

HISTORY  
OF  
THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.  
PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA

JOHN MASON NEALE



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## BOOK I

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE RISE OF NESTORIANISM.

## BOOK II.

THE RISE OF THE NESTORIAN HERESY, A.D. 428, TO THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS, AND THE GREAT SCHISM, A.D. 451.

## BOOK III

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS TO THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE SARACENS.

## BOOK IV.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE SARACENS TO THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN AS VIZIR

## BOOK V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN AS VIZIR (A.D. 1169) TO THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE (AD 1490).

## BOOK VI.

FROM THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE, A.D. 1490 TO THE DEATH OF HIEROTHEUS, A.D. 1846

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## PREFACE

The sources whence a History of the Church of Alexandria is to be derived, are so many and so various, and some of them so little known, that it will be perhaps useful to particularize them. They naturally divide themselves into two branches; those which treat of the whole, and those which only embrace a portion, of Alexandrian History.

There are works which relate the Annals of the Egyptian Church from the preaching of S. Mark to the time at which their respective authors lived; those of Le Quien, Renaudot, Sollerius, and Wansleb.

The treatise *De Patriarchatu Alexandrino* of the learned Dominican Father, Michael Le Quien, is contained in the Second Volume of his *Oriens Christianus*. The plan of this work is well known. It commences with a general sketch of the rise, progress, rights, privileges, and character of the Church of Alexandria, of the heresies by which it has been infested, and the duties which were claimed from it by the Church Catholic. It proceeds to a list of the Patriarchs, both heretical and Melchite; giving, under each, a slight and brief review of his actions. It concludes with a catalogue of all the Sees which are known to have been its suffragans; and a list under each, of all the Prelates who are recorded as having filled that particular See. The patient industry, accuracy, fairness, and moderation of this work are above praise; it did not, however, receive the last touches of its author; and occasionally self-contradictions may be discovered in it. It is evident also from many accidental hints that the writer was not acquainted with Arabic; a circumstance which must considerably detract from the worth of such a history. Nevertheless, it is very valuable as an outline which may be filled up from other sources; and it is the only complete history which we possess of the Catholic Church of Alexandria.

Very different is the character of the next work I have to mention; the “History of the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria”, written by the learned Eusebe Renaudot. It extends from the time of S. Mark to the year 1703; but, after the great schism, leaving the Catholic succession of Patriarchs, it confines itself to the heretical successors of Dioscorus. It is extracted principally from the “Patriarchal History”, that is to say, the history of the Jacobite Patriarchs commenced by Severus, Bishop of Aschumin, and carried on by Michael of Tanis, Mauhoub the son of Mansour, Mark the son of Zaraa, and others, as far as the conclusion of the Patriarchate of Cyril the son of Laklak; that is to say, down to the year 1243. The immense learning of Renaudot, his acquaintance with nearly thirty languages, his devotion to Eastern literature, and the advantage which he enjoyed in being able to consult the unrivalled collection of Manuscripts in the King’s Library at Paris, have rendered his work, so far as it goes, more complete than probably any other scholar could have made it. Besides his translations from the historians whom I have just mentioned, and whose works yet remain manuscript, he has enriched his history from other writers, both such had been already printed in his time, as Eutychius and Elmacinus, and those which have been given to the world since, as in the case with Makrizi. His pages also embrace very copious accounts of the succession

of Caliphs, and of the rise and fall of the various Mahometan Dynasties; and occasionally refer to the doings or sufferings of the Catholic Patriarchs. But with all these merits, the work has also all the faults of Renaudot; it is insufferably long, tedious and confused; learning is wasted in the discussion of points known to all the world; and the thread of the history broken and taken up again in the most perplexing manner imaginable. In this place we may also mention the *Discursus* of the same author *de Patriarcha Alexandrino* of his Collection of Oriental Liturgies.

The next work I shall mention is that of Wansleb, a Dominican Missionary in Egypt. It also relates entirely to the Jacobite succession; and had the merit of being the first work in which their history was introduced to Europe. It is divided into seven parts. The first treats of the constitution of the Jacobite Church; the second of its customs and present state; the third of its belief; the fourth of its ceremonies; the fifth of its canons: the sixth gives a catalogue of its Patriarchs; and the seventh of its principal writers. The small size of this volume, its continual inaccuracies, and the scanty information which it furnishes on any subject, renders it nearly useless, except for occasional reference. The catalogue of Patriarchs is translated from the Arabic of Abu'lberkat; with a continuation by later hands in the manuscript which Wansieb consulted.

The fourth history is the “Chronological Series of Alexandrian Patriarchs”, written by the Jesuit, John Baptist Sollerius; and prefixed to the fifth volume of June, in the Bollandist Acts of the Saints. This treatise, which fills a hundred and sixty closely printed folio pages, is little more than an amplification of the work of Wansieb. Sollerius, besides his general acquaintance with Ecclesiastical history, had little to fit him for the task; he was not acquainted with the Eastern languages; he had access to no manuscripts; nor had he any private sources of information, except a communication from the Jesuit Bernati, then a missionary in Ethiopia. The consequence is that he relies too much on the comparatively worthless materials which were in his possession; he is anxious to reconcile dates with each other, which are none of them consistent with truth; and he endeavours to settle minute points of chronology in times when an approximation to accuracy is all that can be hoped for. His treatise does not pretend to be a history, and, except for its dates, adds little to our knowledge of the Alexandrian Church. Of the Catholic Patriarchs this writer takes hardly any notice.

Besides the works which I have mentioned, the latest of which only comes down to the year 1730, I have had two other sources of information. I applied in the spring of 1844 to His late Holiness, Hierotheus, then Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria, for the history of his predecessors since the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the results of that inquiry will be found in their proper place. I also obtained, through the kindness of a Jacobite Priest, a complete list of the Patriarchs of that sect from Dioscorus to Peter VII, who now fills that post; and from the same quarter I also received some interesting information as to the present state of the Jacobites in Egypt.

I come now to speak of those authors who have treated of a part of the period which this work embraces. The first of these is Eutychius. Of his history of the Catholic Patriarchs of Alexandria I have spoken in treating of his own Patriarchate; and it is needless therefore to say anything further here, than that I believe that nothing which he

relates of interest down to the time when his annals terminate, namely the year 938, will be found to have been omitted in this work. Without professing any very great obligations to him, I may yet observe that some of the facts which he relates in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, are mentioned only by himself.

The next author whom I shall name is the Jacobite Elmacinus, as translated and edited by Erpenius. His Saracenic History only incidentally mentions the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria; but his accuracy and truth stand very high: and when he fixes a date, his testimony is to be received beyond that of any other author. I have in the history already given his character; and need therefore say nothing more of him here.

I will next mention the Mahometan Makrizi, who, while he draws great part of his information from Elmacinus, nevertheless adds considerably to it, and is highly to be commended for his accuracy and fairness. Of his work, which extends to the year 1327, I have also spoken in the proper place.

The “History of Dynasties” written by Abu'lpharaj, better known by his name of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, and translated and edited by Pococke, is also not without its value as a contribution to Alexandrian History. We are frequently indebted to it for some hint as to the actions of the Caliphs, which may serve to clear up points left in the dark by Elmacinus or Makrizi.

I now come to speak of the Ethiopic Church. The character of Ludolph’s History, and Commentary on his History, is too well known to need any observations here. It is only wonderful that a man possessing an acquaintance with the Ethiopic language, which has been attained by no other European before or since his time, should have added so little to our knowledge of that country. The facts which are to be gleaned from this vast folio he scattered thinly among the heap of rubbish with which they are surrounded; and his ignorance of everything but the language itself, his absurd confidence in some worthless Ethiopic compositions, and his blind prejudice, manifest themselves throughout.

The “Church History of Ethiopia” of Dr. Michael Michael Geddes is one of the most despicable compositions which was ever inflicted on the public. His only qualification for historian of that country was his knowledge of Portuguese, and a tolerable acquaintance with the various works in which the proceedings of the missionaries in that country are related. His prejudice against everything connected with Rome is such, that nothing can be taken upon his testimony: his principal value lies in his pointing out original sources of information. He had been Chaplain to the British Factory at Lisbon; and was under the patronage of Bishop Burnet.

A much fairer work is the “History of Christianity in Ethiopia”, written by the celebrated La Croze. It does not pretend to the same fullness as Geddes, and is derived from nearly the same sources: but, although a Protestant, the author is unable, like the English Divine, to see nothing but excellence in the Ethiopian, or faults in the Roman, Church.

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The first book of this History extends from the Foundation of the Church of Alexandria to the rise of the Nestorian heresy. Besides the ordinary Church historians, such as Eusebius, Sozomen, and Socrates, the works of S. Athanasius are of course my chief authority. But I am also bound to express my obligation to the very able Life of S. Dionysius by Byauns the Bollandist; to the Propaganda edition of the works of the same Father; to the Benedictine Life of S. Athanasius, and to Tillemont's Annals of that Patriarch. In a less degree, De la Rue's *Life of Origen* and Huet's *Origeniana* have been of service to these pages.

The second book comprises the controversy on the Incarnation, from the first outbreak of Nestorius, to the deposition of Dioscorus. Here, of course, I am principally indebted to the works of S. Cyril; to Tillemont's Life of that Father; to Garnier's edition of Marius Mercator; to the two editions of S. Leo's works,—the one by Cacciari, the other by the Ballerini, and to the very accurate chronological researches of Pagi.

The third book comprises the history of the Alexandrian Church, from the commencement of the great schism to the subjection of both Catholic and Jacobite Communion to the arms of the Caliphs. Here we begin to derive assistance from the works of Eutychius, Elmacinus, Makrizi, and Severus; Liberatus, Evagrius, and the Chronicon of Victor are also our guides. The Patriarchate of S. John the Almoner is indebted to the labours of Stillingfleet the Bollandist in the fourth volume of September in the Acts of the Saints;—and the Epistles of S. Gregory throw some light on the Alexandrian annals of that period. To the Life of S. John the Almoner, in the second volume of the Bollandist January, I am less indebted.

In the fourth book, which extends from the Conquest of Amrou to the Vizirate of Saladin, Severus and his continuers are my chief guides. Of the Catholic Church, when Eutychius deserts us, we know nothing more than can be picked up by incidental notices of the Byzantine historians. These are generally few and far between; with the exception of a tolerably detailed account of the proceedings of Athanasius II afforded in the prolix pages of George Pachymeres. For the Crusades, so far as they affected Egypt, I have depended principally on Wilken's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, and the authors alleged by him. I have also derived, in Jacobite history generally, very important assistance from the Chronicle of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, as epitomized in the second volume of the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman.

The fifth book embraces the period between the elevation of Saladin and the first interference of the Portuguese in Ethiopia. Here we are worse off for materials than at any other period. Its most important event is the great confessional controversy,—and the remarkable history of Mark the son of Kunbar. But from A.D. 1243, when the Patriarchal History ends, to 1490, I am compelled to confess that Alexandrian annals are hardly more than catalogues of names.

The sixth book comprises the remainder of my task, and sixth divides itself into two distinct portions. The first of these is the rise, progress, and decline of Roman Influence in Ethiopia. Here, besides Geddes, La Croze, and Ludolph, we have the advantage of Bruce's very clear Abyssinian history; and the original authorities are

Alvarez, Tellez, and the account of the Patriarch Joao Bermudez; which latter is translated in Purchases Pilgrimage, and thence retranslated by La Croze. The other subject is the attempt made, in the seventeenth century, to engraft Calvinism in the Oriental Church; and as this part of history is extremely important, and very little known, I have preferred rather to overstep the bounds I proposed to myself than to treat it cursorily. My authorities, on the Roman side, are, principally, the *Perpetuité de la Foy*, and the *Defense de la Perpetuité*; the *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale* of Simon; the *De Consensu* of Leo Allatius; and the incidental notices of Le Quien and Benaudot. On the Oriental side,—the Councils of Constantinople, Jassy, and Bethlehem, as given in Labbe; the History of the Russian Church by Mouravieff; the Chronicon of Philip of Cyprus : to which I may add the “Present State of the Greek Church” of Ricaut,—a very fair writer. On the Calvinistic side, — Crusius’s *Turco-Graecia*; Claude’s Reply to the *Perpetuité*, and his *Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, which is a Reply to the *Defense*; Aymon’s Memoirs of the Greek Church; Smith’s *Account of the Greek Church*, both in English and Latin: to which may be added Dr. Covell’s account of the same Church. I also applied to the Public Library at Geneva, for permission to copy all the hitherto unpublished letters of Cyril Lucar’s preserved in that Library; and among these the reader will find a very important and hitherto unprinted one, to the Archbishop De Dominis, on the publication of his work *De Republica Christiana*. To all these I must add, the Life of Cyril Lucar from the pen of Dr. Beaven, which appeared in several numbers of the *British Magazine*.

I had intended to affix an excursus in defence of the very early chronology adopted in the first Section: want of space has obliged me to forbear. A vindication of it may, however, be found in the Bollandist Life of S. Peter under the 29th of June. For the same reason, I have been obliged to omit the list of Egyptian martyrs in the Tenth Persecution, to which reference is made at its conclusion.

Two remarks connected with orthography may not be out of place. The first is that I have adopted the two different spellings, *Dioecese* and *Diocese*, to signify two different things. By the former I mean its old sense, the jurisdiction of an Exarch or Patriarch, as the Dioecese of Ephesus, the Dioecese of Alexandria; by the latter, that of a Bishop. Fleury, in like manner, speaks of *le* and *la* Diocese. The other is that I have followed the Oriental method of spelling names, after the Mahometan invasion. Thus, Chail is written for Michael; Chenouda for Sanutius; Abdel-Messiah for Christodulus. I have not done so, however, where the name is that of one well known as an author. Thus, I do not refer to Said Ebn Batric, but to Eutychius.

I have now to express my obligations for the valuable assistance I have received in this work. I desire gratefully to commemorate the kindness of His late Holiness, Hierotheus, to whom I had hoped to inscribe the History of his Church. My thanks are also especially due to the Rev. Edmund Winder, British Chaplain at Alexandria, for the indefatigable kindness with which he has collected and transmitted to me information; to Alfred S. Walne, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty’s Consul at Cairo, who was so obliging as to wait on the Patriarch with the queries I had transmitted to him; and to the Vicar of the Jacobite Patriarch at Alexandria, (whoso name I regret not to know,) who furnished me with a great deal of valuable information as to the state of that Communion.



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But, in a most especial manner, my warmest thanks are due to the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D., late Principal of Bishop's College, who, with the greatest kindness, gave me the advantage of his remarks on most of the sheets, as they passed through the press; and to whom I am indebted for several corrections, and for some important references to sources of information with which I was previously unacquainted. I have also to express my obligations to my friend the Rev. B. Webb, M.A., who finally read through most of the sheets of this history before they were struck off; a work of which he only who has tried it can calculate the trouble or the use.

I am indebted also to D. José Xavier Cerveira e Sousa, Bishop of Funchal and Arguim, for the kindness with which he furnished me with any book which was contained in his Episcopal Library; and to Canon Antonio Pestana, Rector of the Seminary in Funchal, for the obliging manner in which he put the valuable library of that institution completely at my disposal. Portuguese libraries are especially valuable to a historian of the Alexandrian Church, for the works of Tellez and Alvarez are not to be procured in England. Lastly, I would thank M. Chastel, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Librarian of the public library at Geneva, for the great pains which he took in procuring the transcription of Cyril Lucar's letters; and M. Grivel, for the success with which he deciphered them. They are written in a mixture of bad Latin, bad Italian, and (occasionally) bad Greek, and the hand-writing is as bad as the language.

I trust that, whatever judgment may be formed of this history, while its deficiencies are noted, its difficulties will also be remembered. If the chronology shall sometimes appear unsatisfactory, it is no shame to fail where Renaudot, Le Quien, and Sollerius are often egregiously wrong. If I appear sometimes to compress a century into comparatively *few* pages, it is a century to which, as connected with Alexandria, Baronius and Fleury do not devote one.

I have reserved, for my Introduction to the study of the History of the Oriental Church, some remarks which it seems right to make on the spirit in which such a book should be written. The historian should write, not as a member of the Roman, not as a member of the English, Church; but, as far as may be, with Oriental views, feelings, and even, perhaps, prepossessions. Mouravieff's history is a perfect example in its kind. It was intended that this Introduction should have been prefixed to the present volumes. But it swelled to a size which precluded the possibility of that arrangement; and has been also kept back for valuable information which I hope to receive from Constantinople and Damascus.

Sackville College,

East Grinstead.

S. Mark's Day, 1847.



BOOK I

FROM

THE FOUNDATION

OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA

TO

THE RISE OF NESTORIANISM.

## SECTION I.

### The Foundation of the Church

It is the constant and unvarying tradition of both the East and the West, that S. Mark the Evangelist was the founder of the Church of Alexandria. The history, however, of his labours in Libya, Pentapolis, and Egypt, is involved in considerable obscurity, a circumstance in which there is nothing to excite surprise, nor to weaken our belief in the truth of the general statement. If the rise of the Church in such a city as Rome, which has always, since primitive times, been under Christian government, and always retained the same ecclesiastical language, is, in a great degree, unknown to us, and if the succession of its Bishops is implicated in historical difficulties, much more may we expect the case to lie so in one which, like Alexandria, has been for many ages subject to Mahometan tyranny, and where the change of language has introduced many errors into its historical records.

That, however, S. Mark the Evangelist was not the same with Mark, the nephew of S. Barnabas, can hardly, notwithstanding the ingenious arguments of several learned men, be now doubted, and by considering the two as distinct personages, we are enabled to reconcile conflicting statements, the authors of which appear equally worthy of credit.

Yet, though antiquity agrees in bestowing on S. Mark the title of the Apostle of Egypt, we are not compelled to suppose that the faith had not previously been preached in that country, even did it appear that his mission were postponed as late as A.D. 50. There were dwellers in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, who were present at Jerusalem at the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, some of whom were probably converted by S. Peter's sermon. The Eunuch of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, that is, of the Abyssinians, must, on his return to his own country, have passed through Egypt. Simon, who bore the Cross, was a native of Cyrene, and his sons, Alexander and Rufus, were evidently persons well known in the Church: and it is remarkable, and affords an argument in favour of the tradition we have been narrating, that S. Mark, who, from his connexion with Cyrene, would have been likely to be acquainted with the principal persons among its inhabitants, should alone of the Evangelists have particularized the family of Simon the Cyrenian. Again, among the prophets and teachers at Antioch whom the Holy Spirit commanded to lay hands on S. Barnabas and S. Paul, we meet with the name of Lucius, of Cyrene. He was probably one of those men of Cyrene, whom the sacred historian mentions before, as the first after S. Peter to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. It is hardly likely that so many natives of Egypt should, in their labours for the sake of Christ, have entirely neglected their own country.

There is a celebrated passage in Philo Judaeus, in which he mentions the Therapeutae, who inhabited the mountain and valley of Nitria, on the western side of the Nile. It has been much disputed who these men were; but we may be content to believe with all the early writers, among whom is Eusebius, that they were Christians. Thus it will appear that the Gospel had already been proclaimed in more than one province of Egypt, when S. Mark arrived at Alexandria.

Yet this circumstance by no means forbids us to regard him as the founder of that Church, nor deprives the city of a title in which it gloried, The Evangelical See. There were many Christians both at Antioch and at Rome before S. Peter set foot in either place; yet antiquity always considered him as the founder of the Churches in each. Again, S. Paul had not only himself dwelt at Ephesus, but had ordained S. Timothy first Bishop of that See; and yet that Church acknowledges S. John the Evangelist as its founder. So that the received belief with respect to S. Mark does not invalidate another tradition, that S. Simon the Canaanite was the first to proclaim the Gospel in Egypt.

For some time after the day of Pentecost, the Evangelist is said to have preached in Jerusalem and the neighbouring villages, particularly in Bethany. S. Peter, however, about the year 37, appears to have sent him into Egypt; and it would seem that he entered Alexandria in, or towards, the year 40. Here his first convert was one Annianus, or Hananias, a shoemaker by trade; on whom the Evangelist wrought a miracle, and who, in consequence, received him into his house. Having preached the Gospel with great success, and having, in a proportionate degree, irritated the idolatrous inhabitants of the city, than whom no idolaters were more strongly attached to Pagan superstition, S. Mark returned for a season to Jerusalem, first, if we may believe Coptic tradition, having ordained Annianus Bishop of the new Church, with three Priests and seven Deacons as his assistants. This seems to have taken place in the year 44.

From Palestine, S. Mark accompanied S. Peter to Rome. It was here that, under the direction of the Apostle, he wrote his Gospel, whether, as some will have it, in Latin, or, as it seems more probable, in Greek; for the Egyptian tradition which assigns to it a Coptic original is not for a moment to be received. It matters little to Alexandrian History whether he founded the Church at Aquilea, or whether that tradition is to be rejected as fabulous. We find him mentioned in the first Epistle of S. Peter, under the affectionate title of "Marcus my son": but this is the only certain information that we possess with respect to the Evangelist, while residing in Rome.

It was, apparently, towards the year 49, that S. Mark returned to Egypt; and there, till the time of his decease, he labored with great success. And during this period, the first church in Alexandria is said to have been built, at a place called Boucalia, near to the sea shore, and thence called Boucalis, or Baucalis. The name Boucalia arose, if we may believe Strabo, from the fact, that in former times the spot had been appropriated for the pasturage of cattle.

The Egyptians, indignant at the progress made by the Gospel, resolved to be avenged on its first preacher. A feast in honour of Serapis held annually on the twenty-

fifth of April was approaching. Advantage was taken of the circumstance to excite and organize a riot, on the preceding day, Saturday, April 24: the rather, that the Evangelist had denounced the approaching festivity as idolatrous and impious. Seizing S. Mark, and tying a rope round his neck, they drew him through the principal streets of the city, till the blood gushed from his sides: and, at evening, they threw him into prison, while consulting with respect to his fate. On the same night the sufferer was cheered by the appearance of an Angel, who comforted him with the assurance that his name was in the Book of Life; and shortly afterwards by a Vision of the Saviour Himself, Who, addressing him by the title of Mark the Evangelist, bade peace be with him. To Whom S. Mark replied, "I yield Thee thanks, Saviour, that Thou hast counted me worthy to suffer for Thy Name". On the next day, the Pagans drew the Evangelist around the city, as before, until with the words, "Into Thy Hands I commend my spirit", he went to his rest. It was by the side of the Martyr's tomb in the church of Baucalis, that the election of the Patriarchs took place in after times.

We must not pass over in silence the celebrated account which Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century, has given, with respect to the custom introduced by S. Mark concerning the election of Bishops in that See. Though this writer's statement has been repeatedly noticed and confuted, it still remains a staple argument with Presbyterians, and a History of the Church of Alexandria were incomplete without an examination into its truth.

The words of Eutychius are as follows : "S. Mark alone with Ananias, ordained twelve Presbyters, to remain with the Patriarch; so that when the Chair should become vacant, they might elect one out of the twelve, on whose head the other eleven should lay their hands, give him benediction, and constitute him Patriarch; and should after this choose some other man, to supply the place of the promoted Presbyter, in such sort that the Presbytery should always consist of twelve. This custom continued at Alexandria till the time of the Patriarch Alexander, one of the Three hundred and eighteen"; (the writer, of course, means the Fathers of Nicaea); "who forbade the Presbyters in future to ordain their Patriarch, but decreed that on a vacancy of the See the neighbouring Bishops should convene for the purpose of filling it with a proper Patriarch, whether elected from those twelve Presbyters, or from any others". Eutychius adds, that during the time of the first ten Patriarchs there were no Bishops in Egypt; Demetrius, the eleventh, having been the first to consecrate them.

If, then, we are to take this writer's words in their literal sense, we must believe that the Second See in the Catholic Church was for the space of one hundred and fifty years governed by Arch-Priests; that these men, during that period, refrained from the ordination of other Bishops, though presuming to lay hands on Priests and the inferior orders of the hierarchy: that the eleventh Patriarch asserted his claim to consecrate Bishops; and that six of his successors, for nearly a hundred years, persevered in this practice without a remonstrance from, and enjoying communion with, every other branch of the Church.

So monstrous a story at first leads us to regard its author as grossly misinformed, or a pure fabricator. Yet the authority of S. Jerome forbids us to do this.

That Father, in an epistle to Evagrius, while dwelling on the dignity of the Priesthood, thus expresses himself: “At Alexandria, from the time of S. Mark the Evangelist to that of the Bishops Heraclas and Dionysius”, (that is, till the middle of the third century,) “it was the custom of the Presbyters to nominate one, elected from among themselves, to the higher dignity of the Bishopric; just as the army makes an emperor, or the Deacons nominate as Archdeacon any man whom they know to be of active habits in their own body”.

The above quoted passage from Euty chius was first published by the learned Selden, with a very prolix commentary, as a prop to the falling cause of Presbyterianism. It was refuted at the time by Abraham Echellensis, and afterwards by Renaudot and Le Quien. Two different explanations have been given, either of which is perfectly satisfactory.

In the first place, it may well be asserted that the words of Euty chius refer to the election, not to the consecration, of the Bishop. It was the custom in the early Church, that not only Presbyters, but even laics, laid their hands on the head of the party so chosen; and this was the case more especially in the Coptic Church, as writers, both Catholic and Jacobite, allow. And Echellensis has clearly proved, that, in many instances at least, a triple imposition of hands took place; of the people voting, of the Presbyters electing, of the Bishops consecrating. At the same time, the Presbyters of Alexandria had certain privileges which the Presbyters of other Churches did not enjoy; and these two facts, coming together to the knowledge of an ignorant writer like Euty chius, may have occasioned the fable to which the unhappy consequences of the Western Reformation have given such undue celebrity. S. Jerome’s testimony is decided against those who bring him forward as a witness; for, at the very time he is stretching to their very utmost the privileges of the Priesthood, he asks, “What is there which a Bishop may do, except ordination, that a Presbyter may not do?”

Again, as it has been well remarked, how could the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 339, have decided against the orders conferred by one Coluthus, himself a Presbyter, when, within the memory of living men, the Patriarch had received no other ordination? Or is it likely that among the various charges brought in succeeding ages against the Church of Egypt, this of Presbyterian ordination should never have been one?

It may, however, be granted, that the Patriarch was really ordained by these twelve Presbyters. It is, then, certain that they were an Episcopal College, retaining the name, which in the Primitive Church was used synonymously with Bishops. That the case is so in the Acts is well known. S. Paul, for example, having called the Presbyters of the Church of Ephesus to Miletus, warned them to take heed unto all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops. And that there was such an Episcopal College at Alexandria appears likely from two considerations. The one, that the account of Euty chius as to the absence of any Bishops in Egypt till the third century thus receives some confirmation, since we may well suppose that this College governed the country jointly, and that till the time of Demetrius it was not divided, to use the word in the modern sense, into Dioceses; the other, that we may thus account for the extraordinary privileges retained by the College when it became really Presbyteral,

more especially that of provincial letters being addressed in its name jointly with the Patriarchs.

Let the case, however, be as it may, Eutychius's authority is little worth, since, in asserting that till the Nicene Council the Patriarchs were invariably elected from the order of Presbyters, he asserts that which is contrary to fact, Demetrius for example having been a layman till called to the Chair of S. Mark. And among the many frivolous objections raised against S. Athanasius, his immediate elevation from the Diaconate to the Patriarchate does not appear.

### SECTION II.

#### THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH.

It pleased God that the Church which was afterwards to be exposed to such fierce persecution from the Pagan power, and to struggle for its very existence with heresy under two forms, should, in its infancy, be in great measure protected from the storms which fell upon its sister Churches. Time was thus given for its establishment and consolidation; the True Faith took deep root in the hearts of the people of Alexandria, and, in due season, brought forth fruit to perfection. During the first two centuries, Egypt enjoyed unusual quiet; and little is known of its ecclesiastical history beyond the names of its Patriarchs.

On the decease of S. Mark, S. Annianus succeeded to the government of the Church. He was a man, says Eusebius, beloved of God, and admirable in all things. In his time the number of the Faithful was increased exceedingly. His memory was held in great veneration by the Egyptians, and a church under his invocation long existed at Alexandria. He governed the See twenty-two years, and had for his successor Abilius, or Melianus, who is said to have been the first of the three Presbyters whom S. Mark, at his first visit to Alexandria, had ordained. The remark of the *Chronicon Orientale*, "the Church during his time was in peace", renders it probable that the case had been otherwise during the Episcopate of Annianus. And it is not unlikely that, in the massacre of the Alexandrian Jews which followed the siege of Jerusalem, some of the Christians might have suffered. On this subject, however, we have no certain information. The persecution of Domitian does not appear to have extended to Egypt. Abilius governed the Church for nearly fourteen years, and was succeeded by Cerdo, one of the Presbyters whom S. Mark had ordained. He presided over his diocese for about nine years; and there is an obscure tradition that he suffered Martyrdom under Trajan. Primus, who is also called Ephraim, next ascended the Evangelical Throne. He was a layman, and was advanced for his angelical purity of life. His Episcopate was in all probability a season of trouble. The Jews of Egypt and Cyrene, as if possessed by an evil spirit, fell on the Pagans among whom they dwelt, massacred them without mercy, carried everything before them, and compelled their enemies to retire within the walls of

Alexandria, where they revenged themselves by enslaving or murdering such of the Jews as were dwelling in that city. Nor was it till Marcus Turbo, into whose hands Trajan committed the conduct of the war, had defeated the rebels in several battles, and had slaughtered many thousands of them, that peace was restored to the country. Primus, after an Episcopate of twelve years, was succeeded by Justus, a man who was good and wise, and beloved of God. He is said to have been baptized by the Evangelist; and, doubtless, the Egyptian Church would delight in honouring such, more especially at a time when few who had personally known S. Mark could be yet surviving. To Justus succeeded Eumenius; and it is remarkable that history is still silent as to the sufferings, which there almost certainly must have been, of the Alexandrian Church, during the time that Hadrian was in Egypt, where he restored the pillar of Pompey, and attended the apotheosis of his favourite Antinous. And in the great and last insurrection of the Jews, led on by the impostor Barcochebas, the Egyptian Christians suffered severely from the fury of the rebels, who would have had them join in their revolt. At the same time Alexandria was infected by the fanatic teaching of Basileides and Carpocrates, both natives of that city. To enter into an exposition of the Gnostic heresy would lead us too far from our immediate subject, inasmuch as it does not appear that the Alexandrian Church was peculiarly interested in its rise, or opposed to its progress.

Marcian was the successor of Eumenius, of whom nothing whatever is known, and Marcian was followed by Celadion. Of this Bishop nothing is related except the love that his flock bore to him; and that he was succeeded by Agrippius. He, in his turn, left the Patriarchal Throne to Julian.

