect (*βιδδοχος τοῦ ἀρχιερατείου*), Eulog. ap. Phot., Cod. 182. p. 127; and hence he thought himself injured by being ordained Priest (St. Jerome in Ezech. c. 48. t. iii. p. 1066).

A. D. 431. " of revenge for our having deposed him. We woul
 CH. II. " fore all of us approach your Piety, beseeching y
 " the proceedings against Nestorius and his abett
 " remain in full force, and that what they have done
 [¹ ἰδέσθων] " the leaders¹ of our Council may be declared null.
 " the sentence of the Council against Nestorius is rea
 " and if your Majesty approves of it, it is evident
 " Majesty, that what the partizans of Nestorius ha
 " in opposition to the Council is absolutely void, sir
 " merely an outbreak of revengeful feeling. We
 " you, then, at length to deliver us from this afflictior
 " cause the heads of the Council, the holy Bishops C
 " Memnon, to be restored to us ; for [now that relig
 " been vindicated and her enemies subdued] it is b
 " that they who have assisted us in achieving this vic
 " the Faith, should be honoured, and not involved
 " condemnation of those who have been convicted
 " phemy against our LORD and SAVIOUR." This le
 subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem and all the rest.

Further annoyance, however, was yet in store fo
 They soon heard that Count John had not made a

¹ Ep. Cyril.
 ad Con-
 stantinop.
 C. Eph.
 p. 760.

p. 758.

report to the Court²; and that it was even under co
 tion whether St. Cyril and Memnon should not be s
 banishment, as if the Council had approved of their
 tion. This made the Catholics write in a more decid
 to the Emperor, whom they address as follows³: "Th
 " which has been lately read to us by Count John, h
 " us no common pain, since it reveals to us the im
 " with which your ears have been abused; for your
 " speaks as if you had received a report from us sig
 " the deposition of the holy Bishops Cyril and M
 " We take the liberty, therefore, to represent to yo
 " the general Council, supported by all the West, w
 " apostolical see of Rome, by all Africa, and all Illyric
 " not deposed these holy Bishops; on the contrary, it
 " esteems their zeal for the Faith, and judges them
 " of receiving great applause from men, and from ou
 " JESUS CHRIST the crown of glory. We have depos
 " but the heretic⁴ Nestorius, as we wrote to your M
 " We much grieved to find that the names

[⁴ τῆς αἰρέ-
 σεως τῶν
 ἀνθρώπο-
 λατρῶν κή-
 ρυκα]

“ partizans of John of Antioch, who have separated from the A. D. 431.
 “ Council, and of the deposed Cælestians, who are with him, CH. III.
 “ were inserted (fraudulently¹, we presume) along with ours, [¹ ἐκ συναρ-
 “ and that you sent but one and the same letter to them παγῆς]
 “ and to us. However, we long since gave you to under-
 “ stand how they had separated from the Council, the injury
 “ they have offered to our leaders, and the sentence of ex-
 “ communication pronounced against them by the Council.
 “ We again declare to you that we cannot admit them to our
 “ communion, not only because of this enormity, but also
 “ because they always defend Nestorius, (so far are they
 “ from subscribing to his deposition,) and because of their
 “ daring attempt to impose upon you. We beg you to re-
 “ store to us the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon, and to
 “ adopt measures for the preservation of the Faith, which is
 “ to be seen in its integrity in our Acts against Nestorius.
 “ And if you wish for more exact information about the
 “ transactions between us and the schismatics, we beg your
 “ Highness will send to the Council some men on whom you
 “ can rely, who will then be able to explain them to you *vivâ*
 “ *voce.*”

The Council wrote also to the Bishops then at Constantinople, III.
 and to the Priests and Deacons of that city, in these terms²: Other let-
 ters from
 the Catho-
 lica.
 “ Know that we have been shut up at Ephesus, as in a prison,
 “ for three months, so that neither by sea nor land can we C. Eph.
 P. 767.
 “ send any one with safety, either to Court or any other
 “ place. For whenever any account of us has arrived at its
 “ destination, those who carried it were only able to effect
 “ their purpose by assuming disguises, varying their routes,
 “ and facing a thousand perils. The reason of our being
 “ thus guarded is, that the Emperor has received false re-
 “ ports of every thing that concerns us. Some have said
 “ that we are sedition-mongers; others, that the general
 “ Council has deposed Cyril and Memnon; others, that we
 “ confer amicably with the schismatics, of whom John of
 “ Antioch is the head; and that the truth on all these points
 “ may not be known, we are confined and maltreated. In
 “ this extremity we hasten to write to you, as the true sons
 “ of the general Council, not to desert the Faith, but to
 “ prostrate yourselves before the Emperor with tears, and

A. D. 431. " give him an account of the whole matter; for we never
 CH. III. " condemned Cyril and Memnon, we cannot separate our-
 " selves from their communion, and should think ourselves
 {¹ ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς τοῖς
 τοῖς κέρδεσ
 μέγιστον
 ἡγοῦμεθα.] " very happy to be banished along with them¹. We are also
 " resolved not to admit the schismatics to our communion
 " till they have made amends for all their enormities; we
 " would rather quit our Churches (which God forbid) than
 " do so. Ask the Emperor to take compassion upon us, that
 " we may at length be delivered from this specious imprison-
 {² ἀπορροῦ
 σου περι-
 ορισμοῦ] " ment². If we are worthy to see the Emperor, let us be or-
 " dered to do so; if it be thought that we are unworthy, let
 " permission be granted us to return to our Churches, that
 " we may not all perish here, either by sickness or grief."
 {³ Com-
 munitio-
 num.] To this letter a short note³ was subjoined, in these words;
 " The hot and unhealthy air kills us, scarcely a day passes
 " without a funeral, and the servants are all sent away sick
 " to their homes. Know, however, that though they should
 " make us all perish here, we will do nothing but what our
 " LORD JESUS CHRIST hath by us ordained." It is supposed
 that this note was intended specially for St. Dalmatius.

St. Cyril wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople,
 noticing the two letters written by the Council to the Em-
 peror, and adding⁴, "Count John has tried a hundred different
 ways to induce the Council to receive the schismatics into
 communion, but it has hitherto refused to listen to him;
 all continue resolute, and tell him, that until the dissidents
 reverse their uncanonical Acts, ask pardon of the Council,
 and by a written document anathematize both Nestorius
 and his doctrine, all communion is impossible. Count
 John being foiled in this design, bethought himself of
 another plan, and requested the Council to give him a
 written exposition of faith, that he might make the others
 subscribe it, and say at his return, 'I have reconciled them;
 ' it was nothing but human passions that caused these di-
 ' visions^b.' The Council readily saw his drift, and boldly
 opposed it, saying, 'We do them no wrong; we have not
 ' been summoned hither as heretics, but to defend the

^b Besides, if the Council had fallen
 with his proposal, he might then
 dismissed them, and they would

thus have lost all means of procuring
 the re-establishment of St. Cyril. Tille-
 mont, xiv. p. 460.

“ Faith, as we have done ; and the Emperor does not want
 “ to be instructed in it, he knows it already, and has been
 “ baptized into it.’ The Easterns, therefore, met with no
 “ better success in this scheme. An attempt which they
 “ made to draw up an exposition of faith, has occasioned a
 “ division among them, about which they are still disputing.
 “ Some are willing to call the holy Virgin *Theotocos*, if *An-*
 “ *thropotocos* be added^c; others say that they would sooner
 “ have their hands cut off than subscribe to it. They have
 “ thus rendered themselves ridiculous, and their heresy is
 “ palpable. Let every one know this, especially the Archi-
 “ mandrites, lest Count John on his return should report
 “ things to be otherwise than they really are. Be not weary
 “ in labouring for us, and be assured that you shall win
 “ favour both with God and man. Even here there are
 “ Bishops who never saw us before, that are ready to lay
 “ down their lives for us, and that come to us saying with
 “ tears, that they would willingly go into banishment, or die
 “ with us. We are all greatly afflicted, a guard of soldiers
 “ being set over us, and lying at the doors of our chambers,
 “ and of mine more particularly ; the rest of the Council
 “ are sunk in despondency or sickness^d, many are dead, and
 “ others are forced to sell all they have to defray their ex-
 “ penses.”

[¹ ἀνθρώπου
καὶ κούρης.]

St. Cyril wrote at the same time to Theopemptus, Daniel, and Potamon, three Egyptian Bishops then at Constantinople. Potamon had gone thither the year before ; Theopemptus and Daniel had been at Ephesus², and had taken part in the deposition of Nestorius. It seems probable, therefore, that they had returned to Constantinople, to carry the first letters which the Council despatched.

² Supr. 25.
40, 43.

St. Cyril wrote to them thus³: “ Many calumnies have been
 “ published against me here ; as that several persons from
 “ the baths had followed me from Alexandria, that some
 “ religious women⁴ had left their convents, that the deposi-
 “ tions were made in the presence of the Emperor.”

³ C. Eph.
p. 772.

[⁴ κωνι-
κάλ]

^c We have seen that Nestorius himself conceded thus much to orthodoxy. Supr. xxv. 29.

^d Partly, no doubt, owing to the heat of the month of August, which is very intense on the coast of Asia Minor, so

that travellers in that country are advised always to take refuge during the summer months in Constantinople or the villages of the Bosphorus. Handbook for Travellers in the East, p. ix. and 258.

A. D. 431. "tion of Nestorius was brought about, not by the free will
 CH. IV. " of the Council, but by my cabals; however, thanks be to
 " the SAVIOUR, those who spread these scandalous reports
 " have been convicted, for Count John finding, on his arrival
 " at Ephesus, that nothing of this was true, condemned them.
 " He ascertained also that the Council, in condemning Nes-
 " torius, had been prompted only by their own zeal, because
 " they were unable to endure his blasphemies. Since the
 " reading of the Emperor's letter, which confirms the depoi-
 " tion of all three of us, we have been kept under guard, and
 " know not what is to come of it; but we return thanks to
 " God that we are thought worthy to suffer for His Name's
 " sake, for it will not go unrewarded. The Council refused
 " to communicate with John of Antioch, and continues
 " resolute, saying, 'Here are our persons, our churches, our
 " 'cities, they are in your power; we cannot communicate
 " 'with the Easterns unless their proceedings, full of calumny
 " 'and defamation against our brethren, be cancelled, and
 " 'unless they confess the Catholic Faith,' for they are of
 " Nestorius's opinions, and that avowedly." These letters
 from the Council, and from St. Cyril, were conveyed to Con-
 stantinople by a beggar¹, who concealed them in the hollow
 of a cane^e which he held in his hand as he begged alms on
 the road. They were obliged to make use of this expedient,
 because Nestorius's party at Constantinople kept a strict
 look out upon all the ships and thoroughfares, to prevent
 any communication between the city and the Council.

¹ C. Eph.
 p. 752. C.

IV.
 Letters
 from the
 schis-
 matics.
 * Baluz.
 Synod. c.
 17. [p. 710.]

The schismatics, on their part, wrote to the Emperor by
 Count John²; whether it was that he actually returned him-
 self, or that he forwarded their letters. As the Emperor had
 enjoined the Council in his letter not to depart from the
 Nicene Creed, they took occasion thence to inveigh against
 the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril, whose pretended errors
 they paint in the strongest colours; they quote the letter
 from Acacius of Berrhæa, which the Emperor had sent them,
 and add, "He knows well what the truth is, he who is now
 " a hundred and ten years old, who has spent his life in de-

^e In the East the cane is too common
 an attendant of the poor to have caused
 any suspicion. See for instance the

case of the Moosellikátee in Lane's
 Mod. Egypt., vol. ii. ch. 1.

“ fence of the Gospel, who has assisted at several Councils^f, A. D. 431. and who has always had the followers of Apollinarius in CH. V. his neighbourhood.” So much indeed was true; for Laodicea, the city to which Apollinarius belonged^g, was situated in Syria as Berrhæa also was¹. The Easterns add, that [¹ Supr. 25. 12.] Count John had ordered them in the Emperor’s name to explain themselves with regard to the expression ‘ Mother of God ;’ this they accordingly do, setting down their confession of faith, which is orthodox and in fact the same as that with which St. Cyril afterwards declared himself satisfied. They wrote at the same time to the Church at Antioch², that is, to the clergy, the monks, and the people, [² c. 18. p. 713.] acquainting them with the proceedings of Count John at Ephesus, and saying how the Emperor had approved the condemnation of Cyril and Memnon, and that these were in consequence strictly guarded; but they omit to say that Nestorius was to be treated in the same way. They exhort the preachers to direct their sermons against the pretended error of Cyril, and advise that if any persons should endeavour to spread it at Antioch, they should be observed and brought before the judges as seditious persons. This letter is subscribed by John of Antioch, and twelve other Bishops. They also wrote to Acacius of Berrhæa³, remarking, in much the [³ c. 19.] same way, the condemnation and imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon, without any mention of Nestorius, and complaining that their adversaries are every where writing letters, and filling both cities and provinces with sedition.

The letters written from Ephesus against St. Cyril, made an impression even upon St. Isidore of Pelusium, one of the most famous monks of this period⁴. Though a native of Alexandria, he passed his life at Pelusium⁵. He was in v. Letters of St. Isidore of Pelusium. Priest’s orders, and united a profound knowledge of the- [⁴ Evagr. 1. c. 15. ⁵ Ephrem. ap. Phot. c. 228. p. 247. Suidas. s. v. *Isid.*] ology to the austerities of the monastic life. He had com-

^f As at the Council of Constantinople, *supr.* xviii. c. 1. Baronius places his consecration to the see of Berrhæa in the year 378.

^g Apollinarius the elder was a native of Alexandria; he settled first at Beirut, and then at Laodicea (Ladikiyeh), where the younger Apollinarius, the principal hæresiarch, was born. *Socr.*

ii. c. 46. Ladikiyeh itself is above a hundred miles south-west of Aleppo (or Berrhæa), but the heresy of which it was the focus disseminated itself over the whole basin of the Orontes (el-'Asy), or “ from Cilicia to Phœnicia,” as Gregory Naz. testifies (quoted by *Sozom.* vi. c. 27).

A. D. 431. posed several works,—among others, a treatise against the Gentiles¹,—but all that we have remaining is a collection of his letters, to the number of two thousand and twelve; they are written in a laconic style, and with considerable elegance.

¹ I. Ep. 310. His letter to St. Cyril on this occasion, runs thus²: “Com-
 “ passion does not see clearly, but aversion does not see at
 “ all. If, then, you would avoid both these faults, pass no
 “ violent sentences, but examine matters equitably. Many
 “ of those who are assembled at Ephesus, accuse you of seek-
 “ ing to revenge a private quarrel of your own, in preference
 “ to sincerely striving to promote the interests of **JESUS**
 “ **CHRIST**. He is nephew³, they say, to Theophilus, and
 “ treads in his steps; he desires to be thought a man of
 “ consequence like his uncle, who wreaked his fury upon
 “ the blessed John, though, to be sure, there is a great
 “ difference between the persons accused.”

St. Isidore wrote also to the Emperor Theodosius in
⁴ I. Ep. 311. these terms⁴; “If you could find time to go in person to
 “ Ephesus, the sentence which would then be passed would
 “ be superior to all censure: but if you leave the decision to
 “ ill-regulated passion⁵, who will guarantee the Council’s
 “ credit? You will apply the true remedy if you prevent
 “ your domestics from interfering with doctrine; for they
 “ are far from being able to serve their Prince, and at the
 “ same time take care of what relates to God. Beware lest
 “ they destroy the empire through their infidelity, by run-
 “ ning it against the Church, the solid Rock, which in the
 “ strength of God’s promise is immoveable.” In another
⁶ Ep. 323. letter to St. Cyril⁶, he gives a short statement of his faith
 concerning the mystery of the Incarnation, which is alto-
 together Catholic.

VI. The beggar who carried the letters from the Council ar-
 rived without any mischance at Constantinople, and delivered
 them to the Bishops, the clergy, the Archimandrites, and in
 particular to St. Dalmatius. The clergy of Constantinople
 presented a petition to the Emperor upon this occasion⁷, no
 less resolute than respectful; “If your Majesty,” say they,
 “ should approve of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon,
 “ made by the schismatics, we are all ready to expose our-
 “ selves, with a courage becoming Christians, to the same

CH. VI.
 Isid. II.
 Ep. 137.
 228.

[² ἀδελφί-
 δούτ]

[⁵ ὀχλώδει
 ἀντιπαθείσ]

⁷ C. Eph.
 p. 778.

Remon-
 strances of
 the Catho-
 lics at Con-
 stantinople.

" dangers with these holy men, being persuaded that this A. D. 431.
 " will be only a fit return for the sufferings they have under- CH. VI.
 " gone in behalf of the Faith. We beg you, therefore, to
 " support the sentence of those who form the majority, who
 " have on their side the authority of the chief sees, and who,
 " after having carefully examined into the orthodox Faith, are
 " of the same opinion with this holy man, (that is, St. Cyril;) CH. VI.
 " and do not suffer the world to be thrown into universal
 " confusion under the pretence of procuring peace, and
 " merely to hinder the separation of a small part of the
 " East, who, if they obeyed the canons, would not separate
 " at all. For if the head of the general Council should suffer
 " any indignity, it would extend to all who are united with
 " him in opinion; all the Bishops of the world must be de-
 " posed with these holy men, and the name of orthodox come
 " to be attached¹ to Arius and Eunomius. Let not then the
 " Church, in which you have been nurtured², be torn in pieces, [¹ περιστή-
σεται]
 " and let no martyrs be seen in your time, but imitate the [² τὴν τιθη-
νησαμένην
ὑμῶς]
 " piety of your ancestors, by obeying the Council and sup-
 " porting their decrees by your ordinances."

St. Dalmatius being engaged in prayer on this subject³, a ^a C. Eph. p. 751. E.
 voice from heaven ordered him to leave his monastery, to
 which he had confined himself for the preceding forty-eight
 years, refusing to leave it, though the Emperor had fre-
 quently entreated him to assist at the processions which were
 made on account of the earthquakes. But now he went out,
 accompanied by the monks of all the monasteries, with their
 Archimandrites at their head. They proceeded in the direc-
 tion of the palace in two companies, singing antiphonally^b,

^b The singing was called Antiphonal among the old Greeks in which the same harmony was executed by two voices or sets of voices together, the one being an octave higher than the other. (Aristot. Probl. s. 19. § 39. ed. Weise.) In Christian times it assumed an entirely different meaning, that of responsive singing; whether in the form of interlocutory addresses between the Priest and people, or of alternate singing between the people divided into two parts. The last approached somewhat to the character of the antistrophic singing of the Greek chorus; but to derive the one from the other (as sug-

gested by Milman, Hist. of Chris. iii. p. 523) seems wide of the mark. So, too, the former bears a close resemblance to the responses which the mystæ returned to the daduchus in the Eleusinian mysteries (schol. in Arist. Ran. 479); yet we should hardly think of deducing the one from the other, as Casaubon does (Exercit. in Baron. p. 549). It is much easier to derive it from the Jews who had the practices from the beginning. (Exod. xv. 1, 21. Philo-Jud. t. i. p. 312. ed. Mangey. 1 Sam. xviii. 7. et lexica ad v. ᾄδῃ).

The construction of many of the psalms seems to imply that they were

A. D. 431. and a large body of Catholics followed them. On 1
 CH. VI. arrival, the Archimandrites being sent for by the Emperor
 entered the palace, but the monks and the people remained
 outside, continued to chaunt their antiphons. The Archimandrites
 came out, after having received a favourable answer; the people all
 shouted, "The Emperor's order. The Archimandrites answered,
 "Let us go to the church of St. Mocius¹ and the letter shall be read to you, and
 "shall also hear the Emperor's answer;" thither accordi

sung antiphonally; e. g. Ps. cxviii, cxxiv, cxxxv, cxxxvi. The last of these seems from the refrain to have been the one which the Priests and Levites "sang together by course," in Ezra, iii. 11, as also the one which was chaunted alternately by the Deacon and people during Athanasius's escape. (Theodoret, ii. 13.—on the word *ὕμνος*, see Coteler, Annot. in Apost. Const. p. 179. and Bingham. 14. 1. § 12.) In Nehem. xii. 24, the singing "ward over against ward" is referred to the "commandment of David." (Lowth, de Sac. Poes. præl. 19.) The Seraphim in Isaiah's vision in the temple "cried one to another" (vi. 3. cf. Apocal. iv. 8—11. and xix. 1—6). The Therapeutæ as described by Philo (De vit. Contempl. t. ii. p. 485, and ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 17) retained the custom. It prevailed among the Christians in the very earliest times. Pliny says (Ep. x. 97. Tauchn.) that they sang hymns to CHRIST, as God, in turns (dicere secum invicem). Socrat. (vi. 8) attributes the origin of it to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, although Theodoret, ii. 24, says that Flavian and Diodorus of that city first introduced the custom. The discrepancy is cleared up by a passage of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, quoted by Nicetas, Thes. Orth. Fid.: "Flavian and Diodorus transferred the kind of psalmody, called antiphonal, from the Syrian language into Greek, and thus came to be regarded as its authors." (Bibl. VV. PP. xii. p. 593. Colon.) It spread rapidly to Constantinople and Alexandria, and was introduced into the West by St. Ambrose (Isid. de Off. i. c. 7. p. 582. Paulin. in Vit.) to cheer the people during the persecution raised by Justina. (Aug. Conf. ix. 7.) "The Ambrosian chaunt, with its simple and masculine tones is still preserved in the church of Milan." (Mihus. 523.) St. Augustine

fluctuates in his decision respecting use of chaunting. On the one hand he approves of the reading of Athanasius which was almost entirely free intonation; on the other he cautions against the salutary tears which chaunting at Milan drew from after his conversion. (Confess. 3. However, the Church seemed compelled to adopt it in order to teract the use to which the popular music was applied by the heretics. Thus Arius had composed hymns were set to popular airs, see not Athan. c. Arian. p. 94. Oxf. Tr.; of Samosata gained many over soft melodies; and the Donatists flamed the fanaticism of their followers by hymns. (Milman, iii. p. 522.) the Sabellians at Neocæsarea raised clamour against St. Basil for his chaunts, he justified himself by saying that it was the practice of Egypt, Thebes, Palestine, Arabia, and potamia. (Epist. 207. (al. 63.) t. 310, 311.) The excellence of the chaunt was seen by the worldly-Julian, and he accordingly had choristers organized to chaunt the temples.

The alternate chaunt was also in family-worship, see Tertullian Uxor. ii. 9, and the account of Ignatius and his sisters in Socrat. 22. For a defence of chaunting Hooker, V. ch. 39. § 4. "The chaunting of England," Milman, "has probably almost preserved the ancient antiphonal chaunt, which has been discarded more complicated system of music the Roman Catholic service. he adds, "has lost as much in solemnity and majesty as it has gained in sweetness and variety." (p. 524.)

¹ Which according to Procopius Ædific. l. i. c. 4) was the largest of the churches (*ἱερὸν*) in Constantinople.

went all the monks and the people. Their route lay through one of the principal streets, and the church of St. Mocius was at the farther end of the city, near the golden gate¹. The monks still sung as they went along, carrying wax tapers in their hands; and when they reached the skirts of the city they were just singing the last psalm. The people cried out against Nestorius as the procession passed along.

When they reached the church of St. Mocius², the letter from the Council was read, and the people cried out as with one voice, "Let Nestorius be anathema." St. Dalmatius ascended the pulpit, and said to them, "If you wish to hear, keep silence, do not interrupt us, and have patience. The Emperor has perused the letter which has just been read to you, and is persuaded of the truth of the contents. I had told him, when he came to see me, that it was necessary to write to the holy Council certain things which I repeated to him, but which were not put down in writing. To save him trouble, I forwarded to him a suitable answer³, but those who were employed to take it to him did not present it. I said to him, then, such things as the occasion required, but I cannot repeat them to you at present; for do not imagine that I am elated or boasting: 'The LORD will break in pieces the bones of those who seek to please men⁴.' The Emperor listened to all the details in their proper order, he thanked God that they had turned out as they have, and approved the proceedings of the Council, as became him. Not that he was persuaded by my words; no, he has but adhered to the faith of his fathers. However, he received the letter as was fitting, he read it, and giving it full credit, said, 'If it be so, let the Bishops come.' I answered him, 'They are not suffered to come.' 'No one,' he replied, 'hinders them.' 'They are under arrest,' said I to him. 'Numbers of the opposite party go and come without any hindrance, but the holy Council is not suffered to relate its proceedings to you.' In order to give Cyril's cause my support, I said to him in the presence of all; 'Which do you prefer to listen to, six thousand Bishops, or one impious wretch?' I said six thousand, taking into account those who are virtually present in their Metropoli-

31. "tans. My design in all this was to obtain an order for
 1. "the attendance of some Bishops, as in fact some are on
 "their way, being deputed by the Council to explain what
 "has passed. The Emperor replied to me, 'You have said
 "'well; pray for me.' I am sure that the Emperor will
 "follow God and the holy Council, and will not again listen
 "to perverse men. Pray therefore for the Emperor and for
 "us;" then the people of Constantinople cried out all to-
 gether, "Let Nestorius be anathema."

The Emperor then sent an order to the Bishops of each
 2 of party, that of St. Cyril, and that of John of Antioch, to send
 no- from Ephesus such deputies as they should respectively ap-
 on- prove, to come to Court, and give in their information by
 ple word of mouth¹. This order was directed to Count John;
 . h. St. Cyril and Memnon were in the mean time to continue in
 3. confinement². The Bishops who were at Constantinople, being
 z. seven in number, sent an answer by the same messenger to
 . the Fathers of the Council³; their letter is dated 'the twen-
 'tieth of Mese, in the fifteenth indiction,' that is, on the
 thirteenth of August, A. D. 431; they congratulate the
 Council upon their sufferings for the good cause, and offer
 either to repair to them or to continue at Constantinople, as
 the Council should decide. The clergy of Constantinople
 also sent them a letter. At the head of the letter the
 names of Dalmatius, Tigrius, Samson, and Maximian are
 mentioned first, as being the chief presbyters⁴. "We have
 "received from the Emperor," say they, "your letters re-
 "specting the deposition of Nestorius, and have caused them
 "to be read publicly in the church. All the people united
 "with us in approving it, and were loud in their acclama-
 "tions in praise of you. Now, therefore, we would exhort
 "you to think of what is necessary for re-settling our
 "Church, since that is the only thing remaining to be
 "done," (meaning that a Bishop of Constantinople should
 be appointed.) Dalmatius signed first, subscribing himself
 Priest, Archimandrite, and Father of the monasteries; he also
 wrote a private letter to the Council⁵, congratulating them
 on their victory over heresy. Alypius, who was Priest of
 the Apostles' church, also wrote to St. Cyril on the same
 1. subject⁶, looking upon him as a Confessor and Martyr. At

the conclusion he says, "The Deacon Candidian, who will A. D. 431.
 " deliver this letter to you, will tell you how matters stand CH. VIII.
 " with us, with what freedom and boldness we have spoken,
 " and all that we have done."

As soon as the Emperor's orders were published at Ephesus VIII.
 by Count John, the Council nominated eight deputies;—the The Council send deputies to Court.
 Priest Philip (who represented the Pope¹), and seven Bishops, [¹ διέποντι
 Arcadius, one of the Western Deputies, Juvenal of Jerusalem, των τόπων
 Flavian of Macedonia, Firmus of Cappadocia, Theodotus of ... Κελε-
 Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, Evoptius of Ptolemais. They στί(νου)]
 received a letter of commission², which enjoined them, first, ° C. Eph.
 to have no communion whatsoever with John of Antioch P. 780. [έντολιόων]
 or his schismatical convention; "and if the Emperor con-
 " strains you to communicate with them," add the Fathers,
 " you shall obey him only on condition that they subscribe
 " the condemnation of Nestorius, and send a petition to the
 " Council, praying for the pardou of their headstrong be-
 " haviour to our Presidents; that they anathematize the doc-
 " trine of Nestorius, and labour with you for the restoration
 " of the holy Archbishops Cyril and Memnon. In this case
 " we permit you to promise them communion with you, but
 " you are to send us word, in order that, should we concur
 " in what you have done, a solid foundation may be laid for a
 " durable peace with them. But you need give them no hopes
 " of communion until the holy Council shall have had its
 " Presidents restored. And we would have you know, that if
 " you neglect any of these orders, the holy Council will with-
 " hold their assent from any arrangements you may make,
 " and will exclude you from communion." Berinian, Bishop
 of Perga, subscribed it first, and the rest of the Bishops fol-
 lowed. The Council also delivered to their deputies some
 documents which enabled them to refute the pretensions of
 the Easterns³, and a letter to the Emperor⁴, in which they [³ λιβάλλον
 chiefly insist on the liberation of Cyril and Memnon, and ἀντιβηγι-
 on having permission granted them to return to their re- κων. p.
 spective Churches. It will be easily believed that they also 781. E.]
 sent answers, by the deputies, to the seven Bishops who had ° p. 784.
 written to them from Constantinople, and to St. Dalmatius.
 The Council thanks the former for their affection⁵, and advises ° p. 773.
 them to stay at Constantinople and use their diligence to in-

A. D. 431. form the Emperor of the frauds practised by the Easterns.
 CH. VIII. " Since we suspect," they add, " that what we have already
 " written has never reached you, we send you copies of the
 " same. We would have you enquire, too, whether a former
 " report which we sent to the Emperor was ever presented,
 " that if he has not received it he may see what artifices
 " have been resorted to with a view to prejudice our cause."

¹ Baluz. In the letter to St. Dalmatius¹ they acknowledge that to him
 p. 653. above all men they were indebted for the Emperor's being
 acquainted with the truth, and add, " We are not ignorant
 " that God revealed to you what was in Nestorius's heart
 " before he came to Constantinople, and that you said to all
 " who visited your cell, ' Take heed to yourselves, brethren ;
 " ' an evil beast has set out to come to our city, and many
 " ' are they whom his doctrine shall injure ! ' "

The Easterns also, on their side, deputed eight Bishops, John of Antioch, John of Damascus, Himerius of Nicomedia, Paul of Emesa, representing Acacius of Berrhæa ; Macarius of Laodicea, representing Cyrus of Tyre ; Apringius of Chalcis, who represented Alexander of Apamea ; Theodoret of Cyrus, who represented Alexander of Hierapolis ; and Helladius of Ptolemais. The commission delivered to them² was very general, giving them full power to do whatever they thought fit, either before the Emperor or in the consistory^k, in the senate or in the Council, with a promise to ratify all that they should do, and to subscribe synodically whatever concessions they should make, [with a view to conciliation^l.]

¹ C. Eph. The only limitation is with regard to the propositions of
 p. 725. St. Cyril, which they are absolutely prohibited from receiving. Alexander of Hierapolis subscribed first, repeating this restriction, and after him Dorotheus of Marcianopolis. Along with these orders, they gave the Deputies a petition to be presented to the Emperor⁴, in which, without referring to the deposition of Nestorius and the rest, or to the Acts of the Council, they express their deep sorrow respecting the articles of Cyril, and conjure the Emperor by all that is most sacred to be vigilant in maintaining the Faith, (of

^k The consistory was the Emperor's privy council. Its members (called Consistorians) were the Præfect of the

Prætorium, the Quæstor of the Palace, the Master of Offices, and the Counts of Largesses.

which they make him judge¹;) and to oblige their adversaries to discuss the questions relating to it in his presence and by writing, affirming what is certainly true, that two diverse teachings are not to be suffered in the Church^{1m}.¹ p. 728.

They take occasion by the way to complain of the encroachments of Juvenal of Jerusalem in Palestine and Arabia, and ask that if the dispute concerning the Faith cannot be decided they may be permitted to return to their Churches.

As soon as the deputies had set out, the Emperor despatched orders to Nestorius to leave Ephesus, though with full liberty to go wherever he pleased. At his own request permission was given him to retire to the monastery of St. Euprepus, near Antioch, where he had been educated in his youth²; he was also furnished with carriages and whatever else was necessary to convey him thither. The letter which Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, sent him on this subject is still extant³, together with his reply⁴, which is filled with expressions of gratitude, and declares that no greater honour could have been conferred upon him than to be banished for the sake of religion. He only desired that the writings of Cyril (meaning chiefly the twelve articles) should be taken notice of in the Emperor's letters, lest the unwary should be led astray.

The deputies of both parties on arriving at Chalcedon, were ordered to stay there, and neither party suffered to enter Constantinople, lest it should excite a tumult [among the monks⁵ n.] The Easterns soon after their arrival found it

¹ Ascribing to him something like inspiration; "We would be judged by your Piety," they say, "for God will guide your mind into an exact comprehension of the points in dispute." p. 728. E.

² Their words are notable. "Your business is to see that the one primitive and orthodox piety, which after a long struggle burst into a glorious effulgence under holy Constantine, and for which your Majesty has opened a way into barbarian nations, and into Persia itself, be not stifled in the very heart of the palaces. You will not surely send two doctrines into Persia; they will rock little of what we offer them, if they see us at variance among ourselves;

"and how are they possibly to adjudicate between us!" p. 728. C.

³ Who were always the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy. Gregory Nazianzen is very express in giving them the merit of stemming the tide of the Eunomian error (ap. Sozom. vi. c. 27). Gieseler places among the causes of the discredit into which Arianism soon fell in the East, "the close alliance which monachism formed with Athanasius," and remarks that "in Asia Minor the three most distinguished men, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa were equally diligent in the cause of monachism and of orthodoxy" (vol. i. p. 201). Hence the Arians directed a large portion of

A. D. 431.
CH. IX.

p. 728.

Evagr.
1. 7.

Baluz.
Synodic.
c. 24. [p.
721.]
c. 25.

IX.
The deputies heard at Chalcedon.
C. Eph.
p. 731. E.

A. D. 431. commonly reported that Nestorius had been dismissed from
 — CH. IX. — Ephesus. They were very much dispirited at this evident
 confirmation of his deposition. They wrote on the subject
 to their friends, on the eleventh of the Macedonian¹ month
 Gorpiaëus, that is, the fourth of September^o, telling them, in
 addition, that they were expecting the Emperor that very day;
 he was to come to Ruffinus's House² near Chalcedon, and
 there to give an audience to the parties. The Bishop Hi-
 merius had not yet arrived, so that there were only seven
 Bishops on each side.

[¹ Syro-
Greek.]

[² or the
suburb of
the Oak.
Supr. 19.
51. and 21.
18.]

The Emperor came as was expected. He gave both parties
 a favourable hearing, and the Easterns thought at first that
 they had the advantage³. The Catholics entreated that St.
 Cyril might be set at liberty, and that he should be sum-
 moned to make his defence in person. The Easterns main-
 tained that it was necessary that the question of the Faith
 should be first of all determined. The Emperor ordered each
 of them to draw up an exposition of faith and present it to
 him. The Easterns said that it was impossible for them to
 make any other confession than that of Nice. The Emperor
 appeared satisfied. They sent back, therefore, to their friends
 the copy of the exposition of faith which they had brought
 with them from Ephesus⁴, desiring them to send two other
 copies duly subscribed. They add, "All the people of Con-
 stantinople are constantly sailing across to us, entreating
 us to fight manfully for the Faith; we use our utmost
 endeavours to restrain their ardour, lest we should seem to
 give any handle to our adversaries."

³ Conc.
Eph. p. 736.
Baluz. Syn-
nodic. c. 27.
[p. 724.]

⁴ Supr. 25.
c. 54.

Theodoret wrote to the same effect to his Metropolitan,
 Alexander of Hierapolis⁵, but probably at a later period,

⁵ C. Eph.
p. 732.
Baluz. Syn.
c. 30. [p.
728.]

their persecutions against the monks
 (e. g. Fleury, xvi. 36). Gregory Naz.
 says of the monks (orat. 21. quoted by
 Gieseler, u. s.): "However quiet and
 moderate they may be in other re-
 spects, they never purchase their
 peace at the price of their fidelity to
 God. On this point they are ready
 to wage war to the death." (*λίαν εἰ-
 σὶν ἐνταῦθα πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ δόγμαχοι.*)
^o Fleury was probably led by the
 note in Baluz. "According to Baro-
 nius it was Sept. 11, but Lupus
 makes it Sept. 4" (p. 723). There
 is little doubt that Baronius was right.

The Alexandrian Chronicle (p. 260)
 says that the indictions dated (*χρη-
 ματίζειν ἤρξαντο*) from the 1st of Gor-
 piaëus, but it is also known that they
 began Sept. 1; so that the days of the
 two months were connumerary (see
 Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. App. iv. p.
 361). This is to be understood of the
 Antiochene computation, for the Greeks
 of Asia Minor began their year a month
 earlier than the Syrian Greeks, and
 hence with them Gorpiaëus would
 nearly correspond with August, ac-
 tually beginning July 25. (Clinton,
 p. 350.)

since his hopes appear to be much less sanguine. "We have neglected," he says, "no means that seemed likely to influence the Prince and the consistory; suavity and asperity, entreaty [and invective,] have each in turn been put in motion to induce them not to neglect the Faith, which men are now attempting to adulterate; but up to this day we have not succeeded in producing any permanent impression. We have declared to the Emperor on oath, that we cannot possibly restore Cyril and Memnon, or communicate with the rest, unless they reject the heretical articles. But those who seek their own, not the things which are JESUS CHRIST'S¹, wish to restore them, even without our consent;" ^[¹ Phil. 2. 21.] in other words, some of the Easterns were then beginning to speak of a re-union. "As to our friend," that is, Nestorius, "it is as well that you should know that whenever we have spoken about him, either to the Prince or the consistory, it has been taken as an insult; and the worst is, that the Emperor goes beyond all the others in aversion to him. He even said to us, 'Let nobody mention his name to me; what relates to him has been decided once for all².' We are anxious to escape from this place, and to procure your liberation from Ephesus. Nothing good is to be hoped for in this place, where all are gained over by bribes, and affirm that the nature of the Divinity and of the humanity is one. However, by God's mercy, the people are all well-disposed: they visit us continually. We have begun to speak to them, and frequently have very large assemblies³; they listen to us with so great pleasure that they would stay on, even at one o'clock in the afternoon, if it were possible to bear the extreme heat of the sun^p. They assemble in a

^p The disposition to exalt preaching above reading God's word, meditation, and the sacraments, which Theodoret's party had in common with the puritans of later days, is also evident from the conversation between him and the Emperor narrated below. The longest sermons of Origen (the earliest of those whose discourses still survive in the Church) could only have required half an hour for their delivery. From the time of Athanasius downward long sermons formed a characteristic of the service of the Eastern Church as compared with that of the Western. Still

the most prolix addresses of Gregory Naz., Gregory Nyss., Basil the Great, Athanasius, and Chrysostom did not exceed an hour, and many of them not half an hour. Where St. Chrysostom says, "I only ask you for two hours of your time" (Hom. 48. de Inscript. Altar.), he must be understood to include the whole of divine service. Most of St. Augustine's sermons would occupy only a quarter of an hour, many not more than eight minutes; though as some of them imply that they were delivered extempore (Bingh. 1^o. 4. § 11) they may be only notes of sermons.

A. D. 431.
CH. IX.

[¹ Phil. 2. 21.]

[² So in Baluz.; in Labbe, *opimen enim ipse semel dedit.*]

[³ Labbe, *Communiones*: Baluz., *Collectas.*]

A. D. 431. " large court, with quadrangular cloisters, and we address
 CH. IX. " them from a platform near the roof. But all the clergy,
 " with these worthy monks, oppose us violently, so that on
 " one occasion, as we returned from Ruffinus's House after
 " our first audience with the Prince, a collision took place,
 " in which many were wounded, both of the laymen who
 " accompanied us, and of the pseudo-monks'. The Emperor
 " had been told that the people assembled with us; one
 " day he met me alone, and said to me, 'I hear that you
 " 'hold irregular assemblies.' 'Since you give me liberty
 " 'to speak,' I answered, 'hear me with indulgence. Is it
 " 'reasonable that those excommunicated heretics should
 " 'perform duty in church, and that we who are contending
 " 'for the Faith should be excluded from the churches?'
 " 'What would you have me do?' said he to me. I replied,
 " 'What Count John did when he came to Ephesus. Ob-
 " 'serving that they held solemn assemblies, which we did
 " 'not, he forbade them, saying, I will not allow either of
 " 'you to assemble unless you are disposed to make peace.
 " 'You ought, in like manner, to order the Bishop of this city
 " 'to suffer neither them nor us to hold assemblies till we
 " 'are agreed.' The Emperor answered me, 'I cannot give
 " 'orders to a Bishop'. 'Do not, then, give us any orders,'
 " I said; 'We will take a church and call a congregation
 " 'together, and you shall see that there will be far more
 " 'people with us than with them.' I added, 'In our as-
 " 'semblies the Holy Scriptures are not read, nor is there
 " 'any oblation, but only supplications for the Faith and for
 " 'your Majesty, with some religious discourses.' He ap-
 " proved of this, and made no further opposition. Our con-
 " gregations still increase in numbers, but we are in daily
 " peril and dread, seeing the outrages of the monks and
 " clergy, and the indifference of the men in power." [Part

[¹ Cf. p. 729.
 Ut tantum
 non perde-
 remur a
 servis mo-
 nachorum
 habitu in-
 dutis.]

[² Equi-
 dem epi-
 scopo im-
 perare non
 possum.]

The same will apply to Leo the Great, Cæsarius of Arles, Gregory the Great, and the West generally, until perhaps the institution of the Dominicans and Franciscans as preaching monks (in 1217, by Pope Honorius), who frequently spoke for two hours; the Capuchins could even detain an audience for three or four hours. In this point

they have been rivalled by many of the Reformed Churches, including the Lutheran, certainly in defiance of the injunction of Luther himself; "Do not stretch your hearers," he said, "on the rack of long sermons: the ear is a delicate thing." Dr. H. Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus*, s. 98, 99. (Berlin, 1843.)

of] one of the sermons which Theodoret delivered at this time has been preserved¹, as also another which John of Antioch preached by way of farewell sermon to the same congregation².

A. D. 431.

CH. IX.

C. Eph.

p. 733.

p. 735.

The schismatics at Ephesus failed not to send to their deputies the required confession of Faith³; it was accompanied with letters⁴, in which they still insist on the condemnation of the twelve Articles of St. Cyril, and maintain that to confirm the deposition of Nestorius would be to sanction these. They sent to their deputies at the same time an exposition of the twelve Articles⁵, which St. Cyril had just drawn up at Ephesus at the request of the Council.

p. 743.

p. 744.

C. Eph.

Pt. 3. c. 1.

The Emperor heard the deputies five several times⁶, and at length, returning to Constantinople⁷, he left the schismatics at Chalcedon, and commanded the Catholic Bishops to repair to Constantinople to ordain a Bishop to that city. The schismatics complained of this in a remonstrance, which is considered the second⁸, (the first being the one delivered to them on setting out from Ephesus). In it, they protest before God, that if the partizans of heresy (so they term the Catholics) ordain a Bishop at Constantinople before the dogmatic question be settled, a schism will of necessity ensue, which will rend asunder the whole Church; "for," say they, "neither we who comprise the whole diocese⁹ of the East, nor the provinces of Pontus, Asia, Thrace, Illyricum, and the Italics, will ever suffer the dogmas of Cyril to be received; and they have sent you a book written by St. Ambrose, to oppose the [now popular] doctrine." This remonstrance is addressed to the Emperor.

p. 728.

Baluz. Syn.

c. 34.

political]

They wrote at the same time to Rufus¹, Bishop of Thessalonica, to try to draw him over to their party by prejudicing him against the Council, and insinuating into his mind a distrust of the report sent him by Flavian of Philippi, who was his representative at Ephesus. In this letter they again mention the book of St. Ambrose, which had been sent to the Emperor by the Bishop of Milan, whom they call Martin, though he should rather have been called Martinian. They say that he wrote to them, and thence infer that Italy is on their side².

C. Eph.

p. 736.

¹ To say in answer to this (with the West generally, supported the Baluz, p. 735, note a) that Rome, and Council (as owned by Theodoret, Sy-

A. D. 431. But at the time this letter was written, (in September,) there
 CH. X. had not been time enough to send to Milan an account of what had happened at Ephesus at the end of June, and to get an answer in return; so that this letter from Martinian must have been written to the Council of Ephesus in general, and have fallen, contrary to his intentions, into the hands of the schismatics: for it is certain that all Italy and the West adhered to the Pope and St. Cyril.

X.
 End of the
 Council of
 Ephesus.
 1 Coll. Ba-
 luz. p. 656.

Meanwhile the Emperor Theodosius wrote to the Council in these terms¹: "As we have nothing so near our heart as the peace of the Churches, we have endeavoured to restore harmony between you, not only by means of our officers, but in our own person. But since it is impossible to effect a re-union, and since you have refused to hold any discussion on the controverted points, we have ordered that the Bishops of the East return home to their Churches, and that the Council of Ephesus be dissolved. Moreover, St. Cyril shall go to Alexandria, and Memnon shall continue at Ephesus. We declare to you, however, that so long as we live, we cannot condemn the Easterns, for in no respect have they been convicted of error before us, no one being willing to enter into debate with them. If, therefore, you sincerely aim at peace, acquaint us with such your intention; if not, think of retiring without delay. We are not responsible for this result²; with whom the responsibility rests God knows." It is evident from this letter of the Emperor as well as from that of the schismatics, that the Catholic deputies had not been willing to dispute with them before the Emperor, as if the doctrine were in any degree doubtful, but contented themselves with defending the Acts of the Council, and shewing that the deposition of Nestorius was just and canonical, as that of Cyril and Memnon was untenable and unwarranted.

[¹ Fleury otherwise; *il ne tient pas à nous* nous accorder: *Dieu sait à qui il tient.*]

modic. c. 20. p. 716), seems superfluous and perhaps beside the question. For the word Italy was at this time used, in a confined sense, of the district which afterwards comprised the Lombard kingdom. (Niebuhr, Rom. II., vol. i. p. 21.) The doubt, then (if any), is not whether Italy, in the wide sense, supported the views of the schismatics, but whether the diocese of Milan did so. May not the

truth be that the Milanese, in their love for the memory of St. Ambrose and consequent jealousy for the doctrine he had taught them, imagined that the opposition to Nestorius was a new outbreak of that Apollinarianism which St. Ambrose had combated (in his book *De Incarn. Dom. Sacr.*)? This of course implied no approbation of the opinions really held by the schismatics.

At this blow the deputies of the schismatics lost all hopes. They sent to the Emperor a third remonstrance¹, filled with reproaches and protestations, and threatening him with the anger of God; "If this our entreaty," they say, "fails to make an impression on you, 'we will shake off the dust of our feet,' and will cry out with St. Paul², 'We are guilty of your blood.'" They also wrote to their friends at Ephesus³, that although the Emperor had given them audience five several times, all their efforts had been but thrown away; that Cyril would never enter into any discussion respecting his twelve Articles, neither would the judges oblige him to do so; and that no one would listen to the name of Nestorius. They complain of the tyranny of Cyril, "who has seduced every body," they say, "by adulation and bribes; and thus he and Memnon are to continue at their Churches, while this innocent man," that is, Nestorius, "is sent back to his monastery." Such was the termination of the Council of Ephesus. St. Cyril arrived in triumph at Alexandria, and was received there with very great rejoicings, on the third of Athyr, that is, on the thirtieth of October⁴.

In the mean time they proceeded to the choice of a Bishop of Constantinople⁵. The Bishops who were there already, together with the legates of the holy see, and the other deputies of the Council of Ephesus, presided at the election. Philip and Proclus were again proposed, as they had been before the election of Nestorius⁶. Proclus would have gained the election, but that some of the nobles opposed him on the ground of his having been nominated to the see of Cyzicus, although he had never been installed in it⁷. They eventually elected Maximian, a Priest and Monk, who had been long in great reputation for his piety, having erected many tombs, at his own expense, for the sepulture of religious persons.

¹ On the canons which prohibit the translation of Bishops, see *supr.* xviii. c. 3. note f. and add Conc. Antioch. I. *sp. Labbe*, t. ii. p. 571. can. 21. Conc. Carth. III. p. 1172. can. 38. Socrates stops (*vii.* c. 37) to shew, by examples, that these canons did not forbid translation, in cases of emergency. (*δὲ δίκαις χρεῖαι ἀλλάξαι*. Cf. *Jus. Græco-Lat.* l. 5.

p. 713. on the same subject, *κατὰ τινὰ οἰκονομίαν λυσίτελοῦσαν ποιῆν*.) He instances Alexander of Jerusalem (*Euseb.* vi. c. 11), Perigenes of Corinth, Gregory of Nazianzus, Meletius of Antioch, and ten others. He quotes the eighteenth canon of Antioch (*u. s.* p. 569) as providing for cases like that of Proclus.

A. D. 431.

CH. X.

¹ C. Eph.

p. 730.

Synodic.

c. 35. [p.

736.]

² Acts 18. 6.³ C. Eph.

p. 745.

Synodic.

c. 31.

⁴ C. Eph.

p. 1057. D.

Baluz. p.

542.

⁵ Socrat. 7.

35.

⁶ Supr. 24.

55.

⁷ Supr.

24. 44.]

A. D. 431. He was a man of plain and simple address, and hab
 cii. xi. — averse to a life of active employment¹. His election w
 more gratifying to the Pope's legates because he had
 educated in the Roman Church². He was ordain
 Sunday the twenty-fifth of October, A.D. 431, four r
 after the deposition of Nestorius³.

The Bishops who were assembled in Council for thi
 nation, sent immediate information of it, as was usual i
 casc, to the Pope, St. Cyril, and the other Bishops
 great sces⁴. None of these letters remain, with the ext
 of the one addressed to the Bishops of Epirus⁵, on wh
 schismatics wished to impose, as on the rest, by making
 believe that they were in communion with the Cou
 Ephesus. The Council of Constantinople sent the F
 for their greater security, a list of the schismatics, wi

letter of the Council of Ephesus, which contained it⁶
 59. have also a private letter written from Maximian to St.

PL3.c.17. in which he begs the assistance of his prayers⁷ and br
 counsel, and the answers of St. Cyril, both to the C
 and to Maximian¹. In the latter he explains the ar
 Faith concerning the Incarnation, and again another
 Apollinarius.

XI. The letters to Pope Cælestine about Maximian's ord
 St. Cæles- were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epi
 tine de- who arrived at Rome on Christmas-day². It was abo
 fends the doctrine of St. August- time that the Pope wrote to the Gallican Bishops in c
 tine. of St. Augustine, whose doctrine some of the Priests c
 [C. Eph. continued to assail even after his death. Prosper and
 P. 1071. D.]

who had written to St. Augustine on the subject³, v
 59, 60. Rome and complained to Pope St. Cælestine, and th
 Conc. t. ii. birth to the letter adverted to. It is directed to Ve
 p. 1611. Bishop of Marseilles, Lcontius of Frejus, Marinus, Au
 Ep. 1. Cæ- Arcadius, Filtanius, and the rest of the Gallic Bishops
 lest. Pope upbraids them severely for their negligence
 having suppressed this public scandal. "The Pries
 says, "ought not to teach so as to invade your preroga
 "being the Doctors of the Church]; your silence up
 "occasion looks like connivance, and we should on
 "fall under serious suspicion if we held our peace
 "those who teach wrong should be given to understa

[¹ ιδιωτης
 τῆς λόγῳ,
 (cf. 2 Cor.
 11. 6.) και
 ἀπραγμα-
 νώστερον
 ζῆν προαι-
 ρούμενος]

² Ep. Cæ-
 lest. ap. C.
 Eph. pt. 3.
 c. 23. p.
 1080. E.

³ Socrat.
 7. 37.

⁴ C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 16.
 et p. 801. D.

⁵ C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 16.

⁶ Supr. 25.

⁷ PL3.c.17.

[⁸ τῆς πρὸς
 τὸν θεοῦ
 τὴν Χριστὸν
 προσβέβας.]

⁹ c. 19.

¹ c. 18.

XI.
 St. Cæles-
 tine de-
 fends the
 doctrine of
 St. August-
 tine.

[C. Eph.
 P. 1071. D.]

² Supr. 24.
 59, 60.

Conc. t. ii.
 p. 1611.

Ep. 1. Cæ-
 lest.

"they would do better to sit as learners. What do you do in the Church, if they have authority to preach? It would not be thus, if it were not that some Bishops, having been but recently taken from among the laity, are ignorant of their privileges." He then turns to St. Augustine¹, and speaks thus: "Augustine of holy memory, has always, for his great merits, been in communion with us, and his character was never assailed by the least breath of suspicion. His knowledge was so vast, that I well remember how my predecessors looked upon him as one of the principal doctors of the Church; I may add that he was loved and honoured by every body. You must therefore oppose and silence those who are now audacious enough to attack his memory."

A. D. 431.
CH. XI.

[n. 2.]

To this letter of Pope St. Cælestine are appended nine articles concerning divine grace², which are quoted as part of the letter, in the beginning of the following century³.

¹ Ap. Leon. (ed. Quesn.) t. i. p. 73.

² According to St. Ambrose (de Offic. Sacr. i. 1), "Preaching was the business of the Bishop" (Episcopi proprium munus docere populum). The Apostolic canons join the Bishop and the Presbyter in the duty of "teaching the people" (can. 57. Labbe, t. i. p. 37); but after having provided (can. 38) that "a Presbyter or Deacon should do nothing without the will of the Bishop" (ἀνευ ἑρχόμενος τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου). This rule would seem to have been less rigidly observed in the East than in the West, and especially in Africa. Thus when St. Augustine was called upon to preach by his Bishop Valerius, much jealousy and resentment was shewn by the neighbouring Bishops (Possid. Vit. c. 5); and at Alexandria "none but the Bishop preached," Sozom. 7. 19. See Jeremy Taylor, Episc. Asserred, sect. 26 and 37. Bingham, 2. 3. § 4 and 14. 4. § 3.

grounds for their opinion, but rather the contrary; for after giving the title of these capitula he does not mention Cælestine as the author, which is his usual practice in such cases, but leaves them anonymous. The first in later times who denied their having been written by Cælestine, was John Wandelstein in his edition of the "Codex Decret. Pontific." (Mogunt. 1525.) His opinion was re-echoed by Binius and other editors of the Councils; and it was acquiesced in by Cardinals Caraffa and Baronius (ad ann. 431), as well as by Fr. Suarez, J. Sirmondus, and others.

³ Not. Sirmondii, ad Conc. t. ii. p. 1618. A. et Diss. iii. Quesn.

¹ They are referred to by the Roman Pontiff Hormisdas, Ep. 70. ad Possessor. (A.D. 520), but simply as the decrees of the Roman Church. Petrus Diaconus (who lived about the same time) refers to them in his book "On the Incarnation" as St. Cælestine's; and so Cresconius (A.D. 690), Florus of Lyons, Hincmar of Rheims, Lupus of Ferrara, and many others. But Quesnel has shewn satisfactorily that they were misled by the "Code of decrees" published by Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 500), though Dionysius, rightly understood, furnishes no

Quesnel urges that they are not mentioned by Prosper (c. Collat.), though he could hardly have overlooked so strong a confirmation of his argument; and similarly, Vincentius Lir., and, in after times, Photius (Biblioth. c. 52, 53) refer to the letter of St. Cælestine, but without any allusion to the capitula. The author of them never refers to Innocent and Zosimus as his predecessors, though these are so styled in the letter of St. Cælestine. Quesnel therefore supposes them to have been drawn up by St. Leo while Deacon, and he quotes several coincidences of expressions between these articles and St. Leo's Works, particularly a passage in his De Vocat. Gentium, which bears a striking correspondence both in matter and style to Article 8. See Dissert. iii. ad Leon. Opera, t. ii. p. 394.

The Articles are preceded by an advertisement, which states, that "some who boast of their Catholicity, and who mathematicize Pelagius and Cælestius, seize every opportunity of speaking against our teachers", as if they had exceeded the proper limits of doctrine, and that they profess publicly to approve only of that which the holy see has determined. Hence we have thought it our duty to examine what decisions the Popes have given heretofore, concerning grace, in opposition to the criminal defenders of free will; and we have added certain sentences passed by the Councils of Africa, which the popes, by giving their approbation to them, have in fact adopted."

1. By Adam's sin, all men have lost their natural power and innocence; and no man can get out of the abyss into which this fall has precipitated him, by his own free will, without the grace of God to raise him up. 2. No man is good of himself: He who alone is good must communicate Himself to him. 3. No man, though created anew by the grace of Baptism, is able to overcome the assaults of the devil, and the lusts of the flesh, unless he receive the assistance from God, enabling him to persevere in a good life." These three articles are taken from the letter sent by Pope St. Innocent to the Council of Carthage, 418. By *natural power* in the first of them, we are to understand that which man enjoyed in his original upright-ness. "No man makes a good use of his free will but by the grace of CHRIST:" which is taken out of the letter sent by the same Pope to the Council of Milevis⁵. "The desires, works, and merits of the Saints are to be ascribed to the glory of God, because no one is well-pleasing to Him, except by the gifts which he has first received from Him." This is taken out of the letter of Pope Zosimus, directed to the Bishops of the whole world; which is added, being that of the African Council, "God works in such wise upon the hearts of men, even upon our free will, that holy thoughts, and good motions, and the least motion towards a good life, come from God, for if we are able to do any good thing, we are able through Him, without whom we can do nothing." This is taken from the same letter of Pope Zosimus,

which is not now extant. "7. The grace of CHRIST, by which A. D. 431.
 "we are justified, not only serves for the remission of sins CH. XIII.
 "committed, but also to aid us against committing sin in
 "future; not only by giving us an understanding of the
 "moral law, so that we know what we are to choose and
 "what to avoid, but by making us love, and enabling us to
 "perform what we know to be our duty; and this not merely
 "to facilitate our performance, but absolutely to enable us to
 "perform at all." This is out of the third, fourth, and
 "fifth canons of the Council of Carthage, held on the first of
 "May, A.D. 418¹. "8. We learn also what we are to believe, ¹ Supr. 23.
 "by the prayers appointed by the Apostles throughout ^{48.}
 "the world², and observed with uniformity throughout the ^{[¹ ut legem}
 "Catholic Church; in which we request that faith may be ^{credendi lex}
 "granted to infidels, idolaters, Jews, and heretics; charity³ ^{statuat sup-}
 "to schismatics, repentance to sinners, and the grace of bap- ^{plicandi.]}
 "tism to catechumens. These prayers are not unavailing ^{[² spiritum}
 "forms, since the effects of them are visible in the conver- <sup>redivi-
 sion of many persons, for which thanks are returned unto ^{væ}
 "God. 9. The ceremonies of exorcism and breathing⁴, ob- ^{caritatis.]}
 "served by all the Church as a preparation for baptism both ^{[⁴ exsuffla-}
 "in the case of infants and of adults, clearly prove that she ^{tionibus]}
 "believes them all to be under the power of the devil.</sup>

"We must therefore confess that the grace of God pre-
 "vents the merits of man; that it does not take away free
 "will, but emancipates, illumines, rectifies, and heals it.
 "God is willing, such is His goodness, that His gifts should
 "be our merits, and grants them an eternal reward. He
 "works in us both to will and to do according to His good
 "pleasure, but His gifts are not idle in us; we co-operate
 "with His grace, and if we find any remissness proceeding
 "from our weakness, we immediately have recourse to Him.
 "As to the more deep and difficult questions⁵ which have ^{n. 10.}
 "been fully discussed by those who have combated the
 "heretics, we do not despise them, but are not called upon
 "to treat of them. It is sufficient for us to have declared
 "what we believe to be essential to the Catholic Faith."

The Pope St. Cælestine, being informed of the death of XIII.
 St. Palladius, whom he had sent into Scotland⁶, substituted ^{St. Patrick}
 St. Patrick in his place, ordained him Bishop, and sent him ^{in Ireland.}
^{Supr. 25.}
^{c. 18.}

A. D. 432. to preach the Faith in Ireland¹. St. Patrick was at this time
CH. XIII.
1 Bolland.
17. Mart. t. 7. about fifty-five years old, having been born about the year
p. 522. sqq. 377, in Scotland, in the territory of the city of Alclud, now
[Usser. de called Dumbarton². At the age of sixteen he was carried
Rer. Br. captive into Ireland, and continued there five or six years,
Prim. c. 17. in which time he learned the language and customs of the
p. 815.] country. Some pirates having carried him over into Gaul,
[² formerly about the year 400, he went to the monastery of St. Martin,
Dunbrit- that is, to Marmoutier^u; here he received the monastic tou-
ton. Near sure, and remained three years, after which he returned to
it is Kirk- Great Britain. He next travelled into Italy, and spent
Patrick seven years in visiting the monasteries of that country, and
or Kil- of the neighbouring islands. He was ordained Priest, and
Patrick.] continued three years with St. Senior, who is supposed to
 have been Bishop of Pisa^z. In the mean time he believed
 that he had received, by revelation from God, a command to
 go and labour for the conversion of the Irish. To Ireland
 accordingly he made his way, but met with no success, the
 barbarians refusing to listen to him; so he returned to Gaul,
 and spent about seven years with St. Germain of Auxerre,
 after which he retired to the isle of Arles³, (that is, Lerina),
 where he remained nine years.

[³ una ex
 insulis,
 quæ dicitur
 Aralanen-
 sis.]

[⁴ Sabhul
 Padhrig,
 two miles
 from Down-
 Patrick]

By the advice of St. Germain he made a journey to Rome,
 and it was then that the Pope St. Cælestine ordained him
 Bishop, and sent him into Ireland, in the year 432. He
 preached the Gospel there with great success, his zeal being
 supported by miracles, and he is looked upon as the Apostle
 of that island. About a year afterwards he founded the
 monastery of Sabal, near the city of Down⁴, and appointed
 his disciple St. Dunnius to be the Abbot. He also founded
 the church of Armagh, which is the Metropolitan see of the
 kingdom. St. Patrick lived an austere life; he performed
 all his journeys on foot up to the age of fifty-five, that is,
 until he was made Bishop; and then the bad state of the
 roads in Ireland obliged him to make use of a car. He first
 introduced the use of letters among the Irish, who had pre-

^u Anciently Marmontier, i. e. Martini
 monasterium; the *on* becoming *ou* as in
couvent. The Abbey is now in ruins,
 about a quarter of a league from Tours.

^z This is purely conjectural; the

words of Probus are curious; "St.
 " Senior, Bishop, who is on Mt. Her-
 " mon, on the right-hand of the ocean
 " sea, and his city is walled with seven
 " walls."

ly possessed no other public registers than the rhymed A. D. 432.
s in which their bards embodied the traditional history CH. XIV.
eir country. St. Patrick made two more journeys to
e, one in 444, another in 445, and died about the year
aged eighty-three years.

was Christmas (A.D. 431) before Pope St. Cælestine re- XIV.
d the letters which informed him of the condemnation Letters
Nestorius, and the election of Maximian to the Bishopric from St.
Constantinople. He ordered them to be read in St. Peter's Cælestine
ch, to confirm the faith of the Incarnation, which is the to Con-
ect of commemoration at that hallowed tide; they elicited stantinople.
t and general applause from the people while they were
g read. The Pope afterwards returned an answer to
n in four letters, all bearing the same date,—the ides
March, in the Consulate of Aëtius and Valerius, that is,
ch the fifteenth, A.D. 432. The first is addressed to the
ncil of Ephesus¹, that is, to the Bishops who had assisted ¹ Conc.
t, for six months had now elapsed since the Council Eph. pt. 3.
urated. The Pope congratulates the Fathers on their c.20.p.1069.
ord over heresy, on the deposition of Nestorius, and on
ordination of Maximian, whom he commends very highly.
says that he looks upon him as the immediate successor
Sisinnius, and considers the see to have been vacant during
Pontificate of Nestorius, adding, that he had been present
spirit to assist the other Catholic Bishops at the ordina-
i of Maximian². He complains that Nestorius had been
wed to return to Antioch, although the Bishop of that
was one of his adherents, and he exhorts the Fathers
to be satisfied until they have procured his entire re-
val from the midst of Christendom into some solitude.
aking of those who had sided with Nestorius, he says,
In occasions like the present it becomes us to act with
reat circumspection. If they see and confess their error,
hey have permission to return, for this is refused to none
ut those who have been [expressly³] condemned with the
uthors of the heresy. In the mean time they must remain
xcommunicated and deprived of their sees until they de-
clare themselves Catholics: and this, even though the Em-
peror may have been induced by their misrepresentations
o restore them⁴. As for the Bishop of Antioch, if any

[² Cum
ejus capiti
verba mys-
tica dice-
rentur.]

[³ propriè
damnati]
[⁴ quam
formam
etiam circa
eos volu-
mus custo-
diri qui
subrepen-
dum in Ec-
clesiasticis
causis
Christianis
principibus
credide-
runt.]

A. D. 432. "hopes remain of his recovery, we desire that you would
CH. XIV. "write to him, and if he refuse to condemn in writing the
 "new heresy, then let the Church adopt those measures
 "which a regard for the Faith renders obligatory upon it."

¹ *Ibid.* c. 21. The second letter is addressed to the Emperor Theodosius¹.

It commends his zeal for the Faith, and approves the ordination of Maximian, whom the Pope recognises as a member of the Roman Church; but he insists chiefly on the necessity of banishing Nestorius, as the only means of successfully eradicating the [gangrene of] heresy. In the conclusion of the letter, he calls the attention of the Emperor to an affair of a private nature. The lady Proba, belonging to the order of Illustres, had bequeathed some lands she had in Asia to a certain person, but under the condition that the larger part of the income arising from them should be employed in the maintenance of poor clergy, and of monasteries. This condition not having been complied with, the Emperor was now called upon to confirm the will. The third letter is to

² *Ibid.* p. 1074.]

Maximian²; it exhorts him to rescue the Church of Constantinople from its disorders, and to follow the example of John in his preaching, of Atticus in his vigilance against heresy, and of Sisinnius in holy simplicity of living. In particular he admonishes him to oppose the errors of Cælestius (or Pelagianism), whose followers were constantly making

³ p. 1075.]

fresh efforts to regain their former position. The fourth letter³ was directed to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It contains a detailed account of the recent events; pointing out the peril they had been in, the anxiety it had caused him, the zeal displayed by St. Cyril, and the attempts he had made to reclaim Nestorius; the several steps he had himself taken in the affair; the demand made by Nestorius for a

⁴ p. 1078. D.]

Council at which, when convened, he was afraid to appear⁴; and the last expiring effort he had made to support himself by beating up for volunteers among the Pelagians. In conclusion, the Pope exhorts the Church of Constantinople to follow the teaching of Maximian,—from whom they would hear none but the ancient and primitive doctrines which he had learnt in the Roman Church,—and to continue steadfast in the Faith. These four letters were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epictetus, who had brought the letters

Constantinople to Rome. As they arrived at Rome at A. D. 432.
 s, so they were to reach Constantinople on their CH. XV.
 Easter¹, which this year (A.D. 432) fell on the p.1071.D.
 April.

Pope St. Cælestine lived only three weeks beyond the XV.
 these letters, since he died on the sixth of April. Death of
 He held the holy see nine years and ten months². It is St. Cæles-
 tine.
 tine, whereas before his time they only read the epistles Sixtus III.
 and the gospels, he introduced the practice of Pope.
 singing psalms before the sacrifice of the mass. By this Supr. 24.
 probably, to understand that he instituted the custom 32.
 of singing the psalm of Introit, for St. Augustine furnishes Lib.
 evidence that they had begun in his day to sing psalms at Pontiff. ap.
 the altar and at the Communion, in Carthage. St. Cæ- Labbe, t. ii.
 lestine dedicated the Basilica of Julius, and presented it with p. 1610.]
 a quantity of silver plate, as he did also St. Peter's ii. Retract.
 Basilica, the whole amounting to 1,136 Roman pounds³, c. 11. [t. i.
 [2 libraræ] equivalent to 51,120 livres⁴. St. Cæ- p. 45.]
 lestine held three ordinations in the month of December,
 in which thirty-two Priests, twelve Deacons, and forty-six
 were ordained. He was interred in the cemetery
 of Callixtus. After a vacancy of twenty days, Sixtus, the
 successor in the holy see, and a native of Rome, was appointed
 to the holy see. He was ordained on the
 sixth of April, A.D. 432, and continued in the see

constant, to account for the late
 which the letter is dated, sup-
 : St. Cælestine was prevented
 hing it sooner by the attack
 which so soon after proved
 also suggests that during the
 nths navigation was generally
 (t. xiv. p. 502.) But the words
 er: "We have sent John and
 us back to you *in haste*, being
 : to restore to you at the sea-
 our LORD's resurrection those
 ve received at His nativity,"
 nsistent with such an explana-
 ion legates in the preceding
 two months in sailing from
 Ephesus (Baluz. p. 733, note
 herefore St. Cælestine could
 have expected his letter to
 Constantinople in eighteen days.
 he letter post-dated, as in the
 noticed, supr. xxv. 22 ?
 calculation in the text assumes

30 livres to the mark,—the proportion
 which existed in Fleury's time. (The
 H. E. was published in 1691.) Orig-
 inally the mark (8 oz.) was half a livre;
 but the currency was gradually depre-
 ciated, until, during Colbert's ministry
 the mark was worth 27 livres (Dict. de
 Trévoux; ed. 1771), and the livre of
 1789 did not amount to one seventy-
 eighth of the livre of Charlemagne.

If we take the Roman libra accord-
 ing to Hase's calculation (Hussey, Anc.
 W. and M., p. 126) at 520½ grs. troy,
 1136 libraræ are equivalent to 1026½
 pounds troy, or (since 1 lb. troy of
 silver is coined into 66s.) about 3387½
 sterling, or 84,675 francs. This how-
 ever must be understood as giving the
 amount of St. Cælestine's donations in
 current silver of the present day, not
 the exchangeable value, which was prob-
 ably many times greater.

A. D. 432. about eight years¹. He was a Priest of the Roman Church, and it was to him that St. Augustine wrote his celebrated letter concerning grace².

CH. XVI.
¹ Chron. Prosp. [p. 658] et Marcell.

[pt. 2. p. 284.]
² Supr. 23. 57.

³ Baluz. Coll. p. 658.

St. Sixtus was ordained with unanimous consent; two Eastern Bishops, Hermogenes of Rhinocorura in Egypt, and Lampetius of Cassium, being present at the ceremony. They had been sent by the Bishops assembled at Ephesus in Council, and brought with them commendatory letters from St. Cyril³. St. Sixtus gave them letters in answer to those of St. Cyril and the other Bishops, although he had previously given a full statement of his opinions in some letters which he had already sent by the clergy of the Church of Constantinople, and one of St. Cyril's Deacons. The two letters which the Bishops Hermogenes and Lampetius conveyed are still extant. The first was written specially to St. Cyril, the second was a circular letter addressed to all the Bishops by whom they had been deputed. Its object was twofold; first, to inform them (as required by the old custom) of his ordination; and secondly, to effect a re-union of the Oriental Churches. He commends the zeal of St. Cyril, who, stripping himself of all revengeful feeling, and forgetting the injuries he had suffered, thought only of re-establishing the peace of the Churches. The Pope declares that he agrees with him in thinking that all should be received who are willing to return into the good way, but that they should provide for the supply of the churches belonging to such as were unwilling to be reconciled. With regard to John of Antioch, in particular, he declares that if he desires to be acknowledged as a Catholic Bishop, he must condemn all that the Church has condemned.

XVI.
 Division in the East.

⁴ Baluz. c. 38. [p. 740.]

⁵ Baluz. c. 66, [136,] 141, 174. [201.]

In the East, things wore indeed a painful aspect; every where dissension and discord prevailed. When John of Antioch, on his route homeward from the Council of Ephesus, arrived at Ancyra, he wrote to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, saying⁴ that neither he, nor any of his party, recognised Maximian of Constantinople, or those who had ordained him, or any who had been ordained by them to other Churches, to be Bishops at all, and they beg him to signify this to the Emperor and his consistory. At Tarsus⁵ John and his partizans assembled in Council, and again

deposed St. Cyril and the seven Bishops who had been at Constantinople to ordain Maximian; namely, Arcadius, the Pope's legate, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Philippi, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, and Evoptius of Ptolemais. As soon as he reached Antioch he convened another Council¹, in which the Easterns again ratified the deposition of St. Cyril, and all their former acts. They also wrote to the Emperor², declaring to him that they abhorred the Articles of St. Cyril, and begging him not to suffer them to be taught in any Church.

They then proceeded to suspend from their communion, Rabbūla, Bishop of Edessa, whose conversion we related above³. He had assisted at the Council of Ephesus, where he at first took part with the Easterns⁴, but he afterwards perceived that the doctrine of St. Cyril was the only true doctrine⁵, and he accordingly anathematized Theodorus of Mopsuestia and those who read his writings. He had moreover condemned the writings which Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret had composed against St. Cyril. On the complaint of Andrew, the Council of Antioch ordered the Bishops of Osroene⁶ to abstain from communion with Rabbūla, till he had been summoned and tried in a judiciary way. About the same time Theodoret, who still retained his prejudices, wrote five books on the Incarnation, in opposition to the doctrine of St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. Of these only a few fragments now exist⁷. He also wrote letters of condolence to the people of Constantinople⁸, a large section of whom remained firm in their adherence to Nestorius.

The Catholics, on their part, being supported by all the weight of the imperial authority, adopted vigorous measures against the schismatics. Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, came to Tyana, to ordain a Bishop over that place in the room of Eutherius⁹; but Count Longras sent some Isaurians to the aid of Eutherius, who, thus reinforced, succeeded in foiling his opponents, and took several of them prisoners; among them the man whom Firmus had ordained in his stead. He pleaded that his ordination had been effected by force, put on the military habit¹, and went to the theatre to attend the public shows. At Marcianopolis, the metro-

A. D. 432.
CH. XVI.

¹ Socrat. 7.
² Liberat. c. 6.

³ Baluz. c. 39.

⁴ Supr. 25.
⁵ Baluz. c. 13.

⁶ c. 43, 44.

[⁶ or province of *Orrhoa*, see note on 25, 27. supr.]

⁷ Merc. Garn. pt. 2. p. 265.

Auct. Theod. ⁸ Baluz. Synod. c. 40, 47.

⁹ Baluz. c. 45.

[¹ *chlamydem*]

A. D. 432.
CH. XVII.

¹ c. 46.

² Conc.
Const. [ap.
C. Chalced.
t. 4. p. 183.
230.

³ Baluz. c.
49. 48. 47.

XVII.
Aristolaus
sent to pro-
cure peace.
⁴ Epist.
Cyr. ad
Acac. Conc.
Eph. pt. 3.
c. 35. [p.
1114.] et
c. 23. [p.
1082.]

polis of Mæsia, Saturninus was ordained to succeed Dorotheus, one of the partizans of Nestorius¹; and Plintha, Master of the Militia, went to put him in possession of his see; the people raised an opposition, which was sturdily and, for some time, effectually persevered in; but he at length carried his point, and continued Bishop of Marciapolis². An attempt was made to expel Helladius, Bishop of Tarsus, because he refused to admit the name of Maximian into the registers³. Many other Bishops were forced in the same way to quit their sees³.

To arrest the progress of these disorders the Emperor Theodosius sent for Maximian⁴, and many other Bishops who had remained at Constantinople after his ordination, to advise with them on the means of procuring peace to the Church. "We must begin," they said, "by coming to an agreement about the Faith. Let John of Antioch anathematize the doctrine of Nestorius, and consent to his deposition; and let Cyril on his side forget what took place at Ephesus." The Emperor approved of this advice, and wrote a letter to John of Antioch, in which he says; "You shall repair to Nicomedia forthwith, bringing no Bishops with you, but only some few clerks to wait upon you. We have also enjoined the most holy Bishop Cyril to attend us there; but we would have neither of you come into our presence until you have seen one another, and are perfectly reconciled. In the mean time no further steps shall be taken touching the depositions and ordinations of Bishops; all things shall continue in their present state. The clergy may suffice for the service of the Church, until an entire reconciliation has been brought about." This letter mentions Pope St. Cælestine as living, so that it was, clearly, written before the news of his death had reached Constantinople, that is, before the end of April, 432. The Emperor wrote at the same time to Acacius of Berrhæa⁵, as being the oldest Bishop of Syria, and as having the greatest

⁵ c. 23.

⁴ The use of the *diptycha* or church-registers was alluded to above, xxii. 42, note h. The one here spoken of belonged to the second class, which contained the names of living benefactors or men in high station. So Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Rom.* l. 5. (quoted by

Suicer, s. v.) states it as one of the conditions of peace between Palæologus and the Pope, "that in the sacred hymns the Pope should be mentioned in the *diptycha* along with the other four Patriarchs."

influence over John of Antioch. He also wrote to St. Simeon the Stylite¹, whose miraculous life gave great weight to his declared sentiments. Aristolaus, Tribune and Notary, was ordered to deliver these letters; and Plintha, Master of the Militia, was commanded to assist him with soldiers upon occasion.

As soon as John of Antioch was informed of this, fearing that he might be carried by force to Constantinople, he wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis, the most zealous of the schismatics, saying², "If it remain open for me to go or stay
" as I choose, I should still want you here, that we might
" consult together as to what answer I should return; if I am
" to have violence offered me, let us at least be able to bid
" each other farewell. Though indeed my health is so bad,
" that in spite of all the compulsory means resorted to by Cyril,
" it is impossible for me to perform the journey; nay, some
" of my friends have written me word that a plot is formed
" to assassinate me on the road. I beg of you, then, that
" after the assembly³ which is usually held about this time
" at Cyrus, you will come without delay, and bring with you
" the holy Bishop Theodoret, and any others that you may
" meet with. Your plea for coming may be, that you wish
" to pay your respects to the Master of Soldiers⁴."

Alexander came to Antioch accordingly, attended by Marcarius of Laodicea, Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, and apparently some others. They found that the reports which had been spread about the violence that was intended against John of Antioch were utterly groundless; Aristolaus did not even press him to go to Nicomedia, but allowed him to hold a Council at Antioch. The Easterns there assembled drew up six propositions, to which they required St. Cyril to assent. We have none of them remaining except the first; but this contained all that was essential: it was to this effect⁵; "We
" adhere to the Nicene Creed, and the exposition given of it
" by the blessed Athanasius in his letter to Epictetus. But
" the new dogmas, advanced in certain letters or articles, we
" reject, as calculated to create disturbance." This refers to the writings of St. Cyril, and especially to the twelve Articles. Acacius of Berrhæa enclosed the six propositions to St. Cyril in a letter which he sent him exhorting him to

A. D. 432.
CH. XVII.
c. 25.

² Baluz.
Synod.
c. 50.

[³ Collecta]

[⁴ i. e.
Plintha.]

⁵ Baluz.
[c. 53.]

432. peace. Aristolaus undertook to convey it himself to Alex-
 cviii. andria, which he did; and he also deputed an officer, named
 5. Maximus, to take back St. Cyril's answer to Acacius¹.

III. The answer set forth that the Easterns, when they pro-
 Cyril's posed that he should condemn all that he had written pre-
 to viously to the Council of Ephesus, demanded what was plainly
 us of impossible. "That the Nicene Creed is sufficient," he says²,
 6. [p. "I admit, but what I have written is only in opposition to
 " the new errors of Nestorius; if I should now retract this,
 " it would follow that he has been in the right, and that we
 " were therefore wrong in condemning and deposing him.
 " You see, then, that far from desiring peace they throw us
 " back upon the original cause of division. Why did they
 " not rather join with us on their arrival at Ephesus in con-
 " demning Nestorius? Suppose they did come a little too
 " late, yet what hindered them from looking over the Acts,
 " and approving what had been decided by the rest? If
 " peradventure we erred on some point, was it therefore
 " necessary that they should disdain even to speak to us?
 " We had suffered the blasphemies of Nestorius three years
 " long, and during all this time used our endeavours (as you
 " also did) to bring him back to the truth. At length the
 " Council, seeing that he persisted at Ephesus in the same
 " course, and that he was past remedy obstinate and im-
 " penitent, deprived him of the priesthood. But the Council
 " at the same time confirmed the Nicene Creed; [for this
 " was the very ground of their sentence against him, that he
 " would not teach according to this creed, but sought to ob-
 " literate its doctrines by familiarizing men's ears with state-
 " ments foreign to the teaching of the Church.] For my
 " part, whatever outrages I have suffered, I am ready for the
 " love of God, and from respect to the Emperor who desires
 " it, and for the good of the Church, to forget all and forgive
 " all as to brethren. But it is also the will of God and of
 " the Emperor to sanction the sentence passed upon Nes-
 " torius, and to anathematize his blasphemies. Nothing be-
 " yond this is required to restore peace among the Churches.
 " As some inconsiderate men accuse me of holding the
 " errors of Apollinarius, Arius, or Eunomius; I declare, that
 " by the gr^α of ΣΑΥΙΟΥΤΗΡ, I have been always orthodox;

“ I anathematize Apollinarius, and all other heretics ; I confess that the body of JESUS CHRIST is animated by a reasonable soul, and this without commixture¹ : and that the Divine WORD is in His own nature immutable, and impassible. But I affirm that one and the same CHRIST and LORD, the only begotten SON of GOD Himself suffered for us in the flesh, as saith St. Peter². As to the twelve Articles, they relate only to the dogmas of Nestorius, and when peace shall have been restored to the Churches, and we can write freely, and with brotherly confidence to each other, it will be easy to satisfy every body as to these articles ; for our doctrine and conduct is approved by all the Bishops throughout the Roman empire, and we ought to take care to maintain peace with them. I may add that the Tribune Aristolaus has so far soothed the minds of the clergy at Alexandria, and of all the Egyptian Bishops, who were sorely grieved at what the Easterns have done against me, that I find the way towards an accommodation very much smoothed.” Such was St. Cyril’s answer to Acacius of Berrhæa. The Pope St. Sixtus also wrote to him about the same time³, exhorting him probably to use his endeavours to effect a re-union.

A. D. 432.
CH. XVIII.

[¹ neque confusio- nem vel confermentationem vel refusionem factam.]

² 1 Pet. 4 1.

³ Synod. c. 55.

St. Cyril’s letter was variously received by the Easterns. Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch were satisfied with it. They found it in no way contradictory to the Catholic doctrine ; they thought that the two natures of CHRIST were acknowledged with sufficient distinctness ; and they believed it their duty to receive the rest with a favourable construction⁴. Acacius therefore wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis⁵, requesting him to come, if possible, to Antioch, and give his approbation to the answer which John and the other Bishops there assembled were to return to St. Cyril, or at least to signify his approval of it by letter. He wrote to the same effect to Theodoret, and forwarded St. Cyril’s letter to both of them. Theodoret approved the doctrine contained in it, and believed that St. Cyril had forsaken the error which, in Theodoret’s opinion, he had formerly maintained in the twelve Articles⁶ ; but he refused to subscribe the condemnation of Nestorius, saying that he could not condemn a man whom he had not judged, and who was in reality orthodox,

[⁴ condescensio]
⁵ c. 55.

⁶ c. 60. 66. 70. 71. 72.

since he had only been condemned on the evidence of some pretended extracts from his writings¹.

But Alexander of Hierapolis absolutely rejected St. Cyril's letter, pretending that he could still perceive the same errors in it as before²; and he required St. Cyril first of all to condemn his twelve Articles³; for no indulgent constructions, he maintained, ought to be admitted in matters of faith⁴. "When I saw this change," he says⁵, "in Acacius and John, I prayed that the earth might open its mouth to receive me; and truly, had not the fear of God restrained me, I should have fled to the desert, and sought out its most distant retreats^a. I would sooner pluck out my right eye, and cut off my right hand, than assent to this impiety⁷." He proposed, however⁸, that two or three of the Easterns should go to Egypt to ascertain more distinctly what St. Cyril's opinions were. Maximin of Anazarbus⁹, Helladius of Tarsus¹, and Eutherius of Tyana², were of the same opinion as Alexander, and absolutely rejected the letter of St. Cyril. Andrew of Samosata so far agreed with Alexander, that he believed Cyril was still in error³; but he also believed with Theodoret that, to secure the advantages of peace, there was nothing to prevent their using a leniency of construction⁴, which would enable them to condemn in general those who admitted two Sons, or who said that JESUS CHRIST was a mere man.

John of Antioch was of opinion that they should not require any thing more of St. Cyril, now that he had distinctly condemned the errors of Apollinarius and the confusion of the natures. Thus predisposed to seek peace, he went to Berrhæa, to visit the aged Bishop Acacius, whom they all looked up to as their father, and who employed the whole of his influence in trying to bring about a union⁵. After mature deliberation, reflecting how much more easily affairs of such a nature can be discussed in conversation⁶, they agreed that Paul, Bishop of Emesa, should be requested to go to Egypt

^{c.} ^a This sort of feeling is often given vent to by Alexander and his friends (though in less highly-coloured language). Theodoret, for instance, says that affairs wore so gloomy an aspect that he had sent word to the Archimandrite of his monastery to get a room ready for him (c. 66). So too Helladius (c. 68). Nestorius apparently reproached them with being prevented from taking this step by worldly motives (c. 120).

and confer with St. Cyril. Paul was an aged man of great ability, and one in whom they could repose confidence; it was he who subscribed for Acacius of Berrhæa at the Council of Ephesus. As soon as he had undertaken to perform the journey, John of Antioch communicated their resolution to Alexander of Hierapolis, desiring him to give his consent to it, and remonstrating with him that the times were such as did not allow of managing matters with rigorous precision, or with absolute power; that there was no occasion for him now to forsake every thing, or offer himself to martyrdom: what they ought rather to do was, to labour to restore tranquillity to the troubled Church. Alexander shewed no relish for this proposition, and remained inflexible¹; Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, however, and all the other Bishops of Mæsia, approved of the deputation of Paul; requesting that Cyril should be obliged to acknowledge in CHRIST two natures without confusion, [and to anathematize the Capitula².] [¹ c. 77. 136.
² c. 78.]

Paul of Emesa was obliged to wait some time after his arrival at Alexandria³, as he found St. Cyril confined by a violent attack of sickness⁴. St. Cyril afterwards had many long conversations with him on the subject of the proceedings against him at Ephesus; but willing to forget the past, and proceed to matters of greater importance, he asked him whether he brought any letter from John of Antioch. Paul delivered one to him, in which John said⁵, “I had always previously maintained a special affection for you, and that even without having seen you, but those articles were the cause of our estrangement. I could not at first believe them to be yours, so widely discrepant were they from the doctrine of the Church. These you have already, in a great measure, corrected; and you have raised in us great hopes for the future by your letter to Acacius, which gladdened the hearts of all who love the peace of the Church. [We shall look forward to the fulfilment of the promise you made that as soon as peace is restored, we shall come to a better understanding. What most rejoices us, is that you received favourably the letter of our common father, the blessed Athanasius, which is of itself sufficient to terminate all our differences.” He then exhorts St. Cyril to join him in labouring for peace, that a stop might be put to the mutual

A. D. 432.
CH. XIX.

¹ c. 77. 136.

[² c. 78.]

³ Cyr. ad
Acac. ap.
C. Eph.
pt. 3. c. 35.
[⁴ Synod. c.
203. p. 908.]

⁵ Synodic.
c. 80.

A. D. 432. anathematizing and persecution of the Bishops, the division
 CH. XIX. the people, and the insulting scoffs of the Jews and pagans.
 In conclusion, he commends to him Paul of Emesa, desiring
 that he would speak to him with no less confidence than
 would to himself.

St. Cyril was not satisfied with this letter of John of
 Antioch¹; the reproaches it contained were more adapted
 to thought, to exasperate than to appease him; so that although
 it was a letter of communion, he would not receive it, and
 said, "What? Will they, who ought to ask pardon for the
 offence, give us fresh offence? I rather expected some consolation."
 Paul of Emesa assured him on his oath², that they had
 not intended to give him any offence, but that John had
 written to him out of pure simplicity and zeal for the
 doctrine. St. Cyril was willing to make use of a charitable
 dissimulation and to receive this excuse; but before he
 would suffer Paul to attend prayers in the church³, he obliged him
 to give his declaration in writing that he renounced the schism.
 It was drawn up in the form of a letter to St. Cyril, though
 it addresses him as present⁴. It states that in pursuance of
 the Emperor's order, John of Antioch and Acacius of Beroe
 had sent him to St. Cyril; that he had found him disposed
 to peace, and had received from him a writing, in which
 the Catholic Faith was set down in all its purity; "This
 says, "was the point of greatest importance. And because
 it is necessary that what relates to Nestorius should all
 be settled, I declare that we receive the ordination of the
 holy Bishop Maximian; that we look upon Nestorius
 as Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; that we anathematize
 the impieties he has taught, and that we sincerely
 embrace your communion, according to the exposition
 which we have given you of our views respecting the Incarnation
 of the WORD, which exposition you have received as
 embodying your own faith, and a copy of which is inserted
 in this paper. By this act of communion we put an end

¹ Cyr. ad
 Acac. p.
 1115. A.

² Ep. ad
 Don. c. 33.
 p. 1152. E.

[³ ἀπομύ-
 ρησις]

[⁴ ἐν τῇ
 ἑστῆσιν]

⁵ C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 28.

^c This is not quite accurate. "Anathematisms pour out," he says, "in clouds: brother assails brother, Priest Priest, and nation nation. Some with Apollinarius call the whole Christian Church *Jews*, because they oppose the errors of that

"enemy of God;" as if the fact that CHRIST was perfect man, implied that He was a mere man: "and again call them *pagans*;" as if 'taking of the manhood into God' implied the deification of one who had been man.

“the troubles which may have originated with either party, A. D. 433.
 “and restore the Churches to their former tranquillity.” CH. XIX.
 The exposition of faith is not found inserted in this declaration, but it must be the same with that which was afterwards inserted in the letter of John of Antioch.

Having made this declaration, Paul was admitted to the Church-prayers¹, and took his place as Bishop in the great church of Alexandria, where he preached a sermon to the people², in the presence of St. Cyril, on Christmas-day, December the twenty-fifth (in the Egyptian calendar, the twenty-ninth of Choiak) of the same year, 432. He began by proclaiming “peace on earth,” with the Angels; and then, entering upon the mystery which we commemorate on that day, he said plainly, “Mary, Mother of God, brought forth **EMMANUEL.**” The people, when they heard it, cried out, “Behold this is the Faith: it is God’s gift, O orthodox Cyril! this is what we wished to hear. He that speaks not thus, let him be anathema.” Paul of Emesa proceeded; “Who-soever says not or thinks not thus, let him be anathema, and cut off from the Church:” then resuming the thread of his discourse, and proceeding to explain the mystery of the Incarnation, he says; “Forasmuch as the concurrence of the two perfect natures, I mean the Divinity and the humanity, has formed the one only Son, the one only **CHRIST**, the one only **LORD.**” At these words, the people again interrupted him with shouts of, “You are welcome³, [καλωσθηθεσ]
 “O orthodox Bishop, worthy of Cyril, gift of God!” Paul concluded his sermon in a few words, expressly anathematizing those who spoke of two Sons, or said that **EMMANUEL** was a mere man; and extolling the confession made by St. Peter, when he acknowledged one only Son of the living God⁴. He then broke off, to allow St. Cyril to deliver the address usual in such cases⁵. 4 Matt. 16. 16. [5 Supr. 25. 2.]

Paul of Emesa, not having had time enough to explain himself fully on that day, preached a second time⁶ in the great church of Alexandria, eight days afterwards; that is, on the sixth of Tibi, or first of January, A.D. 433. In this sermon, which is longer than the former, he carefully unfolds the mystery of the Incarnation in opposition to the errors of Nestorius and Apollinarius. The people twice interrupted 6 Ibid. c. 32.

A. D. 433. him (as before) with applause and acclamation ; and St. Cyril
CH. XX.
1 c. 33. added a few words on the same subject¹.

It was Paul's wish that in making the declaration in writing as he had done, he should be considered to represent in his own person both John of Antioch and all the Eastern Bishops²; and that nothing further therefore should be required of them.

2 Ep. ad Acac. Mel. C. Eph. p. 1115. B. In this he was overruled by St. Cyril, who maintained that the declaration could serve only for himself, and peremptorily insisted that John of Antioch should likewise give his declaration in writing. St. Cyril remained inflexible also on the subject of the four deposed Bishops, whose restoration Paul had at first stated to be indispensable³. (They were Helladius of Tarsus, Eutharius of Tyana, Himerius of Nicomedia, and Dorotheus of Marcianopolis.) St. Cyril declared that he could never give his assent to any such act, nor were they eventually included in the peace.