A barren list of names is all that history has left us with respect to these early Bishops of Alexandria; all of whom, however, with the exception perhaps of Primus, are reckoned among the Saints. With the successor of Julian we leave uncertain traditions, and uninteresting catalogues, and enter on the real History of the Church of Alexandria.

### SECTION III.

#### ORIGEN

While the Patriarch Julian—so runs the Egyptian legend,—was on his death bed, he was informed by an Angel, that the man who should, on the succeeding day, bring him a present of grapes, was designed as his successor. On the morrow, a countryman, who could neither read nor write, and who was married, made his appearance in the predicted manner, and Julian acknowledged him as the future Patriarch. Demetrius was so unwilling to receive the proffered dignity that he was ordained by main force; and, from the time of his consecration, he became another man.



He immediately applied himself with success to the study of the Scriptures, and became one of the most learned prelates of his time. His being a married man rendered his flock, if we may trust Severus, unwilling at first to receive him as Patriarch, as it happened that, from S. Mark downward, none such had been promoted to the See. This indisposition, however, was shortly removed, probably by the exemplary character of the new Prelate; for the miracle which, according to Coptic tradition, established his continence, is unworthy of relation, and far more so of belief.

Demetrius had presided over his Church fourteen years, when the terrible persecution of Severus, reckoned as the sixth, broke conversion over the Church. Philip was at the time Prefect of Egypt, one of the most honourable posts which it was in the power of the emperors to bestow, and known above others by the name of the Augustal Prefecture. Philip, however, with his wife Claudia, and daughter Eugenia, embraced the Christian Faith; and though he made no secret of his conversion, he was permitted to retain his dignity for some time after it had taken place. Severus having, at length, become acquainted with the fact, wrote to the Prefect, upbraiding him with the ill return he had made for the kindness shown him; he had been honoured, he said, rather as a king than as a prefect, and while he retained the faith of his forefathers, he was worthy of the dignity. He must at once either renounce the superstition to which he had attached himself, or submit to be deprived of the office which he had so long held. On receiving these commands, Philip feigned illness, and availed himself of the relaxation thus obtained from public business, to convert all his possessions into money, which he bestowed on the poor. Having done this, he returned a firm answer to Severus, who superseded him in his government by Terentius Laetus. The new Prefect had express orders to destroy Philip. This, however, was not so easy to be accomplished: the populace still loved and respected the deposed governor, and it was necessary to have recourse to stratagem. A hired band of ruffians were easily engaged: having dispatched Philip in his own house, they were, to save appearances, thrown into prison; from whence they were speedily liberated. Severus himself paid a visit to Egypt; and, as a popular measure, permitted that in future a senator should be made prefect. Hitherto that honour had, by the institution of Augustus, been conferred on men of equestrian rank only.

The persecution, on the approach of Severus to Alexandria, began to be so severe in Egypt that many believed the days of Antichrist to be at hand. Alexandria itself was the scene of many martyrdoms because the Christians, arrested in the various parts of the province, were sent thither for trial and execution. The most celebrated among its victims was S. Leonidas, the father of the more famous Origen. He had carefully educated his son till the seventeenth year of his age, not only in the Scriptures, but also in the usual studies of the time. Every day, before entering on the latter, it was his habit to require the repetition of some portion of the former, which he then explained and enforced. The quick mind of Origen was not satisfied with the literal signification; he eagerly inquired after the mystical meaning, which he considered to possess the deeper interest, and more richly to repay the study. S. Leonidas considered it right to check these demonstrations of that fertility of genius for which Origen became afterwards so remarkable; he advised him to confine his inquiries to subjects more

suitable to his age, and not to enter on topics which were only fitting for the ripe theologian. Yet, in private, he would bless God for the talents which He had bestowed on his son; and often, while the latter slept, he would steal to his bedside, and kiss that breast which he looked on as a special shrine of the Holy Ghost. Besides Origen, Leonidas had six other sons: the name of their mother is unknown.

The Catechetical School of Alexandria possessed at this time a high reputation in the Church. It had its origin in the first century; but its earliest master with whom we are acquainted was Athenagoras. He had been an Athenian philosopher, and on his conversion, wrote an apology for Christianity, unknown to Eusebius and S. Jerome, but cited by S. Epiphanius. We have also another work of his, in defence of the probability of a Resurrection. To Athenagoras succeeded the more celebrated Father of the Church, Pantaenus. An Hebrew by nation, a Sicilian by birth, he was in philosophy an Eclectic; and drew his principal dogmas from the Stoic and Pythagorean sects. While he presided over the Alexandrian school, the Indians sent to Demetrius, requesting him to dispatch some teacher of the Faith to that country, who should be recommended no less by his learning than by his character. Pantaenus accepted the office with joy, and left the government of his school in the hands of his celebrated disciple, Clemens.

In the Catechetical School, therefore, Origen was placed; and under Clemens, (whom we shall have occasion to mention more at length hereafter), made rapid progress not only in sacred, but also in profane literature. Here, in all probability, he formed that friendship with Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, which was at a later period so important to his welfare. He also attended the lectures of Ammonius, from whom he drank deeply of that Platonic philosophy which more or less tinged his writings. On the breaking out of the persecution, such was Origen's desire for martyrdom that he was scarcely to be prevented, by the tears and entreaties of his mother, from denouncing himself at the tribunal of the governor. And on the apprehension of his father, he was restrained by little short of main force. Happy had it been for him had he thus early and gloriously ended his life! Happy, had he not been spared to leave a doctrine that divided the Church for centuries, and a reputation of so doubtful a nature that the salvation of Origen was one of the most famous questions of antiquity! He at length contented himself with encouraging S. Leonidas to endure to the end, neither regarding his own sufferings, nor the destitute condition of his wife, and her seven sons, of whom Origen, young as he was, was the eldest. S. Leonidas was beheaded, and his family reduced to the deepest poverty, the possessions of the Martyr being confiscated. Origen himself was, for some time, an inmate in the house of a rich Christian lady; but as she also entertained Paul of Antioch, a determined heretic, whom she had adopted as her heir, he was at length compelled, through hatred of the false doctrine with which he was thus continually brought in contact, to seek an asylum elsewhere. He then undertook to teach the science of grammar, and in this manner obtained a precarious subsistence.

Pantaenus, on his return from India,—where he had found some traces of the labours of S. Bartholomew, and had discovered, it is said, a Gospel of S. Matthew, written in Hebrew,—reassumed his place in the Alexandrian School, assisted by Clemens: Origen heard and revered both. On the death of his master, Clemens

succeeded to the entire management of the school. But the fury of the persecution increasing, he was tempted to relinquish his charge, and to retire into Cappadocia. On this, Origen, then but eighteen years old, but whose learning was already famous, by degrees, and, as it would seem, at first of his own accord, undertook the conduct of the first Christian school in the world. Sometime having elapsed, and there appearing no hope that the persecution would cease, or that Clemens would return, Demetrius confirmed Origen in his charge, and entrusted to him the care of the Catechumens.

Origen's first resolution on assuming his new office was, to apply himself entirely to the study of theology. With this view, he sold all his grammatical and philosophical books, for an annuity of four oboli a day: and his frugality and abstemiousness enabled him to support life on this small sum. His meals were so scanty, that he seriously impaired his health; he never tasted wine; he had but one garment; in the severest winters it was his custom to go barefoot; his fasts were frequent and rigorous, and he had no other couch but the bare floor. His reputation for learning and ability soon extended itself widely. His disciples were numerous; they attended him not only from the commoner class of Christians, but from those of attainments in philosophy; nay, there were Pagans who scrupled not to be his auditors. In the meantime, the persecution became still more violent under Aquila, the successor of Laetus; and many of Origen's disciples laid down their lives for the truth. The first of these was Plutarch, his earliest hearer; Origen accompanied him to the place of suffering, and consoled him in his last moments. The friends of Plutarch, however, regarding him as the cause of the disgrace and death of their relation, attempted his life; and he narrowly escaped their designs. Six others of his disciples fell in the same persecution. Serenus was burnt; Heracleides, a catechumen, and Heron, who had but recently received baptism, were beheaded; another Serenus was honoured by Martyrdom, but in what manner is unknown; and Herais, also a catechumen, received, says the historian, a baptism of fire. But of all the pupils of Origen, Basileides was the most celebrated.

A Christian slave, named Potamiaena, having refused to comply with the unholy suggestions of her master, was accused by him to Aquila, and condemned, after being stripped, to be plunged into a caldron of boiling pitch. She requested that she might be allowed to retain her garments, and voluntarily offered to be lowered by slow degrees into it. Her offer was accepted, and Basileides was appointed to preside at the execution. He treated her with as much kindness as circumstances enabled him to bestow, and in assuring him of her gratitude, she also promised not to forget him in the state on which she was about to enter. A short time afterwards, his comrades, for some unrecorded reason, endeavoured to oblige him to swear by the gods. He refused, alleging that he was a Christian. They at first treated the declaration as made in jest; but, on discovering that Basileides spoke seriously, they hurried him before prefect, and thence to prison. The Christians were no less astonished at his confession than the Pagans; not having any previous reason to imagine him a convert. In answer to their inquiries as to the method in which the event was brought about he informed them that his conversion was wrought by a vision in which S. Potamiaena had appeared, and

holding forth a crown promised it to him. He was baptized in the prison, and beheaded the next day.

Undismayed by the sufferings of his friends and disciples, Origen let no opportunity pass of showing his sympathy with the sufferers in the cause of Christ. He visited them in prison, he was at their side when before the tribunal, he accompanied them to the place of punishment; he conversed with them, he prayed with them, he encouraged them, he supported them, he gave them the kiss of peace. He exposed himself in every possible manner to the fury of the heathens, from whom, on several occasions, he very narrowly escaped; he was more than once arrested, and his life seemed preserved by the special interposition of Providence.

Demetrius heard with feelings of respect and admiration the hardy actions of the young Christian philosopher; and encouraged him to persevere in the path he had chosen, assuring him that it could not fail of obtaining a glorious reward. But, after a while, rumours of a less pleasing character reached the ears of the Bishop. It was said that Origen had interpreted too literally the saying of our Saviour with respect to those eunuchs who had made themselves so for the kingdom of Heaven's sake, and had indeed acted on that misinterpretation. Demetrius interrogated him on the subject, and obtained a confirmation of the fact from his own lips: he pleaded in extenuation, that the situations into which he was thrown as Catechist, when attended by women as well as by men, presented sometimes considerable temptation, the occurrence of which he thought it better to prevent. Demetrius heard his defence with more of surprise than anger; indeed, considering the harsh manner in which he afterwards treated Origen, he hardly appears to have, in the outset, dealt fairly with him. It is but just to add, that at a later period of life, Origen himself condemned his own mis-interpretation of the passage in question.

About the same time, Origen published his first commentary on the Canticles, which, at a later period of his life, after a careful revisal, he again presented to the public, thus ingenuously confessing, that to attempt the exposition of Holy Scripture at so immature an age, was both presumptuous and dangerous.

The death of the Emperor Severus put a stop to the persecution; for Caracalla, whether from motives of policy or humanity, commanded that it should not be carried on. Origen profited by the calm to visit Rome, where his stay was of no long continuance. Demetrius was so sensible of the value of his labours, that he urged him to resume them without loss of time, so little culpability did he at this period attach to the hasty act we have before related. Origen, however, feeling himself physically unequal to the whole responsibility of the Christian school, divided it into two portions; the one containing the students of inferior ability or learning; the other, those whose parts and application were more remarkable. The former division he entrusted to the care of Heraclas, his friend and associates pupil, brother of S. Plutarch the Martyr, and the successor of both Origen and Demetrius; of the more advanced class he took charge himself. He undertook the study of the Hebrew language, in which he acquired considerable proficiency by comparing the original with the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and the Seventy. His lectures on philosophy and the subjects connected

with it, were attended by many of the heathen students; his name was mentioned by the philosophers with respect, and their writings were dedicated to him. Nor had he less reputation among heretics. One of these, a Valentinian, named Ambrose, of great reputation in the city both for his riches and ability, was converted by him to the Catholic Faith; and this success was the means of establishing still more firmly his reputation. Many other heretics and many Pagans were brought to a knowledge of the truth by the profound reasonings and eloquence of the Christian philosopher. Of the heathen who did not embrace the Faith, many openly professed themselves admirers of its teacher: and the testimony of Porphyry, the bitter enemy of Christianity, as preserved by Eusebius, shows in what general estimation Origen was held. It would appear that in these occupations several years passed away: nor was Origen's career of usefulness interrupted till a governor of Arabia, having heard much of the prodigy of learning that had arisen at Alexandria, dispatched a pressing request to the Bishop and to the Prefect, that they would send him without loss of time into that country. Origen went, and having satisfied his entertainers on some points of science, returned again into Egypt. But his tranquillity was disturbed, A.D. 215, and his life endangered, by civil commotions.

Alexandria had made herself "drunk with the blood of the martyrs", and her time for punishment had come. Caracalla, who professed to form his habits on those of Alexander the Great, affected a particular love for the city of which that Conqueror was the founder. The inhabitants by no means reciprocated this friendly feeling, and made the Emperor the subject of their raillery, to which the whole course of his life laid him open, but especially the murder of his brother; and raillery was an offence which he could not forgive. Under pretence of a solemn festival he assembled the youth of the city; and at a given signal; a part of his troops fell upon them, while another part commenced a massacre in the town, which lasted many days. The number of the dead was never known; "nor did it matter", observed Caracalla, in writing to the Senate, "how many had actually suffered, since all deserved to do so".

From these scenes Origen withdrew into Palestine, and took up his abode at Caesarea. And hence we may date the rise of his troubles. He was not yet in Priest's orders; but the different Bishops of Palestine, out of respect to his learning and character, invited him to explain the Scriptures in their respective churches. Demetrius, on receiving the news of this proceeding, wrote a remonstrance; the thing, he said, was uncanonical and irregular; none but a Priest could speak in the presence of his Bishop; and that even a Priest should do so, had been, and was, in many places counted improper; Origen, on the contrary, had not yet arrived at that dignity, and took upon himself this office out of his own Diocese. Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea urged, in reply, that they were not the first who had thus authorized laics; that it had been the practice of Bishops, who possessed the most eminent reputation for sanctity, such as Neon at Laranda, Atticus at Synnada, and Celsus at Iconium; that if any person, not in Holy Orders, was capable of throwing any light on the Scripture, his assistance should be accepted with thankfulness, not stigmatised as an intrusion, and forbidden as an irregularity. This answer did not satisfy Demetrius; and it must be confessed, that although jealousy of Origen's attainments might have in some degree



influenced his conduct, his objections had much force, and scarcely any violation of the Canons might not be justified on grounds similar to those adopted by the Bishops of Palestine. The Prelate not only wrote to Origen, but sent some of his deacons to command his instant return, and the order was obeyed.

Origen was now engaged, at the request of his friend Ambrose, in the composition of those Commentaries on Holy Scripture, some of which have descended to our own time. His friend's zeal scarcely allowed the philosopher the necessary time for food and repose, and well-earned for him the title of Adamantius. In correcting and polishing his works, Origen owns how much he was indebted to the kindness and liberality of Ambrose. Grateful for the benefit which he had received from Origen, he provided him with seven amanuenses: the genius and fluency of the philosopher being able to keep so many employed. But, as it is well remarked by Baronius, "An inheritance may be gotten hastily in the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed". If S. Jerome and S. Ambrose were incapable of supplying sufficient work for one notary, the rapidity of Origen's conceptions must be allowed to have been full of danger: and the event proves that it was fraught with mischief. Ambrose provided the whole expenses which were necessary to enable Origen to carry on his studies: they were inseparable companions; their meals were always improved by the reading of some grave work. Ambrose boldly confessed the faith of Christ; at what time is not ascertained: but incurred reproach after his death for not having in his will remembered Origen, whose poverty he must have well known.

Towards the end of the reign of Caracalla, Titus Flavius Clemens, commonly known as S. Clement of Alexandria, (though in truth he has no claim to the honour of canonization), rested from his labours. As a writer, we are hardly concerned with him, further than to observe that the errors and follies which, under Origen's name, distracted the Church, seem to have been to some extent a development of Clement's teaching. Had we his Hypotyposes, we should be able to speak with more decision on this point. According to Photius, his doctrine in this work was heterodox in an almost incredible degree.

The murder of Caracalla in Mesopotamia, and the rapid succession of Macrinus and Heliogabalus, gave the Church another interval of peace. Alexander, who was next elevated to the purple, was still more favourably disposed to the Christians, having, it is said, in his private oratory, among other images, those of Abraham and of the Saviour.

Shortly after the succession of Heliogabalus, Mammaea, the mother of Alexander, (whom Eusebius characterises as a most devout woman, if any ever deserved the title), being at Antioch, and having heard of Origen's great reputation, was desirous of conversing with him. She accordingly sent for him, and, accompanied by a guard of honour, he went to Antioch. He there discoursed at large on the verities of the Christian Faith, and, after some time, returned to Alexandria.

But in this season of tranquillity, heresy was busy: Tertullian had joined the Montanists, and his powerful eloquence was a loss to the Catholics not easily to be replaced. Greece, in particular, swarmed with heretics; and the assistance of Origen was

requested in exposing and refuting their statements. Illyria, the Dioecese of which Greece was a part, was then in the Patriarchate of Rome, though afterwards transferred to that of Constantinople; so that Origen's fame must have extended far and wide, or an unordained member of a totally different Patriarchate would scarcely have been summoned. He requested leave from Demetrius, who not only consented, but gave him recommendatory letters, with which he passed into Palestine. In relating the difference which followed, a most undeserved imputation has been attached by ecclesiastical historians to the character of the Bishop of Alexandria. No sooner had Origen reached Caesarea, than Theoctistus and Alexander, whom we have mentioned before, ordained him Priest. Demetrius was naturally indignant; and if it had been kinder still to conceal Origen's early fault, we cannot wonder that the uncanonical nature of his ordination induced the Bishop to publish it, by way of proving it altogether irregular, and contrary to ecclesiastical discipline. For by the Apostolical Constitutions it was forbidden to ordain such as Origen; and the prohibition was repeated in the Council of Nicaea. Alexander, in reply, stated that his ground for ordaining Origen was the letter of recommendation which Demetrius himself had furnished. We are not informed of the rejoinder of the latter, but he might well have urged that his letters were given for the purpose of procuring a friendly reception for Origen, not to be used as passports to the Priesthood; and that, although the Bishops of Palestine might not be aware of the canonical incapacity for ordination of him on whom they had laid their hands, Origen himself was, and had therefore incurred the triple fault of deceiving them, and acting contrary, in two particulars, to the Canon.

In the meantime, the cause of this dispute proceeded on his mission, and having accomplished his work in Greece, returned by Ephesus to Alexandria, hoping perhaps to find Demetrius more favourably disposed, and trusting to the influence of time in softening down his anger. If such were his hopes, they were fallacious. The Bishop retained an undiminished sense of his fault, and determined to take public notice of it. He assembled a Council, and laid before them not only the irregularity of Origen's Ordination, but a series of errors extracted from his writings. The latter must have presented a formidable appearance, as the works which he composed during his residence at Alexandria comprised his four books on Principles, known to us almost entirely through the translation of Rufinus, who has softened down some of the most obnoxious expressions; five books of his Commentary on S. John; eight of that on Genesis; an exposition of the first twenty-five Psalms, and of the Lamentations of Jeremiah; two books on the Resurrection, and ten of Stromateis, in imitation of those of his master Clement. The Council having examined the extracts submitted to it from the works of Origen, unanimously condemned them, and Demetrius not only forbade their author to teach, but even to reside, in Alexandria. Origen, leaving his school to the care of his disciple Heraclas, retired to Caesarea. Demetrius shortly afterwards assembled another Council, in which, with the consent of the Bishops, he proceeded to the length of deposing and excommunicating Origen; Heraclas was present, and subscribed the sentence.

It is not wonderful that in later ages the traditions of the Alexandrine Churchy as well Catholic as Jacobite, should have branded Origen with the title of magician. The



Catholic writers of that country, not possessing his works, nor having been aware of the really great and excellent points in his character, knowing that S. Cyril, whose memory is deservedly precious among both the Orthodox and Monophysites, was a bitter enemy of both Origen and his followers, considering also the edict of Justinian, in which the latter were condemned, as possessing the same weight as the decree of an Ecumenical Council, have naturally loaded with every kind of calumny the memory of one whom they were thus from their births taught to hate, while Demetrius, his opponent, is reckoned among the Saints.

The days of this Prelate were now drawing to a close; and his last moments were embittered by the knowledge that his sentence of deposition and excommunication was disregarded by the Bishops of Palestine. By them Origen was, as before, invited to preach; his disciples were numerous: the most illustrious among them were Theodorus, afterwards known by the name of S. Gregory the Wonderworker, from his astonishing miracles, and Tryphon the philosopher.

Alexandrian writers affirm Demetrius to have been, in a supernatural degree, possessed of the power of knowing the hearts of those who came to the Holy Communion; and assert that an extraordinary degree of purity in his Church was the result. What is more certain is, that he wrote to the other Patriarchs on the Paschal computation; and, from his time, as some think, it became the office as the Nicene Council made it the duty of the Bishop of Alexandria, to give notice every year on what day Easter would fall. He is also said to have invented the system of Epacts.

Having governed his Church for more than forty-two years and a half, a longer period than the Chair of S. Mark was ever filled by one Prelate with the exception of S. Athanasius, he was taken away from the evil to come, dying three years and a half before the commencement of the cruel persecution under Maximin.

### SECTION IV.

#### THE OCTAPLA

Heraclas, the former friend, and subsequent condemner of Origen, succeeded to the vacant chair. He appears to have been far advanced in years, and on that account transferred, not only the Christian school, but also the greater part of his Episcopal labours, to Dionysius, his successor. He renewed the Sentence of excommunication against Origen; and in his Canons on Penance, inveighed severely against the intercourse which Faithful carried on with proscribed heretics; among whom probably the Origenians were uppermost in his mind. Whether it were either wise or justifiable to pursue the system of Demetrius, and thus to hazard a schism between the Sees of

Caesarea and Alexandria, appears very questionable; the rather that Origen was now, by the testimony of all, exerting himself greatly for the faith. Besides carrying on his Commentaries on the Old Testament, he was labouring at his parallel arrangements of Greek versions with the Hebrew text. In his Octapla were eight columns, arranged thus:—the Hebrew in Hebrew characters; the same in Greek characters; the version of Aquila; that of Symmachus; that of the Seventy; that of Theodotion; and finally two other versions discovered by Origen himself, called the *Fifth* and *Sixth*, because their authors were unknown. The Hexapla omitted the *Fifth* and *Sixth* versions; the Tetrapla, also the two Hebrew texts. On this work the compiler was engaged twenty-eight years. He also was the means of crushing in its infancy the heresy of Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, and of bringing back its author to the True Faith. He taught that our Saviour had not existed as a separate and self-existent Person before the Incarnation.

But Heraclas was soon called upon to set an example to his flock of courage and resolution. Alexander having been murdered in his tent by the gigantic and brutal Maximin, was succeeded by him. This Goth, having discovered a conspiracy formed against him by the servants of the late emperor, among whom were several Christians, took thence occasion to commence a general persecution, which is reckoned as the Seventh; it was, however, not so sanguinary as many. It was principally directed against the Bishops and Priests; and it appears that Heraclas, to avoid its fury, retired from Alexandria. Several inhabitants, however, both of that city, and of other parts of Egypt, glorified God by their sufferings in it. On its cessation, Heraclas returned to the city. Whether it were now, or at an earlier period, that the fame of his learning induced the Ecclesiastical writer, Julius Africanus, to visit Alexandria, is not certain; whenever the event took place, it is a strong testimony to the merits of Heraclas, because Africanus was the friend of Origen.

Alexandria was fortunately no sufferer in the civil commotions which followed; the Gordians appeared as claimants of the purple in Africa, and lost their lives in the attempt; Puppenus and Balbinus assumed it, with brighter auspices, at Rome, and the head of Maximin was sent by his soldiers, engaged in the siege of Aquileia, as an acceptable present to the Senate. But the Capitoline games put an end to the lives and reigns of emperors in whose election the army had had no voice; and the young Gordian, a mere child, who had been previously made Caesar to gratify the people, succeeded. In an expedition against the Persians, Philip, Prefect of the Praetorians, excited the soldiery against him, and in spite of his earnest entreaties for a share in the empire,—for the title of Caesar,—for the Prefecture of the Praetorians,—for the government of a Province,—and lastly for life, caused him to be murdered, and assumed the purple.

Heraclas did not long survive this event; he was removed from his labours after having governed the See of Alexandria more than fifteen years. The Egyptian writers, having nothing authentic to tell of him, are reduced to put forth fables; as that he was the first Bishop of Alexandria to whom the title of Pope was given; whereas the mere student of Ecclesiastical History knows it to have been in use long before the time of Heraclas; and, originally, to have applied even to Priests,—and to have been of common use as regards Bishops. Again, it is affirmed that he created twenty new sees, a thing

most unlikely, since it is hardly probable that in his short patriarchate he should even have consecrated that number of Bishops. Of his penitential Canons, once, particularly those on conversation with heretics, of considerable reputation, nothing remains at this day.

As Origen will scarcely again appear in our pages, and as his teaching and his influence operated, both for good and for evil, on the Alexandrian Church long after his decease, it will not be out of place to touch a little on his doctrine and opinions, the rather because disputes to which they gave rise will hereafter occupy our attention. He is to be judged not by his earlier writings, nor by his familiar communications to friends; not by the interpretation of his enemies, nor as an author, the whole of whose teaching we possess; but by the works of his matured judgment, and which he himself intended for publication. Again, writing before the Council of Nicaea, he is not to be hastily condemned, should some of his statements appear to differ verbally from the Confession of the Three Hundred and Eighteen: provided it shall appear that, allowing his words that fair latitude of expression which will be conceded to them by all unprejudiced readers, they are not opposed to its meaning. How successfully Bishop Bull has vindicated the memory of Origen from the imputation of heresy, so far as regards the Divinity of the Son of God, the English scholar needs not to be told. He might, perhaps, have rendered his apology still more triumphant, (though not more convincing,) had he confined himself less entirely to the Reply to Celsus, allowedly the most satisfactory of Origen's remaining works.

His express and formal statements on the Mystery of the Adorable Trinity are not to be set aside by expressions of a more ambiguous character, and phrases which, in themselves, might receive a heterodox interpretation. That Joshua, in passing the Jordan, was a type of the very God; that the rulers, on account of the Divinity of Jesus, offered their supplications to Him; that the same Christ That spoke with the woman by the well, was the God of the humble; that it was the Son of God That said, No man shall see My Face, and live; that His also are the words to be considered, If I am a Master, where is My fear?—words which the prophet ascribes to none other than Jehovah;—that Christ is God, the Son of God, the Very Word, the Very Wisdom, the Very Verity; that he who shall say, There was a time when the Word was not, says in effect, There was a time when Wisdom was not, Truth was not, Life was not; that if the Son of God were not Eternal, neither could the Father be Eternal; that the Magi brought gifts to Him That was composed of God and mortal man; that God appeared in a human body for the benefit of our race; that God, who is above all created things, was made man; that the Father and the Son are One in identity of Will; that all things that are in the Father are in the Son;—these clear and definite assertions cannot be overthrown by teaching of more dubious orthodoxy. So that we shall endeavour to explain, or adopt in their most orthodox sense, such expressions as, that the operation of the Father extends to all things; that of the Son, as less than the Father, to such as are rational only; that of the Holy Ghost, as less than the Son, to such as are holy only; as, again, that the Son is a Second God; that the Word, compared with the Father, is not the Truth, but compared with us, the Image only of the Truth; that the Son is not the Most High God over all; that the Father, and not the Son, is to be addressed in prayer; that the Father and the Son

are hypostatically Two, it being usual, in the time of Origen, to use hypostasis in the sense of substance.

Again, with respect to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the statements of Origen are, in many places, clearly and formally the orthodox. If the soul, he writes, have not God, if it have not the Son, saying, I and the Father will come unto him, and make Our abode in him, if it have not the Holy Ghost, that soul is deserted; but it is inhabited when it is full of God. The Jews, he says, appeared to thirst after God, the only Fountain of Waters, but because they thirsted not after Christ and the Holy Ghost, neither can they drink of God. In like manner he speaks of the Trinity That rules all things, the Trinity That is to be adored: and yet, in other places, he seems, as we have seen above, to deny the co-equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father.

On the subject of the Incarnation, Origen's doctrine can hardly be accused of heresy; and if exposed to a charge of error, it is easy to explain how that error arose, and to define how far it extends. That the Word, Consubstantial with God, on the as touching Deity, is Consubstantial with man as touching humanity—that the Hypostatical Union is everlasting,—that the Two Natures yet remain unmixed and unconfounded; that Christ really and verily died, really and verily ascended into Heaven in our flesh, and in our flesh sitteth at the Right Hand of God;—these things are almost as clearly asserted by Origen, as by S. Cyril or S. Leo. His occasional obscurity and appearance of heterodoxy arises from his belief in the pre-existence of souls; whence it followed, in his judgment, that there was an union of the Word with the human soul, before the union of the Word with the body. This doctrine, though erroneous, is not heretical; for Origen most carefully guards himself against appearing to teach that there was a time when the Soul of Christ was not hypostatically united to the Divine Word : nay, he clearly deduces Its sanctity and impeccability from that perpetual hypostatical union.

But the warmest admirers of Origen must be contented if they can vindicate him from the charge of grave heresy; for the errors and absurdities which abound in his earlier writings, and more especially in his treatise *Peri Archon*, are too manifest to be denied, and too gross to be excused. That God created in the beginning a certain number of pure spirits, capable of retaining their original holiness, but also capable of falling,—that the greater part of these spirits actually have fallen,—that according to their degrees of guilt they were his errors, punished by being united to matter more or less gross,—that accordingly some became angels, some stars, and others men; that the Blessed are still exposed to the liability of sin, and that, on the other hand, Satan will one day repent and be pardoned, so that God shall be All in All:—these are but some of the many doctrines which, however hypothetically proposed, have rendered the authority of Origen so small, and have exposed him to suspicion of, and condemnation for, heresy in matters of graver import.

It is a curious, and not unprofitable, inquiry, in what degree, and to what effect, the authority of Origen influenced the subsequent history of the Alexandrian Church. Notwithstanding his general condemnation, in after ages, both by East and West, and the more particular odium which attached to his name in Egypt, his influence, (or rather

that of his school), pervaded the Church of that country in a manner of which, at the time, his adversaries and his supporters were alike unconscious. In reading the works of Origen, we are not to consider his tenets and opinions as those of one isolated Doctor;—they are rather an embodiment of the doctrines handed down in the Catechetical School of Alexandria. And this school was the type, or model, according to which the mind of the Alexandrian Church was cast: the philosophy of Pantaenus descended to Clemens,—and from him it was caught by Origen. Heraclas, though opposed to the principles of the latter, gave evident tokens of having unconsciously imbibed them:—and, still later, Pierius was known as the second Origen.

The truth is, that in every people there is a national tendency to carry certain doctrines to an extreme length: an hereditary predisposition, so to speak, to a particular heresy. Thus, the English Church has, from its earliest infancy, evinced a tendency to Pelagianism, and the Ethiopic to Judaism. Now, the two great forms into which heresy has divided itself in all ages, have been rationalism, and that which, for want of a better term, we may call spiritualism, or mysticism. Under the former division we may class Arianism, and Nestorianism; under the latter, Sabellianism, Monophysitism, and Monothelitism. To the one, the Church of Antioch was given from the earliest times; to the other, that of Alexandria. Now of this class was the mind of Origen, the mortal enemy of rationalism, and of all the heresies springing up from it. And Egypt never gave way to any such: and from Egypt arose the Doctors by whom they were overthrown: Arianism by S. Athanasius, Nestorianism by S. Cyril. But to mysticism it fell an easy prey. The head-quarters of Sabellianism were fixed in the Pentapolis; and S. Dionysius, who first exposed that heresy, was not an Egyptian by birth or education. But when, in that exposure, he himself appeared to rationalise, his Dioecese was up in arms against the innovation in doctrine. Again:—we may wonder that Apollinaris, the forerunner of Eutychianism, should have risen in Syria, till we remember that his father, the elder Apollinaris, was born and bred in Alexandria. In the same manner Alexandria yielded to the teaching of Dioscorus; while that heresy as well as Monothelitism was first detected and exposed in the rationalistic city of Constantinople.

It is therefore certain, that the same principle which dictated the Angelic theories of Origen, gave birth to the subtle heresy of the Jacobites, and the still more refined poison of Monothelitism. But it is also true that the same tendency, subject in this instance to Catholic authority, produced a S. Athanasius and a S. Cyril. The tendency, in itself, one way or the other, is neither good nor bad; the greatest saints have given proofs of sharing it. S. Chrysostom could not have been a Monophysite, nor S. Cyril a Nestorian.

Nor is it any objection to urge, that the doctrine of Origen has been accused of Arianism, but never of Sabellianism, and that it was actually appealed to by the Arians in defence of their tenets. It is the property of heresy, that apparently opposing forms should be, in the long run, identical. Thus, nothing can, at first sight, seem more directly contrary to Arianism than Nestorianism; yet, in truth, the result of both is the same. — And, indeed, there are passages in the writings of Origen, of an apparently Sabellian tendency, which have not received the consideration, nor been thought worthy of the explanation, that they merit.

In short, Origen's claim to orthodoxy will probably remain an enigma until the end of all things. He can hardly be accused of heresy whom S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory Nyssen, have defended; — he can hardly be acquitted of it whom so many synods, if not a General Council, have condemned.

### SECTION V

#### THE DECIAN PERSECUTION AND ITS RESULTS.

If we may believe the Egyptian writers, Dionysius, who had for some time past performed the duties of the Episcopate, and who now succeeded to its possession, A.D. 247, had been brought up a Pagan, and was deeply skilled in astrology. It happened that the Epistles of S. Paul were one day lent to him by a poor woman who had embraced the True Faith; and a perusal of them induced him not only to purchase the volume, but to make inquiry whether the Christians were in possession of other works that bore a similar character. The woman advised him to apply to the Priests of the Church; and, on his complying with her advice, the books which they lent, and the instructions which they gave him, were made the means of his conversion.

The new Bishop, a Sabaite by birth, that is, as appears probable, an Arabian, was a man of good family, but an idolater. On his conversion he studied under Origen, for whom he always retained a sincere attachment. At a later period he addressed to him, when suffering for the Faith of Christ, a consolatory treatise;—thus repaying to him the same comfort that he had love to so often given to others. On the death of Origen, Dionysius addressed an eulogy on his character to that Theoctistus, Bishop of Caesarea, whom we have already had occasion to notice.

Dionysius was a man of universal learning; and the first of those great Fathers by whom the throne of Alexandria was rendered so illustrious. As, like all the Masters of the Catechetical school, he had joined the study of philosophy to that of Theology, he was the means of bringing many Pagans to a knowledge of the Truth; and he was particularly conversant with the writings of heretics, and had an inexhaustible treasure of arguments against their various perversions of the truth.

“I was at considerable pains”, he says in an epistle to Philemon, “in reading the books and acquainting myself with the traditions of the heretics. I thus, for the moment, polluted my soul with their most vile devices; but I obtained this advantage from them,—the confuting them in my own mind, and the abominating them much more than I had previously done. There was a certain brother among the presbyters who was for hindering me from this practice; and who feared that I should be contaminated with the



same pollution of wickedness. My own mind, he said, would be injured; and I thought that he was speaking the truth. A vision, however, sent from God, came and confirmed me; and a word spoken to me expressly commanded me thus: ‘Study everything that shall come into thine hands; for thou art capable of examining and proving all things’; and this habit of reading was, at the beginning, the occasion even of thy believing. I received the vision, as consonant with the apostolic exhortation to them that have powerful minds,—*Be ye wise bankers*”.

On his accession to the Episcopate, he resigned the charge of the school into the hands of Clemens, the second Master of that name. It would appear that, before his consecration, Dionysius had been married.

Philip is believed to have been a Christian, at least in creed; the means by which he attained the Empire show him to have been entirely uninfluenced by the spirit of the True Faith. But the Church, with a single exception, enjoyed a profound repose during the whole of his reign;—that single exception occurred in Alexandria. In the winter of A.D. 249, the populace were excited against the Christians by a man, who united Alexandria: the professions of poet and soothsayer. The particulars of the persecution are preserved in an epistle written by Dionysius to Fabius of Antioch.

Metras, an aged man, was the first victim. The populace seized him, and insisted on his blaspheming Christ; on his refusal, they fell upon him with clubs, tore his face and eyes with sharp reeds, cast him out of Alexandria, and stoned him. A few days after they drew a woman named Quinta into a temple, and on her refusing with horror to adore the idol which it contained, they bound her by the feet, dragged her over the rough pavement of the city to the place where S. Metras had suffered, and stoned her. This second martyrdom was the signal for a general attack on the Christians. Their houses were assaulted; their goods thrown into the street and burnt; themselves insulted, and forced either to hide themselves or to leave the city. Dionysius escaped unharmed; and had to bewail the apostasy of but one from his flock. S. Apollonia, who had devoted herself to virginity, and had attained a great age, was seized by the Pagans, who, after brutally striking her on the face till her teeth fell out, threatened her with being burnt alive, having lighted a fire for the purpose, unless she would praise the gods. She appeared to hesitate, and the persecutors imagining themselves successful, loosed her; but she only availed herself of freedom to show her constancy and courage, by entering of her own accord the blazing pile. They then beset the house of Serapion, attacked him as he sat by his own hearth, tortured him in a fearful manner, and having broken all his bones, carried him to the roof of the house, and thence threw him into the street. No street nor lane could be passed in safety; bands of infuriated Pagans paraded every public place, compelling those whom they met to blaspheme Christ, or burning their houses and torturing their persons. All these Martyrs are by the Western, as well as the Eastern Church, reckoned among the Saints.

This persecution seems to have lasted for nearly six months, and to have been put a stop to for a brief season by the murder of Philip, at Verona. He was succeeded by Decius, elevated to the purple in Pannonia. Immediately on his accession, the eighth persecution began; it was more terrible than any, excepting the last, and the most



successful of all. For, in the interval of peace which the Church had enjoyed, faith and love had begun to wax cold; worldliness and self-indulgence had crept in; and this to such a degree, that some of the holier Bishops gave warning, while all was yet tranquil, of the storm about to burst forth, and which they saw to be necessary for the purification of the Church.

The account which Eusebius gives us of the sufferings of the Christians at Alexandria, is the more valuable, as being extracted from the letters of Dionysius himself, fragments of which are preserved both by that historian and by S. Jerome. They were addressed, when the Church had regained her tranquillity, to Fabius, Patriarch of Antioch, Didymus, Domitius, and others.

On the first tidings of the persecution the consternation in Alexandria was dreadful. Some of those who had previously made a high profession, ran voluntarily to the altars, exclaiming that they had never been Christians, and sacrificing with alacrity; others, urged on by their neighbours, came with pale countenances and trembling limbs, amidst the jeers and mockery of the heathen, who evidently perceived them to be almost equally afraid of living by sin, or dying in torments. Others confessed the name of Christ before the magistrate, were thrown into prison, and after a few days' endurance, apostatized; others, after resisting the torture for some time, yielded to it, and offered sacrifice.

S. Dionysius gives us an account of what befell himself, prefacing his statement with an appeal to God that his story is exactly true. The Edict for persecution had no sooner reached Alexandria, than Sabinus, Augustal Prefect, dispatched a sergeant of police in search of the Prelate. The Bishop remained quietly in his house; while the party of soldiers sought him for four days, in every unlikely place, roads, rivers, and fields; but, by a divine infatuation, never thought of searching the Bishop's own habitation. On the fifth day, Dionysius received a supernatural intimation to fly; he was accompanied by his children and several of his priests. During his journey, he was made useful to some of his flock; probably in confirming their minds, and alleviating their fears.

At sunset, however, the Bishop fell into the hands of his persecutors; and, it being then not more than five or six o'clock, was examined before the magistrates, and sentenced to exile at Taposiris. This was a little city in Mareotis, about a day's journey from Alexandria. A priest named Timothy, who is by some believed to have been the Bishop's son, was absent when Dionysius left his house; on returning there towards evening, he found the place occupied by soldiers, and learnt that the Prelate had been sent to Taposiris. After hearing these tidings, he took the road to Mareotis, and the anguish that he felt was sufficiently displayed in his countenance. A countryman, whom he met, inquired the cause of his agitation. On learning the misfortune that had befallen Dionysius, the man, then going to a nuptial feast, at that time carried on through the whole night, hastened to the house where the banquet was prepared, and stated the circumstance to the assembled guests. They arose as one man, laid hands on what they could find as instruments of defence, and assaulted the house where the Bishop was confined. The guard took them for banditti, and dispersed. Dionysius, who had retired to

rest, was at first under the same mistake, and pointing to his clothes, bade them take all he had, and begone. When he discovered their real design, and perceived that they were bent on his liberation, he refused to stir; and besought them, if they were really willing to do him a service, to rid his guards of any further trouble, by cutting off his head. It was in vain that they prayed and conjured him to have pity, if not on his own life, at least on the state of his Church; he remained inflexible. They at length had recourse to actual violence; and raising him forcibly from his bed, carried him off. All those who had been with him followed; he made choice of two only, Peter and Caius, to be his companions, and with them retired into the desert till the violence of the persecution should have exhausted itself.

In the meantime its fury was unabated. Julian, an aged Christian, an inhabitant of Alexandria, was summoned to the tribunal. He was so much tormented by the gout, as to be unable to walk without the support of two assistants, and leaning on their shoulders he appeared before the judge. One of them, at the first sight of the terrible preparations, lost courage, and apostatized; the other, whose name was Cronion, but who was surnamed Eunus, together with Julian, witnessed a good confession. They were bound on camels, scourged through the whole extent of the city, and burnt alive without the gate. As they were passing to the pile, amidst the insults of the populace, a soldier named Besas protected them to the utmost of his ability; and the rabble, enraged, cried out that he deserved the same fate. He was taken before the judge; confessed himself a Christian, and was beheaded. It does not appear that he received the Sacrament of Baptism; supplied to him, in this case, according to the belief of the early Church, by the Baptism of Blood whereof he was counted worthy. Macar, a Libyan, and worthy, says S. Dionysius, of his name (which signifies blessed), was burnt alive. By the same means Epimachus and Alexander, after enduring a tedious imprisonment, the torture of the iron hooks, and scourging, were called to receive their crown. Dionysia, the mother of several children, was among the Martyrs; Ammonarium, a virgin, having declared her resolution, at the commencement of her examination, not to utter a word, was tormented long and cruelly, but without flinching from her determination. Mercuria also, and another Ammonarium, witnessed a good confession. The judge, mortified to be thus baffled by women, contented himself with causing the other prisoners of the same sex to be beheaded. Heron, Ater, and Isidorus, died gloriously for the Name of Christ. Dioscorus, a youth of fifteen years old, was brought before the magistrate in company with these elder Christians. Thinking that his tender age would make life the sweeter, and death the bitterer, the judge addressed him kindly; failing in this, he tried torture with as little effect; he then caused the three others to be tormented and finally burnt; and afterwards renewed his offers to Dioscorus, hoping that the sight of the sufferings of his friends might overcome his obstinacy. At length he ordered him to be set at liberty, giving him time, he said, to reconsider the subject; and the youth retired to Dionysius in the wilderness. Nemesion was at first accused of robbery; having repelled that charge, he was denounced as a Christian; tortured twice as much as the robbers with whom he was tried; and finally burnt with them. A short time afterwards four soldiers, and another Christian, came before the praefect; a prisoner was at that moment undergoing the torture, and his resolution was evidently failing. Advancing to a spot where he could see them, the soldiers made signs to the sufferer to hold out but for a

few moments longer, and so secure his reward. The bystanders regarded them with astonishment; but before any accusation was brought against them, they voluntarily came forward and professed themselves Christians. Wearied out with cruelty, and terrified at the wide spread of Christianity, the praefect ordered them to immediate execution; and they were hurried to it, exhibiting tokens of the liveliest joy.

But those who suffered at Alexandria were by no means the whole of the Egyptian believers who laid down their lives for the Faith. Many were torn in pieces by popular violence in the other cities; many fled to the mountains, and there perished with hunger and thirst, cold and weariness; many fell into the hands of the Arabians, and were reduced to slavery; many made their escape, but were never afterwards heard of. Among the last was Chaeremon, Bishop of Nilopolis, with his wife. Some, who were overtaken by the soldiers sent in pursuit, bribed the officer to liberate them. Ischyriion, who was the deputy of a magistrate, was commanded by him to sacrifice to idols. He refused; and after suffering, in the first instance, reproaches, in the next, ill-treatment, was thrust through by his master with a stake.

Dionysius, after giving Fabius the above account, refers to those who had fallen away in time of persecution. "Those god-like Martyrs", he says, "now the assessors of Christ, and the partners of His Kingdom, the sharers of His Judgment, and to be fellow-judges with Him, while they were on earth, received some of their brethren who had lapsed and were guilty of having sacrificed to idols, and beholding their conversion and penitence, and believing that it was acceptable to Him, Who willeth rather the repentance than the death of a sinner, admitted them to their communion. What then, my brethren, do ye advise with respect to such? What are we to do? Shall we show ourselves to be of the same opinion with the Martyrs, and uphold a matter decided, or rather a grace conferred by them, and have mercy on those that were pitied by them; or shall we render their decision null and void, and make ourselves judges of their sentence, and grieve their kindness, and overthrow appointed order, and offend God?". We shall presently see the importance of the inquiry.

In the meantime, Alexandria was not deserted. The Priests Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, are mentioned by Dionysius as having been particularly active in the city; Faustinus and Aquila in the country. Of the Deacons, Faustus, Chaeremon, and more especially Eusebius, signalized and endangered themselves by their zeal in visiting the prisoners, and in burying the dead.

It was while he was in the desert of Libya that Dionysius addressed his exhortation on Martyrdom to Origen, who was now imprisoned, had already suffered on the rack, and was threatened with death by fire. Of this work, considerable fragments remain. It commences by a statement of the brevity of all earthly sufferings; it proceeds to set forth that God, to Whom only all wisdom belongs, appoints the measure and the term of our afflictions; that though His ways are above our thoughts, yet, with Job, we shall finally acknowledge them to have been just; that by trial only can we obtain an insight into the devices of Satan; that it was from want of such experience that Eve fell so irreparably; that the enduring hardness is the one way by which we become good soldiers of Jesus Christ; that our Lord Himself has left us an example, not of apathy to

pain, but of resignation under it, not of praying that the Cup might never come, but that having come it might pass; that in His Agony we are to look for our best consolation in our own; that we are to deal with our enemies in all gentleness and meekness, even as He dealt with Judas;—and here the fragment abruptly terminates.

There was one sufferer in this persecution, whom Dionysius does not mention, and of whose name, afterwards to become so illustrious, he was probably ignorant. This was S. Paul, the first hermit. He was a native of the Lower Thebais, and was left an orphan at the age of fifteen. His property was considerable, and pains had been taken with his education. Finding himself at liberty to fix the place of his abode, he became an inmate in the family of a married sister, with whom he lived till the Decian persecution. To avoid its fury, he retired to a country house belonging to his brother-in-law; and there learnt that the latter intended to inform against him, for the sake of gaining his property. The young man was thus compelled to retire into the desert; and he soon acquired a love for the loneliness of his retreat. He frequently changed his dwelling, advancing by degrees into the wildest depths of the wilderness. At length he discovered a spot so well adapted for the life he proposed to lead, that he fixed on it as the final place of his abode. It was a cavern, the mouth of which was shaded by a palm; a fountain burst forth from the side of the hill, and entered the earth again at no great distance. The leaves of this tree afforded him his garments, and its dates his sustenance until a better method of subsistence was provided for him. He was twenty- two years old when he retired into the cave; and here he dwelt for ninety years.

The next transaction in which S. Dionysius was engaged affords a remarkable instance of the immense power tacitly claimed by, and unhesitatingly ceded to, the See of Alexandria in these early ages. The Chair of Rome was vacant, S. Fabian having received the Crown of Martyrdom on the 20th of January, A.D. 250. Such was the fury of the persecution that the Roman clergy, of whom there were then forty-six Priests and seven Deacons, found it impossible to proceed to another election; for Decius, says S. Cyprian, would sooner have allowed a competitor in his Throne than a Bishop in his metropolis.

There was at that time in Rome a priest named Novatian, originally a Stoic philosopher, then possessed by a Demon, after that baptized in illness, and never subsequently confirmed: he had been raised to his Sacerdotal rank in double violation of the Canons; for clinic Baptism and the not having received “the LORD’s Seal” were each a bar against Holy Orders. He, however, entertained the idea of raising himself to the highest station in the Church; and was confirmed in his design by the arrival of Novatus, a man of bad character, a Bishop or Priest of Africa, who was compelled, by the fear of punishment, to leave Carthage. Every effort was employed by the two adventurers to raise Novatian to the vacant Chair, but in vain; for in the month of June, A.D. 251, Cornelius was, by the unanimous consent of clergy and people, elected Bishop of Rome.

The confederates, aware that they had everything to fear from the resolute character of the new Pontiff, determined to use their utmost endeavours to procure his deposition. Novatus had, at Carthage, charged S. Cyprian with too great harshness in re-

admitting to the Communion of the Church those who had lapsed during the persecution; but he now united with Novatian in attacking Cornelius on precisely opposite grounds. Novatian attracted to his party several of those who had distinguished themselves as confessors during the Decian persecution; and to invest his cause with the fairer colours, he denied on oath that he had any intention of aspiring to that Bishopric which ought, he contended, from the crimes of its present occupier, to be declared vacant. The dispute became serious; and Dionysius, who had, as he afterwards gave proof, deeply considered the subject of the reconciliation of apostates, thought fit to interfere. He addressed two letters on the point in question; one to the faithful at Rome in general, dwelling on the virtue of penitence, as effecting a re-admission into the Church even for apostates, and exhorting all parties concerned to peace and brotherly love; the other more particularly to the Confessors. These letters appear to have been written towards the beginning of August.

In order to have a firmer ground on which to act, Novatian sent some of his disciples to three country Bishops, in a corner of Italy, informing them that urgent business required their presence in Rome. When they were come, he invited them to a banquet, where he made them eat and drink to excess; and while in this condition, at the uncanonical hour of four in the afternoon, they laid their hands on him, and consecrated him Bishop. One of these unhappy men afterwards confessed his fault, and was received by S. Cornelius to lay- communion; the two others remained impenitent; but all three were deposed.

The principal tenet of Novatian was the following: that those who had once fallen in time of persecution, could never be received into communion, whatever penance they might perform; that the Church had no power of forgiving such, and could only leave them to the infinite mercy of God. The judgment of the Catholic Church has ever been more favourable.

At this time, there was no general rule by which the reception of the lapsed was regulated. In the vacancy of the See, the Roman clergy, meeting in council, had decreed that those who, after expressing their penitence, were seized with mortal illness, should be allowed to receive the Holy Eucharist. For other cases, they decided nothing. S. Cyprian followed in the same course. That of S. Dionysius was milder. "I had given directions", he writes to Fabius, "that communion should be allowed to the dying, if they desired it, more especially if, previously to their last illness, they had requested it". Whereas, according to the Roman and Carthaginian rule, if the dying-man had during health exhibited no signs of repentance, he was to be debarred from receiving the Viaticum. The rule of S. Gregory Nyssen, a hundred and forty years later, may be taken as a specimen of a penitential more than ordinarily strict. For voluntary apostasy, the guilty person was to continue for the whole course of his life among the penitents; but even such an one was to receive the Viaticum on his death-bed; and S. Basil adds, in his penitential canons, that the communion should be given with confidence in the compassion of God. But for apostasy occasioned by the fear of death, or the infliction of torments, S. Gregory appoints only nine years' penance; and it was this species of denial of the Faith to which the schism of Novatian principally referred. The followers of this schismatic took the name of Cathari or Puritans.



Novatian, immediately after his consecration, wrote letters, as the custom was, to the principal Churches, giving them notice of his election, and pretending to have been ordained in spite of his opposition. These epistles created, in many places, great confusion. The cause of Novatian, at first sight, appeared fair, as showing zeal for the preservation of the Church's purity; and the names of those who had signed the letters carried great weight with them; since many were known to have been Confessors at Rome for the Faith, and men, therefore, not to be suspected of countenancing schism.

Cornelius, for his part, was not idle. But the missives of the two rivals were attended with different effects in the two great Eastern Sees. Fabius, then Bishop of Antioch, was inclined to the party of Novatian; Dionysius, on the contrary, replied to the letter of the schismatic in the following terms:

“Dionysius to his brother Novatian, greeting.

“If you have been compelled, against your will, [to assume the Episcopate] you will prove the truth of your account by retiring from it spontaneously. It were better to suffer all things, of what kind soever, than to cut in sunder the Church of God. And the martyrdom suffered for the sake of avoiding a schism were not less glorious than that endured for refusing to sacrifice to idols. Nay, in my judgment, it would be more illustrious; in the one case it is borne for the sake of the Martyr's own soul, in the other, for that of the whole Church. And if, even now, you can persuade or compel your brethren to return to concord, your well-doing will be greater than your fault. The latter will not be laid to your charge: the former will be spoken of to your honour. If you have no influence over them, and they refuse to obey, save at least your own soul. I pray that you may hold fast the peace that is in the Lord, and so bid you farewell”.

This letter, which was highly celebrated at the time, and for many years afterwards, produced no effect on the arch-schismatic; for he continued in his separation till his death. His schism had already begun to assume the character of a heresy, by his denial of the Power of the Keys in the case of apostacy; and he afterwards rendered it still more heterodox by extending that denial to the crimes of murder and fornication, and by condemning second marriages.

The letter of Dionysius to Novatian was written, it would seem, towards the end of August; and, in that or the ensuing month, he received an Epistle from the Roman Confessors, bewailing their error, and mentioning their return to the Church. The Council of Carthage, under S. Cyprian, had already decreed that Apostates were to be received on performing penance; though, if in Holy Orders, merely to lay-communion: its Canons were confirmed by Cornelius and sixty Bishops in the Council of Rome, where Novatian, persisting in his error, was condemned. He, for his part, dispatched Novatus into Africa, to sustain his falling party; and the absence of this man, the originator of the schism, combined with the letters of S. Dionysius and S. Cyprian, and probably the treatise of the latter on the Unity of the Church, occasioned the return of the Confessors. The Bishop of Alexandria, in the September of the same year, addressed two letters of congratulation to them on the subject.



It is plain that the Church of Rome had been in great danger of suffering a long schism. The personal authority of S. Cornelius was not sufficient to carry him through the trouble by which he was surrounded : the influence of the Confessors who were leagued against him was great; the terrors of the persecution depressed the Faithful externally as much as their own internal dissensions weakened them, and had it not been for the exertions and weight of character of Dionysius and Cyprian, the consequences to the Church might have been most pernicious. But, though Italy was now quiet, Novatianism was in danger of pervading the East. We have already mentioned that Fabius was favourably disposed to it; and to him Dionysius addressed the letter on the Decian persecution, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of its effects in Egypt, and subjoined the history of Serapion, as a manifest proof that God approved of the administration of the Holy Communion to dying penitents, even though they had been guilty of the crime of apostasy. He also addressed his own Dioecese on the same subject; and divided the penitents into different ranks, according to their various degrees of guilt. To Conon, Bishop of Hermopolis Magna, he sent a letter on the same subject; his solicitude extended itself even as far as Armenia, and he wrote to Meruzanes, Metropolitan of Sebaste, who appears to have been inclined to Novatian errors; as also to Thelymidres, then Bishop of Laodicea. The heresy appearing to make some progress at Alexandria, Dionysius addressed to his own flock a most elaborate letter, which appears to have been successful in preventing the perversion of the faithful.

Fabius, however, was not convinced by the epistle which he had received from Dionysius; nor yet by four or five written to him by S. Cornelius of Rome. And the persecution lulling for a short time on the death of Decius, and succession of Gallus, he took the opportunity of convoking a Council at Antioch to consider and to decide the question. To this Dionysius was summoned by several Prelates, among whom were the celebrated Firmilian, and Theoctistus of Caesarea, whom it is pleasant thus to find in friendly communication with the See of Alexandria. But the same messenger that brought the summons, brought also the tidings of the decease of Fabius, and the accession of Demetrian. On the eve of going to Antioch, Dionysius informed Cornelius of these events; and, together with this letter, he dispatched one of brotherly communion to the Church of Rome.

The Council was held under the presidency, it seems, of the new Bishop of Antioch; and after the reading of the letter in which Pope Cornelius explained the history of Novatian, and the Acts of the Council of Rome, the schismatic was condemned as favouring sin, by rendering repentance unavailing.

It must have been either during his absence from, or immediately after his return to, Egypt, that Dionysius heard of the decease of Origen, who, worn out with years and labours, was called, as it is not unreasonable to hope, to receive the forgiveness of his errors, and the reward of his sufferings. The Church of Alexandria, as it is plain from the treatise addressed to him by her Bishop, had long ceased to regard him as excommunicated.

## SECTION VI.

### THE MILLENARIAN CONTROVERSY.

That, on his return from Antioch, Dionysius visited Alexandria, it seems natural to conclude; though we have no certain evidence of the fact. It was at the same time (A.D. 252) that the great pestilence, which lasted, with intermissions, fifteen years, and of which we shall have further occasion to speak, spread from Ethiopia into Egypt, and thence over a large portion of the Roman Empire.

It does not appear that the persecution of Gallus extended into Egypt; and the afflicted Church of Alexandria had time to breathe. Dionysius, in visiting his Dioecese, had arrived at Arsinoe, when he found that city and the surrounding villages under the influence of an opinion which threatened, if not checked in time, to degenerate into heresy. A belief had existed, from the earliest ages of the Church, and had numbered among its adherents Cerinthus and Papias, that, after the General Resurrection, Christ would personally reign on earth; that for the space of a thousand years His Saints, under that dominion, would enjoy all corporal, as well as spiritual delights;—and that in this sense the predictions and descriptions of the Apocalypse were to be understood. Nepos, a of Arsinoe, had adopted these tenets; and as his character both for learning and holiness stood justly high, his teaching was received with avidity, and a party speedily formed itself in his favour. The Millenarians, or Chiliasts, however, were not unopposed; and to support his views, Nepos composed a work which his followers regarded as an impregnable bulwark of his doctrine. As his opponents insisted that the Apocalypse, in those portions which he brought forward, was to be understood in a typical sense only, he entitled his treatise, *A Confutation of Allegorists*. The arguments were ingenious, the language persuasive; and it is not wonderful that the essay should have been considered unanswerable.

Nepos, however, had before the period of which we write been taken from the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a faithful, laborious, and learned prelate; and endeared to his flock by the many hymns that he had composed for their use. After his death, those who held his sentiments began to and then separate themselves from the communion of others; and, led on by one Coracion, to denounce the rest of the faithful as heterodox.

S. Dionysius, whose account of the transaction is preserved to us by Eusebius, on his arrival at Arsinoe, called together the Priests and Deacons of that city and of the neighbouring villages, and, in general, such of the faithful as chose to attend, and proposed that the matter should be quietly and candidly discussed, and the treatise of Nepos more particularly examined. For Nepos himself he professed to entertain the highest respect; both for his piety and his talents, and, more especially, he added, since he had already fallen asleep. It was unanimously agreed that his advice should be

followed; and for three days continuously, from morning till evening, the good Patriarch sat in the midst of the Priests, reading and commenting on the work of the deceased Prelate, receiving and replying to objections, giving to all arguments their due consideration, and modifying his own opinions, or confessing himself to be wrong, if his opponents seemed to have truth, in any matter, on their side. He relates that he admired the moderation, intelligence, and docility of his auditors; their unfeigned anxiety to attain the truth, and the order and propriety which they observed during the whole discussion. At the end of the three days, Coracion declared himself convinced; and promised that he never more by writing or word of mouth would uphold the doctrine of Nepos. Thus, by the truly evangelical conduct of this great Prelate, the schism was nipped in the bud.

The Patriarch, however, thought fit to confute it in writing, as he had already done in conversation; the rather, that the Treatise against Allegorists had been dispersed through many parts of Egypt. This gave rise to his Treatise on the Promises, in which he relates the circumstances that we have just recounted.

In treating of the Apocalypse, as the only portion of Scripture on which Nepos had founded his hypothesis, the writer's singular reverence and modesty may well account for the equally rare and happy result of the Arsinoitan Conference. He was evidently inclined to believe the authority of the Book of Revelation doubtful. "But", says he, "I should not venture to reject it, when so many of our brethren highly esteem it. I believe that it is above the capacity of my intellect, and consider that it contains a certain hidden and marvellous explanation of all things that it sets forth. For though I understand it not, yet I suspect that there lies in it a sense deeper than words; I measure it not, and judge it not, by my own reason but allowing faith more room, am of opinion that its contents are too lofty for my comprehension. I condemn not that which I cannot understand; I rather admire it the more, because I cannot fathom it".

He then enters into an examination of the book, which we no longer possess; and having shown that it cannot possibly be understood in the literal sense, he proceeds to argue, that though composed by an inspired writer, it had not S. John the Evangelist for its author. His principal proof is drawn from the fact that, while the Evangelist shrinks, in his Gospel, from naming himself, and in his three epistles designates himself only from his character, or not at all, the writer of the Apocalypse seems to bring his name forward, on every occasion where the subject allows him to do so. "He sent and signified it by His Angel to His servant John";—"John, to the seven Churches which are in Asia";—"I John, who am your brother and companion in labour"; "I John saw these things and heard them". From the various phrases employed, in the Gospel and the Apocalypse, and their different degrees of grammatical correctness, he arrives at the same conclusion.