3 Ep. ad Donat. C. Eph. p. 1153. C, D. St. Cyril and Paul of Emesa drew up in concert the declaration that John of Antioch was to sign⁴. Two of St. Cyril's clergy were appointed to carry it, along with a letter of communion for him ; but he was not to receive the latter until he had signed the declaration. The two Clerks accompanied the Tribune Aristolaus, who returned to Antioch murmuring at the tedious character of the negotiation. He promised St. Cyril on oath, that the purpose which the declaration was intended to serve, should not be frustrated ; " And if Bishop " John," he added, " refuses to subscribe it, I will proceed " immediately to Constantinople, and tell the Emperor that " it is no fault of the Church of Alexandria if peace be not " made, but of the Bishop of Antioch only." The declaration contained an approval of Nestorius's deposition, and a condemnation of his tenets.

XX.
St. Cyril negotiates at Constantinople.

[3 Præposito]

[Eulogio.]

In the mean time St. Cyril was employing his influence at Constantinople to procure orders from the Court urging Aristolaus to bring the business to a conclusion, and pressing John of Antioch to abandon the cause of Nestorius. St. Cyril wrote with this view to St. Pulcheria—to Paul, Præfect of the Chamber⁵—to Romanus, Chamberlain—to the lady Marcella and the lady Droseria—sending them at the same time blessings⁶, that is, presents. Another Præfect, called Chrysoretus, who was opposed to the in-

terests of the Church, received similar presents, besides being solicited to desist from his persecution by two other officers¹, to whom presents were sent^d. We learn all this from a letter written by Epiphanius, St. Cyril's Archdeacon and Syncellus, to Maximian of Constantinople², in which the latter is entreated to throw the weight of his authority into the same scale. "Beg of the Empress Pulcheria," says the letter, "to write sharply to John, warning him never more to mention that impious person," that is, Nestorius; "and let a pressing letter be written to Aristolaus too. Entreat the holy Abbot Dalmatius to send to the Emperor, binding him and the officers of the chamber by awful adjurations³ never again to make mention of Nestorius; desire also the holy Eutyches to contend for us." This is the same that was afterwards the heresiarch⁴. Epiphanius adds, "You will see by the memorial subjoined⁵ who the persons are to whom presents have been sent, and how much the holy Church of Alexandria has done for you. Our clergy are grieved to think that their Church is stripped on account of these troubles, and that over and above the sum which has been transmitted, it owes to the Count Ammonius fifteen hundred pounds' weight of gold^e. We have again written to him to advance money; but do you rather advance it, to such as are known to be covetous, at the expense of your Church, for otherwise the Church of Alexandria will be over-burdened. Entreat Pulcheria to displace Chrysoretus, and put Lausus in his room; for without some such check on his power we shall still be subject to much maltreatment." This letter shews us something of what was going on at Constantinople.

There were some in the imperial city who declared themselves opposed to the reconciliation. These spread a report that St. Cyril had recanted, and condemned what he had

¹ New Rome it seems, kept up the character of the old stock on which it was engrafted: it retained the Odrysian rule, which prevailed indeed throughout the whole of Thrace—to receive rather than to give; so that it was more discreditable when asked for a gift to refuse it, than to ask and meet with a repulse. At the seat of govern-

ment this system was so extensively practised that it was impossible to get any business attended to unless you were lavish of your presents." (ὁ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξιαι οὐδέτις μὴ δίδουρα δῶρα. Thucyd. ii. 97.)

^e Auri libras mille quingentas; i. e. about 1355 pounds Troy, or 63. 310*l*. in standard gold.

A. D. 433.
CH. XX.

[¹ Scholasticus and Arthebas.]
² Synodic. c. 203. [P. 907.]

[³ terribili conjuratione]

[⁴ infr. 27. 23.]
[⁵ subjectus brevis]

A. D. 433. written against Nestorius; for thus the Nestorians, who
 CH. XXI. sought to retrace their steps, wished his letter to Acacius of
 Berrhæa to be construed. This obliged St. Cyril to send a
 letter to the Priests Theognostus and Chamosinus, and the
 Deacon Leontius, who were his Apocrisiarii at Constanti-
 nople¹, that is, who acted at Court as solicitors in matters
 relating to his Church². He gives them an account of all
 that had passed, from the letter with which Acacius of
 Berrhæa had opened the negotiation³, up to the period of
 his writing: he concludes in these words; "Let no one,
 " therefore, feel any anxiety; we are not yet so far advanced
 " in dotage as to anathematize what we have written. We
 " abide by our old opinions, for they are sound, and con-
 " formable to Scripture and to the faith of our fathers."

¹ Cyril.
 opp. t. v.
 p. 152. (alt.

² Supr.
 25. 51. f.]
³ Supr.c.17.

XXI.
 John of
 Antioch
 reconciled.

John of Antioch at length submitted. He wrote a letter
 to St. Cyril, in which he says that for the good of the
 Church, and in obedience to the Emperor's orders, he has
 commissioned Paul of Emesa to conclude a peace, and to
 deliver in his name the exposition of faith which they had
 agreed upon, in these terms⁴: "As to the Virgin Mary,
 " Mother of God, and the mode of the Incarnation, we are
 " obliged to say what we think of them,—not as if we would
 " add any thing whatsoever to the Nicene Creed, or pretend
 " to explain mysteries which are ineffable, but to stop the
 " mouths of those who wish to attack us. We declare, then,
 " that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is the only SON of GOD;
 " perfect GOD and perfect man, composed of a reasonable
 " soul and a body; in respect of His GODHEAD, 'begotten of
 " 'the Father before all worlds,' and the same, according to
 " the humanity, born in these latter days, for our salvation,
 " of the Virgin Mary; in respect of His GODHEAD, consub-
 " stantial with the Father, and the same consubstantial with
 " us, according to the humanity; for the two natures have
 " been united: and therefore we confess one CHRIST, one
 " SON, one LORD. In consistence with the notion of this
 " union without confusion⁵, we confess that the holy Virgin
 " is Mother of God, because GOD the WORD was Incarnate
 " and made man, and, from the very act of conception⁶, united
 " to Himself the temple which He took from her. As to the
 " expressions concerning our LORD in the Evangelists and

[⁵ ἀσυν-
 χύτου ἐνώ-
 σεως]

[⁶ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 τῆς συλ-
 λήψεως]

⁴ C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 30.
 [p. 1094.
 B.]

"Apostles, we know that divines apply some of them in
 "common, as to one person, and others separately, as to two
 "natures; teaching that such as are worthy of God¹ relate
 "to the Divinity of CHRIST, and those of a meaner kind to
 "His humanity.

A. D. 433.
 CH. XXI.
 [1 *θεωπε-*
τεις
v. Basil.
De Fide, t.
1. p. 430. E.
ed. 1638.]

"Having received this confession of faith, we have agreed,
 "in order to procure universal peace and remove all grounds
 "of offence from the Church, to look upon Nestorius, late
 "Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; and we anathema-
 "tize the evil and profane novelties of words introduced by
 "him; for our Churches preserve the sound and right faith
 "no less than your holiness does. We also approve the or-
 "dination of the most holy Bishop Maximian to the Church
 "of Constantinople, and we are in communion with all the
 "Bishops in the world, who hold and preach the pure and
 "Orthodox Faith."

Peace having been thus made, St. Cyril declared the joyful
 news to his people, in a short sermon² preached on the twenty-
 eighth of Pharmouthi in the first indiction, that is, April the
 twenty-third, A.D. 433. He then ordered the letter of John
 of Antioch to be read in the church, along with his own
 answer, which he sent by Paul of Emesa³. This, in addition
 to various expressions of joy and avowals of friendship, con-
 tained the declaration of John of Antioch, and some doctrinal
 explanations, which St. Cyril made in order to remove the
 scruples of the Easterns. "I am accused," he says⁴, "of
 "affirming that CHRIST's sacred body was not taken from
 "the Holy Virgin, but brought from heaven. How can they
 "have brought themselves to imagine this, when almost the
 "whole of our dispute turned on my maintaining that she is
 "Mother of God? How could she be this, or whom could
 "she have brought forth, if the body had come from heaven?
 "But when we say that CHRIST came down from heaven,
 "we follow St. Paul, who says⁵, 'The first man was of the
 "'earth, earthy; the second Man was from heaven;' and
 "our SAVIOUR Himself says⁶, 'No man hath ascended up to
 "'heaven, but He who came down from heaven, even the
 "'SON of Man.' For although it be properly the WORD
 "who came down from heaven, yet by virtue of the unity of
 "person we may attribute the same to the man."

C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 29.
 C. 34.
 p. 1107. E.
 1 Cor.
 15. 47.
 John 3. 13.

As to the other reproach, that he admitted a commixture or confusion of the Word with the flesh, he says¹, "So far am I from holding any such opinion, that I believe a man must have lost his senses before he can suppose the Divine Word subject to even the least semblance of change². He ever abides what He is, incapable of alteration. We all acknowledge, too, that He is impassible, although He ascribes to Himself the sufferings incidental to the flesh, even as St. Peter so wisely said: 'CHRIST having suffered in the flesh,' not in His Divinity." He further declares, that he in all things follows the Doctrine of the Fathers, especially of St. Athanasius, and embraces the Creed of Nicæa, not allowing a syllable of it to be altered, knowing that it was not the Fathers who spoke it, but the very Spirit of God³. He concludes thus⁴: "Having learnt that some have corrupted the letter of our father Athanasius to Epictetus⁵, to the hurt of many souls, we deem it our duty to send you a copy of it taken from the manuscripts preserved in our archives."

The fact was⁶, that Paul of Emesa, when conversing with St. Cyril on the Faith, asked him very seriously, if he agreed with what St. Athanasius had written to Epictetus. "Have you the letter," answered St. Cyril, "in its genuine form?—for many things in it have been altered by the enemies of the truth: if you have, then I entirely agree with it in every respect." "I have the letter," said Paul, "and I should be glad to ascertain fully, from the copies you possess, whether it has been falsified or not." The old copies were therefore put into his hand. After collating them with his own copy, he was satisfied that the latter was corrupt, and urged St. Cyril to get a transcript of the Alexandrian copies made and sent to Antioch, [which was accordingly done.]

As soon as John of Antioch received intelligence of this agreement, he communicated it to Theodoret¹, promising to send him more definite information on the arrival of Paul of

¹ A copy of this celebrated letter is preserved in the Vatican Library (Mores, 77), and is printed in the editions of the works of Athanasius's work published there.

from it was inserted in the first Act of the Council of Ephesus (supr. 25. 41. and Conc. Chal. t. iv. p. 287); it is again quoted by St. Cyril in his Apologetic (Conc. t. iii. p. 836).

Emesa, who was now on his way back from Egypt. Theodoret, A. D. 433.
CH. XXII. however, looked on the peace with great suspicion, and refused to be a party to it, unless those who had been deposed for what he considered the good cause were restored to their Churches¹. John of Antioch next wrote to all the Bishops of c. 87. the East, to inform them of the peace; "Cyril and we are of the same opinion," he says²; "we both preserve the same c. 2.
[p. 687.] faith. The letter which he sent to me proves that there is no difference between us, nor any reasonable grounds for suspecting a difference; it is plainly and unambiguously in harmony with our propositions throughout. He receives, nay, commends our expressions, and expounds [his own views in similar language, only interweaving] the tradition of the Fathers, which was in danger of perishing, so to say, from among men. He distinctly teaches the difference of natures and identity of person in the SON of GOD, in such a way, that all who are well inclined cannot, I suppose, but be satisfied, while unbelievers and those who seek to revive the error of Apollinarius will be covered with confusion. However, I send you the letter itself, by which he satisfied us, as also the one I wrote to him; you will thus see that it is not by resorting either to meanness or servility that we have arrived at this happy agreement."

Aristolaus, after this successful issue of his negotiation, returned to Constantinople with a letter from John of Antioch to the Emperor³, informing him that peace was made, and c. 91. that St. Cyril and he were mutually satisfied; that he approved of the ordination of Maximian and the deposition of Nestorius, whose pernicious doctrine he anathematizes. "We entreat you," he adds, "if you wish that the joy you are giving to the world should be unalloyed by any painful feeling, and that no city should be excluded from an interest in it, to issue orders enjoining the restoration of the Bishops who have been driven in these unsettled times from their Churches. You will thus erase every trace of past animosity. Nor will such a course be without precedent; for in former times, when cases similar to the present occurred, the original Bishops were restored to their sees, and those who had been ordained during the disturbances forbore the exercise of their functions so long

A. D. 433. "as the others lived." This seems to have been written with a view to satisfy Theodoret and some others, who refused to listen to any proposals of peace until the deposed Bishops were restored¹.

John of Antioch also wrote, in the name of himself and the Bishops who were with him, a letter of communion to Pope St. Sixtus, St. Cyril, and Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople². He professes to approve the sentence passed by the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, sanctioning his deposition, and anathematizing his impious tenets; to acquiesce in the ordination of Maximian; and to be in communion with the Bishops of the whole world.

St. Cyril, too, wrote both to St. Sixtus³ and to Maximian⁴, informing them of the favourable aspect of affairs. His letters arrived at Rome first; the Pope being at the time in Council with the Bishops, who had come to celebrate the anniversary of his consecration⁵. The people were assembled in St. Peter's, when the happy news reached them. The Pope sent letters of congratulation to St. Cyril⁶ and to John of Antioch⁷; both letters bear the same date, the seventeenth of September, 433⁷. St. Sixtus was ordained on the twenty-sixth of April; either, therefore, the Bishops must have been convened at a later period, or the session must have been one of unusual length^b. The Pope says, in his letter to St. Cyril⁸, that he does not believe John of Antioch ever to have held the error of Nestorius, but only to have suspended his judgment for the time.

Some seeds of Nestorianism had been carried even as far as Spain¹. There were some there who would not allow it to

¹ *Natalis dies*: C. Eph. p. 1176. E. It was usual for Bishops to celebrate the day of their accession by a solemn service, to which the neighbouring Bishops were invited. We have two sermons preached by St. Augustine on the anniversary of his own ordination, *Serm.* 383, 339. (al. 24, 25. ex quin-quag.) The solemnity was one of especial splendour at Rome. The four first of Leo the Great's homilies were delivered on occasions of this kind. He addresses his audience as *consacerdotes*, i. e. brother-Bishops: for none but these were ordinarily present; v. Dufresne, s. v., who rightly quotes, in

proof of this, Paulinus, Ep. 20 (al. 16) ad Delph., where it is expressly stated. Binius, when he denied that this passage relates to the anniversary of Anastasius's election (ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1037), had, perhaps, read only the extract given by Baronius, ad ann. 398.

² The difficulty is in a great measure done away, if we adopt Pagi's Chronology (§ 5, 6; in Baron. a. 432), according to which Cælestine died July 18, and Sixtus was consecrated July 24.

³ The state of the Church in Spain consequent upon the irruption of the barbarians was depicted, *supr.* 23. 5.

CH. XXII.

¹ c. 87.

² C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 27.

³ *Ibid.* c. 43. *init.*
⁴ c. 39.

⁵ c. 41.

⁶ c. 42.

⁷ 15. Kal. Octobris, Theodosio xiv. et Maximo Coss.
⁸ p. 1177. A.

be said that God was born, and maintained that He who was born of the Virgin and suffered upon the cross was a mere man. Two of the faithful, Vitalis and Tonantius (or Constantius) by name, having brought against the heretics such arguments as they were masters of, wrote to Capreolus¹, Bishop of Carthage^k, for further instruction in the orthodox belief. Capreolus sent them a long letter in reply², in which [after congratulating them on their adherence to the old Catholic rule of faith, and expressing his confident trust that the LORD of all still has, 'in all places of His dominion,' those who labour faithfully in the Gospel harvest] he refers to the event which had just taken place in the East, the condemnation of the heresy in question by the Council of Ephesus. [This, involving as it did the authority of the Church universal, would of course be sufficient, he says, for all devout minds;] yet, as they wished it, he would explain the views held by evangelical antiquity respecting this mystery, and the necessity of believing the personal unity of Christ.

This heresy was refuted about the same time in Gaul by Vincentius of Lerins in his 'Warning against Heresy,' the date of which is fixed by what he says at the close of the second part, that, "about three years have elapsed since the Council of Ephesus was held." Vincentius was brother to

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIII.

¹ Edit. Sirmond. an. 1630. [item ap. Sirm. opp. t. i. p. 363.] [² p. 364.]

XXIII.
Writings of Vincentius of Lerins.

Since that time (A.D. 413) the country had been a prey to the successive hordes which entered it and contested its possession,—the Vandals, the Alans, the Sueves, and the Visigoths. At the period we are now considering the two former of these tribes had crossed over to Africa, so that the rival parties were now the Arian Goths under King Theodorid (A.D. 419—452), and the Catholic Sueves under Theodemir (A.D. 411—440), v. Cennius de Antiq. Eccl. Hisp. t. i. p. 186. The result of this unsettled state of things was that "it was a hard thing for one of God's Priests to visit another, and for a Council to be held was rare indeed." (Leo M. Ep. ad Turib. Concilia. t. iii. p. 1410.) Hence the worst forms of heresy were easily introduced, and found time to strike root and propagate off-shoots. Whether this was the case with Nestorianism (as heresy when driven from the heart was wont to seize

on the extremities), or whether it was an independent development of a similar error, we cannot say. Certainly, the Spanish heretics were less ambiguous in their profaneness than Nestorius, for they plainly asserted that "He who was born of Mary was a mere man whom God made His dwelling, until the Crucifixion, and then God deserted him." (Ep. Vit. et Ton.) This to a plain mind would be the necessary complement of Nestorius's way of speaking about the Incarnation.

^k There seems to have been a good deal of connexion between the Spanish and African Churches in early times. Thus in the well-known affair of Basilides, the Spanish Bishops wrote to St. Cyprian. (Cypr. Ep. 67. ed. Oxon.) A resemblance has been pointed out in their ecclesiastical discipline, by Cennius, de Ant. Eccl. H. Diss. i. c. 4. §§ 7, 10, 11.

A. D. 433. St. Lupus of Troyes¹; and having passed part of his life in the secular warfare² (by which we are probably to understand the public service) he retired to the monastery of Le...

CH. XXIII.

¹Not. Baluz. p. 431.

²Common.

§ 1. [Secularis militie. Cf.

Hieron. ad

Nepot. t. iv.

pt. 2. p. 257.]

³ p. 317.

The leisure which he there enjoyed was employed in writing for his private use two treatises, containing excellent instructions for the defence of oneself against heresy. The real name of the writer is concealed under that of Peregrinus, or 'Pilgrim.' His fundamental maxim is, to adhere firmly to the authority of the divine law, and in the next place to the tradition of the Catholic Church³. Scripture is not of itself sufficient, since [its depth is such that] it is variously interpreted; every heretic pretending that it is the rule of the Catholic Church; and in the Church itself we must hold that which has been believed at all times, in all places, and by all; for such only can be truly termed Catholic, the Universal. If, therefore, a part of the Church break off from communion with the rest, we must prefer the [solid body to the divided member; if attempts are made to divide the Church with novel errors, we must cling to the doctrine of antiquity. We are to consult the works of approved doctors who have lived in different places and diverse ages, yet all in the communion of the same Church, and so look upon that as certainly to be believed which has been taught by all clearly, unanimously, and without variation.]

[⁴ uno eodemque consensu, aperte, frequenter, perseveranter.]

⁵ p. 319.

[⁶ propé cunctis Latini sermonis Episcopis.]

He then adduces the cases of the Donatists⁵, who separated from the rest of the Church, and of the Arians⁶, who had impressed into their ranks, by force or craft, all the Bishops of the West⁶. The Donatists were to be distinguished from the general body, the Arians from antiquity. He proceeds to urge, of primary importance, the maxim, that it is never lawful to introduce new religious tenets; when God permits any

¹ Vincentius himself says that he wrote in a secluded farm or hamlet (remotioris villulæ), which Noris (Hist. Pelag. ii. c. 11. p. 251) thinks could not apply to Lerins; he therefore supposes it to have been a monastery in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Antelmi (quoted by Galland., Proleg. 2. in t. x.) assents to the premise of this argument but fixes on Capo-Fulvi,

near Friuli, as the place of his retirement. Tillemont (t. xv. pp. 1860) acquiesces in what seems in Gennadius (De vir. ill. c. 6) he lived at Lerins; so, too, in Litt. de la France, t. ii. p. 306) happens, as Vincentius wished to distinguish himself, he intentionally used a definite phrase: (Tillemont, p.

of eminence in the Church to teach novelties¹, it is to try our faith². He quotes Nestorius as an instance of this last³: "He had gained the esteem of the Bishops and the love of the people; he preached daily, and refuted Jews, Pagans, and heretics; though," says Vincentius, "his talents tended rather to excite admiration than to edify, and were brilliant rather than effective." He also refers to the instances of Photinus and Apollinarius⁴, and takes the opportunity to give a summary account and refutation of all three heresies^m, more particularly establishing against Nestorius the personal unity of CHRIST, without, however, in any degree intrenching upon the distinctness of the two natures. "In God," he says⁵, "there is one substance but three persons; in CHRIST two substances but one person." He remarks⁶ that some abused the word 'person,' taking it in its original Latin sense of a fictitious character like those on the stage; so that when they said that God was made man personally (*per Personam*), they meant *in appearance*, relapsing into Manicheismⁿ.

After this digression he refers to the cases of Origen⁷ and Tertullian⁸ to shew that we can never rely on the authority of any single doctor; and recurs to his rule of adhering steadfastly to the doctrines of antiquity⁹, and of excluding novelty, which is the characteristic of heresy; and this, because the Christian doctrine is not a human invention, but a trust¹ which God has deposited with His Church². "Not," he says³, "that it is forbidden or is not even profitable to make advances⁴ in doctrine; but in doing this we must

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIII.
p. 329.
[² referring to 1 Cor. 2. 19, and Deut. 13.]
p. 330.

p. 331.

p. 335.

p. 337.

p. 342.

p. 345.

p. 346.

[¹ depositum]
² p. 347, 349.
³ p. 351, 352.
[⁴ profectus]

^m This is the ground of one of Antelmi's arguments in his ingenious Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed (Paris, 1693), where he assigns the authorship of it to Vincentius. "The heresies of Photinus, Apollinarius, and Nestorius are the only specific heresies aimed at in either:" (quæ in uno solæ præstringuntur hæreses, Ph. Ap. atque N., eadem in specie nec plures jugulantur in altero. p. 68.) He has tabulated the coincidences of expression between the Creed and the Commonitory (p. 54, 58, 62); and observes that the Lerinsians shewed a more than ordinary leaning of affection to the Creeds. Faustus's Treatise on the Holy Spirit was the fruit of his

lectures on the Creed (Gennadius, c. 87). Hilary published a valuable exposition of the Creed (*ambiendam Symboli expositionem*; Honorat. ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 740). Eucherius wrote some sermons on the Creed (*Bibl. Magn. t. v. pt. 1. p. 552*). Treves, the native place of Vincentius and the see of his intimate friend Severus, was the place from which the Creed *Quicumque* was first promulgated; and hence it might come to be assigned to Athanasius, who had lived there in banishment (Fleury, xi. 56).

ⁿ On the *Docetism* of the Manicheans, see Walch's *Hist. der Ketzereien*; Th. i. s. 760—2. Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich. t. ii. p. 519, sqq.*

A. D. 433. "only consolidate, expand, and illustrate it, without altering
 CH. XXIV. "or mutilating it. [Nor has the Church, when assembled
 "in general Councils, any other object than] to commit to
¹ p. 364. "writing the tradition it has received¹, and by a new word
 [non no- "to express the ancient faith²." He afterwards observes
 vum fidel- the different ways of dealing with different heresies, whether
 sensum no- of ancient or modern date³. Such (roughly) are the con-
 vae appella- tents of the first book. In the second⁴, the former rules
 tionis pro- were applied, and the way in which the authorities of the
 prietate sig- nando.] Fathers were to be made use of, was shewn by the example
² p. 361. sqq. of the Council of Ephesus. This second tract, however, was
³ p. 364. stolen from Vincentius while it was in sheets⁵, and he con-
⁴ Gennad. tented himself with subjoining to the first a recapitulation
 (atal. c. 66. of what he had said; concluding with the authorities of the
 [in schedu- two Popes, St. Sixtus and St. Cælestine, against Nestorius.
 lis])

XXIV. Vincentius several times, in the course of this work, men-
 Writings of tions the Pelagians as heretics who had been condemned; in
 St. Prosper. spite of this, however, he is supposed to be the Vincentius
 who was author of the objections to which St. Prosper wrote
 a reply^o. The supposition is based on the agreement of the
 name, and derives strength from his living so near Cassian
 and the other Priests of Marseilles, who about this time
 attacked the doctrine of St. Augustine concerning grace, as

^o The fact that Vincentius speaks of the Pelagians as heretics is of no great force in rebutting the charge of (what was afterwards called) Semi-Pelagianism. Cassian, we saw (supr. xxv. c. 13), did the same; and yet Noris (Hist. Pelag. l. ii. p. 246) makes him the founder of the Semi-Pelagian school. Indeed, Prosper (c. Collat.), when addressing Cassian, tells him that he had "broached a nondescript doctrine, as much at variance with the Pelagian as with that of Augustine" (tu informe nescio quid, tertium et utrique parti inconveniens, reperiisti).

Noris (u. s. p. 245), Natalis Alex. (Hist. Sæc. v. c. 3. art. 7. § 7), Pagi (ad ann. 434. § 16. sqq.), and Cave (Hist. Litt. t. i. p. 337) are inclined to attribute Semi-Pelagianism to Vincentius of Lerins. Baronius (ad ann. 431. § 188,) Labbe (Diss. de Script. t. ii. p. 489), Papebrok. (Acta SS., Maii. t. v. p. 285. n. 6), and the Hist. Litt. de

la France (t. ii. p. 309) acquit him. "However this may be," says Noris (p. 252), "no censure is implied either on the learning or the piety of Vincentius. The school referred to were not at that time heretics, but learned and holy men, called by St. Augustine 'brothers and friends' (de dono persever., in fine), and by Prosper (Ep. ad August.) 'holy men, of distinguished merit, studious of every virtue.' The doctrine of Augustine was then a moot-point, and so it remained for a hundred years, until the Council of Orange [infr. xxxii. c. 12]; nay, Prosper, in his letter [supr. xxiv. 60], owns that it was generally thought 'contrary to the opinion of the Fathers and to ecclesiastical consent.' What wonder, then, if Vincentius, complying with the great rule of his Commonitory, hesitated to follow what seemed the opinion of an individual?"

extravagant and dangerous, on account of certain consequences which it seemed to them to involve. These supposed objections are included by Vincentius in sixteen false and invidious propositions¹, which amount to this; that God will not save all mankind; that He has predestinated the greater part to be damned; that these cannot possibly be saved, and that God is the author of their sins. St. Prosper answered each of them singly, shewing how very different the doctrine of the Church was. Among other things he says, that God's predestination does not cause the fall of any man²; and that He does not forsake those who will hereafter leave Him until He is forsaken by them; on the contrary, He often hinders them from straying, or when they have strayed, causes them to return³.

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIV.

[¹ Prosper. opp. p. 335. sqq. et in Append. t. x. opp. August. p. 207.]

² ad obj. 12.

³ ad obj. 14.

St. Prosper also replied to the fifteen articles, above alluded to as having been drawn up by the Gallic divines in opposition to the doctrine of St. Augustine⁴. They came to much the same sense as those of Vincentius; namely, that predestination imposes upon men a fatal necessity of sinning; that free will is nothing; that God does not wish all men to be saved; and that CHRIST did not die for all. St. Prosper having replied to these objections in detail, reviews them all in the conclusion, assigning to each its proper character and due limitations. In this work he again says⁵, that they who fall are not forsaken by God to the end that they may forsake Him; but they abandoned Him, and so were themselves abandoned; and by their own will are changed from good to bad. And afterwards⁶; "If God causes him to fall who is living piously, then He returns evil for good, and He unjustly punishes the act of which He is impulsively the cause. Can any thing be more absurd or senseless than such a thought?" And further on⁷; "Although the Almighty power of God might have granted to those who are fallen power to have stood, yet His grace did not leave them until they left it." Again⁸; "If any man says that there are some who, whilst living piously, have the power of obedience withdrawn from them in order that they may cease to obey, he has a degraded notion of the goodness and justice of God." He shews that in one sense it may be said that not all men are called to grace,

[⁴ p. 316.]

⁵ ad obj. 3.
[p. 318.]

⁶ ad obj. 12.

⁷ Sent. 7.

⁸ Sent. 12.

- A. D. 433. since there are still nations who have not heard the Gospel,
 CH. XXIV. and in Christendom itself so many thousands of infants die
¹ ad obj. 4. unbaptized¹. “God, however, takes care of all men, and there
 “is none whom He does not warn, either by the preaching
 “of the Gospel, or the testimony of the law, or by nature
 “itself. Men’s infidelity is to be charged upon themselves,
² ad obj. 8. “their faith to be attributed to the gift of God².” “Although
 [p. 323.] “CHRIST died for all, yet His death profits those only to
 “whom it is particularly applied. [For no one is saved by
 “the cross of CHRIST who is not crucified in CHRIST; no
 “one is crucified in CHRIST who is not a member of CHRIST’s
 “body, and who has not, by water and the HOLY GHOST, put
³ ad obj. 9. “on CHRIST³.]” The Priests Camillus and Theodorus sent
 to Prosper, from Genoa, nine passages extracted from St. Au-
 gustine’s books on predestination and perseverance, respect-
 ing which they felt some scruples; he shewed them in his
 answers⁴ that these books contained nothing but what was
 [supp. p. 346, seq.] perfectly Catholic.

St. Prosper’s great work, however, in defence of St. Au-
 gustine, is the book ‘Against the Collator,’ that is, against
 Cassian, the author of the Collations or Conferences. This
 was written about the year 432; for he says, “It is now
 “above twenty years since the Church began to fight
 “against the Pelagians, under the command of St. Augus-
 “tine⁵,” which may be supposed to refer to his earliest works,
 addressed to Marcellinus in 412⁶. In this treatise St. Prosper
 examines twelve propositions of Cassian, taken from the
 thirteenth conference, in which the Abbot Chæremon⁷ is the
 speaker. The first proposition is Catholic; it asserts that
 God is the origin not only of every good work, but of every
 good thought; but in the other propositions Cassian favours
 the errors of the Pelagians, pretending that many arrive at
 grace without grace; that man is sometimes of himself in-
 clined to virtue; that both these opinions are authorized by
 Scripture; that free will contributes as much to our salvation
 as grace; that Adam did not lose the knowledge of good by
 his sin; that we are not to refer all the merits of the saints
 to God in such a way as that nothing but evil shall be attri-
 buted to nature; that every soul has the seeds of virtue in
 it naturally; and lastly, that God is the sole cause of salva-

⁵ c. 1. [p. 362, ult.]
⁶ Supr. 23.3.

⁷ Supr. 20.3;
 24. 56.

tion to some, and to others only an assisting cause¹. St. Prosper shews, that in all these particulars Cassian inclines to the opinions of the Pelagians and contradicts himself. He concludes his work by expressing a wish, that St. Sixtus would expel from the Church those who were secretly Pelagians, as his predecessors had expelled those who avowed themselves to be such; at the same time he declares his willingness to bear charitably with them, so long as they are not separated from the Church. Cassian always continued in its communion, and though this censure of him is very just, yet his conferences, as well as his other books, have always been perused by the monks and other pious persons for the sake of the sound doctrine and elevated spirituality with which they are pervaded².

It was about this time, too, that Marius Mercator wrote his book of Annotations. Having received the books of Julian against St. Augustine, with St. Augustine's answers, he made remarks on several passages in Julian's writings, with a view to point out his errors. These he afterwards collected, at the desire of a Priest called Pientius³. A short advertisement to the reader is prefixed, containing a succinct account of the state of the question, and giving a history of the heresy, which was first broached, he says, by Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Rufinus the Syrian⁴. He speaks of St. Augustine as dead; hence we may infer that the work was not published until about the year 432, after the close of the Council of Ephesus, where he may have received the last treatises of St. Augustine from Bessula the Deacon. The plan of the work is, first to set down Julian's words on each article, then St. Augustine's answer, and lastly, Mercator's own observations in support of St. Augustine.

¹ In this he resembled his tutor and patron St. Chrysostom, (supr. xxi. 51.) "Nothing can be more exalted than Chrysostom's views of devotion; yet, certainly, he was obscure, as to many important first principles. To discover these required, in the nature of things, a subtle and penetrating mind; and such was Augustine's. . . The striking dissimilitude between them may providentially correspond to an important difference of purpose. Chrysostom was a superstructure-man, while Austin was sinking the

"foundation; and therefore you see the former as zealous for holiness as the latter for efficacious grace." A. Knox, Lett. xvii. to Jebb. Cassian's books were long the vade-mecum of the monks in Africa, Spain, and France; Mabillon Ann. Bened., lib. iii. c. 36. Cassiodore ordered them to be diligently studied by his monks, Divin. Lect. c. 29. St. Benedict in his seventy-third rule (Codex Regul. pt. 2. p. 64. ed. 1661) recommends them to such as wished to go on to perfection.

A. D. 433.
CH. XXV.
[¹ quorundam volentium cursum . . . incitare, . . . quosdam invidiosos compellere.]

XXV.
Writings of Mercator.

[² pt. 1. p. 30. ed. Garn.]

³ Supr. 23. 1.

A. D. 433. Mercator also wrote against some works of Theodorus of
 CH. XXVI. Mopsuestia¹, whom he looked upon as the parent of both the
ⁱ Ed. Germ. Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. He refuted the creed of
 pt. 2. p. 249. Theodorus, which had been condemned at the instance of the
² Supr. 25. Priest Charisius by the Council of Ephesus²; he translated
 56. some extracts from a work by Theodorus against St. August-
 tine and the doctrine of original sin, and from a work re-
 specting the mystery of the Incarnation. To these extracts
 thus translated into Latin, Mercator appended notes, which
 were designed to confute them.

XXVI. The reconciliation between John of Antioch and St. Cyril
 Schismatics found some in both parties who were dissatisfied with it.
 in the East. Many of those who had defended Nestorius at the Council
 of Ephesus, thought that John had acted dishonourably in
 abandoning the cause. Of the party who adopted this view,
 Theodoret and his Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis were
 the most influential and distinguished. On the point of
 doctrine Theodoret had no difficulty; for since the explana-
 tion which St. Cyril had made in his letters to Acacius of
 Berrhæa and John of Antioch, Theodoret acknowledged him
 to be orthodox, since he plainly confessed the two natures in
 CHRIST, guarded against the supposition of any confusion of
 the natures, and anathematized the heresy of Apollinarius. "He
³ Synodic. "has retracted," said Theodoret³, "and has overthrown his
 c. 95. cf. c. "twelve Articles." On the other hand, he could not prevail
 88. upon himself to desert the person of Nestorius, whom he
 believed to have been unjustly condemned, because his doc-
 trine had never been rightly appreciated; this he states in a
⁴ c. 120. letter to Nestorius himself⁴. Alexander of Hierapolis drew
 no such distinction, but set himself against the agreement,
 both in detail and in the gross; he refused either to con-
 demn Nestorius, whose doctrine he considered to be sound
 and scriptural, or to communicate with St. Cyril, whom he
⁵ c. 96. 100, still looked upon as heretical⁵. He even separated himself
 104. from the communion of John of Antioch and all others who
 embraced the peace. "Be assured," he said to Andrew of
 c. 93. Samosata⁶, "that I will have no part or lot with them; let
 "exile or death, let the precipice, fire, or the beasts be set
 "before me, in God's strength I will suffer all things rather
 "than communicate with them." And in a letter to Theo-

doret¹: "I will not consent to the propositions which Paul A. D. 433.
 "has offered, and the Egyptian received, not if I am to die CH. XXVI.
 "ten thousand deaths for it; the whole world besides may c. 94.
 "consent, but I never!" The chief point on which he insisted was, the title 'Mother of God,' which he refused to admit, unless that of 'Mother of CHRIST' were added, as required by Nestorius.

He had made an appointment with Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata, to meet at Zeugma, in order to deliberate on the affair². They both exhorted him [by letters sent previously to the intended meeting] to accept the peace³; but Alexander answered Theodoret⁴, that it would be useless to come to an interview, if they felt no disgust at the proceedings of John of Antioch, who had betrayed the Faith, and condemned Nestorius, though he knew him to be orthodox. To Andrew he replied⁵, "It is unnecessary for any more letters to pass between us on this subject. My only reason for retaining my Church in the face of so much opposition from the secular power is, that I may not seem to betray the flock of CHRIST." And in another letter⁶: "I no longer communicate with Cyril, or with you either. So far as you are concerned, you have done your part; you have sought the lost sheep, and it does not care to be found. Henceforth, then, abide at rest;—before the dread tribunal we shall most certainly confront each other." When Andrew saw Alexander thus highly incensed, he wrote to the stewards of the Church of Hierapolis⁷, declaring his resolve to continue in communion not only with John of Antioch, but with all the Catholic Bishops wherever found, as Sixtus, Cyril, Maximian, Rabbula of Edessa, Aca-cius of Melitene, and all the rest. John of Germanicia⁸ also embraced the peace⁹, and John of Antioch gave Theodoret a written (though a private) commission, to use every mean he should think proper to reclaim the obstinate⁹.

Maximin of Anazarbus and his suffragans, the Bishops of the second Cilicia, remained firm in their adherence to Nestorius. They held a Council at Anazarbus¹, in which Maximin presided, and there they confirmed the pretended deposition of St. Cyril at Ephesus, and declared all who

⁸ In Euphratesia. It was the birth-place of Nestorius.

A. D. 433. had admitted him to their communion to be excommunicate,
 CH. XXVI. until such time as they should condemn his twelve Articles;
 "Such is our determination," say they, "even though it
 "should expose us to fire and sword and the teeth of wild
 "beasts." Helladius of Tarsus, Metropolitan of the first
 c. 114. Cilicia, gave his sanction to this Council¹.

Eutherius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia,
 and Helladius of Tarsus, concerted a plan for engaging the
 Western Bishops in their behalf, and invited Alexander and
 c. 116. Theodoret to join them in their design². This was none other
 c. 117. than to address a long letter to Pope St. Sixtus³, recapitulating
 the history of the Ephesian Council, of the alleged errors of
 St. Cyril, and of the reconciliation of John of Antioch. "We
 [c. p. 820.] "throw ourselves at your feet," they add⁴, "begging you to
 "reach out a helping hand towards us, and to enjoin that
 "the whole of this subject be thoroughly sifted, and the
 "appropriate remedy applied, by recalling the pastors who
 "have been unjustly banished, and so gathering together the
 "scattered flocks, whose salvation is in peril; for they are
 "unwilling to receive the washing of regeneration, or the
 "mystical Communion from the hands of heretics, and they
 "are not allowed to receive them at the hands of the ortho-
 "dox. We who are of different provinces, namely, of Eu-
 "phrateria, of the two Cilicias, the second Cappadocia, of
 "Bithynia, of Thessaly, and of Mæsia, should ourselves have
 "long since come to present our complaints to you with
 "floods of tears, had we not been withheld by fear of the
 "wolves who threaten our flocks. We are obliged, there-
 "fore, to send in our stead some of our clergy and monks, if
 "haply they may kindle your zeal, and dispose you to send
 "us speedy assistance." This letter was sent, but it is easy
 to imagine that it could have no great influence at Rome,
 where the doctrine of St. Cyril, the reconciliation of John
 of Antioch, and the Acts of the Council of Ephesus had
 been so solemnly approved. However, the letter is not
 without its use, as it shews that, even in the remote parts
 of the East, the Bishops were persuaded that they all had
 the right of addressing the Pope, whenever they had any
 grievances from their superiors, or any disorders in the
 Church, to complain of⁵.

¹ Cf. infr.
 c. 39, et
 Synodic.
 c. 119.

In the mean time Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople, died suddenly on the twelfth of April, A.D. 434, in the Consulate of Asper and Ariobindus, having governed that Church in peace for two years and five months. The day of his death was Holy Thursday¹. The Nestorians, who were very numerous at Constantinople, assembled in several parts of the town, loudly demanding the recal of Nestorius, and threatening to endanger the city and burn the church down². The Emperor Theodosius, fearing there might be some commotion, got Proclus immediately elected and installed before Maximian was interred; and Proclus solemnized the funeral. He had been Reader from his earliest youth³, and had studied under the masters of rhetoric. On arriving at man's estate, he attached himself to the Bishop Atticus, and was one of his notaries⁴. Atticus, seeing the progress he made, ordained him Deacon; in the course of time he became Priest, and Sisinnius ordained him Bishop of Cyzicus, as we saw above⁵. When the people refused to receive him, he continued at Constantinople, officiating as Priest; but in spite of this, his ordination to Constantinople was looked upon as a translation. However, letters were produced from Pope St. Cælestine to St. Cyril, John of Antioch, and Rufus of Thessalonica, which removed the difficulty, and shewed that there was nothing to prevent a translation in cases of this kind⁶. These letters must have been dated two years before, on the eve of the election in which a Bishop of Constantinople was chosen to succeed Nestorius.

The Bishops who elected Proclus wrote a synodical letter⁷, which they sent into the East to be signed by all the Bishops on pain of their being deposed as schismatics⁸. As for Proclus, he imitated all the virtues of Atticus, whose disciple he had been; nay, he surpassed him in meekness and patience; his gentleness extended even to the heretics, for he believed this a readier way of reclaiming them, than harsh treatment. It was in his time that St. Melania the younger came to Constantinople, at the desire of her uncle Volusian, who, being Præfect of Rome, had been sent thither on an embassy⁹. This Volusian is the one who was friend to the Tribune Marcellinus, and to whom St. Augustine wrote on a former occasion¹. Up to this time he had con-

A. D. 434.

CH. XXVII.

XXXVII.

Death of

Maximian

Proclus

made Bi-

shop.

¹ Socrat. 7.

40.

² Synodic.

c. 150.

³ Soer. c. 41.⁴ ἱστορία

φύσεως αὐτοῦ

τῶν λόγων

γενομένου]

⁵ Supr. 24.

44.

⁶ v. Supr.

c. 10. not. r.]

⁹ Vita S. Mel.

ap. Sur.

31 Jan.

Phot. Cod.

53. [p. 14.

not.]

¹ Supr. 22.

51; 24. 21

A. D. 434.
CH. XXVIII.

[¹ *φωτισ-
θεις*]

² Cod.
Theod. de
bon. Cler.
lib. v. tit. 3.
l. 1. [t. 1.
p. 436.]

XXVIII.
Prosecu-
tion of the
schisma-
tics.

³ Synodic.
c. 123.

⁴ c. 124.

⁵ c. 125.

tinued a pagan, but was now converted by the exhortations of his niece and the instructions of the Bishop Proclus; and falling sick, he was baptized¹, and died soon after. In this same year, 434, being the first of the Pontificate of Proclus, on the fifteenth of December, the Emperor Theodosius ordained², that the goods of all clergy and monks who died without heirs should belong to their respective churches or monasteries^r.

John of Antioch was informed of the ordination of Proclus, by a letter from Taurus, Præfect of the Prætorium³. He sent an answer expressive of the satisfaction he felt at the election of Proclus, with whose merits he was intimately acquainted. "Now that you have effected this good work," he adds, "let me entreat you to think of restoring tranquillity to these parts too; for here are some few unruly spirits, who think themselves injured by the peace which God, by the ministry of the Emperor, has granted us, and who abuse your clemency and ours." John of Antioch did not stop here; he sent a person named Verius to Constanti- nople, who solicited and obtained an order from the Emperor, making it imperative on all the Bishops of the East to communicate with John, or quit their churches⁴. This order was directed to the Quæstor Domitian, who sent information of it to Helladius of Tarsus⁵, advising him to comply, while he could do so with a good grace, and to unite with all the Bishops of the first and second Cilicia in making

^r This was the first step made towards the state of things in which the individual rights of monks were entirely merged in their corporate relations. By the civil law (Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2. l. 13), adopted into the canon law (Caus. xix. qu. 3. c. 7, sqq.), professed monks (*ingressi*) lost the power of willing away their property, though they might still succeed to the property of their relatives. Afterwards they were considered dead *quoad civilia*, and could neither be testators nor legatees. Indeed, according to the monastic rules, a monk could have no property (see Dufresne, s. v. *Peculiaritas* and *pro-prietarii*); whatever he acquired was the monastery's, not his. "If any thing be left to a slave," says Panormitan, "it instantly becomes the property of his master; but a monk is more

"inseparably bound to his monastery than the slave to his master. (Reli- giosus magis astrictus monasterio quam servus domino.)" Super Tertio, fol. 170. in c. *monachi*. A slave might have a *peculium*, which a monk could not.

With regard to the secular clergy, the canon law distinguished between patrimonial property, and the produce of their benefice. The Church succeeded to the latter, the civil heirs to the former. See Durand de Maillaine, Art. *Succession*.

⁶ The law mentioned in the last chapter is addressed to him, and Gothofred (in l.) thinks it more than probable that he procured its enactment. He corresponded with Isidore of Pelusium and with Theodoret.

peace with John, before the time came when it would be his duty to make the letters public. A. D. 434.
CH. XXVIII.

Another order came down from the Emperor, which prohibited the Eastern Bishops from going to Court or leaving their churches. John of Antioch sent a copy of it to Alexander of Hierapolis¹ that he might give notice of it to his suffragans. But Alexander, who had broken off communion with John, ordered his secretary to receive the letter, and addressed his answer to the Imperial officer² who had brought the letter from John. However, he promised to obey, that is, he undertook not to go to Court or stir from his church³. c. 126.
c. 127.

In the mean time, he and the six Bishops of his province wrote to the Bishops of Syria, of the first and second Cilicia, and of the second Cappadocia⁴, exciting them to animosity against John of Antioch; complaining that the Church was disturbed by unlawful ordinations, and that the priesthood had become venal and was prostituted to men of infamous lives. Alexander remarks in his subscription, that above a year had passed since he had ceased communion with John of Antioch; which brings us therefore to the year 434. Meletius of Mopmestria, and three others of the second Cilicia⁵, declared that they remained fixed in their resolution of opposing John; the Bishops of the other provinces sent indecisive answers⁶. c. 129.
c. 131.

The unlawful ordinations of which the schismatics complained were two⁷: first and foremost that of Athanasius, Priest and Steward of Dulichium, who was ordained Bishop of the said Church in the room of Abib, and that of Marinian, ordained Bishop of Barbalissus in the room of Acilinus. Scandalous charges were brought against the characters of these two new Bishops, and, on more general grounds, it was objected, that they had been ordained when neither the Metropolitan nor the Bishops of the province were present. In fact, as the object was to get rid of the schismatics, it was not likely that any great anxiety would be felt to ask their consent. Alexander of Hierapolis and his suffragans endeavoured to bring over the Princesses, St. Pulcheria and her sisters, to their party. c. 130.132.
c. 133.136.
165.

With this view⁸ they sent some clergy and monks to them with a letter, in which they complain of the persecution of John of Antioch, and of his ordaining within their province two Bishops of scandalous characters, besides ordaining a

A. D. 434. third to a new see in the church of the Martyr St. Sergius,
 CH. XXIX. which was in the diocese of Hierapolis. They entreat the Princesses to represent all these irregularities to the Emperor, and to induce him to exert his authority in reforming them: but it does not appear that this letter produced any result. Alexander complains elsewhere¹ about this church of St. Sergius having been taken away from him; he had laid out on it, he says, nearly three hundred pounds' weight of gold, and involved his own church in debt. He had rebuilt it with great magnificence.

¹ c. 165.

Proclus, on his side, wished to expel Dorotheus, the Metropolitan of Mæsia, from his see of Marcianopolis, and wrote letters against him to the clergy and people of that Church; but they were devotedly attached to their Bishop, and supported him stoutly. Dorotheus, in a letter which he sent to Alexander of Hierapolis², informs him of this transaction, and urges him to come to Constantinople and address the Emperor in person. Hence perhaps originated the order which prohibited the Orientals from coming to Court.

² c. 137.

XXIX.
 Justification of St. Cyril.

[³ ουνοπαρδ-
 {ορτες}]

On the other hand, there were Catholics who blamed St. Cyril, and asserted that he had conceded too much in the accommodation with the Eastern Bishops. They found fault with their exposition, and said, "Why did Cyril suffer, nay, sanction their mention of two natures? The Nestorians say that he holds their opinion, and so they are kidnapping³ all who are unacquainted with the true state of the case." These depreciating statements must have gained some prevalence at Constantinople, for St. Cyril notices them in a letter to the Priest Eulogius, his resident there, and instructs him how he should answer them⁴; he also gives in this letter a careful explanation of the Catholic doctrine on this point. He wrote moreover to Donatus, Bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus⁵, to anticipate any calumnious report which might get there of his having retracted his former writings against Nestorius; and he gives him an account of the different steps by which the accommodation had been brought about, including the negotiation of Paul of Emesa.

⁴ C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 37.

⁵ Ibid. c. 38.

A fuller account was given in a letter to his old friend Acacius, Bishop of Melitene in Armenia⁶. After detailing the matters of fact, he adds⁷: "The partizans of Nestorius,

⁶ c. 35.

⁷ p. 1115. D.

“now that they see themselves abandoned, have become A. D. 434.
 “desperate; they are like men who are on the point of sink- CH. XXIX.
 “ing, and catch at every thing within their reach. They
 “maliciously vilify the characters of all who refuse to be of
 “their way of thinking. They say that the Confession of
 “the Easterns harmonizes well enough with the novelties
 “of Nestorius, and even accuse me of holding opinions just
 “the reverse of what I expressed in my writings, and of
 “having received a new Creed—out of contempt, I presume,
 “for the old! But what if Nestorius had himself con-
 “demned his errors, and given in writing a Catholic con-
 “fession of faith? would any one have said that he had
 “made us a new Creed?” He then explains how widely the
 exposition of faith which he had received from the Easterns
 differs from the doctrine of Nestorius.

Acacius had asked of St. Cyril the mystical meaning of the
 scape-goat mentioned in Leviticus¹. St. Cyril wrote a long 1 Lev. 16. 8.
 letter to him², in which he says³, that it is a type of JESUS 2 Cyr. Epist.
 CHRIST, equally with the other goat which was offered at the u. s. p. 121.
 same time; the latter represented His human nature, in C. Eph. pt.
 which He suffered for us; the former symbolized the Di- 3. c. 36.
 vinity, in respect of which He was free and exempt from 4 p. 127.
 death. He gives the same interpretation of the two birds⁴ 4 Lev. 14. 4.
 which the leper was to offer for his purification. He takes
 the opportunity of enlarging on the mystery of the Incarna-
 tion, and explains at length the unity of person in two
 natures.

St. Cyril also wrote a letter in vindication of himself to
 Successus, Bishop of Diocæsarea in Isauria⁵. Successus had 5 Cyr. Epist.
 inquired of him whether it was proper to say there are two p. 135.
 natures in CHRIST. He first of all lays it down in opposition
 to Nestorius, that CHRIST is one and the same, before and
 after His Incarnation; he then adds, that this union pro-
 ceeds from the concurrence of the two natures; that after
 this union we never divide them, but say with the Fathers,
 ‘the one incarnate nature of God the WORD,’ which he ex-
 plains presently after, by saying⁶, that there are two natures 6 p. 137. E.
 united, but that CHRIST is one. By way of example he
 mentions our human nature, each particular man being
 personally one, though compounded of soul and body, so

A. D. 434. different in their natures. He then replies to another question,—how CHRIST's body became Divine after His resurrection,—“not,” he says, “by changing its nature, but by “being freed from human infirmities.” Successus having sent him some objections to this explanation, he replied in a second, still larger, letter¹, the object of which is to prove that when he says ‘one nature,’ he does not admit of any confusion or mixture², since the Divine nature is immutable, and the human nature remains entire in CHRIST; for it is not one nature simply², but one incarnate nature. He remarks⁴ that there are three sorts of expression employed by Scripture in reference to our LORD; some apply to the Divine nature only³, others to the human only⁶, and others to both taken together. The object of these two letters, as well as of the preceding, was to justify St. Cyril on the subject of his reunion with the Easterns.

¹ p. 141.
² φαρμακον και σιγ- κρησις]
³ ἀπλῶς]
⁴ p. 148. B.
⁵ θεοειρη- πεισι]
⁶ ἀνθρωπο- πεισι]

⁷ C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 40.
⁸ [1176. A.]

He wrote a very similar letter⁷ to Valerian, Bishop of Iconium, in which, after explaining the Catholic Faith concerning the Incarnation, he thus concludes⁸: “Some im-
 “pertinent people, I am told, have given out that the error
 “of Nestorius prevails among the Bishops of the East; it
 “may be as well therefore to give you some information on
 “that point.” He then relates how John of Antioch and
 the rest had distinctly explained themselves, and adds, “If,
 “then, they are charged with holding other opinions, do
 “not believe the charge: if any one shall pretend to affirm
 “it, send them away as impostors; and if any letters are
 “shewn in their names, set them down as forgeries.” He
 wrote likewise to Maximus, Deacon of Antioch, who had
 some scruples about communicating with Bishop John, be-
 cause he had admitted some Nestorians to his communion
 whom Maximus believed not to be genuine converts. St.
 Cyril's advice to him is⁹, that he should be satisfied with
 their outward abjuration, and not seek to penetrate too
 deeply into men's consciences.

⁹ Cyril.
 Epist. p.
 192.

XXX.
 St. Isidore
 of Pelu-
 sium.
 c. 5
 †

St. Isidore of Pelusium had blamed St. Cyril, as if he had fomented the division. “I am terrified,” he said¹, “by the samples of Holy Writ, which constrain me to send you that I conceive to be needful admonitions. If I am your
 her, as you indeed yourself call me, I fear the condem-

"nation of Eli; if I am your son, (which is nearer the truth, A. D. 434.
 "since you represent¹ St. Mark,) I fear the punishment in- CH. XXX.
 "flicted upon Jonathan, because he did not prevent his [σχηματι-
 "father from inquiring of the woman with a familiar spirit. {οντος}]
 "If you wish, then, that we should not both of us be con-
 "demned, let the dispute be put an end to; do not seek to
 "revenge a private injury at the expense of the Church's
 "safety; and do not under the pretence of piety introduce
 "what may be a never-ending schism." When, however, he
 was told what St. Cyril had written to satisfy the Easterns,
 he was afraid that he had conceded too much, and wrote to
 him thus²: "You should seek to remain always constant, 'i. Ep. 324.
 "neither allowing yourself to be frightened into a betrayal
 "of heavenly things, nor seeming to contradict yourself. If
 "you compare what you have lately written with your former
 "writings, you will see that you are liable to the imputation
 "of flattery, inconstancy, or vain-glory³; instead of emulating [³ κενῆς
 "the valour of those famous champions, who, rather than δόξης]
 "listen for a moment to heterodox opinions, were content
 "to pass the whole of their days in the wretchedness of
 "exile."

It is evident from the first of these letters that St. Isidore
 was now very aged, since one who presided over so great a
 see styled him 'father.' In both of them we may observe that
 free-spoken plainness which is every where visible in his cor-
 respondence. A large number of the letters are dogmatical,
 being intended either to elucidate hard texts of Scripture, or
 to establish some religious doctrine; others are on points of
 discipline, for the instruction of ecclesiastics (including even
 Bishops), but especially for that of the monks; and lastly,
 there are some on subjects of morality, for the information
 of laymen of every condition in life.

To an inquiry respecting the effect of Infant Baptism, he
 answers⁴, that it is a low notion of it which supposes that it
 serves only to purify their souls from the stain contracted
 by Adam's sin⁵. He ascribes to it, in addition, many super-
 natural graces conveyed by regeneration, sanctification, and
 adoption; man becomes one body with CHRIST, and is united
 to his flesh⁶ by partaking of the holy mysteries. Baptism was
 at that time never administered without the Eucharist, even

⁴ lib. iii.
ep. 196.

[⁵ τὸν διὰ
τὴν καρδ-
βασιν τοῦ
A. διαδο-
θέντα τῇ
φύσει βύ-
σων]

[⁶ εἰς τὴν
σάρκα αὐ-
τοῦ τε]

A. D. 434. to children ; both of them (as he elsewhere says¹) being considered necessary to salvation.

CH. XXXI.
ii. Ep. 52.

XXXI.
Further
prosecution
of the schis-
matics.

[¹ Vica-
rium]
² Synod.
c. 142.
³ c. 143.
⁴ c. 144.

The Emperor's first ordinance against the Eastern schismatics not proving so effectual as had been expected, a second was now issued against four Bishops in particular—Helladius of Tarsus, Maximin of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, and Theodoret,—giving them the alternative of communicating with John of Antioch, or leaving their churches. This order was addressed by Count Titus, Lieutenant² of the East, to Dionysius, Master of the Soldiery³, who notified it to each of the four Bishops⁴. Helladius also received intelligence from his correspondents at Constantinople⁵, that Proclus was in great esteem there, and that he was to send his synodical letter, along with letters from the Emperor, to John of Antioch, in order that all who refused to receive them might be driven from their churches. Helladius communicated these tidings to Meletius of Mopsuestia, asking him what was to be done. Meletius replied⁶, that he could not recognise either Proclus or John of Antioch as Bishop, and that although the whole world beside should chime in with the fickle folly of the present age, he was resolved to keep his conscience clear. Elsewhere he says⁷, " Since the reconciliation of John with " Cyril, I have had but one letter from him, it was brought " by a magistrian ; but I threw them in the bearer's face with " such evident disgust that he did not dare to ask for an " answer." This would prepare us for finding that Meletius was in the number of those who persisted in the schism to the last.

Count Titus wrote to Theodoret, and at the same time to the monks, especially to the three most famous among them, St. James the younger, of Nisibis, St. Simeon the Stylite, and St. Baradat⁸. The letter to Theodoret stated, that unless he consented to the terms of pacification, he should be expelled and another ordained in his place. At these menaces he only laughed, but he was deeply affected by the pressing solicitations with which the holy monks urged him to accede to the peace. At first he was irritated, and disposed, in his pique, to quit the city and province, and retire to some

⁵ c. 145.

⁷ c. 155.

⁸ c. 146.

¹ On this St. James, v. infr. xxix. 6 58 ; xiii. 2 ; xv. 44) ; St. Simeon, infr. (for St. James the elder, Fleury, xi. 3, xxix. 7, sqq. ; St. Baradat, infr. xxix. 6.

desert where he might resume the monastic life; but the holy monks promised that, if he would go where they might all confer together with John of Antioch, they would accompany him; and they suggested that the meeting might be at Gindarus, a place half-way between Cyrus and Antioch; for Theodoret was unwilling to go to Antioch, from fear of communicating too openly with John. He communicated all this to Alexander of Hierapolis, who replied¹, "I hear that the heresy which asserts God to be passible²," so he speaks of the Catholic doctrine—"prevails both at Antioch and Constantinople, and is openly preached there." "I am sorely grieved," he proceeds, "at the earnestness³ of the holy monks against us; nevertheless, should all who have died from the beginning of the world rise up again, I would say, 'if they agree with us, let them pray for us⁴, but if they condemn us, God forgive them.' Their authority is not greater than that of the Apostles, or the Angels in heaven, whom CHRIST, by the mouth of St. Paul⁵, anathematizes, if they presume to preach any other gospel than CHRIST'S Gospel. If you see any of them, and they introduce the subject, assure them from me, that if John were to give me the whole kingdom of heaven, I would not communicate with him, unless the acts which have caused this universal shipwreck of faith had been corrected. God be praised, they have on their side synods and sees, kings and judges, but we have the LORD God, and our unspotted faith in Him."

Theodoret replied⁶, "I beg of you to think not on the orthodoxy only, but also on the peace of the Churches, for they have been far too rudely disturbed, and we become a by-word among the people." And elsewhere⁷, "So far as I can see, further inflexibility on our part will produce no good effect; the Churches will be harassed, and our flocks exposed to the wolves. There is room for fear lest God may punish us for being so excessively rigid⁸, and for pressing forward our own cause without considering what is expedient for the people. Balance the gain and the loss, and choose the least evil." Alexander answered⁹: "It were superfluous to travel over the old ground again; pray read my former letters, and trouble me no more.

A. D. 434.
CH. XXXI.

[¹ c. 147.]

[² Deopassianam hæresim]

[³ Curiositatem]

[⁴ So Baluz. Fleury has: *je les prie de se tenir en repos et de prier pour nous.* Gal. 1. 8.]

[⁸ pro hâc nimia acribiâ]

' c. 152.

A. D. 434. " I declare before God that, comparing the advantages on
 CH. XXXII. " each side, I prefer the desire of God above all things, and
 " the kingdom of heaven to the honour and glory of this
 " world ; and comparing the loss on each side, I choose to
 " suffer banishment, death, and the mockery of man here,
 " rather than everlasting torment. Do not be surprised if
 " we disagree in what we write. You believe Cyril to be
 " Catholic, I think him a heretic. When, in our days, the
 " blessed Bishops Meletius, Eusebius, Barse, and the rest¹,
 " were driven into exile, God took care of their Churches,
 " and did not require an account of them at their hands.
 " Do whatever you know to be best for the Church of God
 " entrusted to you." " In the deluge," he says in a letter
 " c. 156. to Meletius of Mopsuestia², " God was satisfied with even
 " a single man, and at Babylon with the three in the
 " furnace."

¹ Fleury,
 16. 26, 33;
 17. 1.

XXXII
 Recon-
 ciliation of
 Theodoret
 and of the
 Cilicians.

In the interview which Theodoret had with John of Antioch, it was stipulated that the question about Nestorius's deposition should not be mooted ; so that as nothing remained beyond the point of faith, (on which they were already agreed,) communion was immediately restored³. Maximin of Anazarbus and the other Bishops of the second Cilicia accepted these conditions, and wrote collectively to John of Antioch, to be re-admitted to his communion⁴; the only exception was Meletius of Mopsuestia, who continued in schism, saying⁵, " What does it matter, whether I have many or few to bear me company?" Theodoret also induced Helladius of Tarsus and the other Bishops of the first Cilicia to accept the terms of peace, and their example was soon followed by the Isaurians⁶. Meletius thus stood in isolated opiniativeness, with all Cilicia ranged against him⁷. He was now therefore deposed by John of Antioch, who ordained Chomasius, or Thomas, to succeed him in his see, and obtained an order from the Emperor to banish Meletius to Melitene in Armenia⁸.

³ c. 160. 162.

⁴ c. 163. 157.

159.

⁵ c. 158.

⁶ c. 160. 161.

168.

173-175.

⁸ c. 176. 177.

178. [180.]

⁹ c. 168. 168.

¹ c. 162.]

² c. 170.

Theodoret now made his last attempt at winning over Alexander of Hierapolis. He wrote to him in the most submissive terms, telling him that he throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees⁹. He wrote to Mocimus, Steward of his Church¹. He wrote even to Nestorius², (if indeed the

letter be genuine) entreating him to urge Alexander to accept the peace. Alexander replied to Theodoret¹; "I believe that you have left nothing undone for the salvation of my poor soul; nay, you have done more than the good shepherd in the Gospel, who sought his lost sheep but once. Now therefore you may remain quiet, and seek no more to weary yourself and annoy us. It is of no great moment to me how the Cilicians and Isaurians act; nay, should all the men who have lived in the world from the creation rise from the dead, and call the abomination of Egypt piety, I should not think that they were to be credited in preference to that knowledge which God hath given me." And afterwards², "I am not out of my senses, I am not yet doting; pray you, spare my old age; I am ready to die a thousand deaths rather than embrace communion on such terms." After this, Alexander would no more speak or write to any of his friends on the subject of the peace, nor so much as see or think of them³.

A. D. 434.
CH. XXXIII.
c. 167.

[² p. 867.]

³ c. 172. 178.

Theodoret then addressed himself to John of Antioch⁴, supplicating him to have patience, and not to suffer the old man to be importuned any more. "You know well the excellence of the man," he says, "all that he wants is to be quiet; time will soothe and soften him, or even if he should persist you have nothing to apprehend from him; he neither can nor will raise any disturbance. But if he should be ejected, the worst results will follow. A schism will take place in the Church at Constantinople, and in many other cities, where some in their simplicity believe him to be the champion of the purest Faith; and you will draw much obloquy upon yourself."

⁴ c. 172.

Alexander still continuing inflexible, Count Dionysius and his Lieutenant Titus wrote to him as friends⁵, advising him to obey the Emperor's order by submitting to the Council of Ephesus, and communicating with John of Antioch; that otherwise they must be obliged, in execution of the order, to eject him from his Church, and send him into banishment. Alexander replied⁶ that he was prepared for the persecution which was in store for him; all that he requested was that he might be sent away without noise. Titus wrote to Lybian, Governor of Euphratesia⁷, to eject Alexander if he persisted,

XXXIII.
Alexander
driven from
Hierapolia.
⁵ c. 180. 181.

⁶ c. 182.

⁷ c. 183.

35. and to install the person whom the Council of the Bishops
 14. should ordain; and he empowered him to employ for this
 purpose the soldiers who were quartered in the city. "If
 "you need a stronger force," he adds, "or if our presence
 "should be required there, you need only inform us." Lybian received this order, along with the Emperor's letter annexed to it, on the fifteenth of April, A.D. 435¹.

Alexander forthwith obeyed; he retired, professing but
 15. little regret at the loss of the Bishopric²; but the whole city
 16. of Hierapolis was in a strange consternation³. The people
 17. wept and cried aloud in the streets; they said they had lost
 their father and pastor, who had instructed them from their
 childhood. They extolled his doctrine and the sanctity of
 his life. They inveighed against the authors of his banish-
 ment and even against the Emperor himself; they closed
 the churches, and seemed ripe for sedition. At last they
 threatened to lay violent hands on themselves, if their
 Bishop were not restored to them. The Governor Lybian
 put a stop to the sedition, and caused the churches to be
 opened, and Divine Service to be performed as usual; but
 he went to the Count of the East and to John of Antioch an
 account of what had occurred, and told them of the petition
 which the people of Hierapolis had proposed and carried by
 acclamation in the church⁴. John of Antioch sent them a
 letter⁵ explaining how he had used every possible means to
 reclaim Alexander, "but his self-will and obstinacy," he adds,
 "have rendered him inexorable. Still, let him only correct
 "his fault, and even now we shall be ready to receive him,
 "and send him back to you with joy; but if he is bent on
 "his own ruin, we have done our duty to God and man."

v. Up to this time Nestorius had remained in his monastery
 near Antioch. At last a decree came down from the Em-
 18. peror Theodosius against him⁶, in which it was enacted that
 19. his followers should be called Simonians, as being imitators
 20. of Simon Magus⁷, and that his books should be suppressed

¹ The reason of this appellation is not obvious. The words of the edict (*eujus aclus sunt in deserendo Deo imitati*) may simply refer to the fact of Simon's being the proto-heresiarch (*πρωτος ἀρχειρος αἰρετικος*, Euseb., ii.

13), but more probably they had some special application. Justin (ap. Euseb.) says that "after our LORD's ascension, "the devils put forward some men "who called themselves gods;" and in Acts viii. 10, we read that Simon

and publicly burnt; his followers were to be prohibited from holding any assemblies on pain of having all their estates confiscated. The law was published both in Greek and Latin, that none might be ignorant of it. It was dated 'the third of the nones of August in the fifteenth year of Theodosius,' i. e. the third of August, 435. In the following year (436) a rescript was directed to Isidore, Præfect of the Prætoria and Consul¹, enjoining him to convey Nestorius in exile to Petra, and declaring all his property to be forfeited to the Church of Constantinople.

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXIV.

¹ C. Eph.
pt. 3. c. 15.

Nestorius was now therefore driven from his monastery²,³ where he had lived peaceably four entire years from the time he had been deposed. The rescript for his banishment speaks of Petra, which is in Arabia; yet it is certain that he was sent to the desert of Oasis, on the borders of Egypt². Perhaps an alteration was made in the order before it was put in execution, or he may have been transferred from the one place to the other. The city of Oasis, or Ibis, (both these names are given to it) was pillaged some time after by the Blemmyans, a neighbouring and barbarous tribe, who

was called "The great power of God." Now it seems to be one of Satan's devices, when the True appears, immediately to issue a False which bears a degraded likeness to it, that men may confound the two and attribute to them in common the qualities of the False. And so, doubtless, the Simonians regarded our LORD in the same way that they did Simon,—as a mere man in whom a divine energy resided. If this be true, the reason of the Nestorians' being branded with the title of Simonians is plain.

Theodosius refers to a precedent to the edict of Constantine, in which he ordered the Arians to be called Porphyrians. The edict is found in Socrat. i. c. 9.

² The Greek *Oasis* and Arabic *Wah* both came from the Coptic *Wah*, 'a habitation' (*γ*. Baehr in Herod. iii. 26). In Herodotus as in this passage of Evagrius, the word designates a city (*ἐς Ὀασιν πόλιν*). It soon came to be used generically of any fertile spot in the desert, but was still applied *par excellence* to three; the Greater and Less Oases, which run parallel to the Nile, stretching from the latitude of Thebes northward almost to that of the

Faioum; and the Siwah, or Ammonian city of Herodotus. It was to the first and most southerly of these—the Greater Oasis, or El-Wah—that Nestorius was banished.

The earliest instance of their being used as places of banishment is in the second persecution of the orthodox by the Arians (Fleury, xiii. 33): "From this time the Oasis is no longer represented as an isle of the blessed (*μακάρων νῆσος*. Herod. u. s.), but as a region dreary and desolate, swept by noxious winds and often plundered by the neighbouring Beduins." Ersch-u.-Gruber, *Oase*. Michaelis (in Abulfed. Descr. Ægyp. p. 31.) refers to Greg. Naz. (Orat. 23. p. 419. ed. 1609), who calls it *ἡ ἀπρόσθρωνος ἐρημία*, Zonaras (Ann. xiii. c. 22.) who speaks of it as *ὄν' ἀνέμων καταπνεομένην φθοροποιών*; and Athanas. t. i. p. 316, as *ἐρήμιος καὶ ἀθρεῖς καὶ φοβερός τόπος*. In the Digests (lib. xlviii. tit. 22. l. 7. § 5), a *relegatio* to the Oasis is spoken of, and in the Codex (lib. ix. tit. 47. l. 26. § 2) it is enacted that none but Egyptian magistrates should send criminals to the Oasis, and then for only six months, or twelve at the utmost—a longer residence was probably found to be fatal.

A. D. 436. carried away many captives and among the rest Nestorius
 CH. XXXIV. It was not long, however, before they were set at li

and, each taking his own route, Nestorius came to Panopoli whence he despatched a letter to the Governor of Thebais, fearing he might be accused of an attempt to escape. The Governor ordered that he should be removed from Panopoli to Elephantina, a frontier town; then, again, he commanded him to return to Panopolis, and thence had him conveyed to another place in the same district; and an order was issued which would have banished him to a fourth place; but, length, worn out by age and infirmities, he died. His tongue, it is said¹, was eaten up with worms.

[¹ Evagr. u. s. Cf. Theod.

lect. p. 580. σπηίδονι τὸ σῶμα διεφθόρη] ¹ Synodic. c. 190.

The schismatics reckon up fifteen Bishops² as having their sees because they would not be reconciled to St. Peter and John of Antioch; namely, Alexander of Hieropolis, Metropolitan of Euphratesia, who was sent into Egypt, the mines of Famothis; in the same province Abiboch, ejected; and Acilinus of Barbalissa, also ejected afterwards restored on his communicating with John of Antioch, though without approving the deposition of Nestorius. Eutherius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia, banished to Scythopolis, but being expelled thence, he went to Tyre; Zenobius of Zephyrium in the first Cilicia, quitted his Church of his own accord, and was afterwards banished to Tiberias, though he was soon obliged to leave. Meletius of Mopsuestia in the second Cilicia, banished to Melitene in Armenia, where he died. They allege that Nestorius, the Catholic Bishop of Melitene, treated him very harshly.

¹ Eutychius (t. ii. p. 12) says that Nestorius "lived seven years in exile in Echemim [Chemmis or Panopolis, see D'Anville M. sur l' Egypte, p. 191], and then died and was buried in a village called Saclan, where the heat was very great, especially in the valley which contained his grave, so that no man could pass that way in summer-time." Bar-Hebræus, Chron. Syr. pt. 3 (ap. Asseman. t. ii. p. 316), relates that "the physician Gabriel was told by a Nestorian who had travelled in Egypt that the Jacobites insulted Nestorius, throwing stones at his grave, and saying, 'the rain falls not upon him.'"

An account given by Zeno, Bishop of Melitene (about A. D. 481) says that Nestorius was invited to the Council of Chalcedon, and, in his way to it. (Evagr., ii. man., t. ii. p. 55.) He produced his statements from Xiphiloxenus (Bishop of Mabug, 481), who asserts the same, that he had it from the messenger who was sent to summon Nestorius (Asseman, t. ii. p. 40.) Xiphiloxenus a Monophysite, and so would not have declined to receive any report favourable to the Council of Chalcedon. Nestorius remarks that Nestorius is severely anathematized by the Council of Chalcedon.

Anastasius of Tenedos, and Pausian of Hypata, voluntarily resigned their Churches. Theosebius of Chios, or rather of Ceos in Bithynia, died in his Church without being ejected, though he had neither consented to the deposition of Nestorius, nor communicated with St. Cyril; yet he seems to have been deposed. So much for Asia. In Europe, Dorotheus of Marcanopolis, Metropolitan of Mæsia, was ejected and banished to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; Valeanius and Eudocius, of the same province, retired of their own accord. Basil of Larissa, Metropolitan of Thessaly, endured much hardship, they say, but would never consent to condemn Nestorius. Maximin, or Maximus, of Demetrius in the same province, quitted his Church immediately after the deposition of Nestorius. Julian of Sardica, the Metropolitan of Illyricum, likewise refused to condemn him. In all there were but six who were ejected.

The edict against Nestorius was conveyed to the East by the Tribune Aristolaus¹, who was to see that it was received by all the Bishops. We have the synodal letter which was sent by the prelates of the first Cilicia, that is, by Helladius of Tarsus and four others². It is addressed to the Emperor, and imports, that, Aristolaus having come to them by his order, they have willingly obeyed. "We embrace," say they, "the communion of the holy Council of Ephesus; we hold Nestorius, late Bishop of Constantinople, to be deposed, and we anathematize him on account of the impieties he has taught both by word of mouth and in writing; and on all these points we agree with the holy Bishops Sixtus of Rome, Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, and the rest; and we join them in anathematizing Nestorius and all who maintain the like impieties." It is observable that they give the second place to the Bishop of Constantinople.

St. Cyril was informed that some Bishops in the East pretended that they were under no obligation to do more than what was expressly contained in the Emperor's letter, and so condemned Nestorius only in words. He therefore wrote to Aristolaus³, saying that if it was their object to produce a *bonâ fide* conformity, it would be necessary that the Bishops besides anathematizing Nestorius and his doctrine, should also declare that 'there is but one only JESUS CHRIST, SON

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXV.

XXXV.
Second
journey of
Aristolaus.
¹ Synodic.
c. 194.
² c. 192.

³ c. 194. 209.

- .. D. 436. ' of God, the same begotten of God before all time and
 H. XXXV. ' conceived by a woman in these last times according to the
 ' flesh ; in such sort that He is one single person,' as he
 further explains in his letter. He sent the same formula to
- c. 196. John of Antioch¹, as necessary to provide against all chicane.
 " I have learnt," he says, " that there are some Bishops in
 " your parts of the world who, while they anathematize
 " Nestorius and his tenets, constantly set themselves to
 " support them on other grounds. They affirm that he was
 " only condemned because he refused to admit that one
 " expression, ' Mother of God.' " He complains in especial
 of Theodoret. " I did believe," he says to John of Antioch²,
 " that having written to me, and received letters from me,
 " he had sincerely embraced the peace ; meanwhile, I am
 " told by Priest Daniel that he has neither anathematized
 " the blasphemies of Nestorius, nor subscribed to his sen-
 " tence." John of Antioch wrote to Proclus, informing him
 of the results of the second mission of Aristolaus, who prob-
 ably conveyed his letter. " All the Bishops of the East,"
- c. 197. he writes³, " and indeed those of all the rest of the world,
 " have given in their verdict, and passed sentence upon the
 " error of Nestorius, and have consented to his deposition.
 " We are all unanimous in thinking that nothing should be
 " either added to, or taken away from, the Nicene Creed.
 " We understand it in the same way as the holy Bishops our
 " predecessors ; in the West, Damasus, Innocent, and Am-
 Hellade] brose ; in Greece⁴ and Illyricum, Methodius ; in Africa,
 " Cyprian ; at Alexandria, Alexander, Athanasius, and The-
 " ophilus ; at Constantinople, Nectarius, John, and Atticus ;
 " in Pontus, Basil and Gregory ; in Asia, Amphilochius and
 " Optimus ; in the East, Eustathius, Meletius, and Flavian." Then after inserting the Nicene Creed, he adds : " We send
 " you this to satisfy those who yet require to be satisfied ; as
 " for us, we said and did all that was necessary four years
 " ago, on the return of the blessed Paul ;" i. e. Paul of
 Emesa ; whence, by the way, it appears that this letter was
 written in 437 ; " but I know not whence it comes that these
 " vexations seem still to return upon us and all our Churches.
 " All the Bishops of the sea-coast⁵ have consented and sub-
 " scribed ; they of the second Phœnicia, and both the Cilicias

Paralia ;
 ipus says
 is was an
 d name
 Cyprus.]

" a year ago ; the Arabians by Antiochus their Metropolitan ; A. D. 438.
 " Mesopotamia, Osroene, Euphratesia, and the second Syria, CH. XXXVI.
 " have approved all we have done ; you have long since re-
 " ceived the answer of the Isaurians¹, and all in the first [Supr. 21.
 " Syria subscribed with us. The Tribune Aristolaus will 42. 1.]
 " inform you in what manner our clergy received this, and
 " how they applauded your care. Henceforth, then, let all
 " this tumult cease, that we may take breath after the evils
 " we have suffered on account of the accursed Nestorius,
 " and be at length able to make head against the pagans
 " of Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia ; the Jews, particularly
 " those of Laodicea ; and the insubordinate Nestorians of
 " Cilicia."

Cilicia, in fact, was the country where the heresy of Nes- XXXVI.
 torius had thrown out its deepest roots. We have before Writings of
 seen that Meletius of Mopsuestia was the only Bishop, in Theodorus
 either Cilicia, who had chosen to be deposed and banished of Mop-
 rather than consent to the union. His predecessor, Theo- suestia.
 dorus of Mopsuestia, was looked upon as the tutor of Nes-
 torius ; and Theodorus himself had been a disciple of Diodorus,
 Bishop of Tarsus and Metropolitan of the first Cilicia. Hence
 the Nestorians seeing their leader rejected by all the rest of
 the world, and his works condemned, first by the Council of
 Ephesus and more recently by the Emperor's edict, resolved
 on dispersing the writings of these two Bishops, Theodorus
 and Diodorus², who died in the communion of the Church³ Liberat.
 and had left a great name behind them all over the East. c. 10.
 They were both of them natives of Antioch, where Diodorus
 had maintained the Catholic Faith during the two Arian Fleury, 12.
 persecutions under Constantius and Valens³, and Theodorus 46; 16. 26.
 had been an intimate friend of St. Chrysostom's⁴. Diodorus Supr. 19. 7.
 had written commentaries on almost every part of Scripture, [Phot. Cod.
 in which he adhered to the literal meaning ; also a book on 96.]
 the Trinity, another against the Apollinarians, one ' against Phot. [c.
 Destiny and the Astrologers,' and some other works⁵ ; many 85. 102 and]
 of his letters, too, had been preserved, but his writings are 223. Suid.
 now all lost, as are those of Theodorus. The latter had s. v. Diod.
 composed commentaries on most of the books of Scripture ; Socr. 6. 3.
 fifteen books on the Incarnation, five-and-twenty against Sozom. 8. 2.
 Eunomius, four against Apollinarius, and several others⁶, Hieronym.
de Vir. il-
lustr. c. 119.
Phot. c. 4.
38. 81. 177.
Gennad. c.
13. [Ep.
Cyr. ap.
Facund. 11.
3.]

a. of which nothing remains, except some passages quoted by
 1. authors who either attacked or defended him².

The writings of these two Bishops, and of others who had written to maintain the two natures in JESUS CHRIST in opposition to Eunomius and Apollinarius, were much sought after and pointedly eulogized by the Nestorians, who pretended to shew that Nestorius had advanced nothing new, but had merely followed the doctrine of the ancients. In order that they might disperse the books with greater effect, they translated them into the Syriac, Armenian, and Persian
 c. languages³. Theodotus of Ancyra¹, Acacius of Melitene, and Rabbula of Edessa, who were very zealous Catholic Bishops, raised their voices against the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Rabbula publicly anathematized him in the Church².

26. St. Cyril was soon informed of this new stratagem³. The Catholics at Antioch sent him a letter, and the Abbot Maximus repaired to him at Alexandria, and told him, that however the Easterns might pretend to condemn Nestorius, they in reality still followed his opinions, sheltering themselves under the name of Theodorus. On the other side, some of the Eastern Bishops wrote to St. Cyril that the censures passed on the writings of Theodorus were groundless, since he had only taught the doctrines of Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory; and that the people cried out in the churches, 'May the faith of Theodorus increase, we believe as he did.' As these Easterns were constantly vaunting of their adherence to the Nicene Creed, which they wrested to their own meaning by false interpretations, St. Cyril composed an exposition of the Creed in question, in which he chiefly
 h. enlarged on the mystery of the Incarnation⁴. It is addressed
 43. to Maximus and other Abbots of the East, who had requested him to undertake it; copies were also sent to Acacius of
 11c. Melitene, and to the Priest Lampo at Constantinople⁵, who
 206.

¹ According to Ebed-Jesu († A.D. 1318) Diodorus composed sixty treatises, which were sought up and burnt by the Arians. He gives the titles of eight which were extant in Syriac in his time. He also enumerates the works of Theodorus which comprised forty-one volumes (ap. Asseman. t. iii. p. 28—35). His commentaries on the Minor Prophets were published in Ang. Mai's

Nov. Coll., t. i. pt. 2. p. 41, and t. vi. pt. 1. p. 1. See also Fabric. Bibl. Gr., vol. x. p. 352 (ed. 1807).

² Ibas translated them into Syriac (Procli Ep. ad Joan. Ant. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 512. G), Maris into Persian, and Eulalius, the friend of Theodoret, into Armenian. Garner. ad Liberat., p. 52. Cf. Asseman., t. iii. p. 30. note 1.

was to present it to the Princesses and to the Emperor. He also sent a letter to the Emperor¹ to put him on his guard against the writings of Diodorus and Theodorus. In addition to this he composed a short treatise upon the Incarnation, divided into three chapters²; in the first, he shewed that the holy Virgin is Mother of God; in the second, that CHRIST is one, and not two; in the third, that the WORD, remaining impassible, suffered for us in His flesh³.

Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, wrote on his part to St. Cyril⁴ that Nestorianism was deeply rooted in the East; that in his writings Theodorus had taught a very different doctrine from what he had preached to the people, and that in the prefaces to some of his books he conjured the reader, under pain of anathema, not to make them public. He said that the holy Virgin is not truly Mother of God, that man was not united to the WORD in respect of His substance or subsistence, but by his good will⁵: that CHRIST is to be adored [not as LORD, but] only in relation to God, as an image; that the flesh of CHRIST profiteth nothing⁶; that St. Peter⁷ did not acknowledge CHRIST to be God, but that the Church was founded on faith in a *man*. This was Theodorus's doctrine as stated by Rabbula, who was now blind⁸ and far advanced in age, and died soon after.

He and Acacius of Melitene⁹ wrote also to the Bishops of Armenia not to receive the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, because he was a heretic and the originator of the doctrines put forth by Nestorius. The Bishops of Cilicia complained of this proceeding of Rabbula and Acacius, and charged them with being influenced solely by envy and prejudice. The Bishops of Armenia, on the other hand, met together and sent two Priests, Leontius and Aberius, to Proclus of Constantinople, according to custom^b, with their accusations¹ and one of the volumes of Theodorus of Mopsuestia; wishing to know which of the doctrines Proclus approved, that of Theodorus or that of Rabbula and Acacius. The accusation of the Armenians was to this effect²; "There was a pestilential man, or rather a wild beast under the diabolical form of a

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXVII.
¹ c. 198.

² c. 208.

[³ *propria carne*]
⁴ ap. Conc. Const. Labbe, t. v. p. 469.

[⁵ *bonâ voluntate quâdam*]
⁶ alluding to John 6. 33.]

⁷ Matt. 16. 18.

⁸ Theod. Lect. lib. 2. p. 580.

XXXVII. The Armenians send deputies to Proclus.

⁹ Liberat. c. 10.

[¹ *libellis*]

² Conc. t. v. p. 463.

^b The language of Liberatus is ambiguous, but he seems to mean the custom of inferior synods determining nothing *de fide*, without communicating with their Patriarch: v. Garner. in l.

436. "man, falsely named Theodorus," which in Greek means
 [VII.] the gift of God, "who had the title and habit of a Bishop,
 "lurking in a corner of the world, in a place of no note,
 "Mopsuestia, a contemptible town of the second Cilicia: he
 "derived his extraction mainly from Paul of Samosata, though
 "he availed himself of the words of Photinus and other here-
 "siarchs, in his book on the Incarnation. So subtle was he,
 "and so bold withal, that he designed to slay all men by
 "his tongue, which was like the sting of a serpent and had
 "beneath it the venom of asps." They then quoted several
 passages from Theodorus, accused him of being the parent of
 the Nestorian heresy, and concluded by entreating Proclus,
 that as the Council of Ephesus had condemned Nestorius by
 name, so he would condemn in an equally specific way both
 Theodorus and all who followed his doctrine in Syria and
 Cilicia. The title of this document states that it was pre-
 sented by the Priests and Deacons whom the Bishops,
 Priests, Monks, and others in Great Armenia, Persia, and
 other nations, had sent to Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople.

Proclus, having received these papers and given them a
 t.iii. careful examination, wrote a long letter¹, which was called
 l. men 'the volume to the Armenians².' In some of the Latin editions
 ac- it is dated in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth
 ac- of Valentinian, or A.D. 435³. It is directed to the Bishops,
 .60. 2.E. Priests, and Archimandrites of all Armenia. Proclus gives
 in it a clear exposition of the faith respecting the Incarna-
 tion, asserting the unity of person co-ordinately with the
 distinction of natures. He says that "one of the Trinity
 6.D. "was incarnate⁴;" an expression which was afterwards much
 noted. He does not mention Theodorus of Mopsuestia by
 name; he was content that the man should escape, so long
 as the error was dragged to light. His advice to Theodorus
 i. τδν
 γον
 τῆς
 σε-
 θαι] his Deacon, and Maximus, (the two whom he employed to
 take his volume to John of Antioch) was, that they should
 comply in every thing with John's wishes, and not disturb
 the peace of the Churches. He appended to his volume
 some articles that had been put forth, which he considered
 at. heretical⁵; no author's name was affixed, but he requested
 John to aid him in upholding the Faith by signing his
 id. volume and rejecting the articles⁶. The deputies attached

to the articles the names of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and some others whom they wished to have anathematized¹. John of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops who had assembled with him, read the volume of Proclus, approved it, and subscribed it; but on coming to the articles with the authors' names appended they refused to condemn them, and, taking it for granted that the deputies had acted in conformity with their instructions, they wrote a synodical letter complaining that Proclus wished to condemn Theodorus who had died in the peace of the Church.

Proclus disapproved what his deputies had done, and enjoined Maximus to obey John in all things. John, on his part, wrote to St. Cyril² that the troubles had again broken out; that there was ground for alarm lest some who had left the errors of Nestorius should relapse into them; that people had gone to Constantinople with the design of soliciting the Emperor to decree that the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and even his person, should be anathematized; that the name of Theodorus was universally revered in the East, and his writings highly esteemed; so much so, that the Easterns would sooner be burnt alive than condemn them. St. Cyril addressed a letter to Proclus. "After a long struggle," he says, "we have at last brought the Churches every where to reject the falsehoods of Nestorius; yet there are some in the East who are sadly chagrined at this; for distempered minds are not easily cured. In the mean time, all is at present peaceable; why then should we rekindle the flame which was extinguished? I know that there are many things in Theodorus's writings to find fault with; but I fear that men would make this a handle for resuming their defence of Nestorius. I ought to mention that at the Council of Ephesus a worthless exposition of faith, imputed to Theodorus, was presented; the Council condemned it, but without mentioning him or anathematizing him by name; and this was done discreetly³, for there was a danger that some might be led by their respect for him to leave the Church. Let us use the same discretion; the errors of Nestorius have been condemned, and this condemnation virtually includes in it that of all errors of a kindred character."

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXVII.
c. 1.

² Cyril.
Epist. ap.
Conc. t. v.
p. 486.

³ dispensative

A. D. 436. Before long, however, a Deacon named Basil came to Alexandria, bringing with him the volume of Proclus, the memorial sent by the Armenians, and some other documents, which he placed before St. Cyril. St. Cyril, finding that his forbearance was abused and made subservient to the propagation of Theodorus's errors, felt it necessary to write against

¹ Facund. 3.
c. 3. Conc.
t. v. p. 487.
B.

him and treat him openly as a heretic¹. As soon as the Deacon Basil had returned to Constantinople, he drew up a memorial which he presented to Proclus along with what he had presented to St. Cyril; and seeing that Proclus had already sent his volume to the Armenians, he wrote a tract in which he said that the books of Theodorus deserved to be rejected as much as those of Arius and Eunomius. Some Armenian monks^c came to Constantinople on this occasion, bringing a list of propositions which they said they had extracted from the books of Theodorus and of other Fathers who wrote about the same time against Apollinarius. They talked to various persons about them, and created great excitement in Constantinople, their aim being to procure from the Emperor an

¹ Facund. 3.
p. 130. A.

order that the propositions should be anathematized². They afterwards made a tour of all the cities and monasteries in the East, saying that the propositions ought to be condemned together with the authors of them, since their sense was plainly Nestorian. Being protected by some persons in power, they intimidated the clergy and people by their threats, and disturbed the peace of the monks.

XXXVIII.
Council of
Antioch in
behalf of
Theodorus.

² Coll. Ba-
nus. p. 114.
Facund. c.
4. 4.

At this crisis the Council of all the provinces of the East, being assembled at Antioch with John, wrote three synodal letters; to the Emperor, to Proclus, and to St. Cyril. In the letter to St. Cyril³, they express their approbation of the volume of Proclus to the Armenians; "But," they add, "there was no need of it, since, thanks be to God, we are all agreed in opinion. Sometimes even things which appear necessary serve only to create fresh difficulties, if they are done at an unseasonable time. Another volume, too, has

¹ According to Liberatus (c. 10) they were Apollinarians. Baronius (a. 435. § 10) supposes, without any ground, that he received his information from a Nestorian; but Garnier (in l.) thinks the allegation not unlikely, and ascribes

the perversion of Eutyches to these monks. They are afterwards said to have been patronised "by persons in power;" and Chrysaphius the godson of Eutyches was at this time all-powerful at Court.

“been presented to us, containing extracts from the works A. D. 436.
“of Theodorus, late Bishop of Mopsuestia, and it is requested CH. XXXVIII.
“that we should anathematize them. Now we admit that
“there are doubtful expressions in these extracts, which are
“capable of being understood in a different sense from what
“was intended, but the great majority of them are plain and
“clear. As to those which are thought obscure, we find
“some not very different from them in the old Fathers, so
“that we can hardly condemn the one without seeming to
“impeach the other; and what a door shall we open to con-
“fusion, if we allow the opinions of the Fathers, who are now
“no more, to be opposed and censured! It is one thing to
“disapprove some of their opinions, and a very different
“thing to anathematize them, even though the anathema
“should not extend to their persons. Then what an advan-
“tage is it giving the partizans of Nestorius, if we enable
“them to represent Bishops of so high a character as
“sharing in the condemnation of their chief! None of us,
“surely, can be ignorant that Theodorus was compelled to
“speak as he did, by the struggles which he had constantly
“to maintain against heresy, as the common defender of all
“the East.”