There appears no reason to believe, that Dionysius found it necessary to summon a Council on the subject of Millenarian errors; — and that a Provincial Synod condemned and deposed Nepos, after his death, which has been asserted by some writers, is evidently a fable.

We now enter on the consideration of a more important controversy; and shall find the conduct of S. Dionysius marked, during its course, with the same moderation and love of peace that had distinguished him at Arsinoe.

### SECTION VII.

#### QUESTION OF REBAPTISM.

It will be proper, though by so doing we a little deviate from the strict order of time, to give a concise and uninterrupted view of the unhappy division that arose on the question of reiterated Baptism:—and of the share that Dionysius took in its discussion.

Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, had in a synod of African Bishops decreed, in violation of Apostolic tradition, that Baptism could not be validly conferred by those who were out of the pale of the Catholic Church; that heretical Baptism was, consequently, null and void;—and that such as had received none other should, on entering the Church, be re-baptized. More than fifty years afterwards, this question was again mooted in Africa; and eighteen Bishops of Numidia, uncertain as to their proper duty, consulted S. Cyprian, who then occupied the Chair of Carthage. That Father happened at the time when their letter arrived, to be holding a Council, which was attended by thirty-one Prelates; and they, in a synodical epistle, replied to the inquiry of their brethren. The tradition of the African Church, they said, was to be observed; the Council of Agrippinus had decided the matter. S. Cyprian replied in a similar strain to the same question, after the dissolution of the Council; but without entirely satisfying the doubts that had arisen in his province.

He therefore judged it expedient to summon another and more numerous Synod of the Bishops of Africa and Numidia; and seventy-one Prelates assembled at Carthage in the early part of A.D. 256. The decrees of the former Council were confirmed in this; and a synodical epistle was addressed to S. Stephen of Rome, informing him of the decision of the African Church, and requesting his confirmation of their Acts. Stephen, though afterwards a glorious Martyr, was evidently a man of hasty temper; and he replied by an angry letter, in which, not content with exposing the fault of receding from an Apostolic tradition, he threatened the African Bishops with excommunication, if they persisted in their sentiments.

S. Cyprian, undaunted by the reception of this epistle, convoked a third Council on the same subject; and used his utmost endeavours that it should be as numerously attended as was possible. Eighty-five Bishops were present; and the decision of Agrippinus was a third time confirmed as well by their own subscriptions, as by that of two absent brethren, whose proxies were given to the Synod. The Acts of this Council

were dispatched to Rome under the care of some of the Fathers. But Stephen refused to see the messengers; he forbade the Rupture faithful of Italy to show them any hospitality; and commanded them to return without loss of time to Africa, and to inform their brethren that, unless they acknowledged their error, he should proceed to the threatened excommunication.

S. Cyprian, finding that the African Church was unable to carry its point, looked round him for assistance. He knew that his opinion was prevalent in the East; that the Councils of Iconium and Synnada, holden in or about the year 230, had ordered iteration of Baptism; and that some of the most eminent among the Oriental Prelates, as S. Firmilian of Caesarea, and Helenus of Tarsus, had incurred the displeasure of Stephen by their adherence to the decrees of those Synods. To Firmilian, then, Cyprian wrote; consulting him on the steps which it might be proper to pursue under the present emergency, when their common cause was in danger, and when the See of Rome appeared to be stretching its prerogatives too far.

It has been conjectured that, in this letter, which no longer exists, S. Cyprian had requested Firmilian to interest Dionysius in the matter. With Firmilian, the Bishop of Alexandria must have been personally acquainted; for they had met in the Council of Antioch; of Cyprian, he seems to have had no more intimate knowledge than that necessarily arising from the high station and well-known character of each Prelate. It would seem, however, that Stephen himself was the first to bring the subject before Dionysius. The latter, in his reply, earnestly requested the Pope to proceed with moderation, and not to disturb the peace of the Church, then, as he relates at length, but just recovering from the Novatian schism, by any harsh decision with respect to the African and Oriental Prelates. At the same time he wrote to Dionysius and Philemon, who had consulted him on the same subject; they were then Priests of the Church of Rome; and the former afterwards attained to the Chair of S. Peter.

S. Cyprian and S. Stephen, though they could not agree on a matter of minor importance, were united by a glorious and nearly contemporary Martyrdom in the persecution of Valerian. To S. Sixtus, the successor of Stephen, Dionysius again wrote; and a second time urged the necessity of union and mutual forbearance. To Philemon and Dionysius he also addressed two other letters; and in the former, speaking of the subject in question, he affirms (what none can doubt), that the tradition which he had ‘from the blessed Pope Heraclas’ was to require renunciation of error, and profession of Faith, but not to re baptize those, who having been baptized in the Church, had been seduced to heresy, and had then rejoined themselves to Catholic Communion. And in a second letter to S. Sixtus, he relates the following tale:

“One of the brethren, who gather together in the church, and who had long been accounted a member of the congregation before my ordination, or even, as I think, that of the blessed Heraclas, happened to be present at a Baptism. When he had heard the questions which were put to, and the answers received from, the candidates, he came to me weeping and bemoaning himself; and falling at my feet, he confessed and abjured the Baptism which he had received among the heretics, as not being of the same kind, nor having any the remotest resemblance to it; rather, he affirmed, it was full of impiety

and blasphemy. His soul, he said, was filled with the most bitter remorse; nor did he dare to lift up his eyes to God, since the commencement of his Christian life had been those unholy words and actions. He therefore besought me to bestow on him that most pure laver and adoption and grace. This I dared not to do: saying that his long continued communion was sufficient. I bade him be of good courage and approach with an untroubled conscience to the participation of the Holy Mysteries. He, however, continues to mourn; he shudders to approach the Table, and hardly, though exhorted, dares to assist at the prayers". On these circumstances he requests the Pope's advice. Eusebius informs us that he addressed the Church of Rome again on the subject of heretical Baptism, in the name of the Church of Alexandria; and considered the question at great length.

A doubt has been raised as to the opinion which Dionysius himself entertained on the validity of heretical baptism: a question, which but for the extremely confused account given by Eusebius, after his accustomed manner, of the whole correspondence, could hardly have been agitated.

It appears clear that the views of S. Dionysius were opposed to those of the re-baptizers; but that he was for allowing each Church to act according to its own traditions. S. Jerome indeed says, that he consented to the dogma of S. Cyprian and the African Synod, and wrote many letters on the re-baptism of heretics, which were then extant. But, in the first place, it is very doubtful if that Father were in possession of more of his epistles than the fragments preserved to us by Eusebius; and, in the second, if he were, as we cannot suppose Dionysius to have contradicted himself, the lost letters must have contained the same doctrine with those which we now possess.

Now, of the five Epistles of which we have fragments remaining, the first, addressed to S. Stephen, contains nothing which can be alleged either for or against our assertion. The same may be said of the fourth, which is written to S. Dionysius of Rome. But in the second (which is the first to Pope Sixtus) he says, "Consider the importance of the subject. It has been decreed, as I am informed, in very large Synods of Bishops, that they who come over from heresy should first be instructed in the True Faith, and then be washed and purged from the filth of their impure leaven". And again, in the third Epistle, which is to Philemon:—"I have learnt this also,—that this custom was not now introduced for the first time, nor in the African Church alone; but long before this, under Bishops who have preceded us, and in very populous Churches; and that it approved itself to the Synods holden at Iconium and Synnada, and to many of the brethren. Whose decisions if you overthrow, I cannot bear that they should be thrown into strife and contention. For it is written: Thou shalt not remove the landmarks of thy neighbour, which thy fathers have set"

These fragments, if they at first sight seem to countenance S. Jerome's assertion, appear, on a little closer consideration, to be nothing more than a deprecation of too harsh a mode of vindicating what Dionysius allowed to be the true doctrine. True, he seems to say to the Roman Pontiff and his Presbyter, you have right on your side; but recollect by how many Bishops, and for how long a time, the opposite notion has been



received, and do not plunge the Church into confusion by excommunicating the re-baptizers as if guilty of heresy.

The story which we have above quoted from the second letter of Dionysius to S. Sixtus leads us to the same conclusion. That Prelate certainly doubted whether the baptism were valid that had been received by the aged man of whom he speaks; but clearly he doubted this, not because it was conferred by heretical hands, but because it was conferred in an heretical way. This baptism, we are expressly told, was in no respect similar to that of the Catholics. If then, even in such an extreme case, Dionysius doubted of the propriety of re-baptism, a case in which every Council that treated the subject commanded reiteration, how strongly must he have been opposed to a second Baptism, when the rite had been administered, though by heretics, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!

It is objected that S. Dionysius himself assigns another reason for refusing in this case, to re-baptize,—namely, that the aged man who applied to him had made good his want of baptism, by his long enjoyment of the Communion of the Church. This, however, seems rather an argument addressed to the inquirer himself, than a reason brought forward for the consideration of the Pope. Be it so, he seems to say: consider, if you will, your heretical Baptism invalid. But be of good cheer, nevertheless; it has been supplied to you by your frequent participation in the Divine Mysteries. To conclude: in the case before us, is there any doubt that S. Cyprian would have re-baptized the individual without further hesitation?

One thing more we learn from this account. It appears clear from it that, as early as the time of Demetrius, the practice of the Alexandrian Church was opposed to the iteration of Baptism, or the layman of whom Dionysius writes would not, in the first instance, have been received without it. And whatever authority the testimony of S. Jerome may be supposed to have, it cannot possess more weight than that of S. Basil, who expressly affirms that Dionysius allowed the validity of heretical Baptism, and adds his astonishment that so great a master of canonical learning should not even have rejected that of the Pepuzenes; although, says he, they baptized into the Father, and the Son, and Montanus and Priscilla. By this he simply intends to say that by the Holy Ghost they meant the Spirit that had animated Montanus and Priscilla, and of whom, indeed, Montanus professed to be an incarnation.

The controversy, for the time, remained undecided; or rather, the increasing fury of the persecution of Valerian removed the principal disputants to that Place where there are no more controversies. It was decided by the Council of Nicaea; and before that period, iteration of Baptism was virtually abandoned by all, except a few of the Numidian Prelates. The interference of S. Dionysius seems not to have been without its effect; and to it we may ascribe the abstinence of Stephen from excommunicating S. Firmilian and the African Bishops.

### SECT. VIII.

#### VALERIAN PERSECUTES THE CHURCH (A.D.257)

The controversy on Baptism was yet at its height when an unexpected calamity overwhelmed the Church. Valerian, who had hitherto favoured Christianity in a remarkable degree, insomuch, says Dionysius, that not even those who were openly said to be Christians, (that is, Philip and Alexander Severus,) proved themselves warmer friends to its professors, now altered his conduct and commenced that persecution which is usually reckoned as the Ninth. To this change he was incited by Macrianus, a man whose wealth, experience, and military talents, gave him influence second only to that of the emperor. He had been informed by an Egyptian astrologer, that he should one day succeed to the Imperial Throne:—and he, in consequence, took on himself the patronage of the whole tribe of soothsayers and prognosticators. As the Church ceased not to proclaim the abandoned character of these men, and the unlawful nature of their art, Macrianus determined to revenge himself on those that had insulted and injured his favourites.

As soon as the edict of persecution reached Alexandria, Dionysius was summoned before Aemilian, Augustal Prefect. He was not left to face his trial alone. Maximus, then one of his priests, afterwards his successor, accompanied him to the tribunal: so also did three deacons: and a Christian from Rome, named Marcellus, who happened to be at Alexandria, went with the Patriarch to the Augustal. Of the good confession that these servants of Christ then witnessed, we have an account from the pen of Dionysius, who, however, with characteristic modesty, chooses rather to transcribe the public Acts, than to relate his answers from his own remembrance.

“Aemilian, the Prefect, said:—I now, by word of mouth, as heretofore by writing, set before you the clemency of our princes. They give you the power of preserving your lives, if you will turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and adore the gods that preserve their empire, and forget that which is contrary to nature. What say you to this? I expect that you will not be unthankful with respect to their kindness, since, assuredly, they are for turning you to a better course. Dionysius answered:—All men do not adore the same divinities, but each worships those whom he considers to be gods. We reverence and adore One God, the Maker of all things, Who gave the empire into the hands of Valerian and Gallienus, beloved of God, and to Him we pray continually, that their government may remain unshaken. Aemilian, the Prefect, said to them: Who hinders you adoring Him also, if, as you say, He is God, together with those that are by nature gods? You have been commanded to worship the gods, and such gods as all own. Dionysius said: We adore none other. Aemilian, the Prefect, said to them: I see that you are at once ungrateful for, and unconscious of, the clemency of our Augusti. Therefore you shall not remain in this city, but shall be sent into Libya, to the place called Kefro. I have chosen this spot as directed by the Augusti. But it shall in no

manner be lawful for you, nor for any else, to hold assemblies, nor to enter into the so called cemeteries. If any one shall be convicted of not going to the place which I have mentioned, or shall be found in any assembly, he shall bring danger on his own head, and the fitting animadversion shall not be wanting. Depart then whither you have been commanded”.

Kefro, or, as the Arabians call it, Valorri, lay in the wilds of Libya; and thither Dionysius, though labouring under illness, was at once hurried. A large body of Christians accompanied him thither; some from Alexandria, others from various other parts of Egypt. The Gospel had not hitherto been preached in this place; and there, to use the Patriarch’ own words, the Lord opened a great door for the Word. For though the little band of believers were reviled and exposed to personal violence, before long a large number of the heathen left the worship of idols, and gave their names to Christ. God had evidently led His servants to that place, to be the founders of a flourishing Church; and when that ministry was fulfilled, he conducted them to another spot. Among the Bishop’s fellow exiles, we have already spoken of Maximus. The deacon Eusebius, having been sent into Syria to oppose the heresy of Paul of Samosata, was there made Bishop of Laodicea, and the deacon Faustus, in extreme old age, finished his course by martyrdom under Diocletian.

Aemilian, hearing of the progress that the Faith was making at Kefro, gave orders that Dionysius should be removed to Coluthion, a city of Mareotis. The Bishop confesses that he thence to was much annoyed on receiving this intimation: the place was infested by robbers, and tenanted by a wild race. His friends, however, represented that it was nearer to Alexandria; that if at Kefro the resort of Christians had been great, the inhabitants of the metropolis would flock to Coluthion as to a suburb; that the change was evidently designed, by the Head of the Church, for its good. And so it fell out.

While Dionysius was thus enacting the part of a brave and vigilant pastor, and towards the end of the persecution, he was exposed to considerable annoyance by Germanus, an Egyptian Bishop, though it is uncertain in what See. Germans accused the Patriarch of general carelessness and remissness in his pastoral duties, but more especially of neglecting, during the time of his exile, to assemble for worship the Christians who were with him. Dionysius replied by the letter, to which we are indebted for the particulars which have reached us of his behaviour, during both the persecution of Decius and that of Valerian.

At the same time, he was engaged in writing other letters, both regarding his own Church, and that of other countries. He was in correspondence with S. Sixtus on the Baptismal question: we find him also addressing the presbytery of the Alexandrian Church, during the greatest violence of the persecution. Two other letters, respectively addressed to Flavian, and to Didymus and Domitius, require a few observations.

They were Paschal letters, and, as it is supposed by some, the first of their kind. But whether S. Dionysius followed the example of his predecessors, or was the original author of the custom, it is certain that from this time, the Patriarchs of Alexandria

annually announced the date of the commencement of Lent, and of Easter Day. Custom at first, at the Council of Nicaea this became law; and many of these Paschal Epistles, especially of Theophilus, S. Cyril, and we may now add, of S. Athanasius, still remain to us. They began with a sermon on the Festival, whence they are indifferently known as Homilies or Epistles, and end with the required announcement. Those of Dionysius appear to have been addressed to various Egyptian Bishops, and not to have been possessed of, nor to have claimed, authority beyond the limits of his own Dioecese. Afterwards this office, exercised with respect to the whole Church, was a most honourable, and somewhat laborious function of the See of Alexandria.

Alexandria had been, from the first, so noted a school of Mathematics, that it is not wonderful to find its Prelates engaged in calculations connected with the Calendar. But we may justly admire the zeal displayed by Dionysius for the minuter points connected with the Service of God, when we find him, during the violence of the persecution, engaged in the composition of his Paschal Cycle. It contained a period of eight years. S. Hippolytus had already composed one of sixteen: but that of S. Dionysius was, by the Fathers of Nicaea, made the basis of a more extended cycle of nineteen years, which is known by the name of the Alexandrine. The octennial period was doubtless suggested to the Patriarch by the *Octaeterides* of Cleostratus, Harpalus, and Eudoxus. It was in his above-named Epistle to Domitius and Didymus that he promulgated this cycle; and laid down, at the same time, his celebrated Canon, that Easter cannot fall previously to the Vernal Equinox.

### SECTION IX.

#### RISE OF THE SABELLIAN HERESY

Hitherto S. Dionysius, though often well nigh overwhelmed with affliction, and suffering alike from sickness and want, from the oppression of enemies, and the calumnies of false friends, had run a course equally glorious for himself and profitable for the Church over which he presided. He had stood forth the pacificator of the East and West; he had crushed, in its rise, a dangerous heresy; he had been distinguished for his zeal in ascertaining the discipline, as well as maintaining the doctrine of the Church, and he had gloriously confessed Christ in two several persecutions. Again he was called to defend the One Faith against a new and more perilous heresy; and although, through the infirmity of human nature, he had nearly tarnished his former glory, and from an illustrious defender, become a powerful adversary of the Truth, the same meekness and humility that had made him willing to listen to the reasonings of the partisans of Nepos, rendered him ready to give ear to the admonitions of a Roman Council.

It was at the commencement of the persecution of Valerian, or perhaps even somewhat earlier, that Sabellius began to disseminate his doctrine in Pentapolis: and denying the real distinction of Persons, to annihilate the doctrine of the Ever Blessed Trinity. The heresy was not new:—it was, in effect, the same with that which had, at an earlier period, been propagated by Praxeas; and had been taught to Sabellius by his master, the heretic Noetus. In its earlier forms, it had made but little progress; but now, assuming a more definite shape, and attracting to itself the elements of congenial errors, it spread rapidly through the whole of Pentapolis. If it be true that Sabellius was Bishop of Ptolemais, as an uncertain tradition asserts, it had a firm basis whence to propagate itself: and falling in, as we have elsewhere observed, with the mystical temperament of Egyptian minds it had soon infected not only a large portion of the laity, with a considerable number of Priests, but was cherished by more than one Bishop in the neighbouring Sees, in particular, by Ammonius of Bernice. The dogma thus acquiring strength may be briefly stated as follows:—That the Father, the Son, and the Holy and Ghost are one Hypostasis; one Person with Three Names; that the same Person, in the old dispensation, as Father, gave the law; in the new, as Son, was incarnate for the sake of man; and as Holy Ghost, descended upon the Apostles at the Day of Pentecost. As the natural consequence of the dissemination of this doctrine, the Son of God was no more preached in the churches. But some there were who were valiant for the Truth of God, and who girded up their loins to contend for the Faith. They represented, in the words of S. Dionysius, that the new teaching was full of impiety and blasphemy against the Almighty God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus: full of unbelief against His Only begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, the Word, That dwelt among men; and full of madness against the Holy Ghost.

The partisans of Sabellius daily increasing, both parties appealed to Dionysius, who was then in exile at Kefro. Not content with consulting him by letter, they despatched trustworthy persons to receive his decision by word of mouth; and he listened with patience to the assertions and arguments of the contending factions. When they had concluded, he lost no time in making his decision, and in setting himself, by several letters, to oppose the new heretic. Of his proceedings, he gave an account to Sixtus of Rome, in the first Epistle which he addressed to the Pontiff on the subject of re-baptism, to which we have heretofore damns the referred. He wrote to Ammonius, who seems to have been a Prelate of talent, and one whom it was therefore important, on all accounts, to reclaim from error; to Telesphorus, and to Euphranor, who were probably also Bishops in the Pentapolis, and again to Ammonius and Euphranor conjointly.

But the last letter, instead of composing, did but excite the controversy. Since the Sabellians, confounding the Father and the Son, attributed to the former those things which referred to the Human Nature of the latter, in the same manner that the Patripassians had done before them; it was the object of Dionysius to demonstrate that what was attributed to the Humanity of Christ, could not be predicated of the Father. He thus intended to compel his adversaries to an admission of the distinction between the Persons of the Father and the Son; and this was to be considered only as the first part of his argument. He would then have demonstrated the Divinity of the Son of God; and

having confuted those that confounded the Persons, would have guarded himself against the imputation of dividing the Substance. And this method of teaching is approved by S. Athanasius.

That Father was constantly traduced by the Arians, as if he contradicted the doctrine delivered by S. Dionysius; he devoted a treatise to the consideration and refutation of their objections: and from it we obtain a fuller insight into the merits of the Pentapolitan controversy, than the meagre and somewhat unfair account of Eusebius supplies. The method pursued by Dionysius was considered by his great successor to be consonant with that employed by the Apostles. They, he says, exhibited first the Human Actions of Christ to the Jews: they thus endeavoured to convince them, from His miracles, that Messiah was come, and then, and not till then, made manifest, by the consideration of His marvellous works, that this same Messiah was their Lord and their God.

But the epistle to Ammonius and Euphranor unfortunately contained only the first portion of the Patriarch's argument. Incautiously, it would appear, Dionysius suffered himself to be hurried on in his most true assertion of the Saviour's real Personality and Humanity, to the failure of setting forth, according to the full analogy, His Consubstantiality and Divinity. He asserted nothing, so far as we now have the means of judging, that was contrary to Catholic Truth; but he did not sufficiently guard his assertions from the possibility of misconception and misrepresentation. When he was in reality speaking of the Human Nature, his enemies might say, and weaker brethren might believe, that he was speaking of the Divine. And one famous passage to the orthodox gave a handle to a formal impeachment of his orthodoxy.

“The Son of God, he wrote, was made and produced. He is not proper in His Nature, but differing, in essence, from the Father, as the vine from the husbandman, and the boat from the shipwright: for seeing that He was made. He was not before He was produced”.

These expressions of S. Dionysius occasioned no small controversy throughout Pentapolis. Some, who were entirely opposed to the doctrine of Sabellius, saw as much danger in that of Dionysius; and their zeal caused them to forget their charity.— Without writing to their own Patriarch, without considering that he might be able to explain or willing to retract that which they deemed heretical in his statements, they laid a formal complaint before S. Dionysius of Rome, who had succeeded S. Sixtus in A.D. 259. The heads of their charge were that the Bishop of Alexandria asserted the Son of God to be a creature, and refused the word and the doctrine of Consubstantiality. A Council, whether already assembled for some who, in other cause, or convoked by the Pope to decide on this, condemned without hesitation the doctrine contained in, or deduced from, the extracts submitted to them. The Bishop of Rome wrote, in their name as well as in his own, to his namesake of Alexandria, informing him both of the charges made against him, and of the decision to which the Council of Rome had come. At the same time, perhaps to vindicate himself from the suspicion of holding an opposite error, the Pontiff himself composed a work against the Sabellians.



The Bishop of Alexandria, on the receipt of these missives, found himself put, as it were, on his trial, with Rome for his accuser, and the whole Church for his judge. That he, whose whole life had been one long struggle with heresy,—he, who could look back on the time when he confirmed in the faith or disposed to unity the very Pontiff who now appeared as his opponent,—that he should thus be compelled to stand on his defence must have been a bitter task; and one which a proud spirit would probably have refused even though he had thereby plunged the whole Church into an abyss of confusion. Not so Dionysius.

He had already, it appears, addressed a letter to the Bishop of Rome on the same subject; and more particularly in defence of his unwillingness to use the word *Consubstantial*. But he now, under the title of a *Refutation and Apology*, composed four books, or epistles (for they are indifferently called by both names) against the accusations of the Pentapolitans. He complains that his accusers quoted his words in so disjointed and arbitrary a manner, that they misrepresented his sense;—that they uniformly affixed to them the worst signification, and made him say things which he was far from intending.

His adversaries had urged against him that he had asserted the Son to be different in substance from the Father; bringing forward the unhappy,—because nakedly stated,—illustration of the Vine and the Vinedresser.

He replies, that he had not used the term *Consubstantial*, as not having found it in Scripture; but that his meaning, if rightly considered, was the same with that of those who employed it; that the examples in his first letter sufficiently proved partly this, and that on this account he was grieved to be unable, at the moment, to lay his hands on a copy of it;—that as a plant differed from its root, a river from its fountain, while yet in each case, the nature of both was the same; so it was with respect to these Divine Persons.

It had been urged against him that he had asserted the Son not of necessity to be eternally existent. He answers, that what he affirmed was totally different; namely, that the Father only was self-existent, the Son existing in and by the Father; in the same manner as if the Sun were eternal its splendour would be co-eternal; yet not self-existent, but eternally derived from the Sun. He had always, he said, affirmed the eternity of the Father's existence as Father; and therefore by implication affirmed the eternity of the Son. It had also been objected that he had spoken of the Father and Son separately, as if wishing to make a division of Their substance. He answers, that in naming the Father, he implied the Son by the very title; if there were no Son, how could there be a Father? In like manner, in naming the Son, he implied the Father; if there were no Father, how could there be a Son? His opponents had said, that the Father, according to him, had created all things. He defends himself by returning that he had expressly guarded that assertion. The Father, he had affirmed, was not properly and by way of generation Father of the things which He created; therefore He had not created that of which He was properly and by way of generation Father; and therefore it followed from his statement, that the Word was uncreated.

Proceeding to another illustration, he says, that as the heart indites a good word, the thought and word yet remaining entirely distinct and unconfused, the one dwelling in the heart, the other on the lips, while yet one does not exist without the other, but the thought engenders the word, and the word exhibits the thought, and the thought is an implicit word, and the word an explicit thought, and the thought is the father of the word, and the word the child of the thought, existing with it, existing from it; even so that Great Father and Universal Mind hath before all things His Son, as His Word, Interpreter, and Angel.

This apology was considered satisfactory;—and the Bishop of Alexandria retained his reputation as the first living Doctor of the Church. Doubtless it was providentially ordered that the suspicious passages in the letter against Sabellius received so full an explanation;—otherwise that Epistle would have formed the great bulwark of the Arians in the subsequent controversy. Even as it was, they as we have seen, abused it to their own purposes;—and there have not been wanting some, and they not unable, judges who have believed him, however innocently, to have given the first hint to the then undeveloped frenzy of Arius.

### SECTION X.

#### WAR, FAMINE AND PLAGUE IN ALEXANDRIA. A.D. 260.

The exile of S. Dionysius was not of very long duration. He had himself applied to Valerian the words of the Apocalypse; “there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months”. And in fact Valerian, after persecuting the Church for three years and a half, was taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia, by whom he was treated with every indignity during a ten years’ captivity, and at last flayed alive. He was nominally succeeded by his son Gallienus, who had been associated with him in the purple; but the Roman Empire groaned under the violence of the Thirty Tyrants. Gallienus was anxious to put a stop to the persecution; but Macrianus, who with his sons, assumed the purple in the East, remained the same bitter enemy to Christianity that he had ever been. Alexandria owned allegiance to him; and the persecution continuing, Dionysius was, for the time, unable to return to his flock.

But Macrianus, marching against Aureolus, who had appeared in Illyria as a claimant of the empire, was defeated and slain by him on the borders of Thrace. Thus Egypt fell into the power of Gallienus. A rescript was immediately addressed by that emperor to Dionysius, Primus, Demetrius, and the other Bishops, permitting them to enjoy the general toleration of religious opinions, and strictly forbidding all persons to molest them on account of their belief. On this, Dionysius returned to Alexandria.

But the peace enjoyed by that Church lasted only a very short time. A quarrel broke out between the soldiery and the populace on the most trifling pretence (it is said to have arisen in a dispute between a slave and a soldier, as to whether had the better shoes). The whole city was in a state of sedition; the governor was attacked by stones, weapons, and every other missile that popular indignation supplied. Despairing of life, Aemilian, a man of parts and vigour, assumed the purple: the army supported him;—and he had soon subdued the Thebais and the whole of Egypt. He then again returned to his metropolis. Part of the city held for Gallienus, part acknowledged Aemilian: while Theodotus besieged Alexandria with the troops of Alexandria of the emperor. There were two Christians, Eusebius and Anatolius, both natives of Alexandria, and both in course of time Bishops of Laodicea, whose actions deserve to be recorded. Eusebius was a partisan of Theodotus; Anatolius among the christian followers of Aemilian. That part of the city which acknowledged Gallienus was free from any further trouble than the presence of the army necessarily occasioned; while the other portion suffered all the horrors of famine. Eusebius, who dwelt in the former, receiving information from his friend of the dreadful sufferings of which he was daily eye-witness, used his influence, which was not inconsiderable, with Theodotus, to obtain a promise of safety to any one, who would abandon the usurper, and surrender himself prisoner. He gave notice of this to Anatolius, who assembled the Senate, and proposed submission to the Romans. A tumult instantly arose; but the speaker kept his place. “At least”, said he, “let those who cannot be of any assistance to us, let the infants, the aged men, and the women, avail themselves of this promise of security. Weak by nature, exhausted by famine, what service can they render? They will but consume the corn which we should husband for the support of those who can fight in our defence”.

The Senate assented; and multitudes took advantage of this permission to escape to the enemy’s camp. The Christians, disguised as women, passed the gates and were in safety; and Eusebius took care to provide the nourishment and the medicine necessary for those who had suffered such extremity of hunger.

Aemilian possessed nine of the public granaries; and frightful famine was followed by pestilence. We have already remarked that Alexandria, since the first ravages of the plague that had visited it from Ethiopia, had never been entirely free from it. It began in autumn, and ended about the rising of the dog star. But now the new elements which unwholesome diet, want of the necessaries of life, and a crowded population, added to predisposition towards this disease, caused, its ravages to be terrible.

Easter drew on; and still on all sides raged war, famine, and disease. “It is easier”, writes Dionysius in a Paschal Epistle to Hierax, an Egyptian Bishop,—“it is easier to travel from east to west, than from one part of Alexandria to another. The heart of the city is wilder and more pathless than that vast desert, through which Israel journeyed. The river, as in the time of Moses, seems turned into blood, and fetid;—what water can cleanse the stream itself? When will the dark and clouded air become clear and serene?”—It would appear—for the words may well be taken literally—that Alexandria was enveloped in the same dense, close, murky atmosphere that is known to have accompanied so many great plagues.

At length the arms of Theodotus were crowned with success; Aemilian fell into his hands, and was strangled in prison. But, on the approach of another Easter, the plague appears to have raged with increased violence, and the subject of Dionysius's Paschal letter, addressed to the Alexandrians in general, was charity. He begins by remarking that to other men such a season would little seem the time for a festival; that every street and lane of the city was full of misery, that the multitude of funerals, and the countless numbers of the dying, seemed to fill all quarters of Alexandria,—that as of old in Egypt, so also now, there was not a house where there was not one,—and would there were only one!—dead. Nevertheless, as in times past persecution and tyranny could not prevent them from celebrating the Festivals of the Church, so that the desert, the ship, the prison became the House of God, (though none were so blessed as the Martyrs, who were banqueting in the Kingdom of Heaven), so now, in the midst of sickness and death they might share in the same holy joy. The pestilence, he observes, while it had not spared the Christians, had committed the greatest ravages among the heathen. Many of the brethren had taken their lives in their hand, and attempting for the love of Christ to cure the sick, had died with them; others had succeeded in preserving the lives of them to whom they ministered, at the expense of their own:—they had tended their persecutors, and supplied the necessities of those who had been the murderers of their brethren. Some there were, who taking up the bodies of the Saints, closing their eyes and lips, bearing them on their shoulders, washing, composing, and adorning them, had need, no long time after, that the same offices of love should be performed to themselves. The Priests and deacons especially signalized themselves in these deeds of charity;—and three of the latter, whom we have already mentioned, Faustus, Chaeremon, and Eusebius, fell victims to their love. The Pagans, on the contrary, endeavoured to avoid death at the sacrifice of every tie of domestic love; they would not visit the sick, they would not bury the dead, and yet they were unable, after all, to preserve themselves.

The Confessors, who gave their lives for their brethren, are commemorated as Martyrs on the twenty-eighth day of February. Eusebius, in the Coptic Calendar, is honoured by himself on the seventh of the same month, A.D. 265.

In the ensuing summer the plague seems to have much abated;—and in his next Paschal Epistle, which was also his last, addressed to the Christians throughout Egypt, Dionysius speaks of the city of Alexandria as at rest.

### SECTION XI.

END OF S. DIONYSIUS.

Worn out with years and with his labours for the truth, Dionysius seemed but waiting for his signal to depart and to be with Christ, which to him was far better, when it pleased God to make manifest that His servant's continuance yet a little while in the

flesh was more needful for His Church. Paul, surnamed from his native city, Samosata, (it was situated near the Euphrates under Taurus, and is now called Sempsat), had been raised, about the year 261, to the Chair of Antioch. He had not long enjoyed that dignity, when being consulted by the famous Zenobia, in whose power the East then almost entirely lay, on the doctrines of Christianity, he brought forward certain dogmas which, gradually acquiring form and consistency, appeared to the neighbouring Bishops nothing short of heresy. He taught that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, formed but one Hypostasis; that the Word and the Spirit were in the Father in the same manner that reason is in man, that is, without any real and personal existence; so that, except by a latitude of expression, it is improper to speak of either Father, Son, or Holy Spirit,—but only generally of God. The Son, he argued, must be prolatitious and without hypostasis how otherwise, such was his blasphemous sophism, could He be consubstantial with the Father? On any other hypothesis, he said, we assert three substances, and thus fall into a modified Tritheism. Nor was his life at all calculated to recommend his doctrine. He was arrogant, avaricious, and an affecter of novelties;—and the Presbyters of his own Church were thoroughly convinced of his unsoundness in doctrine, and worthlessness of character.

A Council was convoked at Antioch to consider the question. Anxious to obtain all the assistance in their power on an affair so momentous, and which might lead to the condemnation of the third Prelate in the Church, the Priests and Bishops in and near Antioch requested the attendance of S. Dionysius and S. Firmilian, as men unequalled in the East for theological learning and piety. Dionysius, then on his death-bed, exerted his remaining energy, and addressed the Fathers of Antioch in an epistle in which he vindicated the Catholic Faith:—and doubtless, as Bishop Bull beautifully speaks, that divine soul, on the eve of departing to its God, divinely expounded the true Divinity of the Saviour. But the Epistle has perished;—and the supposititious writings of Dionysius, which pretend to supply its place are a poor substitute for its loss.

The Council met; and Paul, by artifice and a profession of submission, at that time escaped. The Fathers, using the word *consubstantial* in the same sense that Paul had affixed to it, condemned it, as it is generally believe: at the same time that they set forth the Saviour's Divinity in the strongest and simplest terms. But four years later, the heterodoxy and malpractices of Paul being now undeniable, he was condemned and deposed; and Domnus substituted in his place.

While the first Council of Antioch was yet in deliberation, Dionysius was called to the joy of his Lord. In the February of 265 he fell asleep; and left behind him the reputation of peerless learning, unshaken orthodoxy, and a character that well entitled him to his usual appellation of the Great.

The loss of the writings of Dionysius is one of the greatest that has been suffered by Ecclesiastical History. Besides those that we have noticed, fragments of a Commentary on Ecclesiastes, and of a treatise against the Epicureans, on Nature, remain to us; besides an Epistle to Basileides, which is received by the Oriental Church into its body of Canons. Basileides, a Bishop in Pentapolis, had asked Dionysius at what hour the Lent fast ended. At Rome, it appears, it did not conclude till cock-crow on Easter

morning; in Egypt, it finished on the evening of Saturday. The Patriarch observes, that to fix the time exactly was impossible; that those are to be commended who keep vigil till the fourth watch, while they are not to be blamed who are compelled, by the weakness of their bodies, to repose themselves earlier; that the fast, however, was not at an end till Saturday midnight. He observes that some passed six days of Holy Week without eating,—some four, some three, some two, some not one, and while he lays down no specific rule, that he disapproves the conduct of those who make good cheer on the first four days, and think to compensate it by a strict fast on the Friday and Saturday. This canon exemplifies the wonderful rigour of these earlier ages, both in making mention of some who abstained from food during the whole week, and in simply not imputing it as a fault if any, compelled by weakness, ate daily. The second and fourth canons concern physical reasons for abstaining from the Holy Communion, and the third is on nuptial continence.

The great humility of S. Dionysius is conspicuous in the end of this epistle. You have not consulted me, says he, through ignorance, but to do me honour, and maintain peace; you will judge my observations for yourself, and let me know your decision. We may remark, as an instance of the extraordinary power of the See of Alexandria, that S. Dionysius, though twitting to a Bishop, addresses him by the title of Son, — an appellation not used in the like sense, even by Rome.

### SECTION XII.

#### S. MAXIMUS AND S. THEONAS.

Maximus, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the companion, was also the successor of S. Dionysius. The uneventful annals of this Patriarch prove that the Church of Alexandria, after her long afflictions, enjoyed some repose. The persecution of Aurelian either did not extend to, or did not rage in Egypt. The occasions on which this prelate appears in Ecclesiastical History are two only. The first is in the superscription of the synodical epistle, written by the Fathers of the Second Council of Antioch, when, as we have already seen, Paul of Samosata was deposed. That letter is addressed to Dionysius of Rome, and Maximus of Alexandria. The second is a letter written to him by S. Felix of Rome, the successor of Dionysius, on the subject of the heresy, which survived the deposition, of Paul.

Having governed his Church more than seventeen years, Maximus was called to his rest; and some internal divisions, if we may trust an obscure tradition, troubled Alexandria, which were at length composed by the elevation of Theonas to the Evangelical Chair. The new Patriarch found his flock suffering from a local persecution;



but he courageously exposed himself to public observation: and at length if we may believe Euty chius, obtained leave to build a church.

The Episcopate of this Patriarch was a time of much suffering to the Egyptians. In its ninth year, Achilleus assumed the purple at Alexandria, and held it for six years. The city was taken by Diocletian after an eight months' siege: its walls were levelled with the ground, and the usurper and many who had favoured or were suspected of favouring, his interests, put to death. The whole of Egypt suffered severely: death, exile, and fine were inflicted on many of the principal inhabitants in its various cities.

We possess an Epistle of Theonas;—and the prudence and piety which it exhibits may well make us deplore that we have but one. It was apparently written towards the beginning of the reign of Diocletian, and is addressed to Lucian, chief of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber. “The peace”, says the Bishop, “which the Churches now enjoy, is granted to this end; that the good works of Christians may shine out before infidels, and that thence our Father, Which is in heaven, may be glorified. This should be our chief end and aim, if we would be Christians in deed, and not in word only. For, if we seek our Own glory, we desire a vain and perishable thing: but the glory of the Father and of the Son, Who for us was nailed to the Cross, saves us with an everlasting redemption,—that great expectation of Christians. I neither think therefore, nor wish, my Lucian, that you should boast, because many in the Court have come, by your means, to the knowledge of the truth : you should rather give thanks to God, Who hath chosen you as a good instrument to a good result, and hath given you favour in the sight of the Prince, to the end that you should spread abroad the savour of the Christian name, to His glory and to the salvation of many”. Having dwelt on the necessity of avoiding everything that might cast a stumbling block in the way of Diocletian, “God forbid”, he proceeds, “that you should sell to any the entry of the Palace, or receive a bribe to suggest what is unseemly to the Emperor’s ear. Put away from you all avarice, which worketh idolatry, rather than the Christian religion. Unworthy gain, and duplicity is much unbecoming him who embraces Christ, the Poor and the Simple. Let there be no evil speaking, nor immodest language among you. Let all things be done with kindness, courtesy, and justice: that in all things the Name of our God and Lord Jesus Christ may be magnified. Fulfill the duties to which you are severally appointed with fear towards God, and love towards the Emperor, and exactness and diligence. Account that all commands of the Prince, which offend not against those of God, proceed from God Himself. Put on patience as a robe: be filled with virtue and the hope of Christ”.

He then proceeds to the particular duties of those whom he is addressing:—one of whom, it appears, had the charge of the privy purse;—another of the wardrobe,—a third of the gold and silver vessels. The post of librarian was not yet filled up: but the Bishop gives directions, in case a Christian should be nominated to it, for the proper discharge of that function. The librarian should acquaint himself with the principal orators, poets, and historians of antiquity. He should, as occasion served, introduce the mention of the Septuagint as a book that had attracted the attention of a King of Egypt, and might not be unworthy the perusal of an Emperor of Rome. The books which Diocletian most frequently read should be well arranged, and transcribed from the most correct copies, or amended by learned men; they should be handsomely, but not

sumptuously, written, and the affectation of purple membranes and gold letters, (unless the Emperor expressly commanded it,) should be avoided. The Bishop concludes with general exhortations for behaviour towards Diocletian, for cheerfulness, submission, and the utmost complaisance that the Law of God did not forbid;—at the same time, retirement must be found for prayer, and for the reading of the Scriptures, “which will enable you”,—thus the letter concludes,—“to fulfil your duties in the love of Christ, and to despise all things transitory for the sake of His Eternal Promises, and shall conduct you to the attainment of everlasting felicity”.

History records nothing further of this Prelate: he was summoned from his labours towards the beginning of January, 300; and was surnamed by his people *The Column of the Church*. The Alexandrian school, during his time under the management of Peter, the succeeding Patriarch, still retained its fame, as it had done since the Mastership of S. Dionysius, under the succession of Clemens II, Pierius, Theognostus, and Serapion. More particularly, Pierius enjoyed great reputation as a teacher of philosophy, and left so many learned treatises on various subjects, as to acquire the title of the second Origen. He survived the persecution of Diocletian, and took up his abode in Rome, where he died.

One remarkable epoch dates from the Patriarchate of Theonas. It is well known that the ancient Alexandrian Church did not reckon its years from the Incarnation, but from the Era of Martyrs : that is, from the first year of the reign of Diocletian, that reign which sent so many Martyrs to Paradise. The Coptic Communion still employs that computation; the orthodox Alexandrian Church has long disused it; exchanging it, as almost all other national customs, for the use of Constantinople. In future, we shall employ both one and the other reckoning.

### SECTION XIII.

#### PERSECUTION OF DIOCLETIAN.

HITHERTO, however illustriously her Prelates had confessed the truths and however boldly they had testified, even before the tribunal, to the Name of Christ, the Evangelical Throne of Alexandria had never been filled by a Martyr. Of the other two great Sees, Rome, could claim that glorious title for sixteen or seventeen of her Pontiffs: Antioch, for at least two of her Prelates. Alexandria was now to be counted worthy of the same honour.

The infancy of Peter is, by the oriental writers, ornamented with many fables. They inform us, that he was ordained Priest at the age of seventeen, and nominated by the dying Theonas as his successor: events unlikely in themselves, and not based on any

satisfactory authority. From these authors, however, we gain an additional testimony (were it needed) against the misstatement of Eutychius, with respect to the Presbyteral College founded by S. Mark. S. Peter was constituted Patriarch, we are told by Severus, by the imposition of the hands of the Alexandrian clergy and laity. But that the laity ordained as Bishop, is evidently an absurd statement, and the words must therefore be understood of election.

S. Peter's first act was not only attended with considerable trouble to himself, but was fraught with momentous consequences to the Church of Egypt. The See of Lycopolis, situate on the northern boundary of the Thebais, appears to have possessed some honorary pre-eminence over the other bishoprics of the Dioecese of Alexandria. Alexander, who during the time of Theonas had filled that See, had distinguished himself by a work against the Manichaeans, which still exists. His successor was Meletius, a man of far different character. He had for some time been a cause of scandal, from the crimes of which he was suspected, and at length, in some local persecution, or perhaps popular insurrection, he renounced the faith, and sacrificed to idols. On apostatizing this, Peter convoked a Council at Alexandria, by which the offending Bishop was convicted and deposed. Meletius, however, was by no means willing to submit to the sentence. Instead of appealing to another Council, he separated himself from the Communion of the Church; and thus obtained the miserable renown of being the first leader of a schism at Alexandria, as Novatian had been at Rome. Like Novatian, too, he professed to separate himself from Peter, on account of the too great facility with which the latter re-admitted apostates.

To strengthen his party, Meletius took upon himself to ordain Bishops of his own sect : and he consecrated as many as thirty, one of whom arrogated to himself the title of Bishop of Alexandria. Meletius further claimed a total exemption from Patriarchal jurisdiction, and pretended, it would seem, to confer this exemption on others. To what cause we are to attribute the rapid spread of his schism, it is not easy to divine: possibly the distance of Lycopolis from Alexandria, and the then recent accession of Peter, may have been favourable to its growth. We have already observed, that the Patriarch was the only Archbishop (till the conversion of Ethiopia), in his own Dioecese; and this rendered the attempt of Meletius still more unjustifiable.

The schism soon began to develop into heresy;—and the monks who attached themselves to it, were foremost in this advance. They are accused of Judaical observances in respect of ceremonial purifications; of mixing dances and unseemly motions in the service of God : of looking for a Heaven that abounded with sensual delights. It is possible that, in process of time, they were guilty of some innovation in the Form of Baptism: for S. Peter, as we are informed by Sozomen, refused them as invalid.

Not content with the propagation of his sect, Meletius spread the most unfounded calumnies against his Patriarch. And these reports had a wide circulation, and enjoyed considerable credit for we find S. Epiphanius himself misled by them.

One of the principal adherents of Meletius was Arius, a native of Libya. This man, even then distinguished by his powers of argument and persuasion, in a short time reconciled himself to the Church, and was ordained Deacon by S. Peter. But when the latter excommunicated Meletius and his partizans, Arius exclaimed against his tyranny, and was so pertinacious in his opposition, that the Bishop suspended him from the exercise of his office.

And now the greatest and the last of the persecutions was drawing on.

S. Peter had not sat fully three years, when Diocletian, urged on by Galerius, commenced the last and the most bloody persecution. By a first edict, issued at Nicomedia towards the end of February, he commanded the demolition of the churches, and the destruction of the sacred books. A second rescript ordered the imprisonment of all Ecclesiastics; a third, which followed close upon it, the death of all that should refuse to sacrifice. In the beginning of the next year, a fourth and more stringent edict, against all Christians, of all stations whatsoever, was published; and then the persecution began to grow tremendous in Egypt and the Thebais.

Of these illustrious Confessors of Christ we must speak, not as their acts deserve, but as the analogy of history will permit. Eusebius was himself a spectator of the courage of some Egyptian Martyrs who were crowned at Tyre. After being lacerated with the scourge, they were exposed to the fury of leopards, bears, and boars, and these animals were irritated by strokes and fire. But they either refused to attack the Christians, or were repelled by some invisible force; and, as in revenge, sprung on the Pagan keepers of the arena and commissioners of the games. One youth stood calmly awaiting their onset, extending his arms in the form of a Cross, and occupied in prayer;—the animals could not be induced to attack him.

Eusebius visited Alexandria while many of its inhabitants remembered the terrors of this period; and professes himself perfectly unable to recount the names of even the chief Martyrs. In the Thebais, more especially, day after day, month after month and year after year the executioners went on: fifty, eighty, a hundred fell daily; the executioners were wearied out with slaughter, and relieved each other by gangs; in some instances, the axe was worn out by use all kinds of tortures were employed: some were crucified; some suspended in the air by the feet; some burnt; some drowned; some were tied to two trees, bent together by mechanical force, and torn asunder by them when that force was relaxed; some rent by hooks of iron, some with potsherds. The Pagans themselves took pity on the sufferers, and as far as they could, sheltered and concealed them; but many Christians were unwilling thus to be deprived of the glory of Martyrdom. The apostacy, so prevalent in the Decian persecution, was now scarcely heard of; women and children confessed Christ joyfully; many were thrown into prison, mutilated, and dragged through the streets; many looked cheerfully on the deaths of those they held dearest.

The first of the Egyptian Martyrs under Diocletian, with whose name and acts we are acquainted, was Asclas. A native of Antinous in the Thebais, he was arrested at the command of the magistrate Arrian, himself, at a later period, a Confessor of Christ. On

refusing to sacrifice, he was tortured with the iron combs till his flesh hung down in strips; and even then would return no answer to the interrogatories of the magistrate. Bizanon, a professor of oratory, who stood by, suggested that the prisoner was senseless; on which S. Asclas replied. "My senses have not left me, nor will I leave the God That made me". The Confessor was removed to Hermopolis, and there subjected to the torture of the lamps; until Arrian, owning himself conquered, said, "As I think, you are about to die". S. Asclas replied. "Though I die, I shall live again". A stone was attached to his neck, and he was thrown into the river. He suffered on the same day that S. Agnes confessed at Rome. At the same time S. Leonides obtained his Crown.

S. Apollonius, a monk of great eminence, occupied himself in visiting and comforting his brethren; many were encouraged by his persuasion to stand firm. Philemon, a great favourite of the people for his skill on the flute, met him one day in the city of Antinous, and began to revile him; the monk only besought God to have mercy on his slanderer and not to impute his of words to him. The gentleness of his answer so touched Philemon that he hastened to the magistrate, and confessed himself a Christian; the latter, unwilling to deprive the people of their favourite, tried to pass over the matter as a fit of insanity. Finding him, however, in earnest, he condemned him, in company with his seducer, as he termed Apollonius, to be burnt alive. When they were at the stake, the monk besought God's deliverance from that horrible death. The words were no sooner uttered than a moist cloud surrounded the pile and extinguished the fire. Arrian, and great part of the spectators, professed themselves Christians on the spot. They were summoned to Alexandria, and by the prefect's order thrown into the sea; thus being supplied, say their Acts, with a Baptism which the Augustal little intended to give them.

Notwithstanding the ferocity of the persecution at Alexandria, the tendency of the faithful was rather to over-rashness than to over-prudence. Both in Egypt and the Thebais, men of property, of rank, and learning, gladly renounced all; came forward to confess Christ, and were found among the Martyrs.

The Confession of S. Theodora was attended with some remarkable circumstances. She was of high birth, and equally celebrated in Alexandria for her family and for her beauty. Eustratus Proculus, the judge, urged her not to disgrace her ancestors, nor to despise the rites they had used; in consideration of her youth and noble extraction, he allowed her three days to make her recantation. On the expiration of that term, finding her still resolute, the judge ordered that she should be conveyed to one of those sinks of iniquity with which Alexandria abounded, and tauntingly inquired, whether the God Whom she worshipped could now save her? Theodora, on entering the place, prayed that He Who had delivered S. Peter from prison would be pleased to manifest His Power in preserving her from all contamination. A Christian, named Didymus, who had heard the sentence, disguised himself as a soldier, and entering the house, was admitted to the chamber where the prisoner was confined, when he discovered his true design, by urging her to take his military cloak and cap, and, under that disguise, to make her escape. She did so; and in the course of an hour, a Pagan having come in, was astonished at finding a man, seated by himself. Having heard much of the miracles wrought by the Saviour, he cried out that a woman had here been

changed into a man, and fled with consternation. The Augustal Prefect, informed of the truth, threatened to put Didymus to the torture if he refused to discover where S. Theodora was. The prisoner replied that he knew not: this only he knew, that she was a servant of the Most High God, Who had preserved her spotless. The judge commanded him to sacrifice, and threatened him with double punishment, as a Christian, and as having abetted the escape of a prisoner. Finding him firm, he ordered that he should be beheaded. As Didymus was being conveyed to the place of execution, S. Theodora, hearing what had passed, hastened to the spot, and disputed with him the guilt of disobeying the laws, and the glory of Martyrdom. They were beheaded together; and are together reckoned among the Saints.

The violence of the persecution was lulled for a short time by the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. Galerius and Constantius succeeded to the purple: but the former possessed all the real authority, and his nephew Daia, one of the Caesars, who had adopted the name of Maximin, a young man of semi-barbarous extraction, had the government of the East. He prided himself as being the most vigorous opponent of Christianity that had yet appeared. The persecution then recommenced with redoubled fury.

Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis, one of the most important Cities of Augustamnica Prima, now an inconsiderable town, and known by the name of Tmaié, came to Alexandria, probably to concert some measures with S. Peter for the government of their flocks during this dreadful crisis. While in the metropolis, he addressed an exhortation to his Church, of which a portion has been preserved by Eusebius.

“The Martyrs”, — so he writes,— “fixing the eye of their soul simply and entirely on the God That is over all, and wel-coming death for piety’s sake, held fast their calling; for they knew that our Lord Jesus Christ became man for us, to the end that He might utterly destroy all iniquity, and might lay up for us a provision for our entrance into Eternal Life : for He thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, and took the form of a slave, and being found in fashion like a man. He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore desiring the greater grace, these Martyrs, filled with Christ, endured every labour, and all devices of insult, not once only, but some have already done so twice; and setting at nought all the threats, not in words only, but in deeds also, of the soldiers that emulously exerted themselves in actions of cruelty, they flinched not from their resolution. What account may suffice to describe their courage, and their manliness under each torture? For since all that would had full permission to insult them, some were struck with clubs, some with lashes, some with thongs, others with reeds”.—The Bishop proceeds to describe the tortures inflicted on these noble athletes; how some, stretched on the *equuleus*, had every portion of their body lacerated with combs and pincers of iron; how others were suspended by one hand from the summit of a pillar, and in the tension of their sinews and dislocation of their joints endured a torment greater than any other suffering; how others, torn with a thousand wounds, were thrown into prison, if perchance protracted agony might weaken their resolution.



As Easter, in the fourth year of the persecution, drew on, S. Peter was pressed by those who had lapsed to appoint them some canonical penance, and to re-admit them, on its accomplishment, into the Church. Some had now been excluded from Communion for three years, and were anxious once more to be received as penitents the rather, that their lives were still in hourly danger from the persecution. The Epistle which S. Peter wrote on this occasion is received into the canons of the Oriental Church. In the Coptic Communion, it is interpolated with directions for the re-admission of such as had apostatized to Mahometanism:—the Syriac Version is free from such additions, and contains a fragment on Penitence, between the XIIIth and XIVth canons, which does not appear in the Greek. The 1st Canon ordains that those who, after boldly confessing Christ, and suffering the torture, had at length yielded through the infirmity of the flesh, should, in consideration of the time they had already been excluded from the Church, be received at the ensuing Easter, on condition of observing the then commencing Lent with extraordinary devotion. By the II<sup>nd</sup>, those who, without enduring tortures, had fallen away, from the tedium of imprisonment, are enjoined penitence for another year. By the III<sup>rd</sup>, those who had endured neither torture nor imprisonment, are, after the example of the barren fig tree, sentenced to four years' more exclusion. The IV<sup>th</sup> is not, strictly speaking, a canon; but a lamentation over those whose apostacy had not been followed by penitence. The V<sup>th</sup> appoints six months' further penitence to such as had feigned themselves epileptic, or had hired Pagans to personate them and to sacrifice, and had thus received a certificate of having obeyed the edict. The VI<sup>th</sup> and VII<sup>th</sup> treat of the case where masters had compelled Christian slaves to sacrifice in their place. The masters are condemned to three more years, the slaves, to one, of penitence. The VIII<sup>th</sup> receives at once such as having lapsed, returned to the conflict, confessed, and came off with life. In the IX<sup>th</sup>, S. Peter receives to Communion, while he blames their conduct, those who had presented themselves at the Tribunal. They considered not, he says, the meaning of the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation"; they laid not to heart His example, Who waited till His enemies came to take Him; they listened not to His Voice, "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another". In like manner, they followed not in the steps of S. Stephen and S. James, of S. Peter and S. Paul. By the X<sup>th</sup>, Clerks, hurried on by the same indiscreet zeal, are pardoned, on condition of applying themselves for the future to their respective duties. But if they had lapsed, though afterwards they had returned to the conflict, they are received to lay Communion only. The XI<sup>th</sup> Canon is an explanation of the IX<sup>th</sup>, and declares bystanders excepted from it, who, during the examination or torture of a Martyr, had found themselves carried away by a generous ardour of imitating him, and had confessed before the magistrate. The XII<sup>th</sup> and XIII<sup>th</sup> exempt from blame—in opposition to the hard opinion of the Montanists—those who had paid a sum of money, and thus escaped confession; and those who had evaded it by flight. The XIV<sup>th</sup> allows those to be honoured as Confessors, and elevated to the Priesthood, who had been compelled by force to swallow wine offered to idols, or to throw incense on the altar. These Canons were ratified by the Quinisext Council. It is to be remembered that those of them which enjoin penance, pre-suppose three years to have been already spent in it.

S. Phileas was now called to make good indeed his exhortation to Martyrdom. He was arrested by order of Culcianus, the Prefect, who was extremely anxious that he

should be induced to apostatize, because he had acquired great reputation from the study of philosophy, was of a noble family, and possessed considerable wealth. He argued with him at great length, urging him at least to offer sacrifice to his own God; setting before him the example of Moses, who offered burnt offerings. Failing in this attempt, he inquired if S. Paul had not denied the Resurrection of the Flesh; if he had not been a persecutor of the Church; if he were wiser than Plato? If conscience were his motive for refusing, did not conscience, he inquired, also forbid to leave wife and children in distress, and to disobey the Emperor? Was Jesus Christ, he further interrogated, Very God? How was the prisoner persuaded of it? How could the Crucified be God? The governor then boasted of his clemency towards Phileas, who thanked him for it; he informed him plainly that had he been less wealthy, he would not have taken so much pains to convince him by gentle measures, but he was unwilling to deprive the numerous poor, who were fed by his alms, of their only resource. As he continued to argue and to entreat the Bishop to have compassion on his wife, who was standing by, Philoromus, a magistrate of Alexandria, who was present, inquired why the Governor endeavoured to render Phileas faithless to his God, and how he could hope by the miserable persuasions of earth, to divert him from the eternal weight of glory, to which he was looking forward? He was instantly arrested, and the two were, by the Governor's order, led forth to be beheaded. At the place of execution, S. Phileas, turning to the east, exhorted his hearers to watch over their own hearts, to be on their guard against the great Enemy, to suffer for the Saviour, and to remember His own precepts. "Let us call", he concluded, "on Him Who is spotless, and incomprehensible, and sitteth upon the Cherubim, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last : to Him be glory for ever and for ever. Amen". On finishing these words, he and his companion were beheaded.

In the fifth year of the persecution, the Prefects, wearied out by the interminable Confessions to which they were every day witness, began to content themselves with the punishment of mutilation instead of death. Multitudes lost an eye, and were branded, and then sent to labour in the mines; and some experienced the same fate after having undergone the torture. Among the most illustrious of these Confessors was S. Paphnutius, a Bishop in Upper Thebais, of whom we shall have in the sequel to speak more at length.

In the following years, whole armies of the Confessors were sent from the Thebais, and condemned to the mines in Palestine and Phoenicia. At one time we meet with ninety-seven, at another, with one hundred and thirty of these Christian heroes, sent into banishment; and three Egyptians, Ares, Promus, and Elias, sealed the truth with their blood at Ascalon. In like manner, two Bishops of Egypt, with a Priest named Elias, and Patermuthius, whom Eusebius mentions as known far and wide by his charity, suffered by fire in Palestine. Thirty-nine Christians, the greater part from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, laid down their lives at Gaza. And, towards the close of the persecution, four Bishops, Hesy chius, Phileas, Pachymius, and Theodorus, with many priests and laymen, were crowned at Alexandria. It would seem that this S. Hesy chius was the same of whom S. Jerome writes, and who published a new edition of the LXX.

Towards the conclusion of the persecution, an event happened, which, though somewhat uncertain in a few of its details, is, in its general character, undoubtedly true. Mennas, an Athenian of consummate wisdom and prudence, was entrusted by Maximin with the Augustal Prefecture. He used his influence and talents, and, it is said, his power of miracles, to propagate the Faith, to which he had been converted; and, in consequence, Hermogenes, also an Athenian, was sent out to supersede and to punish him. The ex-Prefect was cruelly tortured, but supernaturally healed. His arguments and constancy touched the heart of Hermogenes, and both Augustals, to the astonishment of the Pagans, did all in their power for the increase of the Church. Maximin himself visited Alexandria, and condemned both the Confessors to death; and at this time it probably was that S. Catherine suffered.

In Cyrene, the Bishop Theodore was among the Confessors, with a Deacon Ireneus, and two Readers, Serapion and Ammonius. The Prelate survived. But none was more illustrious than S. Cyrilla, in the same city. When the burning coals with the incense were forced into her hand, she held it motionless, lest, if she shook them off, she should seem to have sacrificed: after this she was grievously tortured, and so entered into Paradise.

S. Peter's life was spared to his Church as long as it stood in need of his care and protection. Like another Moses, he was permitted to see the good land into which the Lord was about to bring His people, though he himself might not enter thereinto. He heard of the cessation of the persecution in the West, and in Palestine; he received tidings of the edict for liberty of Christian worship that the dying agonies of Galerius wrung from him, and then he was called to follow his companions, and to close the long train of Martyrs for Christ. In his company suffered Faustus, whom we have already mentioned as signalling himself under S. Dionysius, Dius, and Ammonius.

It is remarkable, considering the high place which he held in the Church, as well from his office as his sanctity, that no authentic acts of his Confession have been preserved. The Arabic historian, Severus, gives an account, which, though mixed up with some fables, probably contains a good deal of truth, and may, therefore, be worth while relating.