The letter to Proclus¹ sets out with approving and eulogizing ¹ Baluz. p. 946.
his volume to the Armenians. It then proceeds to complain
of those who disturb the Church, who leave their own country
and go to Constantinople to calumniate their Bishops. “They
“are not satisfied,” it adds, “with falsely accusing us who
“are alive, but they must also attack the blessed Theodorus,
“now deceased; they must malign him who was eminent as
“a teacher for the space of forty-five years, the successful
“opponent of all heresies, of whom, during his life-time, the
“orthodox never spoke but with respect, and who was ap-
“proved by Bishops, Emperors, and nations.” And lower
down; “We have found in the ancient doctors of the Church
“a thousand things like those which have been maliciously
“extracted from Theodorus’s writings, and presented to you
“[apart from the context].” They mention St. Ignatius the
Martyr, St. Eustachius of Antioch, St. Athanasius, St. Basil,
the two Gregories, (of Nazianzus and Nyssa,) Flavian, Dio-
dorus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, Amphilocheus, and

A. D. 436. Atticus. They conclude thus: "It is not for us to pass sentence on those who have finished their course with honour; " this belongs only to the Judge of quick and dead." The

¹ Fac. 2. c. 2. letter to the Emperor is much to the same purpose¹; it commends Theodorus, "who was honoured by all the Bishops, " and moreover," say they, "by the Emperor Theodosius " your grandfather, who, wishing to see the man, went to " his church, and was delighted both with his preaching and " his conversation. He was the disciple of Flavian, Bishop " of Antioch, and the companion of John of Constantinople, " whose memory you have revived to the great honour of " your reign." This had been brought about by Nestorius

² Supr. 24. in the beginning of his Pontificate².
55.

St. Cyril, in his reply to John and the Council of Antioch, first commends the volume of Proclus, and then says³: "As to the opinion of Diodorus, Theodorus, and some " others, who have assailed the glory of CHRIST with all their " force, let no one, I pray you, ascribe them to the holy " Fathers Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Theophilus, and the " rest, lest an occasion of stumbling be put in the ignorant " brother's way. We would have every one attend to his " own affairs, without renewing those troubles in the Churches " which have lately, by the grace of CHRIST and the vigilance " of all the Bishops⁴, been set at rest. They who renounce " the errors of Nestorius should be received without any re- " proaches on the score of the past; otherwise some who " might wish to become converts will be deterred. Admonish " your clergy to utter nothing in the churches which is not " agreeable to the Faith, and to avoid speaking on these " topics unless they are obliged to it. Should any clerks or " monks be accused of retaining the errors of Nestorius, " though nominally in communion with the Church, let " them be judged in the Churches; it is both anomalous " and inexpedient to have ecclesiastical causes referred to " the secular tribunals⁵."

¹ Supr. 18.
29. note o.
19.5. note 1.]

² Facund. 8.
2. and c.

3. 345.

3. 3. p.
.]

Proclus replied to John and the Council of Antioch⁶, that he had nowhere proposed to anathematize Theodorus or any other of the dead; and that he had given no such orders to his Deacon Theodorus. The Emperor also sent an answer to John and his Council⁷. He exhorts them to maintain

[⁴ τῶν
ἀπαρχῶν
μυσταγωγῶν]

peace and unity, disregarding such as attempted to disturb it; and desires that they, with the whole Church, would make it a rule never to assail the memory of those who have died in the communion of the Church^d.

Pope Sixtus, in the mean time, was engaged in maintaining his jurisdiction over Illyricum, as we gather from three of his letters, two written to Councils held in Illyricum, and one to Proclus. The first¹ is dated on 'the eighth of the ides of July, in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth of Valentinian,' or July the eighth, A.D. 435. It is addressed to the Council which was to meet at Thessalonica, and exhorts the Bishops to adhere to the laws of the Church rather than to those of Princes. This was aimed, no doubt, at the law of Theodosius, which bears date July the fourteenth, 421, and which had been repealed at the solicitation of Pope Boniface². He gives Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, the same authority which his predecessors had enjoyed under the former Popes^e, and which amounted to this, that every Metropolitan should hold ordinations in his own province, but always with the consent of the Bishop of Thessalonica, who was to be communicated with previously to

A. D. 435.
CH. XXXIX.

XXXIX.
Jurisdiction of the Pope in Illyricum.
¹ Conc. Rom. III. ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1711. n. 15.

² Supr. 28. 31.

^d We shall see in the sequel that he was anathematized by the fifth general Council (infr. xxxiii. 47); following the precedent of Theophilus (Socr. vii. 45) and the warrant of St. Augustine, Ep. 185. (al. 50) t. i. p. 644. and Ep. 141. (al. 152) p. 456.

^e The Bishop of Thessalonica possessed a high rank from a very early period. Tertullian, when speaking of the apostolical sees (de Præscript, c. 20. 26), gives as instances "in Achaia, Corinth; in Macedonia, Philippi and Thessalonica; in Asia, Ephesus; and in Italy, Rome." At the Council of Nice, Hosius of Cordova was commissioned to take the Acts to the western parts, Athanasius to Egypt and Libya, and Alexander of Thessalonica to Thrace, Ilyria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, and Hellas. (Phot. Bibl. cod. 256.) Its fame as an ecclesiastical metropolis is shewn by what Aëtius says in Conc. Sardic. can. 16. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 640.) When East Illyricum was politically severed from the Western empire (in 479, v. supr. xviii. 22, note x), the Bishops of that province still wished themselves to be considered as belong-

ing to the Western Church; their reluctance to join the Eastern probably arising from the fact (noticed by Gieseler, vol. i. p. 264) that they, in common with all the West, had remained firm in their adherence to the Council of Nicæa, while the nations to the east of Macedonia were deeply tainted with Arianism. (Sozom. vii. 4. writing of the year 380. Cf. Conc. Aquil. A.D. 381. Labbe, t. ii. p. 1000. B.) Shortly after this, the founding of the new Patriarchate of Constantinople made the position of the Bishop of Thessalonica very critical, and he was fain to shelter himself (in some degree at the expense of his ancient dignity) under the protection of the Roman Pontiffs, who, pursuing their usual policy (Baluz. ap. de Marca, de Concord. lib. v. c. 19. § 2), made him their Vicar. However, this privilege was of a local, not a personal, nature (Baluz. c. 22. § 2. sqq. et ibid. Bœhmer, obs. 17. p. 762. t. ii. ed. 1788), though confirmed by each of the Popes in succession, supr. xviii. 22; xxiv. 31. infr. c. 56. Traces of the contest still occur in A.D. 531; v. infr. xxxii. 24.

A. D. 437. every ordination; that no man should be raised to the
 CH. XXXIX. episcopate until he had been examined and approved by
 him; that the more important causes should be referred to
 him; that he should select from among the Bishops some
 who should act with him as assessors, or even try cases
 themselves, if he gave them a commission. The Bishop of
 Corinth was specially admonished not to lay claim to in-
 dependence. For information on other points the Pope
 referred them to his envoys who attended the Council.

¹ n. 17. The second letter¹, also addressed to a Council of Illyricum,
 was conveyed by the Priest Artemius; it is dated on 'the fif-
 'teenth of the calends of January, in the Consulate of Aëtius
 'and Sigisvultus,' i. e. the eighteenth of December, 437. The
 substance of it is, that all the proceedings of each particular
 Bishop in Illyricum are to be reported to the Bishop of
 Thessalonica; that he shall assemble the Council whenever he
 shall think the emergency requires it; and that the apostolic
 see, on receiving his report of what the Council has decided,
 shall confirm their acts. "Do not think," he adds, "that
 "you are bound by those decisions of the Eastern Council"
 "which were made in opposition to our advice, but only by
 "that part of them which relates to the Faith, and which
 "had our consent." He alludes to the third canon of the
 Council of Constantinople (381), which gives the second

² Supr. 18.7. rank to the Bishop of Constantinople². He declares Ana-
 stasius to be Vicar of the Apostolic See, as Rufus his pre-
 decessor had been, and exhorts the Bishops to unity and
 concord. The third letter³ bears the same date, and is ad-
 dressed to Proclus; it exhorts him to maintain the Bishop
 of Thessalonica in his rights, and not to receive any of the

³ n. 16. Bishops of that province without formal letters⁴ from their

[⁴ sine epi-
 stolis atque
formatâ, v.
 supr. 20.
 31.]

¹ It was long before the Western Bi-
 shops would acknowledge this Council
 to be Œcumenic, (supr. xviii. 18, note i.)
 See Innocent's letter in Sozomen, viii.
 26, where he says that no canons but
 those of Nicæa were binding on the
 Church Catholic. We shall see that
 Leo resisted the canon of Constanti-
 nople, after it had been confirmed by
 the Council of Chalcedon, on the same
 ground: infr. xxviii. 33, and de Marca,

de Constant. Patriarch. (de Concord.
 t. iv. p. 163.) In the time of Gregory
 the Great (who said that he revered
 the *four* Councils as he did the four
 Gospels, lib. ii. Ep. 24), three of the
 canons of Constantinople, including
 that which gave precedency to the
 Bishop of Constantinople, had been
 long received: De Marca, (Baluz.) lib.
 v. c. 25. § 14.

Superior; this, the Pope says, was the rule he himself observed. The letter teems with expressions of his esteem for Proclus and of the confidence which he can repose in him. The Pope remarks to him, that he had recently confirmed his sentence concerning Idduas. It is conjectured¹ that this Idduas was the Bishop of Smyrna who assisted at the Council of Ephesus, and that, having been condemned by Proclus, he had appealed to the Pope. The Asiatic Bishops were very reluctant to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople.

A. D. 438.
CH. XL.

¹ v. not.
Holstein.
[Labbe, t.
iv. p. 1732.]

At the opening of the following year, Proclus brought back to Constantinople the reliques of St. John Chrysostom, whose memory had been already restored nine years before, (428.) Proclus was pronouncing his elege² as usual on his Festival-day, which was the twenty-sixth of September, when the people interrupted him with acclamations, demanding that the Bishop John should be restored to them. Proclus, too, thought that it might be the means of bringing back to the Church many who had left it on account of St. Chrysostom's expulsion, and who still held separate assemblies³. He mentioned it therefore to the Emperor, and persuaded him to order the body of the holy Bishop to be brought from Comana in Pontus, where it had been interred⁴. This was done; the people went out to meet it; the whole of the Bosphorus was covered with boats and illuminated with lamps⁵, as it had been on his recall from his first banishment⁶. The Emperor touched the shrine with his eyes and forehead, and implored pardon for his father and mother, who had offended the Saint, not knowing what they did. The reliques were carried publicly through the streets of Constantinople, with great respect, and deposited in the church of the Apostles; and those were once more re-united to the Church who had separated on account of St. Chrysostom. This translation was performed thirty-five years after his first deposition, on the twenty-seventh of January⁷, in the sixteenth Consulate of Theodosius, or the year 438; and on this day St. Chrysostom is honoured by the Latin Church. On the fifteenth of February in this same year, the Theodosian Code was published; it is a collection of the constitutions of the Christian Emperors, compiled by order of

XL.
Translation
of the
reliques of
St. Chry-
sostom.
² ap. Baron.
ann. 438.
§ 3.
[it. Galland.
t. ix. p. 678.]

³ Socr. 7. 45.

⁴ Supr. 22.
13.

⁵ Theodor.
ret. 5. 36.
⁶ Supr. 21.
22.

⁷ Socr. u. 2.
Marcell.
Chron. [p.
285.]
Theod.
Lect. in
fine. [p.
585. The
two last say
Jan. 28.]

A. D. 438. Theodosius the Younger, the last book containing only those laws which relate to religion^g.

XLI.
Other translations.

¹ Fleury,
10. 22.

² Sozom.
9. 2.

It was in the pontificate of Proclus, also, that they discovered at Constantinople the reliques of the forty Martyrs, who had suffered under Licinius at Sebastia in Armenia¹. They were revealed to St. Pulcheria by the Martyr St. Thyrsus², who appeared three times to her, and ordered her to translate these reliques, which were concealed under ground, and deposit them near his; the forty Martyrs themselves, too, appeared, clad in white mantles. Their reliques were actually found under the ambon^h, or pulpit, of the church of St. Thyrsus; a table of marble was placed above the coffin, and there was a small opening, which corresponded to the place where the reliques stood in two silver urns surrounded by a mass of perfumes. The use of the opening was to admit linen cloths to touch the reliques. The Empress Pulcheria had the reliques of the forty Martyrs inclosed in a very rich shrine, and placed near that of St. Thyrsus, and the translation was celebrated with great solemnity, like a public festival. Such is the account of the historian Sozomen, who was present.

The Emperor Theodosius, wishing to return thanks to God for the many blessings he had received, performed some vows which he had made; and sent his wife the Empress Eudocia to Jerusalem, in fulfilment of a vow she had herself made, if she should live to see her daughter married³. Now her daughter Eudocia married the Emperor Valentinian⁴, who came for this purpose to Constantinople, on the twenty-first of October A.D. 437, when Aëtius and Sigisvultus were Consuls⁵. Eudocia set out on her journey in the year following, (438,) and made large presents to the churches at Jerusalem and in all the cities of the East, both as she went and

³ Prosp. Ch. [p. 659.] Marcell. Chr. v. 2. Chron. Pasch. [p. 315.]

^g Besides edicts and rescripts, it contains letters, orations, Acts of Consistories, instructions given to provincial magistrates, any thing, in fact, in which a legal decision was involved.

^h Sozomen explains the word as "the Readers' Desk," (*βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνώστων*.) Socr. vi. 5. mentions it as an unusual thing that St. Chrysostom delivered his homilies from the Ambon; the customary place being the steps

leading to the Altar (or chancel); v. Vales. in h. l. In Russian, "the Ambon" ordinarily means the projecting part "in front of the Solea" (v. Suicer. s. v. *σωλάς*), "on which the Deacon stands "to bid the Ecteneiæ" or litanies; though sometimes it "is used for the "episcopal dais or platform in the "middle of the nave." Mouravieff's H. of Russ. Ch., p. 360.

as she returned¹. In Palestine she erected some monasteries and Lavras², and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. She returned in the year 439³, bringing back to Constantinople some reliques of St. Stephen, which were placed in the church of St. Laurence, with some reliques of that Saint and of St. Agnes⁴.

On the last day of January in this year, (439,) Theodosius published a law⁵ against the Jews and Samaritans, which incapacitates them for holding any public office, even that of jailor; and forbids their building any new synagogue⁶, or perverting any Christian. It also prohibits the pagans from offering any sacrifice, on pain of death¹; and revives all the penalties against the Manicheans⁷ and other heretics of those times.

There were still some pagans at the head of the Roman armies⁸. Littorius, who commanded the auxiliary Huns in Gaul⁹, relying on the promises of the aruspices and the oracular responses of evil spirits, was vanquished by the Goths, who trusted in God, and whose King up to the day of battle had given himself to prayer, lying wrapped in a hair cloth⁹. This defeat took place in the same year, 439. In Africa, Cyrus, who was a pagan, was Master of the Soldiery,—a dignity which he owed to the Empress Eudocia, with whom he had ingratiated himself by his skill in versifying; he afterwards rose to be Consul for the year 441, Præfect of the Prætorium, Præfect of Constantinople, and a patrician¹¹; but while Eudocia was at Jerusalem, he was assailed by the artifices of his enemies and fell into disgrace. He made use

¹ On the laws against the pagans, v. supr. xviii. 9, 38; xix. 32, &c. Gieseler, vol. i. § 76. The soldiers of the cross had now for some time been so successful that the *pagani*, or those who refused allegiance to Christ (Christi sacramentum), existed only in remote and obscure villages (Prudent. c. Symm. i. v. 610. sqq., and Oros. Præf. Hist.); so that the word had reverted to its old application (*paysan, peasant*), see Gibbon, c. 21. note 173. In the law passed A.D. 423 (supr. xxiv. 30), Theodosius says, that he renews the enactments against the pagans although he does not suppose that any at that time survived. This last, however, must be understood of the Eastern empire, for

in the West paganism still retained considerable power.

² For "the highest ranks of society were most strongly attached to Paganism;" Gieseler, t. i. p. 182. Cf. Mosheim, Cent. iv. pt. i. c. 1. § 16.

³ "When Constantine ascended the throne little more was left than a vague tradition that the patricians had once been the first of the Romans. He revived the title, though only as a personal, not an hereditary, distinction" (Gibbon, c. 17), thus resembling the *Orders* of modern Europe. The Patricians were superior to all the great officers of state except the Consuls.

A. D. 439.
CH. XLII.
¹ Evagr. 1.
20, 21, 22.
² φροντιστήρια καὶ τὰς καλοῦ-
μένων Λαύ-
ρας]
³Theodo-
xvii. et
Festo Cos.
⁴ Marcel-
lin. u. s.
Theod.
Lect. in
fine.
⁵ Novell.
Theod. tit.
iii.]
⁶ Supr.
24. 30.]
⁷ Supr.
[8. 9. o.]
XLII.
Carthage
taken by
the Van-
dals.
⁸ Prosp.
Chr. [p.
662.]
⁹ Salvian.
de gubern.
p. 161, 162.
[cilicio.]

¹¹ Suid.
Cyrus.

A. D. 437. of the opportunity to turn Christian, and eventually became
 CH. XLII. a Bishop¹. It was during his command in Africa that Car-
¹ Niceph. thage was taken by the Vandals². The Romans had made
 14. 46. thage was taken by the Vandals². The Romans had made
² Evagr. 1. peace with them in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius
 19. and fourth of Valentinian, that is, in the year 435, by
³ Prosp. assigning them a part of Africa for their occupation³. Two
 Chr. [p. years after this, (437,) their King Genseric, wishing to
 659.] establish Arianism and extirpate the Catholic religion in
 the districts over which he ruled, persecuted several Bishops,
 of whom the most illustrious were Possidius, Novatus, and
 Severinus. He deprived them of their churches, and even
 expelled them from their cities, because they resisted his
 threats with invincible constancy. He attempted to seduce
 four Spaniards whom he held in high esteem, and who had
 won his affection by their fidelity and accomplishments;
 their names were Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Euty-
 chius⁴. He ordered them to embrace Arianism; they un-
 flinchingly refused; and Genseric, irritated to madness, pro-
 scribed them, banished them, and at last, after inflicting
 the most cruel tortures, put them to different kinds of
 death; and so they gained the crown of martyrdom. Euty-
 chius and Paschasius had a young brother named Paulillus,
 whose beauty and wit had made him a great favourite with
 the King; but finding that all his threats availed nothing to
 make him renounce the Catholic Faith, he had him severely
 beaten with sticks, and condemned him to the lowest kind of
 slavery; being unwilling, it is thought, to put him to death,
 lest he should seem to have been vanquished by the constancy
 of a child.

[⁴ al. Euty-
 chianus.]
 Ibid. p. 662.

Many were the treatises written to support the Catholics
 under this persecution. A letter from Antoninus Honoratus⁵,
 Bishop of Constantina, to Arcadius one of these four Martyrs,
 written to comfort and encourage him in his exile, is still
 extant⁶. It exhorts him not to set any value on his riches,
 and not to allow himself to be tempted by the friendship of
 the King or softened by his affection for his wife. Victor,
 Bishop of Cartennæ in Mauritania, composed a large work
 against the Arians, which he presented to Genseric himself⁷.
 We also find a short abstract of the Faith in opposition to
 the Arians, written about this time by an author whose name

⁵ Gennad.
 de Script.
 c. 95.

⁶ ap. Baron.
 in. 437.
 § 3.] et
 Ruinart.
 Hist.
 persec. p.
 433.

⁷ Gennad.
 c. 79.

is not known; it is an exposition of the passages relating to the Trinity, in opposition to Varimadus an Arian Deacon, and the author lived at Naples¹. Cerealis, Bishop of Castellum in Mauritania, Voconius, Bishop of Castellanus in the same province, and another African Bishop called Asclepius, also wrote against the Arians².

When Genseric saw that the Romans had their attention directed elsewhere, and especially that their ablest general, Aëtius, was occupied with the affairs of Gaul, he took Carthage by surprise, in the midst of peace and while every one felt secure of his friendliness to Rome³. He made his entry on the fourteenth of the calends of November, in the seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius, or October the nineteenth A.D. 439. He gave up all their wealth to pillage, and tortured the citizens who attempted to conceal any of their treasures^m. He stripped the churches of their ornaments, and after having turned out the Priests and seized on the sacred vessels, he lodged his men in them. He exercised great cruelty on the whole people, but he declared himself, in especial, the enemy of the nobility and clergy; and in pursuance of his scheme for spreading Arianism throughout all Africa, he ejected the Bishops from their churches and caused many to suffer martyrdom.

A contemporary writer, Salvian, a Priest of Marsilles, refers to this taking of Carthage as a striking instance of Divine vengeance⁴. This great city had plunged into every kind of vice; it seemed as if the inhabitants had been seized with frenzy; every where you saw drunkards crowned with flowers and perfumed; every street was filled with snares against chastity and dens of infamy; adulteries and the most horrible impurities were matters of ordinary occurrence, and were openly practised without attempt at concealment. Men were seen in the streets painted and habited like women. The orphan and the widow were oppressed; the poor, reduced to despair, prayed in the bitterness of their soul that God would give the city over to the barbarians. Blasphemy and impiety reigned in it; many, though exter-

A. D. 439.
CH. XLIII.

¹ ap. Vig.
Thaps. P.
357.

² Gennad.
c. 96. 80. 75.

³ Victor.
Vitens. l. 4.
Prosp. Chr.
[p. 663.]
Isid. Hist.
Vand. era
467.

XLIII.
Writings of
Salvian.

⁴ Salv. de
Gubern. lib.
7. p. 170.
ed. Baluz.
1669.

^m Herodian (vii. 6) says that Carthage stood next to Rome for wealth, population, and size, in all which its

claims to the second place were unrivalled except by Alexandria. Cf. Gibbon, c. 33.

A. D. 439. nally Christians, were pagans at heart, adored the goddess
 CH. XLIII. Cœlestis¹ ⁿ, bound themselves to her by vows, and, at the
¹ Ibid. l. 8. conclusion of the pagan sacrifices, went to church and ap-
 p. 187. proached the holy Altar. In these impieties the greatest
 and most powerful were foremost. But all the people had
 the most rooted aversion and contempt for the monks, how-
 ever holy they might be. In all the cities of Africa, though
 most of all at Carthage, whenever they saw a man of pale
 complexion, with his hair shorn close, habited in the monk's
 cloak², they discharged at him a volley of insult and curses.

[² pallia-
 tum et pal-
 lidum et...
 usque ad
 cutem ton-
 sum.] l. 8.
 p. 190.

If a monk from Egypt or Jerusalem came to Carthage for
 some work of piety, the moment he appeared in public he
 was assailed with loud laughs, or hissed at, or loaded with
 reviling. The Vandals put a stop to these disorders, and
 made all the prostitutes marry; for unchastity, so common
 among the Romans, was with them, as with the Goths, an
 object of horror³.

³ l. 7. p. 177.
 180. 156.

The work in which Salvian speaks thus is addressed to the
 Bishop Salonius his disciple, the son of St. Eucherius. Its
 aim is to justify the ways of Providence, and to shew how
 little reason people had to be offended, as many were⁴, at the
 misery which the Christians suffered during the fall of the
 Roman Empire, when contrasted with the prosperity of the
 heretical or pagan barbarians⁵. This obliges him to enlarge
 on the vices of the Romans⁶, and to shew that there were still
 many remnants of idolatry among them⁷; that the greater
 part were Christians only in name, and worse than the bar-
 barians⁷, whose vices he thus describes. "The Saxons," he
 says, "are savage, the Franks and Goths treacherous, the
 "Gepidæ inhuman, the Huns and Alans unchaste." But

⁴ l. 3. p. 42;
 l. 4. p. 82.

⁵ p. 84.

⁶ l. 3. p. 58.

⁷ l. 4. p. 85;
 l. 5. p. 104.
 116.

ⁿ Elsewhere called Urania, as in
 Herodian, v. 6, who says that the
 Phœnicians called her Astroarche, evi-
 dently a corruption of Astarte or Ash-
 taroth (akin to ἀστὴρ, *star*, German
stern, Persian *starah*; v. Gesen. Thes.
 Heb. s. v.), the favourite and tutelary
 deity of the Carthaginians. Sancho-
 niathon (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. i. 10)
 says she was the same as Ἀφροδίτη;
 and St. Ambrose (Ep. c. Relat. Symm.
 t. ii. p. 840) identifies the Cœlestis of
 Africa and Mitra of Persia with Venus.
 In her attributes she rather resembled

Cybele (Eckhel de Doctr. Numm. t.
 vii. p. 184) as also in the degrading
 character of her worship (Aug. de Civ.
 Dei, ii. 3). See Münter, Relig. der
 Carthager, s. 75—82, and Gesenius in
 Gruber's Encycl., th. xxi. p. 97.

^o Especially those to which a politi-
 cal importance was attached. "Are
 "not fowls still fed in the Gentile
 "fashion, are not auguries taken from
 "flying birds, is not the whole code of
 "the frivolous ceremonies of paganism
 "still retained,—and all for the sake of
 "the Consuls?" Salvian, l. vi. p. 122.

he commends the Franks for their hospitality, the Goths, Vandals, and Saxons for their chastity¹ p. He particularly declaims against the impurity of the Romans², and their passion for the theatre, even while surrounded by the horrors of war and public calamities³ q. He inveighs against the injustice of the rich and powerful, and their oppression of the poor⁴, which made these prefer the dominion of the barbarians to that of the Romans⁵. Salvian wrote another treatise, in four books, addressed to the Catholic Church, in which, under the assumed name of Timotheus, he attacks the avarice of the Christians. In the third book⁶ he complains that parents left nothing to such of their children as consecrated themselves to God, and thus deprived them of the merit of voluntary poverty. Besides these he wrote other works which are no longer extant; his reputation was so great that Gennadius, who lived about the same time, calls him 'the Master of Bishops'⁷.

A Council was held this year (439) at Riès in Provence, on the following occasion. On the demise of the Bishop of Embrun, the see remained vacant for twenty months, owing to the violence of some laymen, who prevented the canonical election which the clergy desired. At length, two Bishops who took it into their heads to go thither, having neither authority from the Metropolitan nor letters from the provincial Bishops, consecrated a young man called Armenarius, who had been brought up in the fear of God, but fell beneath this temptation. He afterwards held an ordination, at which he admitted certain excommunicate persons to be Clerks. As this was altogether irregular, the neighbouring Bishops assembled at Riès on the twenty-ninth of November, 439⁸. St. Hilary of Arles presided at this Council, and was assisted by eleven other Bishops, some of whom belonged to that part of the province of Vienne which bordered on the province of Arles, others to the second province of Narbonne, and others to that of the maritime Alps, of which

¹ All three belonged to the great Teutonic stem, to whose singular chastity Tacitus bore witness. (De Germ. c. 18, 19.) The Huns and Alans belonged to an entirely different family of nations—the (Calmuc) Tartar.

² "One might think," he says, "that

"the whole Roman people had gorged itself with Sardonie herbs. The "ghastliness of death is on it, and it "laughs; and so in every part of the "world our laughter is pioneer to "weeping." (p. 150.) Cf. August. de Civ. Dei, lib. i. c. 33.

A. D. 439.
CH. XLIV.
i 1. 7. p. 157.
169; 1. 4.
p. 87.
p. 169.

1. 6. p. 123;
1. 7. p. 150.
1. 4. p. 70,
89q.

1. 5. p. 104.
109.

p. 270, sqq.

⁷ in Catal.
c. 69. [Epi-
scoporum
Magister.]

XLIV.
Council of
Riès.

⁸ 3 Kal.
Decemb.
Theodosio
XVII. Cons.

A. D. 439. Embrun was the capital, though it was not yet the ecclesiastical metropolis¹. Among the names of these Bishops we recognise those of Auspicius of Vaison, Valerian of Cémèle, and Maximus of Riès. Besides the twelve Bishops, there was a Priest named Vincentius, who subscribed as proxy for Constantine, Bishop of Gap.

The Council declared the ordination of Armentarius to be void, and ordered a canonical election to be proceeded with². To punish the two Bishops who were the prime movers in this illicit transaction, they prohibited them, according to the Council of Turin³, from assisting at any ordination or any ordinary Council as long as they lived⁴. They shewed some indulgence to Armentarius, and permitted any of the Bishops, whose charity might lead him to do so, to assign him a church in his diocese, where he might have the title of Chorepiscopus, or might only be admitted to stranger communion⁵†, which is to be understood in case the church were not given him as a title. In deciding thus they say that they “follow the decree of the Nicene Council respecting certain schismatics;” which refers to what the eighth canon of Nicæa says about the Novatians⁶. But the Council of Riès limits this indulgence, in the case of Armentarius, by several restrictions. “He shall not be received,” they say⁷, “in the province of the maritime Alps, where he had intruded; he shall not have a church allowed him in a city, but only in the country; he shall never offer the Oblation in cities, even in the

² can. 2. [Conc. t. iii. p. 1285.]

³ Taurin. can. 3. t. ii. Conc. p. 1156. D. C. Regens. can. 1.

⁵ can. 3.

⁶ Fleury, 11. 22.

⁷ can. 3.

† *Peregrinâ*, ut aiunt, *communione*. This is the first instance of the phrase that is known. It is next mentioned in the Council of Agde (ann. 506) can. 5, and especially can. 2 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1383), which provides that if any of the clergy neglect their duties they shall be reduced to stranger-communication: but that on repentance they may have their names again inserted in the matricula or clergy-roll. It is again mentioned in the Council of Lerida (ann. 539). In all three it relates to the clergy.

It was clearly not the same as lay-communication, since this involved a total and perpetual degradation from clerical orders (Bingh. 17. 2. § 3). Much less was it communion in one kind, as Bellarmine (de Euchar., lib. iv. c. 24. t. iii. p. 188) took lay-communication to

mean,—his opinion is discarded by Bona, Rerum Liturg., lib. ii. 19. 3.

Communion in the ancient Church was used not only of participating in the Eucharist, or Communion of the Altar, but also of receiving the Church's charity. (Bingh. 17. 3. § 7.) Hence *communio peregrina* meant the hospitable entertainment afforded to such as travelled without *litteræ formate*, and who could, therefore, not be admitted to the Eucharist; and, when applied to the clergy, it meant that they lost their right to a full proportion of the Church's revenues and received only a charitable subsistence, being at the same time excluded from administering, and, in some cases, from partaking of the Sacrament. So it is explained by Baronius, Ann. 400. § 67. Ann. 407. § 40. and Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 6.

“ absence of the Bishops; in his own church he shall not
 “ ordain the lowest order of clergy; he shall exercise no
 “ episcopal function, save only that he shall confirm the
 “ neophytes, offer before the Priests, consecrate virgins, and
 “ bless the people in the church¹. He shall have the govern-¹ can. 4, 5.
 “ ment of but one Church, and shall not be allowed to accept
 “ a second until he has renounced his claim to the former² ;”² can. 3.
 in other words, he was to have the title rather than the power
 of Chorepiscopus³, and while he was more than Priest, was
 to be less than Bishop. As to the clergy whom he had ordain-
 ed, those who had been previously excommunicated were
 to be deposed; those whose character was unspotted might,
 at the option of the Bishop of Embrun, either be retained in
 his Church, or sent to Armentarius³.³ can. 4.

The Council takes occasion to add some general rules.
 “ Every Priest may give the benediction in families, in the
 “ country, and in private houses, but not in the church⁴ ;” in⁴ can. 5.
 the East they gave the benediction even in public. “ When
 “ a Bishop dies, no one except the neighbouring Bishop shall
 “ come to the vacant church during the time of the funeral⁵.⁵ can. 6.
 “ He shall perform the office of visitor there, and shall employ
 “ the interval, i. e. until the seventh day after the Bishop’s
 [exequiarum tempore]
 “ death⁶, in taking an inventory of the goods of the church; ⁶ can. 7.
 “ he shall then return home, and wait like the other Bishops

¹ For the Chorepiscopi in general were allowed to ordain the inferior clergy (supr. xviii. 25. note h), not limited to one church, and authorized to offer in the city church in the absence of the Bishop. (Can. 13. Conc. Neocæs. Fleury, x. 17.) No mention of the name occurs in the *Latin Church* before the one in this Council; Thorndike, Orig. Eccl. c. 20 (p. 361. ed. 1674.) In 803 they were declared by Charlemagne, acting under the sanction of Leo III. and the Councils of Ratisbon and Aix-la-Chapelle, to be only Presbyters, (Fleury, xlv. 25.) Nicolas I. determined that they had Episcopal power (li. 8). They existed so late as A.D. 936 (lv. 17).

The case of Armentarius suggests the question; “How can the ministry conferred by an uncanonical ordination come to be considered valid?” Thornd. u. s. p. 362, whose answer may

be summed up thus:—In ordination there are two things: the authority of the Church, and the rite of consecration; but the former is of so much greater moment than the latter, that if a duly consecrated Bishop deprives himself of the Church’s authority, *e. g.* by schism, his functions become null, he can no longer communicate the grace of the Holy Spirit: *ἔσβησε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῆς διακοπῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν.* (Basil. ad Amphil. c. 1.) If, then, by the withdrawal of the Church’s authority a legitimate consecration becomes invalid; we cannot wonder that an uncanonical consecration (the rite having been administered but without the Church’s authority) should, by the superaddition of that authority become valid to such purposes as the Church ordains, (*ad id ad quod valere eam vult accedens autoritas Ecclesiæ.*)

A. D. 440. " for the mandate of the Metropolitan, without which no one
 CH. XLV. " shall come to the vacant church, lest it should seem as if
 [1 vim pati " he had courted the violence of the people¹. Two Councils
 voluisse vi- " shall be held every year², according to the old rule³, in
 deatur] " time of peace;" the last clause being added on account of
² can. 8. " C. Nicæen. the wars and public calamities, which frequently hindered the
 can. 5. meeting of Councils.

XLV.
 Death of
 St. Sixtus.
 St. Leo
 Pope.

Julian of Æculanum, the famous Pelagian, eagerly desirous
 of recovering his see, endeavoured to procure his re-admission
 to the communion of the Church; he pretended that he was
 a convert, and set afloat divers artifices to persuade St. Sixtus
 that he really was so; but the Pope, following the good advice
 of his Archdeacon, was prudently on his guard against him,
 which caused great joy to all the Catholics⁴. Pope St. Sixtus
 died shortly after, on the twenty-eighth of March, A.D. 440⁵,
 having occupied the see nearly eight years⁶. He held his ordi-
 nations at Rome in December, and ordained twenty-eight
 Priests, twelve Deacons, and fifty-two Bishops to different
 places⁷.

⁴ Prosp.
 Chr. [p.
 663.]
⁵ 5 Kal.
 April. Va-
 lentiniano
 V. et Ana-
 tolio Coss.
⁶ Supr.c.15.
⁷ Lib.

Pontific.
 [p. 25. ed.
 Paris., et
 ap. Corp.
 Byz. H. t.
 xix. p. 14.]
 [* S. Maria
 Maggiore.]

[⁸ Canthara
 cerostrota
 orichalcea]

He restored the Basilica of St. Mary⁸, formerly that of
 Liberius, and presented to it a silver Altar of three hundred
 pounds' weight, (by which I understand the holy table,) and
 gave several other silver vessels to it, amounting to 1,165
 pounds' weight, besides a vessel of gold of fifty pounds' weight,
 and twenty-four copper candelabra⁹ weighing fifteen pounds
 each. He gave in lands and houses a yearly revenue of 729
 sols of gold. He gave to the baptistry of St. Mary all the
 necessary vessels in silver, among others a stag, from which
 the water issued, weighing thirty pounds. He decorated the
 confessional of St. Peter with an ornament of silver, weigh-
 ing four hundred pounds. He adorned the confessional of
 St. Laurence with pillars of porphyry and silver: he also
 [1 cancelli] gave to it an Altar of fifty pounds' weight, a balustradé¹
 of three hundred pounds' weight, and above it the apsis, or
 semi-dome terminating the chancel-roof², with a statue of
 St. Laurence, of two hundred pounds' weight. He built the
 whole Basilica which is named after this Saint, and presented
 it with a large number of silver vessels, and a vessel of gold
 richly set with pearl and weighing ten pounds. All the silver
 given by Pope St. Sixtus to these two churches, of which the

[² Fleury;
 tour de la
 voute]

weight is assigned, amounts to 2,611 Roman pounds¹, or above three thousand marks.

The Emperor Valentinian, at his request, offered a figure wrought in gold, having twelve gates, with the twelve Apostles and our Saviour, the whole adorned with precious stones; it was placed over the confessional of St. Peter. To the Basilica of the Lateran² the Emperor gave a silver pediment³ to supply the place of that which the Barbarians had carried off; this weighed 511⁴ pounds. He decorated the confessional of St. Paul with two hundred pounds' weight of very fine gold⁵. Pope St. Sixtus also beautified the baptistry of the Lateran with porphyry columns surmounted by a marble architrave, on which he had some verses engraved, descriptive of the efficacy of Baptism, and asserting the doctrine of original sin in opposition to the Pelagians⁶. He was buried in a crypt in the Via Tiburtina, near the body of St. Laurence.

St. Leo, Archdeacon of the Roman Church⁷, was elected his successor. He was absent at the time on a mission into Gaul, where he was employed in mediating between Aëtius and Albinus, generals of the Roman army. A public deputation was sent to him, and during the interval of forty days which elapsed before his arrival the Roman Church continued without a pastor, with extraordinary patience and unanimity⁸. St. Leo was of Tuscan origin, though apparently born at Rome, which he always calls his country. His father's name was Quintianus⁹. It is believed that it was he who was sent into Africa in 418, being at that time an Acolyte⁹, to carry a letter to the Bishop Aurelius from St. Sixtus, who was then Priest and afterwards Pope, and to whom he was always very much attached. As Deacon he was of eminent service to Pope St. Cælestine; and it was he who induced Cassian to write against Nestorius.

¹ In entering upon the history of St. Leo's Pontificate we may remark, once for all, how singularly his character was adapted to the emergencies of the time in which he lived. That civilization, which, if it has not always preceded, at least always accompanies, Christianity (Grant's Bampton Lect. Append. 5), seemed giving way under the floods of barbarism which poured in upon it. The empire was nerveless, the Church itself distracted by heresies. Humanly

speaking, nothing could have sustained Christianity but what the legislative mind of St. Leo was, in so high a degree, instrumental in effecting,—the organization of the Church as an institution. "If Christianity had been as "in early times an individual belief, "sentiment, or conviction, it would "have sunk under the ruins of the "empire. It was the Christian Church "which saved Christianity." Guizot, Hist. of Civiliz., Lect. 2.

A. D. 440.
CH. XLV.

¹ About 7785*l.* sterl.
v. Supr. c. 15. z.]

² Constantiniana]
³ Fastigium]
⁴ In Labbe (t. iii. p. 1257), 1610*lbs.*]
⁵ *ex argento*, Labbe.]

⁶ ap. Baron. ann. 440. [§ 6.]

⁷ Supr. c. l. note a.]

⁸ Lib. Pontif. [Labbe, p. 1290.]
⁹ Supr. 23. 50.

A. D. 440. In this year, (440) died John, Bishop of Antioch, having occupied the see eighteen years¹. He was succeeded by
 CH. XLVI. Domnus, his sister's son. Domnus had led a monastic life
 XLVI. John of Antioch dies; and is succeeded by Domnus. under the guidance of St. Euthymius, and was ordained
 Deacon by Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, in the year 428, at
 the dedication of the Lavra². When the Council of Ephesus
¹ Chronol. Niceph. [p. 315.] was dismissed, he was afflicted by the intelligence that his
² Supr. 24. 28. uncle sided with Nestorius, and he entreated St. Euthymius
 S. Euthym. vita ap. to let him go to Antioch with a view to reclaim him³. St.
 Analecta Euthymius said to him, "Go not thither, my son; it is not
 Gr. p. 31, expedient for thee. The wicked have seduced him for a
 32. "short time, but God knows his uprightness, and will not
³ p. 41. "suffer him to be lost. As for thee, my son, if thou wilt
 "abide in the place to which thou art called, and wilt refuse
 "admittance to those reasonings which would lead thee to
 "forsake the desert, thou mayest advance to perfection and
 "receive the honour which cometh from God⁴. If thine ears
 [⁴ προκόψαι "are closed to my warning, thou shalt succeed to the see of
 ἔχεις καὶ "thine uncle, but shalt be deprived of it by ungodly men,
 δουλοσθῆναι "who shall first seduce thee from thy better will." So spake
 κατὰ θεόν.] St. Euthymius. Domnus heeded him not, but set off to An-
 tioch without his blessing, and there every thing fell out as
 had been foretold by the Saint.

In the preceding year, Firmus, the Bishop of Cæsarea in
 Cappadocia, having died, the Cæsareans came to Constanti-
 nople, requesting Proclus to appoint them a Bishop⁵. As he
 was casting in his mind whom he should choose for them, all
 the Senators came one Saturday⁶ to the church to see him.
 Among them was Thalassius, who had been Præfect of the
 Prætorium in Illyria; and it was said that he was going to
 hold the same post in the East. Proclus laid his hand upon
 him, and declared him Bishop of Cæsarea^u.

Here Socrates concludes his Ecclesiastical History, which
 is divided into seven books, comprising, he says, the space of
 140 years, from the beginning of Constantine's reign to the
 seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius the younger, that is,
 from the year 306 to the year 439, which, however, make

^u Socrates speaks of it as "a marvellous circumstance was that a high civil officer should be ordained without the Emperor's permission: v. Vales. in l.

but 133¹ years. Sozomen brought his history down as far as the same year, 439², having begun with the third Consulate of Crispinus and Constantine the younger, i. e. the year 324; but the latter part of it is lost. Both these historians ought to be received with some caution on matters relating to Novatianism, to which they evince an evident leaning.

Another point on which it is well to be forewarned is the account they both give of the different customs of the Churches³. They say that the fast of Lent was kept in the six weeks before Easter in Illyria, in Greece, at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt, Libya, and Palestine. At Constantinople, and in all the surrounding provinces as far as Phœnicia, they began Lent seven weeks before Easter⁴. But there were some who fasted only three of these six or seven weeks, and in each week only five days, the three weeks not being successive, but at intervals⁵. Some, as at Rome, fasted three weeks continuously, Saturday and Sunday excepted; though this is probably a mistake of Socrates, since at Rome they fasted the year round on Saturday⁶. The time of this fasting was called by all alike *τεσσαρακοστή* or Quadragesima⁷. Then again, there was a diversity in their modes of fasting; some abstained from all sorts of

A. D. 440.

CH. XLVII.

[¹ or rather

[34]

² Sozom.

Præf.

XLVII.

Customs

of the

Churches.

³ Socr. 5. 22.

Sozom. 7.

19.

[⁴ Cf. supr.

20. 6.]

[⁵ τρεῖς μό-

να πενθη-

μέρους ἐκ

διαλημμά-

των ἡ-

στέοντες]

[⁶ whence

the French

carême.]

¹ Supr. xxiii. 32. St. Augustine mentions this as an instance in which "the raiment of the King's Daughter, the Church, is variously embroidered:" Ep. 36 (al. 86) t. ii. p. 81. and Ep. 54 (al. 118) p. 124. where he gives the answer of Ambrose, "Here (at Milan) I do not fast on the Sabbath, at Rome I do fast on the Sabbath." The practice of the Roman Church is also mentioned in Ep. 82 (al. 19) p. 194. Hieronym. Ep. 52 (al. 28) t. iv. pt. 2. p. 579. Cassian, de Instit. iii. 10, and Leo, Ep. 11 (al. 81) t. i. p. 436. The only exception was in the period between Easter and Pentecost, when no fasts were held (Ambros. ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Dist. 76. c. 8. Cassian, xxi. 11. 19. Leo, Serm. 4. de Jejun. Pent.), until the appointment of the Rogation-days in 468.

The difficulty, however, is that Socrates himself was aware of this, since he expressly says (l. 5. c. 22): "at Rome they fast every Saturday," which need

not mean more than 'every Saturday not in Lent.' On the whole it is probable that Socrates was misinformed as to the Lent-fast at Rome. Valesius, who defends him, grounds his main argument on the concluding passage of St. Leo's fourth Lent Sermon; but this clause is absent from five of the best MSS. (Quesnel. t. ii. p. 560). Cassiodore quotes the passage from Socrates without contradiction:—but he only professes to give an interesting selection from different writers without judging of their authority. We should naturally conclude from what Cassian says on this subject, Collat. xxi. 24, 27 (supr. xx. 6), that the custom of the Roman Church was to fast six days in each of six weeks. Bp. Hooper (on Lent, p. 84 and 139, quoted by Bingham. 21. 1. 3) suggests that the statement of Socrates applied to the Novatians at Rome.

⁷ See Jer. Taylor's Duct. Dub., bk. 3. ch. 4. Rule 13.

A. D. 440. animals, others ate fish, to which a third added fowl^a; others
 CH. XLVII. abstained from fruits and eggs; some ate only dry bread,
 others would not allow themselves even that; some fasted
 only until the none, and then used any kind of food in-
 differently.

The times and forms of holding Ecclesiastical assemblies varied. The Holy Mysteries were every where celebrated on Saturday as well as Sunday¹, except at Rome and Alexandria. In some parts of Egypt they offered the Mysteries on Saturday, but in the evening of the day²; thus receiving the Communion after they had eaten, contrary to the universal practice³. At Alexandria, they assembled on Wednesdays and Fridays⁴, to read and expound the Scriptures and to offer up their prayers, but without celebrating the Mysteries^a. There they appointed Readers and Chaunters from among the Catechumens, whereas elsewhere none were ordained who were not in the number of the faithful. At Cæsarea in Cappadocia and in the isle of Cyprus, on Saturday and Sunday evenings after lamps were lighted^b, (that is, at the office of vespers,) the Priests and Bishops always expounded the Scriptures^b. At Alexandria the Priests never preached, but the Bishop only^c,—a custom which had been introduced in the time of Arius,—and the Bishop did not stand up during the reading of the Gospel, as was the custom every where else. There, too, none but

[¹ Supr. 20. 45. Bingham. 13. 9. 3.]
 [² Supr. 20. 8.]
 [³ Supr. 20. 26; 21. 20.]
 [⁴ τῇ τε-
 τράδι καὶ τῇ
 λεγομένῃ
 Παρα-
 σκευῇ.]

[^b μετὰ
 λυχνίας]

[^c Cf. supr. 20. 11. f; 26. 11. s]

^a "Alleging," says Socrates, "that according to the Mosaic account fowls were formed from water." This looks like a trace of Marcionism: (Marcion is said, 'maris copias sanctiorem cibum deputasse;' Tertull. c. Marc. c. 14.) The fathers have frequent warnings against the formalism which substituted a commutation of flesh for other food in the place of abstinence or, at least, self-mortifying temperance: v. Prosper. de Vit. Contempl. ii. c. 23 (p. 246. ed. 1609.) August. Sermon. 210. de diversis (t. v. p. 931).

^b In other places it was usual to receive the Eucharist on the Stations. Tertullian remonstrates with some who absented themselves from it on those days from fear of breaking their fast. (Orat. c. 14.) Epiphanius (Exp. ei, ap. p. 312, pt. 2. Thomasii Inst. vol.) says that the celebration of *jaxes* on Sunday, *Wednesday*, and *day* (πρὸσαββάτω), preceded on the

two last days by fasting until three o'clock, was an Apostolic ordinance. St. Baail (Ep. 93. al. 289) mentions it as the custom of his Church to communicate on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The Stations are mentioned as fasts in Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 744. Tertull. de Jejun. c. 13 (stationum *semijejunia*) Origen. Hom. 10. in Levit. (t. ii. p. 246. Delarue.) Petrus Alex. c. 15 (ap. Routh. Rel. Sacr. iii. 343), and in later writers frequently. See also Fleury, v. 45, and Bingham. xxi. 3.

^c The Apostolic Constitutions speak of the Service of Saturday and Sunday as the same (v. 20. viii. 33), and part of it was "the preaching of the Word of Life." (ii. c. 59.) Cæsarea, it will be remembered, was the residence of St. Basil; and we accordingly find that some of his homilies were delivered at Evening Prayer, (in Hexameron, Hom. 2. 7. 9.)

the Archdeacon read the Gospel, while in some other parts the Deacons read it, in many churches the Priests, and, on the great festivals, the Bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-Day. At Rome, neither the Bishop, nor any other person, taught in the churches. This is stated by Sozomen, but it is by no means likely; it is much more credible that Sozomen, who resided at Constantinople, had been misinformed of what was the practice at Rome^c. At Antioch the Altar was turned towards the west, and not towards the east as in other churches^d. At Rome there were only seven Deacons^e, elsewhere the number was unrestricted. In Scythia, although there were many cities, there was but one Bishop; in other countries they consecrated Bishops even for villages, as in Arabia and Cyprus. In short, there was as infinite a diversity of usages and ceremonies as of places, each Church religiously adhering to its ancient customs^e.

Genesic, having taken Carthage, partitioned the provinces of Africa in the following way. He reserved Byzacena, Abaritana, Getulia, and part of Numidia to himself, and distributed Zeugitana and the proconsular province among his army³. The Emperor Valentinian still defended the other provinces, but they were all frightfully desolated. Genesic ordered his Vandals to strip the Bishops of all they had and expel them from their sees; or if they offered any resistance, to make them slaves for life; and this order was fulfilled to the letter on several Bishops and many laymen of high birth and distinguished rank. Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage, and a great number of the clergy, were

A. D. 440.
CH. XLVIII.

¹ Quesm. in
S. Leon.
diss. l. an.
440. [t. ii.
p. 257.]
[² Bingham. 2.
20. § 19.]

XLVIII.
Persecu-
tion in
Africa.

³ Victor.
Vitens. l. 4.

^c Valesius again uses Cassiodore to defend Sozomen, but see above, note x. Justin M. in his Apology, (written at Rome,) says it was the custom of the Bishop (*ὁ πρεσβυτέρως*) to preach to the people. (Bingh. xiv. 4. 3.) Tertullian addressing Zephyrinus (A. D. 203—221) says, "Thou preaches as a good pastor;" and St. Cyprian mentions the public discourses of the Roman Bishops: (Alt. der Christl. Cult. s. 467.) If Sozomen is correct, we may suppose, with Bingham, that a custom had grown up, in the interval, of reading homilies—as those of Ephrem Syrus (Hier. de Script. c. 115), or those in the old *Lectonaria* and the Roman *Breviary*—instead of sermons, and

that Leo restored "the ancient way of preaching which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius V., like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius (ap. Blondel. *Apol. pro Hieron.* p. 58)."

^d See Const. Apost. ii. 57. Yet in the Church of Paulinus at Tyre the *πρόπυλον* fronted the East, (Euseb. H. E. x. 4.)

^e "It hath ever been seen, according to our Anselm's rule, that the multitude of different ceremonies in all Churches doth justly commend their unity of Faith." Bp. Hall; Epist. 2. Decad. V. (vol. vi. p. 242.)

A. D. 440. thus expelled, being stripped of every thing and placed on
 CH. XLVIII. board some crazy vessels, in which, however, they succeeded
 in reaching Naples. Gaudiosus, Bishop of Abitina, who was
 one of the number, founded a monastery, in which both he
 and Quodvultdeus died; their reliques are still preserved at
 Naples, in the same monastery, which is now a convent of
 nuns. The Church honours St. Quodvultdeus on the twenty-

¹ Martyr. R. sixth of October, and St. Gaudiosus on the twenty-eighth¹.
 et lib. Baron. They reckon up eleven others, either Bishops or Clerks, of
 whom the most famous are Priscus and Castrensis, who, after
 having suffered various tortures in Africa, were put on board
 an old bark (whether on this occasion or some other is un-
 certain); they came to land in Campania, where they were
 placed over different churches. They are commemorated on
 the first of September².

² Mart. R. et
 ib. Baron.
 Ruinart. de
 Persec. pt.
 ii. c. 9. [p.
 529, sqq.]
 [³ Supr.
 20. 24.
 Baron. ann.
 397. § 54.]
⁴ Victor. l. 5.
 Genseric having expelled the Bishop of Carthage and his
 clergy, gave to those of his own persuasion, that is, to the
 Arians, the church called Restituta³, where the Bishops always
 resided, and took away from the Catholics all the churches
 within the walls, with all their wealth⁴. Outside the walls,
 too, he seized on any that tempted his fancy, especially the
 two great and magnificent churches of St. Cyprian, one built
 on the spot where his blood was spilt, and the other over the
 place of his interment, which was called Mappalia. He com-
 manded the Catholics to bury their dead in silence, without
 the usual solemnity of hymns⁵, and sent the remaining part
 of the clergy into exile.

The Bishops and other persons of distinction, who had
 remained in the provinces which were distributed among
 the Vandals, presented themselves before Genseric, as he
 was walking by the sea-side, near Maxula in the procon-
 sular province, and begged of him, that having lost their
 churches and wealth, they might at least be permitted, for
 the comfort and support of God's people, to dwell in the
 provinces of which the Vandals were already masters. He
 sent a messenger to say to them, "I am resolved to leave

¹ Ps. cxvi. 7. xxiii. 4. and xxxii. 7. are
 mentioned by St. Chrysostom as sung at
 funerals. (Hom. 4. in Hebr. t. iv. p. 454.)
² Cal Constitutions, after pro-
 phetic faithful dead should be

carried out to burial with singing of
 Psalms, quote Ps. cxvi. 7, 15; Prov. x.
 7; and Wisd. iii. 1; probably as being
 parts of the requiem; (lib. vi. c. 30.)

"none of your name or kin¹; how then dare you make such a request?" If he had not been restrained by the entreaties of those about him, he would have ordered them instantly to be thrown into the sea. The poor Catholics retired struck to the heart with grief, and having now no churches, they began to celebrate the Holy Mysteries where and how they could.

The Count Sebastian, son-in-law to Count Boniface, and like him ungraciously treated by the Romans, had at last taken refuge in Africa². Genseric felt the need he had of such an adviser, and yet was afraid of him. Desiring, therefore, to put him to death, he thought he might find some pretext in his religion³, and said to him one day, in the presence of his Bishops and domestics, "Sebastian, I know that you have sworn faithful attachment to me, and the toils you undergo prove the sincerity of your oath; but that our friendship may remain ever inviolate, I wish you to profess my religion." Sebastian with great presence of mind adopted the following mode of reply. He desired that a loaf of white bread might be brought him, and taking it in his hands he said, "To make this bread worthy of the King's table, they first separated the bran from the meal; it was then kneaded, and passed through water and fire; so, in the Catholic Church, I have been ground and sifted, I have been moistened by the water of Baptism, and made perfect⁴ by the fire of the HOLY GHOST. Let this bread be broken, let it be steeped in water, kneaded a second time, and put again into the oven, and if it is improved by it, I will do what you desire." The parable was intended to shew the inefficacy of second Baptism. Genseric saw clearly what it meant, and was at a loss for an answer. He therefore sought some other excuse for putting the brave man to death; and in some Martyrologies he is found honoured as a Martyr⁵.

Two letters of St. Leo, which are without date, are supposed to have been written when Africa was thus ravaged⁶; one to the Bishops of Mauritania Cæsariensis, the other to Rusticus of Narbonne. St. Leo having been frequently informed by those who came from Mauritania, that irregular ordinations had taken place there, commissioned the Bishop Potentius, who was going from Rome to that province, to

A. D. 440.
CH. XLIX.

[¹ de nomine et genere vestro]

² Marcell.
Chron. an.
435. Prosp.
an. 440.

³ Victor. l. 6.

⁴ cocti.
Cf. August.
Serm. ad
Infant. t. v.
p. 1104. et
p. 973.]

⁵ Bolland.
27. Mart.

XLIX.
Letters of
St. Leo to
the Bishops
of Mauri-
tania.

⁶ Quesn.
not. [t. ii.
p. 777.]

440. inquire into the matter, and gave him a letter to the Bishops
LIX. of the province, which is lost. Potentius sent the Pope a full
 account of the state of these Churches, which was such as
 1. (al. made it necessary for him to write the letter now extant¹.
i. i. p. In this St. Leo sets out with remarking that the troublous
 character of the times has given rise to those disorders, of
 which he proceeds to give the details. Several Bishops had
 been elected by the manœuvring of cabals, or by means of
 popular tumult. They had elected bigamists², laymen, and
 converted heretics, though order requires that those who are
 to be Bishops should first have been tried in the inferior
 orders, that men may have assurance not of their capacity
 merely, but of their humility³. He decides that the bigamists
 should be deposed, and excluded not only from the episco-
 pate, but even from the priesthood and diaconate; and in the
 term bigamists he includes those who had married widows.
 "How much more," he adds, "ought he to be deposed (for
 "such we are told there are) who has two wives at the same
 "time, or who has married again after his wife has left him."
 As to those who had been ordained being simply laymen, the
 Pope allows them to continue in their Bishoprics, but would
 not have this dispensation to be used as a precedent, or to
 affect the decrees of the holy see, whether enacted by his pre-
 decessors or by himself⁴: whence, by the way, it appears that
 this was not the first decretal of St. Leo,—the rest may have
 been lost. He allows Donatus of Salicina, who had been
 converted along with his congregation from the heresy of
 the Novatians, and Maximus a converted Donatist, to retain
 their sees, though this last had been ordained whilst a lay-
 man; but he allows it only on condition that they each of
 them send him their confession of faith in writing⁵. As to
 Aggarus and Tiberianus, who, besides being mere laymen,
 had been ordained amidst the violence of a riot, he leaves
 their case to be decided by the local Bishops, at the same
 time reserving to himself the power of adjudicating upon the
 report they should send him⁶. There were some nuns who
 had been violated by the barbarians; St. Leo determines
 that they are innocent, but yet advises them to look upon it
 3. [cf. as a call to greater humility, and not to think themselves
 equal to other virgins⁷.

sed in
 law
 (tero-
 tis;
 do-
 (iro-
 (iri]

Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, was the son of a Bishop named Bonosus; his mother, the sister of another Bishop named Arator¹, a very virtuous widow, took great pains with his education; and after he had studied in Gaul, which abounded with excellent schools, she sent him to complete his studies in eloquence at Rome, no expense being spared in the pursuit of this object². On returning home to her, he embraced the monastic life, and about the same time he received instructions respecting his future conduct, in a famous letter from St. Jerome, who refers him to St. Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, for personal instruction³. Rusticus, after remaining some time in the monastery, was ordained Priest of the church of Marseilles (which seems to have been his birth-place), and was finally made Bishop of Narbonne, in the year 427⁴.

When St. Leo was raised to the Pontificate, Rusticus sent his Archdeacon Hermes to consult him on divers points of discipline. In his letter he expressed a great desire to resign his see, in order to live a quiet and retired life. St. Leo dissuades him from such a step⁵, and shews him that patience is just as much required to support us against the ordinary temptations of life, as it is in times of persecution for the Faith; that they who have the government of the Church committed to them ought courageously to maintain their post, and to rely not on their own strength but on the assistance of Him who has promised never to forsake them. To the questions which St. Rusticus had proposed St. Leo returns these answers: "The Priest or the Deacon who falsely assumes the title of Bishop is not to have his claim allowed, since those can never be accounted Bishops who have neither been elected by the clergy, demanded⁶ by the people, nor consecrated by the comprovincial Bishops with the consent of the Metropolitan. The ordinations made by these pseudo-Bishops are null, unless they have been made with the consent of those who governed the Churches to which these Clerks belonged⁷." It is difficult to see the meaning of this limitation, unless we suppose⁸ that these false Bishops really possessed the episcopal character, but that they had received it through an unlawful ordination, as in the case of Armentarius of Embrun, who was deposed by

A. D. 440.
CH. L.

L.
Letter to St.
Rusticus of
Narbonne.

¹ Inscript.
ap. Quesn.
p. 784.

² Hier. Ep.
95. (al. 4.)
p. 771.

³ p. 777.

⁴ v. not.
Qu. p. 785.

⁵ Leon. Ep.
2. (al. 92.)
[p. 405.]

[⁶ expetiti]

⁷ Inquis. 1.

⁸ v. not.
Quesn. [p.
787.]

- A. D. 440. the Council of Riès¹. "If a Priest or Deacon desires to be
Ch. L. "enjoined penance, he must perform it in private, as it is
¹ Supr.c.44. "contrary to the usage of the Church to impose on them
 "public penance²."
- ² Inquis. 2. "The law of continence is as obligatory on the ministers
[³ Supr. 19. 22. h.] "of the Altar, as on Priests and Bishops³. While laymen or
 "readers, they might lawfully have married and had children,
 "and therefore, on being preferred to a higher degree, they
 "are not to leave their wives, but to live with them as if they
⁴ Inquis. 3. "had none⁴." Among the ministers of the Altar on whom
 continence was obligatory, St. Leo includes even the Sub-
 deacons, as appears from his letter to Anastasius of Thessa-
⁵ Epist. 12. Ionica⁵. "A distinction is to be made between a concubine
(al. 84.)c. 4. "and a lawful wife; so that he who leaves his concubine to
 "marry, does well; and she who marries him who had a
 "concubine, does not ill, because he was not a married
⁶ Inquis. 4. "man⁶." St. Leo speaks here only of those concubines who
 5, 6. were slaves, and not of those who were in fact lawful wives,
 though the law did not assign them the title⁷.
- ⁷ Supr. 20. "They who receive penance when sick, and on being re-
 48. Conc. stored to health fail to go through with it, are not in
 Tolet. I. consequence to be given up; we ought to reiterate our
 c. 17. "admonitions, and not to despair of the salvation of any
⁸ Inquis. 7. "one, so long as he remains in life⁸. The same patient
[Nemo desperandus, dum in hoc corpore constitutus est.] "forbearance is to be shewn toward those who, in the ex-
 "tremity of pain, desire to be admitted to penance, but when
 "the Priest is come refuse to accept it, if their pain some-
 "what assuages; if after this they again desire penance, we
⁹ Inquis. 9. "are not to refuse it⁹. They who receive penance in their
 "last moments, and die before they have received the Com-
 "munion," that is, before they have been reconciled, "ought
¹⁰ Inquis. 8. "to be left to the judgment of God, who might have deferred
[quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus.] "their death. But we do not pray for them, since they died
 "out of the communion of the Church¹." In other Churches
 "they prayed for them notwithstanding². "Penitents ought
 "to abstain even from many lawful things³. They ought, if
¹¹ not. "possible, not to go to law, but if they do, they should have
Quest. 794.] "recourse to the ecclesiastical rather than to the secular
 "law⁴. They ought rather to suffer loss than to engage
 "in a secular law-suit⁵; they are not

"permitted to resume a military life¹, nor to marry, unless
 "the penitent be young, and in danger of lapsing into in-
 "continence, and then it is granted him only as an in-
 "dulgence²."

"The monk who marries or serves in the army after he
 "has taken the vow, ought to be enjoined public penance³.
 "Young women who marry after they have taken upon
 "them the habit of virgins are not exempt from guilt,
 "although they may not have been consecrated⁴." There
 were two kinds of virgins⁵, those who were only bound by a
 vow, (which was either solemn, on entering a monastery, or
 simple, on assuming the habit and remaining with their re-
 lations,) and those who had received consecration, which was
 not allowed them until they were forty years old (according
 to a regulation made by St. Leo himself), and then only at
 the hands of the Bishop on some solemn festival.

"Children that have been abandoned by parents who were
 "Christians, in such sort that no proof of their Baptism can
 "be found, ought to be baptized, without fear of repeating
 "the Sacrament⁶. They who have been taken captive in war
 "so young that, although they remember that their parents
 "carried them to church, they cannot tell whether they were
 "baptized or not, are to be asked whether they received
 "what was given to their parents," that is, the Eucharist⁷;

¹ Supr. c. 30. and xxiii. 28. In the
 Constit. Apost. viii. 13 (p. 354. Coteler.)
 it is ordered that children (τὰ παιδία)
 should receive the Communion next to
 the virgins and widows. St. Augustine
 considered the practice to be of Apostolic
 origin, (v. infr.) Dionysius (Pseudo-
 Areop., Hier. c. ult.) speaks of giving
 the sacred symbols (συμβόλων) to a
 child too young to speak, (v. Zorn. Hist.
 Euch. Inf. p. 76.) St. Cyprian (de
 Lapsis, p. 125. ed. Oxon.) brings in
 some infants as complaining of their
 parents: "we did not leave the bread
 "and the cup (cibo et poculo) of the
 "Lord, and hasten to idol pollutions;
 "it was by others' perfidy that we
 "perished." From another passage
 in this treatise (p. 132) Bossuet infers
 that they received it only in one kind,
 because the wine only is mentioned
 (Traité de la Comm., pt. ii. § 9), but
 the other passage seems express. Du-
 frene (s. v. Eucharistia) refers to va-

rious places in St. Augustine as proving
 that infants received in both kinds; see
 especially, Ep. 217 (al. 107). "Infants
 "will be judged according to what they
 "have done in the body, when they
 "either believed or not, were baptized
 "or not, ate the flesh of CHRIST or
 "not, and drank His blood or not."
 This is repeated by Anselm (of Canter-
 bury) in Comment. ad 2 Cor. v. p. 195.
 Cf. the author of the Hypognostika, in
 St. Augustine's Works (t. x. p. 39. App.),
 and see Gennad. (cent. 5) de Eccl.
 Dogm. c. 52. J. Moschus (cent. 7),
 in Prat. spir. c. 29. Conc. Tolet. XI.
 (Ann. 675.) Charlemagne, de Imag.
 c. 27. Jesse of Amiens (ap. Galland. t.
 xiii. p. 401). Baluz (in Regino, l. 1.
 c. 69) quotes an old MS. Pontifical
 saying, "Let the infant be forthwith
 "confirmed and communicated by the
 "Bishop, who shall say, 'The body and
 "blood of Christ.'" (Bingh. 15. 4.
 7.) Infant Communion continued in

A. D. 44

CH. L.

¹ Inq. 12

[seculari

militiæ]

² Inq. 13

[non regu-

lam consti-

tuimus se

quid sit

tolerabili-

estimam

³ Inq. 14⁴ Inq. 15

[cf. supr.

19. 22. g.

⁵ v. Ques-

n. s.

⁶ Inq. 16

- ii. "but if they cannot remember that they did, there ought
 — "to be no scruple felt at baptizing them¹." Some people
 had come from Africa and Mauritania into Gaul, who could
 very well remember that they had been baptized, but could
 not tell into what sect. St. Leo decides that "they are
 "not to be baptized, since they have received the form of
 m, "Baptism, whatever the mode may have been²^h; they are
 r- "to be united to the Catholic Church only by the laying on
 r- "of hands and invocation of the HOLY GHOST³," that is, by
 1- Confirmation. Others had been baptized in infancy, but
 k

France until the twelfth century. (Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 2.) It was forbidden by Conc. Burdegal. c. 5 (ann. 1255), and Conc. Bajocense, c. 16 (ann. 1300.)

St. Augustine applied John vi. 53 to the case of children; contr. 2. Ep. Pelag. i. c. 22. Serm. 8. de verb. Apost. In Ep. 186 (al. 106), he says, "No Catholic Christian can deny or doubt that children who have not received the grace of regeneration of CHRIST, being without the meat of His flesh and the drink of His blood, have not life in them." In the De Peccat. Mer., i. c. 24, refuting the Pelagians, he draws an argument from "the ancient and, he thinks, Apostolic tradition, that without Baptism and the Lord's Supper no one can arrive at eternal life." Similarly Mercat. c. Julian. (pt. i. p. 53), Euseb. (pseudo-Emissen.), Hom. 5. de Pasch., Innocent., Ep. ad Milev. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1288, D. Cf. Wall on Inf. Bapt. pt. ii. ch. 9 § 15). Gelas. Ep. per Picen. (t. iv. p. 1177, 8.) The same application occurs down to a late period, as in Riculf. (in Capitul. c. 8. Zorn. Hist. Euch. Inf. i. § 3.) and in Anselm. (u. s.) The Council of Trent decided (Sess. 21. c. 4) that the Fathers who practised Infant Communion did not believe it necessary to salvation. P. Sarpi (Hist. C. Trid. l. vi. p. 438) says that many wondered the Council should have gone out of its way to determine this question, when there were nine passages in St. Augustine which asserted the Eucharist to be necessary to infants. Bellarm., De Sac. Euch. i. c. 7 (t. iii. Controv. p. 102), and Bossuet (Tr. de la Comm. pt. 1. § 3) deny that Augustine intended this; since he was speaking (Bona, u. s. ii. c. 19. p. 500) "not of Sacramental Communion but of that incorporation with CHRIST, which is its effect and which is communicated in

"Baptism apart from the actual reception of the Eucharist." Noris (Vind. Aug. p. 113), to the same effect, quotes Aug. tract. 26 and 27. in Joh., and De Pecc. Mer. iii. 4. But the most important passage is in Fulgentius (Ep. 12. § 26), who affirms his master's opinion to have been that "children are made partakers of CHRIST's body and blood, when they are made His members in Baptism." This passage was commonly attributed to St. Augustine himself: see Gieseler, vol. ii. § 77. note 6.

The Western Church has with one consent relinquished this usage, but it is still found in the Greek, Russo-Greek, Armenian, Jacobite, and Abyssinian Churches. (The authorities are given in Zorn. xix. § 3, and Suicer, s. v. *σβάσις*, V. 1. b.) Smith (De Gr. Hod. Statu) says that the Greeks ground the custom on John vi. 53, and, if any one argues with them about it, appeal to the first ages of the Church, in which they say that this dogma was almost universally deemed an article of Faith. See also his De Inf. Comm. prefixed to his Miscellanea. Bp. Bedell advocated the restoration of the practice (Bingh. 15. 4. 7), and in 1728 an Essay was published by J. Pierce (a Presbyterian) "in favour of the ancient practice of giving the Eucharist to children."

^h "To make complete the outward substance of a Sacrament there is required an outward form, which form Sacramental elements receive from Sacramental words." Hooker, bk. v. c. 58. § 3. Hence heresy in the minister would not destroy the efficacy of Baptism, unless it were such as implied unsoundness in the highest articles of the Christian faith; for this, by changing the form would mutilate the substance of Baptism, c. 62. § 6; and again, c. 66. § 6.

having been made captives by the pagans, had lived like them; and had come, while they were yet young, into the Roman dominions¹. St. Rusticus asked what was to be done if they desired to receive the Communion. "If they have only eaten of meats offered to idols²," says St. Leo, "they may be purified by fasting and the laying on of hands; but if they have adored idols, or been polluted by homicide or fornication, they ought to be enjoined public penance." We here see a laying on of hands different from that of confirmation and public penance. These last articles lead us to place the date of this decretal at the time of the Vandal invasion.

About the same time, the Bishops of Gaul held a Council in the church of Justinian, in the territory of Orange, on the sixth of the ides of November, in the Consulate of Cyrus, or November the eighth, A.D. 441³. St. Hilary of Arles presided; and there appear the subscriptions of sixteen other Bishops, of whom the most noted are Constantine of Gap, Auspicius of Vaison, Maximus of Riès, and St. Eucherius of Lyons, who declares that he will wait for the consent of his comprovincials. St. Eucherius had been a monk in the isle of Lerins, and was the friend of St. Honoratus and of Cassian, who addressed one of his Collations to them⁴. He had been married, and his two sons Veranus and Salonus were both Bishops⁵. He wrote several pious works⁶, some of which are still extant. In this Council of Orange thirty disciplinary canons were past. The first decrees that "heretics, who being in danger of death desire to become converts, may, in the absence of the Bishop, receive from the Priest the unction of chrism and the benediction," which some understand of Confirmation⁷. The second, and most remarkable, canon is couched in these terms: "None of the ministers who have received the office of baptizing ought to go any where without the chrism, since it has been resolved amongst us, that the chrism should be used once for all in Baptism⁸. If any one, from the urgency of circumstances, did not receive the chrism at Baptism, the Bishop shall be informed of it at Confirmation. For there is but one benediction only of the chrism; not that the iteration of the unction is prejudicial⁹, but to the end that it may

A. D. 441.
CH. LI.

[*ad Romaniam*]

² Inq. 19.
[*escis immolativis*]

LI.
First Council of Orange.

³ Conc. t. iii. p. 1446.

⁴ Præf. Coll. xi.

⁵ Genn. de Illustr. c. 64.

⁶ Marcell. Chr. ann. 456.

⁷ Sirmond. not. posth.

[*semel in baptisate chrismari*]

[*non ut præjudicans quicquam*]

A. D. 441. "not be thought necessary," or as other copies have it,
 CH. LI. "the end that it may be thought necessary," omitting
 negative. It is hard to say what is the sense of these words
 and still more difficult to believe that Confirmation was some-
 times given without the unction, as the canon seems to
 when the negative is inserted. This cannot be proved by
 any other authority; the practice of the whole Church
 against it, and the common doctrine of theologians is,
 the unction is essential to Confirmation¹.

The Council of Orange says further; "The Gospel
¹ c. 18. "for the future be read to the catechumens¹; they ought
² c. 19. "never to be admitted into the baptistery²; they are to
 "separated as much as possible from the benediction of
 "faithful, even in the family prayers, and they ought to prepare
³ c. 20. "themselves for a separate benediction³. The catechumen
 "who are possessed, or the energumens⁴, ought to be
 "treated in case of necessity, or when it shall be judged
⁴ c. 15. "venient⁴. Those energumens, who are baptized, and
 "do what lies in their power to be dispossessed, ought
 "to receive the Communion, that they may be strengthened
⁵ c. 14. "even delivered by the efficacy of the Sacrament⁵.
 "who have once been publicly agitated by the demon ought
 "not to be admitted to holy orders; or if they have
⁶ c. 16. "been admitted they shall in no case officiate⁶. We should
 ["amentibus] "to idiots⁷ every thing which piety requires of us⁸. He
⁸ c. 13. "who loses his speech suddenly may receive Baptism or Penitence
 "if he indicates by signs that he wishes it, or if others testify
⁹ c. 12. "that he did wish it⁹. They who die during their course
 "of penance, ought to receive the Communion without
 "the imposition of hands appointed for absolution; and the

¹ This has reference to a later notion, —that Confirmation is a distinct sacrament, rather than the complement of Baptism, which was the ancient view of it. (Hooker, V. 66. § 6. Bingham, 12. 1. 4. Dr. Pusey on Baptism, p. 153. 3rd. ed.) On the chrism of Baptism, see Dr. Pusey, pp. 139—148. Respecting Confirmation as practised by the English Church, Bp. Hall's *Χειροθεσία*, (vol. x. p. 441. ed. Oxf.)

² This word is applied, first, to those in whom demoniac agency manifests itself visibly in the body; and secondly,

to those who are subject to subjugation spiritually. It is probably in the latter sense that they are frequently joined with Penitents, e. g. in the Church prayers, v. Chrysost. 18. in 2 Cor. Dionysius (P: Areop.) included under it all who are led by the carnal affections (ὁμοπύρρως, τοῖς φιλοθεάμονας, κ. c. Maximus, ap. Suicer. t. ii. p. 100. Cf. Eph. ii. 2. "The spirit that worketh (ἐνεργῶντος) in the flesh is of disobedience."

“sufficient for the consolation of the dying man, according ^{A. D. 441.}
 “to the decrees of the Fathers, who called this Communion ^{CH. LI.}
 “*Viaticum* ^k. If they survive, they shall remain in the rank
 “of penitents, to receive, after they have accomplished their
 “penance, the imposition of hands and the legitimate Com-
 “munion ^l.” This canon must be explained by the thirteenth ^{1 c. 3.}
 of the Council of Nicæa ², which allows persons at the point of ³ Fleury,
 death to receive even the Communion of the Eucharist, on ^{11. 21.}
 condition that they finish their penance if they recover their ^{v. Sirm.}
 health ^{not}. “Clerks ought not to be refused penance if they their
 “quest it ³,” this may be understood of secret penance, as in ^{3 c. 4.}
 the letter of St. Leo to Rusticus ⁴. ^{4 Supr.c. 50.}

“A Bishop who communicates with one who has been ex-
 “communicated by another Bishop is culpable, and the
 “justice of the excommunication shall be inquired into at
 “the Council next ensuing ⁵. If a Bishop wishes to build ^{3 c. 11.}
 “a church in the diocese of another he must obtain his
 “permission, leave the consecration of it to him, let him
 “ordain the clergy he wishes to have there, and commit the
 “entire government of this new church entirely to him. If
 “a secular, having built a church, procures it to be dedicated
 “by a stranger Bishop, this Bishop and all others who shall
 “have assisted at the dedication, shall be excluded from the
 “congregation ⁶.” We evidently see here the rudiments of ^{6 c. 10.}
 the right of patronage ⁷, since the Bishop who founded the ^{7 Bingham. 4.}
 church was allowed to present to the Diocesan such Clerks ^{3. 19.]}
 as he desired for his church. “If a Bishop from ill health
 “loses the use of his speech, he shall send for a Bishop to
 “perform the episcopal functions, and shall not suffer his
 “Priests to exercise them ⁸.” ^{8 c. 30.}

“If a Bishop desires to ordain a Clerk who resides else-

^l Supr. xix. 18. x. “The holy sister
 “of St. Basil, and Melania, whom St.
 “Jerome magnifies for their sanctity,
 “beseech God, with great fervency,
 “that those envious spirits may not
 “hinder them in their last passage;
 “and devout Bernard, when he drew
 “near his end, sues to his friend for
 “his earnest prayers, that the heel of
 “his life might be kept safe from the
 “serpent, so as he might not find where
 “to fix his sting. Hence it is that, in

“former times, good souls have been
 “so provident to hearten themselves
 “against the faint pulse of their death-
 “beds with that *viaticum sacrum*, the
 “strongest spiritual cordial of the bles-
 “sed Eucharist.” Bp. Hall, Works, vol.
 viii. p. 411.

¹ Cf. Vales. in Euseb., H. E. vi. 44,
 and the Comments of Zonaras and
 Balsamon, ap. Suicer. a. v. *ἐφόδιον*, ii.
 3. b.

- A. D. 441. " where, he should first make it imperative on such pe
 CH. LI. " to reside with him; but he ought to consult the Bi
 " with whom the candidate lived previously, since he per
 1 c. 8. " had his reasons for not ordaining him¹. No Deacon
 2 c. 26. " shall be ordained²^m. If two Bishops forcibly ordain a t
 " this last shall have the church of one of the two, and
 " new Bishop shall be ordained in the place of the othe
 " he received the ordination voluntarily, they shall all t
 3 c. 21. " be condemned³. In future, no married Deacon shal
 " ordained unless he promises to observe continence, on
 4 c. 22, 23. " of being deposed⁴; if he has been already ordained,
 " (as was provided by the Council of Turin) he shall no
 5 c. 24. " promoted to any higher order⁵. Persons who have
 Conc. " twice married may be Subdeacons, or admitted to
 Taur. c. 8. " of the inferior orders⁶. Widows shall profess before
 [Labbe, t. " Bishop in the secret hall⁷ⁿ, and shall receive from him
 ii. p. 1157.] " habit. Penance shall be inflicted on persons of either
 6 c. 25. " who are untrue to their vow of continence⁸. Those
 7 c. 27. [in " take refuge in the church are not to be delivered
 secretario, " the reverence due to the place should protect them⁹
 Fl. la salle " any one shall seize on the vassals¹ of the Church, in li
 secrète] " his own who may have taken refuge there, he shall be
 8 c. 28. " severely condemned by all the Churches. Ecclesiast
 " censure shall also be inflicted on any who shall attem
 9 c. 5. " reduce those to servitude, who have been emancipate
 " the Church² or recommended to the care of the Churc
 [* in Eccle- " will." At the end of these canons it is ordained, th
 sia manu- " Council shall separate without fixing the time when the
 missos] c. 7.

^m This canon as well as those of Epaone, A. D. 517 (infr. xxxi. 30), and Orleans, A. D. 533 (infr. xxxii. 41), are to be understood as forbidding the ordination of Deaconesses, not as abolishing the office, (Ziegler, de Diaconis et Diaconissis; xix. § 36). They existed in the Church from the earliest times (see Rom. xvi. 1. Plin. Ep. X. 97. ad Traj.), and long survived in the East; see Conc. Chalced. can. 15 (t. iv. p. 783), and Conc. Trull. can. 14. 48 (t. vi. p. 1150, 1165), down to the twelfth century, Balsamon, ap. Jus Græco-Rom. p. 381. Their duties are mentioned above, xxi. 41. f, and Ziegl. u. s. § 7—16. The cause of the

order's falling into desuetude ihaps to be traced to the more g prevalence of Infant Baptism, one of their principal duties (Ap. iii. 15) ceased.

ⁿ This hardly gives a true i the Secretarium, which was a h or near the Church, in whic Bishop assembled in Council w clergy; and hence Synods can quently to be held there, e. g. 1 Carthage, ann. 525 (t. iv. p. It also contained a vestry and s (Paulin. Ep. 32 (olim 12) ad Se 205), and sometimes rooms f clergy: v. Dufresne, s. v.

shall meet¹. The Council for the following year, (442,) is appointed to meet at Lucianum, in the diocese of Orange.

We have the Acts of a Council² held in that year, on the thirteenth of November³, at Vaison under the Bishop Auspicius. They passed nine or ten canons to the effect that "the Bishops of Gaul on passing from one province to another shall not require any testimonial, provided they are not excommunicated, for the places are so near that they may be easily known," that is to say, the formal letters were only intended for strangers⁴. "The Priests shall receive the holy chrism from their own Bishops annually, about the time of Easter. They shall fetch it in person, or send at the least a Subdeacon for it⁵. Those shall be prayed for, who die suddenly while engaged in a course of penance, which they have been faithfully performing⁷. Those who keep back the offerings of the deceased, or defer giving them to the Church, shall be excommunicated as sacrilegious and murderers of the poor⁸. Not only are those to be avoided who have been expressly excommunicated by the Bishop, but those, too, with whom he shews, though not perhaps by words, that he is dissatisfied⁹. Bishops are not lightly to accuse or excommunicate. If the fault be small, they ought to yield readily to the intercession of others; if it be of a more serious nature, they ought themselves to bring a formal accusation¹. If any one has committed a crime known to the Bishop only, he may require of such offender not to appear before him in the public congregation; but so long as he is unable to substantiate the charge, he shall suffer him to remain in communion with all the others²."

To suppress the wicked practice which prevailed among the pagans of exposing their children, Constantine had enacted (in 331)³, that they should belong to those who brought them up and educated them, and might be treated either as children or as slaves at the option of such persons, and that the fathers or masters should have no right to claim them back. To this Honorius added (in 412)⁴, that the person who should take up a child so exposed, should, for his better security, get a certificate from witnesses, which should be signed by the Bishop. In spite of all this, to take up exposed children was to subject

A. D. 442.

CH. LII.

c. 29.

LII.

Council of Vaison.

Conc. t.

iii. p. 1456.

Id. No-

vemb. cons.

Dioscoro.

can. 1.

v. Sirm.

[p. 1499.]

c. 3.

can. 2.

c. 4.

c. 6.

c. 7.

c. 8.

Conc.

Carth. VII.

c. 5.

[Labbé, t.

ii. p. 1604.]

Cod. can.

132.

Cod. Th.

lib. 5. tit. 7.

l. 1.

Ibid. l. 2.

A. D. 443. oneself to constant annoyance, so that few would venture to
 CH. LIII. undertake the charge. This was the reason why the Council
 of Vaison decreed that these laws should be observed, adding
 that "on Sundays the Deacon shall give notice at the altar
 " that an exposed child has been taken up, that so, if any one
 ' c. 9. " pretends to recognise it, he may claim it within ten days¹;
 " otherwise he who shall afterwards claim such child shall be
 ' c. 10. " subjected to ecclesiastical censure as a homicide²."

LIII.
 Letter from
 St. Leo.
 ' Valen-
 tianus V.
 et Anatolio
 Cusa.
 Hist. Chr.
 an. 18.
 Valentin.
 Prosper
 ann. 440.
 Cassiod.
 an. eod.

Soon after the taking of Carthage, namely, in A.D. 440³,
 Genseric crossed over into Sicily, and having plundered it
 laid siege to Palermo, which held out a long time. Maximin,
 the head of the Arians in Sicily, had been condemned by the
 Catholic Bishops; he now urged Genseric to persecute them
 unless they would consent to embrace his heresy, and many of
 them suffered martyrdom in consequence. While Sicily was
 labouring under this calamity, St. Leo sent relief to Paschas-
 inus, Bishop of Lilybæum, by Silanus, Deacon of the church
 of Palermo, together with consolatory letters, and at the same
 time consulted him about the day on which Easter would fall
 in the following year (444); he had previously consulted St.
 Cyril of Alexandria. Paschasinus replied to the Pope, that
 after having thoroughly examined the question and made an
 exact computation, he had found, as Cyril had done, that
 Easter-Day would fall next year on Sunday the ninth of the
 calends of May, that is, the twenty-third of April, and he
 then assigns his reasons⁴. St. Paschasinus also mentions
 in this letter the miracle of the baptistery in Sicily, which
 happened in 417, under the Pontificate of Zosimus⁵.

' Ap. Leon.
 ed. Qua.
 t. i. p. 412.
 ' Supr.
 23. 35.

In the same year, 443, St. Leo wrote a decretal to the
 Bishops of Campania, Picenum, Tuscany, and all the suburbi-
 cary provinces⁶. Picenum included what is now a great part
 of the marches of Ancona. Three Bishops, Innocentius, Le-
 gitimus, and Segetius, were ordered to carry this decretal

' Ep. 3.
 (al. 1.)

¹ Rufinus (Hist. i. c. 6, referred to
 by Fleury, xi. 20) gives the Canon of
 Nicæa thus: "That the old custom be
 " preserved at Alexandria and at Rome,
 " the Bishop of the former place taking
 " charge of Egypt as the Bishop of the
 " latter does of the *suburbicary pro-*
vinces." Some understand this to
 nprise the whole Western Church;

Gothofred (Conject. de Suburb. Re-
 gion.), and Salmasius (de Primat.),
 take it of the four provinces subject to
 the præfectus Urbi. Sirmond (Cen-
 sura Conject. de Suburb.) explains it,
 with great probability, of the districts
 subject to the Vicarius Urbis, or the
 civil diocese of Rome: (supr. xxiii. 45.
 z.) See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. not. 3.

(which seems to have been the result of a Council) into the provinces. It censures divers abuses;—slaves and people who were engaged in such a course of life as was incompatible with the service of the Church, had been raised to the highest order of priesthood, and that, frequently, against the will of their masters; bigamists had been ordained; some clergymen lent out money on usury, either in their own or in a borrowed name, although even laymen were forbidden to practise usury. The Pope orders all these abuses to be corrected, declaring all Bishops, who should contravene his decree, to be suspended and deprived of his communion; and he admonishes them to observe the decrees of St. Innocent and the rest of his predecessors. It is dated on the sixth of the ides of October in the Consulate of Maximus and Paternus, which answers to the tenth of October, 443.

A. D. 443.
CH. LIV.

Among the fugitive bands driven by the desolation of Africa and their dread of the Vandals to cross over into Italy, was a large body of Manichees who took refuge in Rome, where for some time they lay concealed¹. But St. Leo discovered them, and warned his people against them in several of his sermons, advising them, wherever any were found, to give information of them to their Priests², that is, to those who served the churches in the several parts of the town. There were two marks, he said, by which they might be distinguished³; they fasted in honour of the sun and in contempt of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST on Sundays, and in honour of the moon on Mondays⁴; and they took only the body of our LORD and not the blood when they received the Communion

LIV.
Manichees
discovered
at Rome.

¹ Prosper.
ann. 443.

² Serm. 4.
de Coll. c.3.
[t.1.p.117.]

³ Serm. 4.
in Quadr.
c.5. [p.216.]

¹ The grounds of the honour thus paid to the sun and moon are to be sought in the Magian scheme of religion, of which Manicheism was a branch (Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Ar.* p. 149. Hyde, *de Rel. Vet. Pera.* c. 21. p. 281), a corrupt branch, containing less of primitive truth than Magism itself. The Manichees, then, held the common doctrine of Sabeism, that the heavenly bodies were the seats of high intelligences, intermediate between God and men. (Pococke, p. 140.) The sun, in particular, they believed to be an emission of the inaccessible glory (*Aug. c. Faust.* xxi. 4 (t. viii. p. 353) *contr. Secund. Man.* c. 16. p. 537), and made it the throne of the WORD of God, as

the Persians made it of Mithra (explained by Plutarch as *Mediator*; Beaus., *H. du Manich.* t. i. p. 563). Elsewhere they assert that the sun was formed of good fire and the moon of good water (*Aug., de Hær.* c. 46. t. viii. p. 14), that the virtue of CHRIST resided in the sun, His wisdom in the moon (*Faustus ap. August.,* xx. c. 2): and that good souls returning to heaven arrived first at the moon where they were partially purified by wisdom, and then at the sun where they were perfectly cleansed by virtue. (Cf. *Tollius, Itinerar. Ital.* p. 138.) In preparation for this they thought it necessary to purify themselves from *matter* by fasting on those days.

A. D. 443. of the faithful; this last they did from an abhorrence of wine¹.
 CH. LIV.

He also censures a superstition that seems to have sprung from them, which was this; many of the faithful, as they entered the Basilica of St. Peter, were in the habit of turning round on the top of the steps, and saluting the rising sun¹.

¹ Serm. 7. Nativ. c. 4. [p. 167.]

St. Leo's diligence soon produced its effects: a large number of Manichees were discovered, some of them made a public abjuration of their errors in the church, signing the same in writing, and were admitted to penance².

² Ep. 8. (al. 2.) [p. 425.]

Others who continued obstinate were condemned by the secular magistrates to perpetual banishment, in accordance [p. 426.] with the provisions of the Imperial laws³. That their errors and infamous deeds might be still more plainly exhibited,

³ Serm. 5. de Jej. dec. c. 4. [p. 131.] Ep. 15. ad Turib. c. 16. [p. 457.]

St. Leo instituted a judicial examination of them⁴. He assembled several Bishops and Priests, with a large number of citizens, some persons of distinction, and a part of the senate. Before this assembly he brought their *electi* and *electæ*, who were compelled to reveal many things relative to their doctrines and the ceremonies used at their festivals;

¹ Resembling the Hydroparastatæ (supr. xviii. 9). This may be another trace of Magism: for Mithra had his "oblation of bread:" (Tertull. de Præsc. Hær. c. 40). Epiphanius says that the Ebionites communicated in unleavened bread, and water. (Hær. 30. 16.) This superstition is complained of by Gelasius († 496) in terms much the same as those used by St. Leo; v. Gratian. de Consecr. Dist. ii. c. 12, where he calls the division of the Sacrament "a great sacrilege:" (divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire). Communion in both kinds was universal in the early Church, see Justin M. (Apol. ii. p. 76. ed. Sylb.), Theodoret (qu. 52. in I Reg. t. i. p. 253), and especially St. Chrysostom (Hom. 18. in 2 Cor.), and so it continued for full a thousand years. It had begun to give way in the time of S. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Th. pt. 3. qu. 80. art. 12), and half-communion was finally adopted in the Western Church at the Council of Constance (A. D. 1414). On its gradual introduction into Great Britain see Collier, vol. ii. p. 482. 579. 599. (ed. 1840.)

² "Partly," says Leo, "from ignorance, partly from the spirit of paganism." They misinterpreted the

old custom of praying with the face towards the East (Tertull. Apol. c. 16. adv. Valent. c. 2; Justin M., sive Auctor Resp. ad orthod. qu. 118; Origen, Hom. v. in Num.; Athanas. quæst. ad Antioch. 16; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 729. Voss. de Idolol. l. ii. c. 3, p. 320). St. Leo treats their obeisance as idolatrous, quoting Job. xxxi. 26—28. "The sanctuary in which revelations were vouchsafed, stood at the west end of the temple (at Jerusalem), in opposition to the heathen custom, Ezek. viii. 16 ('at the door of the temple of the LORD . . . were . . . men, with their backs towards the temple of the LORD and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped towards the east:'), and Cullen's Mexico, l. 1. "260." p. 263, 'Notes on the Gospels,' Pickering, 1838. See also Hyde, u. s. p. 5. 11. on the Guebres, and p. 519 on the Yezidees. The Mohammedans and Armenian Christians of Persia still make this homage to the rising sun, though the forefathers of the latter preferred death to a sinful compliance on this point, Sozom. ii. 8—14; where 16,000 are said to have suffered martyrdom.

the infamous character of their mysteries was proved so clearly A. D. 444.
 that the doubts of the incredulous and the suspicions of the CH. LIV.
 calumnious were at once silenced. All the persons who had
 been parties to the abominable deed were present. A girl of
 ten years of age, two women who had brought her up and
 prepared her for the crime, a young man who had corrupted
 her, and the Manichean Bishop who had presided at the
 ceremony. Their confessions all tallied with each other, and
 were so revolting that the persons present could scarcely
 prevail on themselves to hear the details. An authentic
 account of them was drawn up.

St. Leo, immediately afterwards, gave his people a history
 of this proceeding in a sermon preached on the fast of the
 tenth month¹, that is, in the Ember-week of December, 443. 1 dicto
Serm.
 He exhorts the women especially to flee from these heretics,
 and not even speak to them, lest they should fall beneath a
 sudden attack of curiosity and listen to their fables. He ad-
 vises all persons to inform against them, and to point out
 where they lodge, where they teach, and whose houses they
 frequent, that further discoveries might be made of them.
 He spoke again on the same subject² on the day of the Epi- 2 Serm. 4.
Epiph. c. 5.
 phany, or January the sixth, A.D. 444, warning the people
 not to be imposed on by their outward appearance, their
 superstitious abstinence³, the poorness of their dress, and [3 discre-
tionibus
ciborum]
 their pale complexions⁴. The confessions of those who were
 apprehended at Rome stated who were their Doctors, their
 Priests, and their Bishops, and in what provinces and what
 cities they resided⁴.

Many escaped from Rome, and those, too, chiefly the most
 guilty. This obliged the Pope to write to all the Bishops of
 Italy⁵, lest they should unwittingly receive some of them, and 5 Ep. 8.
 their churches be corrupted by the contagion. He informed
 them of what had passed at Rome, sent them copies of the
 evidence educed at the trial, and exhorted them to make
 careful inquiries and maintain a steady guard against such

¹ The object of their poverty and
 abstinence was merely to avoid im-
 plicating themselves in matter, and
 had nothing moral or religious in it.
² They were a monument of asceti-
 cism without its privileges; in the

“flesh and with arms of the flesh
 warring against the flesh, witnesses
 at once against the luxury and world-
 liness of the world and against them-
 selves.” 1 Libr. of the Fathers, vol.
 i. p. 329.

A. D. 444.
CH. LV, LVI.
¹3Kal. Febr.
Theodosio
XVIII. et
Albino
Coss.

LV.
Pelagians
sought out.
² Auct. de
prom. [ap.
Prosperi
opp. p. 162.]
³ Phot. bibl.
cod. 54.
Leo. Ep. 6.
(al. 86.) [p.
422.]

⁴ Ep. 6.

[⁵ v. Bingham.
d. 4. § 4, 5.]

LVI.
Vicariate
of Thessa-
lonica.

⁶ Prid. Id.
Jan. Theo-
dosio
XVIII. et
Albino
Coss.
Epist. 4.
[p. 417.]

c. 4.

dangerous enemies. It is a circular letter, and is the thirtieth of January, A.D. 444¹. Many of the Bishops emulated the vigilance of St. Leo on this point. He also prosecuted the Pelagians about the same time. Cyprian of Carthage, and especially Julian of Æculanum, who was then at their head, although several had abjured their heresy, they were beginning to propagate it. Septimius, Bishop of Vercellæ in Venetia, wrote about it to St. Leo², informing him that the province Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks had been received into Catholic communion without their condemnation of their errors being exacted from them. It was so that they were even allowed to itinerate from place to place exercising their functions in contempt of the canons which enjoined all Clerks to continue in the churches to which they were ordained. On receiving this information, St. Leo wrote to the Bishop of Aquileia, who was Metropolitan of that province⁴, ordering him to convene his Council, and to call all the clergy who were suspected of Pelagianism to that Council publicly and in writing, and to approve the decrees of the Councils, as confirmed by the holy Scriptures, in clear and express terms that no pretext might be found for evading them. He at the same time recommends that the canons which ordain the continuance of the clergy in the churches⁵ should be strictly maintained, all who refuse to comply being deposed and excommunicated; and that in general, their only motive in travelling from place to place should be ambition or desire of gain.

Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, sent to request that he would confirm him in the Vicariate of that province allowing him the same authority as had been granted by preceding Popes; to this St. Leo readily assented in a letter dated the twelfth of January, 444⁶. St. Leo simply follows the example of St. Siricius, who granted the same power to Anysius; but that this power is to be only for the maintenance of the canons. He chiefly recommends to his consideration the subject of the ordination of Bishops, in which regard it is to be had only to the person, and the service he has done the Church, and not to any partial or interested views. "No one," he says⁷

" to be ordained Bishop in those churches without consulting A. D. 444.
 " you, for they will be chosen with more mature deliberation CH. LVI.
 " when your examination is feared, nor shall we account any
 " to be Bishops, who shall be ordained by the Metropolitan
 " without communication with you. As the Metropolitans have
 " the right of ordaining the Bishops of their provinces, we
 " will that you ordain the Metropolitans, in selecting whom,
 " as they are to have the government of others, you should
 " employ the greatest caution. Let no one absent himself
 " from the Council when he is summoned to it¹. Nothing is ^{c. 5.}
 " of greater use for the correction of faults, and the pre-
 " servation of charity than the frequent assembling of the
 " Bishops. You shall transfer to our cognizance, as pre-
 " scribed by ancient tradition, the more important causes
 " which cannot be terminated on the spot, as also cases of
 " appeal." He complains² that the ordinations of Priests and ^{c. 6.}
 Deacons were held, in opposition to the canons, on any day
 without distinction, and desires that they should be held on
 Sundays only, as those of Bishops were. This is to be
 understood, however, of Saturday night³. St. Leo wrote to ^{[¹Bingh. 4.}
 the Metropolitans of Illyricum a letter bearing the same ^{6. § 7, 8.]}
 date⁴, in which he informs them of the power he has given ^{Ep. 5.}
 to Anastasius of Thessalonica, and exhorts them to submit
 themselves to it and observe the canons.

As Easter fell this year (444)⁵ on the twenty-third of ^{Prosper.}
 April, Good-Friday coincided with the twenty-first, the day ^{Chron.}
 on which Rome was founded. It was customary to perform ^{ann. 444.}
 games in the circus in memory of that event; but they were
 now omitted out of respect to the holy day of our LORD'S
 passion.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVII.

On the ninth of June in this year, (444,) died St. Cyril¹, A. D. 444.
having governed the Church of Alexandria thirty-two years². CH. I.

He left a variety of writings; among others some homilies, I.
which the Greek Bishops were accustomed to commit to Death of
memory and preach³. Those which are of most use to the St. Cyril.
historian are the Paschal Homilies, in which the first day of His writ-
Lent, the first day of the Holy Week (or Monday), Saturday ings.
of the same week, and Easter-Day are marked out; the days 1 Menol.
mentioned are those of the Egyptian months, but it is easy Gr. 9 Jun.
to reduce them to the Roman; so that here we have a sure 2 Conc.
means of fixing the different years. There are twenty-nine of Chalc. Act.
them, for as many successive years; the first is for the year iii. p. 406.
414, in which Easter fell on the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, D: (from
i. e. the twenty-second of March; the last is for 442, in which the year
Easter was the seventeenth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the twelfth 412; v.
of April. supr. 22.
46.)

The other writings of St. Cyril, still extant, are the
seventeen books On Worshipping in Spirit and in Truth,
written in the form of dialogues between him and a person
named Palladius; their object is to shew the usefulness of
the old law, even since the publication of the Gospel, by
virtue of the spiritual sense which it involves. The same
design was contemplated in the twelve books of *Glaphyres*,
which are a commentary upon the Pentateuch. *Γλαφυρὸν*
signifies profound or elegant; and the way in which the
mysteries of the law are unfolded in this work, fairly justifies
the application of either of those epithets. There are also
five books of commentaries on Isaiah, a commentary on the
twelve minor Prophets, and another in ten books on St. John,

3 Gennad.
Script.ⁿ.
56.

4. (originally it comprised twelve books, but we have only fragments of the seventh and eighth;) a treatise on the Trinity, named *The Treasure*, nine dialogues On the Trinity and the Incarnation, besides other treatises on the Incarnation against Nestorius, which have been already mentioned in the order of time; ten books Against the Emperor Julian¹, in defence of the Christian religion, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius. St. Cyril's latest work is a book Against the Anthropomorphites; an account of it is given in a letter which is prefixed, and which thus addresses Calosirius²:

It. "Some persons having come to me from Mount Calamon, " I asked them how the monks of that place lived. They " told me that while many were eminently diligent in exercises of piety, there were some who went to and fro, " disturbing the peace of the rest by their ignorance, and " affirming that, since Scripture says that man was made in " the image of God, we must believe that God has a human " form." St. Cyril shews the absurdity of this notion, which makes God corporeal and limited by space. He then adds; " I am told they maintain that the mystical eulogy," i. e. the Eucharist, " in no way conduces to sanctification, if it is kept " till the next day³; but this is talking at random. CHRIST " is not altered, nor His holy body changed; the efficacy of " the benediction and the enlivening grace still remain in " it. Others say that we ought to apply ourselves continually to prayer, to the exclusion of all labour. But let " them tell us, if they are better than the Apostles, who " allowed themselves time to labour, though they were employed for the Word of God? The Church does not approve of the conduct they prescribe. If all should follow " their example, who would provide for their support? no—" it is merely a pretext for indolence and gluttony." In conclusion, he cautions Calosirius not to allow the Catholics to

¹ The Greek is, "if what is left " remains till the next day;" instead of being burnt, as in some churches (Hesychius in c. 8. Levit. ap. Bibl. VV. PP. Colon. t. vii. p. 35. B), given to children (Evagr. iv. 36), or eaten and drunk by the clergy and faithful laity, as prescribed by Theophilus (St. Cyril's uncle), can. 7. ap. Galland. vol. vii. p.

606, and by our own Church. In the preceding century, St. Basil had remarked that the custom of the Eucharist's being reserved by private men for private use (the origin of which he refers to times of persecution) prevailed at Alexandria and throughout Egypt (Ep. 93. al. 289. ad Cæsariam.)

have any intercourse with the schismatical Meletians who still remained in Egypt. The treatise which follows this letter contains answers to many subtle questions propounded by these monks about the creation of man. Calosirius was Bishop of Arsinoe; he assisted at the false Council of Ephesus in 449, and afterwards at the Council of Chalcedon¹.

A. D. 444.
CH. II.

In the Homily of the Mystical Supper St. Cyril writes against the Nestorians thus²: "Let them tell us what body it is which is food to the flocks of the Church, and what the streams by which they are refreshed? If it is the body of a God, then is CHRIST truly God, and not a mere man. If it is the blood of a God, then is the SON of GOD not only God, but the WORD incarnate. If it is the flesh of CHRIST which is meat, and His blood which is drink—that is, according to them, the flesh and blood of a mere man—how is it we teach that it avails to eternal life? Whence comes it that though distributed here and every where it suffers no diminution? A mere body is not the source of life to those who receive it³." And in his Commentary on St. John he says⁴; "by receiving the Eucharist our flesh is united to that of CHRIST, as two pieces of wax melted together, to the end that by this union we might become one with the Divine Person of Him who took flesh, and that the Person of the WORD might unite us to the Father, with whom He is consubstantial;" so that by these three mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist, we are raised to an intimate union with God.

¹ t. iv. Conc. p. 119. A. p. 332. A.

² Opp. t. v. pt. 2. p. 378. B.

[³ ψιλὸν σῶμα οὐδὰ μὲν πηγά-
ξαι ζωῆν τοῖς μετα-
λαμβάνου-
σιν.]

⁴ Lib. iv. c. 2. (t. iv. p. 365. A.) Lib. x. c. 2. (p. 863. B.) Lib. xi. c. 12. (p. 1001, 2.)

We have two letters from St. Cyril to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, which must belong to the close of his life, since he only survived the election of Domnus four years. One of them⁵ is in favour of Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha; it was afterwards read at the Council of Chalcedon. The other is in behalf of an aged Bishop named Peter, who complained that he had been condemned without a hearing, that, on the pretence of a renunciation⁶, which, he said, was extorted from him, he had been ejected from his see, and, to crown the injustice, had been plundered of all his property. The charge brought against him was misappropriation of the revenues of his Church; on this point St. Cyril says, that Peter was not obliged to give an account of them, and that

II.
Canonical letters.

⁵ t. v. pt. 2. p. 209. [alt. pagg. serie.]

[⁶ παραι-
τησεως
v. Suicer.
s. v.]

A. D. 445. all the Bishops in the world are grieved to hear any such
CH. III. pretension asserted; because, though they are bound to pre-

[¹ *αρχιεπισκοπῶν*
καθημερίως] serve the fixtures¹ and the precious vessels² of the Church,
[² *εὐχαριστίας*
ἀσπ.] they have the free administration of its revenues. No re-
[³ *Supr.*
26. 86.] gard, he adds, was due to acts of renunciation made under
 the influence of fear and contrary to the laws of the Church³.
 "If a Bishop be worthy of the ministry, let him continue in
 "it; if unworthy, let him be deposed in a judicial way."

The Abbots of the Thebaid having complained of some
 irregular ordinations, St. Cyril wrote to the Bishops of Libya
* Ib. p. 211. and the Pentapolis⁴, enjoining them to make careful inquiries
 about the lives of candidates for ordination; whether they
 were married or not, and if so, how or when; if they had
 been expelled by any Bishop, or out of any monastery, that
 none might be ordained but such as were unmarried⁵ and
 of an unblemished character.

[⁴ *Fl. per-*
sonas li-
bras: not in
the Greek.]

III.
St. Leo's
letter to
Dioscorus.
⁶ Theod.
Epist. 60.
[*l. iii. p.*
865.]

⁷ *Liberat.*
c. 10.

[⁸ *Supr. 18.*
34. d.]
⁹ *Ep. 11.*
(al. 81.)

¹ *Supr. 26.*
56. Ep. 4.
c. 6.

St. Cyril was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Dioscorus his Archdeacon, who had a great reputation for virtue, and especially for modesty and humility⁶. He had never been married, and he at once gained the affections of the people of Alexandria, by lending money free from interest to the bakers and vintners, that they might furnish the people with white bread and good wine at a low price⁷. But it was alleged that, to provide funds for this expense, he had extorted large sums of money from the heirs of St. Cyril, by bringing calumnious charges against them. He sent the Priest Possidonius to Rome to inform Pope St. Leo of his ordination⁸. St. Leo sent a letter in return, dated the twenty-first of June, 445⁹, in which he gives Dioscorus some instructions tending to preserve uniformity of discipline. He doubts not but that St. Mark delivered to his Church the same rules as St. Peter, whose disciple he was, had given to his; he therefore desires that at Alexandria, as at Rome, the following rules should be observed:—that ordinations of Priests and Deacons should be held on Sundays only¹, and that both they who conferred, and they who received orders, should do so fasting. He also desires, that on the great feasts, when the people crowd to church in such numbers that it cannot contain them all at once, they would feel no scruple in repeating the sacrifice so often as the church in which it is to be ad-

ministered shall be filled; this, he says, was the custom of the Roman Church. Hence it is evident that at Rome and Alexandria the holy Sacrifice was at this time offered only in one church, even on the greatest solemnities. St. Leo says that the Priest Possidonius was perfectly acquainted with all the customs of Rome, in consequence of his frequent visits to it; which makes it probable that he is the one who was sent by St. Cyril to Pope St. Cælestine¹.

¹ Supr. 25.
12.

Meanwhile there came to Rome a Gallic Bishop named Celidonius, complaining of St. Hilary of Arles, who had deposed him in a Council². St. Hilary, in the course of a visitation which he made in company with St. Germain of Auxerre, arrived at the city of which Celidonius was Bishop, (apparently in the province of Vienne.) The nobles and people immediately came to them, charging Celidonius with having married a widow, and with having condemned some persons to death while he was magistrate. St. Hilary and St. Germain ordered them to produce their witnesses. Several other Bishops of high character assembled along with them. They examined the affair carefully and maturely; the accusation was declared to have been substantiated, and they passed sentence, according to the rules of Scripture, that Celidonius should of himself resign his Episcopate. It was to complain of this sentence that he appeared before St. Leo about the end of the year 444. When St. Hilary was apprised of this, he crossed over the Alps amidst all the rigour of winter, and came to Rome on foot; for this was the way in which, out of his love to poverty, he always chose to travel. After having visited the churches of the Apostles and Martyrs, he came to present himself to St. Leo with all manner of respect, beseeching him to uphold the discipline of the Churches as he was wont, and complaining that Bishops condemned in Gaul by the sentence of the magistrates were, at Rome, admitted to the holy Altars. He conjured Leo, if he approved of his remonstrance, to correct the abuse privately. "I am come," he added, "only to shew my respect for you, not to plead my cause³, and I inform you of what has passed, not by way of accusation, but as a simple recital⁴; if you are of a different way of thinking I will not importune you further."

IV.
Complaints
against St.
Hilary of
Arles.

² Vita S.
Hilar. c.
16, 17. [ap-
Leon. opp.
(ed. Quesn.)
t. 1. p. 743.]

[³ se ad
officia, non
ad causam
venisse.]
[⁴ protes-
tandi or-
dino non
accusandi.]

A. D. 445. St. Leo assembled a Council to take cognizance of the affair¹, and St. Hilary occupied a seat in it like the other Bishops. The Council was not satisfied with his answers, which St. Leo thought over haughty. It appeared from the depositions of witnesses, that Celidonius was innocent of the irregularity for which he had been condemned, (i. e. of having married a widow.) He was therefore acquitted and re-established in his see. St. Hilary remained unshaken in his opinion; and in spite of all the threats with which they assailed him, nay, though he believed his life itself was in peril, he steadily refused to communicate with him whom he had condemned. Seeing that he could not persuade the Pope and his Council, he withdrew; and notwithstanding the guards they had placed over him, and the severity of the season, (for it was still winter,) he returned to his church.

St. Leo and his Council next examined the complaints preferred by the Bishop Projectus² and a large proportion of his fellow-citizens, who seem to have belonged to the province of Narbonnensis Prima. Projectus complained that St. Hilary had come, while he was laid up with sickness, and ordained another Bishop in his place, as if the see were vacant; and this in a province out of his jurisdiction, in which none of his predecessors until the time of Patroclus had ever claimed any authority; that the ordination had been made without giving either the clergy time to make their election or the people to declare their suffrages, and with so much precipitation that Hilary was come and gone without any one's knowing any thing about it. It does not appear that there was any evidence of all this, except the letters of Projectus and his fellow-citizens. But St. Hilary had made himself obnoxious to the Roman Council by the boldness with which he had defended himself in the affair of Celidonius, and still more by his abrupt departure. The result was that the ordination he had made was declared null, and Projectus re-established in his see. They further accused St. Hilary of "claiming authority to regulate all the churches of the Gauls³," by which we are probably to understand those districts which had formerly made up the old province of Narbonnensis. They accused him of "going through these districts accompanied by a troop of armed men⁴, to appoint

CH. IV.
¹ Leo. Ep.
 10. (al. 89.)
 c. 3.

² c. 4.

c. 2.

c. 6, 7.

"Bishops to the vacant churches, to fix the meeting of A. D. 445.
 "Councils, and to interfere with the rights of the Metro- CH. V.
 "politans." Perhaps he found it necessary to have an
 escort in countries occupied by the barbarians and infested
 with war.

The Council of Rome forbade him to encroach on the V.
 rights of others; deprived him even of the authority which St. Leo's
 he had over the province of Vienne; prohibited him from letter
 being present at any ordination; declared him cut off from again-^t St.
 the communion of the holy see; and represented it as an act Hilary.
 of grace that he was left in his Church and not deposed¹. c. 7.

This we gather from a letter of St. Leo to the Bishops of
 the province of Vienne², in which he first extols the primacy³ Ep. 10.
 of St. Peter and the authority of the Roman Church, and
 relates the complaints against Hilary, whom he treats as the
 disturber of the union of the Churches, as presumptuous and
 encroaching. He gives these rules concerning ordinations;
 that they should be reserved for the Metropolitans alone⁴; c. 5.
 that they should be conducted in peace and quiet; that the
 subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the magistrates,
 with the consent of the senate and people, should be held
 requisite⁴, and that they should be held on Sundays⁵. He
 adds, that each province ought to be content with its own [Bingh.
 Council⁶, and that no one should be excommunicated on 4. 2. and
 slight grounds⁷. He declares to the Bishops of the Gauls 17. 5.]
 that he does not wish to lay claim to the government of c. 6.
 their provinces, but to preserve the rights and privileges of c. 7.
 each, and to keep them in union⁸. Lastly, he proposes to c. 8.
 appoint for their Primate, if they approve of him, the Bishop
 Leontius, who was recommended both by his merit and his
 great age, without prejudice to the rights of the Metro-
 politans. It is thought⁹ that this Leontius was Bishop of v. not.
 Frejus, and that St. Leo's intention was to introduce the Quesn.
 African discipline into Gaul, by giving the primacy to
 the oldest Bishop for the time being, not to a particular see¹. [Bingh.
 But the Gauls did not accept this proposal. 2. 16. § 6.]

St. Leo, wishing to back up his decision by the authority
 of the Emperor Valentinian who was then at Rome, obtained
 a rescript directed to the Patrician Aëtius, who was general
 of the Gallic troops². It contains for the most part the same
 Novell.
 Theod. tit.
 24.

A. D. 445. complaints against St. Hilary, whom it treats as an encroaching, seditious, person, who had offended against the majesty of the empire and the respect due to the holy see. "For the future, therefore," adds the Emperor, "we forbid Hilary, or any other person, to make use of arms in ecclesiastical affairs; and we ordain that the Bishops of Gaul and the other provinces undertake nothing at variance with ancient custom without authority from the Pope¹; that his injunctions have the force of laws; and that every Bishop who, on being cited to his Court, shall neglect to appear, be compelled to it by the governor of the province." This

[¹ Pape
esternæ
urbis.]

² 8 Id. Jun. rescript is dated the sixth of June, 445.²

Valentini-
ano vi. Cos.

³ 13 Kal.
Jul.

⁴ Nov. Va-
lent. lib. ii.
tit. 2.

⁵ Ibid. tit. 1.

⁶ Ibid. tit. 5.

⁷ 3 Id. Mar-
tias Cally-
pio Cos.

VI.
The virtues
of St. Hilary
⁸ Arles.
⁹ It. Hilary.
17.

On the nineteenth of the same month³, the Emperor Valentinian issued another edict against the Manicheans, who had been so fully convicted at Rome about eighteen months before. It is directed to Albinus Præfect of the Prætorium⁴, and enforces all the ancient penalties against them, ordering that they should be prosecuted wherever they are found, and permitting all persons to accuse them. The Emperor was at Ravenna the year before⁵, when the Manichees were convicted; and the Pope seems to have taken advantage of his presence at Rome, to procure this edict.

Two years after, the Emperor Valentinian being again at Rome, made a law⁶ in which the ancient penalties were enforced against those who dug into sepulchres to obtain marble or other things still more valuable from them. Even the clergy were charged with this crime, and the Emperor decides that they deserved to be punished with greater rigour than others. He ordains that they should immediately lose the name of Clerks; that they should be proscribed and banished for life; and that no exception should be made even in the case of Bishops. The law is directed to Albinus, Præfect of the Prætorium and Patrician, and is dated the thirteenth of March, 447.⁷

St. Hilary on his return to Arles, directed all his efforts to appease St. Leo, and wrote several letters on the subject⁸. He sent first the Priest Ravennius, (who was his successor,) then the Bishops Nectarius and Constantius. Auxiliarius, the Præfect of Gaul, being at that time at Rome, received them

with great respect, and often conversed with them on the virtues of St. Hilary, his constancy, and contempt of human things. He also spoke with Pope St. Leo, as he testifies in a letter to St. Hilary, adding, "Men will scarcely endure us to speak with that boldness which an honest conscience would prompt us to make use of; and the ears of the Romans are somewhat delicate¹. If you would humour them a little, you would gain a great deal without losing any thing. Comply with me thus much, and disperse these little clouds by a slight change in your position." After this answer, St. Hilary returned to his pastoral functions and his exercises of piety², as if he had but just begun them, and during the three or four years he survived, (up to the year 449,) these formed his sole occupation^b.

A. D. 445.
CH. VI.

[¹ Aurea Romanorum quâdam tenebritudine plus trahuntur.]

^a c. 18.

^b The consistency shewn by St. Hilary was worthy of the friend of SS. Honoratus, Eucharius, Germain, Lupus, and Vincentius. Unwilling to provoke his brother into the assertion of unjustifiable claims, he yet never receded from his rights, but continued in the exercise of his office to the end of his life, apparently with the approbation of the Bishops of his province, who, on the election of his successor, sent a letter to St. Leo, vindicating the precedence of Arles, (infr. c. 45.) Nor was he wanting in the respect due to his primate; but he knew that the prerogative of a primate in respect of inferior Bishops is otiose, so long as these obey the canons. (v. Greg. M. l. ix. Ep. 59. olim vii. 65. Quesnel. Disc. v. p. 527.)

Since this is an important incident in the history of the Roman Patriarchate, the following remarks may not be misplaced. I. As to Celidonius: St. Leo never even intimates a defect of jurisdiction on the part of St. Hilary, or any invasion of Metropolitan rights, —which he was not slow to do in the case of Projectus;—he owns that had the charge against Celidonius been substantiated, the sentence itself was valid. He reversed the sentence. Two questions therefore arise: (1) of the *decision*; were St. Hilary, St. Germain, and a Council examining witnesses on the spot, or was St. Leo, hearing the cause at Rome, in the best position for ascertaining the truth? Doubtless the former. (2) Of the *prerogative*; had the Bishop of Rome power to reverse the decision

of a Gallic Synod? The Bishops of Gaul held, with those of Africa (Quesn. p. 486), that the Episcopate was one and undivided, and held by the whole body of Bishops in common (supr. xxv. 47. b.): in the assigned portions of Christ's flock, therefore, each Bishop had power to judge offenders without appeal, except to a provincial or higher Synod; to appeal to another Bishop was to violate episcopal unity. This applied whether a Presbyter were judged by a Bishop, or a Bishop by his Metropolitan; v. Ep. Afr. Episc. ad Cæl. (supr. 24. 35), and cf. De Marca, de Conc. vii. c. 2 and 6. The canons of Sardica indeed committed to the Roman Bishop the power—not of deciding on appeal, but—of ordering a provincial Synod to hear, or rehear, a cause. (De Marca, vii. 3.) But not even thus much was allowed by the African Church (supr. xxi. 6), who inherited their views from St. Cyprian, nor by the Easterns, who never placed the Sardican canons in their collections. (De Marca, vii. c. 4.) St. Hilary then might well complain, when Celidonius was received at Rome as a communicant (contrary to the canons, Nicæn. 5. Eliber. 53. Arelat. I. c. 16, etc.), and when St. Leo set aside the sentence of a judicial Synod on one lawfully tried and convicted. II. As to Projectus, it is not so clear that St. Hilary did not transgress his jurisdiction. But indeed we know nothing of the facts, not even to what province Projectus belonged, (Quesnel's conjectures, in Apol. pro S. Hilar., are very precarious,) and we

A. D. 445. From the commencement of his episcopate he never ceased
 CH. VI. to practise the same poverty and mortification which he had
 maintained as a monk, wearing but one coat (a hair cloth)
 winter and summer, going always bare-foot, and working
 with his own hands¹. He had a table placed before him with
 a book and some nets²; a notary, with his writing implements,
 sat by his side. He read and dictated from time to time,
 still keeping his hands in constant motion, as he knotted his
 cords and wove his nets. He also laboured in cultivating the
 ground³, more so indeed than his strength would bear^c, for he
 had been educated in a way that corresponded with the dig-
 nity of his family. He always had something read to him at

¹ c. 8. 14.
 sup. 24. 58.
² c. 12.

³ Gennad.
 c. 71.

should bear in mind that Leo had only *ex parte* evidence before him. Baronius (a. 464. § 8.) reminds us how hard it was for one who had so many important interests to attend to, as the Bishop of Rome had, to preserve himself from being unfairly prepossessed by designing men. III. As to Hilary's wishing to regulate all the Churches of the Roman Province in Gaul. The few facts, still remaining, which bear on this point, tend to shew that Arles was of old the ecclesiastical metropolis, —from the time of Trophimus (*infr.* c. 45), downward. So early as A. D. 255, the *litteræ formatae* of travellers in Gaul were addressed to the Bishop of Arles (Cypr. Ep. 68. ad Steph.). Its ecclesiastical pre-eminence would not be weakened by the civil importance attached to it by Constantine (*supr.* xxi. 52), nor does it appear that it was ever disputed until the close of the fourth century. The causes of its being then questioned were manifold, but chiefly two, (1) the subdivision of old Narbonensis (into Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Grajæ, and Alpes Maritimæ); for the ecclesiastical distribution had always a *tendency* to follow the civil, however really independent of it (Innoc. Ep. 18. ad Alex. *supr.* xxiii. 26); (2) the unsettled state of France, (*omnia sus deque acta*, says Honorius, in *Constit. ann.* 418,) owing to the influx of the barbarians and the usurpations of tyrants, during which Valentinian says (*Constit. de Eccl. Cap., ann.* 425) that the Churches and clergy lost many of their privileges. It was at this crisis that (a) Vienne asserted its rights to be a metropolis (*Conc. Taurin. a.* 404. *supr.* 21. 52),

and that (β) Proculus claimed a presidency over Narbonensis Secunda (recently detached from Viennensis). Respecting (α), Pope Zosimus, who appears to have studied the subject more attentively than any other, calls the primacy of Arles *vetus privilegium* (Ep. 5. ad Univ. Ep. Gall.), and in Ep. 8. ad Narbon., he frequently presses this consideration: "*vetus consuetudo—prisca institutio—antiqua consuetudo*," are his phrases. His decision was acted upon by Patroclus, Honoratus, and Hilary; by the last two probably not without the advice of St. Germain and St. Lupus. The case (β) is sufficiently determined by the fact that, on the death of Proculus, Narbonensis reverted to Arles, and so remained in the time of Pope Symmachus, A. D. 514 (Ep. 9). IV. St. Leo states his aim to be, not to interfere with the internal arrangements of the Gallic Churches, but only to confirm their union with the Roman Church. St. Hilary, though desirous of maintaining communion with the mother Church, sought to maintain the integrity of the Episcopate, which he thought in danger. Thus the failings, if so be, of good men serve only to make their goodness more evident. *Qui non zelat, non amat*; their jealousy on behalf of the Church was a proof of their love for it. However, it would ill become us to scan their conduct as if we were their judges; but "*quia tantorum virorum*," to use the words of Honoratus, "*præsertim jam ad supernam gloriam vocatorum nec in narratione audeo judicia ventilare, hæc breviter tetigisse sufficiat.*"

^c See Bloomf. *Rec. Syn.* on St. Luke xvi. 3. "I have not strength (*ὄκνῶ ἰσχυῶ*) "to dig."

his meals, and he introduced this custom into the cities. On A. D. 445. Sundays he rose at midnight, walked on foot thirty miles, (or ^{6H. VII.} ten leagues,) and assisted at Divine Service, after which he preached; this lasted to the seventh hour, or an hour after mid-day. He lived in one common house with his clergy, having only his cell like the others. He had such loving affection for the poor, that, to provide funds for the redemption of captives, he sold all the plate that was in the churches, even to the sacred vessels, and reduced himself to patens and chalices of glass.

For the times he lived in, he was very eloquent; a specimen of his style still survives in his eloge of St. Honoratus his predecessor¹. On fast-days he kept the people together by his discourses from mid-day to four o'clock². If he had only a rustic congregation to listen to him, he accommodated himself to their capacity by a plain way of speaking; but he rose into a style of singular grace and dignity if men of superior education happened to come in, so perfect a command had he over his language. He had frequently in private admonished the person who was at that time Præfect³ touching the injustice he committed in his decisions; but all to no purpose. One day he came to church, accompanied by his officers, while St. Hilary was in the middle of a sermon. The holy Bishop broke off, saying that the Præfect was unworthy of receiving the heavenly nourishment after neglecting the advice which he had given him for his soul's health. The Præfect retired in confusion, and St. Hilary pursued his discourse. Such was this holy Bishop; but he wasted himself so much by his fastings and labours, that he died in his forty-eighth year. His life was written by Honoratus, Bishop of Marseilles, his disciple⁴; who states that he left behind him homilies on all the festivals of the year, an exposition of the Creed⁵, and a great number of letters.

He was an intimate friend of St. Germain of Auxerre, whom he called his father and respected as an Apostle. For St. Germain was obliged to go to Arles, to intercede with Auxiliaris, Præfect of Gaul, in behalf of his native city of Auxerre, which, on his return from Great Britain, he had found laden with extraordinary imposts⁶. In all the places he passed through, on this journey, the people went out in crowds

¹ ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 752.]
² c. 11.

³ c. 10.

⁴ Gennad. c. 99. Martyr. R. 5 Mai. v. ibi Baron. [⁵ Supr. 26. 23. m.]
VII.

St. Germain's second journey into Britain.

⁶ Vita S. Germ. per Const. l. i. c. 29. f. Boll. t. xxxii. p. 214.]

445. with their wives and children, to meet him and receive his
 11. benediction. At Alise¹, Nectariola, the wife of a Priest named Senator, kept some of the straw which she had used for the holy Bishop's bed, and a possessed person being bound upon it was healed. As he drew near to Arles, the Præfect Auxiliaris, contrary to custom, went a considerable distance to meet him². He was struck with his gracefulness, his politeness, and the authority of his conversation, and found that he even exceeded his reputation. He made him some valuable presents, and requested him to heal his wife, who had been long suffering under a quartan-fever. He obtained his request, and granted St. Germain the immunity which he had asked for his people.

St. Germain, after his return home, was invited a second
 c. 1. time into Great Britain³, to assist the Church against the Pelagian heresy, which was again beginning to spread itself there. St. Germain took for his companion on this journey⁴ St. Severus, Bishop of Treves, disciple of St. Lupus of Troyes. They set out in the year 446. In their journey to Paris,
 . 25. St. Germain inquired after St. Genevieve⁵, and understood that her reputation was violently assailed by divers calumnies. He, who knew her perfectly, went to her house, and saluted her with so much humility that every body was surprised. He spoke to the people in her justification, and for a proof of her virtue shewed, in the place where she lay, the ground wet with her tears^d. Having convinced all of her innocence, he continued his journey, and passed safely over into Britain.

The evil spirits bruited the news of his arrival throughout the island⁶, so that one named Elaphius, the chief of the country, without any other information, came to meet the holy Bishop, bringing with him his son, yet in the flower of his youth, who had his ham contracted and his leg withered. A great number of people followed them, and as St. Germain knew that most of them had preserved the Catholic faith, and that the heresy was taught by comparatively few, he sought these out, found them, and condemned them. In

^d Homer makes his pure Penelope
 say,
 ἄνοι δὲ γὰν ὑπερβίον εἰσαναβάσα
 ἔ εὐνήν, ἥ μοι στονόδεσσα τέ-

τυκται
 'Αιεί δόκρω' ἐμοῖσι πεφουμένη.
 Odyss. P. 101.

the mean time¹ Elaphius presented his son to him. St. Germain made him sit down, and, touching his ham and leg, healed him in the presence of the multitude. The miracle confirmed the people in the Catholic Faith, and St. Germain exhorted them to banish error from among them. All were unanimous in the resolve to expel the heretics from the whole Church; they brought them to the two Bishops, in order to have them sent into the remotest parts of Gaul²: so Britain was delivered and retained the purity of the Faith.

A. D. 445.
CH. VIII.
c. 4.

[² ad mediterranea]

Scarcely had St. Germain returned home³ before he was called by a deputation to the coast of Armorica, now Bretagne. Aëtius, who at that time commanded in Gaul, wishing to punish these rebellious tribes, had sent Eocharich, King of the Alemans⁴, a proud and cruel idolater, to reduce them to submission. St. Germain immediately set out, and found the barbarian chieftain already in the country with numerous cavalry. He advanced on his way until he fell in with him; when, addressing him by means of an interpreter, he humbly supplicated him to proceed no farther. On his refusal, he rebuked him, and at last seizing the bridle of his horse, stopped him, and with him the whole army. The barbarian astonished at his hardihood, listened to his proposals of peace, and returned to his post, agreeing not to ravage the province, provided they could obtain their pardon from either the Emperor or Aëtius.

[⁴ So Suerius: in the MSS. *Alamorum.*]

With this view St. Germain undertook to travel into Italy⁵, and visit the Emperor at Ravenna. Stopping on the road at the house of his friend Senator the Priest, he healed a young woman who had been dumb twenty years. He told Senator that they would never see each other again in this world. At Autun he healed a girl whose hand was contracted so that the nails had grown into the flesh. He arrived at Milan one day when several Bishops had assembled to celebrate the feast of some saints⁶; he entered church during the time of mass without being expected or known by any. But one who was possessed cried out from the midst of the people, "Germain, why dost thou come to seek us in Italy? "Let it suffice thee to have driven us out of Gaul, and to "have vanquished the Ocean and us by thy prayer." The people inquired wonderingly who this Germain was. At

VIII.
The death
of St. Germain.
c. 6.

c. 10.

“and told me it was to go to my native country and receive
 “eternal rest.” A few days after this he fell sick. The
 whole city was alarmed; the Empress went to see him¹, and
 he desired of her as a favour that she would send his corpse
 back to his own country; which she granted much against
 her will. He died at Ravenna on the seventh day of his
 sickness, which was the last of July. St. Peter Chrysologus
 took his cowl and hair shirt², the six other Bishops parted the
 rest of his clothes amongst them. The Eunuch Acholius³,
 Præfect of the Emperor’s chamber, one of whose servants
 he had healed, had the corpse embalmed⁴; the Empress
 clothed it with rich vests, and gave a coffin of cypress; the
 Emperor furnished the carriages, and defrayed the expense
 of the journey, including the pay of the officers who attended
 it: the Bishops provided that religious reverence⁵ should be
 paid to it at Ravenna and in the whole course of the journey.
 The funeral train thus became very magnificent⁶; the number
 of lights was so great that they shone even at broad day.
 Every where, as it passed, the people came out to meet it,
 and paid it every kind of respect. Some levelled the roads or
 repaired the bridges, others bore the corpse or, at the least,
 sang psalms. The Priest Saturnus, one of the Saint’s disci-
 ples, who had by his order remained at Auxerre, was there
 informed of his death by revelation, and communicated the
 tidings to the people. He set out along with a great multi-
 tude to go as far as the Alps, to meet the procession. At
 Vienne the body was deposited in the church of St. Stephen,
 which had just been built at the entrance of the city by the
 care of Priest Severus, on the site of a heathen temple in
 which the pagans worshipped a hundred gods. Severus was
 an Indian by birth, and famous for his miracles⁷. St. Ger-
 main had promised him, as he passed, that he would come to
 the dedication of his church; and so it was, that the corpse
 arrived on the very day of the dedication, before the service
 had begun. It reached Auxerre fifty days after his death;
 and having been exposed ten days to the veneration of the
 people, it was interred on the first of October, in the oratory
 of St. Maurice, which he had founded⁸ on the spot where
 at present the famous abbey stands which bears his name.
 St. Germain held the see of Auxerre thirty years and twenty-

A. D. 4
CH. VII

c. 20.

c. 21.

c. 22.

Hist.

Episc. A

tiss. c. 7.

[p. 417.]

[religi-

nis obse-

quitum]

c. 24.

Ado.

Chron. A

6. [ap. fr.

499. Hist

Christ.]

la Barre.

[Heric.

c. 24.

Bolland.

u. s. p. 228

443 five days; he died therefore in the year 448¹. The see was
 vacant four years, which is apparently to be attributed to the
 23 desolation of Gaul by the barbarians.

There were still Priscillianists in Spain. St. Turibius,
 in Bishop of Astorga in Gallicia, having discovered some of
 them in his city, convicted them in a judicial process, in
 which the Bishop Idacius assisted him; they sent the Acts
 to Antoninus, Bishop of Merida². St. Turibius gave an ac-
 21. count of them to Idatius and Ceponius, who seem to have
 i. been the two principal Bishops of Gallicia. He writes thus³:
 fu- " I have travelled through many provinces, and have every
 24 " where found one and the same faith; but on returning
 25 " to my own country I perceive with grief that the errors
 " which the Catholic Church has condemned long ago, and
 " which I had thought extirpated, are again daily sending
 " out fresh shoots, taking advantage of the disorder of the
 " times, which has put a stop to the holding of Councils.
 " Hence the people come to the same altar, but attaching
 " different senses to their Creed; for when these heretics are
 " pressed, they deny their errors and make their dishonesty
 " a cloak to their heterodoxy. They have a great many
 " apocryphal books, which they prefer to the canonical
 " Scriptures [under the notion of their being esoteric]; yet
 " they teach things which are not found in those books (so
 " far as I have had access to them), whether it is that they
 " derive their doctrines from them by interpretation, or that
 " these really are contained in more private books. In the
 " Acts which bear the name of St. Thomas, it is stated that
 " he did not baptize with water, but only with oil; and this
 " is the custom of the Manichees⁴, though not of our heretics.
 " They have, moreover, the pretended Acts of St. Andrew,
 " those of St. John composed by Leucius, and the book en-
 " titled, The Memoir of the Apostles, in which, among other
 " blasphemies, they make our Saviour speak against the Old
 " Testament. There is no doubt that the Apostles could
 " have done the miracles contained in these books; but it
 " is certain that the discourses have been inserted by the
 " heretics. I have extracted from them several passages full
 " of blasphemy, which I have ranged under certain heads,
 " and answered according to my ability. I thought

“ myself bound to inform you thus much, that no body may
 “ keep or read these books under pretence of not knowing
 “ them. It is for you to examine the whole, and, with your
 “ brethren, to condemn whatever you shall find contrary to
 “ the Faith.” This letter was accompanied by a memoir,
 which is not extant.

St. Turibius sent a similar letter and memoir to St. Leo,
 by a Deacon of his church named Pervincus; and St. Leo
 answered him in a long letter dated¹ the twelfth of the calends
 of August, in the Consulate of Calipius and Ardaburis, i. e.
 July the twenty-first, 447. He there takes notice of the
 punishments inflicted on the first Priscillianists², and adds,
 “ Though the Church eschews all sanguinary means of
 “ avenging itself, it is nevertheless assisted by the laws of
 “ Christian princes; and the fear of corporal punishment
 “ sometimes makes men betake themselves to the spiritual
 “ remedy. But now that the incursions of our enemies pre-
 “ vent the laws from being executed and the difficulty of
 “ travelling has made Councils uncommon, the lurking error
 “ has found freedom amidst the public calamities. One may
 “ imagine how many of the people are infected by it, when
 “ there are even Bishops who teach it.”

St. Leo then gives answers to sixteen articles which St.
 Turibius had sent him, and which contained the same errors
 that I mentioned in my account of the rise of this heresy³.
 St. Leo’s answers on each article are precise and theological,
 and the errors are all confronted with express authorities of
 Scripture. The Priscillianists, besides using certain apocry-
 phal books, corrupted those of the canon⁴. St. Leo therefore
 ordains, that no one should make use of these spurious
 copies and that the apocryphal writings should be entirely
 suppressed; because, although they had a show of piety in
 them, they drew men aside into error by the fabulous
 wonders which they related. As there were some who kept
 the sermons of Dictynnius⁵, though full of these errors, under
 the pretence that he died in the communion of the Church,
 St. Leo prohibits them as well as the others. Dictynnius
 had been Bishop of Astorga before St. Turibius, and had ab-
 jured Priscillianism⁶ at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 400.

St. Leo notices in this letter the similarity there was be-

A. D. 445.
 CH. X.

X.
 St. Leo’s
 letter to
 Turibius.
 Leo. Ep.
 15. (al. 93.)

³ Supr. 18.
 30.

⁴ Fleury,
 17. 56.

⁴ c. 15.

⁵ c. 16.

⁶ Supr. 20.
 48.

“ Church not being able to honour them all at once, has A. D. 445.
 “ apportioned the commemoration of them to various days. CH. XI.
 “ Now Baptism derives its efficacy chiefly from His death
 “ and His resurrection, both which are more expressly re-
 “ presented in that Sacrament¹. His death is there expressed [¹ c. 3.]
 “ by the abolishing of sin; the three days of His burial by
 “ the three immersions; His resurrection by the rising out
 “ of the water. The solemnity of Pentecost follows, because
 “ the descent of the HOLY GHOST was the consequence of
 “ our Saviour’s resurrection; and it holds out the hand of
 “ assisting grace to those who were prevented from being
 “ baptized at Easter, whether by sickness or travelling or
 “ any other impediment. We see too, that St. Peter bap-
 “ tized three thousand persons on the day of Pentecost². Acts 11.
 “ Baptism, therefore, should be administered only on these ³⁷
 “ two days³, and then to none but such as shall be elected, [² c. 5.]
 “ after having been exorcised, examined, sanctified by fast-
 “ ings, and prepared by frequent instructions⁴. These two ^{c. 6.}
 “ are the only legitimate days for those who are in health
 “ and at liberty; but Baptism may be administered at any
 “ time in cases of necessity, as, in peril of death, during a
 “ siege, in time of persecution, or, in danger of shipwreck⁵.”

As to the argument drawn from our SAVIOUR’S Baptism, St. Leo observes first, that it is not certain that He received it on the day of Epiphany, “some,” he says only, were of that opinion⁶. Besides, “CHRIST received only the Baptism

¹ On the stated times of Baptism, cf. *supr.* xxv. 18. b. “At first,” says St. Ambrose, “all taught, all baptized, on any day, at any time; but when the Church had absorbed the nations into itself, churches were built, rulers appointed over them, and the different orders received distinct offices; so that now Baptism is not administered by the inferior clergy or the laity, nor except on fixed days.” *Comm. in Eph.* iv. As to the reasons for restricting Baptism to Easter and Pentecost, besides the one drawn from the connection of the events commemorated in those festivals with the parts of baptisms, there were others (of less intrinsic value), as, the greater publicity of the Catechumen’s reception into the Church at a high feast, and the more methodical attention that

would be given to his instruction in Lent and Easter-tide. On the other hand, however, there was danger lest some might stifle their convictions with the excuse of putting off their Baptism till Easter; see *Basil. Hom.* 13. *Chrys. Hom.* 1. in *Act.* t. ix. p. 13. ed. *Montf.* Cf. *Tertull. de Bapt.* c. 19. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 40. *de Bapt.*

When Infant-Baptism became general, the custom grew out of use: yet the rubric of our *Baptismal Service*, as it stood prior to 1661, stated that it was “thought good to follow the same, as near as conveniently might be.” s. *Wheatley*, ch. vii. § 1.

² v. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 40; *Vales. in Theodoret.* ii. 27; *Mosch. Prat. Sp.* c. 214; *Victor de Persec. Vand.*, lib. ii., referred to by *Bing.* xi. 6. § 7.

of John, and that to fulfil all righteousness, and to set an example; just as He was circumcised and practised the legal ceremonies. But He instituted the Sacrament of Baptism at His death, by the water which flowed from His side with the blood." For the better preservation of uniformity in discipline, St. Leo directs them to send three Bishops annually from Sicily to Rome on the twentieth of September, to assist at one of the two Councils, which, according to the canons, were to be held every year. This letter was conveyed by the Bishops Bacillus and Paschasinus, who were to send an account to the Pope of their execution of his orders. It is dated the twenty-first of October, 447.

At the commencement of the preceding year, he had written to Senecio and the other Metropolitans of Achaia, who were six in number, with a view to maintain them firm in their obedience to the Bishop of Thessalonica. They had declared themselves very well satisfied with St. Leo's appointment of Anastasius of Thessalonica to be his Vicar for Illyricum. One of these Bishops, however, had frequently made unlawful ordinations, besides ordaining to the town of Thespia a Bishop who was entirely a stranger to the place. St. Leo exhorts them all to come, when summoned, to the general Council of Illyricum², that is, to send two or three Bishops to it from out of each province; and he declares that a Metropolitan has no power to ordain a Bishop merely of his own will, without the consent of the clergy and people. This letter is dated the sixth of January, 446.

Proclus died on the twenty-fourth of October, 447, having held the see of Constantinople thirteen years and three months³. He was succeeded by Flavian, Priest and Treasurer of that church. This ordination was distasteful to the Eunuch Chrysaphius, Præfect of the Chamber, who had conceived some prejudice against Flavian. He urged the Emperor to demand of Flavian eulogies for his ordination. Flavian sent him some white bread, as a symbol of his blessing. Chrysaphius aimed at something very different, and sent him word that he must make a present of gold. The Bishop answered that he had none, unless it were the consecrated vessels; but that the goods of the Church belonged to God, and were destined for the poor. From that time Chrysaphius

resolved to spare no pains to procure Flavian's deposition; A. D. 445. CH. XIII. but as he was supported by Pulcheria, who in fact ruled all by her authority, he proposed to begin by removing her from the position she then occupied. He therefore prevailed on the Emperor, by means of his wife Eudocia, to demand of Flavian that he should ordain Pulcheria deaconess. The Emperor sent for him and made the proposition to him in private. Flavian was grieved when he heard it, but, without manifesting his concern to the Emperor, he wrote secretly to Pulcheria, telling her not to appear before him, lest he should be obliged to do something which might not be agreeable either to her or to himself. She conjectured what the design against her was, and withdrew to Hebdomon⁶. The Emperor Theodosius and the Empress Eudocia were highly incensed against Flavian for having discovered their secret; and thus the foundation was laid for his after disgrace.

When Theodoret heard of the ordination of Flavian, he wrote him a complimentary letter¹, hoping to find in him a protector; for it was now two years since he had received the Emperor's orders to retire to his diocese of Cyrus, with a strict injunction to confine himself to it. The time is ascertained from the letter to the Consul Nomus², whose Consulate fell on the year 445. He was accused of having preached a sermon at Antioch, after the death of St. Cyril, in the presence of Domnus, in which, it was alleged, he had spoken thus³: "No one is now any longer forced to blaspheme. Where are those who say that it is God who was crucified? God is not crucified; it was a man, even JESUS CHRIST, who was crucified. There is now no more dispute; Egypt and the East are under one yoke; envy is dead, and heresy is buried with it." He was further accused of having ordained to the see of Tyre the Count Irenæus, who had been twice married, and who had displayed so much ardour at the Council of Ephesus in the

XIII.
Theodoret
banished.

¹ Ep. 11. [t. iii. p. 904.]

² Ep. 81. [p. 962.]

³ Conc. V. coll. 5. tom. v. p. 508. D.

⁶ A large meadow or common extending from the walls of the city to the seventh milestone at the head of the Golden Horn. Constantine had built a palace in it, to which his successors retired to recreate their jaded

spirits. (Ruffinus, l. 3. de Vit. Patr. n. 19.) See Dufresne, CP. Chr. lib. ii. p. 173, sqq., and his Disq. ad Zonar. Ann. p. 126. ed. Par., (reprinted at the end of the CP. Chr. ed. Venet.)

A. D. 445. cause of Nestorius. Lastly, Theodoret was charged with
CH. XIII. disturbing the Church by the Councils which he was con-
 1 Ep. 80. 79. tinually assembling at Antioch¹; and this is the only reason
 specified in the Emperor's letter. He obeyed, and left Antioch
 without bidding any one farewell, that he might escape the importunity
 of some who would gladly have detained him there.

But he complained to divers persons of the injustice of being thus branded and condemned without any judicial examination. He wrote about it to the Patrician Anatolius, to the Præfect Eutrechius, to the Consul Nomus, to Eusebius
 2 Ep. 79, 80, Bishop of Ancyra². "It is not," he says³, "that I am dis-
 81, 82. satisfied with living at Cyrus; I can truly say, I love it
 3 Ep. 79. [p. 950. B.] "better than the most celebrated cities, because God has
 "been pleased to cast my lot in it; but it is surely a painful
 [4 ἀνιὰ πόρ. thing⁴ to be tied down to it of necessity, not of choice.
 v. Arist. "This measure strengthens the wicked and makes them
 Metaph. iv. "more untoward." And again⁵; "The cities are all open to
 5.] "heretics, to pagans, to Jews; and I who fight for the doc-
 6 Ep. 81. [p. 953. B.] "trine of the Gospel am expelled from all the cities. But it
 "is said that I hold wrong opinions. Let a Council then be
 "called: let me explain myself in the presence of the Bishops
 "and magistrates, and let the judges state which opinion is
 "conformable to the doctrine of the Apostles." And after-
 wards: "I never came of my own accord to Antioch, neither
 "under Theodotus, nor under John, nor under Domnus; I
 "yielded a constrained obedience, after being summoned five
 "or six times, and then only out of deference to the canons,
 "which denounce those who refuse to attend the Councils."
 He remarks in these two letters that he had now been Bishop
 6 Supr. 25. twenty-five years⁶; that during the whole of that time he had
 30. never accused any one, nor been himself accused; and that
 none of his clergy had ever appeared before the tribunals. He also
 recounts, in self-justification, the benefits temporal and spiritual
 which he had conferred on his diocese.

7 Ep. 82. In the letter to Eusebius of Ancyra⁷, he says, "Those who
 "are reviving the heresy of Marcion and of the other Docetæ,
 "enraged at my open refutation of them, have endeavoured
 "to circumvent the Emperor, treating me as a heretic, and
 "charging me with dividing into two sons our LORD JESUS

CHRIST. But they have not succeeded, for the order which has been issued against me contains no accusation of heresy." Afterwards; "So far am I from embracing so detestable an opinion, that it grieves me to have found some of the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa, who, whilst writing against the Arians, have pushed the division of the humanity and the Divinity too far. That it may not be thought that fear leads me to speak thus for the nonce, you may read what I wrote previously to the Council of Ephesus, and afterwards twelve years ago. For, by the grace of God, I have explained all the Prophets, the Psalms, and St. Paul. I wrote long since against the Arians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, and Marcionites. I have composed a mystical book, a book on Providence, another on the Questions of the Magi, the Life of the Saints, and many more¹. I defy my accusers and judges to point out in them any opinion that I have not found in Holy Scripture."

A. D. 445.
CH. XIV.

[¹ v. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. ed. Harles. t. viii. pp. 277—309.]

Of the works here mentioned by Theodoret, the first, against the heretics, are lost, unless they lie concealed under the name of some other author². Neither are the mystical book and the answers to the Magi now extant. But we have his Commentaries on the Prophets, the Psalms, and St. Paul³. The Life of the Saints is the *Philotheus*, otherwise called *The Religious History*⁴, which contains the lives of thirty hermits whom Theodoret had known, beginning with St. James of Nisibis and ending with St. Domninus. But besides the works which he enumerates in the letter to Eusebius, he had at that time composed a large treatise On the diseases of the Grecians⁵, that is, on the errors of the pagans; it is divided into twelve books, and contains ample stores of erudition. Above a hundred ancient authors are quoted in it. He had also written a commentary on Solomon's Song⁶.

XIV.
Theodoret's writings.

² v. Garn. Diss. p. 259.

³ t. i, ii, iii. ⁴ t. iii. [p. 757.]

⁵ t. iv. [p. 461.]

⁶ t. i. [p. 983.]

It is thought that it was during this forced retirement that he wrote his *Eranistes* or *Polymorphus*⁷, so called because he maintained that the error which he assailed in it was a mere cento of several old heresies. It was the opinion held by those who⁸, carried away by their extreme zeal against the Nestorians, fell into the opposite heresy, affirming that there was but one nature in CHRIST. The work is divided into three dialogues; the title of the first is *Immutable*, because

⁷ t. iv.

⁸ Pref. in Eran.

A. D. 447. the author there shews that the WORD making Himself flesh
 CII. xv. suffered no change; of the second, *Inconfusible*, where he
 shews that the Incarnation took place without confusion of
 the two natures; of the third, *Impassible*¹. He refers to
 Theophilus of Alexandria and St. Cyril, as among the or-
 thodox Fathers², and quotes Latin Fathers as well as Greek³.
 He gives several syllogisms, in an appendix, in proof of the
 same three truths, that the WORD is immutable, incapable of
 mixture, and impassible.

[¹ ἁπε-
 πτος, ἀσύγ-
 χυτος, ἀπα-
 θής]

² Dial. 2.
 p. 101. 110.
 Dial. 3.
 p. 167.

XV. Those whom he attacks in this work were, he says, obscure
 Theodoret's persons, who had no other means of attaining celebrity than
 letter to by their crimes. This may refer to certain Eastern Monks,
 Dioscorus. or, as he elsewhere says, certain clerks of Orrhoene⁴, who came
 to Alexandria, and accused Theodoret of having divided
 CHRIST into two Sons, in the discourses which he delivered
 at Antioch⁵; they also charged the Bishops of Cilicia with
 the same error. Dioscorus of Alexandria wrote about it to
 Domnus of Antioch, complaining more particularly of Theo-
 doret. The latter wrote to Dioscorus justifying himself, and
 appealing to the many thousands⁶ who heard him at Antioch,
 whilst his accusers, he says, numbered but fifteen at most.
 "I taught six years," he proceeds, "under Theodotus of
 "blessed memory; thirteen years under the blessed John,
 "who was so delighted with my discourses, that he often
 "rose up and clapped his hands⁷. This is now the seventh
 "year of the holy Bishop Domnus; and, hitherto, none
 "either of the Bishops or the clergy have found any fault
 "with aught that I have said." The seventh year of
 Domnus falls on the year 447.⁸

⁴ Ep. 87.
 [p. 965.]

⁵ Ep. 83. ad
 Diosc. [p.
 957.]

[⁶ πολλὰ
 μυριάδες.]

[⁷ v. Supr.
 25. 30.]

⁸ Supr. 26.
 46.

Theodoret then protests that he is desirous of following in
 the steps of the Fathers and of preserving the Faith of Nicæa.
 He explains his belief respecting the Incarnation, which is the
 same as the Catholic. He refers to the book in which he had
 made use of the authority of Theophilus and St. Cyril, that
 is, to the Eranistes. Then he adds⁹, "I believe you are well
 "aware that St. Cyril, of blessed memory, frequently wrote to
 "me. And when he sent his books against Julian, and the
 "Treatise on the Scape-goat, to Antioch, he desired the
 "blessed John of Antioch to shew them to the most cele-
 "brated doctors of the East. John sent them to me; I read

“ them with admiration ; I wrote my opinion of them to A. D. 447.
 “ St. Cyril, and he sent me an answer, bearing witness to CH. XVI.
 “ my accuracy and affection. I still possess these letters.”
 He finishes with this profession of faith ; “ If any one denies
 “ that the holy Virgin is the Mother of God ; or if he says
 “ that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is a mere man ; or if he
 “ divides into two sons¹ the only-begotten SON and first-born ^{[¹ εἰς δύο}
 “ of every creature, let him be deprived of the hope which is ^{διδούς μετρί-}
 “ in CHRIST.” ^{ξεί]}

Theodoret wrote, at the same time, a circular letter to the
 Bishops of the two Cilicias², in which he informs them that ^{Ep. 84, 65.}
 the widely-spread slander against them took its rise, as he
 was told, “ from some few people, who divide the Incarnate
 “ WORD into two persons³.” He refers to the passages of Scrip- ^{[³ εἰς δύο}
 ture which are most express for the Unity of Person : those ^{πρόσωπα}
 two of St. Paul⁴, “ There is but one LORD JESUS CHRIST ;” ^{διαφορών-}
 and again, “ One LORD, one Faith, one Baptism :” ^{των]}
 and those ⁴ 1 Cor. 8. 6; ⁵ John 3. 13;
 of the Gospel⁵, “ No man hath ascended up into heaven, but ^{6. 62.}
 “ He that came down from heaven, the SON of Man who
 “ is in Heaven ;” and again ; “ If ye see the SON of Man
 “ ascend up where He was before.” Theodoret exhorts the
 Bishops to repress those who oppose this doctrine out of
 ignorance or contentiousness : “ if indeed there be any
 “ such,” he adds, “ and the charge against them be not as
 “ calumnious as the one against us.”

Dioscorus paid little regard to Theodoret's letter⁶. On the ^{XVI.}
 contrary, he permitted his accusers to pronounce a public ^{Theodoret's}
 anathema against him in the church of Alexandria, and he ^{letter to}
 himself rose up from his seat and joined in the cry of ^{Flavian.}
 ‘ anathema.’ He went still further ; he sent Bishops to Con- ^{Ep. 86.}
 stantinople to accuse Theodoret and the Easterns. Theodoret
 complained of this to Flavian of Constantinople. “ I sent one
 “ of our Priests,” he says, “ with a synodal letter to Dio-
 “ scorus, to inform him that we abide by the reconciliation
 “ made under Cyril of blessed memory ; that we approve of
 “ St. Cyril's letter, and cheerfully⁷ admit St. Athanasius's ^{[⁷ ἀσφα-}
 “ letter to Epictetus and the Creed of Nicæa. The clergy ^{σίως]}
 “ whom he sent here satisfied themselves, by experience, that
 “ none of the Eastern Bishops hold opinions contrary to the
 “ apostolic doctrine.” He then shews the injustice of the

447. anathema pronounced against him, urging that the Council of Constantinople, agreeably to that of Nicæa, had divided the jurisdiction of provinces¹ in such sort that the Bishop of Alexandria had no right to diocesan power out of Egypt. "He is ever vaunting," he adds, "of the chair of St. Mark; though he knows very well that Antioch possesses the chair of St. Peter, who was not only the teacher of St. Mark, but the first and chiefest of the Apostles^b." And afterwards; "Know, my lord, that his displeasure against us dates from the time when, in conformity with the canons, we gave our assent to the synodal letter which you drew up under Proclus of blessed memory. He has once and again complained to us about it, as if we had betrayed the rights of the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria." This synodal letter of Proclus is probably² the one which was afterwards produced at the Council of Chalcedon, relating to Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha in Syria. Dioscorus pretended that the Easterns, by receiving this letter, had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople over the Bishop of Antioch; who, up to that time, had been the third Bishop in the world, those of Rome and Alexandria alone taking precedence of him.

To defend Theodoret, and the Eastern Bishops generally, against the calumnies of the clergy of Orrhoene and of others who had gained the ear of Dioscorus, Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, sent Bishops to Constantinople on his part, as Dioscorus had on his. The Bishops of Syria set out in the depth of winter³, (at the end, that is, of the year 447,) and Theodoret gave them several letters. Two and twenty of these are still extant⁴, comprising communications to thirteen officers, most of whom had been Consuls⁵; to some of the clergy of Constantinople⁶; and to three Bishops,—Flavian of Constantinople⁷, to whom Theodoret took this opportunity

¹ τῶν ἐκ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρώτος
So, too, Dionys. de Eccl.
Cyril Alex. l. 12. in Johan.
(18), and S. Chrys. t. iii. p.
E; ix. 48. A. and in
other places. It is
al flash or flourish'
vol. vii. p. 150, but)
expressive phrase.
the Greek chorus

was, to be sure, not of a higher rank than the rest, but in him the whole was united and personified, so that the chorus always spoke and was addressed through him as one integer: (S. Ambr. in Psal. 38. Quod Petro dicitur, Apostolis dicitur; and S. August de Agon. Christ. 30. Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas.) Cf. supr. xxv. 48. c.

of sending a second letter; Basil of Seleucia¹, who was then at A. D. 447. Constantinople; and Eusebius of Ancyra², whom they were ^{CH. XVIII.} to visit on their route. In the letter to Flavian, he gives a ^{1 Ep. 102.} doctrinal exposition of his belief, and notes down the various ^{2 Ep. 109.} heresies respecting the Incarnation. Simon, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes, Marcion¹, and Manes, acknowledge CHRIST only as God, attributing humanity to Him in appearance only. The Arians [and Eunomians] say that the WORD assumed a body only, to which He supplies the place of a soul. Apollinarius says that He took a body that was animated³ indeed, [³ ψυχον] but not by a reasonable soul. On the other hand, Photinus, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Samosata say that He is a mere man. To the last, therefore, we must oppose those passages which prove the Divinity of CHRIST, to the first those which prove His humanity.

In the mean time, Theodoret heard from Constantinople ^{XVIII.} that there was an Emperor's order for deposing Irenæus, ^{Irenæus of Tyre deposed.} whom he had ordained Bishop of Tyre. He wrote about it to Domnus, and stated the reasons for supporting that ordination. "I did it," he says⁴, "out of deference to the votes ^{4 Ep. 110.} of all the Bishops of Phœnicia, and because I knew his zeal, his magnanimity, his love of the poor⁵, and other ^[⁵ φιλο-πρωχ(α)] virtues. Besides, I do not know that he ever refused to call the holy Virgin 'Mother of God,' or maintained any other opinion contrary to the Faith. As to the question of bigamy, I followed the examples of our predecessors. Alexander of Antioch, assisted by Acacius of Berrhæa, ordained Diogenes, who had been twice married; Præylius of Jerusalem ordained Domnuinus of Cæsarea, who had been twice married; nay, Proclus of Constantinople approved of this very ordination of Irenæus, as also did the principal Bishops of Pontus, and all those of Palestine."

The first impulse of Irenæus, on being apprised of this order, was at once to withdraw. However, he consulted Theodoret⁶, who advised him to wait till he was forced to do ^{6 Ep. 3.} so, and not voluntarily to abandon his flock. The subject of ^[p. 394.] consultation was concealed beneath this parable. An impious judge allowed two Martyrs to choose whether they would sacrifice to idols, or throw themselves into the sea: one of

¹ On these Gnostic leaders, see Ncander, vol. ii. pp. 54. 70. 96. 119. (E. Tr. 1841.)

A. D. 448. them at once rushed into the waves; the other chose neither
 CH. XIX. part of the alternative, but waited until he was thrown in by
 force. Theodoret approves of the conduct of the latter.

The order against Irenæus was executed; he was deposed, and Photius ordained Bishop of Tyre in his stead. Irenæus is comprehended in a law of Theodosius¹, which declares, first, that all the writings of Porphyry against the Christian religion shall be burnt: and secondly, that the Nestorians, if Bishops or Clerks, shall be expelled from their churches; if laymen, excommunicated; and permission is given to all Catholics to lodge an information against them. If any books maintain a doctrine not conformable to that of the Council of Nicæa, of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril, they are to be burnt; all persons whatsoever being prohibited from reading or keeping them, on pain of capital punishment. This article seems to be aimed at the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Lastly, the law provides that Irenæus, who had incurred the high displeasure of the Emperor as being a Nestorian, and, after that, had been ordained contrary to the canons [since he had been twice married], should be ejected from the Church of Tyre, and should not leave his country but remain there in quiet, without either the name or the dress of a Bishop. This law was published in the church of the monks of Egypt, on the three and twentieth of Pharmouthi, in the first indication, in the year of Diocletian 164; that is, the eighteenth of April 448. Photius however had been installed Bishop of Tyre in the preceding February.

XIX. This is evident from an assembly which was held there, relative to the affair of Ibas or Ihiba², Bishop of Edessa. He was the successor of Rabbula, but held the very reverse of his opinions; for Rabbula had steadily adhered to St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus³, whilst Ibas had belonged to the party of Nestorius and the Easterns, down to the re-union effected by Paul of Emesa. The clergy of Edessa were divided, several being opposed to Ibas. Four Priests belonging to this party were stimulated by Uranius⁴, Bishop of Himeria in Orrhoene, who held a correspondence with Eutyches, an Abbot of Constantinople, a very zealous man against the Nestorians. These four Priests, whose names were Samuel,

Proceedings against Ibas.

¹ Assem. B. O. t. iii. pt. I. p. 85.]
² Supr. 26. 36.

³ Conc. Calch. Act. 9. p. 626. E. 627. D.]

⁴ Conc. Calch. Act. 9. p. 626. E. 627. D.]

Cyrus, Eulogius, and Maras, preferred bills against Ibas to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch¹, who summoned Ibas to appear before him; but as it was Lent (apparently in the year 446) the convention was not appointed to meet until after the holy-days. In the mean time Domnus enjoined Ibas to remove the excommunication, which he had pronounced against these Priests. Ibas committed the whole matter to the judgment of Domnus, who, out of respect for the festival, released them from their excommunication, on condition that they should not leave Antioch before the affair was definitively arranged; failing in this condition, they were to be deposed. In spite of this, before Ibas arrived at Antioch, Samuel and Cyrus left Antioch for Constantinople²; and Maras and Eulogius alone remained behind. [² εἰς τὴν
κωνσταντινῶν]

Domnus assembled a numerous Council at Antioch, at which Uranius of Himeria was present³. The bills against Ibas were ordered to be read; and as the names of four accusers were mentioned and only two were forthcoming, the Council asked what had become of the others⁴. The answer was, that they had withdrawn; "we have heard," it was added, "that they are gone to Constantinople." The Council pronounced them guilty of default, and, as such, to have incurred the penalty of deposition. The Bishop Uranius, with the Priests Eulogius and Maras, accompanied the other accusers of Ibas to Constantinople, where they joined Samuel and Cyrus, and presented a petition to the Emperor, requesting that, as they had reason to suspect Domnus, they might have other judges allowed them. They eventually obtained letters by which Uranius himself was commissioned, jointly with Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, to take cognizance of the accusation entered against Ibas by Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, and Eulogius⁵. The bearer of this order was Damascius, Tribune and Notary of the Emperor, whose special commission was dated at Constantinople, on the seventh of the calends of November⁶, that is, the twenty-sixth of October; the year must have been 447^k. He brought with him the Bishop Uranius, a Deacon

A. D. 446.
CH. XIX.
Act. 10.
p. 640. E.

p. 645. C.

p. 642. E.

C. Calch.
Act. 9. p.
628. C.

p. 637.

^k The chronology of these events is doubtful. Fleury has followed Baronius (a. 448. § 57), who disposed of the date assigned in the Acts of Tyre,

"after the Consulate of Zeno, &c.," by the summary process of correction. Baluze (not in C. Calch. ap. Mansi, t. vii. p. 197) thinks that "post con-

of Constantinople named Eulogius, (who was sent by the Bishop Flavian,) and the accusers of Ibas, namely, the four Priests of Mesopotamia, and some monks¹.

When they came to Tyre, Photius and Eustathius opened the Emperor's commission, and the adversaries of Ibas preferred various articles of indictment, the most heinous being one relating to the Faith. For they alleged that Ibas was a Nestorian, and that he had said publicly in the church, "I do not envy CHRIST'S becoming GOD." Ibas denied it on oath, and protested that he was Catholic. The accusers produced against him only three witnesses, against whom he excepted, because they had lived with his accusers². As they made a great noise and filled the city of Tyre with confusion and scandal, Photius procured their removal out of it; and finding nothing of substance in their accusations, he and Eustathius quitted their character of judges to assume that of mediators, and induced the parties to agree to a treaty; the acts of which were drawn up on the fifth of the calends of March, in the consulate³ of Zeno and Postumian, in the first indiction, according to the Macedonians the 574th year from Alexander, the tenth of the month Perithius⁴, that is, February the twenty-fifth, A.D. 448.

This treaty purports that Ibas produced a confession of faith in writing, to which he promised to conform himself in preaching in his church, and that he undertook to anathematize distinctly both Nestorius and those who made use of his books and discourses. "He has declared that his belief is conformable to the letters which contain the terms of the union negotiated by Paul of Emesa between John of Antioch and St. Cyril; that he receives all the decrees of the Council of Ephesus as of a Council inspired by the HOLY GHOST, and esteems it equal in all respects to the Council of Nicæa. He has followed up this confession by a promise to forget all that has passed, and to look on his accusers as his children, while they on their part promise to be in church with Ibas, acknowledging him for

¹ Jean "post initum con-
 (Diss. iv. de Epoch.
 l. 448. § 9) place
 "nascius in 418,
 440. Tillemont

agrees with Noris as to the year, but makes the trial at Berytus to have preceded that at Tyre; see note 13. t. xv. p. 897. He is followed by Walch, Ketzerh. th. vi. p. 70.

“their father, and shewing him all manner of affection. A. D. 448.
 “That if in future he should think he has reason to CH. XXI.
 “complain of Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, or Eulogius, he will
 “not punish them by his own single authority, but only
 “after and with the advice of Archbishop Domnus. And
 “whereas Ibas is accused of misapplying the revenues and
 “offerings of the Church; he agrees to follow the usage of
 “the Church of Antioch, and to have the revenues of his
 “Church managed by stewards¹ whom he is to choose from [¹ Supr. 26.
 “among the clergy.” After this agreement² Ibas and the [¹ a.]
 four Priests communicated together in the sacred gifts in p. 637. A.
 the cathedral³ of Tyre.

The hollowness of this reconciliation soon shewed itself: [³ ἐν τῷ
 ἐπισκοπείῳ]
 the same Priests renewed their prosecution of Ibas, and
 further accused along with him Daniel, Bishop of Carrhæ,
 his nephew, and John Bishop of Batna⁴. The four Priests [⁴ So Baro-
 were joined by five new accusers, Ablabius⁵, John, Anatolius, nius, § 60.
 Caïumas, and Abib, all Clerks. They came to Constanti- In the con-
 nople and addressed themselves to the Emperor Theodosius cilia it is
 and the Archbishop Flavian, who referred the trial to the Theodosio-
 same Bishops as he had nominated on the former occasion, polis.]
 (that is, Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus, and Uranius [⁵ Fl. Al-
 of Himeria,) as appears from those letters of Flavian with banus.]
 which Eulogius, Deacon of Constantinople, was entrusted.
 The Emperor also sent letters to the same effect, and, as
 before, charged the Tribune Damascius with the execution
 of them.

But this second time the assembly was held at Berytus⁶ on XXI.
 the first of September in the same year, 448. The three The trial at
 judges, the Tribune Damascius, the three Bishops who were Berytus.
 impeached, and the nine accusers, were all there. The judges, * C. Calch.
 Act. 10. p.
 637. E.
 wishing to be thoroughly informed, in the outset, of the posi-
 tion in which the two parties stood to each other, asked Ibas
 what had passed at the Council of Antioch. Samuel, one of
 the accusers, rose and said: “We beg that what is spoken
 “may be explained in Syriac to the Bishop Uranius; for
 “he is thoroughly acquainted with what was written by the
 “Archbishop Domnus to the Archbishop Flavian relative to
 “our case; he was at Constantinople.” They gave him an
 interpreter named Maras, because they spoke Greek, which

A. D. 448. CH. XXI. Uranius, who was a Mesopotamian, did not understand. Ibas, in answer to the demand of the judges, gave a sketch of the proceedings at Antioch; and as two of his accusers had absented themselves, they read the Acts of the Council, which he held in his hand.

Next in order came the reading of the bill of indictment which had been presented the day before; and the accusers, on being asked severally whether they yet stood to it, declared they did. The articles of accusation were then read, being in number eighteen. Those which concerned Ibas may be reduced to three main heads:—that he was a Nestorian, and had spoken of St. Cyril as a heretic¹:—that he had ordained unfit persons², among others, his nephew Daniel³, whom he had made Bishop in a city of the pagans, which required a pastor of most exemplary life, whereas this was a young man of unsettled and even profligate habits:—that he was greedy of lucre, making his ordinations a source of income⁴, and turning the revenues of the Church, and the donations which were made to it, out of their proper course, for the sake of enriching his nephew and relations⁵. Against Daniel they urged, that⁶ he had a criminal conversation with a married woman of the city of Edessa named Challosa; that he carried her about with him to various places; that he had enriched her at the expense of the Church, so that⁷ she who before was worth nothing was now able to lend two or three hundred sols of gold⁸; and that Daniel had in his will left her and her children the wealth he had amassed [out of the ecclesiastical property⁹:] that besides this he had given her the inheritance of the estate of a rich Deacon¹, and [had cut down timber for her in] the woods belonging to the Church². They also accused Daniel of ordaining the companions of his revels³, and of accepting gifts⁴ for absolving the crime of idolatry⁵.

The judges said that they must begin with the count which spoke of a violation of the Faith, as this was the most heinous⁶. Maras said, “He (Ibas) said in a discourse, ‘I do not envy CHRIST’S becoming GOD; for I am become so no less than He!’” The Bishops asked Ibas if he had

¹ This charge, if substantiated, would have proved Ibas to be, not, as the indictment says, a Nestorian, but rather a Samosatene. Though he so strongly

¹ νομισματων]

² 14.

³ 16.

⁴ 18.

[⁵ 12.]

[⁴ σπύρ-
τουλα]

⁵ 17.

⁶ p. 651. D.

spoken thus: he answered, "Anathema to him who said it A. D. 448.
 "and to the author of this calumny, for I never uttered it; CH. XXI.
 "God forbid I should." Samuel said, "We have witnesses
 "of it here, we pray you to call them, and let them depose
 "with their own mouths, if they did not hear him say this."
 Ibas said, "I would rather die ten thousand deaths than
 "speak these words. God forbid that I should even have
 "imagined them." The Bishops said, "Do you mean to
 "say that Ibas spoke this in the church?" Samuel said, "It
 "is a custom of the Church, that on Easter-Day or Easter-
 "Eve the Bishop should give some presents with his own
 "hand to the clergy; before doing this, he usually delivers
 "an address; and it was on one of these occasions that he
 "made use of the words in question before all the clergy.
 "We can prove this by some of their number, now present,
 "who heard him say them." The Bishops said, "How long
 "is it since, as you assert, Ibas said this?" Samuel answered,
 "Rather more than three years. He has also said other
 "things which we are ready to prove, if you order it."

The Bishops said, "Who are your witnesses?" Samuel
 answered, "We have three of them here, but if you order it,
 "we will give you the names of others whom we will pro-
 "duce." Ibas said, "Our clergy consists of two hundred
 "persons, more or less. They have given you their testi-
 "mony as to whether I am heretical or orthodox; and have
 "sent their declarations on the subject, in writing, to the
 "Archbishop Domnus and to your holiness. It is for you
 "to examine whether their testimony is compatible with that
 "of these three who went with my accusers to Constantinople,
 "and are still with them." Samuel said, "The proof lies
 "with us, not with the Bishop Ibas; no one ever thinks of
 "proving a negative." The Bishops ordered them to name
 their witnesses. Samuel said, "There is the Deacon David,
 "who has been Treasurer; the Deacon Maras, who recites
 "the writings of St. Ephrem and is the most learned man
 "among the Syrians." Ibas said, "Maras was with them
 "at Antioch; he presented the libels¹ along with them, and

repudiated these words, he was still re-
 presented as having made use of them
 by later writers, e. g. in the letter of

Simeon of Beth-Arsama, in *Assem.*
B. O., t. i. p. 350.

[¹ λιβέλλου]

- A. D. 44^s.
CH. XXI. " went with them to Constantinople. But, in fact, he is ex-communicated—not by me, but by his own Archdeacon, for having insulted a Priest, and they, finding him irritated in consequence, welcomed him as an assistant in the work of accusing me." The Bishops represented¹, that as the blasphemy of which Ibas was accused had been uttered, as they alleged, in the hall of the Bishop's house², before the whole of the clergy, there could be no lack of witnesses. To this Eulogius replied, that the greater part were deterred from giving evidence by their dread of Ibas; but the Bishops were not satisfied with this answer, and said, "We do not receive the deposition of the three witnesses whom you produce; especially as they are persons suspected by the Bishop Ibas."
- ¹ p. 655.
- [² ἐν τῷ
τρικλίῳ
τοῦ ἐπισκο-
πείου.]
- ³ p. 657. E. They now asked him a second time³, if he had really said what they laid to his charge. Ibas answered, "I not only never said it, but I anathematize him who said it, whoever he be. I do not believe a devil would utter such words." Maras said, "Did you not call the blessed Cyril a heretic?"
- ⁴ p. 658. "In truth," said Ibas⁴, "I do not remember it; if I did call him so, since the Council of the East had anathematized him as such, I did but follow my Patriarch⁵." Maras added, "Did you not say, that unless he had anathematized his articles, you would not have received him?" Ibas replied, "I said that if he had not explained himself⁶, the Council of the East would not have received him, nor I either." The Bishops said to the accusers, "State whether you are prepared to prove that he called Cyril a heretic after the re-union with John." Ibas said, "So far was I from anathematizing him after he had explained his articles, that I received and answered his letters, and we were in communion with each other." The Bishops said, "Shew if since the death of the blessed Cyril the Bishop Ibas has called him a heretic." Maras said, "We will do so," and he produced a letter from Ibas to a Christian of Persia named
- [⁷ p. 662. B.] Maris^m, which was read aloud⁷.

^m Simeon Beth-Arsam. (Assem. t. i. p. 204) says, "Maris, of the city of Ardaschir, received the Nestorian error from Ibas; and thence the whole of Persia began to be infected both from the letters of Ibas and the writings of his masters," i. e. Diodorus and Theodorus. He afterwards

It contained a complete history of the division which had occurred between Nestorius and St. Cyril. Ibas accuses St. Cyril in it of having fallen into the heresy of Apollinarius, and adds that his Twelve Articles were full of all sort of impiety. He then gives an account of what had passed at Ephesus, always taking care to side with the Easterns against St. Cyril. He inveighs against Rabbula his predecessor, though without expressly naming him; he styles him tyrant, and accuses him of having persecuted not the living only but the dead, especially Theodorus of Mopsuestia, whom he had anathematized publicly in the Church. In conclusion he speaks of the reconciliation mediated by Paul of Emesa between John of Antioch and St. Cyril, the acts of which he sent to Maris, adding, "The dispute is over, there is no more schism, the Church is in peace as before. You will see this by the Acts, which we send you in order that you may inform all of this good news. The middle wall of hatred is removed, and those who, in violation of all order, attacked the living and the dead, are confounded, being obliged to defend themselves and to teach the reverse of what they taught formerly: for no one dares now affirm that there is but one nature of the Divinity and the humanity, but they confess that the temple and He who dwells therein is one only Son, JESUS CHRIST." Such is the famous letter of Ibas to Maris.

A. D. 449.
CH. XXII.
XXII.
Letter of
Ibas to
Maris.

[¹ μεσὸ-
τοῦχοϋ
Eph. ii. 14.]

Ibas on his part demanded that they should read a letter, which had been written in his favour in the name of all the clergy of Edessa; it was addressed to the Bishops Photius and Eustathius, his judges². After noticing the blasphemy of which he was accused, they protest that they had never heard any such words from him or from any other person. It ended thus: "We beg and pray that you will send us back our Bishop as soon as possible, especially seeing that the festival of Easter is approaching, when his presence is required for catechising and baptizing." Hence we conclude that the letter was intended for the assembly at Tyre. It was subscribed by sixty-one clerks; namely, thirteen Priests,

p. 668.

informs us that "at Edessa was a Persian school, in which many natives of Persia were trained to learning;" and so Theodor. Lect., lib. ii. n. 5. p. 572.

A. D. 448. ^{CH. XXIII.} six and thirty Deacons, eleven Sub-deacons, and a Re-
Several of the subscriptions are stated by the docume
have been made in Syriacⁿ; shewing that the two langu
Greek and Syriac, were both used in that Church. O
ground of this declaration taken in connection with the
Ibas received his acquittal at Berytus; but the sequel c
acts of this assembly are not extant.

XXIII. Eutyches, who had acted in concert with Uranius i
The com-
mence-
ment of
Eutychea.
[¹ Conc. t.
iv. p. 275.]
Liberat. Br.
c. 11.
² Synodic.
c. 203. ap.
N. C.
Baluz. [p.
939.]
Supr. 26. 20.
³ Posthu-
miano et
Zenone
Cos. Leon.
Epist. 19.
(al. 6.)
⁴ Facund.
8. c. 5. [p.
338.]
prosecution of Ibas, was himself the originator of a h
opposed to that of Nestorius^o. He was Priest and A
mandrite of a monastery of three hundred monks' near
stantinople. He had been one of the most zealous oppo
of Nestorius, and the friends of St. Cyril looked upon h
likely to be a useful auxiliary in defending the Faith².
very year the Pope St. Leo, on being informed by him
Nestorianism was recruiting its forces, had sent him a
in reply, commending his zeal and encouraging him to j
vere. St. Leo's letter is dated³ the first of June, A. D.
But the Nestorians, of whom Eutyches complained, we
fact Catholics, as we learn from a synodal letter writt
Domnus of Antioch to the Emperor Theodosius⁴. He
accuses Eutyches of reviving the heresy of Apollinariu

ⁿ The Syriac was spoken vernacularly over most of Syria and Mesopotamia up to the invasion of Mohammed. (Walton, Proleg. xiii.) The author of the life of Alexander the Acœmete, in Bolland, Jan. 15. p. 1023, says, "In that city (Edessa) were many schools of the Syrian tongue erected for the benefit of the neighbouring cities;" which seems to imply that the surrounding country was more purely Syrian than Edessa, at which, as the centre of commerce (supr. xxv. 27. n.) as well as of learning, Greek might be expected to have become naturalized.

^o Most men who have considered the course which church-history takes, have in some stage of their progress felt pain, if not misgiving, at the rapidity with which one heresy seems to follow upon another. To minds in this state we may suggest, *first*, that as wars occupy a wide space on the page of civil history, though often affording scarcely any criterion of the aggregate happiness of a so ecclesiastical history is often

compelled to dwell on the li
single heretic, while thousan
tens of thousands are passing
heavenly inheritance unnoticed.
known. *Secondly*, that from t
proportionate time spent in ex
heresies we are apt to think too
of the periods of rest, those
vals of sunshine between sto
"storm" in which it "is Go
"to gather in His elect by lit
little." *Lastly*, that heresy is ov
to several of the best ends,—to j
humility—to try our faith (1
19. Supr. xxvi. 23)—to ro
careless to an attentive study,
religious to a more earnest res
of the Christian verities—and
serve the evolution of these ve
a dogmatic form. Some of the
are frequently insisted on by
gustine: as in the interesting j
collected by Möhler, Einheit
Kirche, Zus. xi. (S. 295, ed.
especially De Verâ Relig. c.
p. 753.)

asserting that the Divinity of the SON of GOD and His humanity are only one nature, and by attributing His sufferings to the Divinity; he also complains of his having anathematized Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who had defended the Faith against Apollinarius.

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum in Phrygia, had also been one of the most zealous adversaries of Nestorius; it was he who had put forth a protest against him at Constantinople, being at that time only a layman and advocate¹. Similarity of opinion had united him very closely in friendship with Eutyches, but he afterwards discovered, by his conversation, that he pushed matters too far and ran into the opposite heresy. For a long time he endeavoured to reclaim him; but finding him fixed in his opinion he not only renounced his friendship, but on learning that thirty Bishops, who happened to be collected at Constantinople, had met in Synod^p (to decide a difference between Florentius of Sardis, Metropolitan of Lydia, and two Bishops of that province,) he took this opportunity of becoming his accuser.

On the sixth of the ides of November, in the consulate of Zeno and Postumian², (i. e. November the eighth, A.D. 448,) the Council being assembled in the Council-chamber of the cathedral church³ of Constantinople, and Flavian presiding in it; after the affair of Lydia had been settled, Eusebius of Dorylæum, one of the assisting Bishops, rose and presented a bill to the Council, conjuring the Fathers that it might be read and inserted in the Acts. Flavian ordered it to be read by Asterius, Priest and notary; it set forth, that Eutyches was incessantly uttering blasphemies against CHRIST; that he spoke of the clergy with contempt, and accused Eusebius himself of being a heretic; he therefore begged that the Council would summon Eutyches to answer the charges brought against him. Flavian said, "I am surprised at such a complaint against Eutyches; take the trouble to visit and converse with him, and if you really find that his opinions are wrong, the Council will then call upon him to make his defence." Eusebius replied, "I was formerly his

A. D. 448.
CH. XXIV.

¹ in
A. D. 429.
Supr. 25. 2.

XXIV.
The Council of Constantinople; first and second sessions.
[² ἐν τῷ σηκρήτῳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.]
³ C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 150. E.

^p *Ἰνδόβου τῆς ἐνδημοσύνης ἐν τῇ μεγαλόλει* occurs in the title. This does not mean (as some have taken it) that it was stationary there; it was, in fact, composed of Bishops who were constantly coming and going. Evagrius (i. c. 9) calls it *μερικὴν σύνοδον*.

A. D. 448. "friend, and have spoken with him on this subject, not
 CH. XXIV. "once or twice, but several times, since he was perverted.
 "I have admonished him, I have instructed him; but he
 "still persists in saying things contrary to the Faith. This
 "I can prove by several witnesses who were present and
 "heard it. I conjure you therefore to send for him, since
 "he is corrupting a large portion of the people." Flavian
 said, "Be at the trouble to go once more to his monastery,
 "and speak to him words of peace, that no new disturbance
 "may arise in the Churches." Eusebius answered, "Having
 "been so many times without success, it is impossible for me
 "to go any more to hear his blasphemies." The Council,
 finding that he persevered, ordered that his libel should be
 received and inserted in the Acts, and that Eutyches should
 [¹ *ἔκδικος*] be summoned by John, Priest and Defender¹, accompanied by
 the Deacon Andrew, who should read to him the libel and
 summon him before the Council to make his defence.

² p. 156. Six days after this, being the twelfth of November², at the
 request of Eusebius of Dorylæum, they ordered the two
 principal letters of St. Cyril on the Incarnation to be read;
³ p. 157. D. the first to Nestorius³, approved by the Council of Ephesus;
 [⁴ p. 164.] the second to John of Antioch on the re-union⁴. After these
 [⁵ p. 176.] had been read, Eusebius declared⁵ that they contained his
 faith, on which he meant to take his stand in convicting his
 adversaries, and he desired the Council to make the same
 declaration. Flavian said, "This is my faith; that our
 "LORD JESUS CHRIST is perfect God and perfect man,
 "composed of a reasonable soul and a body, consubstantial
 "with the Father as touching His GODHEAD and with His
 "mother as to His manhood; and that from the two natures,
 "united in one hypostasis and one person, there results
 "since the Incarnation one CHRIST." He then invited
 each of the Bishops to declare his opinion; and this they
 all did, to the same effect though in different words. They
 were Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, Seleucus of Amasia in
 Pontus, Saturninus of Marcianopolis in Mæsia, all three
⁶ p. 181, 184. Metropolitans⁶; Julian Bishop of Cos⁷, the Pope St. Leo's
⁷ p. 188. deputy for managing the affairs of the Roman Church at
 Constantinople; and others, amounting to seventeen in all.
⁸ p. 180. D. ⁸ Then, as he, Eusebius said⁸, "Some of the Bishops who are in

“ the city have not appeared, either because they are unwell, A. D. 448.
 “ or because they were not aware of the convoking of this CH. XXV.
 “ Council ; I desire, therefore, that they may be served with
 “ notices.” Archbishop Flavian gave directions accordingly.