There was, he says, at Antioch, a Christian of some dignity, named Socrates, who in time of persecution fell away. His wife remained faithful, and requested her husband's leave to take his two sons to Alexandria, for the purpose of being baptized there. He refused, fearing the emperor's wrath; on which she made her escape with them, and commending herself to God, embarked for Egypt. A storm arose, and the sailors gave themselves up for lost. The mother, unwilling that her children should perish unbaptized, herself performed the rite, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The tempest passed over, and the ship arrived safely at Alexandria; and, as it happened, at the very time that the Easter Baptisms were about to be performed. Presenting herself to a Deacon of the Church, she informed him of the motive which had brought her into Egypt; but said nothing of the occurrence which had taken place on the voyage. The Deacon laid the matter before the Bishop, who promised to baptize the children among the other candidates. When their time came, he was twice

miraculously impeded : and calling the mother, he inquired what she had done. On hearing her tale, he bade her be of good cheer : God, he said, had already received her children; and the One Baptism could not be repeated. Returning to Antioch, the mother and her infants were burnt alive, by order of the emperor; and stricter inquiry commanded to be made for S. Peter.

When it was known, this writer proceeds to tell us, that S. Peter's life would fall a sacrifice to the emperor's indignation, Arius, who had all this time remained excommunicate, requested several of those with whom he was acquainted, as well clergy as laity, to intercede for him with the Bishop. They did so; and when they hoped that he was about to comply with his request, he said with a loud voice, "Let Arius be anathema from our Lord Jesus Christ, in this world, and in the world to come". Struck with the vehemence with which these words were pronounced, none dared to plead in favour of the guilty man; and S. Peter rising, and taking two of his disciples, Achillas and Alexander, apart, informed them, that the anathema he had pronounced was not the effect of any private resentment : that, on the preceding night, he had beheld in a vision our Saviour with a garment rent from top to bottom; that on inquiring, "who, Lord, hath thus rent Thy garment" he received for answer, "Arius": that he knew therefore, that Arius would bring some great evil on the Church. He further informed them that they should, in turn, be his successors : he exhorted them to oppose to the utmost whatever heresies might, whether by Arius or others, be propagated, to shew themselves valiant and vigilant for God, after the example of his predecessor, Dionysius, of blessed memory, and his zeal against the Sabellians. He then bade them farewell, assuring them that they should see his face no more : and turning to the rest of his flock, he confirmed them in the Faith, prayed over them, and gave them his benediction.

When he was committed to prison, the Christians collected in great numbers, determined to oppose the execution of the Imperial Edict, and prevented the soldiers from entering by the door. It was a stormy and rainy night: and the centurion took advantage of the noise of the elements, to throw down that part of the wall which bounded the cell of S. Peter. When an orifice had been made in it for this purpose, the Prelate, fearing that the design would be observed, and the Christians endeavour to oppose it, made the sign of the Cross, and said, "Better is it that we should die, than that such a multitude should meet with evil for my sake". With these words, boldly stretching forth his head to the soldiers, it was struck from the body. At the same time, a voice was heard by a consecrated virgin proclaiming, "As Peter was the first of the Apostles, so shall Peter be the last of the Martyrs".

Such are the Arabic traditions of the Martyrdom of S. Peter. Eusebius simply relates, that he was unexpectedly arrested and beheaded. He is named by the Greeks the Seal and End of the Martyrs; an epithet which is not literally true. For, even in Alexandria, SS. Cyrus and John suffixured two months subsequently.

Besides the Canons on Penitence, and the fragment of a Paschal Epistle preserved at their end, S. Peter composed a work on the Divinity of the Saviour; and another on His Coming. In the latter he confuted the opinion of Origen on the pre-existence of souls.

### SECTION XIV.

#### S. ANTONY AND THE RISE OF MONASTICISM.

While the Church of Alexandria was destitute of a Pastor, it pleased God to raise her up a protector, in one whom we have not yet had occasion to mention, but whose actions had already excited great notice, and whose influence was beginning to be felt in every part of Egypt. We speak of S. Antony, the Father of Monastic Life.

We have already dwelt on the mystical temperament of the Alexandrian Church. The natural result may be traced in the adoption of the eremitical life by the holiest of her sons; and the case appears to have been so from the earliest age. Even under S. Mark, the Therapeutae had already distinguished their holiness and devotion, — and S. Frontonius, in the middle of the second century, had, with seventy brethren, led the life of a recluse, in the same mountain tract which they had hallowed. S. Paul had long since betaken himself into the wilderness: and was still leading there his life of more than human asceticism. At or near Antinous, SS. Julian and Basilissa, observing continence in the married state, had formed a double kind of hospital for men and women; and there, when the latter had departed to her rest, the former received a glorious Martyrdom, in company with several associates, under Maximin. And separated by the Red Sea from Egypt, the still illustrious monastery of Mount Sinai even then existed: for forty of its inmates had suffered under Diocletian, and others, and their house had been temporarily destroyed. It thus appears that there were, at the time when S. Antony commenced his career, a few holy anchorets scattered throughout Egypt: but their number was small, their system undefined, their devotions unconnected, and it was not till the rise of Antony, that the deserts of Thebais and of Egypt became the favourite retreat and the principal school of monks and anchorets.

Antony was born at Coma, a village near Heracleopolis, and on the boundary of Upper Egypt, about the year 251. Educated at home, by Christian parents of noble birth, and considerable property, he was so completely cut off from the knowledge of the world, that he was acquainted with no one out of his own family: nor did he ever learn to read any other language than his native Egyptian. Christianity, during his youth, must have been protected or connived at: for we read that he was in the habit of attending with his parents the church, while at home he was a pattern of obedience and submission. When he had attained the age of twenty, he was left an orphan, with a younger sister in his charge; and for some time he continued the same course of life to which he had been accustomed, and occupied himself with her education, and with the management of his estate. At the end of six months, however, while engaged in meditating on the readiness with which the Holy Apostles abandoned all things for the sake of Christ, he was struck, by hearing in the church the words of our Lord, “If thou



wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shall have treasure in heaven : and come, follow Me". At once he resolved to follow the Evangelical Counsel: and parting with all his estates, which contained three hundred *arurae*, and were noted for their fertility, he distributed them among his neighbours; that there might be no dispute between them as to right of possession. His other property he turned into money, and apportioned to the poor, retaining a small portion for the future wants of his sister. But, going a second time to the church, he listened to the words, "Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself": and on his return home, he distributed the remainder of his property to the poor, and placed his sister in a kind of religious house for women, perhaps one of those which had arisen in imitation of the Christian love of Basilissa. There she prolonged her life to a good old age: and in her turn, became the Mother and the Directress of many Virgins.

Having thus divested himself of all earthly cares, he resolved on embracing a solitary life. In its perfection it was yet entirely unknown: those who had adopted it dwelt in a retired spot near some village, whence they might be supplied with the necessaries of life. Such an hermit there was near Coma, and from him Antony derived his first instructions in the ascetic life. He made choice of a suitable retreat: and from thence visited the different anchores in the neighbourhood : selecting with a holy eclecticism the various points in the practice of each, which it was his desire to form into one perfect whole. In the mean time he wrought with his own hands, and after supplying himself with bread from the profit of his labour, distributed the rest among the poor.

Even while he dwelt in his first cell, he was exposed to those temptations of Satan, which have rendered his history a mark of scorn for the sceptic, of pity for the liberal, and of astonishment to him who believes in the wiles of an ever-present Enemy, and in the unseen might of an ever-victorious Church. He that doubts the temptations of S. Antony, must doubt every supernatural occurrence: must set at nought the testimony of witnesses never so numerous, of holiness never so manifest, of historians never so judicious, of influence never so prevailing. We are not about to relate, far less to defend, these narrations. But none can doubt thus much : that a life, as completely contrary to every natural desire of the heart as was that of the Egyptian hermits, such a total abnegation of every tie between the individual and the world, such constant danger, want, and suffering, days and nights so lonely,—and all this endured without the hope of human applause, because beyond the sphere of human knowledge;—that such a life, we say, which is believed by all to have been practised, is far more wonderful, and far more contrary to antecedent experience, than the marvellous tale of the conflicts of S. Antony.

For some time he dwelt in a monument, situated at a considerable distance from his native village. At the age of thirty-five, he resolved on a more secluded retreat. He would fain have had the aged hermit, from whom he had learnt his first lessons in asceticism, for his companion; but the faith of the old man shrank from an ordeal so terrible in itself, and hitherto so wholly unattempted. On this, Antony crossed the river, penetrated, by himself, the wilder parts of the desert; and took up his abode in a



deserted castle among the mountains. He closed its doors, (A.D. 285), and could not be persuaded to re-open them for twenty years. Bread was brought him half-yearly; and he quenched his thirst in a spring that arose within the building. His fasts were most rigorous or rather his whole life was one continual fast. He never tasted food till after sun-set; and frequently prolonged his abstinence for three consecutive days. His fame attracted numerous visitors from various parts of Egypt: he spoke to them from his prison, but would not permit them to see his face. Frequently his visitors were terrified by the supernatural and terrific sounds which issued from his castle: but the Saint bade them be of good cheer, and scorn the efforts of those who had been conquered on the Cross.

It was now the middle of the tenth persecution, when Antony, overcome by the solicitations of his friends, who were desirous that he should form a monastic institute, came out of his castle. They were astonished to find the same figure, the same countenance, that they remembered him to have possessed. His fasts and his confinement seemed equally to have been unable to affect him. The miracles that he then performed, as they must much have cheered the faith of the Church under her heavy trial, so they induced many of her children to place themselves under the guidance of the great Hermit.

Between the Red Sea and the Nile, and nearly opposite to Mount Sinai, the desert is intersected by two ranges of mountains which, running north and south, stretch themselves interruptedly for many leagues. That to the east is now called Zaffarana: that to the west is known by the name Khalili. More northerly, and nearly opposite the ancient Heracleopolis, the mountains run east and west; looking down from their northern side, on the pilgrim's road from Cairo to Suez. The whole of this region was soon tenanted by holy anchorets;—S. Antony himself founded his first, and more illustrious monastery, towards its northern extremity.

It lay nearly equidistant from the cities of Memphis, Babylon, (now Cairo,) and Aphroditopolis (now Atfieh). On an abrupt stony mountain, situated at about thirty miles distance from the Nile, and only to be surmounted by the laborious zigzags of a winding pass, it received its name from the little town of Troy, which lay somewhat to the south of Babylon. At the summit of this mountain, repeatedly termed by S. Athanasius the interior, were two small cells, hewn out of the rock, and here it was that Antony himself principally dwelt: his monastery was situated on the opposite, or *exterior* mountain, known also by the name of Pisper. These savage crags, the barrenness and desolation of the interjacent plains, the melancholy sound of the torrents, falling from rock to rock, till finally lost in the bibulous sand, seem to have impressed those who then visited the spot, as they do modern travellers, with the deepest awe. Soon the adjacent mountains were too narrow a domain for his fervent band of disciples: and, crossing the Nile, they began to fill the deserts in the neighbourhood of Arsinoe.

Of his followers, many are still held in honour by the Church. Among these, the two Macarii hold the first place. The Elder, or Egyptian, was not strictly speaking, a disciple, though he afterwards became the friend of Antony. The place of his retreat was

the savage wilderness of Scete, eighty miles beyond Mount Nitria, and rather in Libya than in Egypt. Here he dwelt sixty years, and became the spiritual father of many anchorets, who peopled that desert. He was compelled by an Egyptian Prelate to receive holy orders, and saw four churches rise in the very heart of the desert where he had withdrawn himself. The younger, or Alexandrine, Macarius, originally a seller of sweet-meats, who was also elevated to the Priestly Office, had even a wider reputation than his namesake. He had a dwelling in Mount Nitria, another in the Desert, as it was afterwards called, of Cells, from the multitude of hermits that there had their abodes; and a third in that of Scete. In his power of abstinence and self-discipline, he was unrivalled even by Antony himself. There was yet a third hermit of the same name, who was placed by S. Antony in charge of his monastery of Pisper: and who succeeded him in the government of his five thousand monks. Of no less renown was S. Pachomius, the first that committed a monastic rule to writing. S. Isidore was another of the anchorets of renown. He also was a priest in the desert of Scete: and was reckoned one of the Fathers of that wilderness. The like reputation was also acquired by S. Pambo, who, above all others, was noted for his diligence in manual labour. Among the personal friends of Antony, were Sarmata, who was honoured by martyrdom in an irruption of barbarians, and Amathas, who ministered to the death-bed of the departing Patriarch of monks. And the great S. Hilarion, a native of the neighbourhood of Gaza, was to be the first propagator of Egyptian Monasticism in his native land.

But at the time of which we yet write, these illustrious servants of God were some in childhood, some in training for their conflicts and victories. We will leave them in their deserts, to fight, by their prayers, and tears, and fasts, the great battle of the Alexandrian Church, on the relation of which we shall soon enter. When they have passed long years of hardness and mortification, we shall return to them again, and endeavour to sketch that life which as yet was but in course of formation.

At the recommencement of the persecution by Maximin, S. Antony, exclaiming to those about him, "Let us go to combat ourselves, or to see the combatants", left his mountain, and hastened to Alexandria, where he arrived just before the death of S. Peter. Anxious as he was for martyrdom, he would not expose himself to the tribunal, but he ministered to the Confessors in the mines and in prisons: he went with the accused before the judge, and he accompanied the condemned to the place of execution. Several of his companions imitated his example: and the Prefect, astonished at their boldness, issued an edict, by which it was forbidden to any monk to present himself in the hall of judgment, or to sojourn in the city. The disciples feared, and hid themselves; the Master, clad in his white robe, took up his position in a conspicuous spot, and crossed the path of the Prefect as he passed with his train. Deeply grieving that he had not been honoured with the Martyr's Crown, and perceiving that the violence of the persecution was passed, he returned to the mountain.

The last who fell under Maximin, for the faith of Christ, were the holy Martyrs Cyrus, John, and their companions. Cyrus was a physician of Alexandria, who had improved the opportunities afforded by his profession to convert many of his patients: under Diocletian he had, in obedience to the Lord's commandment, fled into Arabia, and had there become acquainted with John, an officer of rank, who accompanied him

back to Alexandria, and became his guest. Hearing that Athanasia, a Christian lady, had been arrested at Canopus, in company with her three daughters, Theodosia, Theoctiste, and Eudoxia, the eldest of whom was only fifteen years of age, the two friends hastened thither, in order to console the Confessors. And they obtained a signal reward for their charity; for, being themselves apprehended, and tortured in the most cruel manner, torches being applied to their sides, and vinegar and salt poured into their wounds, they witnessed a good confession, in which S. Athanasia and her daughters followed them. The latter were first beheaded: two days after, Cyrus and John in the same manner put on immortality; and by their deaths closed the persecution.

### SECTION XV.

#### THE ARIAN HERESY.

After a vacancy of about a year, and doubtless, as soon as prudence would allow, Achillas was raised to the Evangelical Throne. We have already mentioned that he was a disciple of S. Peter the Martyr: he had been ordained by Theonas, at the same time with Pierius. It would appear that the friends of Arius importuned him to remove the anathema pronounced by his predecessor: and he not only did this but elevated the future heresiarch to the Priesthood, and appointed him to the church of Baucalis, already named as the oldest in the city. The Jacobite writers will have it, that the death of the Prelate, which followed shortly after, was a supernatural punishment for having violated the last injunction of S. Peter; and they therefore exclude him from a place in their Calendar. If, however, Achillas erred, it was through ignorance: otherwise S. Athanasius would hardly have commended him under the title of the *great*. Achillas only sat seven months.

We will now for a moment cast our eyes on the state of the Church Catholic.

Diocletian and Maximian, compelled to resign the purple by the superior vigour and enterprise of Galerius, named, as we have already seen, their successors; Galerius himself was nominated as the Eastern, Constantius as the Western Augustus: the Caesars were respectively Daia, nephew to Galerius, and surnamed by him Maximin, and Severus. On this the persecution languished, and finally failed in the West; and on the death of Constantius, his son Constantine, elevated to the purple by the soldiers, but contenting himself, for the present, with the more modest title of Caesar, was known to be most favourably disposed to the Faith of Christ. Maxentius, however, at Rome, declared himself Emperor; and, to prejudice the army in his favour, associated his father Maximian with himself. Severus, now Augustus in the West, marched against them; his troops forsook him: he fled to Ravenna, surrendered himself, and was put to death. On this, Maximian associated Constantine with him in the Empire: Galerius marched into

Italy, but was forced to retire with dishonour: Licinius was presented by him with the purple, and a hollow reconciliation took place between the six Emperors, Galerius, Maximian, Maximin, Licinius, Constantine, Maxentius. Maximian endeavouring to destroy Constantine by treachery, was discovered and capitally punished; and the five surviving emperors were acknowledged equals. Galerius, eaten of worms, gave up the ghost, after having issued an edict in favour of the Christians, which was only nominally obeyed by Maximin, and the persecution ceased everywhere but in Syria and Egypt. Then followed the civil war between Constantine and Maxentius: the apparition of the miraculous Cross; the defeat and death of Maxentius; Maximin, burning to revenge his loss, was defeated by Licinius, and perished miserably: the Great Tenth Persecution came to an entire end : and to the joy of the Church, Constantine and Licinius were recognized as joint Augusti.

But the persecution, though no longer formidable, had not entirely ceased at Alexandria, when S. Achillas was called from his labours. Two candidates appeared for the vacant Chair: the one was Arius; the other Alexander, the friend of Achillas, the disciple of Peter, and a man generally beloved for the sweetness and gentleness of his disposition. The latter was elected by unanimous consent of clergy and people: and Arius, who could not endure this preference of his rival, determined to find some pretext for separating himself from his communion.

The Meletians, who had not refrained from calumniating Achillas, continued their accusations against Alexander; and they even went so far as to lay a formal complaint against him before the Emperor: whether Licinius or Constantine be meant it is impossible to decide. It would appear also that Alexandria was troubled by a faction, headed by one Crescentius, who was schismatical on the proper time of observing Easter; and that Alexander was obliged to compose a treatise on the received practice.

As the life of Alexander was perfectly irreproachable, Arius was reduced to calumniate his doctrine. An occasion soon presented itself. The Prelate, in one of his sermons, maintained the Unity of the Trinity; and this statement was branded by Arius with the title of Sabellianism. If the Father, he argued, has begotten a Son, there must be a period at which the Son was begotten; and consequently there must be a period when He had no being. Hence it followed that the Son of God was created by the Father; and Arius attributed to Him the power of either holiness or sin, maintaining that by His Free Will He chose the former, being equally capable, had He so chosen, of the latter. The heretic did not at first dare to preach this doctrine; it would have been heard with undisguised horror. But in private conversations he seized every opportunity of insinuating it; and being respected for his sobriety and gravity, endued with great powers of persuasion, and in the decline of life, he soon found himself followed with eagerness, and heard with attention. Thus it happened, that many were already seduced to heresy before S. Alexander was aware of the danger. In the meanwhile, the different parish priests of Alexandria,—for Alexandria, as we had occasion to observe in the introduction, was, like Rome, divided into parish churches or *titles*, to which the different Presbyters were attached,—maintained different doctrines, and the faithful were distracted, divided, and perplexed by the voices of their teachers. The trumpet gave an uncertain sound; and who could prepare himself for the battle? It would appear

that, at this time, the church of Baucalis, as it was the oldest, so also was it the most honourable cure; it was in the heart of the mercantile part of the city, and Arius thence acquired greater influence. He was supported, among the parish priests, by Carponas, and Sarmates, by Aithalas, Achilles, and his own namesake Arius; among the deacons, by Euzoius, Macarius, Julius, Menas, and Helladius. Alexander, seems, at the outset, to have hesitated as to his proper course; and a momentary appearance of irresolution encouraged the discord. The Arians exclaimed against him as a Sabellian; some of the Catholics called him an Arian, because, in their judgment, he did not show sufficient vigour in putting down the new sect; and Coluthus, one of the parish priests, separated himself from the communion of his Bishop, and even ventured (not, it is hinted, without simony,) to ordain Presbyters pretending that the necessities of the times justified him in this action. As schism is seldom unaccompanied by false doctrine, he further taught that God is not the Author of evil, which proposition, though capable of a Catholic sense, is heretical in that which Colathus attached to it: namely, that God does not produce those evils which, as punishments, afflict men. The Coluthians were never a powerful sect and in the end, by no uncommon change, the greater part of the followers,—for the leader himself, as we shall see, recanted his errors,—allied themselves with the Arians.

At length the evil rose to such a height, that Alexander was compelled to take some decisive step for its termination. He summoned a meeting of the clergy of Alexandria, and allowed to all a full liberty of explaining and defending their sentiments. Willing rather to persuade by reason, than to force by authority, he refrained at first from giving his own judgment: and the conference closed without any result, both parties claiming the victory. A second assembly, held with the same intention, equally failed of attaining its end. It was probably in one of these two meetings that Arius presented to his Bishop a confession of faith, very simple in its expressions, and bearing on its face a Catholic sense: but so contrived as to be capable of perversion to the heretic's own meaning : and which was therefore rejected as unsatisfactory.

The heresy every day increasing, Alexander, after a solemn warning to Arius to renounce his errors, and to return to the Doctrine of the Apostles, found that his only resource lay in excommunication. Assembling then the principal Priests of Alexandria, and of the neighbouring province of Mareotis, he proposed that sentence accordingly. The partisans of Arius made a show of defence: but their efforts were unavailing. Five Priests and five Deacons only attached themselves to his faction; thirty-six Priests, and forty-four Deacons signed the sentence against him. Among the former, Coluthus signs first: but this must have been a different person from the author of the schism. Among the latter, the signatures occur of two that bear the name of Athanasius.

One of these was already in the confidence of Alexander, and had given promise of the highest talent. He was known by a treatise against the Gentiles: in which, though the writer had not much exceeded the twentieth year of his age, he displayed such power of argument, such acquaintance with Scripture, such deep learning, united with so much wit, and such elegance of expression, that great things were expected from him. Born about the year 296, his tender youth had exempted him from the fury of the Tenth Persecution; but doubtless, in the Martyrdoms that he must himself have witnessed, and in the many more which must have formed the daily topic of



conversation, his mind was led to that energetic sense of His full and proper Divinity, Who was the strength of the Martyrs, that, in after times, wrought such wonders for the Church. He was thoroughly educated in profane as well as in Christian antiquity and Homer and Plato seem to have been, in an especial manner, his admiration and study. In short, it might be said of him, as it was of another, that he “was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds”.

Arius, on his condemnation by the Synod of Alexandria, far from owning himself in the wrong, was but the more eager to strengthen his party, and to procure, by fair means or foul, a reversal of his sentence. Finding that his partisans were outnumbered in the metropolis, he excited, by letters and by friends, the other portions of Egypt. In Mareotis, especially, he was successful; and in Libya, his native country, Secundus, Bishop of Ptolemais, Theonas of Marmarica, (the latter of whom is said to have been consecrated by the Meletians,) Secundus of Teuchiri, and Zephyrius of Barce, pledged themselves to the new heresy. Among the laity of Alexandria, great progress was made by the insinuating manners and plausible language of Arius; and among the consecrated virgins he drew away great numbers. Alexander found that the struggle, far from being terminated by the decision of his first synod, grew daily more formidable: and threatened the very foundations of his Church. He therefore convoked a general Council of his province: and we now, for the first time, learn the number of Prelates over whom the Patriarch of Alexandria presided: the synod was attended by nearly one hundred: and it would appear that very few could have been absent. Arius and his friends prepared themselves to the utmost of their ability for their trial; but notwithstanding the equivocal manner in which they stated their dogmas, and their ingenuity in so couching their sentences as to be patient of a Catholic sense, they excited the horror of the synod. They stated, to use S. Alexander’s own words, that God was not always a Father : but that there was a period in which He was not so ; that God, Who is, created Him That was not from that which is not; wherefore there was a time when the Son was not, because He is a creature and a thing made; that He is not similar to the Father in substance, nor His True and genuine Word and Wisdom;—but when called so, is named so in an improper and lax signification, as having His origin from the proper Word of God, and the Wisdom that is in Him, by which He made all things, and among them the Son,—for the heretics thus distinguished a twofold Word, and a twofold Wisdom. One of the Prelates, whose zeal for the truth led him to put the matter in its clearest and simplest light, inquired, whether in the opinion of Arius, the Son of God could change, as Satan had changed? And the heretic unblushingly replied. “He can, because He is by nature not immutable”. The Prelates, on hearing this and other dogmas, came to an unanimous conclusion, and declaring Arius and his followers separate from the Communion of the Catholic Church, delivered them over to an anathema, till such time as they should repent and recant.

Among all the losses that Ecclesiastical History has sustained, none is more to be regretted than the loss of a complete Arian account of these events, such as that of Philostorgius. Till we have it,—though it is not probable that such a work now exists, we shall never be able to explain that wonderful mystery, the early progress of Arianism. A Priest at Alexandria,—and that, too, a man branded as the follower of a



convicted schismatic,—proclaims a novel doctrine : two synods are convoked against it and condemn it; and yet within six years, it convulses the whole Church from Britain to India; and compels an Emperor to interfere in the restoration of peace. It is not wonderful that Catholic writers, more especially such as were engaged in the struggle, should have been so preoccupied with their sense of the blasphemy of the new system, that they had no eyes for its plausibility. Thus, Alexander mentions with horror the dogma of Arius,—“There was a time when the Son was not, as being a creature and a thing made”. Doubtless the heresiarch replied, Dionysius also said, “As being a thing made. He was not before He was produced”. If Arius asserted, the Son of God is not similar to the Father in substance,—Dionysius had said, “He is different (we might rather say, *alien*) from the Father in substance”. And though the Catholics might rejoin, and we may allow, and have allowed, that the Patriarch was speaking of the Son of God as regarded His Humanity,—or that he was merely stating the case very strongly against Sabellianism, or that, whatever he meant at the time, he gave it a Catholic explanation afterwards, for he never retracted it, the statement of the Arians would seem to a mind incapable of weighing evidence far more plausible than the laborious, however true, explanation of the Catholics. This is but one instance of the manner in which we must conceive those in the Communion of the Church to have understated the strong points of the Arians. There must, too, among the latter, have been much apparent holiness of life: and doubtless, among the earlier followers of Arius, much real conscientiousness. And here again it is certain that the Catholics, fully (and most justly) persuaded that heresy implies a wicked heart, spoke of those as notoriously flagitious, whose heterodoxy was the only proof that they were so. We cannot imagine that the people of Ptolemais, after having been governed by a Martyr like S. Theodore, could quietly have submitted to the rule of Secundus, his successor, and the patron of Arius, had he been at that time in appearance the villain that S. Athanasius calls him, and that he afterwards proved himself to be.

But, after all, these considerations, though full weight be granted them, are far too confined to account for the instantaneous stride of Arianism from the weakness of infancy to the strength of a giant. Alexander and Arius are not to be regarded as simply the heads of two contending factions; but as the embodiments of two principles, which had from the beginning conflicted in the Church, but had never encountered each other on the same scale as now. That the tradition of the Church, from Apostolic times, was in favour of the teaching of S. Alexander, was sanctioned by the Council of Nicaea, and asserted the true and proper Divinity of the Saviour, is a point that has been triumphantly proved by Catholics of all ages. But it is not less true, that a tradition, disavowed by the Church, but still existing in it, an under-current to the recognized course of the stream, had also existed from primitive times: and taught the opposite doctrine. It was this principle which, assuming different appearances, but still acting to the same end, had in the first century broken forth in the heresies of Cerinthus and Ebion, in the third, in that of Paul of Samosata and now, finding the Church free from external tribulations, made Arius its mouthpiece. It was but necessary to strike the chord, and in every country hearts were found to respond; the train had long since been laid, and the weakest hand could fire it. The creed of Arius was not heard by his disciples as something new and unknown; they recognized it as the true and boldly

developed expression of what they had previously held by implication, but had shrunk from acknowledging nakedly. It is easy to see that many of the texts quoted on both sides in defence of their doctrine, could never have been so cited, had they not come down to them invested with a traditional explanation:—for instance, “My heart hath produced a good Word”, on the part of the Catholics; “For we which live are always”, on that of the Arians. And thus it happens that a City Priest has hardly been condemned in Alexandria, when Egypt echoes with his doctrine; hardly anathematized in a Provincial Synod, when Antioch and the whole East is lit up with the controversy.

For it was soon evident that the Council of Alexandria was insufficient to stop the evil. Pistus, a priest of Mareotis, who had apparently been condemned with Arius, was considered second only to him in talents and influence: and he was afterwards raised, by the heretical faction, to the Episcopate of Alexandria. The Deacon Euzoius, then one of the most zealous among the new party, attained, as we shall see, to the same dignity at Antioch.

But now a new actor appeared on the stage, who quickly reduced Arius, however he might still be considered the head of his own peculiar sect, to a second rank in the grand movement that was troubling the Church. This was Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia; one of the most hateful characters whom history records. He was possessed of all the talents which were the most likely to give influence at court : an insinuating manner, a ready flow of eloquence, the reality of some learning, the affectation of more; an insatiable ambition, a conscience that never stood in the way of preferment: a sanctity of demeanour so great, that miracles were ascribed to him; an inward depravity so foul that he is accused of having joined Licinius in his persecution. To that tyrant he had rendered essential services; and had even borne arms for him. Raised to the See of Berytus in Phoenicia, in a manner contrary to the Canons, and which gave some reason for doubting whether he had ever received valid consecration, he found himself discontented with the comparative obscurity of that city, though one of the largest in those parts; and casting his eye on those sees which from time to time became vacant, he could find none more suitable to his projects than that of Nicomedia. Not only was this city reckoned the fifth in the world, but it possessed the principal palace of the Eastern Emperor, which Diocletian had built there : and as the Metropolis of Bithynia, it gave considerable ecclesiastical authority. Eusebius had already acquired great influence over Constantia, the sister of Constantine, and wife of Licinius; and this influence probably procured him the translation that he coveted. The Faithful of Nicomedia had no voice in the matter: the mandate of the Emperor prevailed; and so flagrant a violation of the Canons as an unnecessary translation was allowed to pass unnoticed or uncondemned. For Eusebius was one whom no man cared to offend; and they who did were sure, sooner or later, to rue his anger. He never forgot; and never forgave.

In what manner Arius and Eusebius had first become acquainted, it is impossible now to discover. They had long before the time of which we write, communicated to each other their sentiments on the Divinity of the Son, and found them similar. Arius, as the more fearless of the two, carried his teaching to what his friend must sometimes have considered an imprudent length; nevertheless the league between

them was firmly kept, and lasted till they were called to give an account of their evil deeds. In fact, Eusebius, after the character of the Eastern teaching, was probably the earlier inventor of the Arian system; and he always gloried in being a *Collutianist*, that is, a fellow thinker with S. Lucian of Antioch, who, whatever might have been the orthodoxy of his own faith, (which he had sealed by a glorious Martyrdom) had the misfortune of having numbered among his disciples a great part of the champions of early Arianism, or rather Eusebianism.