The third session was held in the same place, on Monday
 the fifteenth of November¹. Eusebius of Dorylæum desired
 that those who had been sent to Eutyches should report his
 answer. Flavian directed the notaries to name the persons
 who had been sent ; the notaries said that they were John,
 Priest and Defender, and the Deacon Andrew, both of whom
 were present. They were ordered to stand before the Council ;
 and the Priest John said, “ When we came to the Abbot Eu-
 “ tyches in his monastery, we read to him the libel, and gave
 “ him a copy of it ; we told him who was his accuser, and
 “ read the citation requiring him to appear before you and
 “ make his defence. This he refused to do, saying that from
 “ the first he had made a resolute determination never to
 “ stir out, but to remain in his monastery as if, in some sort,
 “ in his grave. But he desired us to tell you, that the Bishop
 “ Eusebius has been long his enemy and instituted these
 “ proceedings against him only for the sake of doing him an
 “ injury ; that for his part he is ready to subscribe the ex-
 “ positions of Faith drawn up by the Fathers of Nicæa and
 “ of Ephesus ; that if they were mistaken in any chance ex-
 “ pressions², he does not wish either to censure or to receive
 “ them, but studies only the Scriptures, as being more sure
 “ than the exposition of the Fathers ; that since the Incar-
 “ nation he adores one only nature of God incarnate. He
 “ produced a little book out of which he read to this effect :
 “ adding, ‘ When they make me say that the WORD brought
 “ ‘ His flesh from heaven, it is a mere calumny, I am inno-
 “ ‘ cent of it ; but that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was made of
 “ ‘ two natures united in hypostasis³,—I have not met with
 “ ‘ it in the expositions of the Fathers, nor, if I should have
 “ ‘ any thing of the kind read to me, would I receive it, for
 “ ‘ the Holy Scriptures are of more value than the teaching
 “ ‘ of the Fathers.’ However, he admitted that He who was
 “ born of the Virgin Mary, is perfect God and perfect man ;
 “ but not that His flesh is consubstantial⁴ with ours.” The
 Deacon Andrew deposed to having likewise heard all this ;

XXV.
 The third
 session ;
 citations of
 Eutyches.
 p. 191.

[² εἰ τόχοι
 τι ἐν τισὶ
 λέξεσιν ἢ
 διασφαλθὲν
 ἢ διαπλανη-
 θέν]

[³ ἐκ δύο
 φύσεων
 ἐνωθεισῶν
 καθ’ ὑπό-
 στασιν]

[⁴ ὁμοού-
 σιον]

and as the Priest John said that the Deacon of Basil of Seleucia was present at this conversation, Flavian examined him, and he too declared that he had heard the same.

Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that Eutyches should be summoned a second time¹. Flavian said, "God grant that he may come and acknowledge his fault. Wherefore let the Priests Mamas and Theophilus go to summon him once more, and give him our letter of citation," which was then read to the Council: it mentioned that this was the second summons. While they were waiting for the return of the two Priests, and listening to the expositions of the Fathers concerning the Faith, which were being read to them, Eusebius rose and said: "I find that Eutyches has sent a volume round to the monasteries to stir up the monks to sedition; I desire that the Priest of Hebdomon, who is here present, may declare what it is." Flavian ordered him to come forward, and asked him his name. He answered, "Abraham." "What rank do you hold?" "I am Priest in Hebdomon under your holiness." "Have you heard what the Bishop Eusebius has deposed?" "Yes," replied Abraham; "Manuel, the Priest and Archimandrite, sent me to the Priest Asterius, bidding him inform your holiness that Eutyches had sent him a treatise relating to the Faith, with a request that he would sign it." Eusebius desired that they would send to the other monasteries, to know whether the treatise had been sent to them. Flavian consented, and said², "The Priest Peter and the Deacon Patricius shall go to the monasteries of the city; the Priest Rhetorius and the Deacon Eutropius to those of *Strai*³; the Priests Paul and John to those of Chalcedon." *Strai* was the suburb of Constantinople now called Pera; it received its old name from the fig-trees growing in it⁴.

While Flavian was speaking, Aëtius, Deacon and notary, announced the return of the Priests Mamas and Theophilus. Flavian ordered them to make their report. Mamas said, "When we reached the monastery of Eutyches, we found some monks standing before the gateway. We went in with them, and said to them, 'Announce us to the Archimandrite, for we have somewhat to say to him on the part of the *of the* p and the whole Council.' They said,

“The Archimandrite is sick and unable to see you; what
 “is your pleasure? Tell it to us.’ We said, ‘We were sent
 “to him personally with a citation in writing, which we
 “now hold in our hands.’ They went in and came back,
 “bringing with them a monk named Eleusinius, and saying,
 “The Archimandrite has sent this monk in his stead, to
 “receive your orders.’ We answered, ‘If he will not admit
 “us, tell us so.’ We saw they were perplexed, for they
 “whispered to each other, and muttered that the citation
 “was in writing. We said, ‘What is it that troubles you?
 “We will tell you the contents of the citation. The Council
 “summons him a second time to appear and answer to the
 “charge laid against him by the Bishop Eusebius.’

“They again went in and we were presently admitted.
 “We gave Eutyches the citation; he had it read in our
 “presence, and then said, ‘I have made a resolution not to
 “stir out of my monastery till death obliges me; the Arch-
 “bishop and the Council see that I am old and falling to
 “pieces¹; they may do what they please; only I beg that
 “no one may have the trouble of bringing a third citation;
 “I look on it as already brought.’ He pressed us to take
 “charge of a certain paper, but we refused, adding, ‘if you
 “have aught to say, come and say it yourself.’ We would
 “not even hear it read. He subscribed it, and as we were
 “taking our departure, told us that he would send it to the
 “Council.” The Priest Theophilus confirmed this report of
 Mamas, and the Council ordered that Eutyches should be
 cited a third time by Memnon, Priest and Treasurer, Epi-
 phanius, Priest, and Germanus, Deacon; and a citation in
 writing was delivered to them, requiring him to be present
 on the ensuing fourth day², that is, the seventeenth of
 November.

On the day after the third session, that is, on the six-
 teenth of November, a fourth session was held. Asclepiades,
 Deacon and notary, said, “Some monks from Eutyches, and
 “the Archimandrite Abraham, desire admittance.” Flavian
 said, “Let them come in;” and on his inquiring what was
 the occasion of their visit, Abraham said that Eutyches had

¹ From his letter to St. Leo (infr. c. 31) it appears that he was at least seventy years old. He had been Archimandrite above thirty years (infr. c. 40).

A. D. 448.
CH. XXVI.

¹ p. 201.

[γέρον καὶ
σάββον.]

f. σαββόν.

v. Aristoph.
Pac. 700.]

² p. 204.

[τῆ τετάρ-
τη ἡμέρῃ,
i. e. Wed-
nesday.]

XXVI.
The fourth
and fifth
sessions.

A. D. 448. and as the Priest John said this. "In truth he has
 CH. XXV. Seleucia was present at this council, and as done nothing but
 him, and he too declared that he was sent for me last
 Eusebius of Dorylæum delivered a message to you." Flavian
 p. 195. B. summoned a second time. "For God to restore him to
 " he may come and acknowledge his error; better, we are not in-
 " the Priests Mamas and others were to exercise humanity?"
 " once more, and give him a message, which I will deliver
 then read to the Council. Mamas said, "How is it possible,
 second summons. When Mamas accused, that another should
 of the two Priests, Mamas accused him; if he comes here,
 Fathers concerning Mamas: he is not a stranger to
 them, Eusebius read a message of friendship for him. If he came
 " sent a volume of letters against Nestorius, how much
 " monks to sedition, and to defend it in his own behalf?
 " who is here? How great men have been mistaken.
 ordered him to depart, the shame is in continuing
 answered, "A Mamas and confess his error, and assure
 " Priest in Mamas will conform to the expositions of
 " heard with Mamas nor converse about] his private
 replied Mamas: what is past. He must do it. I
 " sent Mamas to you." After the Council had
 " holy Mamas you know the zeal of the accuser;
 " the Mamas to him; God knows how much I
 desire Mamas to place his warmth; but failing in
 know Mamas. Seek I your dispersion? God
 p. 166. con Mamas gather you."
 " I Mamas seventeenth of November, a fifth
 " Mamas Memnon, who had been en-
 " Mamas made his report thus: "Eu-
 " Mamas Archimandrite Abraham to con-
 " Mamas that was declared by the Fathers
 " Mamas and by the blessed Cyril." Eu-
 " Mamas that if the Council were satis-
 " Mamas should pass for a slanderer,
 " Mamas in his report, and said,
 " Mamas I have not accused him about
 " Mamas If an exposition is now offered
 " Mamas from compulsion, do I in con-
 " Mamas Flavian said, "No one holds

... duty of making good your charge, A. D. 448.
 ... of clearing up the past." Eusebius CH. XXVI.
 ... message may not prejudice my case ;
 ... witnesses. Otherwise, say to thieves in
 ... no more henceforward,' and they will all
 ... Memnon, continuing his report, said that
 ... for the remainder of the week to be granted
 ... to present himself before the Council on
 ... following.

... now called in those who had been sent to the mo-
 ... to gather information about the treatise of Eu-
 ... The Priest Peter said, "We have been to the ' p. 209.
 ... monastery of Martin, Priest and Archimandrite; and in
 ... answer to our inquiries, he said, 'On Friday last, the
 ... twelfth of this month of November, Eutyches sent his
 ... treatise to me by a Deacon named Constantine, desiring
 ... me to subscribe it. I refused, adding, that it was not for
 ... me, but only for Bishops to subscribe.' He insisted on
 ... it, saying, 'If you do not join me now, the Bishop will
 ... crush me, and afterwards fall upon you.' After that we
 ... went to seek the Priest and Archimandrite Faustus."
 ... Flavian, interrupting him, asked, "What did the Archiman-
 ... drite Martin say about the contents of the treatise which
 ... he refused to subscribe?" Peter said, "He told us that it
 ... was the doctrine of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril ;
 ... that there was a subscription to the volume, which subscrip-
 ... tion however was concealed. Similarly the Abbot Faustus
 ... said, that Constantine and Eleusinius had brought the
 ... volume to him for subscription ; and on his asking what it
 ... contained, they told him it was the exposition of Nicæa and
 ... Ephesus ; that he said ², 'we have copies of that by us, let ' p. 212.
 ... me have it to examine and see that there is no addition ;'
 ... but this they refused to do, and went their way. Faustus
 ... added, 'We are the sons of the Church, and, after God,
 ... have no other father than the Archbishop.' Job said
 ... that the treatise had not been sent to him ; but he had
 ... received a message, that a volume was to come from the
 ... Archbishop in a few days to be subscribed, 'which,' said
 ... he, 'they warned us not to do.' We saw Manuel, who
 ... told us that no book had been sent him, and Abraham

“gave us the same answer.” After this report, Eusebius of Dorylæum demanded that Eutyches should be judged according to the canons, alleging that they had already sufficient proofs against him. Flavian agreed with him in this, but yet, to avoid even the appearance of wrong, he granted Eutyches the delay he had asked for, namely, till the Monday following, being the twenty-second of November.

The sixth session was held on Saturday the twentieth¹. Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that certain persons, who would be required for the substantiation of his charge, might be summoned to appear on the Monday following; they were the Priest Narses, who was Syncellus² to Eutyches, the Archimandrite Maximus, who was his friend, the Deacon Constantine, his Apocrisiary³, and Eleusinius, another Deacon of his monastery. Flavian ordered them to be summoned. Eusebius then said, “I have been informed that the Priests Mamas and Theophilus, who were sent to Eutyches with the second citation, heard something from him which they did not depose, and which would be of great service in shewing what his opinions are; I demand, therefore, that they declare it before the Holy Gospels.” Mamas was absent; Theophilus being present was called upon to give evidence, and said, “Eutyches asked the Priest Mamas and myself in presence of the Priest Narses, the Archimandrite Maximus, and some other monks, in what part of Scripture we found two natures mentioned; and afterwards, which of the holy Fathers affirmed that the Word has two natures. We said to him, ‘Do you, too, shew us in what part of Scripture the consubstantiality is mentioned⁴.’ Eutyches said, ‘It is not in Scripture, but in the exposition of the Fathers.’ Mamas said, ‘The same holds good as to the two natures.’ I added,” said Theophilus, “‘Is the Word perfect God, or not?’ Eutyches said, ‘He is perfect.’ I said, ‘Being incarnate, is He perfect man, or not?’ He answered, ‘He is perfect.’ I proceeded; ‘If then the two perfects, the perfect God and perfect man, make one only Son, what prevents us from affirming that He is of two natures?’ Eutyches said, ‘God forbid that I should affirm CHRIST to be of two natures, or that I should speculate about the nature of my God⁵. Let them proceed against

“ ‘ me as they think fit, I will die in the faith which I have
 “ ‘ received.’ ” Flavian asked Theophilus why he had not A. D. 448.
CH. XXVIII.
 mentioned this the first time. Theophilus answered, “ We
 “ were sent only to cite Eutyches, and thought it unneces-
 “ sary to speak of what was not in our commission.”

When Mamas came, they read to him the deposition which
 Theophilus had just made; after which he said, “ When we
 “ were sent to Eutyches, we did not wish to have any con-
 “ versation with him, but he began a discussion about his
 “ dogma. We reprovèd him gently. He said that the in-
 “ carnate WORD came to raise fallen human nature. I im-
 “ mediately asked him ‘ *What* nature?’ He again said,
 “ ‘ Human nature.’ I said to him, ‘ And by what nature
 “ ‘ is it raised?’ ‘ I have never found in Scripture,’ said he,
 “ ‘ that there are two natures.’ I replied, ‘ Neither is the
 “ ‘ consubstantiality to be found in the Scriptures¹, but in ’ p. 217.
 “ ‘ the holy Fathers, who well understood them and faith-
 “ ‘ fully expounded them.’ He answered, ‘ I do not specu-
 “ ‘ late about the nature of the Deity², nor do I speak of two [¹ ἐγὼ θεό-
 “ ‘ natures, God forbid. Here I am; and if I am deposed, τητα ὀβ φυ-
σσιολογῶ.]
 “ ‘ the monastery shall be my tomb.’ ”

The appointed day, Monday the twenty-second of No- XXVIII.
Seventh
session.
Appear-
ance of
Eutyches.
 vember, having arrived, the seventh and last session was
 held. When the Council had assembled, Asterius, Priest
 and notary, said that the Bishop Eusebius was at the gate.
 Flavian said, “ Let him come in;” and added, “ Let the
 “ Deacons Philadelphius and Beryllus look round the church
 “ to see if the Abbot Eutyches has come according to his
 “ promise.” They presently returned, and said that they
 had searched all the church, and could not find either him
 or any that belonged to him. Flavian then sent the Deacons
 Crispinus and Jovianus to look for him; they returned, and
 said that they were not able to find him, but were informed
 that he was coming with a large escort. The Council was
 still waiting when John, Priest and Defender, came to tell
 them that Eutyches had arrived, attended by a multitude of
 soldiers, monks, and officers of the Præfect of the Prætorium.
 “ They will not suffer him,” said he, “ to enter the Council,
 “ unless we promise to restore him to them. Magnus, the
 “ Silentiary, is also at the gate, and desires admittance as

that he could not. "Why?" said Flavian, "Is A. D. 448.
 your exposition your own, or another's? if it be yours, CH. XXVIII.
 read it yourself." "It is mine," replied Eutyches, "and
 conformable to that of the holy Fathers." Flavian asked,
 "What Fathers? Declare it yourself; what occasion is
 there for paper?" Eutyches said, "Thus I believe: 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 that His incarnate presence¹ came from [¹ τὴν ἐν-
 σαρκὸν αὐ-
 τοῦ παρου-
 σίας]
 the flesh of the holy Virgin, and that He was made per-
 fect man for our salvation. This I confess in the presence
 of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST,
 and before your holiness."

Flavian said to him², "Do you confess that the same JESUS p. 226.
 CHRIST, the only SON of GOD, is consubstantial with the
 FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, and consubstantial
 with His mother in respect of the manhood?" Eutyches
 replied, "I have declared my opinion, why do you question
 me further?" Flavian said, "Do you now confess that He
 is of two natures³?" Eutyches replied, "Inasmuch as I [³ ἐκ δύο
 φύσεων]
 acknowledge Him for my GOD and the LORD of heaven
 and earth, up to this day I have not suffered myself to
 speculate upon His nature⁴; nay, I own that until now I [⁴ φυσιολο-
 γεῖν]
 never said that He is consubstantial with us." Flavian
 asked, "Do you not say that He is consubstantial with the
 FATHER as regards the Divinity, and also with us as re-
 gards the humanity?" Eutyches answered, "Till this day
 I have not said that the body of the LORD our GOD is con-
 substantial with us, but I confess that the holy Virgin is
 of the same substance as we, and that our GOD was in-
 carnate of her."

Basil, Bishop of Seleucia said, "If the mother is consub-
 stantial with us, He is also; for He was called the SON
 of Man." Eutyches answered, "Since you now say so, I
 consent to every thing⁵." Florentius the Patrician said, [⁵ πάντι
 στοιχῶ]
 The mother being consubstantial with us, the SON is cer-
 tainly consubstantial with us too." Eutyches said, "Until
 to-day I have not said so, for, seeing that I maintain His
 body to be the body of GOD, (you observe?) I do not use
 to say that the body of GOD is the body of a man, but that

“tures after the union, you admit a commixture and con-
 “fusion.” Florentius said, “He that says not, ‘of two na-
 “tures,’ and, ‘two natures¹,’ does not believe aright.” The
 whole Council rose, and cried, “Faith stands not with con-
 “strait²: many years to the Emperors, many years. Our
 “faith is ever victorious. He does not surrender; why do
 “you try to persuade him?”

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 CH. XXIX.

[¹ ἐκ δύο φύσεων καὶ δύο φύσεις]

[² μετὰ ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἔστι πίστις]

Flavian pronounced sentence in these terms: “Eutyches,
 “late Priest and Archimandrite, is fully convicted, both by
 “the evidence contained in our Acts³ and by his own pre-
 “sent declarations, of maintaining the error of Valentinus
 “and Apollinarius, and of obstinately following their blas-
 “phemies; the more so because he disregards our advice
 “and instruction, and consents not to receive sound doc-
 “trine. Wherefore, with tears and groans at his utter de-
 “struction⁴, we have determined, through our LORD JESUS
 “CHRIST whom he has blasphemed, that he is deprived of
 “all sacerdotal rank and of our communion and of the
 “government of his monastery; and we inform all who shall
 “hereafter hold converse or company with him, that they
 “will subject themselves to excommunication.” This sen-
 tence was subscribed by two and thirty Bishops, and twenty-
 three Abbots, of whom eighteen were Priests, one a Deacon,
 and four laymen. The most eminent were Andrew, Faustus,
 (who seems to be the son of St. Dalmatius,) Martin, Job,
 Manuel, Abraham, and Marcellus, Abbot of the Acemetes.
 The Bishops of chief note were Flavian of Constantinople,
 Saturninus of Marcianopolis, Basil of Seleucia, Seleucus of
 Amasea, Ætherichus of Smyrna, and Julian of Cos, St. Leo’s
 deputy. As the Council was dispersing⁵, Eutyches told the
 Patrician Florentius, in a low voice⁶, that he appealed to the
 Council of Rome, of Egypt, and of Jerusalem⁷; and Floren-
 tius immediately told it Flavian, as he was going up to his
 apartment [in the hotel.] These words, though spoken

XXIX.
 The condemnation of Euty-
 ches.

[³ τῶν ἡδὴ πεπραγ-
 μένων. Fl. see actioms passées]

[⁴ παρτελεί ἀπωλεί]

⁵ C. Calch. Act. l. p. 244. C. D. [alterâ pp. a.]

[⁶ πρώτος]

¹ The omission of Antioch and insertion of Jerusalem is obviously to be assigned to the relations in which the occupants of those two sees stood to Eutyches. Juvenal took the lead in voting for Eutyches at the Latrocinium (infr. c. 40): Domnus, besides his rivalry and actual collision with Dios-

corus (supr. c. 16, 17), had, not im- probably, been the first to point out the heretical nature of Eutyches’s teaching. This, indeed, is expressly stated by Facundus (l. viii. c. 5), who gives the letter of Domnus to Flavian. The passage is extracted in Quesnel, Opp. Leon. t. ii. p. 570.

A short time after, on the death of the Abbot John, Marcellus was elected to fill his place; and so large a number of disciples resorted to him, that it became necessary to make considerable additions to the buildings of the monastery. Providence supplied the means. A very wealthy man named Pharetrius came to Marcellus, and placed at his disposal both himself and his children, who were as yet very young, and the whole of his property. Marcellus now built a larger church, an infirmary, and lodgings for strangers, and repaired the old buildings which were falling to decay. He was at the same time entirely disinterested. When his brother, who was very rich, appointed him his heir¹, he distributed all that was left him to other monasteries of men and women, which he knew to be in need of assistance, reserving nothing for his own convent. Several miracles are related of him, and, among others, this²:—A monk named Paul being sick, sent to request Marcellus to come and visit him. Marcellus was at that time in his monastery, engaged in conversation with the Bishop of Chalcedon on solemn points of doctrine. As soon as the conversation was ended, he set out to visit the sick man, but found him already dead. They were laying him out for burial. Marcellus was moved even to tears; but after praying for some time, he touched the dead man, who instantly rose and began to speak. Marcellus ordered the persons present not to mention it, but they could not forbear publishing this miracle. Numbers of eminent persons were taken from the monastery of Marcellus³; those who built churches, or founded monasteries, were always desirous of having his disciples. After giving the night and a great part of the day to prayer, he devoted the rest to the love of his neighbour⁴. First of all he received those who were troubled in mind, and gave them advice drawn from Scripture and his own experience. Then he gave audience to those who complained of suffering some wrong; and he furnished them with letters of recommendation for the judges and magistrates, and sometimes for the Emperor himself. In the third place, he went to visit the sick, providing for them every kind of assistance. He often accepted the office of arbitrator, in order to terminate differences and reconcile enemies. Such was St. Marcellus, Abbot of the

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p. 1029.

p. 1028.

p. 1023.

p. 1032.

A. D. 449. Acemetes, who assisted at the Council of Constantinople, and subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches.

XXXI.
Letter of
Eutyches
to St. Leo.
¹ Synodic.
c. 222. (ap.
N. Coll.
Baluz.)

When Eutyches found himself condemned, he wrote a long letter to the Pope St. Leo¹, complaining of the accusation brought against him by Eusebius of Dorylæum. "I hastened," he says, "to appear before the Council, though weighed down by age and infirmities, and though aware of the conspiracy formed against me. I presented a petition, which contained my profession of faith, but the Bishop Flavian would neither receive it nor order it to be read. I declared my assent to the very words of the creed pronounced by the Council of Nicæa and confirmed at Ephesus. They demanded that I should confess two natures and anathematize all who refused to do so. For [definition] my part, I stood in awe of the decision² of the Council, that nothing should be added to the Creed of Nicæa, knowing that our holy Fathers Julius, Felix, Athanasius, and Gregory rejected the expression, 'two natures;' and I durst not reason about the nature of the Divine Word or anathematize those Fathers. I therefore begged that the case should be referred to your holiness, promising my unqualified assent to your judgment. But I could gain no hearing: the Council broke up; a sentence of deposition was issued against me; and even my life would have been in danger if I had not been rescued by a body of soldiers. They next compelled the Superiors of the other monasteries to subscribe my deposition, a measure never resorted to even against avowed heretics or Nestorius himself. Nay further; when, to satisfy the people, I published my confession of faith, they would not allow it to be heard, and even tore down the placards on which it was written. Now, therefore, I fly to you, the defender of religion, for assistance, conscious that I have never innovated on the Faith [delivered to us from the beginning]; but anathematize Apollinarius, Valentinus, Manes, Nestorius, and those who say that the flesh of our Lord came down from heaven, as well as all other heresies up to Simon Magus. I beseech you to decide about the Faith, as seems good to you, paying no regard to what has been done against me by a cabal, nor suffering him to be driven from among the

“ Catholics, who has lived threescore and ten years in continence and all the exercises of piety. I have appended to this letter both petitions, that, namely, which my accuser presented to the Council, and that which was taken thither by me, but was rejected; and [I have added an abstract of] what the holy Fathers say concerning the two natures.” After this letter, we meet with one claiming to be from Pope Julius to a Bishop Dionysius¹; in which, while combating the error of Paul of Samosata, he says, that only one nature is to be acknowledged in CHRIST, just as man is one nature only, though composed of body and soul, which are of different natures; but the genuineness of this letter has been doubted. The Emperor Theodosius also wrote to St. Leo, at the same time, about the troubles which beset the Church of Constantinople; he enters into no details, but simply requests him to use his influence to restore peace. Eutyches, no doubt, obtained this letter through the interest of the Eunuch Chrysaphius, his patron.

St. Leo on receiving these letters, wrote to Flavian thus²: ^{A. D. 449. CH. XXXII.}
 “ I am surprised that you wrote nothing to me about this scandal, and that you were not the first to apprise me of it. Judging by the statement of Eutyches, we do not see with what justice he has been separated from the communion of the Church; but as we wish that the judgments of Bishops should be well matured, we cannot decide any thing without a knowledge of the case. Send, therefore, some suitable person to give us a full account of what has occurred, and let us know what the new error is which has raised itself to oppose the Faith, that we may be able, in fulfilment of the Emperor’s intention, to extinguish this dissension. It will be no difficult task, for the Priest Eutyches has declared in his petition³, that if any fault be found in him, he is ready to correct it.” This letter is dated⁴ the eighteenth of February, 449. The answer to the Emperor is of the first of March⁵.

The Pope’s letter was delivered to Flavian by the Count Pansophius; Flavian returned an answer⁶, of which the substance was, that Eutyches wished to revive the heresies of Apollinarius and Valentinus, maintaining, that before the Incarnation of CHRIST there are two natures, the Divine and

c. 224.

¹ Leon. Ep. 20. (al. 8.)² libello] ³ 12. Kal. Mart. Asterio et Protogene Coss.⁴ Ep. 21. (al. 7.)

XXXII. Flavian’s letter to St. Leo.

⁵ Post Ep. Leon. 21.

[p. 473.] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 4.

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CH. XXXIII.

the human, but that after the union there is only one nature; and that His body taken from Mary is not of our substance nor consubstantial with His mother, though he called it a human body. "We have condemned him," he says, "at the instance of the Bishop Eusebius, on the evidence of the answers which he made before the Council, in which he revealed his heresy with his own lips, as you will see from the Acts which accompany this letter. It is right, too, that you should be informed that Eutyches, instead of seeking to make his peace with God and comfort us, in the sorrow we feel at his loss, by true penitence, is busily engaged in troubling the Church, placarding in public what he deems his wrongs¹, and presenting conceited petitions to the Emperor. We find, too, from your letter, that he has sent you a petition filled with falsehoods; saying, that at the time of the trial he presented us with writs of appeal to your holiness, which is an utter falsehood, fabricated to gain you over to his interests. All this should rouse you, holy father, to employ in this case your usual vigour; make the common cause your own; authorize by your writings the condemnation which has been canonically pronounced, and confirm the Faith of the Emperor. Nothing is now required but that you should assist us by expressing your agreement with us; so that peace may be established and the Council prevented, for the rumour of it has already got abroad, and will disturb all the Churches of the earth." The Council, thus anticipated by rumour in the East, was a general Council, which was eventually convened at Ephesus.

[¹ *propositiones injuriarum publice ponens*]

XXXIII.
Revision of
the con-
demnation
of Euty-
ches.

¹ *Libert.*
Br. c. 11.
[p. 66. ed.
Guar.]
C. Calc.
p. 241.
² *Ibid. p.*
228. D.

The petitions of Eutyches to the Emperor, of which Flavian speaks, had for their object a revision of the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, which he pretended had been unfaithfully compiled. The Emperor granted his request². By his orders, a Council was held for that purpose, at Constantinople, in the Baptistery of the church, on the sixth of the ides of April in the Consulate of Protogenes³, (i. e. April the eighth, 449;) composed of about thirty Bishops, ten or twelve of whom had sat in the former Council. Thalassius of Cæsarea presided; but Florentius, the Patriarch directed all the proceedings, and Macedonius,

Tribune and Notary, drew up the formal statement of the case. The letters of Pope St. Leo reached Constantinople some days before the assembly was held¹. Eutyches did not attend in person, but sent the monks Constantine, Eleusinius, and Constantius to represent him. Eusebius of Dorylæum objected to their entrance, and said, "If Eutyches is to defend himself by proxy, I have nothing to do but to withdraw." Meliphthongus, Bishop of Juliopolis, supported him, and contended that as a general Council had been summoned, the whole affair should be reserved for its consideration; but the Emperor's orders were express, and the proxies of Eutyches were admitted².

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CH. XXXIII.

¹ p. 230. B.
(a. p. a.)

² p. 240. C.

It was now proposed that the Bishops should swear to the truth of the Acts in question; but Basil of Seleucia said that up to that time no instance could be found of an oath's having been tendered to Bishops, so the Patrician did not press it. Flavian presented his notaries who had taken down the Acts of the Council, and the Patrician ordered them to produce the document. Aëtius, one of the notaries, made several remonstrances to excuse himself from doing so; on the ground that the Acts could not be suspected without an implied suspicion of the notaries. At last, by order of the Council, he produced the original Acts³, and Constantius produced a copy of them on the part of Eutyches. They began to read them, and no difficulties arose about the two first sessions⁴. They afterwards made some unimportant objections respecting the answers of Eutyches, as reported by those who summoned him, and respecting those which he had made in person before the Council⁵. They also pretended that anathema had not been pronounced against him by the whole Council. Aëtius observed⁶, "It often happens in Councils that one Bishop says something which is written down and understood as said by the whole Council. This has been always the usage." The subscriptions were supposed to confirm all that preceded. On another occasion⁷ he said, "The Bishops frequently say things in Councils as in common discourse and by way of mutual consultation, which they do not suffer to be written down."

³ p. 246. B.

⁴ p. 247. B.

⁵ p. 269.

⁶ p. 233. D.
(a. p. a.)

⁷ p. 239. C.

Constantine, one of the proxies of Eutyches, afterwards said⁸, "When the sentence of deposition was being read, he appealed

⁸ p. 243. B.

A. D. 449. " to the Councils of the most holy Bishops of Rome, Alexan-
 CH. XXXIII. " dria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica ; and this is not entered
 " in the Acts." The Patrician said, " In the noise consequent
 " on the breaking up of the Council, he said to me in a low
 " voice that he appealed to the Council of Rome, to that of
 " Alexandria, and to that of Jerusalem. I thought it im-
 " proper that Flavian should be ignorant of this, and there-
 " fore went and told it to him." Basil of Seleucia said, " I
 " speak the truth. Whilst the Council was yet assembled,
 " on its being proposed to him to acknowledge the two
 " natures without mixture or confusion, he said, ' If the
 " ' Fathers—he of Rome and he of Alexandria,—bid me, I
 " ' will say it.' He said this, however, not by way of appeal,
 " but as intimating that his respect for the Fathers prevented
 " him from speaking thus." Flavian said, " I did not hear
 " him say it, but I had it from the most noble Patrician, as
 " I was going up to my apartment after the Council was
 " ended." The Patrician asked if the other Bishops were
 " aware that Eutyches had appealed; they declared that they
 " had heard nothing of it.

¹ p. 256. Eutyches presented another petition to the Emperor¹, pray-
 ing that Magnus the Silentiary might be heard in evidence
 on some points relating to the Council: this also was granted.
 Magnus appeared on the fifth of the calends of May; that is,
 the twenty-seventh of April in the same year, 449, in the
² p. 246. presence of Ariobindus, Master of the Offices²; and declared
 that a paper containing the sentence of deposition against
 Eutyches had been shewn to him, written out in full, before
 the Council had met. Macedonius, Tribune and Notary, like-
 wise declared that Asterius, Priest and Notary, had informed
 him that the other notaries had falsified the Acts. Constan-
 tine, the proxy of Eutyches, was the person at whose instance
 this proceeding was taken.

³ Liberat.
 br. c. 11.
 [p. 67.]
 C. Calch.
 pt. l. c. 5.
 ἐν μιᾷ
 ὀνόματι
 ἢ ἐν
 ὀνόματι
 αὐτοῦ

They next procured an order from the Emperor, compelling
 Flavian to produce his confession of Faith³. In this he de-
 clares that he follows the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople,
 and Ephesus; and that he acknowledges in CHRIST, after the
 Incarnation, two natures in one hypostasis and one person⁴;
 that he does not refuse even to say "one nature of the
 ' Divine Word," provided that "incarnate and made man"⁵

be added. He anathematizes all those who divide **JESUS CHRIST** into two, especially Nestorius.

Meanwhile¹ the eunuch Chrysaphius, the patron of Eutyches, wrote to Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, promising to assist him in all his designs if he would undertake the defence of Eutyches, and attack Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum. He also prevailed on the Empress Eudocia to act on the same side, chiefly to spite Pulcheria. Eutyches himself entreated Dioscorus to take cognizance of the affair and examine what had been done against him. Dioscorus wrote to the Emperor that he ought to convene a universal Council; and, being seconded by the solicitations of Eudocia and Chrysaphius, he easily carried his point. The letter which convoked it is still extant; it is addressed to Dioscorus, and is dated at Constantinople on the third of the calends of April, after the Consulate of Posthumian and Zeno²; that is, the thirtieth of March, 449. It states, that whereas certain doubts concerning the Faith had sprung up, to the disturbance of men's minds, the Emperor orders the Bishops to assemble: "Wherefore your holiness, too," he says to Dioscorus, "shall take with you ten Metropolitans belonging to your diocese, and ten other Bishops, and hasten to reach Ephesus by the first day of August next. No more Bishops than these shall attend the Council, since more will only prove an incumbrance; but if any one absents himself, his absence shall be taken as a sign of conscious guilt. As to Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before ordered to confine himself to his Church; we ordain that he shall not come to the Council, unless the assembled Council shall [unanimously] consent to his being present." The Emperor wrote in the same form to the other Bishops, directing that each Patriarch or Exarch should bring the same number of Bishops from his province.

On the fifteenth of May following, the Emperor issued another letter, addressed to Dioscorus, and to this effect³: "It has reached our ears that many Archimandrites of the East, along with the orthodox laity, contend fervently against some Bishops who are said to be Nestorians. We therefore order, that the most pious Priest and Archimandrite Barsumas shall be present at Ephesus, to take his

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CH. XXXIV.

XXXIV.
Council at
Ephesus
convoked.
¹ Niceph.
l. 14. c. 47.
Liberat. c.
12. [p. 72.]

² C. Calch.
act. 1. p. 100.

³ p. 103. D.

A. D. 449. "seat with your holiness and with all the Fathers, as representative¹ of all the Archimandrites of the East." The Emperor also wrote to Barsumas², acknowledging his great services in behalf of the Faith, and giving him a seat and voice in the Council. It was Eutyches and Dioscorus who had procured him this honour; their object was to exclude the other Abbots from the Council, as these were any thing but favourable to their views.

Two laymen also were appointed to assist at the Council as the Emperor's commissioners³, namely, Elpidius, Count of the Consistory, that is, counsellor of state; and Eulogius, Tribune and Notary. They were empowered, by their commission, to prevent any disorder in the Council; and in case any one attempted to raise a tumult, they were to take him into custody and send information to the Emperor. Those who had condemned Eutyches were to attend the Council, not as judges, but as parties impleaded; and no question was to be mooted previously to that of the Faith. Proclus⁴, Proconsul of Asia, had a special order to be ready with troops to assist the two commissioners in preventing any disturbance in the Council. The Emperor further wrote a letter⁵ addressed to the Council in general, explaining the object of their meeting, which was "to terminate a question of Faith that has arisen between Flavian and Eutyches, and to eject from the Church all who maintain or favour the error of Nestorius." His last letter, on this occasion, was one to Dioscorus⁶, appointing him president of the Council; "being well assured," he adds, "that the holy Archbishops Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius, and all other ardent lovers of orthodoxy, will agree with your holiness." He sent a letter of the same tenour to Juvenal of Jerusalem.

Pope St. Leo was also invited to attend the Council with the Bishops of the West⁷, but he did not receive the Emperor's letter till the thirteenth of May⁸. There only remained two months and a half to the first of August, when the Council was to meet; and the greater part of that time would be spent in making preparations for the Bishop's journey; since it would be necessary to hold a council at Rome, to name the deputies, and to furnish them with instructions. St. Leo satisfied himself, therefore, with writing several letters, to

CH. XXXIV.
[¹ τὸν τόπον ἀνέχοντα.]
² p. 104. A.

³ Ibid. D.

⁴ p. 108. C.

⁵ Ibid. E.

⁶ p. 110. C.

108.
27. (al.
c. 4.
101.)
1010
1011.

prevent, if possible, the holding of the Council; or, if he failed in this, to provide that the Faith should be preserved in it. He wrote first of all to the Emperor Theodosius¹; dating his letter the twenty-fifth of May. In it he declares his attachment to the Faith of Nicæa; and while he condemns Nestorius, he condemns "those no less, who deny that JESUS CHRIST took upon Him the truth of our flesh," that is, Eutyches. He therefore entreats the Emperor to convene a Council in Italy. However, foreseeing that he should not be able to prevent the Council from being held at Ephesus, he nominated Julius, Bishop of Pozzolo², Renatus, Priest of the title of St. Clement, the Deacon Hilarus, and the Notary Dulcitus, to be his envoys, and gave them several letters in charge.

Of these the most important is the one to Flavian Bishop of Constantinople³, in which St. Leo thoroughly explains what we are to believe concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. He first notices the ignorance of Eutyches⁴; "who has fallen into this error from want of studying the Scriptures⁵, and "because he had not seriously attended to the terms of the Creed which all the faithful profess; for in it they say, "that they 'believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty, and in " ' JESUS CHRIST his only SON our LORD, who was born of " ' the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary.' These three sentences," adds St. Leo, "are sufficient to destroy almost all the machinations of the heretics; for by believing that GOD Almighty and Eternal is FATHER, we shew that His SON is co-eternal and consubstantial⁶ with Him and in every point like Him. It was the same eternal SON of the eternal FATHER, that was born of the HOLY GHOST and the Virgin Mary. This generation in time neither aught diminished, nor added aught to, the eternal generation, but its one entire object was to vanquish death and the devil in order to the restoration of man; for we could never have overcome the author of sin and death, had not HE taken upon Him our nature and made it His own, who could neither be infected with sin nor holden of death. He was conceived, then, by the HOLY GHOST, in the womb of the Virgin mother, who brought Him forth, as she had conceived Him, without impairing her virginity." St. Leo then passes on to the proofs from Scripture, and shews that the

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXV.

¹ Ep. 23.
(al. 9.)

² v. Quesn.
not. 39, 40.
ad Ep. 24.
[l. ii. p. 844.
sqq.]

XXXV.

St. Leo's
letter to
Flavian.

³ Ep. 24.
(al. 10.)

⁴ c. 1, 2.

[⁵ Non ad
Propheti-
cas voces,
non ad
Apostolicas
litteras, non
ad Evan-
gelicas au-
toritates,
sed ad se-
metipsos,
recurrunt.]

[⁶ non di-
visus essen-
tia]

A. D. 449. **WORD** took upon Him a real flesh,—from the Gospel, which CH. XXXV. calls Him son of David and of Abraham¹,—from St. Paul,¹ Matt. i. 1, who says that He “was made of the seed of David according 10. “to the flesh²,”—from the promise made to Abraham, that Rom. i. 1. “in his seed all the nations should be blessed; which St. Paul³ Gen. xii. expounds and applies to CHRIST³,—and from the prophecies 3. of Isaiah concerning Emmanuel the Son of a Virgin, and the Gal. iii. 8. Child which “unto us is born⁴.” Whence he concludes, that⁴ Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6. **JESUS CHRIST** had not only the form of a man, but a true body taken from His mother. The operation of the **HOLY GHOST** did not hinder the flesh of the **SON** from being of the same nature with that of the mother, it only bestowed fruitfulness on a virgin.

⁵ c. 3. “The two natures, therefore⁵, each remaining entire, [⁶ *Salvâ proprietate utriusque naturæ et substantiæ, et in unam cocunte personam.*] “coalesced in one Person⁶, to the end that the same Me- diator might die, in respect of the one, while He remained “immortal and impassible in respect of the other⁷. He had “all that belongs to us, all that He placed in us when He “created us, all that He undertook to restore; but of those [⁷ *et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero.*] “things which the deceiver introduced into us He had none; “He took the form of a servant, but unsoiled by sin. One “nature is not altered by the other⁸; He who is true God is [⁸ *c. 4. Mendacium. Fl. mensonge.*] “also true man; there is no self-inconsistency⁹ in this union; “God is not changed by His graciousness towards us, the “man is not destroyed by the dignity which He receives; “the **WORD** and the flesh retain their own proper agencies.” Scripture proves equally the truth of both natures. “He is “God; for it is said, ‘In the beginning was the **WORD**, and [¹ *apud Deum*] “‘the **WORD** was with God¹, and the **WORD** was God;’ He is “man; for it is said, ‘The **WORD** was made flesh and dwelt “‘among us.’ He is God; ‘all things were made by Him, “‘and without Him was not any thing made:’ He is man; [² *Nativitas carnis*] “‘born of a woman, made under the law².’ The being born “of flesh³ manifests His human nature; His being born of a “virgin the Divine power. He is an infant in the cradle, “and the Most High, lauded by angels. Herod plots for “His death, and the Magi rejoice in adoring Him. He “comes to the baptism of John, and at that very time the “voice of the **FATHER** declares Him His well-beloved Son. “As man, He is tempted by the devil; as God, He is

“ ministered to by the angels. His hunger, thirst, weariness, sleep, belong plainly to a man; but to satisfy five thousand with five loaves, to give the woman of Samaria living water, to walk upon the sea and calm the tempest, these are beyond doubt divine. It is not of one and the same nature to bewail His departed friend and raise him to life; to hang on the cross and change day into night; to shake the elements and open the gates of heaven to a robber. As God, He says, ‘The FATHER and I are one;’ as man, ‘The FATHER is greater than I¹;’ for although in ^{1 John x. 30; xiv. 28.} JESUS CHRIST there is but one person of God and man, yet that which is the subject of the suffering common to them both is one thing, that which is the subject of their common glory another.

“ By virtue of this unity of person² it is said, that the Son³ c. 5. of Man came down from heaven⁴, and that the SON of GOD took flesh of the virgin; that the SON of GOD was crucified and buried, as we say in the Creed, although He was so in the human nature only. The Apostle says⁵, ‘If they had⁶ 1 Cor. ii. 8. known the LORD of glory, they would never have crucified Him.’ Our SAVIOUR asks His Apostles, ‘But whom say ye that I am⁷?’—I, that is, who am the Son of Man, and ^{4 Matt. xvi. 16.} whom you see in real flesh:—St. Peter replies, ‘Thou art CHRIST, the SON of the living GOD,’ acknowledging Him to be equally GOD and man. After His resurrection, He shewed His body, sensible and palpable, with the holes in His wounds; He spoke, He ate, He sojourned, with His disciples, and at the same time ‘He entered, the doors being shut,’ gave them the HOLY GHOST, and opened their eyes to understand the Scriptures, thus shewing in Himself the two natures distinct and united.”

¹ See Maldonat. in Joh. iii. 13. This application to the one divine subject-person of what is true only in reference to the assumed humanity is called *κοινωνία τῶν ἰδιωμάτων*, or *communicatio idiomatum*: also (Damascen. Orth. Fid. iii. 4. p. 190. ed. Fabri) *τρόπος ἀντιθέσεως*. Not that it is a mere way of speaking or figure (*ἀλλοίωσις*, v. Formul. Conc. p. 770);—for, from the very idea of personality, the communication is *real*;—nor again, as if the properties of the one nature were imparted to the

other nature as such; as conceived (if it be indeed conceivable) by Lutherana. —Further: as it is only by virtue of the hypostatic union of the two natures that this communication is possible, it is rejected by both the Nestorian and Eutychian schemes. The former, as shewn in the crucial instance of the *θεοτόκος*, denied it directly; the latter involving an absorption of the humanity left no *ἰδιώματα*. Neither of them could interpret such passages as Acts xx. 28, John xiv. 9.

Eutyches when he denies that our nature is in the Son of God ought to fear the sentence pronounced by St. John¹; 'Every spirit which confesses that JESUS CHRIST is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which divides JESUS, is not of God; and this is Antichrist.' For what is the dividing of JESUS, if it be not the separating His human nature from Him? The error relating to the nature of the body of CHRIST, of necessity, annuls His passion and destroys the efficacy of His blood. When Eutyches answered "you"; 'I confess that our LORD was of two natures before the union, but after the union I acknowledge only one;' 'I am surprised that you did not reprehend so great a blasphemy, since it is no less impious to say, that the SON of GOD was of two natures before the Incarnation, than it is to assert but one in Him after the Incarnation. Do not fail to make him retract this error, if God gives him grace to repent. But in this case you may use all indulgence towards him; for when error is condemned even by its followers, it is then that the Faith is most advantageously defended." Such is the famous letter of St. Leo to Flavian, designed to be read in the Council as a testimony of the Faith of the Roman Church.

CCCCI.
Cuba
letters of
St. Leo
1. pp. 20
(ch. 11.)

St. Leo also explains his views in a letter⁴ which he sent to Julian, Bishop of Cos, his legate at Constantinople, to enable him, jointly with Flavian, to maintain the truth against the heretics. Co, or Cos, is a little island near Cnidus, at present called Lango or Stanchio. In this letter he says that Eutyches accused the Catholics of Nestorianism, but that his heresy, denying as it did the reality of the Incarnation, destroyed all the consequences of this mystery and the whole hope of Christians. We must believe⁵, then, that "the WORD is not changed either into flesh or soul, "since the Divinity is immutable, and that the flesh is not "changed into the WORD; and it ought not to appear im-

a 2)

¹ See the Vulgate, supported by Irenæus adv. Hæc. iii. 18 (p. 242. Grab.). Spectator (vii. 49) states that the reading & was existed in the old MSS., but had been changed into what is now the received reading & μη ὁμολογεῖ—by the Hieronymianus. This last is found in the Spanish version, in Polyc. ad

Philipp. § 8, Cyprian. adv. Jud. ii. 8, and Epiphanius, Hær. 24. § 9, 26. § 15. St. Augustine comments on both readings (Tract 6. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 871). Tertullian also has both readings, c. Marc. v. 16 (cf. iii. 8. De Carne, Chr. c. 24). See Estius in l., who shews how the text applies to the opposite extremes of error.

“ possible, that the WORD, with the flesh and the soul, make A. D. 449.
 “ one JESUS CHRIST, since in each man the flesh and the CH. XXXVI.
 “ soul, which are of natures so different, make one only
 “ person. When Eutyches said¹ that there were two natures¹ c. 3.
 “ before the Incarnation, he must have believed that the soul
 “ of the SAVIOUR dwelt in heaven prior to its union with
 “ the WORD in the womb of the virgin. But this is contrary
 “ to the Catholic Faith, for He did not assume a humanity
 “ already created, but He created it when He assumed it². [² ipsa as-
 “ The other would be to revive the condemned opinion of sumtione]
 “ Origen³, that souls live and act before they are united to [³ Supr. 23.
 “ human bodies. The soul of CHRIST is not distinguished 17. f.]
 “ from ours by a diversity of kind, but by the transcendency
 “ of its virtue. His flesh produced no desires contrary to
 “ the Spirit; in Him there was no contest, nor aught but
 “ affections submissive to the Divinity.”

St. Leo wrote at the same time to the Emperor Theodosius⁴, Ep. 26.
 naming the legates whom he sent to supply his place at the (al. 12.)
 Council and to carry thither the spirit of justice and mercy;
 “ that so,” he says, “ since there can be no doubt what the
 “ true Christian Faith is, both error may be condemned,
 “ and Eutyches, if he repents, (as he has promised in the
 “ writing which he sent me,) may be forgiven.” He sent a
 letter to St. Pulcheria⁵, in which he commends the zeal she Ep. 27.
 had shewn against all the heretics of her time. He speaks of (al. 13.)
 Eutyches with compassion, as believing his error sprang more
 from ignorance than malice⁶, and as hoping for his amend- c. 3.
 ment; “ But,” he adds, “ if he persists in his error, no one
 “ can revoke the sentence which the Prelates have pronounced
 “ against him.” The reasons which he assigns for not going
 to the Council in person⁷ are, first, because such a step was [⁷ c. 4.]
 without precedent, and next, because the present state of
 affairs would not allow him to quit Rome without throwing
 the people into despair. The crazy state of the Empire kept
 them in continual alarm, and at that time especially they
 were apprehensive of the Huns, who entered Italy three
 years after.

St. Leo wrote moreover to Faustus, Martin, and the other
 Archimandrites of Constantinople⁸, who had subscribed the Ep. 28.
 condemnation of Eutyches, to encourage them in their de- (al. 14.)

“dissension of brethren bows us down in affliction, especially when it springs from such causes. Human laws restrict the liberty of calling human rights in question to a period of thirty years¹,” and after so many ages we are still disputing about the generation of CHRIST, which the law divine proposes to us as inexplicable²! You are not ignorant how Origen erred when searching into first principles, or how Nestorius fell whilst reasoning about the natures.” He then quotes some passages of Scripture relative to the mystery of the Incarnation, and adds; “I would have sent you a fuller answer if our brother Flavian had written to me about this affair; for since you yourself complain of not having had a hearing, how is it possible for us to judge those whom we have not seen, and of whose opinions, during their silence, we know nothing³. I exhort you, my venerable brother, to submit yourself in every thing to what has been written by the blessed Pope of Rome; for St. Peter, who lives and presides in his own see, gives the true Faith to those who seek it. As to us, the affection we bear to peace and to the Faith, allows us not to judge on matters of Faith, except with the consent of the Bishop of Rome.” After this letter we find no more mention of this Saint⁴, whose elegance of style gained him the surname of *Chrysologus*, that is, the golden-speeched. One hundred and seventy-six sermons of his still remain⁵, most of them on subjects from the Gospels; the Church honours his memory on the second of December⁶.

The Council of Ephesus, summoned by the Emperor to meet on the first of August, assembled on the eighth of that month, which, according to the Romans, was the sixth of the ides of August, according to the Egyptians the fifteenth of Messori, in the third indiction, after the Consulship of Zeno and Posthuvian⁷, or in the year 449. The session was held in the place where the first Council of Ephesus had met, that is, in the church called Mary. There were one hundred and

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXVIII.

[¹ Triginta annis humanæ leges humanas adimunt questiones;—cf. Facund.

Ep. c. Vig. ap. Sirmond. Opp. t. ii. p. 850.] [² ἀνεκδιήγητος. Isa. liii. 8.]

[³ quid intellexerint, eorum taciturnitate nescimus.]

[⁴ v. Agnelli Vit. Pont. Raven. pt. 1. p. 321-350.] [⁵ ap. Bibl. PP. t. v. pt. 2. p. 662. Colon.] [⁶ Martyr. R. Dec. 2.

XXXVIII. Opening of the pseudo-Council of Ephesus.

⁷ C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 115.

¹ Similarly Gelasius: “I hear that some would subvert the constitutions of Christ, now after five hundred years; whilst a human law of thirty years’ standing cannot be broken off.” ap. Grat. Decr. Pt. ii. caus. 16. qu. 3. c. 9. (p. 245 Corp. J. Canon. ed. 1618.) Thirty years was the term which con-

stituted a full prescriptive right in civil matters, Cod. Theod. l. iv. t. 14. leg. 1; Cassiod. Var. i. 18. iii. 31. v. 37. as also in ecclesiastical, Conc. Calch. can. 17. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 763.) Decret. Greg. l. ii. t. 26. c. 3. (p. 565.) It was afterwards lengthened out to forty years. Cod. Just. l. vii. t. 39. leg. 8, 9.

“ Ephesus, nor at any other ; he therefore sent us to represent A. D. 449.
 “ him, and gave us letters in charge for you, which we desire CH. XXXIX.
 “ may be read.” Dioscorus said, “ Let the letters written to
 “ the holy general Council, by our most holy brother Leo, be
 “ received.” Instead, however, of reading them, the Priest
 John proposed to read another letter from the Emperor to
 Dioscorus, and Juvenal of Jerusalem ordered it to be read.
 It was the letter which enjoined that Barsumas should assist
 at the Council. Juvenal said¹, “ I have received a similar p. 126. A.
 “ injunction respecting Barsumas ; let him therefore be
 “ present at the Council, as is fitting he should.” Count
 Elpidius then read the commission given by the Emperor to
 himself and the Tribune Eulogius, and caused the Emperor’s
 letter to the Council to be read², in which he charged Flavian [p. 107. E.]
 with having embroiled Eutyches in the dispute about the P. 127.
 Faith.

Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea, then said, that in pursuance
 of the Emperor’s wish, as signified by his letter, they ought
 to begin with the question of the Faith, laying aside all other
 business. To this Bishop Julius, the Pope’s Legate, assented.
 Dioscorus said, “ We are not met here to give an exposition
 “ of the Faith ; for this our Fathers did long ago ; but to
 “ examine if the new opinions agree with the decisions of
 “ the Fathers. We must therefore begin at once with this
 “ examination, or do you wish to alter³ the Faith of the [³ ἀνα-
 σκευδσαι]
 “ Fathers ?” The Council said, “ If any one alters it, let him
 “ be anathema. We preserve the faith of the Fathers.”
 They then made some acclamations in praise of Dioscorus⁴ ; p. 131. B.
 after which Count Elpidius said, “ Since you are all agreed
 “ about the Faith, order that the Archimandrite Eutyches,
 “ who is the subject of our present proceeding be introduced,
 “ and that he explain his opinion.” The Council consented,
 and as soon as Eutyches had entered, Thalassius of Cæsarea
 desired him to make his defence.

Eutyches said⁵, “ I commend myself to the FATHER, the XXXIX.
 “ SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and to your justice. You are Petition of
 Eutyches.
 “ witnesses of my faith, for which I contended along with you p. 134. A.
 “ in the former Council assembled here. But I hold in my
 “ hands a written account of my faith ; order it to be read.”
 This was accordingly done. It contained the Creed of Nicæa,

with a prayer that as he had lived, so he might die, in that
 faith; he anathematized¹ Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius,
 Nestorius, and all heretics, even to Simon Magus, with all
 who say that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came from heaven.
 He added, "Living agreeably to this faith, I was accused
 " by Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, who presented a libel
 " against me, in which he styled me a heretic, without
 " specifying any heresy; in order that, being surprised and
 " perplexed in the examination of my cause, some novelty of
 " expression might escape from me. The Bishop Flavian (he
 " who was almost always in the company of my accuser) or-
 " dered me to appear, supposing that because it was my
 " custom not to stir out of my monastery, I should not
 " attend, and so he might depose me as guilty by default.
 " In fact, when I did come from my monastery to Constan-
 " tinople, Magnus the Silentiary, whom the Emperor had
 " given me as my safeguard, told me that my presence was
 " then unnecessary, and that I was already condemned before
 " I had been heard. For the truth of this I may appeal to his
 " deposition². When at last I appeared before the assembly,
 " they would neither receive my confession of Faith nor
 " suffer it to be read; and when I declared that my belief
 " was conformable to the decision of Nicæa, confirmed at
 " Ephesus, they demanded that I should add some words to
 " it, and I, fearing to act contrary to the decrees of the first
 " Council of Ephesus and of the Council of Nicæa, desired
 " that your holy Council might be made acquainted with it,
 " since I was ready to submit to whatever you should ap-
 " prove. Whilst I was saying this, they read the sentence
 " of deposition against me, which Flavian had long before
 " drawn up as suited his own will, and several things were
 " altered in the Acts, as was afterwards ascertained³ under
 " an order which the Emperor granted to a petition of mine.
 " For the Bishop Flavian had taken no notice of the ap-
 " peal to you which I had interposed; he had shewn no
 " respect for my grey hairs, or for the life-long war which
 " I have maintained against heretics, but had condemned
 " me as if he possessed absolute authority. He delivered me
 " up to be torn in pieces, as a heretic, by the rabble got
 " together that purpose in the Cathedral and market-

“ place,—but Providence preserved me. He ordered the
 “ sentence pronounced against me to be read in various A. D. 449.
 “ churches, and got it subscribed by the monasteries; a CH. XXXIX.
 “ step which, as you know, has never been resorted to even
 “ against heretics. He sent copies of it into the East, and
 “ in various places has induced Bishops and monks, who
 “ were not my judges, to subscribe to it, whereas he ought
 “ first of all to have sent it to the Bishops to whom I ap-
 “ pealed. This is what compelled me to have recourse to you
 “ and to the Emperor, that you may give your judgment on
 “ the sentence pronounced against me.”

When the reading of this was ended, Flavian of Constan-
 tinople said, “Eusebius was his accuser; let him be admitted.”
 The Count Elpidius said¹, “The Emperor’s orders were, that p. 146. D.
 “ they who were judges before should now be regarded as
 “ parties to the suit². I answer, then, to the Archbishop [<sup>ακριβοτε-
 ρων</sup>]
 “ Flavian, that the prosecutor has fully discharged his func-
 “ tion, and, as he supposes, gained his cause; so that the
 “ judge has assumed the position of accuser, as is the
 “ usage of the secular courts. You are now assembled to
 “ judge the judges, not to admit the accuser a second time
 “ and begin the proof a-new. Give orders, then, if it please
 “ you, that the rest of the Acts be read which relate to this
 “ subject.” Dioscorus readily fell in with this proposition,
 and the other Bishops were guided by him. Thus Eusebius
 of Dorylæum did not enter the Council, though Eutyches was
 admitted to it. When all the Bishops had given their con-
 sent to the motion for reading the Acts, Dioscorus asked for
 the opinion of Julius, the Pope’s legate, who said³, “We are p. 150. R.
 “ willing that the Acts should be read, on condition that the
 “ Pope’s letters are read first.” The Deacon Hilarus added,
 “And this the rather, because the most holy Bishop of Rome
 “ did not write his letters until after he had perused the Acts
 “ which you now wish to hear read.” Eutyches said, “I have
 “ reason to suspect the envoys of the most holy Bishop of
 “ Rome, Leo; for they lodge in the same house with Flavian,
 “ they dined with him, and he has paid them every kind of
 “ attention. I beg therefore, that if they should do me any
 “ injustice, it may not prejudice my cause.” Dioscorus said,
 “The order directs that the Acts of the cause should first be

revision of these Acts, on the eighth of April¹, 449, and also the copy of depositions taken on the twenty-seventh of April².

After all these documents had been read, Dioscorus called upon the Bishops to deliver their opinions³. Juvenal of Jerusalem led the way; "Since Eutyches," he said, "has constantly declared that he follows the Nicæan exposition of faith, and the decrees of the first Council of Ephesus, I find him very orthodox, and vote⁴ that he retain both his monastery and his rank." The Council said, "This is a just decision." Domnus of Antioch said, "In consequence of the letter sent me by the Council of Constantinople about Eutyches, I subscribed to his condemnation, but on considering the document he has now presented to the Council, in which he confesses the Faith of Nicæa and of the first Council of Ephesus, I agree with you, that he should resume the dignity of Priest and the government of his society." Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, and all the other Bishops, gave the same opinion, except the two legates of the Pope, of whom no mention is made. Barsumas delivered his opinion after all the Bishops⁵; and as he was a Syrian and unable to speak Greek, the monk Eusebius acted as interpreter. Finally, Dioscorus, who as president voted last, confirmed the suffrages of the rest in favour of Eutyches.

This done, the Priest John read a petition from the monks of Eutyches' society, drawn up in these terms: "Moved by the promises of God, we left our estates, our dignities, our [worldly] employments⁶ and hopes, to form a community of monks, which numbers three hundred, under the direction of the most pious Archimandrite Eutyches, and there most of us have lived these more than thirty years. But the most reverend Bishop Flavian, instead of giving us encouragement and protection, surrounded our pastor with calumnies: and, having deposed him, sent us word, by the Priest Theodosius⁷ and some other clerks who attended him, that we were to keep aloof from him, and not even converse with him; and that we should preserve the riches of the monastery for Flavian, in the name of the poor, (for this was what he aimed at;) that if we failed in this, we,

A. D. 449.

CH. XL.

Supr.c.33.

p. 245. C.

[altera pp.

s.]

p. 256. D.

[tertia pp.

s.]

[⁴ ψηφισ-

μαι]

p. 276. A.

[⁶ στρα-

τείας]

p. 278.

in the communion of the Church and the functions of their orders. A. D. 449.
CH. XLI.

Dioscorus next proposed the recital of the decisions respecting the Faith made by the first Council of Ephesus¹; and as the other Bishops approved of this, the Acts of the sixth session, held on the twenty-second of July, 431, were read. They contained² the Creed of Nicæa, the quotations from the Fathers in reference to the Incarnation, Charisius's petition, with the false³ creed of Theodorus of Mopsuestia⁴, and the extracts from the books of Nestorius. When the recital was ended, Dioscorus said⁵, "I believe that you all approve the exposition of the Nicæan Fathers, which was confirmed by the Council formerly held in this place. We have heard what this Council decreed; that if any one affirm or opine any thing, or raise any question beyond the Creed aforesaid, he is to be condemned. What think you of it? Let every one declare his opinion in writing." Thalassius of Cæsarea said that he held to the Councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and detested all who opposed their decisions. The other Bishops made similar statements. Julius, the Pope's legate, said that this was the opinion of the Apostolic see⁷; but the Deacon Hilarus added⁸, "The letter which the Apostolical see has written to you agrees therewith; if you order it to be read you will find it consonant to the truth." His suggestion met with no support.

On the other hand, Dioscorus, having laid down this as his premiss, proceeded to draw from it the inference which was his real object; "The holy Council of Nicæa," he said, "and the holy Council of Ephesus expounded the Faith, and decreed, that whoever should speak otherwise should be subjected to the penalties [there specified.] Well now, you see that Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, here before us, and Eusebius of Dorylæum have unsettled every thing, and are become a scandal to all the Churches. It is plain, then, that they have subjected themselves to the punishments decreed by our Fathers; and, therefore, in maintenance of their decisions, our sentence is that the aforesaid Flavian and Eusebius be deprived of all sacerdotal and episcopal dignity¹. Let each of you declare his opinion

XLI.
Condemnation of Flavian, &c.
¹ p. 282. D.

² p. 283, &c.
Supr. 25. 56.

⁴ falsati
¹ p. 292.

⁵ p. 300. E.

⁶ ἡ ἀπά

⁷ p. 302. D.
⁸ p. 303. B.

⁹ ἵνα πᾶσι πιστὸν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐκτιθεσθῶν.

7. 449. "and see that it be recorded in the Acts; and know, that
 . XLI. "every one of this day's transactions will be reported to the
 "Emperors." Flavian said, "I disclaim your authority¹."
 [αρη- Hilarus, Deacon of the Roman Church, said, *Contradicitor*,
 ιαι σε.] "We oppose it;" the Latin word is inserted in the Greek
 Acts².

[οι τρε- Juvenal of Jerusalem, however, followed Dioscorus and
 οισυ. δ pronounced Flavian and Eusebius to be deposed, as having
 ρ. αντι- changed the Faith of Nicæa and Ephesus; and he was fol-
 ται.] lowed by Domnus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Euse-
 bius of Ancyra, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest. Even
 Barsumas, after the Bishops, affected to give a judicial sen-
 tence. All of them, except the Pope's legates, then sub-
 scribed. Thus much we learn from the Acts of the Council
 of Ephesus itself; but matters were not to be settled so
 calmly.

When Dioscorus began to pronounce sentence against
 Flavian³, Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, rose with several
 [Cath. others, and seized his knees, entreating him not to proceed.
 l. p. Dioscorus rose from his throne, and, standing on his footstool,
 declared, that although his tongue were to be cut out he
 could not say otherwise; and as the Bishops continued to
 entreat him, holding him by the knees, he cried out "Where
 "are the Counts?" which brought in the Proconsul, with a
 great number of soldiers, armed with swords and clubs, and
 bringing chains with them. By this means the greater part
 of the Bishops were compelled to affix their signatures to a
 [id. p. carte-blanche⁴; being shut up in the church till evening, and
 D. prevented from taking either rest or refreshment. Those
 who continued faithful to Flavian, and refused to subscribe,
 were banished⁵. The Deacon Hilarus with great difficulty
 [Pulch. effected his escape, and got to Rome by taking cross routes⁶.
 hich. There were some other Bishops deposed in the Council, of
 . c. 33. whom the Acts, as they are now extant, make no mention;
 er in- namely, Ibas of Edessa, and Daniel of Carrhæ his nephew,
 ita et [Agr. Aquilinus of Byblus, and Sabinian of Perrhæ⁷. Theodoret,
 loca.] too, was deposed, though absent. Even Domnus of An-
 [Agr. tioch, because he had retracted his forced subscription to the
 eral. condemnation of Flavian⁸, was deprived of his see, by the
 1.] wing artifice of Dioscorus. Three days after the session
 [Agr. 7.

in which Flavian was deposed¹, Dioscorus produced some letters before the Council, which Domnus had written to him, charging St. Cyril's twelve Articles with being obscure, and the Council were thus prevailed upon to depose him as suspected of Nestorianism, though he was absent and laid up with sickness. It is not known what became of Domnus from that time², but it is conjectured that he returned to the monastery of St. Euthymius, and died there some time after. Thus ended the Council, better known under the name of the Latrocinium or Robbers' Meeting³, of Ephesus.

Flavian and Eusebius were thrown into prison, but Flavian, besides his protestation in the Council, presented the Pope's legates with a paper, in which he appealed to the Apostolic see. After the Council Dioscorus immediately withdrew, and pronounced an excommunication⁴ against the Pope St. Leo, to which he procured the subscriptions of about ten Bishops who had accompanied him from Egypt. Flavian was banished, but expired in the course of a few days at Hypcpa in Lydia, in consequence of the kicks and other severe treatment which he had received, principally from Barsumas and his monks⁵. In his stead, and probably after his death, Anatolius, Deacon of Alexandria, who was residing at Constantinople as the Apocriary of Dioscorus, was ordained Bishop of Constantinople⁶. There was thus a schism in the Church; the Bishops of Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine, sided with Dioscorus; the Bishops of Pontus and Asia followed those who had remained in communion with Flavian: and this schism continued up to the death of the Emperor Theodosius. This prince went so far as to issue an edict⁷, in which he gives his approval to the second Council of Ephesus, prohibits any one from being ordained Bishop who maintains the heresy of Nestorius and Flavian, (for he supposes their doctrine identical,) and forbids all persons to keep in their possession the writings of Theodoret, which he puts in the same class with those of Nestorius.

Meanwhile St. Leo was in great anxiety about the events which were taking place in the East, and wondered that he received no communication; he therefore took the opportunity of sending a letter to Flavian, by a man of rank

A. D. 449.

CH. XLII.

¹ Brev. Hist.

Eutyth. ap.

Conc. t. iv.

p. 1080. B.

² Evagr. 1.

10.

[³ ἡ λη-

στροφι.

Theoph.

Chronogr.

p. 86.]

⁴ Lib.

Theod.

C. Calch.

Act. 3. p.

397. B.

⁵ Prosp.

Chr. int.

[p. 670.]

Marcell.

Chr. [p.

289.]

C. Calch.

Act. 4. p.

524. E.

Martyr. R.

18. Febr.

⁶ Liberat.

Cotelier.

Mon. Eccl.

Gr. t. i. p.

66.]

⁷ C. Calch.

pt. 3. c. 10.

[p. 863.]

named Euppsychius, in order to acquaint him with his uneasiness¹. This letter is dated the eleventh of August, 449. But he was shortly after put in full possession of all the proceedings by the return of his Archdeacon Hilarus.

While St. Leo was thus expectant, he received a letter from the Bishops of the province of Vienne, who informed him of the election of Ravennius to the see of Arles, in the place of St. Hilary. St. Leo's answer mentions the names of twelve Bishops to whom it is addressed². "We confirm," he says, "by our judgment, the good work which you have done, in consecrating in the city of Arles, after the death of Hilary of holy memory, a man whom we no less esteem, even our brother Ravennius; and that in accordance with the wishes unanimously expressed by the clergy, the magistrates, and the people³." We see by this, that although they notified to the Pope the election of a Bishop to so important a see, yet they did not wait for his consent to consecrate him. We may also observe the honourable terms which the Pope St. Leo employs when speaking of St. Hilary of Arles, in spite of all that had passed between them⁴. This letter⁵ is dated the twenty-second of August, 449. He also wrote to Ravennius, (with whom he was previously acquainted, from his having been sent to Rome about the affair of St. Hilary,) exhorting him to cultivate all the episcopal virtues, and to send him frequent accounts of his proceedings in the government of his flock. A few days afterwards, (on the twenty-sixth of August,) he wrote to him a second time⁶, advising him to be on his guard against a vagabond⁷ named Petronian, who was running up and down the provinces of Gaul, styling himself a Deacon of the Roman Church. "Direct the Bishops," says St. Leo, "to reject him from the communion of all the Churches."

The Deacon Hilarus arrived at Rome about the end of September, and as there was a Council held every year in the beginning of October⁸, it met very seasonably for considering the proceedings at Ephesus; these were unanimously condemned⁹, and several letters were drawn up in the name of St. Leo and the Council. The first is to the Emperor Valens¹, complaining of the violence of Dioscorus and the irregularity of the Council of Ephesus. "We have been

“informed,” he says, “that those who came to the Council A. D. 449.
 “did not all take part in passing sentence. Some were ex- CH. XLIII.
 “cluded, to make room for others who implicitly set their
 “hands to those impious subscriptions merely to pay court
 “to Dioscorus, and because they knew that they would lose
 “their dignities if they were refractory. Our legates steadily
 “resisted him, because, in effect, the whole mystery of the
 “Christian Faith is overthrown unless this crime, which
 “surpasses all sacrilege, is blotted out. My brethren and I
 “conjure you, therefore,—lest our silence should render us
 “guilty before the tribunal of JESUS CHRIST;—we conjure
 “you before the undivided Trinity, and before the holy
 “angels, to ordain that all things remain in the state in
 “which they were before these sentences were passed, till
 “such time as a greater number of Bishops can be assembled
 “from every part of the world.”

And afterwards; “All the Churches in our parts and all
 “the Bishops beseech you with tears, that since ours faith-
 “fully resisted, and since the Bishop Flavian presented a
 “bill of appeal, you would order a general Council¹ to be [¹ genera-
 lem syno-
 dum.]
 “assembled in Italy, to remove all doubts concerning the
 “Faith and all those divisions which have inflicted such
 “wounds on charity. Let the Bishops of the Eastern pro-
 “vinces also appear there, that such as have fallen away
 “through weakness may be re-established. The canons of
 “Nicaea annexed to this letter will shew you how necessary
 “our request is, when an appeal has been interposed.”
 There is no doubt that these canons of Nicaea were those of
 Sardica²; and the use St. Leo makes of them is remarkable. ² Fleury,
 For although they seem to assign to the Pope, singly, the 12. 39.
 Supr. 24. 6.
 power of trying appeals put in by Bishops, St. Leo assigns
 this power to the general Council, and he infers the necessity
 of a Council’s being called, as well from the provisions made
 in the canons, as from the appeal interposed by Flavian³. The ³v. Quesnel.
 second synodical letter written by St. Leo and the Roman Diss. 8.

¹ “This mistake was favoured by
 “the form of the collections of canons
 “then in use:—the canons of the
 “Council of Nicaea were followed by
 “those of other Councils without any
 “distinguishing mark, as may be seen
 “in the collection attached by Quesnel

“to his edition of St. Leo’s Works.
 “Hence the canons of other Councils
 “are often quoted as those of Nicaea;
 “see Ballerini de ant. coll. cann. Pt.
 “ii. c. 3. § 3 (ap. Galland. Syll. t. i.
 “p. 311).” Gieseler, vol. i. § 92.
 n. 47.

A. D. 449. Council¹ was to St. Pulcheria. He complains in this, as in
CIL. XLIII.
 the preceding, that his letter to Flavian had not been read
¹ Ep. 41.
C. Calch.
pt. 1. c. 21. at the Council of Ephesus; he declares that all the Western
 Bishops remain in communion with Flavian, and begs the
 Princess to support the request he had made to the Emperor
 for a general Council. The third letter² is to the clergy,
2 Ep. 45.
C. Calch.
pt. 1. c. 22. magistrates, and people of Constantinople, offering them
 consolation, and exhorting them to remain stedfast in the
 Faith and in allegiance to their Bishop: "For," he adds, "if
 "any one shall dare to usurp the see of Flavian during his
 "life-time, he shall never be admitted to our communion,
 "nor be numbered among the Bishops." The fourth³ is to
3 Ep. 47.
(al. 28.) Faustus, Martin, Peter, Magnus, Elias, and Emmanuel, all
 Priests and Archimandrites of Constantinople; its tendency
 is much the same, being designed to comfort them, and to
 confirm them in the Faith and in union with the Bishop
 Flavian. These four synodical letters all bear the same
 date, the ides of October, in the Consulate of Asterius and
 Protogenes, i. e. the fifteenth of October, 449.

Besides these, St. Leo wrote some private letters: one to
 St. Flavian⁴, to encourage and console him; for he had not as
4 Ep. 42.
C. Calch.
pt. 1. c. 18. yet been informed of his death: also to Anastasius of Thessa-
5 Ep. 43.
(al. 29.) lonica⁵, congratulating him on his not having been at Ephesus,
 and exhorting him to remain firm in the Faith and commu-
 nion of Flavian, and to strengthen the hearts of his brethren:
 to Julian of Cos⁶, in a similar way, exhorting him to hope
6 Ep. 44.
(al. 30.) patiently: to the clergy, magistrates, and people of Constan-
 tinople⁷, instructing them at greater length in the doctrine
7 Ep. 46.
C. Calch.
pt. 1. c. 23. of the Incarnation, which they were to preserve. This last
 seems to have been written later than the others; for St. Leo
 speaks in it of having received copies of the people's acclama-
 tions, which can only refer to those by which they pub-
 licly testified their disapproval of Flavian's deposition. In
 this letter, among other proofs of the Incarnation he ad-
 duces the Sacrament of the Eucharist, "in which even in-
 "fants," he says, "acknowledge with their own mouth the
 "truth of the Body and Blood of CHRIST;" for at that time
 infants communicated⁸, and answered, *Amen*, as well as the
 others. The Deacon Hilarus wrote privately to St. Pulcheria⁹,
 stating what had prevented him from coming to Constanti-

[⁸ Supr.
 26. 50. g.]
⁹ C. Calch.
 pt. 1. c. 24.

nople to present the letters of which the Pope had appointed him bearer. He informs her of what had occurred at Ephesus; of the difficulty he had in saving himself; and of the violent proceedings of Dioscorus, which were condemned by the Pope and all the Western Council.

When Theodoret heard of the results of the Ephesine Council, he wrote a long letter¹ to the Pope St. Leo; in which, after owning the superiority of the holy see, he dilates on the praises of Rome, and of St. Leo in especial. He commends his zeal against the Manichees², and his letter to Flavian, which he says he had read, and admired as the very language of the HOLY GHOST. He then adverts to his own personal concerns³, and complains of the injustice of Dioscorus, who had condemned him while absent, having never been summoned, never heard in his own defence, and, in fact, residing at the distance of a thirty-five days' journey. He describes his labours for the Church⁴. "Six and twenty years," he says, "have I been a Bishop, and never incurred any censure either under Theodotus or under those who succeeded him in the see of Antioch; I have rescued above a thousand souls from the disease of Marcion, and have brought back many Arians and Eunomians; there is not one heretic⁵ in the eight hundred parishes⁶ of my diocese. God knows how often I have been assaulted with stones, and how many contests I have sustained against Gentiles and Jews. Within these twenty years⁷ I have written several works," which he enumerates; "From these," he says, "it is easy to ascertain whether I have kept to the rule of Faith, or have erred from it. I pray you, therefore, not to reject my humble prayer⁸, nor despise my old age, which after so many toils is now loaded with opprobrium. Above all things⁹, I wish to know from you, whether I ought to acquiesce in this unjust deposition. I await your decision. If you bid me submit to this sentence, I will do so; I will thenceforth importune no one, but wait for the judgment of God. He is my witness that it is not the loss of honour which gives me this concern, but I fear the scandal that would follow, and lest many of the simple-minded folk, and especially the converted heretics, should regard me as heretical, when

A. D. 449.
CH. XLIV.

XLIV.

Theodoret writes to St. Leo.
Ep. 113.
[t. iii. p. 985.] (et ap. S. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 531.)
c. 2.

c. 3.

c. 4.

[^a οὐδέτις
^b ἐξ ἑσθίων
^c παροκτίας]

c. 5.

[^d ἱκεσίαν]

c. 6.

449. " they see the authority of those who have condemned me,
 XLIV. " and not being themselves qualified to understand the point
 " of doctrine, nor to take into consideration that during
 " my long episcopate I have acquired neither house nor land
 166. " nor sepulchre, nay, not a single penny¹, but have embraced
 " a voluntary poverty, having given away my patrimony im-
 " mediately after the death of my parents, as is known to all
 1. " the East. I write this to you² by the Priests Hypatius and
 " Abraham, who are Chorepiscopi, and Alypius, who is Ex-
 " arch of my monks; the Emperor's orders, by which I and
 " some others are detained, prevent me from coming to you
 " in person."

He gave the same deputies three other letters. The first
 116. is to Renatus³, Priest of the Roman Church and one of the
 envoys to the Council of Ephesus. Theodoret had not been
 informed of his death, but supposes that he had assisted at
 the Council. He here acknowledges the primacy of the holy
 see over all the Churches of the world⁴, chiefly on account of
 the purity of its faith, which was never, he says, sullied by
 any heresy. The second letter⁵ is to the Archdeacon of Rome,
 that is, Hilarus; whom, however, Theodoret addresses in a
 way that shews he had not heard of his having been at
 117. Ephesus. The third is to a Bishop named Florentius⁶, though,
 as he makes use of the plural number, it would seem to have
 been addressed to the Western Bishops who had assembled
 with St. Leo to consider his case. He wrote at the same time
 118. to Anatolius the Patrician⁷, begging him to intercede with the
 Emperor for him, that he might be permitted to go to the
 West to be judged by the Bishops of those parts; or, if not,
 that he might at least be allowed to retire to his monastery,
 161. which was a hundred and twenty miles⁸ distant from Cyrus,
 seventy-five from Antioch, and three from Apamea; and
 this, because he had heard they intended to eject him from
 Cyrus. The answers sent by St. Leo and the other Western
 Bishops to Theodoret are not extant; but the sequel of the
 history shews that his deputation was well received, and that
 the Pope re-established him in the episcopate, without paying
 162. any regard to the decision of Dioscorus⁹. The Emperor, too,
 163. gave him permission to withdraw to his monastery, where
 he is thought to have written his Ecclesiastical History, and

164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

whence he sent several letters to his friends, defending himself and consoling them¹.

In the mean time St. Leo received an answer from the Princess Pulcheria, testifying her affection for the Catholic Faith. He wrote to thank her for this², and renewed his request that she would support his petition for a Council; "Human affairs," he urges, "cannot remain in security, unless the Faith be supported by both the royal and the sacerdotal authority." His answer is dated on³ the seventeenth of March, 450. He wrote on the same day to Martin and Faustus⁴, Abbots of Constantinople, in answer to a letter which they had sent him dated on the very day on which he and the Council of Rome had written to them. He exhorts them to confirm their people in the Catholic Faith.

About the same time he received two deputations from Gaul; one from the Bishop of Vienne, complaining that the Bishop of Arles had assumed the prerogative of ordaining to the see of Vaison; the other from the Bishops of the province of Arles, who had sent a Priest named Petronius and a Deacon named Regulus, to present a petition, in their names⁵, to this effect: "It is notorious to all the Gauls and not unknown at Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which received a Bishop sent by the Apostle St. Peter—we speak of St. Trophimus; that from this Church the Faith spread itself into the rest of Gaul, and consequently that it had a Bishop before the city of Vienne, which now aims at the primacy." The name of the Gauls need not here be taken in its widest extent; it is sufficient to understand it of the entire province of Narbonnensis, or the old Roman *Provincia*: and what is said about the commission given to St. Trophimus by St. Peter, means only that he was sent by the holy see. The petition proceeds: "Besides, our predecessors⁶ have always honoured the Church of Arles as their mother; our cities have constantly asked for Bishops from thence, and its Bishop has always consecrated our predecessors and us. Your predecessors confirmed the privileges of this Church by their letters, as appears, we doubt not, in the archives⁷ of the holy see. They wished that it should have authority within the Gauls, in the same way that the Roman Church has the primacy in all the world." They subjoin an ac-

A. D. 450.
CH. XLV.

¹ Ep. 122,
123, etc.

² Ep. 48.
(al. 31.)

³ 16. Kal.
April. Valentiniano
VII. et
Avieno
Cos.

⁴ Ep. 49.
(al. 32.)

XLV.
Arrangement between
Arles and Vienne.

⁵ Post Ep. 49. S. Leon. [p. 538.

Preces missæ ab universis provincialibus Episcopis Metropolis Arelatensis.]

[⁶ decessores, predecessores, que nostri]

[⁷ scrinia]

450. count of the secular advantages enjoyed by Arles; "Con-
 XLVI. stantine gave it his name, Valentinian and Honorius called
 itrem " it the mother of all the Gauls¹. From their time to the
 um " present the consulate has been given and received in it,
 ma- " and the Præfect of the Prætorium has made it his residence.
 nium) " Hence this Church has at all times had the government, not
 urum] " only of the province of Vienne, but of the three provinces,
 " and, by commission from the holy see, of all the Gauls."

50. St. Leo's answer² bears the names of the twelve Bishops to
 9.) whom it is addressed, and remarks that the Bishop of Vienne
 had been beforehand with them in sending letters and de-
 puties. Both parties stated the grounds of their claims, and
 it appeared that Vienne and Arles had, each of them, at dif-
 ferent periods possessed different privileges. St. Leo there-
 fore confirmed the authority which he had previously awarded
 to the Bishop of Vienne, when he decided against the claims
 of St. Hilary of Arles. He ordained that the Bishop of
 Vienne should preside over the four neighbouring cities,
 Valence, Tarantaise, Geneva, and Grenoble, and that the
 other cities of the same province should be subject to the
 Bishop of Arles. This letter is dated the third of the nones
 of May, in the consulate of Valentinian and Avienus, that is,
 the fifth of May, 450. On the same day he wrote to Raven-
 1. nius of Arles³, desiring him to acquaint all the Gallic Bishops
 .) with his letter to Flavian, which he sent to him along with that
 of St. Cyril. He says that he had detained the deputies of
 the Church of Arles, from a wish that they might witness all
 the proceedings relative to the new heresy against the In-
 carnation:—which seems to shew that they had assisted at the
 Council of Rome in the preceding October:—and he leaves
 it to them to relate, by word of mouth, those matters which
 it was not fit to entrust to paper.

1. The Emperor Valentinian came from Ravenna to Rome
 for the feast of St. Peter, which was, probably, at the end

¹ " In hac urbe quicumque intra Gal-
 lia ex tempore prædictorum [V. et
 " H.] ostentare voluit insignia digni-
 tatis, consulatum suscepit et dedit."
 It would seem that honorary consulates
 were conferred on men of rank, which
 involved no responsibility beyond that
 of giving Circensian games to the people

by way of acknowledgment, (cf. Vales.
 in Socr. ii. 29. τὰς συνθήκας ὑπαρέλας
 ἐπερέλασε): or is the reference to
 usurpers like Constantine, (whose head-
 quarters were at Arles,) who made it
 their policy to be elected consuls, and
 to give the office to their sons or par-
 tizans?

of June in this year (450). His mother Galla Placidia and his wife Licinia Eudoxia accompanied him on this religious journey. On the day following their arrival they went to the church of St. Peter¹, and after the night of the Vigil, (in other words, on the day of the festival,) the Pope St. Leo presented himself to the Emperor along with several Bishops from various provinces of Italy, who usually assembled at Rome for this solemnity. When prayers were over, they remained at the Altar, and addressed themselves to the Emperor and Empresses, conjuring them with tears not to look on unmoved while the Faith was in jeopardy, and representing to them the disorder which prevailed all over the East, and especially the injustice committed by Dioscorus in his resentful deposition of Flavian. They entreated the Emperor and Empresses, therefore, by the holiness of the place where they were, to write on the subject to the Emperor Theodosius and beg him to allow a general Council of the whole world to be assembled in Italy, to remedy these disorders. Acts were drawn up on this occasion, which contain the prayers and acclamations made use of in this meeting.

The Emperor, in consequence, wrote to Theodosius, begging him to preserve the dignity of St. Peter and the primacy which antiquity had granted to the Bishop of Rome over all Churches, insomuch that he had power to give sentence about the Faith and about Bishops. "Hence," he says, "in accordance with the Councils, the Bishop of Constantinople has made an appeal to him. I request, therefore, that all the other Bishops of the world may be assembled in Italy, and that the Pope, taking cognizance with them of the whole matter, may pass a sentence conformable to the Faith and to religion." The two Empresses wrote to the same effect; Placidia wrote, in addition, a private letter to Pulcheria, pressing her to assist in promoting the same design.

St. Leo had received an answer from the Emperor Theodosius² respecting the synodal letter of October, 449. Theodosius allowed that the Council of Nicæa was sufficient, and that there was no need to have assembled another; and he desired the Pope to approve the ordination of Anatolius, as Bishop of Constantinople, in the room of Flavian. St. Leo

A. D. 450.
CH. XLVI.

¹ C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 25, 26, etc. et post Ep. S. Leon. 47. [p. 523.]

² Ep. 52. (al. 33.)

Constantinople, and, under pretence of a vow, returned to Jerusalem, where she ended her days¹; and whence she sent to Pulcheria a picture of the Virgin, which passed as a work of St. Luke². Pulcheria, the sister of the late Emperor, was thus left mistress of the East. By her influence, Marcian, a native of Illyricum and a distinguished captain, was elected Emperor, and was recognised as such by the concurrent votes of the senate, the army, and all the orders. They did not wait for the consent of Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, though he afterwards signified his approval of the election³. Pulcheria, to increase Marcian's authority and to reign jointly with him, married him, but with the stipulation that she should remain a virgin; she was at this time fifty-one years of age, and he was considerably advanced in years. By a former marriage he had a daughter named Euphemia, who married Anthemius, afterwards Emperor of the West⁴. Marcian was very zealous for the Catholic religion, and very charitable towards the poor. He was proclaimed Emperor at Hebdomon, on Thursday the twenty-fourth of August, A.D. 450.⁵

In the beginning of his reign, he passed a law⁶ inflicting the heaviest penalties on the heretics, Clerks, and monks, who should forsake the Catholic religion to follow the heresy of Apollinarius or of Eutyches. On the twelfth of November in the following year, 451, he made a stringent enactment against idolatry⁷: it prohibits the re-opening of the temples, which had been long closed; their gates were not to be decorated with festoons, no fires were to burn on the altars, no incense to be offered on them, no libations to be poured out or victims to be sacrificed; and this on pain of suffering the extreme penalty of the law, with confiscation of all their property.

The legates of the Pope St. Leo, setting out from Rome about the end of July, 450, did not arrive at Constantinople until after the death of the Emperor Theodosius; they met with a favourable reception from Marcian and Pulcheria. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, assembled a Council of

A. D. 450.
CH. XLVIII.
¹ Evagr. 1.
21, 22.
Niceph.
14. 49.
² Theod.
Lect. 1. 1, 2.

³ Evag. 2. 1.

⁴ 2. 16.
⁵ 3. 26.

⁶ Chr.
Pasch. n. s.
⁷ Cod.
Just. 1. 1.
tit. 5. sive]
de Apost.
leg. ult.

⁷ tit. ii. sive
de Paganis.
leg. 7.

XLVIII.
Council of
Constanti-
nople un-
der Anato-
lius.

^{*} Also mentioned by the Patriarch Fresue, (P. Lib. iv. p. 88. 181. ed Germanus in vit. S. Stephani, Anal. Paris. Gr. t. i. p. 413. cf. infr. xxviii. 42. Du

Dioscorus; they were to receive such only after a judicious A. D. 451.
 examination, without, however, subjecting them to too long CH. L.
 delay or treating them with undue rigour. He gave his
 legates three letters, all of the same date, the seventh of
 June, 451; the first for the Emperor Marcian, the second
 for Pulcheria, the third for Anatolius. In the letter to the
 Emperor¹, he says, "As to the Council, your clemency may
 " remember that I myself requested it; but the pressure of
 " the times will not in any way allow the Bishops of all the
 " provinces to assemble; since those provinces from which
 " they should chiefly be summoned," that is, those of the
 West, "are so unsettled by the wars, that the Bishops can-
 " not be spared from their Churches. Defer it therefore,"
 he proceeds, "to a more opportune season, when, by God's
 " mercy, the public security shall have been more firmly
 " established." He prays the Empress Pulcheria² to order
 the removal of Eutyches to a greater distance from Con-
 stantinople, as his monastery was too near the city; and to
 promote a Catholic Abbot in his stead. He recommends
 Anatolius³ to decide nothing as yet respecting the heads of
 the party who presided at the false Council, even though
 they should profess repentance; but without refusing their
 offer of amendment, to reserve it to be maturely examined
 by the holy see, and in the mean time not to recite their
 names at the Altar of the Church of Constantinople.

The wars, which at that time disturbed the Roman Em-
 pire, and which St. Leo considered to be an obstacle in the
 way of a Council, were caused mainly by the invasion of the
 Huns⁴. Having formerly passed the Palus Mæotis, they had
 spread themselves as far as the Danube and levied a tribute
 on the Emperors of the East. Under the younger Theodosius,
 they had pillaged Thrace and Illyria and afterwards Achaia
 and the rest of Greece. At last, their King Attila, having
 subjected many other barbarian Kings to his sway, and
 having got together an army of five hundred thousand men,
 crossed, this year, (451,) from Pannonia into Gaul, under
 the plea of waging war with Theodoric, King of the Visi-
 goths. He passed the Rhine, and reached Metz on Easter-
 Eve⁵; the city was set fire to, the whole population butchered,
 and the Priests massacred at the foot of the Altars; nothing

I.
Attila's
ravages in
Gaul.

⁴ Jornandes
de Reb.
Geticis.
Cassiod.
Chr. [Rouc.
t. ii. p. 230.]
Prosper.
Chr. [t. i.
p. 671.]
Marcellin.
[t. ii. p. 290.]

⁵ Greg. Tur.
Hist. 2. 6.

¹ Ep. 63. c.
² [p. 561.]

³ Ep. 64. (al.
45.) c. 3.

⁴ Ep. 65. (al.
46.) c. 2.

fear to the approach of the barbarians¹; but St. Lupus, its Bishop, gained the respect of Attila to such a degree that the barbarian obliged him to accompany him as far as the Rhine, as a protection to his person and army, undertaking to send him back in safety: which he accordingly did, after further commending himself to his prayers.

The Emperor Marcian persisted in his resolution of forthwith convening a Council in the East. His letters were addressed² to Anatolius and the other Bishops of the great sees, enjoining them to meet at Nicæa in Bithynia, on the first day of September, with such a number of Bishops belonging to their jurisdiction as they should think convenient. The Emperor promised to be there in person. They are dated from Constantinople, on the sixteenth of the calends of June in the consulate of Marcian, or May 17, 451.

When St. Leo heard that the summons was issued, he chose two new legates to represent him in the Council; Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily, and Boniface, Priest of the Roman Church. The latter was sent from Rome, but Paschasinus set out from Sicily, in order that he might arrive the sooner at Constantinople; for the term allowed for the assembling of the Bishops was only short. Besides, this province enjoyed greater tranquillity than any in the West, and was least exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. St. Leo's first step was to send Paschasinus a copy of his letter to Flavian³, with some select passages from the Fathers about the mystery of the Incarnation, which his first legates had already made use of at Constantinople. In a letter which accompanied these, (dated June 24, 451,) he sent him the news from the East. "Know," he says, "that the whole Church of Constantinople has given its consent, and has anathematized, by its subscriptions, Nestorius and Eutyches, together with their doctrines. Know, too, that I have just received a letter from the Bishop of Constantinople, informing me that the Bishop of Antioch has written circular letters⁴ to all the Bishops, in which he gives his assent to my letter and subscribes equally to the condemnation of Nestorius and of Eutyches." Lastly, St. Leo desires Paschasinus to get some persons of skill to calculate Easter for the year 455, because there were some difficulties in the cal-

A. D. 451.
CH. LI.

¹ Vita S. Lupi ap. Sur. 29 Jul. [t. iv. p. 391: Boll. t. xxxii. p. 77.]

LI.
Preliminaries of the Council of Chalcedon.

² C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 36, 37.

³ Epist. 68. [p. 567.]

[⁴ (trac-toriis)]

A. D. 451. culation of Theophilus of Alexandria¹, which the whole Church
Ch. 11. at that time followed.

[¹ v. *infra*.
28. 50.]