Arius, shortly after the Council, was compelled to leave Alexandria; perhaps because he thought that the dissemination of his heresy required his presence elsewhere; perhaps because he was banished (as he himself asserts) by Alexander. For however extraordinary this power may appear in the Prelate of a yet heathen city, it is no more than was exercised, as we have already seen, by S. Demetrius, on far less provocation, with respect to Origen. The thoughts of Arius naturally turned to Asia; but before leaving Egypt, he addressed a letter to Eusebius, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, and to ask his sympathy. This epistle, which is extant, displays most fully the character of the two men. On the side of Arius, there is abject flattery; falsehoods which he and Eusebius must equally have known to be so; the most unfounded calumnies against Alexander, and the most determined perseverance in his own doctrine. The unbounded vanity of Eusebius, his willingness to be deceived, his wish to deceive, are most clearly displayed in this letter of his correspondent.—“Your sentiments”, he replied, “are just;—that which was made was not before it had been made, because its existence had a beginning”.

Arius, on this, went into Palestine, accompanied by several of his followers, and among the rest, by Carponas and Achillas. Here his flattery won on many of the Prelates : he represented himself as one who ardently desired peace, but had been persecuted by his Bishop for the maintenance of dogmas ever held in the Church, and not invented by him; he brought forward his own views with more or less distinctness, as he saw the minds of those whom he addressed more or less disposed to embrace them, and he requested their interference with Alexander to receive him again to communion. Many fell into the snare, and, with really good intentions furnished him with the letters which he requested; some embraced the pernicious doctrine of the heretic; and but a very few stood on their guard, and requested Alexander not to re-admit Arius till he had given some satisfactory proof of penitence.

The Bishops who were the most active partisans of Arius, in addition to Eusebius, Secundus, and Theonas, were Theognius of Nicaea, Menophantes of Ephesus, Maris of Chalcedon, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda; those most opposed to him were S. Macarius of Jerusalem, S. Philogonius of Antioch, and Hellanicus of Tripoli.

Alexander, though an old man, took the most active measures to defend the Faith. Provincial Councils were held in several parts of Egypt: and the Patriarch wrote letters to all provinces of the Church, entreating the various Prelates to contend earnestly for the Truth, and to refuse Communion to Arius. As many as seventy of these

are known to have existed; and a century later they were collected as curiosities. But two only of them remain to us. They were not without their effect; and those addressed to the Bishops of Palestine, among others to the celebrated historian, Eusebius of Caesarea, a man disposed towards Arianism, but wishing to stand well with all parties, obliged Arius to retire to Nicomedia. The subtle Eusebius, of Nicomedia, now openly coming forward as his champion, wrote again and again to Alexander to rescind his condemnation; and he writes Arius himself addressed a letter to his Bishop, which we still have.

He professed to believe in One God; Only wise, good, just and powerful; in One Son of God begotten by Him before the worlds, by Whom He made the worlds; begotten by Him, not in appearance, but in verity; created by Him unchangeable; though a Creature, yet not like His other creatures; though a Son, not like His other sons : not come forth from the Father, as Valentinus held, not consubstantial with Him, as Manes taught; not confounded with Him, as Sabellius averred: “all which heresies”, adds Arius, addressing Alexander, “yourself, Blessed Pope, have condemned”. From the Father, he proceeds, the Son received life and glory: the Father is the Source of all: so that in the Godhead are three Hypostases. And the epistle concludes with the assertion that S. Alexander had formerly taught the doctrine now condemned by him, the existence of the Father before the Son. This confession of faith was signed by such disciples of Arius as were with him at Nicomedia; and when it reached Egypt, by Secundus, Theonas, and probably others.

It was probably not till then that Alexander wrote an encyclic Epistle, containing a brief history of the Arian schism, and an exposition of the True Faith. It opens thus beautifully:

“To his beloved and most honourable fellow ministers in all parts of the Catholic Church, Alexander, Salutation in the Lord.

“Since the body of the Catholic Church is one, and there is a command in the Divine Scriptures, that we should keep the bond of like-mindedness and peace, it follows that we by letter should signify to each other that which happens to each; that whether one member suffer, all the members may suffer with it, or whether it joy, all may rejoice with it. Wherefore, in our Dioecese, certain men have gone forth, workers of iniquity and the enemies of Christ, teaching an Apostacy which may well be thought and called the forerunner of Antichrist. I would fain have consigned a matter of this sort to silence, that, if it might be so, the evil might have an end in the apostates alone, lest, getting abroad into other places, it should defile the ears of the simple. But since Eusebius, now Bishop of Nicomedia, thinking that the affairs of the Church depend upon him, because, without receiving punishment, he hath forsaken his See of Berytus and set eyes on that of Nicomedia, takes the lead of these apostates, and hath taken in hand to write to all quarters, commending them, if perchance he may secretly draw the ignorant into the worst heresy,—that which fights against Christ,—I have thought it necessary to break silence, as knowing that which is written in the law, and to narrate the thing to all of you, so that you may both know them that are apostates, and the unhappy dogmas of their heresy, and if Eusebius writes, may pay no regard to him”

After stating the facts of the case, and setting forth the Apostolic Truth, S. Alexander concludes thus: —

“But we do not think it strange. The case was the same with Hymenaeus and Philetus, and before them with Judas, who, when he had been a follower of the Lord, afterwards became a traitor and an apostate. And concerning these men themselves, we have not been left untaught. But the Lord hath said before, ‘Take heed that no man deceive you: For many shall come in My Name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draweth near, and shall deceive many: go not after them’. And Paul, who had learnt these things from the Saviour, wrote, that in the last days some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, turning themselves away from the truth. Seeing then our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath signified concerning these things, both by Himself and the Apostle, we, who have been hearers for ourselves of their ungodly words, have accordingly delivered them over to an anathema, and have declared them to be aliens from the Catholic Church and the Faith. And we have set forth the matter to your piety, beloved and honourable fellow ministers, that if any of them come unto you, ye may not receive them, nor give heed to Eusebius nor to any other that write to you on their behalf. For we that are Christians ought to turn away from those that speak or think anything against Christ, as enemies of God and destroyers of souls, and not so much as bid them God speed, lest we be partakers of their iniquities, as Blessed John exhorted us afore. Salute the brethren that are with you: they that are with me salute you”. This letter was signed by a large body of Priests and Deacons, in token of their approval.

Arius, on his part, continued to receive letters of sympathy from various Bishops, and to exhibit them for the encouragement of his partisans. He also acquired influence from another source. Eusebius introduced him to the feeble-minded Constantia; and the heretic had address to win her entirely to his sentiments. Another triumph awaited him. Eusebius assembled a Provincial Council of Bithynia, and appears formally to have admitted Arius to the Communion of the Church. Authorized by this false synod, the Metropolitan, after the example of Alexander, despatched letters on all sides (as indeed in a less degree he had hitherto done): one of these, to Paulinus of Tyre, is preserved by Theodoret. In this he calls on that Bishop, as one possessed of great influence, to keep silence no longer, but openly to assert what he privately acknowledged to be the truth.

It was at this time that Arius composed that infamous work, his *Thalia*:— a work which must have proved to all earnest-minded men, that God had given him over to a reprobate mind. It was an exposition of his principles written in the style and verse of Sotades, one of the most immoral of heathen poets. The airs, the measure, the whole effect of the verse inspired horror and disgust to the better part of the heathens themselves; and Pagans, who even professed no extraordinary purity, shrank from the writings of Sotades. And this was the pattern whom a Christian Priest, in treating of the most exalted doctrines of the faith, professed to follow; these the ideas which he desired to associate with arguments concerning the sublimest mysteries of religion! Of all the writings of Arius, this inspired the faithful with the deepest loathing.



Nevertheless, George, a Priest and philosopher of Alexandria who then happened to be spending some time at Nicomedia endeavoured to interfere on behalf of Arius, and wrote to his Bishop, requesting that he might be re-admitted to Communion. The only consequence was that this man, whom S. Athanasius terms the most wicked of the Arians, was himself deposed by Alexander from the Priesthood. This loss, as we shall see, was soon counterbalanced by the favour of his new friends. Refused admittance into the Clergy of Antioch by S. Eustathius, then Bishop of that See, he obtained it on the deposition of that Saint, and was shortly afterwards elevated to the See of Laodicea.

From whatever reason, Arius preferred a residence in Palestine to one at Nicomedia. He accordingly went into that country, and presented a petition to three of the Bishops on whose good-will he could count,—Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis,—of an almost unprecedented nature. He requested that he might be allowed to assemble his own followers for the Divine Offices, as he had done when Parish Priest at Alexandria. The Prelates met to consider the demand, and agreed to it. It is wonderful that they could be blind to the inconsistency of their own conduct: they would not communicate with one whom S. Alexander had, wrongfully in their opinion, pronounced a heretic ; but they allowed him to add schism to heresy, and that in their own Dioceses. It was now that Arius, finding himself exempted by ecclesiastical authority, such as it was, from all jurisdiction whatever, took upon himself to alter the Doxology to a form, which, containing in itself nothing contrary to the Catholic Faith, yet allowed of an heretical interpretation:—*Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost*. He was anxious also to change the formula of Baptism; but this appeared, for the present, too hazardous an enterprise.

The various collections of letters made respectively by Arius and Alexander seemed to answer no further end than that of exciting emulation, and increasing controversy. Alexander, probably by the advice of Athanasius, whom he consulted in all things, devised another plan. He drew up a Confession of Faith, or, as it is generally termed, a Tome, which he dispatched to all quarters, and requested the signatures of the various Bishops. It was signed by the whole of his own Diocese, which contained, as we have seen, about one hundred Prelates; by those of Cappadocia, in number about fifteen; of Lycia, in number about thirty-two; of Pamphyha, in number about thirty-seven; of Asia Proper, about forty-three; and others. Thus we cannot imagine the whole number of signatures to have been less than two hundred and fifty.

When affairs had attained this condition, Alexander wrote the other Epistle which we have mentioned as still extant.

It is addressed to S. Alexander of Byzantium, who was not only an unshaken champion of orthodoxy, but appears to have been the tried friend of his namesake. This is the first communication that we find between the Churches of Alexandria and Constantinople, afterwards so closely to be linked together; nor was it from any superior dignity in the latter See, but simply from the venerable character of the Prelate, that Alexander consulted him in this emergency. According to some, the Bishop of



Byzantium was but the second that had governed that See:—others, but perhaps with less probability, make him the fifth.

The Epistle is of great length; and complains bitterly of the violence of the Arians. Then, as during the whole course of that heresy, its supporters seem to have relied on female influence for the propagation of their dogmas; the busy intermeddling spirit of the young women whom they had perverted to heresy at Alexandria, gave great occasion to the heathen to blaspheme. He complains of the reception of the Arian clerks, by some Prelates, contrary to the Apostolic Canon, into the Church; and calls it a grievous blot on the offenders. This Canon is probably the Sixteenth, which forbids the reception of a deposed Clerk, as a Clerk, in another Diocese. After a short narration of this sort, which infers that his correspondent was already acquainted with the general features of the case, Alexander proceeds to a confutation of the Arian theory, and doubtless drew largely on the almost inspired genius of his Deacon. He concludes his refutation thus:

“This we teach; this we preach;—these are the Apostolic dogmas of the Church, for which we are ready even to lay down our lives, making small account of them that would compel us to forswear them, even though they would force us by torture, and not turning away from the hope that is in them. Which things seeing that Arius and Achillas opposed, and they that with them are adversaries of the Truth, they have been cast out of the Church, as enemies to our pious doctrine, according as Blessed Paul saith. If any preach unto you another Gospel than that ye have received, though he feign himself an Angel from Heaven, Let him be anathema”.

He then proceeds to the subject of the Tome, to which he requests the signature of Alexander; and mentions that together with it he had sent by the same messenger, Apion, a Deacon of Alexandria, copies of some of the letters he had received from other Prelates. We cannot doubt how this Epistle was received by the holy Bishop to whom it was addressed. Of the other seventy persons to whom Alexander wrote on the same subject, we only know S. Sylvester of Rome, S. Macarius of Jerusalem, Asclepas of Gaza, Longinus of Ascalon, Macrinus of Jamnina, and Zeno, who appears to have been ex-Bishop of Tyre.

Towards the close of this Epistle, Alexander mentions that the Arians, as much as in them lay, had excited persecution against the Church in time of peace.

We must now say a few words on the persecution of Licinius. It seems to have been commenced, as much out of pique at the superior power of Constantine, as from any other cause: and it was carried on with more or less vigour, principally against the Bishops, but never with any great degree of ferocity, for about seven years. Its most illustrious Martyr in Egypt was S. Donatus, Bishop of Thmuis, and the successor of the Martyr S. Phileas. A native of some insignificant town in Istria, he went to Aquileia for the purpose of evangelizing the surrounding country:—when the persecution of Diocletian grew violent, he retired into Dalmatia, and led an eremitical life on the summit of a high mountain. Having confessed before Diocletian himself, and having by his exemplary courage converted Macarius and Theodorus, two of the bystanders, he, in

company with them, sailed to Egypt. Happening to pass through Thmuis, probably on his way to the Mountain of S. Antony, he was elected Bishop of that See, and governed it for several years, raising Macarius to the Priesthood, and Theodorus to the Diaconate. They finished their course gloriously under Licinius, being cut piecemeal; a method of execution which, as Eusebius informs us, was not unusual in this persecution.

Justly enraged at the injuries inflicted by Licinius, both on his religion and on his empire, Constantine marched against him. The armies met at Adrianople: Pagans and Christians alike owned the supernatural terror which the Labarum struck into its opponents.—Licinius left more than thirty thousand men on the field of battle, and retreated towards Asia. At Chalcedon a second and more decisive engagement was fought: Licinius was totally defeated and taken prisoner: the conqueror spared his life, but sent him to Thessalonica : and there, as his restless spirit urged him on to fresh attempts at agitation, he was strangled in the course of the succeeding year.

Constantine, thus become Master of the world, learnt with becomes deep sorrow the distracted state of the East. But, unhappily, Eusebius of Nicomedia, far from being overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron Licinius, obtained equal, if not greater influence over the mind of the new Emperor. Capricious almost to imbecility by nature, elated by his rapid and extraordinary rise, naturally regarded with the greatest deference by the Prelates of that Church which he had saved from persecution, and believing himself, though a mere catechumen, as qualified to be the supreme moderator of ecclesiastical, as well as civil, affairs, Constantine presented the character most exactly suited to the insidious attacks of such a master of finesse as Eusebius. It was easy to represent to the Emperor that the controversy at Alexandria had arisen from the discussion of an unimportant question, which ought never to have been mooted, or, when unfortunately raised, to have been instantly quashed;—that a frivolous distinction had lighted up discord throughout the Earth, had divided families, and separated friends:—and that the only remedy lay in compelling the authors of the controversy to reconciliation. Constantine fell into the snare:—and he wrote, or it were more true to say, suffered Eusebius to write in his name, the disgraceful epistle, which Eusebius the Historian has from his hatred to Catholic Doctrine, taken pleasure in preserving to us whole, if, indeed, he have not, contrary to his profession, mutilated and corrupted it.

It is addressed simply to Alexander and Arius; and its whole tenor is based on this one notion,—that if Arius had been somewhat too pertinacious in refusing, Alexander had been tyrannical in exacting the profession of an unimportant dogma; that such disputes might be beneficial as exercises of subtlety, and mediums of oratorical display, but that when discussed by the vulgar, incapable of curious distinctions and accurate definitions, they became highly injurious and perilous : that no essential part of the Christian Law was at stake, no new dogma in the worship of God had been introduced: that philosophers of different sects lived in friendly communication,—much more should the teachers of Christianity agree to differ: that they who should be the first in binding their people together in peace, were the authors of innumerable and interminable discussions. “Restore to me”, concludes the Emperor, “quiet days, and nights void of care: that henceforward I may have the joy of Pure Light, and the gladness of a quiet life. This if I gain not, I must needs lament, and be dissolved in tears,

and go heavily for the remainder of my days. For when the people of God, my fellow servants, are divided by unjust and harmful contention, how can I be of unmoved soul? . . . Open to me, by your reconciliation, the way to the East, which ye have closed by your contentions: and allow me speedily to behold yourselves and all other people at union, so that I may be enabled, with the unanimous accordance of every mouth, to return thanks to God for the common concord and liberty of all”.

To this effect wrote Eusebius of Nicodemia: thus openly did he declare the dispute to be a mere strife of words which involved the question, whether the Saviour were a mere creature, or Very God of Very God. The state of Arius himself, who boldly accused the Catholics of idolatry, were surely enviable, in comparison with that of this Bishop.

The messenger who was entrusted with the Royal Letter was Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, a Prelate who was destined to act a foremost part in the troublous times that followed;—and one who, had he not lived too long for his own fame, might have held the second place among the Saints that suffered in the Arian persecution. He was now almost seventy years of age, so that he had not only stood firm during the persecution of Maximian, which raged with peculiar fury in Spain, but must have well remembered that of Aurelian. How Eusebius could suggest or consent to the nomination of such a Commissioner, it is difficult to say: unless the great age, well known sanctity, and tried prudence of Hosius, rendered the Emperor’s choice too manifestly proper to be gainsaid. He was also charged with an inquiry, as it would appear, into the conduct of the Meletians and Coluthians; and was to use his influence in composing the long continued disputes concerning the proper time of the celebration of Easter.

On the arrival of Hosius, a Council was held at Alexandria, the acts of which have unfortunately perished. It only appears that the heresy both of Arius, and, of Sabellius, were thoroughly sifted;—that the word *Consubstantial* was formally approved;—that Arius was excommunicated afresh; that the Meletians were condemned anew;—and that Coluthus and his partisans were summoned before the Synod. His assumed power of ordination was derided as an unheard of novelty:—those on whom he had laid hands, (and among them, the afterwards notorious Ischyras,) were reduced to the rank of laymen; but both the schismatic and the greater part of his followers were, on their recantation, admitted to the Communion of the Church. How, as we have elsewhere said, could the Council have come to such a determination on the Orders conferred by Coluthus, if within the memory of living men, the Bishop of Alexandria had received no other ordination?

The Arians, throughout Egypt and the Thebais, on the result of the Council being known, joined by the Meletians, committed the wildest acts of fury. They insulted the Catholics; they cast stones at the statues of the Emperor;— every petty town was filled with controversial disputes. The contemporary Fathers give a lively picture of the popular interest, and fearful irreverence displayed on the question. On asking for the necessities of life in the inn, in the bath, at the shop of the baker or that of the shoemaker, the inquirer, instead of receiving the reply he expected, was met with the answer, “Great is the Only-Begotten, but greater is He That begot”. Women were more

especially active in propagating the new sentiments; and the female disciples of Arius were, in particular, the curse of Alexandria.

Arius, on this, addressed a letter to Constantine, complaining of his unjust excommunication; and the Emperor replied by an Epistle, not indeed without its force of argument and vigour of expression, but utterly unworthy of the author and the occasion, inasmuch as it condescends to play on the name and to ridicule the person of the heretic. It concluded with an invitation to Arius to plead his own cause at court. This letter was brought to Alexandria by the Public Couriers, Syncletius and Gaudentius, and was fixed in the public places of this and the other principal cities of the Empire. Arius, however, did not lose courage, but presented himself personally to Constantine, on whom, though he concealed the poison of his heresy, he was not, at that time, able to make a favourable impression.

At length, wearied out with disputes, and urged by the authority of Alexander and Hosius, Constantine summoned an Ecumenical Council, at the city of Nicaea in Bithynia, for the fourteenth day of June, A.D. 325.

### SECTION XVI.

#### THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF NICAEA

If, on commencing the relation of an arduous war, it be the practice of profane historians to number the contending chieftains, to characterize their various constitutions of mind, to catalogue their most illustrious actions, and thus to bring them forth on the field of battle,—much more, about to enter on the most fearful struggle in which the Church was ever engaged, and to write of its august opening in the ever memorable Council of Nicaea, may we be allowed to pause for a moment on the principal Prelates who there assembled, and on the noble deeds of this great host of the King of Kings. Among these “three hundred and eighteen trained servants” of the True Abraham, were men who carried about with them the glorious marks of Confession in the Tenth Persecution,—men on whom distant Churches had hung as Columns of the One Faith,—men, in whom the Apostolic gifts still dwelt in all their pristine vigour,—men, who had not only the power of binding and loosing in Heaven, but of healing diseases, and of raising the dead, on earth. They gathered from every province of the known world, an exceeding great army of Prelates, an innumerable multitude of Priests and Deacons; they came to compare the Creeds taught in their Churches by the Apostolic founders of each, and to bear witness to the Truth of the same Holy Ghost That spoke by all;—they came to invest traditional faith with infallible words, and to rear an everlasting bulwark between the Church and heresy:—they assembled from Italy and Spain, and Africa, and the Goths, and Palestine, and Cappadocia, and Isauria, and

Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and the Pentapolis; the Euphrates and the Guadalquivir, the Tiber and the Nile, the Danube and the Orontes, sent forth their champions for the Verity of Catholic Creed, and the Glory of the Consubstantial. There was S. Macarius of Jerusalem, illustrious for many miracles: there was S. Eustathius of Antioch, who had raised a dead man to life : there was S. James of Nisibis, who by the power of his intercession routed Sapor and all the flower of the Persian host; there was S. Leontius of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, “the equal of the Angels” and the spiritual Father of many Martyrs; S. Hypatius of Gangra, who himself attained the Crown of Martyrdom, and breathed out his spirit in a petition for his murderers; S. Paul of Neocaesarea, who had been mutilated in the persecution of Licinius; S. Alexander of Constantinople, at whose supplication Divine Vengeance overwhelmed Arius; S. Nicasius of Die, the only delegate from the ever orthodox Gaul; Protogenes of Sardica, the bulwark of the Dacian Church; S. Meletius of Sebastopolis, who fought his good fight in Armenia; S. Spiridion of Tremithus, the glory of Cyprus; S. Achilleus of Larissa, the Athanasius of Thessaly; S. Gelasius of Salamis, who had been all but a Martyr; and multitudes of other Prelates, whose names, less famous in the Church Militant, were doubtless not the less surely written in the Book of Life.

In such an august assembly, then, did S. Alexander, with twenty of his Prelates, appear. Of these the most famous were S. Potamon of Heraclea, who had lost an eye under Maximin, and whom we shall see hereafter a faithful Martyr, under Constantius; —and S. Paphnutius, from the Thebais, so renowned for his Confession and Sanctity. But of all that went from the Diocese of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, at that great crisis, stood foremost. Among the Egyptian Prelates were three, Secundus, Zephyrius, and Dathes, who were infected with Arianism; they were all from Libya, a proof how great was the influence that Arius, Secundus and Theonas had possessed in their own neighbourhood. The Egyptian Bishops, as all the other Fathers, were furnished with public conveyances, and had every expense paid, by a rescript of the Emperor issued for that purpose.

It is evidently beyond our proposed scheme to write more at length of the proceedings at Nicaea, than may be necessary for the perfect understanding of the affairs of that Church whose history we have taken in hand to relate. The condemnations of Arius and Meletius are essential to that end; on the other regulations of the Council we shall dwell with extreme brevity.

S. Sylvester, then filling the Chair of Rome, sent two Priests, Vitus, otherwise called Viton, and Vincent, as his Legates to the Council; being unable, through his great age and infirmities, to be present in person. It thus fell to S. Alexander of Alexandria to preside: but he, doubtless, was unwilling to sit as judge where he was both the chief accuser and the principal witness. On this, the right of precedence devolved on S. Eustathius of Antioch; and he it was, in all probability, who did accordingly preside. It has often been asserted, that Hosius, as one of the Pope’s Legates, filled that post: but it seems almost certain, that this venerable Prelate was not a Legate from Rome: and the arguments for his presidency, though strong, are not overpowering. That he was the life and soul of the Council, none denies; at the same time, it would be a painful reflection

that the formal head of this great Synod had, at a later period, fallen away from the Faith of which he was then the principal support.

But if, in this august assembly, the numbers of the Catholics were far superior to those of their adversaries, the latter formed a well-arranged phalanx, wanting neither courage nor art, strong in the favour of court parasites and eunuchs of the bedchamber, troubled with no scruples, and hesitating at no degradation. Of these, who numbered seventeen or eighteen, Eusebius of Nicomedia occupied the first place; Eusebius of Caesarea the Ecclesiastical Historian, Paulinus of Tyre, Aetius of Lydda, the two excommunicated Libyan Bishops, Secundus and Theonas, possessed great influence; while Menophantus of Ephesus, as at that time next in rank to the See of Antioch, and Theognius, as Bishop of the city in which the Council were assembled, must have possessed an importance to which their talents and reputation do not seem to have entitled them.

The Council was opened on the nineteenth day of June, the Emperor being absent. For the first fortnight, the Bishops held frequent meetings in the principal church of the city, for the purpose of hearing, from the mouth of Arius himself, the doctrines which had thus disturbed the peace of the Church. The heretic, standing as it were at bay, concealed nothing: he openly declared that the Son of God had been created from nothing: that He was capable of holiness and sin, and had, of His own free will, preferred holiness; and that, in the purest sense of the word. He was a creature and a work of the Father. At these blasphemies, the greater part of the Prelates stopped their ears; but the Eusebians were instant that the doctrine should be examined: if new, it might be supported; if strange, explained. The Confessors as loudly exclaimed that the ancient tradition should, without re-examination, be maintained and asserted.

In the midst of these disputes, Constantine, who had been celebrating at Nicomedia the anniversary of his first victory over Licinius, arrived at Nicaea. His entry was made on the eve of the day which had been appointed for the solemn session of the Council. Some of the Bishops, influenced probably by Arian wiles, repaired to the Emperor, and presented memorials on injustices alleged to have been committed by each other;—and Constantine, retaining them in his possession, promised to give them his attention.

The appointed day having arrived, the Fathers assembled in the great hall of the Palace, where seats had been arranged, correspondent with the number of the Prelates. They took their places, and waited in silence for the entry of the Emperor.

As many of the Bishops were little skilled in human learning, and entirely unacquainted with the rules of controversy, some learned men, as well Priests as Laics, were present to render their assistance.

The Emperor entered, in his robe of purple, studded with precious stones: his retinue consisted of a few unarmed Christians: the assembly rose as one man: Constantine blushed and, passing up the hall, stood before a little throne prepared for him at its higher end. The Bishops made signs to him to seat him-self; and when he had



done so, they all took their places. Eustathius of Antioch, who occupied the highest seat on the Emperor's right hand, then rose, and addressed the Council in a short congratulatory speech; the Emperor replied by expressing his joy at meeting so large an assembly, and his hope that their deliberations would lead to unanimity. He spoke in Latin; and an interpreter translated his words into Greek, which was the native language of the greater part of the Fathers.

The progress which was made in each of the sessions held after the arrival of Constantine is quite unknown to us; and can only be discovered if researches in Oriental Monasteries should bring any contemporary history of the Council to light.

The first subject brought under consideration, was the heresy of Arius. The Catholic Bishops demanded of his supporters an account both of their principles, and of the reasons which had led them to embrace their present views; the heretics, in endeavouring to answer, disagreed as much among themselves, as they did with the orthodox. The Emperor paid great attention to the arguments on both sides: he addressed the disputants in Greek, which he spoke with tolerable ease, moderating their eagerness, and endeavouring to his utmost ability to promote union. S. Athanasius, in all these disputes, signalized himself as the most powerful champion against the Eusebians;—and thereby attracted that implacable hatred on their part, which intrigues of ceased not to pursue him to the end of his days. Eusebius of Nicomedia finding that if Arius were condemned, his own deposition might very possibly follow, applied himself to win Constantine through some of his Court favourites. The scheme failed, and the Bishop himself was exposed to the horror and indignation of the Council by the production of a letter in which he said, intending a *reductio ad absurdum*,—If it be asserted that Jesus Christ is Very and Uncreated Son of God, it is almost the same thing as asserting that He is Consubstantial with the Father. The letter was torn in pieces by the Council, in token of abhorrence.

Nor did Eusebius of Caesarea fare better. He composed a Creed, which he endeavoured to pass off as the true sentiments of his party; and which he affirms to have been received with applause by the Council, and merely rejected because it did not employ the Word Consubstantial. But this falsehood is worthy of its author. For the fact is, that it was rejected with disgust, as an attempt to condemn the grosser expressions, while it maintained the doctrine of Arius. This Creed ran as follows. “ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible: And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the Only Begotten Son, the First-Born of every creature: begotten of the Father before all worlds, by Whom all things were made, Who for our salvation took flesh and had His conversation among men : and suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father; and shall come again with glory to judge the quick and dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. Believing that each of These are and subsist: the Father Very Father, the Son Very Son, the Holy Ghost Very Holy Ghost: as our Lord, sending forth His Disciples to preach, said, Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Concerning which we also affirm that these things thus are, and that we thus believe, and have ever thus held, and will constantly remain in this faith till death, anathematizing every godless heresy”.

It was therefore necessary to proceed to some more Catholic exposition of the Faith.

The Fathers first advanced as the most simple proposition: “The Word is God”. The Arians agreed; so, they said, after a certain sort are all men: for it is written. All things are of God. To press the matter still more closely, the Council next asserted that the Son was the Virtue, the Wisdom, the Eternal Image of the Father: like Him in all things, immutable, eternally subsistent in Him. The Arians, by emphasizing certain words of this statement, declared their willingness to subscribe to it. He is the Image of the Father: for it is written that man was made in His image: He is *in* Him: for it is written; in Him we live and move; eternally, or always, in Him: for it is written, “for we which live are always”; the Virtue and Power of God, for we are told of many such. The Fathers exclaimed, He is Very God. He is so, replied the Arians; if He has been verily so made, verily He so is.

Then the Council, purposing to leave no subterfuge, said: — The Son of God is CONSUBSTANTIAL with the Father. And here the Arians would not follow. They would not affirm that He is not only similar, but inseparable, not only like, but the same; that that may be predicated of Him with respect to the Father, which can be predicated of no creature.