The Priest Boniface was charged with the letters of the legation, as being the only one who went direct from Rome.

² 6 Kal.
 Julii Adel-
 phio Cos.

They are dated² on the twenty-sixth of June, 451. Two of them were directed to the Emperor Marcian³, one to Anato-

³ Ep. 69,
(al. 48.) 73.
 (al. 43.)

lius⁴, and one to the Council⁵. In these letters St. Leo gives

⁴ Ep. 70.
⁵ Ep. 72.
(al. 47.)

us to understand that he would have preferred that the Council should have been put off to a more convenient

time and have been held in Italy; that, at the same time, he is ready to conform to the Emperor's wishes; and

that although the time was so short, he sends the Bishop Paschasinus and the Priest Boniface to preside in his name

at the Council along with Lucentius and Basil, (whom he had sent a little before,) and Julian of Cos, who was thoroughly

acquainted with the whole affair, as he had long resided in

the East and had taken part in the Council of Ephesus.

⁶ Ep. 71.

St. Leo sent him also a separate letter⁶. He still maintains, in these letters, that the Faith is certain, and therefore not

to be controverted, and demands the restoration of the Bishops who had been ejected from their sees for having

maintained the Catholic Faith, without prejudice to the first Council of Ephesus and the condemnation of Nestorius.

This last clause is added because the most zealous opponents of Eutyches were accused of Nestorianism.

⁷ Ep. 74, 75.
(al. 50, 51.)

In some further letters to Marcian and Pulcheria⁷, of the nineteenth and twentieth of July, he says that his only reason

for wishing the Council to be held in Italy had been that the Bishops of the West might attend it; that he was disposed

⁸ Ep. 75.c.3.

to deal leniently⁸ with those who sincerely returned to the truth, and that he had given sufficient proof of this by his

actions, since a large number had been already received, and the heads of the party, although notorious, were allowed to

retain their sees till the decision of the Council was known.

"In a word," he says, "you will perceive that our sole in-

tention is to extinguish the heresy, which we detest, and

"to procure the conversion of the heretics."

When the Bishops, in fulfilment of the Emperor's order,

had assembled at Nicæa, that Prince wrote to them, first of

all⁹, desiring them to wait for his arrival. After some time,

⁹ C. Calc. pt. 1. c. 38.

they sent to inform him that many were seriously inconvenienced by their long stay, both from sickness and other causes; to which he answered¹, "The legates of the Pope Leo¹ judge my presence in the Council to be so necessary, that they will not attend it in my absence. I desire you, therefore, to repair to Chalcedon, as it will be easier for me to cross over to that place from Constantinople, where the urgency of public business detains me." The Bishops sent Atticus, Archdeacon of Constantinople, to him from Nicæa to represent that, as Chalcedon was so near the city, they were apprehensive that the partizans of Eutyches might raise a disturbance there. The Emperor wrote to them a third time², telling them that their fears were groundless,³ and bidding them repair immediately to Chalcedon; for otherwise the session of the Council might be indefinitely delayed, since the affairs of Illyricum would not permit him to quit the city. This refers to the movements of the Huns, who, after their defeat by the Gauls, attempted to force their way into Illyricum, but were prevented by the Emperor.

We must not omit to mention the precautionary orders which the Emperor issued against any who should seditiously disturb the Council. This was especially provided for by a law which bears date this year the thirteenth of July³; it enacts that the peace of churches should not be broken into by acclamations, or expressions of concurrence with the speaker; and, generally, that no meetings and conventicles should be held in Constantinople [and its suburbs] or elsewhere; on pain of capital punishment on the movers of the sedition. The Empress Pulcheria, too, after the Bishops had assembled at Nicæa, wrote to Strategius⁴, the Consulary of Bithynia, to expel all Clerks, monks, and laymen, who came to raise a disturbance, having neither been summoned by the Emperor, nor received permission from their Bishops.

A. D. 451.
CH. LI.

c. 41.

c. 42.

¹ Tertio Idus: [Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 12.]
leg. 5. De his qui ad Eccles. conf.

⁴ C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 39.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE Bishops having arrived at Chalcedon from Nicæa, and the Emperor's great officers having crossed over from Constantinople, the Council assembled in the church of St. Euphemia the Martyr, situate outside the city near the sea coast, being only two stadia, or two hundred and fifty paces, distant from the Bosphorus¹. It was built on a gently rising ground, and [though its elevation was considerable,] the ascent was so easy as to be scarcely perceived. It commanded a prospect of great beauty; beneath it were fair tracts of meadow and cornfield, with trees of every foliage; above it, mountains clothed with woods: on one side you saw the sea playing calmly against the shore², on another swelling with surge; in the foreground stood the city of Constantinople, which of itself was a magnificent spectacle.

A. D. 451.
CH. I.
I.
Opening of the Council of Chalcedon.
Evagr. 2.3

You first entered into a large [open] court, ornamented with pillars on every side, or peristyle; thence you passed to the Basilica, which was almost as spacious, and similarly decorated with pillars [but roofed in.] Beyond this was a circular building running up into a dome³ which was supported by columns, with a gallery running round it for the people to pray and hear the service in. Under this dome, on the east side, stood the tomb of the Saint, whose relics were enclosed in a silver shrine. Men perceived a fragrant perfume ever issuing from it, and it was held that many miracles had been wrought there. Sometimes the Bishop of Constantinople came to visit it with the Emperor, the magistrates, and all the people. On these occasions the Bishop went within the chancel⁴, and through a small opening on the left side of the sepulchre thrust in an iron rod,

[¹ τῆ γαλήνῃ πορφυρούμενα καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς προσπαζόντα ἡδὺ τε καὶ ἡμερον.]

[² περιφερῆς ἐς θάλασσαν]

[³ εἰς τὸν ἀνακτόρων]

1. with a sponge at the end of it, which he drew back full of blood, and this blood he distributed to all the people; so that drops of it were carried to all parts of the world. Near the tomb of the Saint hung a painting on cloth¹, executed by the hand of a great master, in which all the circumstances of her martyrdom were represented; St. Asterius of Amasea has preserved us a description of it². Such was the church of St. Euphemia near Chalcedon.

2.] The Council met in it for the first time on the eighth of the ides of October in the consulate of Marcian and in the fourth indiction; i. e. the eighth of October, A.D. 451. There were present nineteen of the chief officers of the Empire; namely, Anatolius, Master of the Soldiery, (who had been Consul in 440,) Palladius, Præfect of the Prætorium, Tatian, Præfect of Constantinople, Vincomalus, Master of the Offices, and Sporatius, Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the Guards, who was Consul the next year (452), besides many more, who had borne the highest offices in the state and were now only senators. The Bishops mentioned in the Acts are three hundred and sixty in number³. The Pope's legates, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface, Priest, are mentioned first; after them come Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, Dioscorus of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem. They were ranged in the following order³: The officers and senators sat in the middle, before the altar-screen; at their left were the Pope's legates, then Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Stephen of Ephesus, and the other Bishops belonging to the dioceses of the East⁴, of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace: at their right Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, (representing Anastasius of Thessalonica,) Peter of Corinth, and the other Bishops of the dioceses of Egypt and Illyricum, with

¹ The whole number of Bishops present is variously stated. The writer of the *Breviculus* says, "500 and upwards," (Labb., iv. p. 1080): the letter of the Council to St. Leo (Opp. Leon. ed. Baller. t. i. p. 1089) says 520, — the number given in the Latin copy of Marcian's law, (C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 12): Zacharias (*Assem. B. O.* ii. p. 55)

564: while Liberatus (c. 13), Marcellinus (Chr. Roncal. ii. p. 289), Theophanes (Chronogr. p. 91), and Nicephorus (xv. 26) all agree in the number 630. St. Leo (Ep. 102. Baller. 77. Quesn.) says, "about 600." See Tilli-mont., t. xv. p. 914. Walch., th. vi. p. 402.

those of Palestine; so that all Dioscorus's party was on the side which was the less honourable. The Gospel was placed in the centre.

A. D. 451.
8. Octob.
CH. II.

The Bishop Paschasinus, the Pope's legate, spoke first. Addressing himself to the magistrates, he said, "We have orders from the blessed Bishop of Rome, who is head of all the Churches, that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council; therefore, so please your greatness, let him go out, or we must go out." As he spoke in Latin his speech was explained in Greek by Beronician, Secretary to the Emperor's Consistory. The magistrates and senators said¹; [p. 96.] "What is the specific charge against the most reverend Bishop Dioscorus?" Lucentius, the other episcopal legate, replied, "He must assign a reason for the sentence he passed; for he has assumed the person of judge, which does not belong to him, and presumed to hold a Council without the authority² of the holy see; a thing which was never done nor can be done lawfully." Paschasinus added, "We cannot act contrary to the Pope's orders or to the canons of the Church." On this Dioscorus, by order of the magistrates, left his place and took his seat in the midst of the assembly.

II.
Dioscorus
accused.

[² ἐπιτροπῆς
ἡγεμονίας]

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, then advanced, and standing in the middle, said, "I conjure you by the life of the sovereigns of the world to order my petition to be read. I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the Faith has been wronged: the Bishop Flavian was murdered; along with me he was unjustly deposed; order my petition to be read." The magistrates ordered it to be read accordingly; Eusebius being in the mean time obliged to take his seat in the middle with Dioscorus. The secretary Beronician read the petition addressed to the Emperor Marcian by Eusebius, in behalf of himself, of the Catholic Faith, and of the memory of Flavian. It charged Dioscorus with having violated the Faith in order to set up the heresy of Eutyches, and with having unjustly condemned Eusebius; in proof of which charges it desired that the Acts of the pretended Council of Ephesus might be read. The magistrates having ordered Dioscorus to defend himself³, he too desired that the Acts⁴ p. 98. D. should be read; but when the magistrates had directed this

D. 451. to be done, he changed his mind, and demanded that the
 H. 111. question of the Faith should be discussed first. The magistrates said, "You must first reply to the accusation; wait, therefore, till the Acts be read as you yourself desired." Constantine, Secretary to the Consistory, commenced reading the letter from Theodosius the younger to Dioscorus¹, which summoned the Council of Ephesus. As it expressly
 . 99. pr. 27-34. forbade Theodoret to be present there, the magistrates said²,
 . 101. B. "Let the most reverend Bishop Theodoret enter, that he too may take part in the Council, since the most holy Archbishop Leo has restored him to the episcopal office, and the most pious Emperor has ordered that he should assist at the holy Council."

III. Theodoret therefore came in; but the moment he appeared the Bishops of Illyricum, Egypt, and Palestine cried out, "Mercy upon us; the Faith is lost; the canons expel him; turn him out." On the other side, the Bishops of the East, of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace cried out, "We subscribed to a blank paper; our subscriptions were wrung from us by blows; drive out the Manichees, drive out the enemies of Flavian, drive out the enemies of the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Why is Cyril, whom this man has anathematized, to be driven out?" He meant to infer, that by receiving Theodoret they censured the memory of St. Cyril. The Easterns and their party cried out, "Drive out the murderer Dioscorus; who does not know the deeds of Dioscorus?" The Egyptians cried out, "The Empress ejected Nestorius; long life to the orthodox Princess: the Council receives not Theodoret;" intimating that he was a Nestorian.

Theodoret came forward, and said, "I have presented a petition to the Emperor, in which I set forth the cruelties
 I vds etc
 al 7-10-
 does ope-
 de] "I have endured³; I beg that it may be examined." The magistrates said, "The Bishop Theodoret, having recovered his rank from the Archbishop of Rome, has now entered as a prosecutor; wherefore, to avoid confusion, let us finish what we had begun. The presence of Theodoret shall not prejudice any one's cause; all the claims you may have against him or he against you shall stand good, especially since the Bishop of Antioch testifies to his orthodoxy."

Theodoret therefore had to take his seat in the middle as A. D. 451.
Eusebius of Dorylæum had done before him. CH. IV.

On this the Easterns shouted, "He is worthy;" whilst the Egyptians cried, "Do not call him Bishop, he is no Bishop; drive out the enemy of God¹, drive out the Jew." The Easterns proceeded, "The orthodox to the Council; drive out ^[¹ θεομύχου] the rioters², drive out the murderers." Both parties continued to shout in this way for some time; at last the magistrates said, "These tumultuous clamours but ill befit Bishops, and are of no benefit to either party; let all the evidence therefore be read." The Egyptians said, "Expel this one man and we will all listen; our shouts are for the Catholic Faith." The magistrates answered, "Nay, but give ear, and let the whole be read in order."

The secretaries, Constantine and Beronician, proceeded with the reading of the letters, which summoned the Council of Ephesus; and Beronician having said that the Emperor Theodosius had written to Juvenal of Jerusalem as well as to Dioscorus of Alexandria, Dioscorus said³, "You see that I ^{p. 112} was not the only person whom the Emperor commissioned to try this cause; he gave the Bishops Juvenal and Theodosius also authority in the Council⁴. The sentence that was given we gave jointly; and the whole Council approved of it by word of mouth, and in writing; after which a report was drawn up and sent to the Emperor Theodosius, of happy memory, and he confirmed it by a general law." The Easterns exclaimed, "Nobody consented to it; it was extorted by violence; by violence with blows; we put our names to a blank paper, we were threatened with exile; soldiers stood over us with clubs and swords. What kind of a synod was that, surrounded by swords and clubs? Dioscorus had got soldiers on purpose. Drive out the murderer. The soldiers deposed Flavian." The Egyptians cried, "They subscribed first. Why are the clergy suffered to raise these clamours? Turn out all who have no business here; let those who subscribed come forward; we subscribed after you."

Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, said, "When I had received the Bishop Eusebius and some others, as Elpidius and Eulogius, to my communion, the soldiers and the monks

IV.
Charges
against
Dioscorus.

[⁴ τὴν ἀ-
θενρίαν τῆς
συνόδου]

451. " of Eutyches came to the Episcopal palace, being in number
 . IV. " about three hundred, and sought to kill me, saying, ' You
 " ' have harboured the Emperor's enemies, you are his
 " ' enemy.' I replied, ' I only shew a host's courtesy, I
 " ' take no part in the matter, I could not refuse commu-
 " ' nion to those who had never been excluded from it.'
 " Thus every thing was done by force and violence." The
 magistrates said, " Did Dioscorus offer you any violence?"
 Stephen replied, " I was not suffered to stir out of the
 13. " church¹ till I had subscribed the sentence passed by Dio-
 τῆς " scorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and the other Bishops to whom
 ἰσῆας " the Emperor's letters were directed."
 ἡ κερφ- " Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea, said, " It is true that I
 out " was of the number mentioned in the Emperor's letter; I
 ves- " cannot tell how it came to pass: however, as to taking
 " part in this business, I tried to put a stop to it, and to
 " defer judgment; I have witnesses to prove this." Theo-
 dotus, Bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, said, " Dioscorus,
 " Juvenal, and the rest who subscribed first, whom the Em-
 " peror commissioned to decide about the Faith, these, having
 " concerted a malicious scheme among themselves, drew us
 " in to act as judges, though we were there simply as as-
 sessor² and knew nothing of the case. The Acts were
 5 ἐπ' " read; they eulogized Flavian of happy memory, and we,
 ὁ κα- " finding that things went on well, said nothing. After this,
 us] " to intimidate us, they cried out, ' Cut in two those who
 " talk of two natures; divide those who divide; away with
 " them; turn them out;' taxing us with Nestorianism. We
 " were all afraid that we should be ejected as heretics and thus
 14- " destroy³ those whom we had baptized. Were we not con-
 " strained, therefore, to keep silence? They went yet further.
 " The Emperor had ordered the Council to decide first of all
 " on Flavian's case. These men, having several times as-
 " sembled, never subscribed any document, put none of
 " their resolutions forward in writing, and never read them
 " to any one, but without any body's knowing aught of the
 " matter, put into our hands blank papers; Dioscorus and
 " Juvenal, I say, did this, followed by a rabble of men,
 " entire strangers to us, who by their shouts and riotous
 edings threw the Council into confusion. We were

“ in all a hundred and thirty-five. Of these there were A. D. 451.
 “ forty-two silenced; the others were Dioscorus, Juvenal, and CH. V.
 “ the crowd that followed. There were only fifteen of us
 “ remaining; what could we do? They were sporting with
 “ our blood; *those heretics!* they all cried as with one voice;
 “ they intimidated us, they made us out to be heretics, and
 “ as heretics we were ejected.”

The Easterns cried out, “ We all affirm the same.” The
 Egyptians cried out, “ A Christian fears no one; let fire be
 “ brought and we shall see. There had never been martyrs,
 “ if they had feared men.” Dioscorus said, “ Since they
 “ maintain that they did not know what decision had been
 “ come to and that they subscribed a *carte-blanc*, they
 “ certainly ought not to have signed their names at all, until
 “ they were well assured as to what the Council had said,
 “ since the subject was nothing less than the Faith itself:
 “ but who drew up their declarations? Pray, order them to
 “ state this.” The magistrates gave orders to proceed with
 the reading of the Acts¹, and the secretary Constantine began p. 115.
 to read those of the Council of Ephesus, from the copy
 furnished by Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople.

As soon as Julius, the Pope’s legate, was named, the
 Easterns exclaimed, “ He was expelled; no one admitted
 “ the name of Leo.” Again, at Flavian’s name, they ex-
 claimed, “ Flavian entered as condemned; this is a manifest
 “ perversion of right². Why was not Flavian seated in his [² συκο-
 φαντία]
 “ proper place? Why did they put the Bishop of Constan-
 “ tinople fifth?” The legate Paschasinus said, “ We, you
 “ see, (as is God’s will³), have put the lord Anatolius first; [³ θεοῦ θέ-
 λουτος]
 “ these placed the blessed Flavian fifth.” Diogenes, Bishop
 of Cyzicus, said, “ Yes, because you know the canons.” The
 Egyptians cried out, “ We entreat you, turn out these people
 “ who have no concern here; the Emperor summoned the
 “ Bishops, the Bishops compose the Council; Why are these
 “ busy-bodies suffered to scream?” Theodorus of Claudio-
 polis said, “ The screaming comes from Dioscorus’s notaries;”
 Dioscorus said, “ Two notaries are all I have; how can two
 “ men raise a tumult?”

They came to the place in the Acts⁴, where it was said V.
 Other
 charges.
 that the legates of the Pope St. Leo presented his letter to

the Council of Ephesus, and that Dioscorus ordered it to be received, but that the Priest John, Promoter of the Council, immediately proposed to read a letter from the Emperor, which, under the direction of Juvenal, was accordingly done'. When this passage was read at Chalcedon, Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, said, "The letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo was neither read nor received." The Easterns shouted, "It was never read to us; had it been, it would also have been inserted in the Acts." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "He," meaning Dioscorus, "kept the synodical letter by him³, and it was never read." The Archdeacon Aëtius added³, "He swore seven times, before all of us, that he would have it read, and is perjured." Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, "That he swore, we all know; that the letter was never read, all admit."

The magistrates said, "The Bishops, to whom the Emperor gave authority in this matter, ought to declare why the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo was not read, especially when an order had been made to have it read." Dioscorus said, "The Acts shew that I twice ordered it to be read." The magistrates said, "Why then was it not done?" Dioscorus said, "Let the other commissioners be asked as well." The magistrates said, "Say plainly; whom would you have us ask?" "Juvenal and Thalassius," said Dioscorus. "Do you answer first then," said the magistrates, "and they shall be examined in their order." Dioscorus replied, "Once for all I say, I twice ordered it to be read." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "That is false." The magistrates interrogated Juvenal, who said, "John, Priest and chief notary, said at that instant, that he had in his hands a letter from the Emperor, and I answered that it should be read." The magistrates said, "Then, after the Emperor's letter, did they also read that from the Archbishop Leo?" Juvenal replied, "Neither the chief-notary nor any other person after that said that he held in his hands the letter of the Archbishop of Rome." Similarly, Thalassius when interrogated by the magistrates, answered, "I know but one thing, which is, that I placed no obstacle in the way, and that, by myself, I had not sufficient authority to order it to be read."

At another place in the Acts⁴, the Easterns cried out,

“ We did not say that.” Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, A. D. 451.
 “ Let him,” meaning Dioscorus, “ produce his notaries, for CH. VI.
 “ he drove out all the rest and made his own write.” The
 magistrates asked, “ In whose hand-writing are the Acts?”
 Dioscorus said¹, “ Each of us had notaries of his own ; I had p. 130.
 “ some writing for me, Juvenal some for him, Thalassius
 “ others for him ; several other Bishops beside had notaries
 “ writing.” Juvenal said, “ I had a notary who wrote along
 “ with the others.” Thalassius, too, said that he had one.
 Dioscorus said, “ You see mine were not by themselves.”
 Eusebius of Dorylæum said, “ I desire that Stephen, Bishop
 “ of Ephesus, may be asked what treatment his notaries met
 “ with from those of Dioscorus.” Stephen was accordingly
 asked by the magistrates, and said, “ My notaries Julian, now
 “ Bishop of Lebedus, and the Deacon Crispinus were writing ;
 “ Dioscorus’s notaries came, effaced what they had written,
 “ and nearly broke their fingers by forcing their inkstands² [καλα-
 μέρια. Lat.
 thecas]
 “ from them. I never had any copy of the Acts and do not
 “ know what became of them. But further, on the very day
 “ on which the examination took place, we subscribed a
 “ paper, and the Bishops, who did not subscribe then, did so,
 “ on my becoming voucher³, on the following day.” Eusebius [ἐμοῦ
 ἐγγυησα-
 μένου]
 demanded that Stephen should say what kind of a paper it
 was that they had put their names to. Stephen said, “ A
 “ blank paper ; for in the very hour in which the condemna-
 “ tion was passed, the subscription also was made.” Acacius,
 Bishop of Ariarathia, added, “ We subscribed a blank paper,
 “ having been subjected to force and violence and ten
 “ thousand forms of injury. They kept us shut up in the
 “ church till evening, and, sick as we were, they would not
 “ allow us to breathe the fresh air, but sent monks and
 “ soldiers armed with clubs and swords.”

When they came to the confession of faith read by Euty- VI.
 chydes and inserted in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, The error
 of Euty-
 ches.
 there were several interruptions ; among others, the follow-
 ing. Eutyches had anathematized all heretics who said that
 the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came down from heaven. On this
 Eusebius observed⁴, “ He has certainly declined saying that p. 138.
 “ it came from heaven ; but he has not added whence it did
 “ come.” Diogenes of Cyzicus said, “ By your greatness, we

A. D. 451. "challenged him, saying, 'Whence, then, Sir Eutyches¹, did
CH. VI. " 'it come? say;' to which he vouchsafed no answer."

[¹ Κέρσι
Εὐτυχή]

Basil of Seleucia said, "We pressed him to state the mode
" of the Incarnation,—whether the WORD became man by
" taking flesh upon Him,—and they told us not to search into

[² δικαιο-
λογία. Fl.
summation.]

" that matter, and would not accept our challenge²." Dio-
scorus said, "If Eutyches holds opinions different from those
" of the Church, he deserves to be burnt. My only concern
" is for the Catholic Faith, not for any man; my regards are
" bent only on GOD and my own soul." Basil of Seleucia

³ p. 130 R

afterwards added³, "When Eutyches was asked by the Bishop
" Eusebius if he acknowledged two natures in CHRIST, he

[⁴ ἐκ δύο
φύσεων εἰ-
δέναι τὸν Χ.
πρὸς τῆς
ἑνώσεως]

" said that he acknowledged two natures before the union⁴,
" but only one after the union^b. I then said to him, 'Unless

^b Much as this and other expressions employed by Eutyches have been canvassed, it is far from evident what his real meaning was. 1. Some may doubt whether he had any definite meaning at all. But although we allow, that, as St. Leo charitably says, (supr. 27. 36,) he erred more from ignorance than design, yet the tenacity with which he clung to his expressions indicates that he thought he was grasping some truth. 2. Some attribute to him the matured system of the later Monophysites. But, as a matter of fact, these disclaimed Eutyches; and, as a matter of probability, it is hardly supposable that an old man, possessing neither learning, nor eloquence, nor philosophical acumen, should have impressed the theology of nations with so marked and lasting a character. He was only the incidental exponent of a widely-prevalent doctrine; Egypt, not Constantinople was the cradle of the heresy on which almost all the polemic of the next two centuries depended. 3. It may seem more natural to connect his views with the older forms of heresy, and this has been often done, but without leading to a solution of our question. When St. Leo makes Eutyches an Origenist (supr. 27. 36,) a Phantasiast (Ep. 30. ed. Ballerin.), an Arian (Ep. 59. 3), a Photinian (Serm. 96. t. i. p. 373), an Apollinarian and Manichee (Ep. 109. 3); and again, either an Apollinarian, or a Manichee and Marcionite (Ep. 124. 2), either an Apollinarian, or a Valentinian or Manichee (Ep. 35; Ep. 16^a), is clearly not referring to the

avowed opinions of Eutyches, but to the necessary deductions from them; he is assigning not their logical equivalents but their logical consequents. The same will apply to Gelasius, De duab. Nat., (ap. Bibl. Max. de la Bigne, t. viii. p. 701. E), who makes him virtually Nestorian, and Vigil. Tapa. l. ii. adv. Eut. c. 5 (Ibid. p. 726. D), who makes him a Deipassian. These passages prove that dreadful errors were involved in the position he maintained, but not that he held these explicitly, or that he was insincere in his repeated avowals that he believed CHRIST to be perfect man, and anathematized Manes, Valentinus, and Apollinarius: (supr. 27. 28, 31, 39.)

If we confine ourselves to the historical origin of his opinions, this is admitted on all hands to have been his opposition to Nestorius. The contrast between the men is striking. The one active, and noisy, and well-versed in the world; the other buried for thirty years in the quiet of a cloister; the one trained in the arts of rhetoric, of which the other knew nothing: the one a bold rationalist, the other avoiding all speculation on the awful doctrine in dispute, (cf. his oft-repeated *ὀφισιολογῶ*); the one despising his Fathers in the Faith, and appealing only to Scripture, the other by what he supposed to be an adherence to the letter of the Fathers (c. 8. infr.) led to adopt expressions utterly discordant with Scripture. Yet, as was observed, the tenor of his other explanations inclines one to think that he did not hold the heretical words in

you admit two natures after the union, undivided and unconfused¹, you admit a confusion and commixture; but if instead of saying, one nature simply, you add, Incarnate and made man, you think as St. Cyril did, and assert the same thing as we do, for it is evident that the GOD-HEAD, which is from the FATHER, is different from the manhood, which is from His mother.’”

A. D. 451.
CH. VI.

[¹ ἀχρησ-
τους καὶ
ἀσυγχύ-
τους]

ross heretical sense. The process which he glided into error might be thing like this. “Nestorius maintains a duality in CHRIST; he makes human son and the Divine WORD be connected indeed, but not statically united, which the economy of our salvation requires. On the contrary, maintain that natures of the GODHEAD and manhood are united and made (ἠνωθῆαι.) But when I say there one nature in CHRIST, I say it in the sense of Manes, which is nearer akin to the Nestorian theory, Manes said ‘Those ridiculous alilæans speak of two natures in CHRIST; they do not know that the essential light mixes not with other matter but is incontaminate, incapable of being united (ἀνωθῆναι) with any other substance, though they may appear to be connected (συνφῆθαι).’ I say not merely that they are one but that they are one, for prior to the union there were two distinct natures. Not that they ever physically existed apart, at a single moment, but in ideas they must be distinct in order to be united. In the abstract I may conceive the human nature separate from the Divine, but in the concrete they are inseparably parts of one Divine nature.” This account is gratuitous, though the proofs are so long to be here detailed. We only remark that the opponent of Nestorius in the Eranistes (t. iv. p. 66) having said, “Before the union of natures were two; but, since they coalesced, they make but one nature;” on being asked when the union took place, answers, “at the time of the conception,” and then goes on to admit that not a moment intervened between the creation of the human nature and the union of natures (’). The account given by Vasquez is substantially with the above: (in

tert. pt. Thomæ. t. i. Disp. xiv.) Combefis, as quoted and approved by Le Quien (in Damascen. de Hær. c. 82. t. i. p. 100), says, “The Eutycheians said, ‘one nature,’ not meaning that “the humanity was wanting in Him as “having been either changed or absorbed; but because that is properly “the nature which is pre-eminent, not “the smaller,—that which possesses “another, not that which is possessed “by a higher.”

Whether these be true representations of Eutyche’s meaning, no one can say, till “the day shall declare it.” Meanwhile it is certain that he did not guard his meaning in the way that St. Cyril and the orthodox did, and at a time when a large mass of Apollinarianism did exist, and, what is more, took Eutyche under its tutelage, the pastors of CHRIST’S flock were not to look out whether one who refused to retract plainly erroneous expressions, might have a correct meaning. When people complain of Leo (as does Griesbach, Loci Theol. p. 62) for deducing from his words consequences which he never granted, it is enough to say that he was responsible for these conclusions until he could shew that they did not legitimately flow from his statement. Again, the moderns think it easy to dispose of such questions by asking if the whole is not a mere contest of words. It is “a contest about words” undoubtedly, “but no logomachy for “all that;” (ein streit über Worte, aber kein Wortstreit: Walch, Ketz. Th. vi. § 110). The humanity—the Deity of Christ,—the union of natures—these are not mere words, but realities designated by words;—the very highest objects of our contemplative powers; and mysterious, or even inexplicable as the full truth may be, we are not the less bound to drive away all forms of expression that would lead to results contrary to what is revealed.

* This remarkable passage is given by Fabric. Bibl. Gr. lib. v. c. 1. p. 285.

451. The magistrates said, "After you had maintained so orthodox a doctrine, what led you to subscribe the deposition of Flavian?" Basil of Seleucia replied, "I was delivered over to the judgment of a hundred and twenty or thirty Bishops; I could not but follow their decision." As Dioscorus taunted him for this [confession], he added, "If it had been before magistrates, I would have suffered martyrdom; but a son that is judged by his father is not to justify himself." The Easterns and the Bishops who sat on their side, cried out, "We all erred, we all ask for pardon;" this they repeated three times³.

ρὰ
ἵς δ
λενος
ἵς οὐ
ἵρας
γὰρ
ἴ-
λέγαν
τω]

Eusebius of Dorylæum next complained³, that he had not been admitted to the Council of Ephesus, although Flavian had demanded it. The magistrates inquired the reason. Dioscorus and Juvenal tried to exculpate themselves on the ground that Count Elpidius had prevented it by an order from the Emperor. The magistrates said, "This is no sufficient excuse, when a question of the Faith is pending." Dioscorus said, "Since you accuse me of violating the canons, in what way are the canons now observed, when Theodoret is admitted?" The magistrates answered, "Theodoret is admitted as an accuser; you have heard so from his own mouth." "Why then," said Dioscorus, "does he sit in the rank of Bishop?" The magistrates said, "The Bishops Eusebius and Theodoret sit here in the rank of accusers, as you are present in the rank of accused. Let them proceed with the reading." They then read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople under Flavian, which were inserted 50. E. in those of Ephesus⁴.

II. When St. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch was read, the Bishops of Illyricum cried out⁵, "We believe as did Cyril. The memory of Cyril is eternal." Theodoret said, "Anathema to him who speaks of two sons. We adore but one Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the only begotten." All the Bishops cried out, "We believe as Cyril, anathema to him who believes not so." The Easterns cried out, "Flavian believed thus, this is what he advocated; for this he was deposed. Eusebius deposed Nestorius; Dioscorus wounded the Faith." They meant to say that Eusebius was the first who accused Nestorius. The Egyptians cried out, "God de-

71.

“posed Nestorius.” The Easterns cried out, “Leo believes A. D. 451. thus, Anatolius thinks thus.” The Egyptians cried out, ^{CH. VIII.} “We all of us think thus; [let not Satan have any place.]” After many similar acclamations on both sides, the magistrates said, “And why then did you receive Eutyches, who affirmed the contrary, and depose Flavian and Eusebius¹,¹ p. 174. “who maintained this truth?” Dioscorus replied, “The Acts will shew.”

They now read a remonstrance of Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, who, to shew that St. Cyril had explained himself in his other writings, quoted the letters to Acacius of Melitene, to Valerian of Iconium, and to Successus of Diocæsarea in Isauria, in which he says that in CHRIST there is but the one incarnate nature of the WORD². When this was read, ^[¹ Supr. 26. 29.] the Eastern Bishops cried out, “This is what Eutyches says, “this is what Dioscorus says,” meaning that Eutyches and Dioscorus attributed their errors to St. Cyril. Dioscorus said, “We neither say confusion nor division nor change; “anathema to him who speaks of confusion or change or “mixture.” The magistrates desired the holy Council to declare whether Eustathius’s remonstrance accorded with the canonical letters of Cyril.

But before the Council made answer, Eustathius advanced into the middle, and threw down a book, saying, “If I have said amiss, there is Cyril’s book, let them anathematize it, “and me too.” The Egyptians cried out, “Eustathius has well spoken; he is orthodox.” Eustathius recited from memory this passage of St. Cyril, “We are not to understand two natures, but one incarnate nature of the WORD.” He added³, “Anathema to him who speaks of one nature to⁴ p. 175. “the denial of the flesh of CHRIST as consubstantial with us, “and anathema to him who speaks of two natures to the “division of the SON of GOD. I wish also to speak on the “behalf of the blessed Flavian. He took these words simply “as they stand⁴, and presented them to the Emperor. Let ^[⁴ αὐτῶν ἐπιγράμματα λαβόν] “his autograph copy be read, that all the Council may see “that there was good reason for receiving it.” The magistrates said, “Why then did you depose Flavian?” Eustathius replied, “I was in the wrong.”

The declaration which Flavian had made in the Council of ^{VIII. Justification of Flavian.}

451. Constantinople of his faith respecting the Incarnation was
^{III.} now read. After which the magistrates said, "What is the
 " opinion of the Bishops of the present Council? Did Flavian,
 " in thus expounding the Faith, preserve the Catholic reli-
^{real-} gion', or did he err?" The legate Paschasinus said^s, "He
 0. " expounded the Faith in its purity and entirety, and this
 " exposition is in unison with the letter of the Bishop of
 " Rome." Anatolius of Constantinople said much the same;
 so too, after him, Lucentius, the other Bishop-legate; then
 Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of
 Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, all declared Flavian's doc-
 trine to be orthodox and in harmony with that of St. Cyril.
 The Easterns exclaimed, "The Martyr Flavian rightly ex-
 " plained the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Let the rest of his
 " words be read and then I will reply; for you will find that
 " he is at variance with himself and speaks of two natures
 " after the union." Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "Flavian
 " spoke in accordance with the words of Cyril, we beg that
 " what follows may be read, in order that his meaning may
 " be more clear." The Bishops of Palestine seconded this
 request. After which Juvenal rose along with them, and
 crossed over to the other side, thus intimating that he aban-
 doned the party of Dioscorus. The Easterns cried out, "It
 " is well that God brings you to us, O orthodox Bishop, you
 " are welcome."

Peter, Bishop of Corinth, said, "I was not present at the
 " Council of Ephesus, for I had not then been ordained
 " Bishop, but, from what has just been read, I find Flavian's
 " doctrine conformable to that of Cyril." He then rose, and
 1. went to the side of the Easterns, who cried out^s, "Peter thinks
 " as does Peter; orthodox Bishop, you are welcome." Ire-
 næus, Bishop of Naupactus, with the other Bishops of Hellas
 and Quintillus, Sozon, and the rest from Macedonia and
 Crete, with many more, including even some Egyptians, de-
 clared themselves for the memory of Flavian, and went over
 to the side of the Easterns. Dioscorus, seeing himself forsaken,
 said, "It is plain that Flavian was deposed for maintaining
 2. " two natures after the union'. I have various passages from
 " the Fathers Athanasius, Gregory, and Cyril, in which they
 " say that we are not to speak of two natures after the union,

"but of one Incarnate nature of the WORD. I am ejected
"with the Fathers^c."

They proceeded to read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople¹, and those of the revision made at the request of Eutyches; then they went on with the Acts of the pseudo-

IX.
The violent
acts of Dio-
scorus.

¹ Supr. 27-
33.

C. Calch.
p. 233.

^c Eutyches appealed to "Julius, Felix, Athanasius, and Gregory," (sup. 27. 31), to "Cyril, the two Gregories, Basil, Athanasius, Atticus, and Proclus" (Baluz. Synodic. c. 223); his monks to "Athanasius, Cyril, and Gregory" (Labbe, t. iv. p. 280, 1), as Dioscorus does in the text. In answer to these St. Leo gave his deputies a collection of passages from the Fathers: (supr. 27. 51. v. infr. c. 11.)

At the conference held in A.D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1766), the Acephali quoted the authorities of Julius and Felix, of Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory, and Dionysius; but the orthodox answered that most of them were forgeries of Apollinarius. Previously to this the monks of Palestine had said in their letter to Alkison, (A.D. 511; Evagr. iii. 31.) that some treatises by Apollinarius were ascribed to Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Julius. Leontius (A.D. 610) wrote a tract specially against the Apollinarian frauds, (Galland. VV. PP. t. xii. p. 701:) see also his book de Sectis, Act. viii. (Ibid. p. 651.) and the Collectanea adv. Severianos (ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. t. ii. p. 255. ed. Basnag.). Eulogius (Phot. Cod. 230. p. 272. Bekker.) assigns the passage in St. Gregory to Apollinarius, it is from the "Expos. Fid. κατὰ μέτρος." The passage of St. Athanasius (from the De Incarn.) is acknowledged both by Eulogius and Ephrem of Antioch (Phot. Cod. 229) as genuine. It is quoted as such by St. Cyril, De recta Fide (t. v. pt. 2. p. 48); and we can scarcely suppose with Le Quien (Diss. ii. in Damascen.) that he erred from ignorance as to the works of his great predecessor. Montfaucon suggests (præf. in l. De Inc. t. ii. p. 1) that the passage may have been foisted into St. Cyril's works; but this is inconsistent with what Eustathius of Berytus says, Labbe, t. iv. p. 174.

The orthodoxy of St. Cyril on the Incarnation, as ascertained by his other writings, is, we know, unquestionable; it is vindicated by Theodoret himself. (Eranist. t. iv. p. 110, 111.) The scem-

ing faultiness of the particular phrase in question arises from its using the abstract word (*φύσις*) instead of the concrete. But St. Cyril himself frequently employed the word *not* in an abstract sense:—Thus, especially, ad Anath. 2. contr. Theod. t. vi. p. 209. B. *ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἦγον ἢ ὑπόστασις, ὅ ἐστιν ἀτόπος ὁ λόγος*;—and frequently as equivalent to *ὑπόστασις*: and hence in t. vi. p. 172. B. he says, *ὑποστάσει μὲν τῆ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*. Other passages are adduced by Ephrem, u. s. p. 259, 260, and Petavius, De Inc. ii. 3. § 5, and iv. 7. § 2. (Dogm. Theol. t. iv. p. 121. 333.) Justinian, in his edict against the three Capitula, (Labbe, t. v. p. 689,) says that St. Cyril in this expression understood *ὑπόστασις* by *φύσις*. Ephrem points out that *φύσις* was used in two ways—of the *οὐσία* or of the *ὑπόστασις*; and he describes the error of Eutyches thus (p. 252. b): "he did not deny the hypostatic union, nor that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was Incarnate of the Virgin Mother of God, (though this was an after-thought and maugre his inclination;) he even anathematized those whom he formerly had an affection for, those who say that He brought His body from heaven; but the being of the same substance as we (*τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμοούσιον*), this although repeatedly pressed upon him, he could never be brought to admit, but preaching one substance (*μίαν οὐσίαν*) instead of owning His flesh to be of the same substance with ours, he was placed under anathema."

The truth is, that in the contest with diverse forms of error the words became more fixed and definite in their application. "Had Eutyches never appeared," says Leontius to the Acephalus, "you and I had perchance been using the same terms in common." (Galland. t. x. p. 711.) For Eutyches to appeal to the phraseology of St. Cyril in one or two isolated passages, apart from the context, without his qualifying additions, and uninterpreted by the rest of his writings, was of course a mere equivocation.

451. Council of Ephesus¹, in which those of Constantinople had
 been inserted. First came the declaration made by Basil of
 Seleucia against those who admit two natures after the union,
 in which he retracts his previous admission at the Council of
 Constantinople. When they were reading these words at
 Chalcedon, he said², "I call no other witnesses³. When I de-
 sired the Bishop John to correct my declaration, I was
 overawed by you, most reverend Dioscorus, for you at
 that time imposed on us a strong necessity. Soldiers
 came running into the Church with arms, whilst Barsumas
 with his monks, the Parabolani too, and many others stood
 by. Let all the Bishops be put on their oaths; let Auxo-
 nius, the Egyptian, be asked, let Athanasius be asked,
 whether they did not say, 'Nay, Sir⁴, do not abolish the
 belief of the whole earth.' " Dioscorus said, "What? did
 I force you?" Basil replied, "Yes, you forced us to this
 abomination by the menaces of that great crowd after the
 deposition of the blessed Flavian. Judge what violence he
 used then, when he was complete master of all, since he
 now disturbs the whole Council, though he has only six
 adherents left. I demand that all the Metropolitans of
 Lycaonia, Phrygia, Perga, and the rest, may declare on
 the holy Gospels if it be not true, that, after Flavian's de-
 position, as we were all in consternation, not daring even
 to open our mouths, and some even running away, he rose
 and said, 'Do ye see? If any one refuses to sign his name
 he will have to settle with me.' I desire that Eusebius
 may declare on oath, if he did not run in danger of being
 deposed, because he hesitated a little before he spoke."

Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, said, "After that which
 has been just read, a canon was recited to the effect that no
 one should thereafter raise any question about the Faith,
 on pain of being deposed or excommunicated. I said to
 the Bishops who were sitting near me, 'This canon is read
 with a view to depose Flavian⁵.' Epiphanius of Perga
 answered, 'God forbid; if he has any resentment it will
 fall on Eusebius.' When the canon had been read, Dio-
 scorus immediately said, 'Bid the notaries come in.' They
 brought the form for deposing Flavian, and read it. I got
 up, took some other Bishops with me, and laid hold on his

"knees, saying, 'Nay, I conjure you, he has not done any thing worthy of deposition.' Dioscorus rose from his chair, and standing on his footstool, said, 'So you rebel against me—call the Counts.' Thus we were forced to subscribe."

A. D. 451.
CH. IX.

Dioscorus answered, "It is false, I demand a fair trial, produce your witnesses." And when Marinian, Bishop of Synnada got up, Dioscorus said to him, "Did I say in a threatening manner, 'Call the Counts?'" Marinian said, "As he was going to pass sentence¹, I rose with Onesiphorus and Nunnechius of Laodicea, and others. We held his feet, saying, 'You, too, have Priests, and a Bishop ought not to be deposed for a Priest.' He replied, 'Though my tongue were to be cut out, I cannot speak otherwise.' The crowd now rushed in. We remained holding him by the knees, and entreating him: he then gave vent to these words, 'Where are the Counts?' The Counts entered, and brought in the Proconsul, with chains² and a great multitude. At last we each of us subscribed." Dioscorus replied, "There were not ten, or twenty, or thirty, or a hundred persons in all. I will produce witnesses to shew that there is not a word of truth in what has been said. But your greatness is fatigued; if you think fit, let this business be adjourned."

[¹ ἀποφα-
νεσθαι]

[² κλωίδων]

The magistrates, without noticing this interested suggestion of Dioscorus, proceeded with the reading, in the course of which they were obliged to light tapers³; which shews that it was about six o'clock in the evening; for at Chalcedon, on the eighth day of October, the sun sets at thirty-eight minutes after five. When they came to the condemnation of Flavian, the Easterns cried out⁴, "Anathema to Dioscorus." He then deposed, let him now be himself deposed. O Lord, avenge thyself. Long life to Leo; many years to the Patriarch." When all the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, and the subscriptions, had been read, the magistrates said⁵, "The Faith shall be more fully examined in to-morrow's assembly. But since it appears from the Acts which have been read, as well as from the confession of some who were of most note in the Council, that Flavian of holy memory, and the most pious Bishop Eusebius were un-

³ p. 300. E.

⁴ p. 305. B.

⁵ p. 322. E.

“ each Patriarch shall choose one or two of his dependent A. D. 451.
 “ Bishops ; these shall come into the middle of the assembly, CH. XI.
 “ and having consulted together about the Faith¹, shall declare ¹ p. 340.
 “ it before all the Council. If they all agree, as we hope they
 “ will, there will be no farther difficulty ; if some hold con-
 “ trary opinions, then these will be clearly elicited.” Flo-
 “ rentius of Sardis said, “ It is impossible for us to give off-
 “ hand an exposition of faith², we therefore beg that we may ^{[² σχεδιδ-}
 “ have time for reflection, though certainly we, who have ^{σαι περι της}
 “ subscribed St. Leo’s letter, have no need of correction.” ^{πιστους]}
 Cœcropsius of Sebastopolis said, “ The Faith has been well
 “ explained by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and
 “ by the holy Fathers Athanasius, Cyril, Cælestine, Hilary,
 “ Basil, and Gregory, and now by the most holy Leo ; we
 “ therefore desire that their writings may be read.” The
 magistrates ordered this to be done.

Eunomius, Bishop of Nicomedia, read from a book the
 Creed of Nicæa, with this date affixed : “ In the consulate
 “ of Paulinus and Julian, in the year 636 of Alexander, the
 “ nineteenth of the month Desius, which is, the thirteenth of
 “ the calends of July,” that is, June 19, 325. Next, Aëtius,
 Archdeacon of Constantinople, read from a book³ the Creed ³ p. 341.
 of the second general Council of Constantinople. After that
 he read St. Cyril’s [second] letter to Nestorius, and that to
 John of Antioch. After each of these readings, the Bishops
 testified by their acclamations that this was their faith.
 Last of all, the secretary Beronician read from a book which
 Aëtius presented to him, a Greek translation of St. Leo’s
 letter to Flavian.

While this was being read⁴, the Bishops of Illyricum and XI.
 Palestine raised some difficulties about three places where the Approval
 distinction of two natures is strongly expressed ; but on the of St. Leo’s
 two first the Archdeacon Aëtius shewed them exactly similar letter.
 passages from St. Cyril, and Theodoret did the same office 4 p. 368. C.
 for the third⁵. When the reading was ended⁶, the Bishops ⁵ p. 369.
 cried out, “ This is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith ⁶ p. 368. B.
 “ of the Apostles ; we all believe thus, the orthodox believe
 “ thus, anathema to him who does not believe thus. Peter
 “ has thus spoken through Leo ; the Apostles taught thus.
 “ Leo’s doctrine is pious and true ; Cyril taught thus ; be

“ the memory of Cyril eternal. Leo and Cyril teach the same. Why was not this read at Ephesus? This is what Dioscorus concealed.” After St. Leo’s letter, they read the passages which he had selected from the Fathers¹, namely, from St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril² d.

The magistrates said³, “ After this is there any one still in doubt?” The Bishops exclaimed, “ No one is in doubt.” Atticus of Nicopolis desired a few days for examining more at leisure the passages of the Fathers, especially the letter of St. Cyril, which contains his twelve anathemas. All the Bishops seconded this request. The magistrates said, “ The hearing shall be deferred for five days. In the mean time, you shall assemble with Anatolius, to consult in common about the Faith, that those who are in doubt may be instructed.” The Bishops all exclaimed, “ We believe thus; none of us is in doubt; we have already subscribed.” The magistrates said, “ There is no need that you should all assemble, but since it is fitting that all who are in doubt should be enlightened, the Archbishop Anatolius shall select from among the Bishops who have subscribed, such as shall seem to him qualified to explain the doubtful points.” The Bishops cried out, “ We pray for our Fathers; let the Fathers be present at the Council; carry our prayers to the Emperor, our prayers to the Empress. We all sinned, let all receive pardon.” It was, probably, Dioscorus’s party who said this, their wish being to get him restored to the Council along with Juvenal and the others who had presided at the false Council of Ephesus. The clergy of Constantinople said, “ The shouts come from only a small number, it is not the Council that speaks thus.” The Easterns cried out, “ Banish the Egyptian⁴.” The Illyrians said, “ We all transgressed; let all be forgiven. Restore Dioscorus to the Council, restore him to the Churches.” After more exclamations of the same kind the magistrates said, “ The things we have discussed shall be executed.” Thus ended the second session.

^d This collection is attributed by Garnier, in *Mar. Mercat.* pt. 2. p. 218. to Theodoret, but on insufficient grounds,

as is shewn at length by Quesnel, in *Leon.* t. ii. p. 1425, sqq. ed. Baller.

The third was held three days after, on the thirteenth of October¹. The magistrates were not in attendance, and the trial of Dioscorus was conducted in canonical form. Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople and chief Notary, discharged the duties of Promoter². He represented, that Eusebius of Dorylæum had placed before the Council³ another petition, besides the one to the Emperor, which had been read at the first session. Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, who presided at the Council in place of St. Leo, ordered it to be read. The burden of it was⁴, that all the proceedings against Eusebius and Flavian ought to be cancelled, the heresy of Eutyches anathematized, and Dioscorus punished so as to be made an example.

Eusebius then said, "I desire that my adversary be summoned to confront me." Aëtius said, "Before the Council had assembled, the Deacons Domnus and Cyriacus went as you ordered, to inform Dioscorus that he would be expected to attend along with the other Bishops, and his reply was that he was quite willing, but that his guards would not suffer him." Paschasinus ordered that they should examine if he were not at the door of the Council. The Priests Epiphanius and Elpidius, who were commissioned to do this, being interrogated on their return by Anatolius, stated that they had gone round the church and not found him⁵. Three Bishops, Constantine, Metropolitan of Bostra in Arabia⁶, Acacius of Ariarathia, and Atticus of Zela, attended by Himerius, Reader and Notary, were deputed to go to his hotel.

On their arrival, Constantine told Dioscorus that the holy Council desired his attendance in the church of St. Euphemia, in which they had met. Dioscorus answered, "I am under guard; ask the magistrans if I am at liberty to go." Acacius, Bishop of Ariarathia, said, "We are not sent to the magistrans, but to you." Dioscorus still persisted in urging this excuse: but when the deputies were gone, he called them back, and said, "On reflection, my answer is that in the last meeting of the Synod the magistrates came to a decision which the Council, by summoning me now, wishes to undo. I demand that the magistrates and

¹ See Reland. Palest. p. 666, and Asseman, B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. pp. 595, 730.

A. D. 451.
CH. XII.

XII.
The third session.
Dioscorus cited.

¹ Tertio Idus.

² p. 377. E.
³ p. 380.

⁴ p. 381. C.

⁵ p. 384.

which was read in the Council, after which Eusebius declared that he accused no one except Dioscorus; and demanded that a third summons should be issued¹.

A. D. 451.
CH. XIII.

¹ p. 393.

In the mean time the Archdeacon Aëtius said that some Clerks and laymen from Alexandria were standing at the door of the Council, and that they had presented petitions against Dioscorus, and prayed for admission. The Council ordered them to come in. They were the Priest Athanasius, the Deacons Ischyriion and Theodorus, and a layman named Sophronius. The legate Lucentius ordered Aëtius to read their petitions, which were all addressed to St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. They began with that of Theodorus, of which the substance was as follows². "I have served nearly
" twenty-two years in the Company of Magistrians; Cyril, of
" happy memory, had me for his deputy, especially at the
" time of the Council of Ephesus. To shew his approval of
" my services, he placed me among the clergy of Alexandria,
" and there I remained fifteen years, preferring the service
" of the Church to the advantages which I might have ex-
" pected from my office. But when Dioscorus came to the
" see, he immediately expelled me from my clerical post, not
" bringing any charge or complaint against me, but merely
" because I had enjoyed the affection of Cyril; for he made
" it his aim to expel from the city, (if not to send out of
" the world,) not only the relatives, but the friends of
" Cyril, as opposed to his own doctrine; for he is a heretic,
" —an Origenist,—and blasphemes the holy Trinity. He
" has committed murders, cut down trees, burnt and pulled
" down houses³. He has always led an infamous life, as I
" am prepared to prove. Lastly, when he was at Nicæa,
" he presumed to pass sentence of excommunication on
" the holy see of Rome in company with only about ten
" Bishops who followed him from Egypt, and who put their
" names to it only on compulsion." The petition then
mentions four witnesses, whose persons, it advises, should
be secured.

XIII.
Petitions
against
Dioscorus.

² p. 396.

³ p. 397.

Ischyriion's petition⁴ contained the same general charges,⁴ p. 400.
and, on coming to particulars, set forth that "the soil of
" Libya being too arid to grow wheat⁵, the Emperors were
" accustomed to send supplies to the Churches there, mainly

[⁵ *σῖτον*.
Lat. tritici.
cum.]

U. D. 431. " to provide for the bloodless sacrifice¹, but also for the
 " foreigners: and the poor of the country. These supplies
 " Dioscorus had prevented the Bishops from receiving, and
 " bought it up himself, selling it in the season of scarcity
 " at a high price; so that from that time the awful unbloody²
 " sacrifice was never celebrated, and the poor of the country
 " and strangers were deprived of their comforts. Peristeria,
 " of illustrious memory³, had bequeathed large sums of gold
 " to be distributed among the monasteries, the houses for
 " receiving strangers⁴, [the almshouses⁵], and the other poor
 " of Egypt. Dioscorus got it into his hands, and gave it
 " to dancing women⁶ and other persons belonging to the
 " theatre. His incontinence is notorious throughout the
 " country. Shameless women were continually seen to fre-
 " quent the Bishop's house and his bath, especially the
 " famous Pan sophia, surnamed the Mountaineer, so that she
 " and her paramour have often been openly denounced by
 " the people of Alexandria. He has also been the cause of
 " several murders.

" As to myself I received the honour of the clericate on
 " account of my long services to the Church of Alexandria;
 " I was also employed by St. Cyril on several journeys, par-
 " ticularly to Constantinople; but immediately on Cyril's
 " death, embittered by all the proofs of affection which
 " St. Cyril had shewn me, this man would not suffer me
 " to officiate at the sacred Mysteries; he sent some monks
 " and others on to a small estate which was my only means
 " of subsistence, and set fire to the buildings, cut down the
 " fruit trees, hacked up the land, and made me in very truth
 " a beggar. Not satisfied with this, he sent a band of eccle-
 " siastics, or rather of banditti, with the Deacon Peter⁶ and
 " the Priests Harpocraton and Menas, with orders to make
 " away with me and bring my dead body back to him.
 " I succeeded in escaping, [but as I imprudently remained]

¹ There are many reasons why wheat was used in preference to other grain, in the Holy Communion: it is more nutritious, finer, purer, (whence its Saxon and German names,) and, lastly, more glutinous and cohesive, and so, aptly typifying the unity of
 † that *els* *apros*, mentioned

by St. Paul, on which St. Augustine often dilates: (cf. *supr.* p. 219. marg.) Our own Church directs that the bread shall be "the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten:" not, perhaps, without a reference to Ps. lxxx. 16 (in pr. bk. 17). See also John xii. 24.

“ in Alexandria, he ordered Harpocraton to carry me off A. D. 451.
 “ and lodge me in a hospital for the wounded ; there, too, he CH. XIII.
 “ sent after me an assassin, as all in the hospital well know,
 “ since it was only by their assistance that I was saved ; nor
 “ did he deliver me from that unjust imprisonment, until I
 “ had promised, weak as I was, to leave Alexandria.” Is-
 chyriion names six witnesses, who were Dioscorus’s own
 domestics.

The Priest Athanasius set forth in his petition¹ that his p. 405. D.
 brother Paul and he were nephews to St. Cyril, whose sister
 Isidora was their mother ; that St. Cyril had in his will left
 to his successor, whoever he should be, several large legacies,
 conjuring him by the holy Mysteries, to protect his family,
 and save them from annoyance. “ Dioscorus, however², from p. 408.
 “ the moment he entered on his episcopate, threatened my
 “ brother and myself with death, and forced us to leave
 “ Alexandria and come to Constantinople in hopes of finding
 “ redress, but he wrote to Chrysaphius and Nomus, who
 “ then, in fact, swayed the empire, soliciting them to put
 “ us out of the way. We were thrown into prison and sub-
 “ jected to various kinds of ill-treatment, until we had given
 “ up all we had in the way of moveables and were obliged to
 “ borrow several sums at extravagant interest. My brother
 “ died, unable to bear up against his persevering tormenters.
 “ I remained with our aunts, his wife, and his children, over-
 “ whelmed with debt and not daring to shew our heads. In
 “ the mean time, that we might have no home to retire to,
 “ Dioscorus converted our houses into churches ; mine, which
 “ is about four stadia distant³ and could not conveniently be [³ τερδρη
 στέρη ἐπι-
 κειμένης]
 “ made a church of, he enclosed and blocked up.

“ Not satisfied with this, he without any reason deposed
 “ me from the Priesthood, and for seven years we have now
 “ been wandering from place to place, still pursued as well
 “ by our creditors as by Dioscorus, not being allowed so
 “ much as to lodge in the churches or monasteries. I took
 “ refuge in the monastery of Metancea at Canopus⁴, which Supr. 19.
 “ has always been considered an asylum, but he prohibited 31.
 “ me from using the public bath⁵ and from buying bread or p. 409.
 “ any other kind of food, resolving at all hazards on my
 “ death, so that I was compelled to beg for my livelihood

been presented to the Council, Paschasinus several times inquired how they were to proceed, and whether the Council thought fit to judge him according to the rigour of the canons; the whole Council declared that they consented to this course. Then the three legates¹, Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, pronounced the sentence in these terms: "The outrages committed against the canons by Dioscorus, late Bishop of Alexandria, have been plainly proven by the evidence adduced both in the former session and in this. He received to his communion Eutyches, who was condemned by his own Bishop². He persists³ in maintaining that what he did at Ephesus was well done, though he ought to mourn for it, and ask for pardon, as the others have done. He would not permit the Pope Leo's letter to Flavian to be read. He even excommunicated the Pope. Several complaints have been presented against him to the Council. He has been three times cited, and refuses to pay obedience. Wherefore, the most holy Archbishop of Rome, Leo, through us and this present Council, with the Apostle St. Peter, who is the rock and foundation⁴ of the Catholic Church and of the orthodox Faith, deprives him of the episcopal dignity and every sacerdotal ministry. The Council, therefore, will decree concerning him in conformity with the canons." Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest of the Bishops, delivered their opinions in succession, all, in various ways, expressing their consent and judgment, and all confirming the legates' sentence and the deposition of Dioscorus; there were a hundred and ninety-one Bishops, whose judgments are thus recorded⁴. They all afterwards subscribed in the same order;—the three legates first, for even the Priest Boniface signed before Anatolius. One Bishop subscribed in Persian⁵.

The Council informed Dioscorus of his sentence in a short note, which says that he had been deposed on the thirteenth of October for contumacy. They also sent information of it to Charmsynus, Priest and Steward, to Eustathius, the

A. D. 451.

CH. XIV.

p. 424. D.

p. 425.

³ *πέτρα*
καὶ κρημὶς:
 cf. Gieseler.
 vol. 1. § 92.
 n. 26.]

p. 426. sqq.

⁵ p. 459. C.
 [alt. p. s.]

¹ It belonged to the very essence of Catholic unity, that he who was excommunicate in one Church should be

held excommunicate in all Churches; Bingham. xvi. 2. § 10; where the canons on this point are brought together.

1. Archdeacon, and to the rest of the clergy of Alexandria¹, who — were then at Chalcedon, admonishing them to preserve the revenues of the Church for the future successor. The Council put forth a public notice of their sentence, addressed to all the people of Constantinople and Chalcedon, and declaring that, whereas Dioscorus had given out that he would be restored, he was deluding himself with false hopes. They also sent despatches to the Emperors Valentinian and Marcian, and to the Empress Pulcheria. Such was the third session.

At the fourth session, held four days after, that is, on the seventeenth of October², the magistrates were again present. It had been resolved, as we have seen, at the end of the first session and beginning of the second, that the examination of the point of Faith should be adjourned for five days³. The magistrates ordered this resolution to be read over, and then inquired of the legates⁴ what decision the Council had come to. Paschasinus replied, "The holy Council follows the definition of the Council of Nicæa⁵, and that of the Council held at Constantinople under the great Theodosius, with the exposition given at Ephesus by St. Cyril. Moreover, the writings which the Pope Leo has sent, against the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, have expounded the true Faith, which the holy Council receives, and which they can neither add to nor take from." When this declaration of Paschasinus was explained in Greek, the Bishops cried out, "We all of us believe thus; thus we were baptized, thus we baptize; thus we of old believed, thus we still believe." The magistrates said, "In the presence of the holy Gospels we desire that each of you declare, whether the exposition of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nicæa, and that of the hundred and fifty of Constantinople, agree with the letter of the most reverend Archbishop Leo."

Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, said, "The letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the Creed of Nicæa, with that of Constantinople, and with the Acts of the Council held at Ephesus in St. Cyril's time, which deposed Nestorius; wherefore I have given my consent, and have cheerfully subscribed it." Paschasinus said, in the name of all the legates, "It is clear that the Faith of the Pope is the same with that of the Fathers of Nicæa

“ and Constantinople, and that it agrees with the decisions A. D. 451.
 “ of the Council of Ephesus in St. Cyril’s time, and this CH. XV.
 “ without any variation. Hence the Pope’s letter, which has
 “ revived the Faith and was required by the heresy of Eu-
 “ tyches, has been received by the Council as indited by the
 “ same Spirit.” Maximus of Antioch said¹, “ The letter of ¹ p. 474.
 “ the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the exposition
 “ of Nicæa, that of Constantinople, and that of Ephesus,
 “ and I have subscribed it.” Similarly, Stephen of Ephesus,
 Diogenes of Cyzicus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of
 Bostra, and all the other Bishops, to the number of about
 a hundred and sixty, approved of St. Leo’s letter, and testi-
 fied that they had subscribed it, because they had found it
 conformable to the Faith of the Fathers².

The Bishops of Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Hellas and
 Crete², that is, of all Eastern Illyricum, made their declara- ² p. 490.
 tion in writing, which was dictated in the name of all, by
 Sozon, Bishop of Philippi, and ran thus³: “ We preserve the ³ p. 491. C.
 “ Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, which is
 “ our salvation, and we wish to die in it. That of the hundred
 “ and fifty in no wise differs from it. We moreover retain
 “ the decisions made by the Council of Ephesus, at which
 “ the blessed Cælestine and the blessed Cyril presided, and
 “ we are persuaded that the most holy Archbishop Leo is
 “ most orthodox ; we have been instructed concerning his
 “ letter by his legates Paschasinus and Lucentius, and they
 “ have cleared up the seeming differences⁴ which arose from [⁴ & ἡ φρά-
 “ the mode of expression. For when we met, by your order, σις διιστάειν
 “ at the Archbishop Anatolius’s house, they, in the presence ἡμῶν]
 “ of the assembly, [at once] anathematized all such as make
 “ a separation⁵ between the Divinity and the flesh of our [⁵ διιστάειν]
 “ LORD JESUS CHRIST⁶, which He united with Himself of the [⁶ τοῦ
 “ holy Virgin, and who do not ascribe to Him the several Κυρίου καὶ
Θεοῦ καὶ
συνήρους

¹ The letter was received, not as a final, judicial, decision, but as evidence that was to be weighed, and scrutinized, and accepted only if found to agree with that which was from the beginning. And this is precisely what we meet with in every part of the history of Christian doctrine ; it is not new truth that is discovered, but old truth

that receives a new expression adapted to the present exigency. In this very letter St. Leo says that the Creed was sufficient to refute all heresies (supr. 27. 35). The above consideration is put prominently forward and repeated with studious solicitude in the definition of Faith (infr. c. 21). Cf. note p at p. 49. vol. viii. ‘ Libr. of the Fathers.’ ἡμῶν I. X. ; cf. Bp. Middleton on 2 Pet. i. 1.]

- A. D. 451. "attributes of the GODHEAD and the manhood¹, without
 CH. XVI. " confusion, change, or division. Being persuaded, therefore,
 [" τὰ θεο- " that the letter is perfectly agreeable to the Faith of the
 πρεπή και " Fathers, we gave our consent to it, and subscribed it."
 ἀθροιστο- " All the Bishops of Illyricum confirmed this declaration *viuē*
 πρεπή.] *voce*. In the same way, the Bishops of Palestine made a
 * p. 494. C. common declaration in writing², acknowledging that they had
 thought some expressions in St. Leo's letter implied division
 and separation, but that the legates had satisfied them.

XVI. When these hundred and sixty Bishops had given their
 Restoration of the five opinions, the magistrates said³, "If all the other Bishops, who
 Bishops. " have not made a declaration individually, hold the same
 * p. 507. C. " opinion, let them testify it with their own mouths." The
 whole Synod exclaimed, "We all give our consent, we are
 " all of the same opinion, we all believe alike. Restore the
 " Fathers to the Council; they are Catholic, they subscribed.
 " Many years to the Emperors, many years to the Empress.
 " The five subscribed the Faith, they think as Leo does."
 These five, whose restoration they pleaded for, were Juvenal
 of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra,
 Basil of Seleucia, and Eustathius of Berytus, who had pre-
 sided at the false Council of Ephesus along with Dioscorus,
 and who in the first session of Chalcedon were declared to
 have deserved deposition no less than he.

When the Bishops had ended these exclamations, the
 magistrates said, "We made our report of these matters to
 " the Emperor, and await his answer. But you will have to
 " give an account to God for having deposed Dioscorus with-
 " out consulting either the Emperor or us, and also for your
 " present intercession in behalf of the five, and for all that is
 " done in the Council." All the Bishops cried out, "God
 " deposed Dioscorus, Dioscorus was justly deposed, CHRIST
 " deposed Dioscorus." After waiting some hours for the
 Emperor's answer, the magistrates said, "Our most pious
 " Emperor leaves it to your discretion to decide about the
 " Bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eusta-
 " thius; consider, therefore, how you are to proceed, and
 " bear in mind that you will give an account to God⁴."
 * p. 510. Anatolius said, "We request that they may be admitted."
 ll the Bishops cried out, "We beg that they may be ad-

“mitted. Restore them to the Council for they are one with us in opinion, and subscribed Leo’s letter.” The magistrates said, “Let them come in,” so the Bishops entered and took their seats, whilst the rest shouted, “This is God’s doing; many years to the Emperor, many years to the magistrates, many years to the senate. This is perfect union, this is the peace of the Church.”

The magistrates next gave an order for the admittance of some Egyptian Bishops who had presented a petition to the Emperor. They were thirteen in number, and were unanimously ordered to take their seats in the Council. Their petition was in the name of all the Bishops of Egypt, and contained nothing more than that they followed the Catholic Faith, and condemned all heretics¹, and especially those who affirmed that the flesh of our LORD came down from heaven and was not taken of the holy Virgin Mary. The Bishops shouted, “Why do they not anathematize the doctrine of Eutyches? They have presented this petition insidiously; let them subscribe Leo’s letter. Their object is to trifle with us and then withdraw¹.” Diogenes of Cyzicus said, “The Council was convened on account of Eutyches,—for what other reason was there? It was on account of him that the Archbishop of Rome wrote. We all consented to Leo’s letter, as conformable to the exposition of the Fathers; let them, too, give their assent.” Paschasinus, in the name of the legates, said, “Let them declare whether they consent to the letter of the Apostolic see and anathematize Eutyches.”

Hieracius, as spokesman of the Egyptian Bishops, said, “If any one holds opinions different from those contained in our petition, be he Eutyches or be he any one else, let him be anathema. As to the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo, all the Bishops know that we in all cases wait for the advice of our own most holy Archbishop. The Council of Nicæa decreed² that all Egypt should follow the guidance of the Archbishop of Alexandria, and that none of his

¹ Liberatus (c. 13) says of them, “libellos obtulerunt cum irrisione.” Tillemont (t. xv. p. 669) thinks that they were the Egyptians mentioned by Eulogius (Phot. cod. 230) who, “re-

“turning from Chalcedon, filled the land with tumult, saying that the Council had rejected Cyril and received Nestorius.”

A. D. 451.
CH. XVII.

XVII.
Representations of the Egyptians.

p. 511.

p. 514.

451. "Bishops should determine any thing without him." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "That is false." Florentius of Sardis said, "Let them prove their assertion." All cried aloud, "Distinctly anathematize Eutyches's doctrine. He who does not subscribe the letter, which the Council has approved, is heretical. Anathema to Dioscorus and all who cling to him. If they are not orthodox how will they appoint¹ a Bishop?" Paschasinus said, "Bishops who have seen so many years, and who have grown old in their churches, do not yet know the Catholic Belief, and must wait for the opinion of another^k!"

The Egyptians cried out, "Anathema to Eutyches and to those who believe him." But it was still insisted upon, that they must subscribe St. Leo's letter on pain of excommunication. Hieracius said², "The Bishops of our province³ are very numerous; we are too few to do any thing in their persons. We beg your Highness and the holy Council to take pity of us; for if we do any thing without our Archbishop, all the Bishops of Egypt will rise up against us, as violators of the canons; pity our old age." The thirteen Egyptian Bishops then threw themselves on the ground, saying, "Extend your pity and humanity over us." Cecropius of Sebastopolis said, "The Œcumenical Council is more worthy of being trusted to than that of Egypt, nor is it just that ten heretics should be listened to and twelve hundred Bishops set at naught. We do not require them to declare their faith for others, but for themselves personally." By these twelve hundred Bishops we may suppose that Cecropius meant the Bishops of the whole world¹.

^k "The Egyptian Bishops were no doubt very dependent on their Patriarch. . . . But whatever respect is due to the primate Bishops, the others must never forget that they too are Bishops, and hold their authority of CHRIST and the Church, not of those who consecrated them. The Council of Nicæa in no way authorizes any such degradation of the episcopate." Tillemont, p. 668.

¹ Or rather, in the Eastern empire. For it seems probable that the Metropolitans took with them "half the Bishops in their dependence," as we saw St. Cyril do to the Council of Ephesus (xxv. 34); and Lucentius

presently after speaks of the Council as numbering 600 (cf. supr. c. 1. note a). Of these only four came from the West, the two Roman legates, and two African Bishops, (which last were rather refugees than deputies, Tillemont, p. 641.) If we add 800 (we are not here pretending to much exactness) for the Bishops in Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, we shall have 2000 for the number of Bishops in the world; or, (as the number of Christians at the close of this century has been conjecturally stated at fifteen millions, Turner's Anglo-S. vol. iii. p. 484. 6th ed.) one Bishop, on an average, to 7500 Christians.

The Egyptians cried out, "We cannot live any longer in the province, have pity on us." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "They are the deputies of all the Egyptians, and ought to agree with the general Council." The legate Lucentius said to the magistrates, "Inform them, in case they be ignorant of it, that ten men cannot prejudice a cause so as to wrest authority from a Council of six hundred Bishops."

The Egyptians shouted, "We shall be murdered, take pity on us." All the other Bishops said, "You see what a testimony they bear to their Bishops!" The Egyptians said, "They will take our lives, have pity on us. Let us rather die here by your hands. Let an Archbishop be appointed here; Anatolius knows the custom of Egypt. It is not from disobedience to the Council, but we shall be murdered in our own country; have pity on us. You have the power; we would sooner die here by order of the Emperor, and you, and the Council. For God's sake consider our gray hairs, and spare ten men, whose lives are in your hands. They wish for our sees, let them take them; we care not to be Bishops any longer; only save us from death. Give us an Archbishop¹, and, if we resist,¹ punish us; elect an Archbishop, we will wait here until he be ordained."

The magistrates said, "It seems advisable that the Bishops of Egypt should remain at Constantinople for the present, and that no further steps be taken until an Archbishop shall have been ordained to Alexandria." Paschasinus said, "Let them give bail, then, not to leave this city until Alexandria has got a Bishop." The magistrates ordered that they should produce securities, or at the least bind themselves by an oath.

The magistrates and Council next issued an order for the admission of Faustus, Martin, Peter, Manuel, and several other Catholic Priests and Archimandrites, numbering in all eighteen. When they had entered and taken their seats, the magistrates ordered a paper to be read containing the names of eighteen persons who stiled themselves Archimandrites, and who had presented a petition to the Emperor; the Catholic Archimandrites were to state whether

A. D. 451.
CH. XVIII.

XVIII.
Petition of
the schis-
matic
Archiman-
drites.

51. they recognised them all as Archimandrites. Faustus answered in their name, that Carosus and Dorotheus, who headed the list, were so^m, that others of them were only guardians of Martyrs' Churches¹, and that some had only two or three persons² under their care, whilst several were entire strangers to them. "We request," they add, "that the Council would send to their monasteries, to know whether they really have the authority they claim, or only assume the title of Archimandrites. As to those who call themselves monks and are unknown to us and you, let them be sent away from the city as scandalous persons and impostors."

The magistrates, however, proceeded to admit Carosus and Dorotheus with their followers, among whom were Barsumas the Syrian and the eunuch Calopodius. They made them acknowledge their petition, and then gave orders for its recital; but Anatolius said, "The Priests Calopodius and Gerontius, who are among them, were deposed long ago, and cannot lawfully enter." "No one ever told us so until now," they replied. The Archdeacon Aëtius walked up to Calopodius, and said, "The Archbishop tells you by my mouth that you are deposed; depart." "On what grounds?" said Calopodius. "As a heretic," replied the Archdeacon. The petition presented in the name of the eighteen (so called) Archimandrites, and their partizans³, both lay and clerical, was now read. Its chief object was, to desire the Emperor's protection against the persecution of some of the clergy, who attempted to procure subscriptions from them by force, and drove them out of the monasteries and other churches where they lived.

Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, then said, "Barsumas, who came in with them, murdered the blessed Flavian. He was there, and said, *Stab*: he is not included in the petitions; why did he come in?" The Bishops cried out as with one voice, "Barsumas turned all Syria upside down⁴; he brought a thousand monks against us." The magistrates said to the monks⁵, "The Emperor has convened this Council according to your desire, and has ordered that you should be admitted. You must therefore listen patiently

^m They also

Maximus, the teacher (*διδασκαλος*) of Eutyches, p. 517.

“ to the regulations which the Council has made respecting
 “ the Faith.” Carosus, Dorotheus, and the other monks, A. D. 451.
CH. XVIII.
 said, “ We demand that the petition which we here present
 “ may be read.” This was a second petition addressed to the
 Council. The Bishops shouted, “ Drive out the murderer
 “ Barsumas, send him to the amphitheatre; anathema to
 “ Barsumas; banish Barsumas.” By ‘ sending him to the
 ‘ amphitheatre,’ they meant that he should be exposed to
 the wild beasts. The petition addressed to the Council in
 the name of the Archimandrites and all the brethren in
 CHRIST, was recited; it prayed that Dioscorus and the
 Bishops who were with him, might be present at the Council.

While this was being read, all the Bishops exclaimed, “ Ana-
 “ thema to Dioscorus, CHRIST deposed him. Drive these people
 “ away; remove the opprobrium of the Council.” Faustus
 and the Catholic Archimandrites said, “ Away with them,
 “ they are a reproach to the monasteries.” The magistrates
 proceeded with the reading of the petition¹; it turned entirely p. 528.
 on the restoration of Dioscorus, whom they represented as
 the champion of the Faith of Nicæa; and they protested that
 if they met with a refusal, they must renounce communion
 with the Council. The Archdeacon Aëtius then read from a
 book the fifth canon of Antioch², to the effect that the Priest Fleury,
12. 12.
 or Deacon, who leaves the communion of his Bishop to hold
 separate assemblies, is to be deposed, and, if he continues in
 his schism, ought to be ejected by the secular power as a
 seditious person. The Bishops cried out, “ This canon is
 “ just, this is a canon of the holy Fathers.” The magis-
 trates asked the schismatic monks if they consented to the
 decisions of the Council. Carosus said³, “ I know the Faith p. 529.
 “ of Nicæa, in which I was baptized: I know no other. They
 “ are Bishops; it is in their power to excommunicate and
 “ depose us. When St. Theotimus⁴ baptized me at Tomi, [^{Supr.}
 “ he enjoined me never to admit any other belief.” Doro- 21. 5.]
 theus said, “ I hold the Faith of Nicæa, in which I was
 “ baptized, and the definition of the Council of Ephesus
 “ against Nestorius; I know no other faith.” Barsumas
 said by an interpreter, (for he spoke in Syriac,) “ I believe
 “ as the three hundred and eighteen Fathers did; I was
 “ thus baptized, in the name of the FATHER, and of the

A. D. 451. "SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, even as our LORD taught
CH. XVIII. "His Apostles themselves". The rest said the same.

The Archdeacon Aëtius went up to them and said, "The
"holy Council believes as did the Fathers of Nicæa; but
"since in the mean time various disputes have arisen, the
"holy Fathers Cyril and Cælestine, and now the most
"holy Pope Leo, have published letters explanatory of the
"Creed, [not as formulæ of faith or doctrine,] and these
"the Œcumenical Council receives with respect. Do you
"defer to the judgment of the Council, and anathematize
"Nestorius and Eutyches, or not?" Carosus replied, "I
"have frequently anathematized Nestorius." Aëtius said to
him, "Then do you anathematize Eutyches, as the Council
"does, or not?" Carosus said, "Do you not find it written,
"Judge not, lest ye be judged? The Bishops are seated
"here, why do you speak?" Aëtius said, "Answer the ques-
"tion which the Council puts to you by me; Do you obey
"the general Council or not?" Carosus again took refuge
in the Council of Nicæa, and concluded³; "If Eutyches be-
"lieves not as the Catholic Church believes, let him be
"anathema."

[¹ ἑρμηνευ-
σάσας τὸ
σύμβολον,
οὐ πιστὴν ἢ
δόγμα ἐκτι-
θεμένοι]

² Mat. vii. 1.

³ p. 532.

An order was given by the magistrates for reading a peti-
tion which had been presented to the Emperor by Faustus
and the other Catholic Abbots, against Eutyches's followers,
who, though frequently admonished by Anatolius and others,
refused to subscribe the confession of Faith. It concluded
by praying that these renegades should be punished accord-
ing to the monastic rule, and be ejected from the monastery⁴
in which they lived and held their meetings. Dorotheus
attempted⁵ to maintain the orthodoxy of Eutyches, and
thought it sufficient to say, that He who suffered was of
the Trinity⁶. All the Bishops cried out, "Do you subscribe
"the letter or not?" meaning St. Leo's. Dorotheus replied,
"I believe according to the baptismal form⁷; but for the
"letter—I do not subscribe it." The magistrates said,
"When the Emperor sent officers to you, you promised to
"obey the decisions of the Council; why then do you now

[⁴ σπη-
λαίου:
supr. 25.
43. p., yet
perhaps re-
ferring to
Luke xix.
46.]

⁵ p. 533.
[⁶ ἐκ τῆς
Τριᾶδος ἐλ-
ναι]
[⁷ εἰς τὸ
βάπτισμα
πιστεύω]

ⁿ This is the last notice, in the Acts, of that zealot-agitator: nor is anything certain known of the sequel of his history. The Syrian legends about him are given by Asseman, B. O. t. ii. pp. 1—10.

“withhold your consent?” Dorotheus answered, “Our petition to the Emperor was, that the Council might confirm the Faith of Nicæa.” The magistrates offered to intercede with the Council to grant them a delay of two or three days, but Carosus and Dorotheus assured them that they could not change their opinions. Thus ended the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon, according to the oldest copies. The modern ones have an appendix containing the sequel of the affair of Carosus and Dorotheus, as also that of Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus. We will here give an account of these.

Alexander, Priest and Visitor¹ °, whom the Council had sent to the Emperor about the schismatic monks, made his report in these terms: “I told the Emperor, that Dorotheus and Carosus asserted that he had promised to assemble the monasteries, and us with them, and to hear our statements in the presence of the holy Gospel. The Emperor charged the decurion John and myself to return them this answer; ‘If I had myself intended to hear between you, I should not have put the general Council to the trouble of assembling here. The Bishops assembled for this purpose, and I directed you to go to them, and receive instruction on the points about which you were ignorant, for you may be assured of this, that, whatever the general Council shall decree and present to me in writing, that I will follow, embrace, and believe. Understand this therefore, for you shall receive no other answer from me.’”

When the report was ended, the Council cried out, “Long life to the Emperor, long life to the Empress.” The petition which Carosus and his followers had presented to the Emperor, praying for the restoration of Dioscorus, was then read

° Or, as we should say, Inspector. De Marca (De Concord. ii. c. 13. § 6) makes the offices of *ὑπεροδευτής* and *ὑπερολοκωτος* identical. It would seem, however, that the very object why the first was instituted was to supersede the latter: v. Justel. ad Can. 57 Laodicea. (t. i. p. 90), and Ebed-Jesu, ap. Assem. B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 830. Asseman remarks that among the later Nestorian lawyers the two titles are used as equivalent: which may easily be, since the *ὑπερολοκωτος* of later

times was deprived of the *power of ordination*,—the very point in which, it is presumed, the original institution was found to be inconvenient.

The office is thus described by Balsamon, in Can. 57 Laod. (Bevereg. Synodic. t. i. p. 480): “The Periodontes is the same with our modern *Bishop's Exarch*, whose duty it is to itinerate and take note of spiritual faults, and to establish the faithful.” See also Suicer. s. v. and Neander, Gesch. d. Kirche, B. 2. S. 342.

A. D. 451. a second time; after which¹ the Archdeacon Aëtius proposed that the canons against schismatics should be read. The Council ordered it, and he read from a book the canons eighty-three and eighty-four, which are the fourth and fifth of the Council of Antioch². We thus see that the Church at that time used the collection entituled, "Code of the Canons of the Universal Church," in the same form that it still exists in³. When the canons had been read, the Council, approving of the indulgence shewn by the Emperor and magistrates to the refractory monks, granted them a delay of thirty days, from the fifteenth of October to the fifteenth of November. "On that day," says the Council, "some of the clergy shall be sent to inform them that they must either submit to the decisions of the Council, or forfeit all their degrees and dignities, resigning the headship of their monasteries, and being excluded from communion. If they leave the city, the forfeiture shall still take its course; the secular power will, in accordance with the canons, aid in enforcing the decree against the contumacious." The fifteenth of October, from which the term allowed them dates, was two days before the fourth session, in which they had been heard; and this special session is dated three days after, or October the 20th.

XIX. We must now notice the dispute between Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, which was this. Photius claimed to be sole Metropolitan of the first Phœnicia⁴, and complained that Eustathius had availed himself of the credit he had enjoyed under Theodosius the younger to get Berytus erected into a metropolis, and had assumed to himself the jurisdiction and right of ordination to the six churches of Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosias, Arcas, and Antaradus⁵. Eustathius attempted to evade the trial, by representing that the definition of Faith ought first to be subscribed before any other business was entered upon⁶; but the magistrates, notwithstanding, ordered Photius's petition to be read. They next said⁷ that the Emperor wished the affairs of Bishops to be regulated not according to the Imperial letters, or the Pragmatic Sanction⁸ p, but according to the canons. They asked

CH. XIX.

¹ p. 537.

[² Labbe, t. ii. p. 563. Cf. Can. Apost. 27. 30.]

³ v. Bibl. Justel. t. i. p. 44.

The case of Photius and Eustathius tried.
⁴ p. 542.

⁵ p. 544. E.

⁶ p. 540. D.

⁷ p. 544. C.

[⁸ τὸν πραγματικὸν τὸν νόμον]

⁸ The formal decision given by the Emperor in consistory. So *Pragmaticum rescriptum* and *Sanctio* in Collat. iii. Carthag. c. 38, 39. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1456.)

the Council how they wished the affair to be decided, according to the canons, or according to the Emperor's mandate? A. D. 451. CH. XIX.
 The Council said, "According to the canons. The Pragmatic Sanction shall have no force [against the canons]; let the canons prevail."

Eustathius pleaded in his favour a Council of Constantinople¹; on which the magistrates asked if it was right to call p. 546.
 the assembly of Bishops who were on a visit² to Constantinople [³ ἐπιδη-
 a Council. Tryphon, Bishop of Chios, said, "It is called a μούντων]
 "Council, and justice is there administered to all who bring
 "their grievances before it." Anatolius of Constantinople
 said³, "A custom has long prevailed, that Bishops who are p. 548.
 "residing⁴ at Constantinople should assemble, when occasion [⁴ ἐπιδη-
 "requires, for such ecclesiastical affairs as accidentally oc- μούντας
 "cur; that they determine them, and answer those ques-
 "tions which are put to them." This sort of Council is
 called in Greek, *συνόδος ἐπιδημούσα*⁵.

They read the fourth canon of the Council of Nicæa, which [⁵ supr. 27. 23. p.]
 assigns the power of ordination to the Metropolitan with his
 provincial Bishops. The magistrates asked if one province
 could have two Metropolitans. The Council answered, that
 there could never be more than one. The magistrates then
 said⁶, "In accordance with the canons of Nicæa and the judg- p. 549.
 "ment of the Council, Photius of Tyre shall have the whole
 "power of ordaining in all the cities of the first Phœnicia;
 "and the Bishop Eustathius shall not, in virtue of the
 "Imperial Pragmatic Sanction, have more than the other
 "Bishops of the province. Let the Council declare if they
 "agree to this." The Council said, "This is just judgment,
 "this is God's judgment; long live the Emperor, long live
 "the Empress, long live the magistrates."

The magistrates asked what the Council would decree
 relative to the Bishops who, after being ordained by Photius,
 had been deposed by Eustathius and reduced to the rank of
 Priests. The Council said, "We think it right that they
 "should be Bishops; it is but fitting that they should be
 "reinstated in the cities to which they were ordained by
 "their Metropolitan." The Pope's legates said, "It is sacri-
 "lege to degrade a Bishop to the rank of Priest; if there
 "be any legitimate grounds for depriving him of episcopal

A. D. 451. "functions, he ought not to retain even the rank of Priest."
 CH. XX. Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the rest, expressed the same opinion. Cecropius of Sebastopolis proposed that this rule should be made general for all the provinces, and that the Pragmatic Sanction should have no weight in opposition to the canons; and an injunction was issued by the advice of the Council to that effect. This, as well as the preceding special session, is dated the twentieth of October.

XX. The fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon was held on the eleventh of the calends of November, or October 22. The magistrates asked what decision had been come to respecting the Faith¹. Asclepiades, Deacon of Constantinople, read a definition, which it was not thought proper to insert in the Acts. Some persons raised difficulties, and John, Bishop of Germanicia, said, "This definition is not "right; another must be made." Anatolius of Constantinople said to the Council, "Are you satisfied with the definition?" All the Bishops, except the Romans and some Easterns, cried out, "We are all satisfied with the definition. "It is the faith of the Fathers; he who thinks otherwise is "heretical; anathema to him who thinks otherwise: drive "out the Nestorians." Anatolius said, "Did not every one "yesterday consent to the definition of faith?" The Bishops said, "Every one consented. We do not believe otherwise; "it is the faith of the Fathers: let it be set down, that holy "Mary is the Mother of God; let this be added to the "Creed."

The Pope's legates said, "If they do not consent to the "letter of the blessed Bishop Leo, let copies² be given to us, "that we may return, and that the Council may be assembled "in the West." The magistrates answered, "If you think "proper, let us assemble with six Bishops of the East³, three "of Asia, three of Pontus, three of Illyricum, and three of "Thrace, the Archbishop Anatolius, and the Romans, in "the oratory of the church; and when we have thoroughly "examined every thing, a report shall be made to you of "what we determine about our holy Faith⁴." The Bishops exclaimed, "Every one approved the definition;" and seeing John of Germanicia go up to the magistrates, they shouted,

Fifth session. The definition of faith rejected.
¹ p. 556.

[² ἀντι-
γραφα]

[³ ἀνατολι-
κῶν]

⁴ p. 558.

“Away with the Nestorians; away with the God-opposers¹: A. D. 451.
 every one yesterday agreed to the definition; let it be sub- CH. XX.
 scribed. He who refuses to subscribe is a heretic; the
 “HOLY GHOST dictated it; let it be forthwith subscribed.” [1 θεομά-
 χους]

After many similar outbreaks of feeling on the part of the Bishops, the magistrates said, “Dioscorus stated that the reason of his deposing Flavian was, because he said there are two natures; the definition says ‘of two natures.’” [2 ἐκ δύο φύσεων] Anatolius replied, “Dioscorus was not deposed on the score of his Faith, but because he excommunicated the Archbishop Leo; and because he was summoned three times and would not appear.” The magistrates asked whether they received the Archbishop Leo’s letter. The Bishops said, “Yes, we have received it, and subscribed it.” “Then let the contents,” rejoined the magistrates, “be inserted in the definition.” The Bishops cried out, “We are for no other definition; nothing is wanting in this, it sanctions the letter; the Archbishop Leo believes as we do. He has spoken as Cyril did. Cælestine and Sixtus confirmed what Cyril said; let the definition be without fraud.” The magistrates said, “Your acclamations shall be carried to the Emperor;” and they despatched the Secretary Beronician to the palace.

In a short time he returned and said³, “The Emperor” p. 560.
 orders that, according to the suggestion of the magistrates, six Bishops of the East, three of Pontus, three of Asia, three of Thrace, and three of Illyricum, with the Archbishop Anatolius and the Romans, shall assemble in the oratory of the church and determine⁴ the Faith, so that [4 τῶν ὁ-
 all doubt and disagreement may be removed. If you ob- σαι]
 ject to this plan, let each of you declare his faith by his
 “Metropolitan; if you still object, then you must know that
 “the Council will be held in the West, since you will not

¹ It appears from Facundus, lib. v. c. 3 (p. 200, ed. 1629), that the Nestorians appealed to this statement as a proof that the Council favoured Eutychianism. Leontius, on the other hand, mentions that the Acephali of his day inferred that since Dioscorus was not convicted of heresy, his deposition was unjust. Leontius rightly

says, that had Dioscorus made his appearance he would have been deposed on the ground of heresy: de Sectis, act. vi. (Galland. Bibl. t. xii. p. 643); see also his Apol. C. Calch. (*ibid.* p. 722, and Mansi, t. vii. p. 807). Tillemont, t. xv. p. 679. Walch. Ketzzerh., Th. vi. § 65.

A. D. 451. "here come to any agreement concerning the Faith." There
 CH. XXI. was still some opposition, but at last all the Bishops consented
 to have the affair transacted by commissioners. The magistrates
 therefore went into the oratory of St. Euphemia, with
 Anatolius of Constantinople, the four legates, Paschasinus,
 Lucentius, Boniface, and Julian of Cos; Maximus of Antioch,
 Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea [in Cappadocia],
 Eusebius of Ancyra; Quintillus, Atticus, and Sozon; Bishops of
 Illyricum¹; Diogenes of Cyzicus, Leontius of Magnesia,
 Florentius of Sardis, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodorus of
 Tarsus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of Bostra, Theodorus
 of Claudiopolis in Isauria; and Francion, Sebastian, and Basil,
 Bishops of Thrace: in all twenty-two.

¹ p. 561.

XXI.
 The Definition of
 Faith approved.

After they had examined the Faith, they came out of the oratory, and when all had taken their seats, the magistrates said, "If the holy Council pleases to be silent, they shall hear what has been determined in our presence." Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, then read the definition of faith drawn up in the name of the Council. The Creed of Nicæa and that of Constantinople are recited in it at full length²; after which they add³, "This Creed were sufficient for the perfect knowledge of religion; but the enemies of the truth have invented novel expressions, some presuming to corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, and refusing the title of Mother of God to the Virgin, others introducing a confusion and mixture, and forging a wild and monstrous opinion that there is but one nature of the flesh and the Divinity, and that the Divine nature of the Son of God is passible. Wherefore the holy Council, wishing to close every avenue against their devices and to shew that the doctrine of the Church is still immoveably the same, has defined first of all, that the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers remains inviolable. Moreover, it confirms the doctrine which the hundred and fifty Fathers assembled at Constantinople taught concerning the substance of the HOLY GHOST; not because they thought the former exposition incomplete, but to leave on record their opposition to all gainsayers. And for the conviction of all who would corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, the Council receives the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril,

² p. 564.

³ p. 565.

“ both to Nestorius and to the Easterns ; as being well adapted to refute the error of Nestorius and to explain the sense of the Creed. To these the Council with good reason joins the letter sent by the most holy Archbishop Leo to Flavian, against the error of Eutyches, both as agreeing with the confession of St. Peter, and as calculated not more to destroy error than to establish the truth^r.

“ Following therefore the holy Fathers^s, we all with one voice declare¹, that we ought to acknowledge one and the same [SON] our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the same perfect in GODHEAD and perfect in manhood, truly GOD and truly man ; the same composed of a reasonable soul and body ; consubstantial with the FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like unto us in all things, yet without sin ; begotten of the FATHER before all worlds, in respect of the GODHEAD, and the same in these last days born of Mary the Virgin, Mother of GOD in respect of the manhood, for our sake and our salvation ; one and the same CHRIST, SON, LORD, only-begotten, in two natures^{2 t} ; without confusion, change, division, separation³ ; the difference of the natures being in nowise taken away by the union : on the contrary, the property of each is preserved, and concurs into one person

A. D. 451.
CH. XXI.

¹ p. 568.

² v. Evagr. 2. 4 in fine. [ἐκ δύο φύσεων. Lat. in duabus naturis]

[³ ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρήστως.]

^r St. Leo's letter thus became a symbolical book of the Church Catholic. There is probably no ancient writing of which more copies have descended to us than of this. Besides occurring twice in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (pt. i. c. 7, and Act ii.), it was publicly read in the Italian and other Western Churches during Advent (Baron. a. 449. § 43), and inserted in the Lectionaria ; Walch. u. s. § 29. Anm. 2.

¹ “ Then Theorian, taking up the definition of Chalcedon, shewed him, article by article, that it was all compiled from the words of the most ancient Fathers, especially of Cyril ;” Fleury, l. lxxii. c. 20.

^t That the Latin copies give the true reading (they all have *in duabus naturis*) seems clear from the context. The very object of the Bishops and legates in resisting the first definition was, that the *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* might be altered into *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*. The copy

of the definition given by Evagrius (ii. 4) contains *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*, which was also the reading of the copy brought by Elpidius and Gerontius to St. Euthymius, (Anal. Græc. pp. 56—58, where the phrase recurs four times.) Cassiodore (t. ii. p. 194) has an important passage bearing on this subject, in which *in duabus n.* is read. Indeed, the history of the conferences between the orthodox and the Severians in A.D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1768. E., sqq.), shews that it was agreed on both sides that the Council had written *in d. n.* Leontius positively assures us that this was the case (de Sectis, act. vi. § 3), and that they had purposely avoided the other expression for the following reason :—they could not reject it, since it expressed partial truth, nor yet could they be content with it, since it did not express the whole truth against Eutyches : v. Tillemont, t. xv. pp. 681 and 919. Cf. Mansi, Coll. Max. t. vii. p. 775.

. D. 451. " and one hypostasis ; so that He is not parted nor divided¹
 :H. XXII. " into two persons, but He, one and the same, is SON and
 μερισθ- " only-begotten, GOD the WORD, our LORD JESUS CHRIST."
 ενον η
 αρωμε-
 ν] The Council states that it shall not be lawful for any one
 to teach or think otherwise on pain, if Bishops or Clerks,
 of being deposed ; if monks or laymen, of being anathema-
 tized.

When this Definition of Faith had been read, the Bishops
 all exclaimed, "This is the Faith of the Fathers ; let the
 " Metropolitans subscribe forthwith ; let them subscribe in
 " presence of the magistrates ; what has been rightly defined
 " should not meet with any delay ; this is the faith of the
 " Apostles : we all follow it." The magistrates said, " That
 " which the Fathers have decreed, and which has satisfied
 " all, shall be reported to the Emperor." Thus ended the
 fifth session.

XXII.
 he sixth
 sion.
 arcian
 resent.
 p. 574.

The sixth was held three days afterwards, on the eighth of
 the calends of November, or October 25. There was a large
 attendance of Bishops and the Emperor Marcian came to the
 Council in person², accompanied by the magistrates who had
 previously assisted at it, with some others, amounting in all
 to four and thirty^u. He made a speech, which was de-
 livered in Latin (as the language of the empire) and was in-
 terpreted in Greek. He pointed out what his intention had
 been in convening the Council, namely, to preserve the purity
 of the Faith, which had for some time been impaired by the
 avarice and misdirected zeal of certain persons, (meaning,
 beyond doubt, Chrysaphius.) He said that they ought not to
 hold any other belief concerning the mystery of the Incar-
 nation than what had been taught by the Fathers of Nicæa,
 and by St. Leo in his letter to Flavian. He declared that,
 after the example of Constantine, his only object in attend-
 ing the Council was to establish the Faith, not to display his
 power, and he exhorts the Fathers sincerely to expound the
 Faith, agreeably to what they had received by tradition. All
 the Bishops cried out, " Long life to the King, long life to Au-

^u The presence of the Empress Pul-
 cheria at the Council, which had been
 denied by Baluze (ap. Mansi, Coll.
 Max., t. vii. p. 127), and after him by

Tillemont (t. xv. p. 920), is established
 beyond a doubt by the letter from Ana-
 tolius to St. Leo, first published by the
 Ballerini, t. i. p. 1127.

“gusta, long life to the Catholic Princes.” The Archdeacon A. D. 461.
 Aëtius then said¹ that he held in his hands the definition CH. XXII.
 of Faith made by the Council; the Emperor ordered him to ¹ p. 580.
 read it. It was that of the preceding day, which had been
 subscribed by all the Bishops, to the number of three hundred
 and fifty-six, beginning with the legates. Diogenes, Metro-
 politan of Cyzicus, subscribed for himself and six of his
 suffragans² who were absent; so too Theodorus of Tarsus, ² p. 601. E.
 and twelve other Metropolitans.

The Emperor asked³ if all the Council agreed to this ³ p. 606. D.
 definition of Faith. All the Bishops cried out, “We all
 believe thus; we all voluntarily subscribed; we are all
 orthodox;” adding various acclamations laudatory of the
 Emperor and Empress, and praying for their welfare; styling
 him the new Constantine and her the new Helena.

The Emperor said⁴, “The Catholic Faith having been de- ⁴ p. 608. D.
 clared, we think it both just and expedient to take away
 all pretext of division for the future. Wherefore, whoso-
 ever shall collect a tumultuous assembly and publicly
 harangue it about the Faith, if he be a private person,
 shall be expelled the imperial city; if an officer, discharged;
 if a Clerk, deposed and subjected to other penalties.” All
 the Bishops shouted, “Long live the King, long live the
 pious King; you have raised the prostrate Churches, you
 have confirmed the Faith; long live the Queen. God
 preserve your kingdom⁵; you have driven out the heretics. ⁵ p. 609.
 Anathema to Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus.”

The Emperor said, “There are certain Articles which, out
 of respect to you, we have reserved, thinking it more
 suitable that they should be canonically ordained by the
 Council, than commanded by our laws⁶.” The Secretary ⁶ v. inf.
 Beronician read them, by the Emperor’s order. There were ^{c. 29.]}
 three of them; the first was expressed thus: “We deservedly
 honour all who sincerely embrace a monastic life; but in-
 asmuch as some persons under the pretext of monachism
 disturb the Church and state, it is ordained, that no one
 shall build a monastery without the consent of the Bishop
 of the city and the proprietor of the land; and that the
 monks, as well in the city as in the country, be subject
 to the Bishop and live in quiet, applying themselves only

A. D. 451. " to fasting and prayer, without mixing themselves up in
 CH. XXII. " ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except in cases of necessity,
 " when they are employed by their Bishop; neither shall
 " they receive slaves into their monasteries without the con-
 " sent of their masters."

The substance of the second article is this: "Whereas
 " certain of the clergy and monks are led by avarice to
 " engage in secular affairs, it seems good to the Council,
 " that no Clerk shall farm any land or undertake the office
 " of steward, unless he happens to be entrusted by his Bishop
 " with the care of the Church lands. If after this prohibition
 " any one shall dare to farm land, either himself or by means
 " of another, he shall be subject to an ecclesiastical fine; and
 " if he contumaciously persists, he shall be deprived of his
 " dignity." The third is to this effect: "The Clerk who has
 " one church to serve, shall not be appointed to a church in
 " another city; but shall be content with that to which he
 " was first appointed; those only excepted who, being driven
 " out of their own country, have through necessity come to
 " another church. If any one, after this decree, receive a
 " Clerk who belongs to another Bishop, both the Bishop who
 " receives him, and the Clerk so received, shall be excom-
 " municate until the Clerk returns to his own church."

¹ p. 612. These three articles having been read¹, the Emperor handed
 them to the Bishop Anatolius, who, after some acclamations
 from the Council, said:

"In honour of St. Euphemia and your holiness, we order
 " that the city of Chalcedon, in which the holy Council has
 " been assembled, shall have the privileges² of a metropolis,
 " but only nominally, that so the proper dignity of the
 " Mother-Church of Nicomedia may not be interfered with."
 The Council signified their approval of this by acclamations,
 adding at the end; "We beseech you to release us." The
 Emperor replied, "I know you are fatigued with so long a
 " stay, but remain three or four days longer, and discuss the
 " affairs you wish, in presence of the magistrates, and be
 " assured that you shall receive every requisite assistance;
 " and let no one depart till the whole be finished." Thus
 ended the sixth session.

¹The last words of the Bishops, praying for their dismissal,

[² *ἡ πόλις*-
βέτια]

shew, that they thought the Council was ended, because they had agreed about the definition of Faith and had authenticated it by their subscriptions. Having moreover approved the three canons proposed by the Emperor, they thought that nothing more remained to be done for the general interest of the Church. It also appears from the Emperor's answer, that he retained them at Chalcedon, only for special business. Hence the ancients drew a wide line of demarcation between these six first sessions and the following, in which the question was no longer about the Faith. This is the way that the Pope Pelagius II. afterwards spoke of them in his letter to the Bishops of Istria¹, (about A.D. 586.) And Evagrius the historian, who was nearly his contemporary, when giving an analysis of the Council of Chalcedon, dwells at length on the six first sessions, but gives a very brief summary of the proceedings which followed². They both refer the twenty-seven canons to the seventh session, though they are now attached to the fifteenth at the conclusion of the Council; but some old copies are still to be found, which place them at the end of the sixth³: and Pope Pelagius says that, rightly considered, they form a part of it, since they have no particular date and the names of the Bishops present are not mentioned⁴. Having made this observation, of which the importance will be seen afterwards, we shall proceed with our account of the sessions of the Chalcedonian Council, according to the common editions.

There are three dated on the twenty-sixth of October, which are reckoned as the seventh, eighth, and ninth. In the seventh session the magistrates said, "The Emperor, in compliance with the prayer of the Bishops Maximus and Juvenal, has ordered us to take cognizance of the matters in dispute between them. They have had an interview, and have made certain oral agreements with each other, which they have communicated to us, and which we think reasonable. We have thought it necessary that they should inform the Council of them, in order that the whole may be confirmed by your consent." Maximus of Antioch said, "The most reverend Bishop Juvenal and I, after a long dispute, have agreed, that St. Peter's see of Antioch shall have the two Phœnicias and Arabia, while that of Jeru-

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIII.

¹ Ep. 3.
tom. v.
Conc. p.
629. D.

² Evagr.
lib. 2. c.
ult.

³ ap. Baluz.
Nov. Coll.
p. 1282.
[v. Ballerin.
in Leon.
Op. t. ii.
p. 503.]
⁴ tom. v.
Conc. p.
630. B.

XXIII.
Seventh
session.
Agree-
ment be-
tween
Maximus
and Juve-
nal.

A. D. 451. "salcm shall have the three Palestines¹. We desire that this
 CH. XXIV. "agreement may be confirmed in writing by the decree of
 [1 v. Bingham. "your Highness and of the holy Council." Juvenal of
 ix. 2. § 7-9. Jerusalem said, "I also agree that the holy Resurrection
 Assem. t. lili. "of CHRIST shall have the three Palestines, and the see of
 pt. 2. p. "Antioch the two Phoenicias and Arabia; and I desire that
 594.] "you will confirm this arrangement." The legates, Ana-
 * p. 616. tolius of Constantinople², and seven other Metropolitans,
 spoke in favour of this arrangement, the rest of the Bishops
 * p. 617. expressed their consent by acclamations, and the magistrates
 added their sanction³. The origin of this dispute was the at-
 tempt formerly made by Juvenal at the Council of Ephesus;
 which failed, as we before narrated⁴, because St. Cyril op-
 posed it.

XXIV. The eighth session relates to Theodoret. The Bishops
 Eighth cried out⁵, "Let Theodoret forthwith anathematize Nesto-
 session. rius." Theodoret said, "I have presented some petitions
 Theodoret restored. "to the Emperor, and certain papers to the legates of Arch-
 * p. 620. "bishop Leo. If it is your pleasure, they shall be read to
 "you, and you will then learn what my opinions are." The
 Bishops cried out, "We do not want any thing to be read;
 "anathematize Nestorius." Theodoret said, "By God's
 "grace I was brought up among the orthodox, was taught
 "the orthodox doctrines, and have preached them; I reject
 "not only Nestorius and Eutyches, but every man who holds
 "what is heterodox⁶." The Bishops interrupted him with
 * p. 622. the exclamation, "Say plainly, Anathema to Nestorius and
 "his doctrines, anathema to Nestorius and his followers."
 Theodoret said, "Of a truth I say nothing but what I think
 "is pleasing to God. Be assured, first of all, that I feel no
 "anxiety to be restored to my city, or recover my dignity;
 "no! that is not what has brought me hither; but having
 "been aspersed, I am come to convince you that I am or-
 "thodox, and that I anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, and
 "all who affirm that there are two sons." The Bishops
 again interrupted him, shouting, "Say plainly, Anathema to
 "Nestorius and his followers." Theodoret replied, "I will
 "not say it, until I have explained my belief. I believe—"
 The Bishops again interrupted him with, "He is a heretic,
 "he is a Nestorian; away with the heretic." Theodoret

said, "Anathema to Nestorius, to all who refuse to call the Virgin Mary 'Mother of God,' and all such as divide the only-begotten SON into two sons. As for me, I have subscribed the definition of Faith, and the most holy Archbishop Leo's letter, and so I believe. Now I have said this, God bless you." A. D. 451.
CH. XXV.

The magistrates said, "There is no further difficulty in reference to Theodoret. He has in our presence anathematized Nestorius; he was received by the Archbishop Leo; he has cheerfully accepted your definition of faith; and lastly, subscribes Leo's letter. Nothing remains except to decree that he be restored to his church, as Leo decided." All the Bishops cried out, "Theodoret is worthy of his see; let him be restored to his Church: let the Church receive its pastor, its orthodox doctor. Long live the Archbishop Leo." The legates then expressed their opinion that Theodoret should be restored to his Church, as having fully vindicated himself. Anatolius of Constantinople said the same¹. Maximus of Antioch added, "I was persuaded from the first that he was orthodox, for I had frequently heard him teach in the church." Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Photius of Tyre, and Constantine of Bostra, were all of the same opinion. All the Bishops shouted, "This is a just decision; this is CHRIST'S decision: we all approve it." The magistrates said, "In accordance with the decision of the Council, Theodoret shall again be put in possession of his church at Cyrus." The Council compelled three other Bishops to anathematize Nestorius; namely, Sophronius of Constantia, John of Germanicia, and Amphilocheus of Sida; and so ended the eighth session.

In the ninth, which was held on the same day, Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, came into the Council, and said², "Having been persecuted by Eutyches, and deposed, whilst I was at a distance of forty day's-journeys, I addressed myself to the Emperor, who has given orders that your Highness and the holy Council should examine my cause. I beg therefore that you will order the sentence passed by Photius and Eustathius to be read. For Uranius, Bishop of Himeria, being a devoted partizan of Eutyches, prevailed on some XXV.
The ninth
and tenth
sessions.
The affair
of Ibas.
p. 625.

51. " Clerks to accuse me, and managed to get himself nominated
 v. " as judge along with the Bishops whom I mentioned; yet
 " I was found innocent. I desire, therefore, that what took
 " place at Ephesus in my absence may be declared void, and
 " that I may be restored to my church¹." The magistrates
 asked the Council what they thought of his statement, and
 the Pope's legates proposed to read the Acts of the trial, in
 which Ibas, as he himself asserted, had been acquitted.

First of all, therefore, they read the sentence of arbitration
 given at Tyre² by Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus,
 on the twenty-fifth of February, A.D. 448; from which it ap-
 peared that Ibas had explained his faith, and become recon-
 ciled to the clergy who had accused him. When this had
 been read, the judges adjourned the case to the next day³;
 probably because they saw there were several more docu-
 ments to be read, and that it was now late.

On the following day therefore, being the twenty-seventh
 of October⁴, a tenth session was held⁵ for determining the
 affair of Ibas. Ibas appeared in person, and renewed his
 complaints against Eutyches, who had got him conveyed
 away through forty successive stages, in the course of which
 he passed into the hands of twenty different guards, and all
 on the pretence that he had been deposed at the Council of
 Ephesus, though in fact he was absent at the time, and his
 cause had never been heard. The magistrates asked the
 Bishops their opinion; they declared that no one was ever
 condemned in his absence. Ibas said, " I beg your favour,
 " I was not there; I made no defence, I was not suffered to
 " speak." The Bishops cried out, " They did wrong to con-
 " demn him thus uncanonically. The proceedings against
 " an absent person are to be annulled; this is the opinion
 " we all hold." Patricius, Bishop of Tyana, said, " Yesterday
 " we heard the sentence of the arbitrators, who recognised
 " him as a Bishop; we all approve of that sentence." The
 Easterns exclaimed, " This is a just decision." But some
 of the Bishops cried out, " We protest against it; there are
 " some persons desirous of accusing the Bishop Ibas."

These were ordered to come in; they were four in number,
 Theophilus, a Deacon, Euphrasius, Antiochus, and Abraham.
 Theophilus said, " We desire that the proceedings against

"Ibas at Berytus may be read, you will then see that he was A. D. 451.
 "justly deposed." After some discussion, the magistrates CH. XXV.
 ordered them to be read. The first document was the com-
 mission given by the Emperor Theodosius to the Tribune
 Damascius¹, then the Acts of the trial held at Berytus², on the p. 637.
 first of September, 448, in which Ibas had been acquitted. Supr.
 After this, the magistrates proposed to read that part of the 27. 21.
 Acts of the false Council of Ephesus which related to Ibas;
 but this the legates opposed, saying³ that no regard ought to p. 673.
 be paid to what was done in that Council, and that the Em-
 peror ought to be petitioned to pass a law, depriving it even
 of the name of Council. The only exception, they said, was
 in the case of Maximus, Bishop of Antioch,—implying that
 his ordination was really independent of this so-called Council.
 Anatolius of Constantinople gave his opinion in the same
 way against the Council of Ephesus, with the reservation
 of what related to Maximus: "The more so," he adds, "be-
 cause the most holy Bishop Leo, by receiving him to his
 communion, judged that he ought to govern the Church of
 "Antioch." [The reason of the doubts intimated by this way
 of speaking was that] although the ordination of Maximus
 was not made by the authority of the Council, still it pre-
 supposed the validity of the deposition of Domnus, which
 was one of the Acts of that Council. Juvenal of Jerusalem,
 Thalassius of Cæsarea, and eleven other Metropolitans⁴, gave p. 676.
 their opinions to the same effect, and the Bishops cried out,
 "We all say the same."

Then, without reading the Acts of Ephesus, the magistrates
 invited the Council to state their opinion about the affair of
 Ibas. Paschasinus, in the name of the legates, said, "On
 "the shewing of the papers which have been read, we
 "acknowledge him to be orthodox; it is therefore our
 "opinion that the honour of the episcopate should be re-
 "stored to him, as also the church from which he was so
 "unjustly ejected. As to the Bishop Nonnus, who was a
 "short time ago appointed in his stead, it is for the Bishop
 "of Antioch to consider what should be determined con-
 "cerning him." Anatolius of Constantinople spoke to the
 same purpose⁵, and declared Ibas free from all suspicion, p. 677.
 because he had subscribed St. Leo's letter. Maximus of

- A. D. 451. Antioch declared the letter of Ibas to be orthodox, and with regard to Nonnus, he said, "He shall continue in the episcopal dignity until I have examined his case in company with the Bishops of the province." The other Bishops concurred in this opinion, only demanding that Ibas should
- ¹ p. 681. B. anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches. Ibas said¹, "I have already anathematized Nestorius and his doctrine in writing, and I now anathematize him a thousand times; for one has no difficulty in doing that a thousand times, which can once be done heartily and on conviction. Anathema therefore to Nestorius, to Eutyches, and to all who affirm one nature only. I also anathematize all who do not believe as the holy Council does." The magistrates said, "The decisions of the holy Council about Ibas shall be enforced." Thus ended the tenth session.

We next come to a document which contains the discussion of Domnus's case; the old copies attach it to the seventh session; it is extant only in a Latin version². It relates that Maximus of Antioch desired the magistrates and Council to allow a charge on the revenues of the Church of Antioch, for supplying a pension to Domnus his predecessor; this was accordingly granted him, the amount of the pension being left to his discretion. It is not known how far this permission was carried into effect, for Domnus had resigned the episcopate and retired to his old monastery in order to be near St. Euthymius; and neither he, nor any one on his behalf, appeared at the Council of Chalcedon³.

¹ v. Quesn. Diss. ix. in Leon., et Baluz. Præf. in Conc. Chalced. c. 32.

² Most of the difficulties connected with this document will disappear if we suppose that Domnus retired from Ephesus immediately after his deposition, leaving friend and enemy equally ignorant of his destination. This would be only natural in one who was so full of remorse as he was; for he returned to St. Euthymius, we are told, "with his heart full piteously torn and rent, and wailing bitterly," (Coteler. Mon. Eccl. Gr. t. ii. p. 247).

Let us, then, look at a few of the results of this supposition: 1. Buried in the deserts of Judæa, Domnus would leave as real a vacancy in the Church of Antioch as if he were actually dead; and this was probably the ground on

which St. Leo confirmed the ordination of Maximus, to which there were otherwise many objections. 2. Since the sequel of his history, though preserved in the neighbourhood of his Lavra, was for ages unknown even in the neighbouring Greek Churches, we need not be surprised at finding that both Justinian in his Confession (Labbe, t. v. p. 717. D.), and the fifth general Council (*Ib.* p. 546), speak of him as actually dead at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. 3. We can thus account for the *actio* mentioned in the text, which, on the supposition of his death, must be rejected as a forgery. It was not known what had become of him; but the maxim, "De non apparentibus et non

The eleventh session was held on the twenty-ninth of October¹. Bassian, who had been Bishop of Ephesus, came into the Council, attended by the Priest Cassian, and desired that a petition which he had presented to the Emperor, and which the Emperor had referred to the Council, might be read. It complained that he had been violently dispossessed of his see². The magistrates asked Bassian to produce the names of those who were involved in his accusation³. He replied, "There are several of them, but they are headed by Stephen, now Bishop of Ephesus; he detains my see and my estate." The magistrates ordered Stephen to answer for himself, and he said, "The Bishops of the province of Asia are here; let them come and I will defend myself." The magistrates said, "In the mean time, do you make answer." Stephen said, "This man was never ordained at Ephesus, but the Church being vacant, he got together a troop of gladiators and other armed men, with whom he made his entry and took his seat. After he had been canonically ejected and most deservedly expelled, forty Bishops of Asia ordained me upon the suffrages of the nobles, people, clergy, and city. I have now been fifty years among the clergy of Ephesus."

Bassian replied, "From my youth I lived only for the poor; I built an almshouse with seventy beds in it, in which I received all the sick and wounded. The Bishop Memnon was jealous of this because I was beloved by every body, and he did every thing in his power to get me expelled from the city. He laid his hands on me to ordain me Bishop of Evasa; I was unwilling to accept the see: he

"existentibus eadem est ratio," though the rule in formal proceedings was not the rule in a case of charity. He had withdrawn for the present; but, for aught that was known, distress might soon drive him back to the city, and it was not fitting that one who had filled so great a see should die in penury. 4. Our supposition falls in with the indeterminate way in which provision is made for him. It is evidently made for a mere contingency: no sum is mentioned as in the case of Bassian and Stephen (*infr.* c. 26); and the whole is referred to the future consideration of Maximus. Hence we may

explain why the *actio* is found in so few copies of the Acts—only in two Latin MSS., while it is absent from all the Greek, and from Liberatus who translated from copies existing at Alexandria. The provision being in itself hypothetical, and being in fact never called into operation by the appearance of Domnus, was omitted from the very first in some copies, and in others allowed to drop through. In such a case its existence in two good MSS. (*v.* Ballerin., t. ii. p. 1218), proves more in its favour than its absence from all the rest does against it.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVI.
XXVI.
Eleventh
and twelfth
sessions.
Bassian and
Stephen of
Ephesus.
1 p. 684.
2 p. 685.
3 p. 688.

A. D. 451. " held me before the Altar from the third hour to noon, and
 CH. XXVI. " treated me with such severity, that the Gospel and Altar were
 " covered with my blood. I never went to Evasa, nor have
 " I ever seen the town. On the death of Memnon, Basil
 " was ordained. He assembled the provincial Council, and
 " having ascertained the violence I had suffered, they or-
 " dained another Bishop to Evasa, and restored me to their
 " communion, with the rank of Bishop. At length Basil
 " died too, and I, against my inclination, and with great
 " violence, was placed in the see of Ephesus by the people,
 " clergy, and Bishops, one of whom, Olympius, is here
 ' p. 689. " present. My election was confirmed by the Emperor¹.
 " I came to Constantinople, and communicated with Pro-
 " clus, who afterwards sent me his synodical letters. Thus
 " I continued for four years, during which I ordained ten
 " Bishops and several clerks. The Emperor sent a Silentiary
 " with letters speaking of the peace of the Church; on the
 " next day, as I came out from Divine Service, they seized
 " me, placed me in confinement, disrobed me of the sacerdotal
 " habit, and carried off every thing I had about me; they
 " then took one of their own body, (this Stephen here,) and
 " made him Bishop."

Stephen said, "The Bishops are here, let them come for-
 " ward and depose to the truth. He entered the church with
 " gladiators, with swords and torches, and placed himself in
 " the see; and for this reason he was expelled by the most
 " holy Leo of Rome, the most blessed Flavian of Constanti-
 " nople, and the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. Hence
 " it was that the Emperor Theodosius sent Eustathius, the
 " Chief-Silentiary, to judge between him and the poor, whom
 " he had injured. Eustathius came to Ephesus, and remained
 " there three months, investigating the matter."

' p. 692. The magistrates said², "Let Bassian shew whether he was
 " established Bishop of Ephesus by the Council of Bishops,
 " and after the usual form of ordination." Bassian said, "I
 " was never Bishop of Evasa, I never went thither; the name
 " of Bishop was forced upon me." Stephen demanded that
 the canons against translations should be read, which was
 accordingly ordered by the magistrates; and Leontius,
 Bishop of Magnesia, read the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth

canons, which are the sixteenth and seventeenth of the Council of Antioch¹. The first inflicts a penalty on any Bishop without a see, who shall occupy a vacant church, even though he should pretend that he was forced to it [by the people:] the second declares the Bishop to be excommunicated who does not go to the church to which he has been ordained.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVI.
¹ Fleury,
12. 12.

The magistrates said, "Let Bassian shew who appointed him Bishop." He could only name Olympius, Bishop of Theodosiopolis. Olympius, on being interrogated, said, "After the death of Basil, I was residing in my own city; the clergy of Ephesus wrote to me, to come and ordain a Bishop; I accordingly went thither, supposing that other Bishops had been summoned². After I had waited three days in my hotel, some of the clergy came to me, saying, 'The other Bishops are not here, what is to be done?' I told them, 'It is contrary to the canons that a single Bishop should dispose of a church, especially of so famous a metropolis.' As I said this, an immense crowd surrounded the house; I did not know where I was; they took me by force, and carried me to the church; one of them, an officer named Holosericus, held his naked sword in his hand. In this manner two or three hundred men carried me to the episcopal seat with Bassian, and he was enthroned." Bassian said, "It is false." The magistrates asked the clergy of Constantinople, if Proclus had communicated with Bassian as Bishop of Ephesus. They all said, "Yes; he gave him synodical letters, and placed his name in the diptychs."

p. 693.

The magistrates then asked Stephen how Bassian was deposed, and if he had been himself ordained by the Council. He repeated what he had said before, that Bassian had been deposed by the authority of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Pope Leo; for the rest, he excused himself for not having the proofs of his ordination ready, on the plea that he had not foreseen the matter would take this turn, since he had supposed it settled once for all [by the Silentiary³].

Lucian, Bishop of Byza, and Meliphthongus, Bishop of Heliopolis, came forward and said, in the name of all the Bishops of the neighbouring sees, that Bassian had been

p. 695.

A. D. 451. expelled contrary to the canons, not having been tried or
 CH. XXVI.
 accused, after four years of peaceable possession. Stephen
¹ p. 697. again repeated¹ that the Pope Leo had condemned him, and
² p. 689, C. as he had before alleged, that Flavian had condemned him²,
 Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said to him, "Sir Stephen,
 "how powerful is Flavian, even after death!" meaning to
 reproach him with having condemned Flavian at Ephesus.
 All the Bishops and clergy of Constantinople said, "It is
 "truly so; everlasting remembrance to Flavian. Lo! here
 "is retribution: lo! here is truth. Flavian lives after his
 "death; the Martyr will pray for us."

The magistrates asked the Council what their opinion
 was; the Bishops cried out, "Justice requires Bassian;
 "let the canons be observed." The magistrates said, "It
 "seems to us, that neither party merits to be Bishop of
 "Ephesus: not Bassian, because he intruded by violence;
 "not Stephen, because he got in by cabal and artifice: we
 "think, therefore, that another Bishop should be elected.
 "But we leave the whole matter to the determination of
 "the Council." The Council adopted this view of the case,
 and cried out, "This is a just decision; this decision is of
 "God; you observe the canons and the laws."

³ p. 700. The Bishops of Asia fell prostrate before the Council, and
 said³, "Have pity on us and our children. If a Bishop be
 "ordained here, our children will be put to death, and the
 "city is ruined." We are to understand that the greater
 part of these Bishops were married, and that they appre-
 hended a riot would follow at Ephesus, if a Bishop should be
 sent thither who had been elected at Chalcedon. The magis-
 trates asked where the Bishop of Ephesus ought to be or-
 dained according to the canons. The Bishops said, "In the
 [⁴ ἐπαρχίᾳ] "province⁴." Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "It usually takes place
 [⁵ τὸ ἐθὺς] "here⁵; if the Bishop had been ordained at Constantinople,
 [ὡδὲ ἐχέει.] "these untoward events would not have happened. Persons
 [⁶ σαλμα-] "of no abilities⁶ are ordained there; and hence arises all this
 [γαρίους] "disorder." He considers Chalcedon and Constantinople on
 account of their proximity as the same place. Leontius,
 Bishop of Magnesia, said, "From the time of St. Timothy to
 "this present, there have been twenty-seven Bishops; they
 "were all ordained at Ephesus. Basil was the only person

ordained here, and that was by violence; and occasioned some bloodshed." Philip, Priest of Constantinople, said, "The holy Bishop John deposed fifteen Bishops, when he went into Asia, and ordained others in their place¹. Memnon¹ was confirmed here. Heraclides and others were ordained with the consent of our Archbishop. In the same manner the blessed Proclus ordained Basil." The magistrates seeing that this was a question requiring some examination put off to the next day.

On the following day², therefore, they held the twelfth³ session, in order to decide the case. The magistrates said, "Our constant attendance at the Council has made public business accumulate; wishing, then, to arrive at a speedy solution of our difficulties, we beg you to inform us whether you have gained any new light about the affair of Ephesus." Anatolius said, "It is my opinion, that neither of them ought to be Bishop of that city; but that a third should be appointed because these have intruded contrary to the canons. They will of course retain the rank of Bishops, and be maintained at the expense of the Church." The legates gave their support to this opinion. The magistrates ordered the Gospel to be brought, and conjured the Bishops to decide the affair according to their conscience. Anatolius of Constantinople repeated his opinion⁴, as also did the legates; they were followed by Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal, Thalassius, and eight other Bishops who spoke severally, while the rest pressed their consent by general acclamation⁴. Then the magistrates, in execution of the sentence of the Council, pronounced that Bassian and Stephen should be deprived of the see of Ephesus, retaining however the dignity of Bishops, and receiving annually out of the revenues of that Church, for their necessary and comfortable subsistence⁵, two hundred pounds of gold⁶; (amounting to about sixteen hundred livres of silver money⁷;) and that another Bishop should be ordained according to the canons.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVI.

¹ *supr.* 21.6.

² p. 701.

³ p. 704.

⁴ p. 706.

[⁵ τροφῆς
ἐνεκα καὶ
παραμυ-
θίας]

[⁶ ἀνα δια-
κοσίους
χρυσίους]

¹ As five *aurei* were the legal tender of a pound of silver, we may consider his stipend as equal to forty pounds of silver, or (*supr.* 26. 15. note z) about 22. 5s. in current silver. We learn from Novell. Justin., cxxiii. 3, that the

value of bishoprics varied from above thirty pounds of gold to below two pounds; or (one pound of gold being coined into seventy-two *aurei*) from above 128*l.* to below 85*l.* 17*s.*

- A. D. 451. On the same day, a thirteenth session was held, in which
 CH. XXVII. the petition of Eunomius of Nicomedia was read¹. He com-
 XXVII. plained that Anastasius of Nicæa had encroached on the
 Thirteenth rights of his metropolis; and that he had excommunicated
 session. some of the clergy belonging to the church of Basilinopolis².
 Regulation Anastasius denied both facts, and said, "Basilinopolis is a
 between some of the clergy belonging to the church of Basilinopolis².
 Nicomedia and Nicæa. Anastasius denied both facts, and said, "Basilinopolis is a
¹ p. 708. "dependency" of Nicæa, like many other cities. An Em-
² p. 709. D. "peror, either Julian or some other, made a city of it, and
 [³ βεγέων] "placed magistrates in it, who were taken from Nicæa." It
 was in truth the Emperor Julian, who was desirous of paying
⁴ Fleury, honour to the city, for the sake of his mother Basilina⁴. Ana-
 11. 43. stasius continued, "Since that time the Bishop of Nicæa has
⁵ C. Calch. "twice ordained Bishops there⁵. Some letters are still pre-
 p. 712. "served, in which the blessed John, Bishop of Constantinople,
 "commissions the Bishop of Nicæa to go and regulate that
 "Church, as belonging to him. I have letters to Proclus."
⁶ p. 713. Eunomius answered⁶, "Probably the see of Nicomedia hap-
 "pened to be at that time vacant, and it was necessary to
 "have recourse to the Nicæan. For my part, I can prove
 "that many have been ordained by the Bishop of Nicomedia;
 "I can produce certain decrees of the citizens of Basili-
 "polis, in which they requested him to send them a Bishop."
 The magistrates ordered the canons to be read, and they
 read the fourth of Nicæa, which provides that the ordina-
 tions of each province should be made by the authority of
 the Metropolitan. Anastasius attempted to shew that he
 was the Metropolitan, by virtue of a law of the Emperor
 Valens, which assigned a metropolitical rank to Nicæa, but
 at the same time expressly states that this was no new grant,
 since it had possessed the right before; a clause however is
 added, that the rights of all others should remain intact.
 Eunomius, on his side, read a law of Valentinian, of later
⁷ p. 716. date than the preceding, which enacts⁷ that the honorary
 title of metropolis, given to Nicæa, should not be any way
 prejudicial to the privileges of Nicomedia. When these had
 been recited, the magistrates said, "These laws do not speak
 "of Bishops, but only of the honour of the cities: that of
 "Valens, while it assigns to Nicæa the rights of a metropolis,
 "declares expressly that it takes nothing away from other
 cities; the canon decrees that there shall be but one Me-

“ metropolitan in each province; what does the Council say A. D. 451.
 “ concerning all this?” The Council cried out, “ Let the CH. XXVIII.
 “ canons be observed.”

The Bishops of Pontus said, “ The canons recognise only
 “ one Metropolitan; it is plain that the ordinations belong to
 “ the Bishop of Nicomedia. The laws assign to Nicæa only
 “ the name of metropolis and to its Bishop the first rank
 “ among his Comprovincials.” The Archdeacon Aëtius de-
 sired that this proceeding might be in no way prejudicial to
 the see of Constantinople, which, he asserted, either imme-
 diately held, or by its authority superintended, ordinations
 in Bithynia. The magistrates gave sentence thus: “ The
 “ Bishop of Nicomedia shall have the authority of Metro-
 “ politan in the Churches of Bithynia, he of Nicæa¹ having p. 717.
 “ an honorary precedence only, and being subject, like the
 “ other Bishops of the province, to him of Nicomedia; this
 “ is the opinion of the Council. As to the right of the see
 “ of Constantinople to ordain in the provinces, this shall be
 “ inquired into in its own place.”

The fourteenth session was held on the following day, XXVIII.
 October 31. A petition was read, which had been presented Fourteenth
 to the Emperor by Sabinian, Bishop of Perrha in Syria; it Session.
 ran thus: “ I lived from my boyhood² in a large monastery, Case of Sa-
 “ in which I held the office of steward³, thinking of any thing brian and
 “ rather than of being made Bishop. But the Metropolitan, Athanasius.
 “ attended by the Bishops of the province, paid us a sudden
 “ visit, and ordained me Bishop of Perrha, from which see
 “ Athanasius had been deposed for his crimes. At the
 “ Council of Ephesus the Bishop of Alexandria sent him
 “ back to my church, and I was ejected, whilst the inha-
 “ bitants of the city lamented and bewailed my departure.
 “ I demand that justice be done me.” They also read a
 petition³, to the same effect, directed to the Archbishops Leo, p. 720. C.
 Anatolius, Maximus, and the whole Council.

Athanasius said that the case had been heard and decided by
 St. Cyril and Proclus, and that it was not until after St. Cyril’s
 death that Domnus of Antioch had made up his mind to renew
 the prosecution. They read two synodical letters⁴ to Domnus, p. 724.
 one from St. Cyril and the other from Proclus, containing
 substantially the same account;—that Athanasius had com-

A. D. 451.
H. XXVIII. plained to the Council of Constantinople about some of his clergy, who wished to dismiss the Stewards of the church to make way for others of their own choosing, and who attempted to erase his name out of the Church registers. As Athanasius had objected to being tried by his Metropolitan, St. Cyril and Proclus desired that Domnus would appoint commissioners to judge him on the spot, in case the city were at any great distance from Antioch. They did no more than *recommend* the course to be pursued, because they possessed no jurisdiction in the Patriarchate of Antioch; and they admitted, that on the Metropolitan's being objected to, the cognizance of the matter devolved of course upon the Patriarch; but that, if prevented by distance, he ought to send delegates to the place.

p. 728. D. Sabinian¹, on his side, demanded that they should read the Acts of a Council held at Antioch, in which Domnus, at the head of twenty-eight Bishops, had tried Athanasius's cause. It appeared from these Acts that Domnus had referred the

p. 729. matter to Panolbius², who was at that time Bishop of Hierapolis and Athanasius's Metropolitan. Though Athanasius admitted that Panolbius was a personal friend of his, he could not summon courage to submit his case to him, but resigned the Bishopric in his presence by a deed, of which the original was now produced; he then retired to an estate which he had in the country of Samosata³. The Bishops of the Council of Antioch declared that he had made a false report to Proclus and Cyril. They then read the formal complaints against him, which were full of scandalous facts, and certain papers which proved that, having been summoned by the Council three times, he had refused to come and defend himself. On these grounds, therefore, they divested him of the Priesthood, and directed John, Bishop of Hierapolis, to proceed immediately to the election of a Bishop of Perrha.

When these Acts of the Council of Antioch had been read at Chalcedon, the magistrates said, "If any of those, who assisted Domnus to depose Athanasius, be present in the Council, let them come forward." Theodorus of Damascus and six others presented themselves. The magistrates asked them what reasons they had for deposing Athanasius. Theodorus answered⁴, "Some of the clergy belonging to the Church

p. 752.

“ of Perrha’ lodged certain complaints against him ; being A. D. 451.
 “ summoned, he refused to appear, alleging that he feared CH. XXIX.
 “ foul-play. He was again summoned, but still kept aloof.
 “ When after a third summons he was not forthcoming, sen-
 “ tence of deposition was pronounced against him according
 “ to the canons.” The other six Bishops confirmed this
 statement. The magistrates asked Athanasius why he had
 not made his appearance, at the Council of Antioch. “ Be-
 “ cause,” said he, “ the Bishop of Antioch, who presided
 “ there, was my enemy.”

The magistrates said¹, “ Our opinion is, that Sabinian ought¹ p. 753.
 “ to remain Bishop of Perrha, since he was ordained by the
 “ provincial Council after Athanasius’s deposition, and that
 “ he ought not to suffer any damage from a sentence which
 “ was passed against him without his being summoned or
 “ heard in his defence. Athanasius, on the other hand, was
 “ deposed for contumacy, and therefore a mere party order² like [² ἐκ μιᾶς
 “ that of Dioscorus was insufficient to restore him ; he ought, μοίρας κε-
 “ for the present, to remain quiet. Maximus, Bishop of An- λευσθῆις]
 tioch, shall assemble his Council and there take cognizance
 “ of the charges brought against Athanasius, so that his trial
 “ be ended in eight months. If he be found guilty on all
 “ the counts, both criminal and civil, or on any one of them
 “ which be such as deserve deposition, he shall not only be
 “ divested of the episcopate, but shall also incur the penalties
 “ of the laws. If, within this limited period, he neither be
 “ prosecuted nor convicted, he shall be restored to his see by
 “ Maximus of Antioch ; and Sabinian shall retain the epis-
 “ copal dignity, and act as coadjutor³, with a pension which [³ ἑνοικη-
 “ shall be fixed by Maximus, according to the means of the στατος]
 “ Church of Perrha.” Maximus, and the whole Council,
 acquiesced in this suggestion offered by the magistrates.

On the same day, being the last of October, the fifteenth XXIX.
 session was held, at which neither the magistrates nor legates Fifteenth
 were present ; for after the formula of Faith had been agreed Session.
 to, and the private business brought before the Council had Canons.
 been despatched, the clergy of Constantinople asked the legates
 to join them in discussing an affair concerning their Church.
 This they refused, saying that they had received no instruc-
 tions about it⁴. They made the same proposal to the magis- 4 p. 796. C.

D. 451. trates, and these referred the matter to the Council. When
 I. XXIX. the magistrates and legates, therefore, had retired, the rest
 of the Council made a canon respecting the prerogatives of
 the Church of Constantinople, which is reckoned the twenty-
 eighth. The Greeks afterwards tacked on to it all the other
 canons made by this Council; which in the old copies are
 placed after the sixth session. I will here give an account
 of the canons as they are found in the common editions.

756. The first¹ ratifies the canons made up to that time in the
 various Councils². The second is against Simony³ in these
 Supr. terms: "If any Bishop ordain for a sum of money, or make
 6. l.] "the unpurchaseable grace a matter of sale, so as to ordain
 "Bishop, Rural Bishop⁴, Priest, Deacon, or other clerk, or if
 χυπερι- "for a sum of money he promote any one to the office of
 ορος.] "steward, defender, sexton⁵, or to any other canonical office,
 "he who ordains shall be liable to the forfeiture of his
 "dignity, and he who is ordained or promoted shall derive
 "no benefit from this intended purchase; and the negotiator
 "of this infamous traffic, if a clerk, shall be deposed, if a
 "layman or monk, anathematized." By the third canon,
 the Council forbids all Bishops, clerks, or monks, to farm
 lands or undertake the charge of secular affairs, except when
 the guardianship of a minor devolves upon them by law, from
 which they cannot be excused, or when the Bishop commits
 to them the care of the church or of the afflicted^b. This is

¹ *i. e.* All contained in the Codex above-mentioned (c. 18), comprising the canons of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, Antioch (A.D. 341), Laodicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. Those of Sardica were absent from the Codex of the Eastern Church, as those of Antioch were from that of the Western.

² Παρονομιος, Lat. *mansionarius*. It has been taken to mean a bailiff who looked after the *manse*, glebe, and other Church property. The rendering in the text suits better the duties assigned him of preparing the chrism for consecration, ringing the bells (v. Dufresne, *s. v.*), opening the church, and lighting the candles, (Joan. Diac. vit. S. Greg. l. iii. c. 58).

^b The Apostolic rule is "No man that warreth entangleth himself in the affairs of this life," (2 Tim. ii. 4).

"If this be true of all Christians," says St. Cyprian, "how much more of the clergy, whose occupation lies among divine and spiritual things" (Ep. 1, (al. 66) ad Furnit.); and therefore he decides that Victor, who had left the priest Faustinus guardian to his children, should be deprived of the privilege of the faithful—no offering and deprecation were to be made in his name. Elsewhere (De Lapsis, p. 123, ed. Oxon.) St. Cyprian inveighs against the worldliness of many Bishops who "left their Cathedra, abandoned their people, and roamed into foreign provinces in quest of gainful traffic," and to increase their already superabundant wealth. This last circumstance is important as shewing that it was not the mere fact of secular employment, but the motive, that was condemned, as in this canon of Chal-

very nearly the same as the second of the three articles which were read at the sixth session in the Emperor's presence¹. The fourth canon is the first of these articles; it enjoins an entire subjection of the monks in each city to their Bishops, and orders them [to give themselves up to fasting and prayers, and] not to interfere with either ecclesiastical or secular business^c.

“ Monasteries once consecrated under the authority of the Bishop, shall remain such for ever after: their revenues shall be secured to them, and it shall not be lawful to convert them into common dwelling-houses². Every cathedral church shall have a steward elected from among the local clergy, to administer its revenues under the direction of the Bishop; that the distribution of them being no longer secret, the church property may not be squandered away,

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIX.
1 Supr. c.
22.

can. 24.

cedon (διὰ ἀσχροκερδίας, διὰ φιλαργυρίας). Hence as Bingham observes, there were three cases which did not fall under the censure of the laws: 1. When the Church revenues were inadequate to the maintenance of the clergy. The fourth Council of Carthage even enjoins the clergy to earn food and clothing by some handicraft or by agriculture (can. 51, 52, 53, Labbe, t. ii. p. 1204); and this was so recognised a practice that a special immunity was granted them by law, when obliged to support themselves by trade; (supr. xxiii. 4. b.) 2. If their leisure hours were spent in work, that they might not be burdensome to the Church, or might be able to relieve the indigent; nothing was more common than this, even with Bishops and priests, who had a right “to live of the Gospel;” v. Epiphan. Hær. 80. Constit. Apost. l. ii. c. 63 (Labbe, t. i. p. 304) and the notable instance of Zeno of Majuma, ap. Sozom. vii. 28. 3. When the occupation of earlier years was retained out of humility. Spiridion, one of the most eminent Bishops of the Nicæan Council, remained a shepherd all his life: Socrat. i. 12; Sozom. i. 11. These were all allowable, if not commendable; but the money-making clergyman was viewed only with the intense disgust embodied in St. Jerome's “Negotiatorum Clericum quasi quamdam pestem fuge.” Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 260.

^c This canon contemplated (1.) partly

the large monasteries, which it places under the inspection of the Bishops as the perpetual guardians of the Church; providing in some degree against those declensions in piety, which are apt to creep over flourishing communities when the impulse of early zeal is departed: (2.) but mainly, the irregular monks, who either, like Barsumas and Theodosius, wandered over the country, scattering the sparks of sedition and anarchy, or else, like the self-styled Archimandrites, supr. c. 18, got an oratory or a martyr's chapel built, and settling down on it, free, as they supposed, from episcopal control, became so many foci of schism. Subsequent Councils, as those of Agde (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1387. can. 27), Lerida (p. 1611. can. 3), and, according to Gratian, Arles (p. 1624), renewed this canon, and it was confirmed by Justinian, Cod. I. tit. 3. leg. 40. At what time the system of exemptions was introduced is not known. Fleury speaks of the third Council of Arles as exhibiting the first trace of it, (infr. xxix. 19); but the earliest express notices of it are, perhaps, those in the petition of the Abbot Peter, ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1646, (cf. p. 1785.) In St. Gregory's time things were so altered that it was necessary to defend the monasteries against the encroachments of the Bishops: v. Greg. M., lib. i. Ep. 12. ii. 41. vi. 29. viii. 13 (ed. Bened.) Conc. Rom. III. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 1607. Cf. note c.

A. D. 451. "nor the Priesthood subjected to insult^{d 1}." The clergy are
 CH. XXIX. forbidden, on pain of canonical deposition², to seize on the
¹ can. 26. effects of their Bishop after his decease.
² can. 22.

"The ordination of Bishops shall take place within three
 "months, (unless the Metropolitan is obliged to defer it by
 "some unavoidable necessity,) and the revenues of the vacant
³ can. 25. "church shall be preserved by the steward³. Bishops are
 "prohibited on pain of deposition from applying to men in
 "power, or procuring letters from the Prince, in order to
 ["*ἑταρ-*
 [*χ(αυ.)*] "divide a province⁴ in two and so have two Metropolitans in
 "one province. As to the cities which have already been
 "honoured with the title of metropolis, let them enjoy the
 "honour only, without prejudice to the rights of the true
⁴ can. 12. "metropolis⁵." This canon was evidently called forth by the
 disputes between the Bishops of Tyre and Berytus, of Nico-
 media and Nicæa⁶.
⁵ Supr. c.
 19, 27.

As the holding of Councils has been neglected, to the
 detriment of ecclesiastical affairs, the Council decreed accord-
 ing to the canons⁷, that the Bishops of every province should
 meet twice a year in a place selected by the Metropolitans;
 and that the Bishops who should absent themselves, being in
 their cities, in health, and having no unavoidable hindrance,
 should be brotherly admonished⁸. "The clergy and laity
⁶ can. 19. "shall not be allowed to accuse Bishops or clergy indis-
 "criminately, and without examination first made as to the
 "character of such accusers⁹. Country parishes shall remain
⁷ can. 21. "in the hands of those Bishops who have had peaceable pos-
 [cf. C. Con-
 stant. can.
 6.] "session of them for thirty years¹. If any dispute should
 ["¹ Supr. 27.
 37. u.] "arise on this point, it may be discussed before a provincial
 "Council; and if any one complains of wrong done to him
 "by his Metropolitan, he shall be judged by the Exarch of the
 "diocese, or by the see of Constantinople. If any new city is
 "erected by the authority of the Emperor, the order of the
 "ecclesiastical parishes shall follow the form of the political
⁸ can. 17. "government²."

"If one clerk have a dispute with another, he shall not
 "leave his Bishop and run off to secular tribunals, but he
 "shall first lay his case before the Bishop, or else at the dis-

^d Supr. xxvii. 2. One of the charges Oak related to this point, xxi. 18.
 brought against St. Chrysostom at The

“ cretion of the Bishop, before one whom both parties shall
 “ agree to, and all this on pain of suffering the canonical
 “ penalties. If a clerk have a dispute with his own or any
 “ other Bishop, he shall bring his suit before the provincial
 “ Council. If a Bishop or clerk be at variance with his
 “ Metropolitan, he shall resort either to the Exarch of the
 “ diocese, or to the see of Constantinople¹.”

A. D. 451.
 CH. XXIX.

¹ can. 9.

No one, either Priest, or Deacon, or possessed of any eccle-
 siastical rank, shall be ordained without a title², that is, unless [² ἀπολε-
 he be specially appointed to a church in the city or country, λυμένω.
 or to a monastery. All ordinations without title shall be ^{cf. supr. 19.}
 void, and those who have received ordination of such a kind ^{57, r.]}
 shall not be allowed to officiate anywhere in contempt of
 those who ordained them³. It is not lawful for a clerk to be ³ can. 6.
 at the same time on the clergy-rolls of two cities, namely, of
 that to which he was first ordained, and of another more im-
 portant one to which from ambition he has removed. Those
 who attempt to do so shall be returned to their first church.
 If however any one shall have been already translated to
 another church, he shall take no part in business relating to
 the former, or to the oratories and hospitals dependant on it,
 on pain of deposition⁴. The ancient canons shall be ob- ⁴ can. 10.
 served with regard to Bishops and clerks who remove from [v. Bingh.
 one city to another⁵. Here they insert the third article, ^{vi. 4. § 8.]}
 read at the sixth session, which is almost the same as the ⁵ can. 5.
 foregoing⁶.

⁶ can. 20.
 supr. c. 22.

“ Those who have once been admitted among the clergy
 “ or into the monastic profession, can never afterwards be
 “ employed in any military or secular capacity, on pain of
 “ anathema⁷. We have been informed, that certain of the ⁷ can. 7.
 “ clergy and monks without authority from their Bishop,
 “ and sometimes even after they have been excommunicated,
 “ come to Constantinople, and remain there a long time,
 “ raising tumults, and disturbing the peace of the Church
 “ and of private families; wherefore the Council decrees that
 “ they shall be first admonished by the Defender of the
 “ Church of Constantinople to withdraw from the city, and
 “ if they insolently persist in the same practices, he shall
 “ expel them by force, and make them return to their several
 “ places of abode⁸.” All these canons against vagrant and ⁸ can. 23.

sedition monks were made on account of Barsumas, Carosus, and the other supporters of Eutyches and Dioscorus.

The same reason may be assigned for the following canons.

“ Foreign or unknown clerks shall not officiate in another city, without letters of recommendation from their Bishop¹.
 “ The poor, who need assistance, should travel only with “ pacific² ecclesiastical letters, to be granted after an examination of their case; letters commendatory³ should be given only to persons of distinction⁴. Conspiracies and cabals being crimes prohibited by the secular laws, ought to be much more so in the Church: if therefore any clerks or monks be found conspiring against their Bishops or their brother clerks, let them be deposed⁵. The clergy of hospitals and monasteries⁶ must submit, according to the tradition of the Fathers, to the power of the Bishop in each city, without rebelling against him: those who subvert this ordinance in any manner whatsoever, will do so at the peril of canonical correction if clerks, and of excommunication if monks or laymen⁶.”

“ As readers and chanters are allowed in some provinces to marry⁷,” the Council decrees that “ they shall not take to wife one who is not orthodox, and [those who have heretofore contracted such an alliance] shall not baptize their children among the heretics, nor marry them to heretics, Jews, or pagans, unless these promise to become converts.” It is observable that readers were not allowed to marry in all the provinces, as they are now. “ No Deaconess⁸ shall be ordained under forty years of age, and that only after a strict examination. If, after having received the imposition of hands and waited some time on the ministry, she gives herself away in marriage, since she has done despite to the grace of God, she and her husband shall both be anathematized⁹. Virgins consecrated to God, and monks, shall not marry, on pain of excommunication; but the Bishop

¹ That is, the chaplains to hospitals and monasteries. Even when any of the monks were in holy orders, the Sacraments were not usually dispensed by them but by a priest ordained to monastery as a title. The Bishops ever claimed jurisdiction not only these but over all the clerical

monks in their diocese. St. Jerome's peremptory denial of this claim is well known (Ep. 38. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 332, 3): on the other hand the third Council of Arles decided that while the lay monks were subject only to their Abbot, the ordained monks owed obedience to their Bishop as well. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1024.)

“ [of the place] shall have [a discretionary] power to mitigate their sentence¹. Those who are guilty of abduction, though under the pretext of marriage, together with their aiders and abettors, shall if clerks be deposed, if laymen anathematized².” Such are the twenty-seven canons of the Council of Chalcedon, received by the whole Church.

The twenty-eighth, which afterwards made so much noise, assigns the second rank to the Church of Constantinople in these terms. “The Fathers with good reason granted to the see of ancient Rome its high privileges, because it was the reigning city; by the same consideration the hundred and fifty Bishops were induced to decide³ that new Rome, the honoured seat of empire and the residence of the senate, should possess equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters, and be second in rank: so that only the Metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and the Bishops of those dioceses which lie among the barbarians, shall be ordained by the see of Constantinople, on his receiving a notification that a canonical election has taken place; but it must be understood that each Metropolitan of these dioceses shall along with his Comprovincials ordain the Bishops of the province according to the canons.” Here the word diocese must be taken in its widest sense, as comprehending several provinces⁴.

The twenty-ninth canon provides that a Bishop should never be reduced to the degree of Priest; as the Pope’s legates and Anatolius of Constantinople had said, in the fourth session⁵, in reference to the Bishops who had been ordained by Photius of Tyre and deposed by Eustathius of Berytus. The last canon⁶ allows the Bishops of Egypt to defer their subscription to St. Leo’s letter, until a Bishop of Alexandria should be elected; as had been ruled in the fourth session⁷. These are the thirty canons attributed to the Council of Chalcedon.

The sixteenth and last session was held on the following day⁸, November 1. The Pope’s legates directed Paschasinus to address the following remonstrance to the magistrates⁹: “Yesterday, after you and ourselves had withdrawn, something, we are told, was transacted which we consider to be opposed to the canons; we desire it may be read, that all

A. D. 451.
CH. XXX.
can. 16.

can. 27.

XXX.
Prerogatives of Constantinople.

Conc. Constantin. can. 3. supr. 18. 7.

Supr. 18. 7.

Supr. c. 19.

can. 30.

Supr. c. 17.

p. 792.

p. 796.

A. D. 451. "our brethren may see whether it be just, or not." The
 " III. magistrates ordered it to be read, but Aetius, Archdeacon of
 Constantinople, interposed and said, "It is acknowledged
 " that what regards the faith was definitively settled, but it is
 " the custom of Councils, after the most important matters
 " have been decided, to examine and decide other points that
 " require to be adjusted. We, that is, the Church of Constan-
 " tinople, had certain matters that required to be discussed:
 " we asked the Bishops who are come from Rome to take
 " part in the inquiry; they declined, on the plea that they
 " had no directions about it; you then ordered the Council
 " to consider the affair. When you had withdrawn, the
 " Bishops rose and demanded that it should be dealt with as
 " a matter of public concern. An account of what took place
 " is given in this Act, which was not drawn up clandestinely'
 " or by stealth, but in due form and canonically." The
 magistrates ordered it to be read: Aetius presented the
 paper, and Beronician the secretary read it. It was the
 twenty-eighth canon just referred to, and was subscribed by
 a hundred and eighty-four Bishops.

" Then Lucentius, one of the legates, said^s, "observe, first of
 " all, that the Bishops were taken by surprise and forced into
 " subscribing, before the canons here mentioned were written
 " out." The Bishops shouted "No one was forced." Lucen-
 tius said: "Moreover they have omitted the canons of the
 " three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and mention only
 " those of the hundred and fifty, which are not among the
 " synodical canons, and which they say were made about
 " fourscore years ago. If they have so long enjoyed this
 " privilege, what more do they now require? If they never
 " have enjoyed it, why do they now require it?" Aetius the
 Archdeacon, speaking of the legates, said; "If they have
 " received any injunctions on this head, let these be pro-
 " duced." Boniface the Priest read a paper which contained
 the following order of Pope St. Leo: "Do not suffer the
 " decrees of the Fathers to be infringed or encroached upon
 " by any rash changes; preserve in all things the dignity of
 person, which you represent; and if any, as may
 on, relying on the splendour of their cities, should
 at any usurpation, do you oppose them with be-

coming resolution." The magistrates said, "Let the canons be produced by both parties."

Paschasinus read the sixth canon of Nicæa¹, beginning with these words, "The Church of Rome always had the

primacy," which words are not in the Greek²; no dispute however was raised on that point, and he proceeded with the sixth canon, which preserves the privileges of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the rights of the Metropolitans, and

seventh, which preserves to the Bishop of Jerusalem an honorary rank without any jurisdiction. The secretary Constantine also read the sixth canon of Nicæa, from a book presented him by Aëtius the Archdeacon, but omitted the seventh. He then read the decree of the Council of Constantinople held under Nectarius, containing first, the definition

Faith³, and next, the canon concerning the hierarchy, which after confirming the jurisdiction of the Bishops of

Alexandria and of Antioch, and of the Councils of the three great dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace⁴ concludes thus;

"The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the precedency of honour next after the Bishop of Rome."

The magistrates said, "Let the Bishops of the dioceses of Asia and Pontus declare whether they subscribed of their own free will or compulsorily, to what was above recited."

They advanced into the centre, and Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "I subscribed of my free choice; I say it as in God's presence."

Florentius of Sardis, and thirteen others, severally made the same declaration, affirming that the canon agreed with the recognised custom. Some of them deposed that they had been ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople.

Eusebius of Dorylæum said⁵, "I willingly subscribed; for when I was at Rome, I read this canon to the Pope, in the presence of the clergy from Constantinople, and he received it." He means the canon of the Council of Constantinople.

The rest of the Bishops cried out, "We subscribed voluntarily." The magistrates asked what those had to say who did not subscribe. Eusebius of Ancyra declared that he

would not interfere with ordinations, although he had a right to ordain the Bishops of Galatia; but he desired that nothing should be paid for ordinations. Philip a Priest of Constantinople said⁶, "The canon provided against this"

A. D. 451.
CH. XXX.

¹ p. 812.
Fleury 11.
20.

² i. e. the
Greek of
the Nicæan
Council.]

³ Supr. 18.

⁶

⁴ 18. 7.

⁵ p. 816. B.

⁶ p. 817.

“ abuse,” meaning the second canon of Chalcedon. Eusebius of Ancyra answered, “ God be praised, the reputation of Archbishop Anatolius is without spot, but no one is immortal.”

The magistrates said, “ It appears from the depositions, first of all, that the primacy and precedency of honour¹, should be preserved, according to the canons, for the Archbishop of old Rome, but that the Archbishop of Constantinople ought to enjoy the same privileges²; and that he has a right to ordain the Metropolitans of the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, in the manner following. In each metropolis, the clergy, the proprietors of lands, and the gentry, with all the Bishops of the province or the greater part of them, shall issue a decree for the election of one whom they shall deem worthy of being made Bishop of the metropolis. They shall all make a report of it to the Archbishop of Constantinople, and it shall be at his option either to enjoin the Bishop-elect to come thither for ordination, or to allow him to be ordained in the province. As to the Bishops of particular cities, they shall be ordained by all or the greater part of the comprovincial Bishops, under the authority of the Metropolitan, according to the canons, the Archbishop of Constantinople taking no part in such ordination. These are our views, let the Council state theirs.” The Bishops shouted, “ This is a just proposal: we all say the same, we all assent to it; we pray you dismiss us;” with other similar acclamations. Lucentius, the legate, said, “ The Apostolic see ought not to be degraded in our presence; we therefore desire that yesterday’s proceedings, which violate the canons, may be rescinded; otherwise let our opposition be inserted in the Acts, that we may know what we are to report to the Pope, and that he may declare his opinion of this contempt of his see and subversion of the canons.” The magistrates said³, “ The whole Council approves of what we said.” Such was the last session of the Council of Chalcedon.

^{xi.} The preceding account has been derived from the collection
^{of the} Acts as it now stands. This differs on some points from
^{the} which was followed by Evagrius the historian, and which

still survives in some old copies¹. These give the order as follows. The first session is the same as in ours; the second is the condemnation of Dioscorus; the third is that which we put second, in which the letters of St. Cyril and St. Leo were read. The fourth is the same as ours, containing the scrutiny of the definition of the Faith. In the sixth, the definition is again read and subscribed in the presence of the Emperor Marcian, and three canons approved. The seventh, in these old copies, contains the rest of the canons. The eighth, is the approval of the concordat between Maximus and Juvenal. The ninth, which we reckoned seventh, is the Justification of Theodoret: the tenth and eleventh, that of Ibas: and so on of the others; that is, the twelfth and thirteenth contain the affair of Ephesus: the fourteenth, that of Basilinopolis: the fifteenth, the affair of Sabinian of Perrha: the sixteenth and last contains the debate about the prerogatives of Constantinople.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXXI.
i Evagr. 2.
c. ult. v. Baluz. præf. in
C. Calch. [§
14. p. 466.]

The cause of this diversity lies in the fact that at general Councils, the Bishops of great sees had each their own notaries to take down or copy the Acts, according to the use they had for them. All were anxious to take with them, and publish in their provinces, what related to the Church in general, that is, the definitions of Faith and the canons; on the other hand, the proceedings in reference to private matters would not have much interest except for those who were personally concerned, and so were less exact; some omitted them entirely, others inserted one part and omitted the rest; and when the same pieces were inserted, their arrangement varied, following in one case the order of time, in another the relative importance of the subjects.

The Bishops remained some time at Chalcedon or Constantinople, before they separated; and sent an address to the Emperor Marcian², in which they thank God for the zeal shewn by him and by the Pope, whom they commend for his doctrine and piety. They remark, that the same rule had been observed in this as in former Councils; new errors being confronted by new definitions, without making any change in the creed. They explain at large the mystery of the Incarnation. They vindicate St. Leo's letter to Flavian from the charge of novelty, and prove that it agrees with Scrip-

² C. Calch.
pt. 3. c. 1.

A. D. 451. ture, the Nicæan Creed, and also with the Fathers, from whom they quote some select passages¹.

CH. XXXI.
 1 p. 828. E.
 2 pt. 3. c. 2.

They also sent a synodical letter to St. Leo³, in which they acknowledge him as the interpreter of St. Peter, as their head, and their guide, whose letter had ministered to them spiritual nourishment. They state their number at five hundred and twenty^f, and remark that none had been cut off from the Church except Dioscorus, whose crimes and impenitence they detail at large: after which they add³, "We
 * p. 836. E. "inform you that we have made some other regulations for the
 "better ordering of affairs, and the confirmation of the eccle-
 "siastical laws; persuaded that your holiness, when informed
 "of them, will readily approve and sanction them. For we
 ' p. 837. "have by a synodical decree⁴ authorized the custom which
 "obtained of old, that the holy Church of Constantinople
 "should ordain Metropolitans to the dioceses of Asia, Pontus,
 "and Thrace: and this not so much for the advantage of the
 "see of Constantinople, as for the peace of the metropolitan
 "cities in which disturbances frequently occur on the decease
 "of the Bishops, the clergy and laity having then no one to
 "control them. This your holiness must know well, espe-
 "cially as regards the Church of Ephesus⁵, which had often
 "been a source of anxiety to you.

"We have also confirmed the canon of the hundred and
 "fifty Fathers assembled at Constantinople under Theodo-
 "sius the Great, which decrees that the Bishop of Constan-
 "tinople shall take rank next after your holy see, being
 "convinced that as you ungrudgingly communicate of your
 "own wealth to your brethren, you will also continue to
 "care for the see of Constantinople, and will extend to it the
 "splendour of your Apostolic power. True it is that your
 "legates strenuously opposed this decree, doubtless from a
 "desire that you might have the honour of originating
 "it, and so might be esteemed no less as the upholder of

^f "We seemed," they say, "to be-
 "hold the heavenly Bridegroom con-
 "versing among us: for if where two
 "or three are gathered together there
 "He promised to be in the midst of
 "them how much more intimately pre-
 "sent did this imply He would be with

"520 Bishops, who thought nothing
 "either of country or of fatigue com-
 "pared with the assurance of their
 "unity of faith in Him."

⁵ The metropolis of the Asian diocese, as Cæsarea and Heraclea were of the Pontic and Thracian respectively.

“discipline, than as the defender of the Faith. On this point, however, we deferred to the wishes of the Emperor, the senate, and the whole imperial city. We beg you, therefore, to honour this our decree with your suffrage; and to accomplish the just desires of your children, who have worked with you in attaining so glorious a result. You will also oblige the Emperors who confirmed your decision as a law, and the see of Constantinople will ever manifest to you its lasting gratitude, by its attachment and its zeal.” St. Gregory says that the Council of Chalcedon even offered to the Pope the title of œcumenical, or universal Bishop², [but that St. Leo and his successors constantly rejected it as anti-catholic in principle.]

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXII.

[¹ *ἑμνοίας*]
Lib. iv.
Ep. [32,]
36, [38.]
lib. vii.
[Ind. I.]
Ep. 30.
[=v. 20,
43, 18.
viii. 30. ed.
Bened.]

Before this letter reached St. Leo, he had received letters from several Bishops of Gaul; the first, from Ceretius, Saloni-
nius, and Veranus³, who, it is thought, were Bishops in the province of the Maritime Alps⁴; the second, from Ravennius of Arles and forty-three others⁵. Saloni-
nius and Veranus were brothers, sons of St. Eucherius, afterwards Bishop of Lyons; and Veranus was Bishop of Vence. These three Bishops thank the Pope for the instruction he had given them in his letter to Flavian, and send him their copy of it, desiring him to correct it, that it may be communicated not only to the Bishops of Gaul, but also to several laymen, who desired to read and transcribe it.

XXXII.
Letters
from the
Gallic
Bishops to
St. Leo.
³ v. Quesn.
ad Ep.
Ceret. [t.
ii. p. 863.]
[⁴ post
Ep. 76. t. i.
p. 577.]
[⁵ p. 579.]

The forty-four Bishops who wrote a synodical letter to St. Leo, belonged, as has been conjectured, to the seven provinces of Gaul⁶. At the head is Ravennius of Arles; then follow Rusticus of Narbonne, Venerius of Marseilles, Maximus of Riés, (who had been Abbot of Lerins,) Nectarius Bishop of Digne, Constantius of Uzés, Ursus of Senés, Ingenuus of Embrun, who was the bearer of this letter. The rest are not so well known. They apologize for being so tardy in sending their acknowledgments to St. Leo for his letter to Flavian; “We read it,” they continue, “with great joy, which we soon communicated to all in Gaul. Many recognised in it the Faith which they received from their forefathers; some found in it the instruction and authority which they needed for the confirmation of their faith. We should have wished to write to the Emperor also, in-

⁶ v. not.
Quesn. [p.
867.]

A. D. 452. "forming him of the anxiety we have suffered; but the
 CH. XXXII. "news we received from the East led us to think that this
 "was unnecessary, and that the error was now laid bare and
 "destroyed." The rest of the letter is taken up with en-

¹ Ep. 77. logizing St. Leo, who, on his part, returned them an answer¹,
 (al. 52.) praising the faith and doctrine of the Bishops of Gaul.
 "I should have been glad," he says, "to have received your
 "letters at the time you promised, that so our brethren
 "whom we have sent to the Council might have taken your
 "declaration along with them." He observes that, after the
 decision of a Council of about six hundred Bishops, neither
 ignorance nor obscurity can be allowably pleaded respecting
 the Faith of the Incarnation; he proceeds, however, to ex-
 hibit briefly how that doctrine stands opposed to the errors
 of Nestorius and Eutyches. "Our brethren the legates," he
 says, "have acted so well, that not only the Bishops, but
 "also the princes and powers, the clergy, the people, all
 "ranks are fully convinced that it is the Apostolic Faith
 "which we preach, as handed down to us, and which we
 "maintain, having now on our side the consent of the whole
 "world. Give thanks, therefore, to God, and pray for the
 "speedy return of our brethren, that we may be able to
 "instruct you more fully about all that has happened. We
 "were unwilling to detain our brother Ingenuus till their
 "arrival, lest you should be so much longer ignorant of this
 "cheering news, which we desire you to communicate even
 "to our brethren the Bishops of Spain." This letter bears

² Herculano date the first of February, 452². It appears that the Pope
 Cos. knew in general what had been done at the Council of Chal-
 cedon, but had not yet the Acts, which his legates were to
 bring him.

³ Ep. 82. When these arrived, St. Leo wrote again³, briefly, to Rus-
 (al. 84.) ticus, Ravennius, Venerius, and the other Bishops of Gaul,
 telling them that the truth had triumphed, and that heresy,
 with its authors, had been unanimously condemned. A copy
 of the sentence pronounced against Dioscorus by the legates
 accompanied this letter.

He had written in the same manner to the Bishops of the
 vince of Milan, as appears from the synodical letter⁴ which
 sent him in reply. They declare that St. Leo's letter to

Flavian had been read in their Council; that they had found it agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, to the doctrine of St. Ambrose, and also to universal tradition; and had therefore conformed to it in order to condemn the errors against the Incarnation. This letter is signed by Eusebius, Bishop of Milan, a Greek by birth¹, who is honoured as a Saint by the Church, on the twenty-second of August²; by St. Maximus of Turin, honoured the twenty-fifth of June³, some of whose homilies are still extant; and by ten other Bishops.

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXIII.
¹ Ennod. Epigr. 84.
[ap. Galland. t. xi. p. 209.]
² Martyr. R. Aug. 22.
³ Jun. 25.

Lucian the Bishop, and Basil the Deacon, came soon after to Rome with letters from the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria, Anatolius of Constantinople, and Julian of Cos, all having the same end in view—to persuade the Pope to approve the canon of the Council of Chalcedon, touching the prerogatives of the Bishop of Constantinople. We gather this from St. Leo's answers, and from the Emperor's letter, (still extant⁴) dated the fifth of the calends of January, in his own consulate, that is, December 28, 451. Lucian and Basil acquitted themselves faithfully in their commission, and used every effort to induce St. Leo to authorize Anatolius's claims, but without success, as is evident from his answers, all of the same date, the eleventh of the calends of June, in the consulate of Herculianus, or May 22, 452.

XXXIII.
Letters against Anatolius's pretensions.

"Anatolius," he says⁵, "ought to be content that I have listened to lenity more than to justice, in allowing his ill-grounded ordination, and overlooking his audacious procedure of ordaining the Bishop of Antioch^b." We should remark that Anatolius had been ordained Bishop of Constantinople by Dioscorus, after the unjust deposition of Flavian; and that he had himself ordained Maximus to the see of Antioch as successor to Domnus, who had also been unjustly deposed; and that for the sake of peace St. Leo had consented to both these ordinations. "This indulgence," says St. Leo⁶, "ought to inspire him with modesty rather than with ambition. He ought to imitate the humility of his predecessor Flavian, and not to presume on a concession, which he has wrung from some of his

⁴ Post Ep. 77, ex Collect. Holsten. [p. 592.]

⁵ Ep. 78. (al. 54.) c. 2. 5.
⁶ Ep. 80. (al. 53.) c. 2.

⁶ Ep. 79. (al. 55.) c. 3.

^b Comparing this act of Anatolius with the aggressive movements of his predecessors in the see, one can hardly doubt that, but for this timely inter-

ference of St. Leo, he would have gradually compassed the subjugation both of Antioch and Alexandria: (v. Quesn. in Ep. 80. t. ii. p. 87†).

- A. D. 452. "brethren¹, but which can avail nothing against the canons,
 CH. XXXIII.
¹ c. 2. "especially those of Nicæa, whose authority is eternal and
 "inviolable, and can never be abrogated by any other
² Ep. 80. "Council, however numerous².
 c. 2. 4. "The city of Constantinople has its privileges, but these
³ Ep. 78. "are only secular³; it is a royal city, but it cannot become
 c. 3. "an Apostolic see. No dishonesty can tear away from the
 "Churches their just rights as established by the canons,
 "nor can the primacy of so many Metropolitans be invaded
⁴ Ep. 79. "to gratify the ambition of a single man⁴. Alexandria ought
 c. 2. "not to lose the second rank for the crimes of an individual
⁵ Ep. 80. "like Dioscorus, nor Antioch the third⁵. This encroachment
 c. 5. "has been tolerated for about sixty years; but the Bishops
 "of Constantinople never sent to the holy see any notice of
 "the presumed canon, which is now alleged in its defence¹."

¹ The reference is probably to the third canon of Constantinople, notwithstanding the discrepancy of dates, (Quæsn. in Leon. t. ii. p. 873). The Council appears to have sent its Definition of Faith to Rome, as being expository of objective truth, which if binding on one was binding on all; but to have omitted sending the canons, as relating simply to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the East.

At any rate, this is a question of minor value: for (as was observed, supr. xxi. 7. n) the canon conferred only a precedence in rank, which, however important for the *prestige* it afforded, involved no actual increase of power. This last was the accretion of many years; aided by the necessities of the times, favourable emergencies, imperial edicts, and the natural gravitation of power towards the royal city. The Patriarchal authority, says De Marca, consisted of two parts, *προεδρία*, or priority of honour, and *προστασία*, or administrative power; the latter comprising the right of ordaining Metropolitans, and of adjudicating in a Patriarchal Synod on appeals from the provinces. The Council of Constantinople, by its third canon, gave the Bishop of that city only the first of these (*προεδρία*). Indeed, after enacting the second canon it could do no more: for it had there confirmed the independency of the great dioceses, and assigned the administration of each province to its own several Synod. *Vid.* tract. de Instit. Patriarch. CP., (De Conc. t. iv. p. 176.

sq. ed. 1789). This regulation, however, was soon set aside in practice. There had always been great difficulty in enforcing the old canonical semestral council; in many cases it had fallen into entire desuetude (can. Calch. 19). Where it was kept up, cases would still constantly occur, which called for an immediate decision: and a Metropolitan then had only two courses to choose between,—he must either defer the suit or hazard the unpopular experiment of again summoning his Bishops from the country. On the other hand, Constantinople had always a large number of Bishops of every grade residing in it, (sometimes including Patriarchs, C. Calch. act. iv. p. 545,) who could easily be collected by a message from the Bishop. The consequence was that this *σύνδος ἐνδημούσα* (supr. xxvii. 23. note p.) became a recognised part of the ecclesiastical machinery, and, as time ran on, gained a prescriptive authority, (*συνήθεια ἔνωθεν κεκράτηκε*, says Anatholius, C. Calch. p. 547). The Bishop of Constantinople, who presided in it, not only as the local Bishop, but by virtue of his right of *προεδρία*, was thus supplied with that necessary element of Patriarchal *προστασία*, a Patriarchal Synod. The other element, the right of ordaining Metropolitans, grew up in an equally (to human eyes) casual manner; (supr. xxi. 7. n. De Marca, *u. s.*, p. 189, sqq.)

So much indeed seems to have been admitted by all parties,—that the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of

all these reasons the Pope advises the Emperor and
 cess to put a curb on the ambition of Anatolius, and he
 ts the Emperor himself to practise humility and charity,
 ring that he will never consent to such an attempt, and
 Anatolius, by persisting in it, will cut himself off from
 eace of the universal Church. The Pope, however, did
 xecute his threat, nor proceed so far as excommunica-

A. D. 452.
 CH. XXXIV.

To Julian of Cos he says¹, "You ought to love the
 stitution of the universal Church more than the in-
 ests of any individual, and should not ask of me such
 ngs, as neither I can grant, nor you obtain, without
 olving both of us in guilt."

¹ Ep. 81.
 (al. 105.)

e Council of Chalcedon was not received so peaceably in
 last as in the West. The Emperor did every thing on
 art, that could be done, to further the execution of it;
 ie met with resistance in Egypt and Palestine. First,
 dict was issued at Constantinople on the seventh of
 uary, A. D. 452², making it illegal to dispute publicly
 religion: the clergy were prohibited on pain of depo-
 ; officers, on pain of losing their places; and others, of
 ; expelled from Constantinople and punished according
 air deserts. "It is impious and sacrilegious," says the
 eror³, "to allow one's self to examine any thing accord-
 to one's private judgment, after the decision of so many
 hops." And afterwards, "It were an insult to the de-
 e of the Council, to raise disputes on what has been
 ided." This edict is directed to "our citizens of Con-
 ntinople." It failed, however, of its intention; for there
 many restless spirits, who still continued to dispute
 cly on the mysteries, in the presence even of Jews and

XXXIV.
 Laws in fa-
 vour of the
 Council.

² Sporatio
 Cos.

³ C. Calch.
 pt. 3. c. 3.
 [p. 840.]
 Cod. [Just.
 lib. 1. tit. 1.
 sive] de
 Sum. Trin.
 leg. 4.

ntinople was, when viewed in
 ce to the canons, an anomaly
 usurpation. But it came before
 thers of Chalcedon as a *fait ac-*
 ; supported moreover by the
 weight of the existing civil
 The point therefore, which
 ad to consider, was, whether the
 rries of the respective Exarchates
 riarchates were things once for
 alterably settled by positive Di-
 aw, or were ecclesiastical ar-
 guments made with a view to the
 l good and peace of the Church,
 ble to vary with the varying dis-

pensations to which the Church was
 providentially subjected:—whether, in
 fact, the Nicæan canons, (made, as St.
 Leo says, *ad commune bonum, ad per-*
petuam utilitatem,) were in their own
 nature immutable, or whether by con-
 firming the *ἐκ πολλοῦ κρᾶτησαν ἔθος*
 (Synodic. ad Leon., Labbe, p. 838. A.),
 which assigned the ordination of the
 Pontic, Thracian, and Asian Metro-
 politans to the see of Constantinople,
 they were not acting in the spirit, while
 violating the letter, of the ever-famous
 rule of Nicæa, τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθη κρατεῖτω.

A. D. 452. therefore, Stephen and John hastened back to St. Euthymius to bring him the definition, from fear of incurring his indignation, as Auxolaus had done. St. Euthymius having read the definition of the Faith propounded by the Council, approved it and received it as Catholic.

On this being noised abroad, all the monks of Palestine were going to receive the Council of Chalcedon, when a sudden diversion was made by Theodosius. He had been a monk, but having been convicted of some crime by his Bishop, had been expelled from his monastery¹. On coming to Alexandria, he attached himself² to Dioscorus; but was seized as a seditious person, severely whipped and led through the city on a camel³. He went to the Council of Chalcedon, apparently with Barsumas, and returning rapidly to Palestine exclaimed, with some few adherents, that the Council had betrayed the Faith. He wrote some letters⁴, slandering the Council as if it had said, there were two SONS, two CHRISTs, and two Persons to be adored; in short, as if it had ratified the heresy of Nestorius. He also circulated a falsified translation of St. Leo's letter to Flavian⁵. By this means he seduced a large number of monks and other simple folk, but especially the Empress Eudocia, (the relict of Theodosius,) who had retired to Jerusalem, and who had been formerly prevailed on by Chrysa-phius to patronize Eutyches. She drew the greater part of the monks and people to Theodosius's side. When Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem returned from the Council, they wished to compel him to retract and anathematize the Catholic doctrine, which he had subscribed; they even sent an assassin to murder him, but he, missing his aim, revenged himself by killing Severian Bishop of Scythopolis. Juvenal fled to Constantinople; while the schismatics assembled in the Church of the Resurrection, and ordained Theodosius Bishop of Jerusalem.

He ordained Bishops for several cities in Palestine, chiefly in the place of those who had not yet returned from the Council⁶. He raised a great persecution at Jerusalem against those who would not embrace his communion. Some were scourged, others were plundered of their property, or had their houses burnt. The gaol was broken open, and the criminals set at liberty⁷. Ladies of high rank were insulted⁸.

¹ Evagr. 2. 5. Cotelier. Mon. Gr. t. 1. p. 415. [² ἀπελάβητο. Fl. attaquā.] [³ Ἰσα κακοῦργος, says Evagr.]
⁴ C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 15. p. 877. D.

⁵ Leo. Ep. 97. (al. 83.)

⁶ Niceph. 15. 9.

⁷ Conc. t. p. 857. p. 861. B.

They forced people to anathematize, orally and in writing, both the Council of Chalcedon and the Pope St. Leo. A Deacon named Athanasius said one day to Theodosius, in the middle of the church, as he was seated on the throne; "Cease to wage war upon CHRIST and to scatter His flock, and learn to know the affection we bear to our true Pastor. We cannot listen to the voice of the stranger." As he was thus speaking, he was dragged out by Theodosius's guards, who, after putting him to every kind of torture, beheaded him; his body was drawn through the streets by one of its feet, and then thrown to the dogs. The Church celebrates his memory as a martyr on the fifth of July¹.

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXVII.

¹ Martyr.
R. 5 Jul.

Dorotheus, governor of Palestine, was at that time employed against the barbarians in the country of the Moabites². On hearing of what had occurred at Jerusalem, he immediately returned at the head of some select troops to restore order; but the partizans of Theodosius and Eudocia closed the gates against him, and would not allow him to enter, until he had promised to join the schism as all the monks and citizens had done. By this means Theodosius retained the see of Jerusalem for twenty months.

[² περί του
την Μοα-
βίτιν]

He attempted to draw even St. Euthymius over to his party³. First of all, he sent for him; but the holy man would not come to Jerusalem. Theodosius sent to him two Abbots, Elpidius the disciple and successor of St. Passarion, and Gerontius, who governed the monastery of St. Melania. St. Euthymius said to them, "God forbid I should ever take part in the bloody deeds of Theodosius or in his error." Elpidius and Gerontius answered, "We are then to receive the Nestorian dogma, authorized by the Council of Chalcedon in the formula which they put forth, saying that 'CHRIST is acknowledged in two natures⁴.'" St. Euthymius replied, "I have not read all the Acts of the Council, but, as for the Definition of Faith, I find nothing objectionable in it." He then explained to them how the Council acknowledged the two natures in CHRIST, without any division of persons, according to the doctrine of St. Cyril⁵. Elpidius approved of his discourse, and owned that it agreed with the Catholic Faith, though he did not immediately leave the communion of Theodosius; but Gerontius continued obsti-

XXXVII.

St. Euthy-
mius op-
poses The-
odosius.

³ vit. S. Euthym. p. 56.

[⁴ ἐν δύο
φύσεσι
γνωρίζε-
ται τὸν Χρ.]

⁵ p. 59.

“ who will answer you, for I have not leisure to hear you.” A. D. 452. Theodosius took his departure in confusion. In the course CH. XXXIX. of time, after he had usurped the see of Jerusalem¹, he sent¹ p. 416. for the Abbot Gelasius, and with mingled caresses and threats led him into the chancel², and said to him, “ Anathe-<sup>[² ἱερα-
τείον]</sup> matize Juvenal.” Gelasius, nought dismayed, answered, “ I know no other Bishop of Jerusalem than Juvenal.” Theodosius, fearing that the others might follow this example of pious zeal, drove him out of the church. He was seized by the schismatics, who piled up wood around him, threatening to burn him. But when they saw that he still remained undaunted, they feared that the people, who held him in great reputation, might raise an insurrection; so they let him go.

The disinterestedness of the Abbot Gelasius is exhibited in the following anecdote³. He had a book written in parch-⁴ Ibid. p. ment, valued at eighteen sols of gold⁴, or a hundred and forty-^{410.} four livres. It contained both the Old and New Testament, <sup>[⁴ νομισ-
μάτων;
about
£10. 15s.]</sup> and lay in the church, that any of the brethren who chose might read it. A foreign friar⁵ stole it, and the aged Saint <sup>[⁵ τῆς ἀδελ-
φῶν ξένος]</sup> did not pursue him, although he perceived the theft. The other went into the city, and tried to sell it, and, having found a purchaser, asked sixteen sols for it. The person who wished to buy it asked permission to examine it, and with this view took it to the Abbot Gelasius, who said, “ Buy it: “ it is a fine copy, and well worth the price.” The purchaser came back and said to the seller, “ I have shewn it to the “ Abbot Gelasius, who tells me it is too dear, and not worth “ the price you ask for it.” The seller said, “ Did the old “ man say nothing else to you?” “ Nothing,” answered the other. “ Then,” said he, “ I am no longer willing to sell it;” and touched with compunction he came to Gelasius, and entreated him to take the book back: but he refused. The friar⁶ said, “ Unless you take it, I shall have no rest.” Then <sup>[⁶ ὁ ἀδελ-
φός]</sup> he received it. The foreign friar was converted by means of this incident, and remained with him to the day of his death.

In the mean time the West was infested by the ravages of xxxix. Attila, who had now repaired his losses of the former year, St. Leo stops Attila. and entering Italy by Pannonia overran several provinces without opposition⁷. Great fears were entertained for Rome,

⁷Chr. Prosp. ann. 452. ap. Ronc. t. i. p. 671. Chr. Cassiod. cod. a. [t. ii. p. 230.]

A. D. 452. which he was on the point of attacking, but his people
 CH. XXXIX. diverted him from it, by the example of Alaric, who died
 soon after he had pillaged it. The Emperor Valentinian, and
 even Aëtius, thought of abandoning Italy, but first of all they
 deemed it politic at least to offer proposals of peace. They
 therefore sent to Attila a deputation consisting of the Pope
 St. Leo, with Avienus, of consular rank, and Trygetius, of
 præfectorial. They found him in Venetia, at a place named
 Ambuleio¹, at the passage of the Mincio². Besides the report
 of his cruelties, his very appearance was terrible³. Though
 small in stature he had a stately gait, a broad chest, and
 large head; he had small lively eyes always in motion, a flat
 nose, thin beard, gray hair, and brown complexion. This
 description clearly points out his origin; the same features
 characterize the Tartars of the present day. He was very
 brave, yet he fought less with his hands than with his head;
 his plans were projected with great ability. He shewed him-
 self placable enough to those who submitted to him, and was
 a steady friend when he had once pledged his word. Just
 as he was hesitating whether to attack Rome or not, this
 embassy decided him. He was so pleased with the sight of
 St. Leo, that he listened favourably to his propositions, put
 a stop to hostilities, and retired beyond the Danube, holding
 out hopes of a lasting peace.

[Mambro-
 lejo, *Jorn.*]
¹ Jornand.
 [De reb.
 Get.] p.
 124, ed.
 Linden-
 brog.

² Id. p. 116.

⁴ 17 Kal.
 Majas Her-
 culano Cos.
⁵ Novel.
 Valent. tit.
 12.

[⁶ præeunte
 tamen vin-
 culo com-
 promissi]
 [⁷ forum
 legibus non
 habere]

per pro-
 torem]
 origina-

The Emperor Valentinian was at Rome, where he made a
 law on the fifteenth of April, in this year⁴, (452,) which limited
 the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the privileges of the clergy.
 It sets out⁵ with remarking that frequent complaints were
 made of the decisions of Bishops; to remedy which, it de-
 clares that “the Bishop has no power of trying even Clerks,
 except with their consent, and by virtue of a compromise⁶.
 “For it is certain, that Bishops and Priests are not by law
 “able to hold a civil court⁷, and that they have cognizance
 “only in religious causes, according to the enactment of
 “Arcadius and Honorius, inserted in the code of Theodosius.
 “The clergy are bound to answer before the Judges, whether
 “in civil or criminal cases; only Bishops and Priests shall
 “have the privilege of making their defence by attorney⁸ in
 criminal matters. No serf or slave, of what quality soever⁹,
 shall undertake the clerical office, or embrace a monastic

“ life, with a view to escape from the duties of his condition. A. D. 453.
 “ The clergy shall not engage in any traffic, if they wish to CH. XL.
 “ enjoy their privileges, but shall be wholly employed in their
 “ ecclesiastical functions.”

Julian of Cos, the Pope's resident at Constantinople, sent XL.
 him a letter, expressing great sympathy with his misfortunes Aëtius
 and lamenting the evils which the incursion of the barbarians Archdea-
 had inflicted on Italy¹. At the same time he informed him con of Con-
 of a new enterprise of Anatolius; he had removed the Arch- stantino-
 deacon Aëtius, who had been always Catholic, having opposed ple
 both Nestorians and Eutychians, and had ordained him injured.
 Priest of a cemetery church, in order that he might bestow ¹ Leo. Ep.
 the Archidiaconate on a person named Andrew, a friend of 86. (al. 56.)
 Eutyches and one of Flavian's accusers. St. Leo wrote about
 it to Marcian and Pulcheria², complaining that Anatolius ² Ep. 84. 85
 under the pretence of promoting Aëtius had degraded him. (al. 57, 58.)
 For, having no fault to find either with his faith or his morals,
 he had deprived him of the office of Archdeacon, (which con-
 ferred great influence, since it comprised the administration of
 all the affairs of the Church,) and condemned him to a sort of
 exile by fixing him to a cemetery outside the city and in an
 obscure place, and this only because Aëtius had always been
 attached to St. Flavian and the Catholic faith³. Thus Auato- ³ Supr. 27.
 lius incurred the suspicion of never having cordially renounced 33.
 the errors of Eutyches. He had even violated the Apostoli-
 cal tradition, by holding the ordination on Friday, instead
 of on Saturday night^m.

St. Leo begs the Emperor and Empress to induce him to
 alter his proceedings: he at the same time recommends to
 them Julian of Cos, whom he says he has appointed his
 legate, to transact at their court all that related to the faith
 and peace of the Church, against the heretics of the time.
 This is the first mention of papal legates resident at Constan-
 tinople; they were afterwards called apocrisaries or corre-
 spondents,—the name previously given to the persons employed
 there by the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch to negotiate
 the affairs of their Churches. But those of the Pope were
 stationed there for the general interests of the Church⁴, to
 maintain its faith and discipline, to keep a close watch over <sup>v. Quesn.
 not. 6 ad
 Ep. 84 [t.
 il. p. 884.]</sup>

^m Cf. supr. xxvii. 3. Quesn. in Ep. Leon 11. (t. ii. p. 814.) Bing. iv. 6. § 7, 8.

A. D. 453. the Bishops of Constantinople, and to prevent them and the
CH. XLI. other Patriarchs of the East from attempting any thing inju-
 rious to the universal Church. These letters are dated the
 tenth and the eleventh of March, in the consulate of Opilio,
 or A.D. 453.

St. Leo wrote at the same time, and on the same subject,
 to Julian, of whom he further requested information as to
 the origin of the disturbance among the monks of Palestine¹;
 whether it was from affection to Eutyches, or from an in-
 discreet zeal against Juvenal of Jerusalem, who had taken
 his part. He also desires an account of the monks of Egypt,
 and of the Alexandrian Church, observing that he had sent
 a letter to the new Bishop. He asks Julian to get the Acts
 of the Council of Chalcedon translated accurately into Latin,
 and collected into one volume.

¹ Ep. 86.
 c. 3.

XLI.
 Letter of
 Marcian to
 the monks
 of Pales-
 tine.

² Ep. 88.
³ C. Calch.
 pt. 3. c. 9.
 [p. 856.]

A few days only elapsed before he learnt the cause of the
 tumult in Palestine, and the measures which the Emperor
 had adopted for its suppression². The Abbots and monks
 of Jerusalem and its environs addressed a petition to the
 Empress Pulcheria³, pretending to justify their conduct and
 to throw the blame of the excesses, which had been committed,
 upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem and some foreigners. By
 the advice of the Bishop Juvenal, who was at Constantinople,
 the Emperor Marcian wrote a letter to them, saying that
 they ought to maintain peace, and live in submission to the
 Bishops, without setting up to be teachers. He then re-
 marks⁴ that he has received well authenticated accounts of
 all that had occurred at Jerusalem; and after recounting
 their atrocities, "You have not done this," he says, "for the
 "defence of the Faith, but to usurp the preferments, of
 "which you are utterly unworthy. For the rest, we wonder
 "how you can anathematize Eutyches, and yet deliver your-
 "selves over to Theodosius, who treads in his steps, and is
 "the cause of all these disorders. You will have to answer
 "for your impiety and crimes before our LORD and SAVIOUR
 "CHRIST, who will not leave them unpunished; but as to
 "ourselves, we wish not to inflict punishment on monks. Only
 "we have ordered that the city of Ælia be kept under, that
 "peace for the future be better secured in it, and that
 "those who shall be found guilty of murder or arson⁵ shall

⁴ p. 857.

“ be punished. And whereas you take offence at the ex-
 “ pression *two natures*, as if it were a novelty; know that
 “ you ought not to busy yourselves with such questions,
 “ which are too nice for your understanding. We, for our
 “ part, following the doctrine of the Fathers, believe that
 “ our LORD JESUS CHRIST is very God and very man.” He
 then explains the doctrine of the Incarnation, especially as
 contrasted with the error of Nestorius, and he fully vindicates
 the Council of Chalcedon from the charge brought against it
 of being Nestorian. He adds¹, “ We gave orders that no one
 “ should be forced into subscribing or assenting against his
 “ will; for it is not our desire to drag any one into the path
 “ of truth by threats or violence.”

A. D. 453.
 CH. XLII.

p. 861.

“ And whereas you charge the Samaritans with having
 “ profaned the churches, and committed murders, and other
 “ dreadful deeds; know, that we have ordered the Count
 “ Dorotheus to make a close inquiry into the matter, to re-
 “ store to both Churches and private persons whatever has
 “ been taken from them, and to inflict the penalty of the
 “ law upon the guilty; but you have no right to avenge
 “ yourselves. We have, moreover, enjoined the Count Doro-
 “ theus to remove the quarters of the Ælian garrison from
 “ your monasteries. Live, then, in peace, not forsaking the
 “ Catholic Faith, nor holding separate assemblies², since you
 “ know the heavy penalties imposed by the Christian Princes,
 “ our predecessors, on those who so assemble. We have
 “ written thus much to you at the request of the Bishop
 “ Juvenal, and in the hope that this mark of our clemency
 “ will lead you to repent and change your conduct.”

[² *ἑκα-
 στουδῆεις*]

The Empress Pulcheria wrote a letter to the same monks,
 which was very similar in substance, being chiefly intended
 to justify her faith and that of the Council of Chalcedon
 against the calumnies of schismatics³. She wrote a private
 letter to Bassa⁴, who at that time presided over a nunnery
 at Jerusalem, and who also founded a monastery in honour
 of St. Mena, of which she appointed Andrew, from St. Eu-
 thymius's lavra, to be the Abbot⁵. To this Bassa, then,
 Pulcheria wrote, some time afterwards, and informed her,
 that if any of the nuns had, in their simplicity, been imposed
 on by the calumnies of Theodosius, they ought to undeceive

XLII.
 Death of St.
 Pulcheria.

³ C. Calch.
 pt. 3. c. 14.
⁴ Ibid. c. 13.

⁵ Vit. S.
 Euthym.
 [Anal. Gr.]
 P. 67.

A. D. 453. themselves, and acknowledge the sincerity of her faith and
 CH. XLIII. the purity of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Empress Pulcheria died in the course of this very year¹, aged fifty-four years. The Church honours her memory, as a holy virgin, on the tenth of September². A little before her death she had completed the court of the church of St. Laurence in her palace at Constantinople, a work of consummate beauty³. She built various other churches: that of Blachernai, that of Chalcopratia, and that of Hodegoi, all three in honour of the Holy Virgin⁴. In the last she placed the picture which the Empress Eudocia had sent her from Jerusalem, said to have been painted by St. Luke. She founded several hospitals and monasteries, to which she assigned revenues⁵. In her will, which was faithfully executed by Marcian, she left the whole of her property to the poor.

In this same year, 453, the head of St. John Baptist was found at Emesa in Phœnicia⁶, where it had been long hidden under ground, in a cavern near which some monks had taken up their residence. The Superior of the monastery, during Marcian's reign, was the Priest Marcellus, a man of irreproachable life, to whom St. John Baptist appeared twice in a dream, about the beginning of February; and one of his monks, named Isaac, perceived fire at the mouth of the cavern⁷. Marcellus was once more warned, and led by a star of fire to a vault in the cavern, beneath which he found the urn in which the head of St. John was, with the hair still upon it. He lighted a lamp, burnt incense, and worshipped God with joy and fear. He then took with him two of the neighbouring Abbots, Gennadius and Cyriacus, and they three together went to Uranius, Bishop of Emesa, and reported what they had seen. He desired them to keep it secret, and on the morrow he came to the cave with his Priests and Deacons. He raised the urn with the head inside, and carried it into the sacristy of the church, to be kept there till a new one should be built for this relique. This translation was made on Tuesday the twenty-fourth of February, 453. They afterwards built a church at the monastery by the cavern, and the head of St. John was transferred thither in procession on the twenty-sixth of the following October. From this time we hear nothing of the

¹ Vincomalo et Opillione Coss. Chr. Marcellin. [p. 292.] Chr. Pasch. [p. 320. ed. Par.]

² Martyr. R. 10 Sept. ³ Cange.

Const. l. iv. c. 6. § 57.

⁴ Ibid. c. 2. [§ 6. 9. 24.] Theod.

Lect. l. 1. init. et § 5. ⁵ Sozom. 9. 1.

XLIII. St. John Baptist's head found at Emesa.

⁶ Chr. Marcellin. [p. 290.] Chr. Pasch. u. s.

⁷ Marcellus, ap. Du Cange, Traité Hist. du chef de S. Jean Bapt. [p. 220.]

translation of St. John's head to Constantinople under Theodosius the Great¹; whether it was that they had discovered it not to be the true head of St. John Baptist, or from some other reason.

A. D. 453.
CH. XLIV.-
CH. XLV.

¹ Supr.
19. 49.

The Emperor Marcian did not content himself with the gentle correction he had administered to the misguided monks of Palestine. He gave orders to the governor Dorotheus to apprehend the pretended Bishop Theodosius, with a view to his punishment; but he escaped and took refuge in the fastnesses of Mount Sinai². Many of his accomplices, both laymen and monks, were subjected to corporal punishment. After the flight of Theodosius, Juvenal was re-instated in his see at the end of twenty months, that is to say, in July 453. He immediately deposed all whom Theodosius had ordained, and held a Council, from which he wrote a synodal letter³, 'to the [Priests,] Archimandrites, and monks of Palestine,' shewing them, that the Council of Chalcedon had only confirmed the Faith of Nicæa, and that the suspicions and mistrust which had been insinuated into them by the schismatics were groundless. This letter was subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Cæsarea, Paul of Paralus, and all the Bishops of the three Palestines. The Emperor Marcian directed a letter to this Council⁴, in which he repeats the declaration of his faith, and exhorts the Bishops to endeavour to reclaim their flocks and especially the monks who had been seduced by the calumnies of Theodosius. He mentions that he had written to the Bishop Macarius, and to the Archimandrites and monks of Mount Sinai, (whither the arch-schismatic had retired,) to inform them of his crimes, and put them on their guard against his wiles.

XLIV.
Juvenal re-
instated.

² Niceph.
15. 9.

³ C. Calch.
pt. 3. c. 20.

⁴ Ibid. c. 15.

The schismatics gave out⁵ that St. Leo did not approve of the Council of Chalcedon, the whole pretence being grounded on the fact of his having disallowed the canon about the precedence of the Bishop of Constantinople. St. Leo's letter to Anatolius, it is true, might easily have disabused them; but Anatolius did not care to publish it, and he is even charged with having circulated this calumny. The impression it made was so serious that the Emperor Marcian advised St. Leo to explain himself distinctly on the point. He thought he had done this sufficiently, previously to the Council, by his letter

XLV.
St. Leo
writes to
the Bishops
of the
Council.

⁵ Leo. Ep.
88, 89, 90.

4th A. D. 453.
XLVII.

doctrina
[doctrina]

XLVII.
Death of
Theodoret.

the

of

at ^{1. 4. c. ult.}
[t. iv. p.
297.]

gives this

the mul-^o Præf. in
of Divine fin. [p. 189.]

the work is

heresies which

God was in-

Simon Magus

of those who

g from Ebion to

is heresies, among

Evangelians; while the

of Arius to his own

of Eutyches⁴; his ex-^{c. 12.}

is so violent, that the

book is an exposition

a refutation of heresies.

life that he wrote, at the

opus, the *Questions on the*

best books of Scripture; or, ^{v. Garner.}

and Ruth. He also wrote ^{Diss. 2. c. 3.}

and the Chronicles. Thus he ^{[Auctar.}

and began it, in peace and com- <sup>Theod. p.
181.]</sup>

vated to a higher pitch of devotion.

"The world not only has no power to

"conform them to itself, but it be-

comes a sort of counterpressure, which

"forces them to take shelter in a secret

"life of self-renouncement." Adn.

Manning, Sermon V.

A. D. 453. munion with the Church¹. He left behind him nearly a hundred and fifty letters.

¹ Id. Hist. Theod.

c. 13. § 5. [p. 148.]

XLVIII. Councils in Gaul.

² Opilione Cos.

³ Conc. t. iv. p. 1020.

⁴ C. Calch. can. 5, 9, 13, 7, 4.

⁵ C. Andeg. c. 1, 7, 8.

In this same year, 453², a Council was held at Angers, on the fourth of October, at which seven Bishops were present³; namely, Leo of Bourges, [Eustochius,] Charito, Rumoridus, Viventius of Mans, [Victorius,] and Thalassius, the new Bishop of Angers, whose election was the occasion of this Council. There were twelve canons made, some of which decree, in conformity with the Council of Chalcedon⁴, that the clergy shall not plead before civil judges, except with the consent of their Bishops; that they shall not travel without their permission and commendatory letters; that they shall not enter the army, or engage in secular employments; that the vagrant monks shall be excommunicated. Violent assaults and mutilations of the body are forbidden, and the penalty of excommunication is laid on those who assist in delivering up cities⁵. All this marks the disorder consequent upon the incursions of the barbarians, who at that time overran Gaul. It was, apparently, at the beginning of his episcopate, that Thalassius consulted St. Lupus of Troyes and St. Euphronius of Autun respecting some points of discipline. We have their answer still extant⁶: we gather from it their mode of celebrating Christmas-Eve, Easter-eve, and the Vigil of the Epiphany; and that their porters were allowed to marry a second time, but not the Exorcists, or Subdeacons.

⁶ c. 3, 4.

⁷ Conc. t. iv. p. 1048.

⁸ Conc. t. iv. p. 1010. v. not. Sirmond. *ibid.* et p. 1812.

The second Council of Arles⁷ is supposed to have been held about this time, though we neither know the precise year, nor the names of the Bishops who assisted at it; indeed the very number of the canons, which are all that now remains of the Council, has been matter of dispute. As many as fifty-six are given in the collections, but some of them are supposed to have been inserted from other Councils. We may here mention the most remarkable. The tenth provides that "those who have fallen away in time of persecution, and "have voluntarily denied the Faith, shall go through seven "years' penance, according to the Council of Nicæa;" that is, as represented by Rufinus, in his history⁸: for the Council itself, in the tenth canon, imposed twelve years' penance on them⁹ rest, it does not appear that there was at

⁹ *lib. 1. c. 5. can. 12. pasc. p. [] tury, 21.*

this time any persecution except that of the unconverted barbarians who were ravaging the Empire. The twenty-third canon relates to the remains of idolatry which were still to be found among the Gauls. "If within the jurisdiction of any Bishop the infidels light torches, or worship trees, fountains, or stones, the Bishop who neglects to root out this abuse, is guilty of sacrilege. If the owner or the person who authorized the idolatrous act refuse to be reformed, he shall be excommunicated." The twenty-second states that "penance cannot be given to married people except by consent," that is, cannot be given to one of the two without the consent of the other, because the state of penance made continence obligatory, as appears from the preceding canon.

When St. Leo was apprized of the re-instatement of Juvenal at Jerusalem, he returned thanks to the Emperor Marcian, in a letter dated¹ the ninth of January, A.D. 454². At the same time he wrote about it to Julian of Cos³, from whom he had received this agreeable news; he adds that he had received letters from Proterius of Alexandria, containing a satisfactory account of his faith. There was room, we may suppose, for suspecting his sincerity, as he had been a disciple of Dioscorus. But St. Leo complains that when his letter to the Council of Chalcedon was publicly read at Constantinople in the presence of the Bishops and Priests, they had read only the first part, which concerned the Faith, and not the second, which related to the enterprize of Anatolius.

He wrote some time after to Proterius⁴, who had sent him a letter stating his reception of Leo's letter to Flavian. He exhorts him to maintain the purity of the Faith, and to reclaim the followers of Eutyches by shewing them how widely the Catholic doctrine differs from that of Nestorius. "Let them see," he says, "that you teach nothing but what the Fathers taught, particularly Athanasius, Theophilus, and Cyril, whose works you will read to them first, and afterwards my letter to Flavian, that they may observe how well they agree together." He also exhorts him to maintain discipline, to uphold the dignity of his Church, and to keep all the Bishops of Egypt under his authority; declaring for his part, that he has the preservation of the canons no

A. D. 454.
CH. XLIX.

XLIX.
St. Leo's
letter to
Proterius,
&c.
¹ Ep. 99.
² Actio et
Studio
Coss.
³ Ep. 100.
(al. 68.)

⁴ Ep. 103.

A. D. 454. less at heart than that of the Faith,—plainly referring to the
 CH. L. pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople. This letter is dated the tenth of March, 454. As the Emperor Marcian vouched for the faith of Proterius, St. Leo wrote to him at the same time¹, begging that his letter to Flavian, faithfully translated into Greek under the superintendence of Julian² of Cos², might be transmitted to Alexandria by some trusty person, and under the Imperial seal; and that it should be addressed to the Judges of Alexandria, with orders to have it recited in public.

L. Dispute concerning the Easter of A. D. 455. St. Leo was in some difficulty about fixing Easter-Day for the following year, (455,) the eighth indiction. According to the calculation of Theophilus of Alexandria it would be the eighth of the calends of May, that is, the twenty-fourth of April, but this seemed to throw it too late; for it had been supposed up to that time, that Easter ought not to fall earlier than the twenty-second of March, or later than the twenty-first of April^o. In the preceding year, (453,) St. Leo had written about it to the Emperor Marcian³, desiring him to

¹ Ep. 94. (al. 64.)

^o St. Leo mentions these as the limits between which Easter might range (Ep. 94); but there is reason to think that this mode of stating the earlier limit was a concession to the Alexandrian system, which was based on the following rules. "The Paschal 14th lune (or day of the moon) shall never fall before March 21 (the reputed vernal equinox), nor after April 18: if it fall on a Saturday, the next day is Easter, if on a Sunday, Easter will be the Sunday following." In this scheme, therefore, the limits of Easter were March 22 and April 25. The Latin rule, on the other hand, made March 18 and April 15 the *termini Paschales* (Victor. Præf. p. 4); and as it allowed Easter to fall on the 16th lune, but not before, it is clear that in order to be consistent, it ought to make March 20 and April 23 the limits of Easter. But whatever the truth may be with regard to the earlier limit, it is certain that they made April 21 their later limit—a limit obviously irreconcilable with their own maxims: for, supposing the 15th lune to fall on April 15, a Sunday, Easter must be the Sunday following, April 22. This supposed case actually occurred in 417, when at Pope Zosimus's request the

feast was celebrated on March 25 "lest it should be held on April 22" (ne X Cal. Maji die teneretur); Ep. Paschasin. post Ep. Leon. 2. (p. 413.) In the former dispute in 444, St. Leo consented to keep Easter on April 23; but he says that he acquiesced in this only because it made the Paschal limit, April 21, coincide with the Day of the passion (Ep. 94),—the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, though not the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* (v. Usher. de Ignat. M. Epist. c. 9.) So great stress cannot have been laid on this April 21 without a cause; and a clue to an adequate motive has been supposed to be discovered (Ideler, Handb. i. 266) in the fact recorded by Prosper (supr. xxvi. 56), that in the year 444, Good-Friday falling on April 21, "out of reverence for it the anniversary of the city's foundation passed without Circensian games." Whenever Easter-Day occurred later than the 21st, the great national festival would fall in Passion-Week; and at a time when old Pagan prejudices were still rife, it must have been an arduous and hazardous task to suppress that which yet, if tolerated, would be most revolting to minds occupied in exercises proper to that hallowed tide.

have the question examined by men of the highest skill, in order that Easter might be celebrated on the same day by all the Churches. He had also charged Julian of Cos to press the matter forward¹, and it is evident, from the number of letters in which he mentions it², that he attached no small importance to it. The Emperor sent one of his agents to Alexandria with a letter for Proterius, who to satisfy St. Leo, wrote him a long letter, in which the question is minutely examined³. He shews that the Pasch ought to be celebrated by the Christians, not on the fourteenth of the moon^p of the first month, as among the Jews, but on the Sunday following, consequently, when the fourteenth falls on a Sunday, Easter must be thrown forward to the Sunday following, which is the twenty-first. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that by this rule we may have to celebrate Easter in the second month; for this month counts, not from the day of the Equinox, which is always the twenty-first of March, but from the new moon after the Equinox. He adduces several examples in confirmation of this view^q, and concludes that the calculation of Theophilus is right, and that Easter in the eighth indiction, or the year 455, ought to be celebrated on the twenty-ninth of Pharmouthi, which is the

A. D. 454.
CH. L.

¹ Ep. 95.
(al. 65.)
² Ep. 100.
(al. 68.)
Ep. 102.
³ Ep. 105.
(al. 70.)
c. 3.

^p post Ep. 103.

^p By the 14th day of the moon (or 14th lune) we are constantly to understand the day of full moon. Victorius uses indifferently "Luna xiv" and "plenilunium," (Præf. p. 4.) The age of the moon was dated from its first phasis, not from the actual conjunction which would commonly take place a day earlier. It is evident how much ambiguity might arise from this cause; and accordingly Victorius says that what some called the first lune, others called the 30th and others again the 2nd: (Præf. p. 3.)

^q In the 89th year of Diocletian, he says, (= A. D. 373), the paschal 14th lune fell on March 24, a Sunday, and Easter was kept on March 31: in 377 it fell on Sunday, April 9, and Easter was kept on April 16. Again, in 387 Sunday, April 18, being the 14th lune, April 25 was Easter-Day; and in 444 when the 14th lune was on April 18th, a Tuesday, Easter was kept on April 23. We learn from St. Ambrose that the Easters of 373, 377, and 387 were observed on the above-mentioned days at Milan also: and that in 360 Easter

was kept there on April 23 (*sine ulla dubitatione majorum*, he adds: Ep. 23. t. ii. p. 887, ed. Bened.)

Any one who is disposed to follow out the subjects of these chapters will find a compendious substitute for the mechanism of Epact, Sunday-letter, and Golden-number in the following rule. It is universally applicable to the Julian Calendar, and with two slight exceptions to the Gregorian also. "Divide the year A. D. by 19, 4, and 7 successively, calling the remainders *a*, *b*, and *c*: divide $19a + M$ by 30, calling the remainder *d*; and $2b + 4c + 6d + N$ by 7, leaving a remainder *e*. Then Easter-Day will be the $(22 + d + e)$ th of March, or $(d + e - 9)$ th of April." For the Julian Calendar *M* and *N* are constant, (viz. $M = 15$, $N = 6$); but for the Gregorian variable, (being for the present century $M = 23$, $N = 4$.) See Delambre, Astron. t. iii. p. 717; and, for the proof of the formula, Cisa de Grésey in the Memorie d. R. Acad. di Torino: t. xxiv. p. 77.

4. eighth of the calends of May, or the twenty-fourth of April.
 — St. Leo yielded rather to the authority of St. Proterius, than to his reasons^r, wishing to avoid a diversity in the celebration of the feast¹; and he wrote a letter to the Bishops of the Gauls and Spains², dated the fifth of the calends of August, after the Consulate of Opilio, that is, July 28, 454, informing them that the approaching Easter would be on the eighth of the calends of May, not on the fifteenth, as some thought; in other words, on the twenty-fourth of April, not on the seventeenth. And so ended the dispute.

To prevent difficulties of this kind in future, and that he might not be obliged blindly to follow the authority of the Alexandrians, St. Leo had a new paschal-canon drawn up; at least, it seems probable that Victorius composed his by St. Leo's order. Of one thing we are certain—that Hilarus, at that time Archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards Pope, enjoined Victorius³ to inquire at his leisure into the reason why Greeks and Latins held such different opinions on this point⁴, and to shew which method gave the more correct re-

^r The truth is that Proterius's arguments were hardly to the point. He insists, for instance, on the rule that, when the 14th lune falls on a Sunday, Easter must be kept on the following Sunday, to avoid the Jewish Pasch. Now this was a principle recognised by the Roman Church even more fully than by the Greek: for the former (as we have seen) would allow Easter to fall only from the 16th to the 22nd lune, while the latter was content with its being on the 15th.—The real source of the dispute in this case was the difference of cycles; this therefore was the point on which he should have laid out his strength. St. Leo did not admit that Sunday, the 17th of April, *was* the 14th lune. In Victorius's Cycle it is called the 16th lune; and Noris shews in detail that St. Leo evidently considered it to be so: v. Diss. II. de Cyclo Pasch. Lat. p. 124. The authority to which St. Leo yielded was that which attached to the Bishop of Alexandria as commissioned by the Nicæan Council to announce annually on what day the following Easter would fall; (Cyril. Prol., ap. Bucher. p. 481, Leo Ep. ad Marcian, *ibid.* p. 79). Proterius in his letter speaks of the 19 years' cycle as one "which cannot be violated," being

appointed by the blessed Fathers (i. e. of Nicæa) to be "the pediment, the foundation, the canon." From this and from the more express passages in St. Ambrose (Opp. ii. p. 882), St. Cyril (ap. Bucher. p. 72), and Dionysius Exiguus (*ib.* p. 485), it has been concluded that the Council itself put forth a cycle. Van der Hagen rejects this theory (Diss. de Cycl. Pasch. p. 172, sqq.), which has met with a strong advocate in Mr. Greswell, Diss. vol. iv. pt. 2. p. 662, sqq.

³ The causes assigned by Victorius are, 1. the difference of cycles.—There was one, he says, of 84 y., (i. e. 6 × 14, Epiphani. Hær. 51. § 26), one of 95 y. (i. e. 5 × 19), and one of 112 y. (i. e. 7 × 16). Besides these, others had formerly been in use; thus Anatolius (in Præf. in can. Pasch., ap. Bucher. p. 439) mentions cycles of 25 and 30 years. Hippolytus published his *ἐκκαίδεκαετηρίς* about A.D. 220 (Euseb. H. E., vi. 22; Fleury, v. 51; see an account of it in Brown's Ordo Sæcl., p. 474); St. Cyprian a canon of similar construction in 243, (ad Calc. Opp. p. 61, ed. Fell.); Dionysius his *ὀκταετηρίς* about 250 (Euseb. vii. 20), and Anatolius his *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς* about 270, (Id. vii. 32.) We may infer from

sult. Victorius was a Gaul of Aquitaine, who had, probably, A. D. 457. retired to Rome to escape from the Goths. He accepted the commission¹, and, to give greater certainty to his work, undertook to recalculate the whole succession of lunations and days, (i. e. days of the week,) from the beginning of the world, according to the chronicle of Eusebius. He found that the lunar cycle of nineteen years, which the Greeks used, was more to be depended upon than those of the Latins², and multiplying it by the solar cycle of twenty-eight years, he made a paschal-canon of 532 years, which was larger than any that had been made up to that time. It commenced, in his mode of reckoning, with the consulate of the two Gemini, which he assigned as the year of the Passion, and ended in the year of the Incarnation, 559, according to our vulgar era. Victorius published this paschal-canon in the consulate of Constantinus and Rufus, or A.D. 457, and from that time he was pretty generally followed by the Latins³. The author is sometimes called Victorinus, or Victor.

CH. LI.
 1 Gennad.
 de vir.
 illustr. c. 89.
 Ep. Vict.
 ap. Bucher.
 p. 2.

Epiphanius (Hær. 70. § 14), that the *ἑξαετηρίς* was commonly employed in the early Church. Elsewhere (Hær. 51. § 26) he speaks of the 84 years' cycle as used by the Jews in our SAVIOUR'S time: and hence many have stated that it was adopted from them by the Christians of the first 200 years: Bingham. xx. 5. § 4, Bucher. p. 132, 419: but this is very doubtful, v. Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 367, sqq. It seems, however, that the cycle of 84 y. was in use at Rome before that of 112 y.; for St. Cyril, remarking on the inaccuracy of the former, says that they who introduced the latter *pejus aliquid addiderunt*: (See Ideler, Handb. p. 222, 243).—2. The different ways of calculating the new moon, (*supr.* note q.) 3. and of inserting the *saltus lune* (v. Ideler, p. 235. Victor., Præf. p. 3, 4.) 4. The difference as to the *termini Paschales* and the earliest lune on which Easter-Day might fall: *supr.* note p. 5. The error of epact introduced by the 84 years' cycle; *infr.* note t.

¹ 84 Julian years differ from 1039 synodical months by 1d. 6h. 48' in defect; 19 years differ from 235 months by 1h. 27½' in excess. Hence the cycle of 84 y. would give the new moon a day and a quarter too early at the end of one revolution: while that of 19 y.

only made it a day too late in the course of its seventeenth revolution, (after 312 years.) The divergency thus produced may be illustrated by the following instance, (Ideler., u. s. p. 277.) The three years 298, 382, and 466 were all initial years of the Roman cycle: the new-moon of the initial year given by the table is March 31, which places the full moon on April 13. But the golden numbers of these years are 14, 3, and 11; which, in the Alexandrian scheme gave the 12th, 13th, and 15th, of April for the full moon: so that in this last year the calculations differ by two days. That this discrepancy did actually result, we know by contemporary evidence. St. Cyril (Prolog. § 5. ap. Bucher. p. 483) says, "the lunes which they wrongly call the 3rd, 16th, and 23rd, St. Theophilus proves by the heavens to be the 1st, 14th, and 21st;" and to the same effect Victorius, (Præf. § 5. p. 5.)

The only advantage possessed by the Roman cycle was, that on its recurrence it brought back the Paschal full moon, not only to the same day of the month, but to the same *feria* or week-day. Being purchased at the expense of astronomical truth, this was of course only an apparent advantage.

² Although Victorius adopted the

A. D. 454.
CH. LII.

LII.
Satisfac-
tion given
by Anato-
lius.

¹ Ep. 101.

Anatolius of Constantinople being pressed by the Emperor, offered to satisfy St. Leo, but complained that Leo had given up the correspondence. "I only desisted," says St. Leo¹,

Alexandrian plan of inserting the *salvus lunæ* after every 19th year, and, besides making other concessions, corrected the epact by a reduction of two days, he yet retained so many of the old Latin maxims as prevented an entire uniformity between the Eastern and Western Churches: (v. Ideler, p. 283, sqq.) Not that he himself decides against the Alexandrians:—whenever the two modes of computation produce different results, he sets both of them down, and leaves it to the Pope to choose between them. But as the latter naturally selected the date which was derived from the Latin principle, it several times happened that Easter was celebrated on different days. Thus in the years 475, 495, 496, 499, and 516 the feast was held in the West 8 days later than in the East: (see the Table in *L'art de v. l. Dates*, t. i. p. 10, 11. ed. 1783.) An analysis of the cases of double dates is given by Ideler, p. 283. At length Dionysius Exiguus (A. D. 525: *infr.* xxxii. 38) drew up a canon in complete accordance with the Alexandrian principles,—making the Paschal new moon range between March 8 and April 5 (inclusive), and allowing the 15th lune to be Easter-Day. His cycle was immediately received by the Roman Church, though Victorius's canon continued to be used in some parts of Italy so late as A. D. 550: see the fragment of a letter by Victor of Capua in Bede, *De Temp. Rat. c.* 49; (*Opp. t.* ii. p. 159, ed. 1563.)

The countrymen of Victorius adhered to his table with greater tenacity. The first canon of the IVth Council of Orleans (A. D. 541) decrees that "the holy Pasch shall be observed by all "Priests on one day according to the "Laterculus of Victorius," (*Labbe*, t. v. p. 381.) In 577 Easter was kept at Tours and many other cities of France on the 18th of April (the date assigned by Victorius); some kept it with the Spaniards on March 21; (*Greg. T. Hist. Franc. v.* 17; *infr.* xxxiv. 33.) The Alexandrian date was April 25. Again, in 590 (*Greg. T.*, x. 23; *infr.* xxxv. 6) "was a doubtful Pasch, because Victor in his cycle wrote, that "the Pasch fell on lune xv, but that,

"to avoid the Jewish feast, the Latins "would keep it on lune xxii. Hence "many in the Gauls kept it on the "xvth, but we," at Tours, "on the "xxiind." This is important as shewing that many parts of Gaul had at this time come over to the Alexandrian rule. All traces of difference cease in France before the end of the eighth century.

We are not told on what principle the Spaniards celebrated Easter in 577 on the 21st of March:—whether they always celebrated it on the Equinox, or were following some cycle of their own. At this period they were for the most part Arians; but a few years afterwards (A. D. 587) Reccared, King of the West Goths, joined the Catholic Church, and it was probably then that the 19 years' cycle was introduced. (*Ideler*, p. 295.) In 620 we find Isidore of Seville continuing the Dionysian table from 627 to 721.

The contest remained longest in the British Isles. The Britons had the 84 years' cycle (as reformed by Sulpicius Severus, according to Usher, *de Primord.* p. 931), but with some peculiarities, such as keeping the feast from the 14th to the 20th lune, and placing the Equinox (before which the feast could not fall) on March 25; (see Lanigan's *E. H. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 372, sqq.) This cycle, which was introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland and thence transferred to the Picts in Scotland, is noticed at large in Cumian's letter to Segienus, (A. D. 634,) *ap. Usher.*, *Sylloge Vet. Epp. Hibern.* p. 24. The Britons carried it with them in their retreat into Wales; and it also prevailed in some parts of Northumbria: see the account of the conference at Strenæshalc (Whitby), Fleury, xxxix. 36. A letter written about A. D. 710, by the Abbot Ceolfrid, (preserved by Bede, *H. E.* 5. 22,) conducted greatly to settle the dispute; and Bede completed what his master had begun, so that in the year 729 the 19 years' cycle was received by the greater part of the Britons. In Charlemagne's time and for eight centuries after, Christendom was at unity on this point.

“ because I found he sent me no answer at all intimating
 “ that he retracted his ambitious pretensions, especially after
 “ what occurred in the affair of Aëtius and Andrew ; but I
 “ have never ceased heartily to long for his amendment.”
 After many letters from the Emperor, Anatolius himself
 wrote to St. Leo¹ that the Priest Aëtius had been restored
 to his former rank of honour in the Church ;—which
 of course does not mean that he had resumed the office
 of Archdeacon ; for this, being a Priest, he could not do ;
 but only that he had been removed from the cemetery, which
 was a sort of banishment, and again placed among the clergy
 of the cathedral. Anatolius adds, “ Andrew, who had been
 “ honoured with the dignity of Archdeacon, [not by our pro-
 “ moting him, but by right of seniority,] has been separated
 “ from the Church along with those who opposed St. Flavian
 “ and supported Eutyches, though, to be sure, they seemed
 “ to have made reparation by subscribing the letter of your
 “ holiness ; however, they shall continue in separation until
 “ we know your will concerning them. As to the decision
 “ made in favour of the see of Constantinople by the Council
 “ of Chalcedon, be assured that no blame rests with me. I
 “ have all my life loved tranquillity, and wished to remain in
 “ my humble station ; but you will find by the Acts that the
 “ clergy of Constantinople desired it, and the Bishops of
 “ these parts agreed to it.”

Anatolius having thus given satisfaction, St. Leo wrote to
 him². He approves of the re-establishment of Aëtius and the
 deposition of Andrew, and adds, “ If Andrew and Eufhratas,
 “ (who, as I understand, has wantonly accused Flavian, of holy
 “ memory,) condemn by an authenticated writing the error of
 “ Eutyches as well as that of Nestorius, you shall ordain
 “ them Priests, after having chosen for Archdeacon a man
 “ who has never been suspected of these heresies. The others,
 “ who were involved in the same guilt, shall be restored on
 “ the same conditions ; but those only must be raised to the
 “ first rank³, who have constantly been untainted with any
 “ error.” As for the ambitious claim of Anatolius, the Pope
 does not appear persuaded of his sincerity in this particular.
 The letter is dated the twenty-ninth of May, 454.

St. Leo wrote to the Emperor at the same time on the

A. D. 454.
 CH. LIII.

¹ post Ep.
 105.

² Ep. 106.
 (al. 71.)

[³ ad officiorum primatum.]

LIII.
 Other letters of St. Leo.

D. 454. same subject¹; and also desires him to put a check on the monk
 M. LIV. Carosus, whom he calls very ignorant and perverse, and who
 p. 107. had seduced a great number of people, maintaining heresy
 p. 112. and disparaging the authority of the Council². The Emperor
 I; 113. complied with his request, and removed Carosus and Doro-
 I. theus from their monasteries, confining them to a place where
 p. 105. they could injure no one. A little before this³, St. Leo had
 L (70.) desired the Emperor to send Eutyches to a greater distance,
 having learned from Julian of Cos that, in the place to which
 he was banished, he still attempted to deceive, and reviled the
 Catholic doctrine with the recklessness of a man in despair.
 Dioscorus died this year at Gangra, the place of his exile;
 when St. Leo heard of this, he hoped that those who had
 been perverted from the Faith might now be more easily
 p. 111. induced to return⁴.

Juvenal of Jerusalem wrote to inform St. Leo of his re-
 p. 110. establishment. "I am glad of it," answered Leo⁵; "yet when
 72.) "I reflect on what has passed, it is but too plain that you
 "brought your misfortunes upon yourself, and that you lost
 "the power of opposing heretics by your inconsistency in
 "approving their error—for this you did virtually when, at
 "the false Council of Ephesus, you condemned Flavian and
 "received Eutyches. Ignorance on this subject," he adds,
 "is utterly inexcusable in men who live at Jerusalem and
 "have no need of books to know the truth of the Gospel,
 "since they see with their eyes the places where the mys-
 "teries were accomplished." He concludes with these two
 sentences, which are sufficient to quash the heresy of Eu-
 tyches: "Neither can the GODHEAD be in its essence pas-
 "sible, nor would the Truth have deceived us by a feigned
 "assumption of our nature." The letter is dated the fourth
 of September, 454. In a letter belonging to this year, St. Leo
 complains to the Emperor Marcian that the stewards of the
 Church of Constantinople made up their accounts before
 p. 108. secular judges⁶; this, he said, was without precedent and
 I. contrary to the received practice, which was that the Bishops
 should revise the Church accounts.

LIV. Theodosius, the self-styled Bishop of Jerusalem, had re-
 I. of tured to Mount Sinai, whose monasteries, deriving their
 I. in original from Egypt, preserved a close connection with the
 I. of
 I. of

t country. The Emperor Marcian, therefore, sent the A.D. 454-6.
 rion John into Egypt¹, with a letter directed to the CH. LIV.
 s of the country, to acquaint them with the crimes¹ Leo. Ep.
 eodosius. He exhorts them to track out his lurking 113. c. 1.
 , and to deliver him and his accomplices to the C. Calch.
 nor of the province, not in order to punish him as pt. 3. c. 8.
 served, but to prevent him from continuing to seduce
 gnorant. The Emperor does not fail in this letter to
 the purity of his faith and so obviate the calumnies of
 eretics.
 may be that the Decurion John was also charged to
 sh in Egypt a law issued by the Emperor Marcian
 st the heretics², and specially against the Eutychians,³ C. Calch.
 t it styles Apollinarists³ and subjects to the penalties pt. 3. c. 19.
 rly laid upon these last: incapacitating them for being Cod. de
 : testators or legatees; prohibiting them from ordain- Hæret. [lib.
 : bishops and clergy on pain of banishment and confisca- I. tit. 5.]
 of goods; and forbidding them to hold assemblies, or leg. 8.
 against the Council of Chalcedon. This law is dated [³ Apol-
 e first of August, in the year 455⁴; it is directed to the linaristas,
 ct Palladius, with orders to see it executed, particularly hoc est,
 nstantinople and Alexandria. In the same year⁵, 455, Eutychian-
 mperor Marcian abrogated the law enacted by Valen- istas]
 on the thirtieth of July, 370, by which clergy and
 s were disqualified from receiving any legacy from
 n⁶. Marcian permits virgins and women devoted to
 to give to churches, clerks, monks, or to the poor, Cod. Th.
 ver they thought fit, whether by donation or will. de Episc.
 meet with a law of the preceding year, 454,⁷ addressed [l. 16. tit.
 lladius, Præfect of the Prætorium in the East, which 2.] leg. 20.
 ms the privileges of the Churches, and the pensions Fleury,
 ed in divers kinds⁸ for the maintenance of the poor. 16. 41.
 clares "all pragmatic sanctions elicited by ambition or C. de Sa-
 st in opposition to the canons" to be "null and void;" cros. Eccl.
 t seems to have been ordained in execution of the [l. 1. tit. 2.]
 cil of Chalcedon⁹. In the year 456, the Emperor Mar- leg. 12.
 made a law in favour of the clergy¹, the substance of [⁸ in diver-
 was, that they should be subject to no jurisdiction but sis specie-
 of their Bishop. At Constantinople, however, they were bus]
 to be sued before the Præfect of the Prætorium. In
 to be sued before the Præfect of the Prætorium. In

A. D. 455. case of need, the Steward or Defender of the Church of
 CH. LV. Constantinople was to be their bail, to the amount of fifty
 pounds of gold. The beadles' fees and the other law-ex-
 penses were to be laid at a lower rate upon the clergy.

L.V. Rome in the mean time was the scene of great and agi-
 Death of Valentinian III. tating changes. The Emperor Valentinian had a quarrel
 Maximus and Avitus with the Patrician Aëtius¹, which, by the artifices of the Pa-
 Emperors. trician Maximus and the eunuch Heraclius, who governed
 the Emperor, came to an open rupture, and at last the Em-
¹ Chronica Prosp. [t. i. peror resolved to get rid of him. When, therefore, Aëtius
 p. 674.] demanded of him, with warmth, the performance of his pro-
 Idat. [t. ii. mise, Valentinian killed him with his own hand in his palace.
 p. 35.] But he had cruelly wounded the feelings of Maximus by de-
 Marcell. [p. 292.] filing his wife². So Maximus availed himself of the friends
 Cassiod. [p. 230.] of Aëtius to effect the destruction of Valentinian, who had
 Victor. [p. 340.] imprudently retained them near his person; and as he was
 Chron. Pasch. walking in the Campus Martius at Rome, two of them sur-
 [p. 320.] prised and killed him, whilst no one made any attempt to
 Evagr. 2. 7. defend him. This was on the seventeenth of March, 455.
² Procop. Such was the end of the Emperor Valentinian the Third, the
 Vandal. l. i. last of the race of the great Theodosius. He was thirty-six
 c. 4. years of age, of which he had reigned about thirty³.

³ Idat.
 Chr. u. s.

Maximus was immediately acknowledged Emperor. He was a Patrician, had been twice Consul, and was descended from the Maximus who had usurped the Imperial power in the time of Theodosius the Great. His wife being dead, he obliged Eudoxia, the widow of the Emperor Valentinian, to marry him; but when she had discovered that he was the author of Valentinian's death, she resented it so much that she sent over to Africa, inviting Genseric, King of the Vandals, with great presents, to come to Rome, which she promised would fall an easy prey. Genseric did not fail to appear, and on the rumour of his arrival many of the nobility and people retired from Rome. Maximus himself made up his mind to leave it, and allowed all to do the same; but his cowardice made him contemptible, the servants of the Emperor Valentinian killed him, cut him in pieces, and threw his limbs into the Tiber on the seventy-seventh day of his reign⁴, the twelfth of June, 455.

⁴ Prosp.
 Chron.
 [p. 67

Genseric arrived three days after, and found Rome de-

fenceless. The Pope St. Leo went out of the gates of the city to meet him, and obtained, by his entreaties, a promise that he would be content with the pillage, and abstain from murders and executions. Rome therefore was pillaged with the utmost licence for fourteen days. Among the immense riches which were carried from Rome were the sacred vessels which Titus had formerly brought from Jerusalem*. Many thousands were carried away captive; the Empress Eudoxia, who had called in Genseric¹, was conducted to Carthage with her two daughters, Eudoxia and Placidia; Genseric married Eudoxia to his son Huneric, and sometime afterwards sent Placidia to Constantinople with the Empress her mother.

A. D. 455, 6.
CH. LVI.

¹ Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

Ten weeks after the pillage of Rome², Avitus was elected Emperor in Gaul, where he was Præfect of the Prætorium, and had been declared Master of the soldiery by Maximus. But in the following year, (456,) in the consulate of John and Varanus, Avitus, making a descent upon Italy, was vanquished by Ricimer, and ordained Bishop of Placentia; he died a short time after.

² Victor. Chr. [p. 341.]

It is at this revolution and the sacking of Rome that St. Prosper ends his chronicle³, in the eighth consulate of Valentinian, when Anthemius was his colleague; that is, in the year 445; he died soon after, before the year 457. Besides the work already mentioned⁴, he had composed a poem on the subject of Divine grace, entitled, *The Ingrates*; also several epigrams, and a collection of sentences from St. Augustine;—for he had made the works of this Father his principal study. His Chronicle begins at the creation of the world, and is divided into two parts: the first ends at the year 378, which is the conclusion of St. Jerome's Chronicle, and the second begins at the year 379, and ends at 455. He had also drawn up a paschal cycle⁵. As he was secretary to Pope St. Leo, some of the ancients⁶ ascribe to him the letters of St. Leo against Eutyches.

LVI.
Death of St. Prosper.
³ Victor. præf. in Can. [p. 6.]
⁴ Supr. 26. 24.

⁵ Ado. Vien. Ætat. 6. [p. 285. C.]
Gennad. u. s. c. 86.
Marcell. Chr. a. 463.

The treatise 'On the calling of the Gentiles,' is commonly said to be his, while others, from the similarity of style and

* They were afterwards retaken by Belisarius and carried to Constantinople (Anastas. Bibl., H. E. p. 61. ed. Par.), but soon after transferred thence to Jerusalem, (Procop. de Bell. Vand. ii.

9): *vid.* Reland. de Spol. Templ. c. 13. (ap. Ugolini Thes. t. ix. p. 1146.)
⁷ Gennad. de Vir. Illustr. c. 89. Isid. Hisp., Orig. vi. 17: *vid.* Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 176.

A. D. 455. sentiment, assign it to St. Leo, and suppose that before he was Pope¹. The author discusses t

¹ *Quæst. Diss. 2. in S. Leo.* “How is it possible that God can *will* that all n
“ saved, since He does all that He wills, and it i

² *lib. 1. c. 1.* “many perish²?” The Pelagians said that free
cause of salvation, by drawing down grace up
use it well. But by this they destroyed gra

³ *c. 6, 7, 8.* attributed it to merit. The author therefore esti

⁴ *c. 8. [p. 10.]* the necessity of grace; adding⁴, that we are to
we obscure plain truths, by letting our self-w

⁵ *c. 21.* pry into those which are hid from us; such as t
“ Why does God choose some men, and not
“ effectually saved?” We ought not to be more

the Apostle, who, when speaking on this subject
us what we ought to believe, but shewed us w
to abstain from looking into. There are then

⁶ *lib. 2. c. 1, 30. [p. 38, 66.]* truths in this matter⁶. The first, that God ‘will
‘ to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the

⁷ *1 Tim. ii. 4.* second, that no one does arrive at the knowledg
or attain salvation by his own merits, but by t
of grace. The third, that the depth of God

cannot be fathomed by human intelligence, a
unnecessary to inquire why He does not effect
men, whom yet He wills should be saved. .

search into the point which transcends our k
shall find no contradiction in the two first truth

⁸ *Vict. Vit. l. 1. c. 8.* The captives brought from Rome to Carthage
ably relieved by Deogratias, who had been ord
there after a long vacancy, in the year 454, at
the Emperor Valentinian⁸. The Vandals and 1

these poor slaves among themselves, separati
from their wives, and children from their parent

Bishop desirous of preventing this disorder, en
redeem and set them at liberty, and for this pu
the vessels of silver and gold which were used fo

service. And because there were no places cap
ing so great a number of people, he appoint
large churches,—that of Faustus and the Ne

which he furnished with beds and straw, g
every day, that each should be supplied acc

LVII.
The charity
of the Bi-
shop of
Carthage.

⁸ *Vict. Vit.
l. 1. c. 8.*

need. Among them were many who laboured under sickness, partly from the sea voyage, to which they had not been accustomed, partly from the harsh treatment they met with in captivity. These the holy Bishop constantly attended, going with the physicians on their rounds¹, and according to their advice had food ministered to them in his presence. At night he visited all the beds, asking each patient how he felt. In a word, he gave himself entirely up to the work, deterred neither by his enfeebled limbs nor his decrepit age. The Arians, envious of his virtue, laid several plots for his destruction, but God delivered him from them all. He died, however, a short time after, having held the see of Carthage only three years. He was buried privately, while the people were at prayers, from fear that in the ardour of their affection they might carry off his body. The Roman captives lamented his death, as if now that he had left them they felt afresh all the evils of slavery. His memory is honoured by the Church on the twenty-second of March². After his death, King Genseric forbade the ordination of Bishops in Zeugitana and the Proconsular province, in which there were at that time [a hundred and] sixty-four prelates. These gradually died off, so that, at the end of thirty years³, the number was reduced to three.

At this time innumerable Martyrs and Confessors stood forth. Four brothers, Martinian, Saturnian, and two others, were slaves to a certain Vandal [of the sect called Millenarians.] In the same house was a captive maiden named Maxima, of rare beauty. Martinian was an armourer, and much beloved by his master; Maxima had the care of the whole house. The Vandal thinking to increase their fidelity to him, wished them to marry. Martinian gladly consented; but Maxima had been devoted to God, and therefore, when they entered the nuptial chamber, she persuaded Martinian to embrace continence. He gained over his brothers, and all five together escaped by night, and went to Tabraca⁴, where the four brothers entered a monastery, presided over by a certain Abbot Andrew. Maxima put herself into a society of maidens in the neighbourhood. The Vandal commenced an eager search and at last found them; and having got

A. D. 455.
CH. LVIII.

[¹ circumibat; unde circuitor i. q. περιόδευτής medicus; v. Menage, Jur. Civ. Amanit. c. 35.]

² Martyr. R. 22. Mart.

[³ i. e. at the time Victor was writing.]

LVIII.
Genseric persecutes the Catholics.

⁴ A wild district between Utica and Hippo, covered with forests: Juv. Sat. x. 194.

hickets, until their bodies were literally carded¹. The Moors A. D. 455.
 wrung their hands in grief: but the Martyrs looked at each CH. LIX.
 other as they passed, and said, "Brother, pray for me, God [carperen-
 has accomplished our desire, this is our road to the king-
 dom of heaven." Great miracles took place at their tombs.

After this², Genseric raged still more fiercely against the LIX.
 Catholics. He sent a person named Proculus into the pro- Continu-
 vince of Zeugitana, to compel the Bishops to deliver up the ance of
 sacred vessels and books, thus depriving them, as it were, of the perse-
 their armour. The Bishops declared they could not give cution.
 them up, so the Vandals seized them by force, and plun- c. 12.
 dered every thing, taking even the Altar-linen to make shirts
 and drawers for themselves. Proculus, the perpetrator of this
 atrocity, died soon after, biting out his tongue piece-meal.
 At that time, Valerian, Bishop of Abbenza, who was above
 fourscore years old, boldly refusing to give up the sacred
 things, was driven out of the city without any attendant,
 and all persons were forbidden to lodge him in their houses,
 either in town or country. Thus the holy old man lay a long
 time stretched on the high road naked, exposed to all the in-
 clemencies of the weather. The Church commemorates him
 on the fifteenth of December³.

In a place called Regia⁴, the Catholics opened a church Martyr. R.
 which had been closed, intending to celebrate Easter. The 15 Dec.
 Arians knew of it, and one of their Priests, named Adduit, c. 13.
 got some armed men together, and came to attack the
 Catholics. They entered sword in hand; some of them as-
 cended the roofs of adjoining houses, and shot arrows in at
 the church windows. A reader, standing in the desk, was
 singing the Allelujah⁵, when he was wounded in the neck by

¹ *Alleluaticum melos canebat*:—either one of the Psalms that begin or end with Hallelujah (Ps. 104—107; 111—117, &c.) called *psalmi Alleluatici* by St. Aug. in Ps. 105, (t. iv. p. 1191), and one of which was called the "Alleluia response" (Cassian. Inst. ii. 11): or, more probably, the chant, consisting of several repetitions of the word Hallelujah, which was commonly sung after the reading of the Epistle, or, as directed by the 1Vth Council of Toledo, after the Gospel. (Labbe, t. 5. p. 1709.) This latter mode was a peculiarity of the Mozarabic rite; Bona, Rer. Lit. ii.

6. § 4. The Roman Church, according to Sozomen, formerly used it only once a year, at Easter (vii. 19); a practice maintained by Vigilantius (Hieron. adv. Vig.; t. ii. pt. 2. p. 281.) In the African Churches it was sung during the whole of Quinquagesima, or the period between Easter and Whitsunday, (August. in Ps. 110. t. 4. p. 1244. Serm. 210. 252. t. 5. p. 931. 1042), but then only; many Churches used it at other seasons as well (Epp. 36. 55. t. ii. p. 75. 141), all, however, omitting it during Lent and resuming it at Easter; shewing, says St. Augustine, that after

A. D. 455.
CH. LIX.

an arrow, the book dropped from his hand, and he fell down dead. Many were killed with arrows and javelins on the steps of the Altar. Those who did not die on the spot were afterwards tortured, and then by the King's command almost all of them massacred, especially those who were of mature age. The Church commemorates these Martyrs on the fifth of April¹. Elsewhere, as at Tinuzuda, the Arians rushed in furiously at the time of the Communion, threw the Body and Blood of CHRIST upon the pavement, and trampled upon it with their feet. Genseric, acting under the advice of his Bishops, had ordered that none but Arians should serve in his house or in that of his children. They found a Catholic, named Armogastus, in the service of Theodoric, the King's son. He was several times tortured with thongs tightly twisted round his legs and round that brow on which CHRIST had planted the banner of His cross². He looked up to heaven, and the thongs burst asunder. They next used stronger cords, of hemp, but these broke as soon as he invoked the name of CHRIST. Being tied up by one of his feet, with his head downward, he was seen to sleep as if he lay on a bed of down. When Theodoric his master beheld this, he wished to have his head cut off, but Jocundus, his chaplain, an Arian Priest, dissuaded him, saying, "You must kill him by multiplying your torture; if you behead him, the Romans will begin to preach him up as a Martyr."

[* in qua
Christus
vexillum
sue fixerat
crucis, sc.
in baptismo.
Fleury;
Après avoir
fait le signe
de la croix,]

the trials of this life we shall enter into peace where "Hallelujah will be our meat, our drink, our still-energizing rest (*actio quietis*), our whole joy;" (Serm. 252. t. 5. p. 1042. Cf. Serm. 255. p. 1050). In some places its use pervaded the employments of common life: it was sung by the countryman of Bethlehem following his plough (Hieron. Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 552), was the word first lisped by children (Ep. 57. p. 593), and formed the burden of the boatman's song (Sidon. Apoll. ii. Ep. 10.) It was the *κέλευσμα* by which Christians cheered one another on through the voyage of life (Aug. de Cantico Novo c. 2. t. vi. p. 591), and their song of thanksgiving when any of them reached the shore of eternity. (Ep. 84. p. 662.)

(Origg. vi. 19) remarks on the use of *Amen* being retained in

all languages, that so the Church on earth may re-echo the very words of the Blessed in heaven, (see Rev. xix. 4.) In singing the Hallelujah (according to the description of later writers) the voice was kept suspended on each syllable; in full intonation, through several bars (in plures neumas vel neumatun distinctiones pertrahimus, Rupert., de Div. Off. i. 35), suggesting thoughts "of that state, when there shall be no need for the utterance of words, but by the mere act of thought, mind shall shew to mind all it contains in itself:" Amalar. iii. 16; quoted by Bona, u. s., ii. 6. § 5. cf. de Psalm. c. 16. § 7.

On the omission of the word from the English Liturgy, see Wheatly, iii. 7. § 5: it is popularly retained in the hymn for Easter-Day.

Throughout the Empire the barbarians gave the name of *Romans* to the old inhabitants of the provinces¹. Theodoric therefore sent Armogastus into the province of Byzacena to work at drains and dykes; then, to increase his shame, he sent him to keep cows near Carthage, [where every body might see him.] Meanwhile the Confessor, having it revealed to him that his death was near, called a Catholic named Felix, the Prince's steward, and said, "I beseech you, as you will answer for the same before God, to bury me under this holm-oak." Felix, who looked upon him as an Apostle, answered, "God forbid, I will inter you in a church with the honour you deserve." Armogastus insisted upon it, and Felix unwilling to grieve him, promised. The holy Confessor died a few days after. Felix set about digging at the foot of the tree, but the hardness of the earth and the roots stopped him. At length having cut through these, and digging on, he found a coffin of the finest marble, as if put there expressly for him.

A. D. 455.
CH. LIX.
[¹ Cf. p. 225.
marg.]

A person named Archinimus, of the city of Mascula, was assailed by various artifices to make him renounce the Catholic Faith; the king himself condescended to flatter him, and promised to load him with wealth. At last he condemned him to be beheaded; but loth to confer on him the glory of martyrdom, he gave secret directions, that, if at the moment of execution he shewed any symptoms of fear, they were to put him to death; if he remained firm, they were to spare him. The Confessor displayed unshaken courage, and was left alive.

Saturus, Steward of Huneric's house, often made free-spoken remarks upon Arianism. An Arian Deacon, named Marivodus, or Varimadus, laid information against him, and Huneric pressed him to become an Arian, threatening, in case he did not comply, to take from him his house and substance, his slaves, and children, and even his wife, and to marry her before his face to a camel-keeper. Saturus challenged them to do their worst; but his wife, unknown to him, asked for a short delay. She came to him in a secluded place, where he was praying; her clothes were torn, her hair loose, her children came after her, and she held in her arms a little girl still at the breast. She threw it down

A. D. 455. at her husband's feet, before he was aware of their presence, and embracing his knees, said to him, "Pity me, sweetest, "pity thyself, and these our children, and reduce them not "to slavery; we are of noble descent; do not expose me to "an infamous marriage, and that while you are living. God "sees well that you will do this unwillingly." He answered
 1 Job ii. 10. in the words of Job¹, "'Thou speakest as one of the foolish " 'women.' If you loved me, you would not drag me to the "second death². Let them do what they will, I will still re- "member the words of my LORD³; 'If any man leave not his "wife, his children, his lands, his house, he cannot be my "disciple.'" He was stripped of every thing, and reduced to beggary; he was forbidden even to appear in public. The Church honours these three martyrs on the twenty-ninth of
 4 Martyr. R. March⁴.
 29 Mart.

[¹ ad se-
cundum
mortem.
Fl. à une
seconde
mort.]
² Luke xiv.
26.

³ Procop.
Vandal. l. i.
c. 5.

LX.
The Em-
press Eu-
dokia a-
bandons
the schism.

⁴ Vit. S.
Euthym.
p. 64.

After this Genseric ordered the church at Carthage to be shut up; and scattered the Priests and ministers, (for there was no Bishop,) to various places of exile. This lasted up to the time of the Emperor Zeno. Genseric caused a great deal of injury to the Catholics of several provinces beyond the limits of Africa, as in Spain, Italy, (especially the southern part,) Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, Epirus, Dalmatia, and even Venetia. For being strengthened by the assistance of the Moors, after the death of Valentinian⁵, he sent out vessels in the spring of every year, to make descents, first on Italy and Sicily, and then on the provinces of the Eastern empire, pillaging wherever they came, carrying off great numbers of captives, and ruining whole cities.

The Empress Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius, who was at Jerusalem, heard with extreme grief of all that happened at Rome,—the violent death of the Emperor Valentinian her son-in-law, the irruption of the Vandals, the captivity of her daughter Eudoxia and of her grand-daughters, who were carried off to Carthage. Moreover⁶, her brother Valerius, and her daughter's son-in-law Olybrius, often wrote to her to leave the Eutychians, and return to the communion of the Catholic Church. She was in great perplexity of mind, not being willing to act against her conscience, or to prefer the love of her relations to what she believed the true Faith. She re-
 red, therefore, to consult the most renowned hermits. She

sent Anastasius, Chorepiscopus of Jerusalem, to Antioch, to St. Simeon Stylite,—at that time a great light of the Church, —with a letter in which she described the state of her soul, and desired his counsel. He answered, “ Know that the devil, seeing the richness of thy virtues, has desired to sift thee as wheat, and the scoundrel¹ Theodosius, being his in-
 [¹ λυμενον]
 strument, has filled thy soul with darkness and confusion. But be of good cheer, thy faith hath not failed. But I marvel much, that, being so near the fountain-head, thou shouldest come to draw at so distant an outlet. Thou hast the divine Euthymius, follow his instructions and be saved.”

When Eudocia had received this answer, being told that St. Euthymius never entered cities, she ordered a tower to be erected in the highest part of the whole Eastern desert, about thirty furlongs to the south of his lavra, that she might the more frequently converse with him. She sent Cosmas, the Warden of the Cross, and Anastasius, the Chorepiscopus, to seek him. They did not find him at his lavra, for on the news of her intended visit he had retired to Rubas; so taking with them Theoctistus one of his disciples, they found him, and after many entreaties, with great difficulty induced him to come to the tower, which had just been built, and on the site of which a monastery was afterwards founded. The Empress was overjoyed at the sight of the Saint, and throwing herself at his feet, said, “ Now I see that God has visited me by your presence.” The holy old man, after having blessed her, said², “ Henceforth, my daughter, take heed to thyself. These fatal calamities in Italy happened to thee, because thou wast led astray by the villany of Theodosius. Lay aside, then, this unreasonable obstinacy, and in addition to the other three general Councils, of Nicæa against Arius, of Constantinople against Macedonius, of Ephesus against Nestorius, receive likewise the definition put forth by the Council of Chalcedon. Withdraw thyself from the communion of Dioscorus, and embrace that of Juvenal.” Having said this, he prayed in her behalf³, took his leave of
 [³ ὑπερευχόμενος]
 her, and retired.

Eudocia, struck with admiration of his virtue, followed his directions, as if God had spoken to her by his mouth. She

A. D. 455.
 CH. LX.

p. 66.

A. D. 455. immediately returned to Jerusalem, and by the mediation of
CH. LX. the Priests Cosmas and Anastasius, was reconciled to the
 Archbishop Juvenal and the Catholic Church. Her example
 brought back great numbers of laymen and monks whom
 Theodosius had seduced. Elpidius, the Archimandrite, shook
 ' p. 67. off the delusion', but Gerontius continued in the schism, with
 a large body of people whom he drew after him; among
 whom were even two monks, Marcianus and Romanus, who
 [¹κοινοβία] left the Abbot Elpidius, and afterwards founded monasteries²,
 one at Bethlehem, the other at Tekoah.

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- a schismatical Archimandrite, presents a petition to the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 18. is ejected by the Emperor Marcian, 28. 53.
- E.
- Easter*, Britons baptized by St. Germain at, 25. 17. release of prisoners at, 27. 40. dispute concerning the celebration of, 26. 53; 28. 50. how calculated, 28. 50.
- Egyptians*, schismatic, refuse to subscribe St. Leo's letter, 28. 17.
- Election* of the Bishop of a primary see notified to the other Primates, 26. 10; 26. 15; 27. 3. conditions of a valid episcopal election, 26. 50.
- Elpidius*, Count, commissioner at the second Council of Ephesus, 27. 34.
- Emergumens*; regulations of the Council of Orange concerning them, 26. 51.
- Ephesus*; GENERAL COUNCIL summoned by Theodosius II., 25. 23. arrival of the Bishops; the sermons which precede the opening, 25. 34. delay of John of Antioch, 25. 34, 35. Protest of the Count Candidian and the Nestorian Bishops, 25. 36. opening of the Council: *Session I.*, 25. 37. Nestorius summoned, 25. 38. the letters of St. Cyril and Nestorius examined, 25. 39. depositions against Nestorius, 25. 40. authorities of the Fathers; blasphemies extracted from Nestorius's writings, 25. 41. Letter from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, *ibid.* sentence against Nestorius, 25. 42. St. Cyril's letter to Dalmatius, 25. 43. letter from Nestorius to the Emperor, 25. 44. letter from the Council to the Emperor, accompanied by the Acts, *ibid.* Arrival of John of Antioch, 25. 45. Council in which St. Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus are informally deposed, *ibid.* Rescript of the Emperor against the deposal of Nestorius, 25. 46. Letters addressed to the Emperor by the real, and the *soi-disant*, Councils, *ibid.* Arrival of the Pope's legates with a letter from the Pope, 25. 47. *Session II.*, *ibid.* *Session III.* The legates confirm the deposal of Nestorius, 25. 48. Synodal letters to the Emperor, &c., 25. 49. *Session IV.* Complaints of St. Cyril and Memnon against John of Antioch, 25. 50. first citations of John of Antioch, 25. 51. *Session V.* Final citation, *ibid.* Sentence of excommunication pronounced against him and his partisans, 25. 52. Synodal letters to the Emperor and the Pope, 25. 53. the condemnation of the Pelagians renewed, *ibid.* letter of the schismatics to the Emperor, 25. 54. letter of Count Irenæus to the schismatics, 25. 55. *Session VI.*

- Petition of Charisius against a falsified exposition of faith, 25. 56.
- Session VII.* Claims of the Bishops of Cyprus, 25. 57. other special matters, 25. 58. condemnation of the Messalians, *ibid.* The Acts of the Council are now imperfect, 25. 45. 58. *The Canons*, 25. 59. Arrival of the Count John at Ephesus, 26. 1. Complaints of the Catholics, 26. 2. other letters of the Catholics, 26. 3. letters from the schismatics, 26. 4. from Isidore of Pelusium, 26. 5. Remonstrances of the Catholics at Constantinople, 26. 6. and their answer to the Council, 26. 7. Deputies sent to Court, (v. *Deputies.*) End of the Council, 26. 10. Letter from St. Cælestine to the Bishops who had attended the Council, 26. 14.
- Ephesus*, Convocation of the Second Council of, called *the Latrocinium of Ephesus*, 27. 34. The Council opened, 27. 38. the petition of Eutyches, 27. 39. the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, and their revision, read, 27. 40. Eutyches acquitted, *ibid.* petition of his monks, *ibid.* Flavian condemned, 27. 41. this Council is approved by Theodosius, *ibid.* and condemned by St. Leo, 27. 43. those who presided there are excluded from the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 9. and afterwards readmitted, 28. 16. A Pelagian canon is falsely ascribed to the General Council of Ephesus, 25. 10. (*cf. Fleury*, 35. 44.)
- Epiphanius*, Synzel to St. Cyril, his letter to Maximian of Constantinople, 26. 20.
- Estates of the monks and clergy*, to whom they belong, 26. 27.
- Eucharist*; Proofs of the Incarnation drawn from it, 25. 11; 27. 43. given to children, 26. 30. reserved, 27. 1. repeated on the same day as often as the church could be re-filled, 27. 3.
- Eudocia*, or *Eudoxia*; wife of Theodosius II., goes to Jerusalem, 26. 41. sides with Eutyches, 27. 34. returns to Jerusalem, 27. 47. upholds the Eutychean party there, 28. 36. consults St. Simeon Stylite and St. Euthymius, 28. 60. abandons the schism, *ibid.*
- wife of Valentinian III., 26. 41. compelled to marry Maximus, the murderer of Valentinian, 28. 55. sends for Genserich, who carries her to Carthage and afterwards sends her to Constantinople, *ibid.*
- Eudocia*, daughter of the preceding, afterwards married to Huneric, 28. 55.
- Eulogius*, the Tribune, commissioner at the second Council of Ephesus, 27. 34.
- Euphemia, St.*, description of her church at Chalcedon, 28. 1.
- Eusebius*, Bishop of Dorylæum; while a layman and advocate at Constantinople, raises an opposition to Nestorius, 25. 1. His protest, 25. 2. placed in the see of Dorylæum, 27. 23. Friend of Eutyches; tries in vain to reclaim him, *ibid.* Council of Constantinople, in which he accuses him, 27. 24. sqq. is refused admission to the false Council of Ephesus, 27. 31. is condemned and imprisoned *ibid.* is ejected, and retires to Rome, 27. 49. He petitions the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 1. is acquitted, 28. 9. and demands that the proceedings at Ephesus should be condemned, 28. 12. restored to his rights by the Emperor Marcian, 28. 34.
- Bishop of Ancyra; Theodoret writes to him, 27. 13, 17. At the pseudo-Synod of Ephesus; where he acquits Eutyches, 27. 40. and condemns Flavian, 27. 41. excluded from the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 9. but at last admitted, 28. 16.
- Eustathius* of Berytus, nominated to take cognizance of the affair of Ibas, 27. 19, 20. Is at the false Council of Ephesus, and in consequence excluded from the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 9. restored, 28. 16. settlement of the conflicting claims of Eustathius and Photius, 28. 19.
- Eutherius*, Bishop of Tyana, sides with Nestorius, 25. 36, 44. Signs the writ for deposing St. Cyril, 25. 45. deposed by the Council, 26. 16. attempt to eject him, *ibid.* opposes the re-union, 26. 18. tries to circumvent Pope Sixtus III. by a letter, 26. 26. his expulsion and death, 26. 34.
- Euthymius, St.*, his advice to Peter Aspebetus, 25. 34. his prophecy about Domnus, 26. 46. Receives the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 36. Resists the schismatic Theodosius, the intruding Bishop of Jerusalem, 28. 37. consulted by the Empress Eudocia, 28. 60.
- Eutyches*, Archimandrite, very zealous in behalf of St. Cyril, 26. 20. and against the Nestorians, 27. 17. originates a new heresy, 27. 23. Council of Constantinople in which he is denounced, 27. 24. cited three times, refuses to appear, 27. 25. asks for a

delay, which is granted him, 27. 26. informations against him, 27. 27. appears, 27. 28. and is condemned, 27. 29. he appeals, *ibid.* his letter to St. Leo, 27. 31. revision of his condemnation, 27. 33. he seeks the assistance of Dioscorus, 27. 34. and of St. Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, 27. 36. who sends him an answer, 27. 37. Present at the false Council of Ephesus, 27. 38. presents a petition, 27. 39. is acquitted, 27. 40. law of Theodosius II. in his favour, 27. 41. Council of Constantinople in which he is anathematized, 27. 48. St. Leo demands his removal from his monastery, 27. 49. reclamations against him at the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 6. his heresy is again condemned, 28. 21. law of Marcian against him, 28. 34. St. Leo demands his banishment, 28. 53. v. *Euty-chianism.*

Euty-chianism: its origin, 27. 23. St. Flavian's letter to Leo, 27. 32. St. Leo's to Flavian, 27. 35. petition of the monks of Eutyche's community, 27. 40. Council of Ephesus condemned at Rome, 27. 43. Council of Constantinople, in which St. Leo's letter is read, and the anathema against Nestorius and Eutyche's renewed, 27. 48. Council of Chalcedon, 28. 1, sqq. Dioscorus condemned, 28. 14. representations of the Egyptian Bishops, 28. 17. petition of the schismatic Archimandrites, 28. 18. Letter from the Gallic Bishops on the Euty-chian heresy, with St. Leo's answer, 28. 32. The *Schism* in Egypt, 28. 35. and in Palestine, 28. 36. Marcian's letter to the monks of Palestine, 28. 21. St. Leo's letters, 28. 45—53. laws of Marcian in favour of the Church, 28. 54. Eudocia quits the schism, 28. 60. the Euty-chian party weakened, *ibid.*

F.

Faith: Committee appointed at the Council of Chalcedon to draw up a Definition of Faith, 28. 20.
Faus'tus, monk, son of Dalmatius the Archimandrite, 25. 43.
Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, at the Council of Ephesus, 25. 37. one of the deputies sent to the Emperor, 26. 8. His death, 26. 54.
Flavian, Bishop of Philippi; St. Cælestine writes to him, 25. 14. Re-

presents Rufus of Thessalonica at Ephesus, 25. 34, 37. (whence in c. 34, he is called Flavian of Thessalonica.) One of the deputies, 26. 8.
Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, 27. 12. The beginning of his disgrace, *ibid.* Theodoret writes to him, 27. 16, 17. presides at the Council of Constantinople, 27. 24, sqq. his letter to St. Leo, 27. 32. Council of Ephesus summoned against him, 27. 34. St. Leo's letter to him, 27. 35. his answer, 27. 36. present at the false Council, 27. 38. is condemned, 27. 41. his appeal, *ibid.* his exile and death, *ibid.* The letter St. Leo wrote to him, while ignorant of his death, 27. 43. His body brought back to Constantinople, 27. 48. justice done to his memory at Chalcedon, 28. 8, 9. and by the Emperor Marcian, 28. 34.

G.

Genserik, Arian King of the Vandals, persecutes the Catholics, 26. 42. takes Carthage, *ibid.* parcels out Africa, 26. 48. wishes to place every thing in subjection to the Arians, *ibid.* ravages Sicily, 26. 53. is invited over by the Empress Eudocia, and pillages Rome, 28. 55. again persecutes the Catholics, 28. 58, 59. his incursions out of Africa, 28. 59.
Gentiles, treatise on the calling of, 28. 56.
Gerassimus, an Anchorite, 28. 37.
Germain or *Germanus*, St., Bishop of Auxerre; sent into Britain with Lupus of Troyes, 25. 15. Passes by Nanterre where he gives his blessing to St. Genevieve, 25. 16. defeats the Pelagians in Britain, 25. 17. returns thanks to God at the tomb of St. Alban, *ibid.* victory over the Saxons, and return to Gaul, 25. 18. goes to Arles, 27. 7. and revisits Britain with St. Severus of Treves, *ibid.* arrests the progress of the Alemanni in Armorica, *ibid.* his death at Ravenna, 27. 8. his funeral, *ibid.*
Gerontius, a schismatical Archimandrite of Palestine, present at Chalcedon, 28. 18. persists in his schism, 28. 37, 60.
Gomon, where the great monastery of Acemetes was built, 27. 30.
Gospels placed in the middle of the Council-Hall, 25. 37; 28. 1.
Goths, character of, 26. 43. Goths in Spain, 27. 10.

Grace; letter of St. Cælestine in defence of St. Augustine's doctrine, 26. 11. The nine articles on Grace appended to this letter, 26. 12. Writings of St. Prosper about Grace, 26. 24. his poem against the Ingrates, 28. 56. *Greek*, appears to have been very little used or understood in the West, 25. 13. Cf. 25. 47; 28. 2.

H.

Helladius, Bishop of Tarsus, attaches himself to the Nestorian party, 25. 36, 44. Signs the deed for deposing St. Cyril, 25. 45. they seek to eject him, 26. 16. opposed the plan of re-union, 26. 18. adheres to the Council of Anazarbus, 26. 26. writes to St. Sixtus, *ibid.* order from the Emperor against him, 26. 31. accepts the terms of re-union, 26. 32.

——— Bishop of Ptolemais, 26. 8.

Heresies, Theodore's book concerning, 28. 47. the civil power called in to suppress, 27. 10.

Heretics:—*Pelagians*; connexion between their heresy and that of Nestorius, 25. 12. They charge the Catholics with Manicheism, 25. 10. spread of the heresy in Britain, 25. 15; 27. 7. condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 25. 53.—*Semipelagians*; their first appearance at Marseilles, 26. 24. opposed by St. Prosper, 26. 24; 28. 56. by St. Cælestine, St. Sixtus, and St. Leo, 26. 11, 45, 55.—*Nestorians*; their rise from Nestorius, who maintained the consubstantiality of the WORD against the Arians, and original sin against the Pelagians; but said that CHRIST was a mere man, who was raised to the Divine Filiation, or, united to the WORD, making two persons in CHRIST, the man and the WORD, 25. 1, sqq. their heresy referred by some to Pelagianism, 25. 12. condemned at Ephesus, 25. 42. *schism* in the East, 25. 45, sqq. the decision of the Council is maintained by the Emperor Theodosius and by St. Cælestine, 26. 10, 14. yet the schism spread and continues to this day.—*Eutycheans*, so called from Eutyche, who was led into his error by an undistinguishing opposition to the error of Nestorius; he maintained with the orthodox, that there is only one person in CHRIST, —that of the WORD; but he asserted that the divinity and humanity, in CHRIST, formed but one nature, 27.

23. This error began to shew itself about A. D. 448, and in that same year was condemned at Constantinople, 27. 24, sqq. and afterwards at Chalcedon, 28. 21. the Eutycheans schismatize in Palestine and Egypt, 28. 35, 36. and the schism has been perpetuated to the present day, occupying the southern part of the Eastern Church, as Nestorianism does the Northern.—See also *Manichees*, &c.

Hilary, St., Bishop of Arles, presides at the Council of Riës, 26. 44. and at the first Council of Orange, 26. 51. charges brought against him, 27. 4. Letter of St. Leo against him, 27. 5. his virtues, 27. 6. his death, 27. 42. the honourable mention St. Leo makes of him, *ibid.*

Hilarus, Deacon, (afterwards Pope,) sent as legate to the second Council of Ephesus, 27. 34. opposes the condemnation of Flavian, 27. 41. effects his escape, *ibid.* arrives at Rome, 27. 43.

Hippo besieged by the Vandals, 25. 26.

History. Socrates and Sozomen write the history of the Church from the beginning of Constantine's reign to the year 439, 26. 46. St. Prosper's Chronicon comes down to the year 455, 28. 56.

Huns ravage the Empire, 27. 50.

Hypostatical Union; where the phrase first occurs, 25. 8.

I & J.

James, St., the Younger, 26. 31.

Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, accused by his presbyters of Nestorianism, 27. 19. summoned to a Council at Antioch, *ibid.* Arbitration of Tyre, 27. 20. Assembly at Berytus, 27. 21. Letter from Ibas to Maris, 27. 22. Ibas is acquitted, *ibid.* condemned at the false Council of Ephesus, 27. 41. declared orthodox and restored by the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 25.

Idolatry, remains of in Africa, 26. 43. in Gaul, 28. 48.

Jews, laws of Theodosius against the, 26. 41.

Illyricum; Sixtus III. maintains his jurisdiction over it, 26. 39. as after him does Leo I., 26. 56.

Incararnation of the WORD; testimony of Cassian respecting this mystery, 25. 13. of St. Cyril, 25. 8, 11; 26. 21, 29. of St. Leo, 27. 35. various heresies concerning it, 27. 11.

- Infants exposed*, 26. 50, 52. received the Communion, 26. 30, 50.
- John Chrysostom, St.*, his reliques carried back to Constantinople, 26. 40.
- *Cassian*, v. *Cassian*.
- of Antioch, alarmed at the progress of Nestorianism, 25. 12. St. Cælestine writes to him, 25. 14. St. Cyril sends him a note, 25. 19. Letter from John to Nestorius, *ibid.* Nestorius's answer, 25. 20. John is offended with the Twelve Anathemas of St. Cyril, 25. 29. delays the Council of Ephesus, 25. 34, 35. arrives after Nestorius had been deposed, 25. 45. assembles a Council in which St. Cyril and Memnon are deposed without the usual formalities, *ibid.* endeavours to procure the deposition of Memnon, 25. 46. charges brought against him by St. Cyril and Memnon, 25. 50. He is cited, 25. 51. and excommunicated, 25. 52. John excites and foments a schism in the East, 26. 16. The Emperor writes to him, advising a re-union, 26. 17. he makes overtures to St. Cyril, 26. 18, 19. is reconciled with him and writes to him, 26. 21. consequences of this reconciliation, 26. 22. he prosecutes the schismatics, 26. 28. his letter to Proclus of Constantinople, 26. 35. another to St. Cyril about Theodorus of Mopsuestia, 26. 37. Council of Antioch in defence of Theodorus, 26. 38. His death, 26. 46.
- *Baptist, St.* His head found at Emesa, 28. 43.
- *St.*, the Evangelist; buried at Ephesus, 25. 34, 44, 47.
- Bishop of Damascus, signs the writ for deposing St. Cyril, 25. 45. excommunicated by the Council of Ephesus, 25. 52. Deputed by the schismatics to the Emperor, 26. 8.
- physician and syncel to St. Cyril, 25. 55.
- Count, sent to Ephesus, 25. 55. arrives and assembles the Bishops, 26. 1. Arrests St. Cyril, Memnon, and Nestorius, *ibid.* the Catholics complain to the Emperor about this proceeding, 26. 2.
- Irenæus*, Count, accompanies Nestorius to Ephesus, 25. 34. sent to Constantinople by the schismatics, 25. 46. letter in which he relates what had done for them, 25. 55. is ordained Bishop of Tyre, 27. 13. and sed, 27. 18.
- the Archimandrite, leaves Dalmas his successor, 25. 43.
- Ischyriion*, Deacon of Alexandria, accuses Dioscorus, 28. 13.
- Isidore, St.*, of Pelusium, his letter about Nestorius, 26. 5. his other letters, 26. 5, 30.
- Julian*, Bishop of Æculanum, a Pelagian, retires to Constantinople, under Nestorius, 25. 2. is expelled, 25. 10. writes anew against St. Augustine, 25. 24. Annotations of Marius Mercator against Julian, 26. 25. Julian attempts in vain to get restored, 26. 45. St. Leo prosecutes him, 26. 55.
- Bishop of Sardica, a Nestorian, 26. 34.
- Bishop of Cos, deputed by St. Leo to the Council of Constantinople against Eutyches, 27. 24, 29. St. Leo's letters to him, 27. 36, 43. he pleads in vain for Anatolius of Constantinople, 28. 33. is appointed Apocrisiary, 28. 40. St. Leo's letters to him, 28. 45, 49.
- Julius*, Bishop of Pozzuolo, the Pope's legate at the false Council at Ephesus, 27. 34, 38.
- Juvenal*, Bishop of Jerusalem, 25. 14. St. Cælestine writes to him, *ibid.* Arrives at Ephesus for the Council, 25. 35. the rank he held, 25. 37. signs the condemnation of Nestorius, 25. 42. and the excommunication of John of Antioch, 25. 52. aims at the primacy of Palestine, 25. 58. deputed by the Council to the Emperor Theodosius, 26. 8. present at the Latrocinium, 27. 38. acquits Eutyches, 27. 40. and condemns St. Flavian, 27. 41. present at Chalcedon, 28. 1. quits the party of Dioscorus, 28. 8. excluded from the Council, 28. 9. re-admitted, 28. 16. Agreement between him and Maximus of Antioch, 28. 23. Insurrection against him at Jerusalem, 28. 36. escapes to Constantinople, *ibid.* The Emperor Marcian writes, at his instance, to the monks of Palestine, 28. 41. he is restored, 28. 44. St. Leo writes to him, 28. 53.

L.

- Latrocinium* of Ephesus, 27. 41. v. *Ephesus*.
- Lavra* of St. Euthymius, 26. 46; 28. 42, 60. Lavras erected by Eudocia, 26. 41. Gerasimus, 28. 37.
- Laws*.
- Of THEODOSIUS II.
- About *Sanctuaries*, 25. 32. A.D. 431.

- On the *goods of the Clergy and of monks*, 26. 27. A.D. 434.
- Against *Nestorius*, 26. 34. A.D. 435.
- Against the *Jews, Samaritans, Pagans, Manichæans*, and other heretics, 26. 41. A.D. 439.
- Against the *Nestorians*, 27. 18. A.D. 448.
- In favour of the *Latrocinium*, 27. 41. A.D. 449.
- OF MARCIAN.
- Against the *Apollinarists* and *Euty-chians*, 27. 47. A.D. 450.
- Against *Idolatry*, *ibid.* A.D. 451.
- In support of the Council of Chalcedon, 28. 34. A.D. 452.
- Renewed in the same year, *ibid.*
- For punishing the *Euty-chians* as *Apollinarists*, *ibid.*
- To the same effect, 28. 54. A.D. 455.
- Confirming the privileges of *Churches*, *ibid.* A.D. 454.
- Abrogating *Valentinian's* law of 376, and permitting Clerks to receive *legacies* from women, *ibid.*
- On the *indictability* of the Clergy, A.D. 456.
- OF VALENTINIAN.
- In behalf of the Pope's authority, 27. 5. A.D. 445.
- Against the *Manichæans*, *ibid.*
- Against the violation of *tombs*, *ibid.* A.D. 447.
- Limiting the jurisdiction of *Bishops*, 28. 39. A.D. 452.
- Legates* from the Pope to the Council of Ephesus, 25. 47. to Chalcedon, 27. 51. First instance of Papal legates resident at Constantinople, 28. 40.
- Leo, St.*, Archdeacon, (afterwards Pope,) of Rome, engaged *Cassian* to write his Treatise *On the Incarnation*, 25. 13. elected Pope, 26. 45. His letter to the Bishops of Mauritania, 26. 49. to *Rusticus* of Narbonne, 26. 50. letters to the Bishops of Italy, 26. 53. proceedings against the *Manicheans*, 26. 54. prosecution of the *Pelagians*, 26. 55. maintains the authority of the Bishop of Thessalonica, 26. 56. His letter to *Dioscorus*, 27. 3. he assembles a Council at Rome, 27. 4. his letter against *St. Hilary* of Arles, 27. 5. to *St. Turibius*, 27. 10. to the Bishops of Sicily, 27. 11. to those of Achaia, *ibid.* *Eutyches* and the Emperor *Theodosius* write to him, 27. 31. His letter to *St. Flavian*, *ibid.* *Flavian's* answer, 27. 32. *St. Leo* invited to the pseudo-Synod of Ephesus, 27. 34. His *Letter to Flavian* on the Incarnation, 27. 35. other letters accompanying it, 27. 36. His legates at Ephesus, 27. 38. is excommunicated by *Dioscorus*, 27. 41. His letters to the Bishops of the province of Vienne and to *Ravennius*, 27. 42. letters against the Synod of Ephesus, 27. 43. *Theodoret* writes to him, 27. 44. His letter to *Pulcheria*, *ibid.* Regulation between Arles and Vienne, 27. 45. entreats *Valentinian* to write to *Theodosius*, 27. 46. writes himself to *Theodosius*, *ibid.* Receives a letter from *Marcian*, 27. 48. his answer, 27. 49. his request that the Council of Chalcedon should be convoked, 27. 51. His legates at this Council, 28. 1. his letter to *Flavian* read and approved, 28. 10, 11, 15. receives a synodal letter from the Council, 28. 31. his letters to the Gallic Bishops about *Eutyches*, 27. 32. letters against *Anatolius*, 28. 33. he stops *Attila*, 28. 39. his complaints against *Anatolius*, 28. 40. letter to the Bishops of the Council, 28. 41. letters to *Maximus* and *Theodoret*, 28. 46. to *Proterius*, 28. 49. procures an inquiry concerning *Easter* of the year 455, 28. 50. whence arose the *Paschal Canon* of *Victorius*, 28. 51. satisfied with the apology of *Anatolius*, 28. 52. other letters of *St. Leo*, 28. 53.
- Bishop of Bourges, at the Council of Angers, 28. 48.
- Lerins*, monastery of, 25. 15 ; 26. 13.
- Letters* of the Pope, read at Ephesus in Latin, 25. 47.
- Libya*, too dry to produce wheat, 28. 13.
- Littorius*, a pagan general of the Romans, beaten, 26. 42.
- Lucentius*, Bishop of Ascoli, one of *St. Leo's* legates at Chalcedon, 27. 49, 51 ; 28. 1.
- Lupus, St.*, of Troyes, sent into Britain with *St. Germain*, 25. 15. success of their preaching, 25. 17. delivers Troyes from the ravages of *Attila*, 27. 50. writes to *Thalassius*, Bishop of Angers, 28. 48.
- M.
- Magistrates* who presided at Chalcedon, 28. 1.
- Manichees* ; The Catholics charged with *Manicheism* by the *Pelagians*, 25. 10. *Manichees* discovered at Rome by *St. Leo*, 26. 54. law of *Valentinian III.* against them, 27. 5.

- Marcellus, St.**, Abbot of the Acemetes, 27. 30. his virtues, *ibid.* present at the Council of Constantinople against Eutyches, 27. 29.
- Abbot of Emeas, finds the head of St. John, 28. 43.
- Marcian.** Emperor of the East, 27. 47. takes his stand on the orthodox side, 27. 48. writes to St. Leo, *ibid. et in sqq.* Assembles the Council of Chalcedon, 27. 51. attends the Council and proposes three canons, 27. 22. the address of the Council to him, 27. 31. St. Leo's letters to him, 27. 49, 51; 28. 33, 40. Letter of Marcian to the monks of Palestine, 28. 41. He restores Juvenal to his see, 28. 44. induces Anatolius to answer the complaints of St. Leo, 28. 52. Laws enacted by him, v. *Laws*.
- Mars** the Persian, 27. 21, 22.
- Marcinadas**, v. *Farinadas*.
- Marius Mercator**, opposes Nestorius, 25. 2. his memoir *against the Pelagians*, 25. 6. which procures their expulsion from Constantinople, 25. 10. writes in defence of St. Cyril *against Nestorius*, 25. 31. and of St. Augustine *against Julian*, 26. 25. writes against Theodorus of Mopsuestia, *ibid.*
- Martirean**, an African Martyr, converts some of the Barbarians, 28. 58.
- Martyrs**, in Africa under Genseric, 25. 25; 26. 42, 48. In Sicily under the same, 26. 53. others in Africa, 28. 58, 59.
- Mary, St.**, the Virgin, Nestorius refuses her the title of *θεοτόκος*, 51. 1. Testimony of the Council of Ephesus respecting her, 25. 44. Picture of her, attributed to St. Luke, 27. 47; 28. 42.
- Mauritania**, St. Leo's letter to the Bishops of, 26. 49.
- Maxima**, a Virgin in Africa, 28. 58.
- Maximian**, Bishop of Constantinople, 26. 10. his ordination approved by St. Cælestine, 26. 14. rejected by John of Antioch, 26. 16. afterwards approved by him, 26. 21. his death, 26. 27.
- Maximin**, (perhaps the same as the Arian Bishop in 24. 53. *supr.*) urges Genseric to persecute the Catholics in Sicily, 26. 53.
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- John of Antioch and St. Cyril reconciled; Capreolus writes to Vitalis and Tonantius; Vincentius composes his Commonitorium, and Marius Mercator his Annotations; letter from the schismatics to Pope Sixtus A.D. 433.
- Proclus, Bishop of CP.; St. Cyril's letters in vindication of himself; Theodoret and the Cilicians consent to the Reconciliation A.D. 434.
- Alexander of Hierapolis ejected; Edict against the Nestorians; Armenian embassy sent to Proclus; Letters of Pope Sixtus concerning Illyricum A.D. 435.
- Nestorius banished to Petra; 15 Schismatic Bishops deprived A.D. 436.
- St. Cyril's letter to Aristolaus; Genseric persecutes the Catholics A.D. 437.
- Theodosian Code published; various translations of reliques; Eudocia visits Jerusalem A.D. 438.
- Defeat of Littorius by the Huns; Carthage taken by Genseric; Council of Riès; Julian of Æculanum at Rome A.D. 439.
- St. Leo made Pope; John of Antioch succeeded by Domnus; Quodvultdeus driven from Carthage by Genseric A.D. 440.
- First Council of Orange A.D. 441.
- Council of Vaison A.D. 442.
- Manichees discovered at Rome A.D. 443.
- St. Leo prosecutes the Pelagians; Dioscorus succeeds St. Cyril A.D. 444.
- St. Hilary of Arles at Rome A.D. 444—5.
- Visit of SS. Germain and Severus to Britain A.D. 446.
- St. Leo's letters to Turibius, and to the Bishops of Sicily; Flavian succeeds Proclus; Theodoret's letters to Dioscorus and Flavian; Irenæus deposed A.D. 447.
- Ibas tried at Tyre and Berytus; Eutyches accused of heresy by Domnus; condemned by a Council at Constantinople (Nov. 22), at which St. Marcellus was present; Eutyches writes to St. Leo A.D. 448.
- Revision of Eutyches's sentence; Theodosius convokes a general Council; St. Leo's letter to Flavian; letter of St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches; IIInd Council of Ephesus (Aug. 8); Flavian murdered; Schism in the Eastern Church; Ravennius succeeds to the see of Arles; Theodoret writes to St. Leo A.D. 449.

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| Settlement of the dispute between Arles and Vienne: | |
| Theodosius dies and is succeeded by Marcian | A.D. 450. |
| Attila crosses the Rhine with 500,000 men: Marcian orders a general Council to assemble first at Nicæa and afterwards at Chalcedon; GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (Oct. 8) | A.D. 451. |
| St. Leo opposes Anatolius; Dioscorus banished to Gangra; Theodosius invades the see of Jerusalem; the hermit Gerasimus reclaimed by St. Euthymius; St. Leo deputed to meet Attila; Anatolius degrades the Archdeacon Aëtius | A.D. 452. |
| Death of St. Pulcheria; Juvenal re-instated; Council of Angers; IInd Council of Arles (probably) | A.D. 453. |
| Dispute about the Easter of 455; Satisfaction given by Anatolius; death of Dioscorus; Deogratias ordained Bishop of Carthage | A.D. 454. |
| Death of Valentinian III.; Rome taken by Genseric (June 15); Vandal persecution in Africa; the Empress Eudocia forsakes the schism | A.D. 455. |
| Death of St. Prosper | A.D. 456. |
| The Paschal Canon of Victorius published | A.D. 457. |

1871

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