And doubtless this word was the greater affliction to the Arians, because it was, as it were, a sword borrowed from their own armoury. If the Son be as the Catholics would have Him, they had said, He must be Consubstantial with the Father. He must be, the Fathers would seem to reply:—and so He is. Their opponents loudly clamoured against the term. One thing, they said, can be consubstantial to another only in three ways. Either by production, as a plant and its root: by procession, as a child and its father : by division, as the several pieces of a broken mass. The Catholics explained that the word was to be taken in a divine and heavenly sense, and not according to the gross meaning which the Arians put upon it. The next shift of the heretics was the assertion, that the term had been condemned in the Council of Antioch, held against Paul of Samosata. For this very reason, replied the faithful, that it had been applied in a gross and earthly manner. Lastly, the Eusebians objected that it was not a Scriptural word. The orthodox answered, that neither were many terms employed by the Arians themselves; and that the word (which indeed, Eusebius himself confesses) had been employed by several of the most eminent Doctors of the Church. Paying, therefore, no attention to these representations, the Council proceeded to draw up a Symbol of Faith. It would appear that this task was entrusted to a committee, of which Hosius of Cordova acted as chairman; it is certain that S. Athanasius also had a hand in it, and we probably shall not err, in imagining S. Alexander, who had written so much and so well on the subject, and who is known to have had so much authority in the Synod, to have been one of its framers. It was copied out and read by S. Hermogenes, afterwards Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia : which would lead to the supposition that S. Leontius, the then Bishop of that See, was also one of the framers of the Creed.

Thus then, spoke the Church.

“We BELIEVE IN One God, the Father Almighty, Maker OF ALL THINGS, VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE:

And IN One Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son OF God, begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, Consubstantial with the Father: by Whom all things were made, both in Heaven AND on Earth: Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man : He suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into Heaven : and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost.

And for them that say, concerning the Son of God, There was a time when He was not, and He was not before He was produced, and He was produced from things THAT ARE NOT, AND, HR IS OF ANOTHER SUBSTANCE OR ESSENCE, or created, or subject to conversion or mutation, the Catholic and Apostolic Church saith, Let them be anathema”.

The creed of Nicaea was at once embraced by a very large proportion of the assembled Fathers. Seventeen alone dissented, and these urged all the objections they could raise against the adoption of the term Consubstantial. In time, however, all gave way excepting five; Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognius of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, and the Libyan Prelates, Secundus and Theonas. The three former used every effort both in the Council, and with the Emperor, to avoid signature. Nothing, however, availed them : and they found themselves driven to a choice between subscription and exile. On this, Maris reluctantly put his name to the document: Eusebius and Theognius are reputed, on Arian authority, to have inscribed an iota in the *homousion* so as to term the Son of God *Aequisubstantial* instead of Consubstantial: Eusebius moreover declaring that he subscribed the Creed but not the anathema. Secundus and Theonas alone had courage and honesty to stand firm in their sentiments. The Council condemned them with Arius and together with them Euzoius and Pistus, who were afterwards respectively intruded by the heretical faction, into the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria. They, as well as the heresiarch, were banished by the decree of the Emperor, into the province of Illyria. Here, though deposed, they persisted, it would seem, in exercising Episcopal functions; at least we find that Pope S. Julius refused ordination conferred by Secundus as invalid.

S. Alexander next brought before the Fathers the schism of Meletius:—and it is difficult to account for the lenity with which the Council treated its originator. Perhaps it was feared that harshness might induce the Meletians to throw themselves unreservedly unto the party of the Arians, with whom they had already formed a connexion; perhaps Alexander himself was not unwilling, having been compelled to proceed with the greatest vigour against the Arians, and thereby having incurred the imputation of acting from personal motives, to show, in a point where moderation might more safely be employed, that he was willing to sacrifice all things for the sake of peace, truth alone excepted. Another reason has been suggested in the excessive eagerness of Constantine himself to compose differences. However this may be,

Meletius was received to Communion, and permitted to retain the title of Bishop: while he was forbidden for the future to exercise any episcopal functions, and another Prelate was given to the Church of Lycopolis, if indeed, a Catholic had not been ordained there previously. As to those whom he had consecrated, they were to be received into the Church by imposition of hands, and to continue in that rank, to which he had elevated them : though they were to yield precedence to such as had been canonically ordained by Alexander. In case of the death of any of those Prelates who had remained in the Communion of the Church, his place might be supplied by one of those who had been consecrated by Meletius, at the choice of the people, and by the confirmation of the Bishop of Alexandria. To prevent the possibility of any collusion, Meletius was ordered to present a list of those whom he had elevated to any ecclesiastical office. On his return to Alexandria, he complied with the injunction: and gave in the names of twenty-eight Bishops, besides eight Priests or Deacons.

The event, as we shall see, proved the lenity of the Council to have been much misplaced; and the terms in which S. Athanasius speaks of it, prove clearly his opinion of the ill-judged character of the measure.

Thus far is the Council of Nice intimately connected with the welfare of the Alexandrian Church. With its decision of the question about Easter, we are no further concerned than to remark, that it was now made the office of the Bishop of Alexandria to give notice of the true day to his brother of Rome, and by his means, to the whole Catholic Church.

Of the twenty celebrated Canons of Nicaea, one only concerns the Church of Alexandria. The Sixth Canon provides for the observation of the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; confirming to the Bishop of Alexandria his right of alone ordaining Bishops in those provinces. But we must not omit mention of the manner in which S. Paphnutius, the Egyptian Bishop of whom we have before spoken, distinguished himself in the debate on the celibacy of the clergy. In the consideration of the Third Canon, which forbade the clergy to retain the practice prevalent in some places, of having women, known by the title of *subintroduced*, to manage their domestic affairs, and limiting those who might dwell in the same house, to mothers, aunts, or sisters, some of the Fathers were desirous of ordaining that any Clerk married before his ordination must after it observe continence. S. Paphnutius opposed this, and as he himself was unmarried, and of notoriously pure life, his opinion had great weight. “The Church had advanced”, he said, “that none could marry after the reception of Holy Orders : let that suffice; to press the matter further would rather tend to immorality than to chastity. S. Paul had declared that marriage was honourable in all; and the liberty received from our fathers should be left to our posterity”. This opinion prevailed.

The synodal letter of the Nicene Council, recapitulating its proceedings, was addressed to the Churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, in the first place, and in them to all Catholic Churches. The principal Bishops were ordered to make known the decrees of the Council to the Prelates in their various countries; so that while the news of the triumph of the Faith was propagated by Osius to Spain, France, and Britain, it

was at the same time announced by means of John, Bishop of Persia, to the Faithful as far as Malabar and the borders of China.

The Council was terminated on the twenty-fifth of August; on which day Constantine gave a banquet to the Bishops, in honour of its conclusion, and of the commencement of the twentieth year of his reign, having deferred the latter ceremony for a month, that the two might coincide. Eusebius of Caesarea pronounced a panegyric on Constantine : and the feast which followed was one that might become such guests on such an occasion. The Emperor dismissed the Prelates with magnificent presents, and earnest exhortations to peace and unity.

The Eastern Church commemorates the Fathers of Nicaea; the Western Church has not followed its example.

We must now say something on those Ecclesiastical laws, commonly known by the name of the Arabic Canons of Nicaea, and considered by the Eastern Church authoritative. Isidore Mercator is the first Western author who mentions them; and he appears never to have seen them, merely saying that he had heard of other Canons of Nicaea in the Eastern Church, which were of considerable length, and superior in size to the four Gospels. The Crusaders seem to have known nothing of them: nor were they accessible to Europeans till edited as genuine in the seventeenth century. Now, while on the one hand, it is absurd to receive them as the work of the Nicene Fathers, as the Orientals do, and as even some members of the Roman Church have done, affirming that they took three years to compose, it is equally wrong to call them false and supposititious and to esteem them utterly valueless. For all the Oriental Churches, as well Orthodox as Nestorian and Jacobite, are agreed in receiving them, and have done so for more than a thousand years; and they are even held good in law, in those cases where by a special privilege of the Sultans or the Caliphs, the Patriarchs or the Bishops are allowed to act as temporal judges. They are, in fact, an Arabic version of the whole body of the ancient Ecclesiastical Canons, attributed by mistake to the Council of Nicaea. And this was not an uncommon error. So we find Pope S. Innocent quoting, by mistake, a Canon of Sardica for one of Nicaea, in his controversy with the African Bishops respecting the right of appeal to Rome. That there was such a collection of Canons is evident from many writers, but more especially from Photius. They were first received by the Eastern Catholics, and from them borrowed by the Jacobites and Nestorians, as one simple fact proves. The forty-third Canon is merely a repetition of the last of the Council of Ephesus, the fifty-third of the second of Chalcedon. The Nestorians, therefore, had they known its origin, would not have received the former, nor the Jacobites the latter. The compilation was probably made shortly after the rise of the Mahometan Empire, and it consists of three parts. The first contains, in differing MSS., 80, 83, or 84 Canons; the second comprises 33 or 34; the third, entitled the Canons of the Emperors, embraces a variety of extracts from the Digests, Novels, and Constitutions of the later Emperors. And it is remarkable, that though some of these Emperors are, of course, by the Nestorians and Jacobites accounted heretical, those laws were by all the differing sects, as well as by the Catholic Church in the East, considered authoritative.



It is hardly worthwhile to note the extraordinary traditions of certain Jacobite writers concerning the 2048 Bishops, whom they affirm to have met at Nicaea; of whom, they say, 318 only maintained the Consubstantiality of the Son. Yet these wild fables, adopted from Mahometan authors, have actually been appealed to by a Socinian author of the seventeenth century, in defence of the blasphemies of that sect.

The first employment of S. Alexander, on his return to Egypt, was to compose the Meletian schism. Meletius, after having given in the required catalogue of his ecclesiastics, retired to Lycopolis, where, as some will have it, he ended his days in the Unity of the Church. But some of his followers were more obstinate; and the Bishop of Alexandria found himself chiefly thwarted by three persons: John Arcaph, Bishop of Memphis, Callinicus of Pelusium, and Paphnutius, an anchorite, who had obtained an excellent reputation for piety among his own partisans. These men betook themselves to Byzantium, intending to prefer a petition to the Emperor that they might be allowed to hold separate assemblies, on account, as they protested, of the harshness of Alexander. But Constantine, probably irritated at the ill-success of his conciliatory measures, would not so much as see them. They still, however, followed the Court: until, at Nicomedia, Eusebius, glad of any opportunity to harass his great opponent, espoused their cause, and presented them to the Emperor. But the interview procured them nothing beyond the reproaches of Constantine. These attempts, however, induced Alexander to despatch Athanasius to Court: and the latter, acquainted with the declining health of his Bishop, and foreseeing that the Church of Alexandria had already set its eyes on himself, was not unwilling to charge himself with the embassy, and thus to escape from the honour of the Episcopate.

Five months after the Council, Alexander was seized with a mortal disease. As his clergy stood around him, he called for Athanasius. One of the same name, probably he who had signed the condemnation of Arius together with his more celebrated namesake, stepped forward, but the dying Prelate took no notice of him, and thus showed that it was another to whom he referred. In a few moments he again called for Athanasius, and repeated his name several times: when no one replied, "Athanasius", said he, "you think to save yourself by flight, but flight will not avail you". And shortly afterwards, this a "loud voiced preacher of the Faith",—so Theodoret calls him—was gathered to his fathers, after an Episcopate of fourteen years.

A comparison naturally suggests itself between Dionysius and Alexander, the most illustrious among the Antenicene Bishops of Alexandria, as Athanasius and Cyril were among those who subsequently filled that throne. That in learning, talent, power, and influence with the Church at large, Alexander was inferior to Dionysius, none can deny: at the same time, if he defended the truth less powerfully, he also never gave a handle to a charge of heresy, except from heretics. Both eminently possessed a mild and conciliating spirit: but in Dionysius it was tempered by firmness and decision, in Alexander it sometimes seems almost to have degenerated into irresolution. The former, under God, relied entirely on his own resources in dealing with enemies; the latter evidently depended on those of his greater deacon. Finally, if Dionysius had the honour of confessing Christ in two persecution's, it may be doubted if the real sufferings that Alexander underwent for His name were not the greater; if the weariness and harassing



nature of his Epistles to all parts of the Church, the bitter opposition he received from enemies, the lukewarm support afforded him by friends, did not more than counterbalance the exile of Valorri, and the plague and famine at Alexandria.

### SECTION XVII.

#### CONVERSION OF ETHIOPIA.

To write the life of S. Athanasius, as it ought to be written, is to write during the period when he flourished, the history of the whole Catholic Church. It is plain that our limits must confine us to a concise sketch of his actions and his sufferings: for we are less concerned with him in this work, as the great champion whom it pleased God to raise up in defence of the Faith, than as the persecuted, and finally triumphant, Bishop of Alexandria.

It is said by Rufinus, and the story has been repeated by Sozomen, that he had been early attached to the service of the Church, and that from the following occurrence. Alexander happening, on the feast of S. Peter the Martyr, to look from a window of his house towards the sea-shore, saw him, in company with other children of his own age, amusing himself by a game, in which one of them personated the Bishop, the rest his congregation: Athanasius supported the former character. Alexander sent some of his ecclesiastics, whom he was about that day to entertain at dinner, to stop the game, and from there and his own interrogatories, he learnt that Athanasius had already baptized several of his play-fellows in the sea. Alexander, the above named historians further affirm, considered this Baptism, valid, and thenceforth, pleased with the bearing of the young Athanasius, took him under his especial protection, and in process of time made him his Archdeacon. But the story is, to say the least, very doubtful.

The dying words of Alexander had left no doubt that he recommended Athanasius as his successor: and his wishes met with general acquiescence. As the Deacon, however, was still absent, the Meletians intruded a creature of their own named Theonas, into the vacant See; but he died at the end of three months; and when S. Athanasius returned, and was forced from the retirement to which his modesty had caused him to retreat, he was pointed out by popular clamour for the Evangelical Throne. A large number of Prelates from different parts of Egypt were assembled for the purpose of giving a successor to Alexander, when the shouts of the multitude hardly seemed to allow them a choice. "Give us Athanasius! the true Christian, the ascetic, the true Bishop! We will have none but Athanasius! The Prelates shall not depart till they have elected Athanasius!" Glad to comply at once with their own judgment, the late Bishop's recommendation, and the popular clamour, the Fathers pronounced Athanasius to be him on whom their votes had fallen.

An important accession was made in the beginning of the Episcopate of the new Bishop, to the territorial extent of the Church of Alexandria. A philosopher named Meropius undertook a journey into Ethiopia, partly with the view of satisfying his curiosity, partly with the desire of enriching himself by the productions of that country: and he was accompanied by two young relations, Edesius and Frumentius. On his return, the vessel foundered in a part of the Red Sea, and the men were, as the barbarous custom of the Ethiopians then was, cut to pieces on making their escape. The two youths were alone spared, and being presented for slaves to the king of the country, became, from their good temper and talents, favorites at court. Frumentius in particular, was made secretary to the king, who dying not long after, left his queen and two young children, Abreha and Atzbeha, unprotected. The former besought the two Christians not to take advantage of the liberty to which the Monarch on his death-bed had restored them, but to assist her in managing the affairs of the kingdom, until her sons should attain a riper age. Frumentius, thus invested, as the more able of the two, with the character of Regent, endeavoured by all the means in his power to propagate the knowledge of Christianity: he invited foreign merchants to open a traffic with Abyssinia, and gave both the sites and the materials for the erection of churches. Thus the Faith made great progress during the term of his government; and he gave in a faithful account of his expenditure and proceedings when the young princes were considered of sufficient age to administer themselves the affairs of state. The queen and her sons would gladly have longer availed themselves of the service of the former captives, but they were bent on leaving Abyssinia. Edesius repaired to Tyre, his native place; but Frumentius, whose heart was more in the work, hastened to Alexandria, and recounted to S. Athanasius the whole series of events. A Council of Bishops was sitting at the time; and the Archbishop, on their recommendation that a Prelate should be appointed for Abyssinia, looked on Frumentius and said, in the words of Pharaoh to Joseph, "Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?". He therefore consecrated him first Bishop of Axum, and recommended him to the Grace of God in returning to the scene of his labours.

It is a question of as much difficulty as interest, to determine the condition of the Ethiopians, at the time of the mission of Frumentius. That this people has always retained a strong partiality for Jewish rites, is an undoubted fact :—the practice of circumcision has never been dropped. The only question is, how far the Ethiopic tradition of the origin of this disposition has any foundation whatever in truth.

The Queen of Sheba, who came to Jerusalem, attracted by the wisdom of Solomon, is by Ethiopic writers affirmed to have reigned over their own country. They name her Makeda; and report that, on her return, she became, by Solomon, the mother of a son, whom she named Menilchec, but who was by his father, under whom he received his education, called David. On attaining to manhood this prince was accompanied by several of the Jewish nobility to his own country;—and from him descended the line of Salomonian kings. In the time of Bazen, the twenty-fourth of these monarchs, our Lord was born: and thirteen of his successors wielded the Ethiopic sceptre before the arrival of Frumentius. When he returned with Episcopal jurisdiction, Abreha and Atzbeha were still joint monarchs: and for their docility in profiting by the

instructions of the Missionary, and their zeal in propagating the Faith, they were added, by their grateful people, to the catalogue of the Saints. There seems no reason for believing that the Gospel had been previously preached in Ethiopia; or, if it had been, that it ever took root.

The Church founded by S. Frumentius, Apostle of Abyssinia, exists, though in a miserably degraded and heretical state, at this day: and it may not be improper to say a few words with respect to its constitution, in reference to the Mother Church of Alexandria. The Bishop of Axum is often called Patriarch of Ethiopia, but this title is wrongly applied : his proper jurisdiction is that of a Metropolitan, but there are some peculiar limits to his power. He is never a native of Ethiopia, but an Egyptian : his nomination and consecration rests with the Bishop of Alexandria alone; and he has the right of consecrating Bishops, so that the whole number in his province do not exceed seven. This, as the event proved, was a most unwise regulation; it was apparently adopted at first by the jealousy of Alexandria, lest Axum should constitute itself a Patriarchate. As twelve Bishops were canonically required for the consecration of a Patriarch, the limitation to seven entirely obviated this danger; but it has caused two great evils; it has prevented the spread of the Gospel in Africa, and has been the occasion of the heresy of the Abyssinian Church. Two years must necessarily elapse before a vacancy can be supplied, because of the length of the journey, and the period required by the new Metropolitan for acquainting himself with the Ethiopic and Ambaric; the former the language employed in the offices of the Church, the latter that commonly spoken. No dues or offerings are expected by the See of Alexandria from Ethiopia, but it is usual on the death of the Metropolitan that the king and nobles should accompany their letters requesting the consecration of his successor, with suitable presents. In an Ecumenical Council, the Metropolitan of Axum would claim the twelfth place.

The neighbouring Church of Nubia, the origin of which is involved in great obscurity, is not subject to the See of Axum. It depends entirely on Alexandria: from which it not only receives its Metropolitan but also all its Bishops.

### SECTION XVIII.

#### ATHANASIUS FALSELY ACCUSED CONCERNING ISCHYRAS AND ARSENIUS.

The Meletians, by their artifices and restlessness, continuing to excite disturbances throughout the Diocese of Alexandria, and having now so completely cast in their lot with the Arians, that the names were used almost promiscuously, Athanasius resolved on a visitation of the Thebais, where these schismatics principally abounded.

He embarked on the Nile, and pursued his course as far as Syene, the boundary of Egypt and the Dioecese of Ethiopia. As he was passing Tabennesis, Pachomius, to whom his piety, his age, and his miracles assigned the first place among the ascetics of those parts, came forth to meet him with a large band of monks. Serapion, Bishop of Tentyra, would have pointed him out to Athanasius, and recommended him for the priesthood: but the humility of Pachomius induced him to hide himself in the throng, until the Bishop's vessel had passed by. Then he assured the by-standers that it had been revealed to him how Athanasius was ordained a great light of the Church, and should suffer many things for the Name of Christ. a.C.328.

Eusebius and Theognius had for communicating with Arians, been banished by Constantine, but they now found means to return to their Sees, and to appease the anger of the Emperor. Having ejected Amphion and Chrestus, the legitimate Prelates of Nicomedia and Nicaea, they were at leisure to bend all their efforts for the re-establishment of Arius, who had already returned from exile, at Alexandria. They then accomplished the overthrow of Eustathius of Antioch, on a false charge of adultery; and next endeavoured to intrude Eusebius the historian into the vacant chair. The people flew to arms; and, as the multitude were almost equally divided, the consequences might have been serious, had not the civil power promptly interfered. Eusebius, however, though he was the deadly enemy of the Homousion, had no mind to become a confessor for his creed: and one or two Arians of less note were successively intruded into the See. Asclepas of Gaza, and Eutropius of Hadrianople next fell before the wiles of the heretics, and a way was thus, it was hoped, made clear for the return of Arius. Arrangements having been made with the Meletians for the furtherance of the scheme, Eusebius wrote to Athanasius, urging him, in the gentlest language he could employ, to receive Arius to his Communion. At the same time, the messenger who carried the epistle, had it in charge to add menaces to persuasions. Athanasius disregarded both equally: Eusebius, undiscouraged, wrote a second time to the same effect, and persuaded Constantine to dispatch an angry mandate for the reception of Arius. But these efforts were, for the present, in vain: Athanasius persuaded the Emperor to acquiesce in his view, and clearly proved that union between himself and his excommunicated Priest was impossible.

On this, the Eusebians, who had probably thought that the greatest opposition would come from Asia, and from the elder Prelates, found that though in the Dioecese of Antioch they were carrying matters with a high hand, they could only attain the summit of their wishes by the overthrow of Athanasius. The Meletians were apprised that the time for action had arrived. They were at a loss for some time to discover a specious subject of accusation; at length they dispatched three of their leading men: Ision, Eudaemon, and Callinicus, who appear to have been in the number of the Bishops consecrated by Meletius, to Nicomedia, for the purpose of bringing a charge before Constantine, to the effect that Athanasius had imposed on the Egyptians an unaccustomed tribute of linen vestments for the Church of Alexandria. Providentially, two Priests of Athanasius's, Apis and Macarius, were then at Court; and by them the falsehood of the accusation was made clearly manifest. Constantine, in a letter to

Alexandria, condemned the attempt, and requested S. Athanasius to visit him. The Prelate obeyed, and was received with great honour.

Eusebius had been prudent enough to retain the Meletian envoys: and they now, at his instigation, brought forward two new accusations. The one was, that the Bishop of Alexandria had sent a chest of gold to Philumenus, an aspirant to the purple, of whom we have no other account; the other, which attained far greater celebrity, was the famous history of Ischyras, and the broken Chalice. On this we must dwell at length.

In the Mareotis, which formed the proper Diocese of Alexandria, was a hamlet called the Peace of Sacontarurum, the size of which did not enable it to maintain a separate Church and Priest. Ischyras, a man of notoriously bad character, who had received pretended orders from Coluthus, as we have mentioned above, thrust himself into the charge of this place, and hesitated not to perform the most sacred offices of the Church. Not more than seven persons formed his Communion; and his own father and mother remained firm Catholics. Informed by the Priest, within whose parish the Peace lay, of these scandalous proceedings, Athanasius despatched that Macarius, whom we have just named as his vindicator, to summon Ischyras before him. The Priest went; but as the offender was confined to his bed by illness, he left a message for him with his father, charging him to abstain from his sacrilegious attempt, and to intrude himself no more on the ministry of the Church. Ischyras on his recovery found himself unable to maintain the shadow of authority he had hitherto exercised, and joined himself to the Meletians. Under their auspices, a tale was invented for the purpose of ruining Macarius, and blackening the character of the Bishop by whom he was employed and trusted. Macarius, it was said, arrived at Sacontarurum, at the moment when Ischyras was at the Sacrifice: he threw down the altar, burnt the sacred books, broke the chalice; and (as tales never lose by repetition,) some affirmed that he had overthrown the church. The story refuted itself. There never had been a church at Sacontarurum: Ischyras had employed for that purpose the house of an orphan named Ision; there never had been a Priest, and therefore never any sacred vessels; it was not on Sunday that Macarius visited the place, and therefore (the inference is remarkable) the Communion could not have been in course of celebration. Constantine, who heard these accusations in a suburb of Nicomedia, recognized this falsehood, and honourably dismissed Athanasius, furnishing him with a letter to the Praefect of Alexandria, in which the conduct of the Meletians was exposed, and the Faithful were encouraged.

Ischyras, who had been led by pique and the influence of others to propagate his calumny, now came to Athanasius, confessed his Crime, and with tears besought admission to the Communion of the Church. Athanasius called together the Parish Priests of the Mareotis, with some Deacons, partly of that province, partly of Alexandria, and in their presence Ischyras gave a written statement that what he had asserted was false, and that he had been compelled to yield to the ill treatment of the Meletian Bishops, Isaac of Cleopatris, Isaac of Latopolis, Heraclides of Nicius. This document was attested by the Priests and Deacons who were present: but it was not thought right to admit one who had been involved in two schisms to immediate Communion. And the event proved the prudence of the measure, for Ischyras remained attached to the party of the Meletians. It appears that notwithstanding the retractation of

Ischyras himself, his partisans persisted in declaring his charge well-founded, and even invented additional circumstances, for the purpose of throwing still greater odium on the Patriarch.

As, however, his deposition or banishment was in no way advanced by these efforts, John Arcaph, the acknowledged leader of the Meletians, bethought himself of another method of attack. Arsenius, Bishop of Hypsele, one of the same party, was persuaded, on the receipt of a sum of money, to retire into seclusion; and the Meletian faction instantly gave out that he had been murdered by Athanasius. To give the better colour to their words, they invested their complaints with all the pathos and eloquence that they could command. “At least” said they, “if you have removed him from the world, deny us not the poor consolation of paying a last tribute to his remains. Restore us his body; it is all that we can now ask, or that you can bestow. You can no longer dread him as an enemy: if you did violence to him in life, it is the part of a foe to respect the ashes of a departed opponent”. They carried about a dried hand in a box, which they affirmed to be that of the Bishop; and to have been severed by Athanasius for magical purposes.

When some degree of odium had been excited against the perpetrator of so foul a deed, they sent the hand to the Emperor, demanding vengeance on Athanasius. Constantine wrote to his brother Dalmatius, committing the inquiry to him. The latter summoned the accused and the accusers before him. Athanasius had hitherto despised the accusation: but he now discovered that it would be necessary to provide himself with a sufficient defence. He therefore wrote to the Egyptian Bishops, requesting them to examine into the matter, and to discover whether Arsenius were dead,—and if so, to procure authentic information as to the time and manner of his decease,—or alive, and in this case, where concealed. A Deacon was charged by the Archbishop with the commission: and he pursued his researches to so good effect as to discover that the Bishop asserted to have been murdered was resident at the monastery of Ptemencyrcis, in the Thebais. To Ptemencyrcis he accordingly went, but Arsenius was no longer there; he had been sent by Pinnes, the superior of the monastery, into Lower Egypt. The Deacon seized on Pinnes and brought him to Alexandria: and the officer there commanding the troops discovered, in a judicial examination, that Arsenius had in truth been concealed at Ptemencyrcis, in order to give a handle for the accusation of S. Athanasius. Pinnes then wrote a letter to John Arcaph, then at Antioch, and pressing the charge before Dalmatius, and advised him to withdraw the accusation of murder, since all Egypt knew that Arsenius was alive. This letter fortunately fell into the hands of Athanasius. Still, the subject of the imposture was not yet arrested. Diligent inquiry had discovered that he had been at Alexandria, and was now at Tyre; and at Tyre accordingly he was seized. He then resolutely denied himself to be Arsenius; but Paul, Bishop of Tyre, convicted him of falsehood. The partial detection of this atrocious scheme confounded the Meletians; and John their leader, and Arsenius himself, requested to be re-admitted into the Communion of the Church, promising all canonical obedience for the future to the See of Alexandria. Undaunted by the ill success of his former plots, Eusebius had, at the early part of 333, exerted his influence with the Emperor to obtain the Convocation of a Council: and in March, Constantine summoned



one to be holden at Caesarea. At this assembly, which did not meet till long after it was convoked, little was done, and Athanasius and his Bishops refused to be present at it. Thenceforward Eusebius conceived that hatred of the Egyptian Church which never afterwards forsook him.

While Athanasius was consoled and refreshed by a visit from S. Antony, which, not to disturb the course of our history, we shall relate at a more convenient time, Constantine was persuaded to convoke another Council at Tyre, judging that Athanasius might possibly suspect Eusebius of Caesarea, of harbouring personal ill will against him: while Paul of Tyre was open to no such charge.

Sixty Bishops, for the most part Arians, were present, and Constantine was the more glad of their meeting at this juncture, because he had just completed a large and magnificent church at Jerusalem, and wished its dedication to be solemnized by a numerous concourse of Prelates. S. Athanasius, for a considerable space of time, refused to be present, knowing that the President, Placillus, Bishop of Antioch, was one of his great enemies, and that the Count Flavius Dionysius, sent under pretence of maintaining order, would be very willing to employ the secular arm against him. The unhappy Macarius was dragged before the Council, loaded with irons; and Athanasius was warned that, if he did not appear of his own accord, force would be employed in his case also. On this intimation he went, taking with him forty-nine Egyptian Bishops, and among them the celebrated Paphnutius, whom we have before mentioned. Potammon, another holy confessor, was also in the number.

On their arrival at Tyre, Athanasius was not allowed to take his seat among the Bishops, but was treated as a criminal. "What!" cried Potammon, addressing Eusebius of Caesarea, and bursting into tears; "What! you too among the judges of Athanasius? You and I were in prison together during the persecution: I lost an eye in confessing Christ: how you escaped unharmed, let your conscience tell". "What!" cried Paphnutius to the Bishop of Jerusalem; "who would have expected to find Maximus among these men? Did we not each of us suffer mutilation for our Lord? and is one of us now to occupy the seat of the scornful?" Maximus, who had been deceived by misrepresentations, was then instructed in the real nature of the Arian charges; and to the end he continued firm in the communion of Athanasius. Eusebius, on the contrary, instantly rose: "Judge", he said, "holy Fathers, what would be the insolence of these Egyptians, were they our judges, who thus insult us when theirs!"

The Catholics, at the outset, excepted against thirteen of the assembled Bishops as judges, on account of their violent and undisguised hostility to Athanasius: but no regard was paid to their remonstrances.

The first accusation brought forward was that concerning Ischyras and the broken chalice;—but that, having been satisfactorily answered, was for the present dismissed, to make way for the following charge; that at the death of S. Alexander there had been a considerable difference of opinion as to the choice of a successor, and with respect to the Arian controversy; that the Bishops of Egypt had bound themselves by oath not to ordain to the vacant see, till these differences were adjusted; that

notwithstanding, seven Prelates had in a clandestine manner consecrated Athanasius; that the latter, finding many averse from his communion, committed great violence, especially at the Feast of Easter, and that many of the Faithful at Alexandria viewed their Bishop with such sentiments of abhorrence, as to abstain from worshipping in his Church. S. Athanasius replied, that to give these charges a shadow of truth, they should have been attested by at least one of the hundred Bishops over whom he presided; and satisfactorily proved that he had been elected by the unanimous voice of the people, and consecrated by an unusually large number of Bishops.

The Arians, in the meantime, were busy in inventing new calumnies against S. Athanasius. He was accused of having violated a virgin consecrated to God, and of having given her money to bribe her silence. The woman was brought forward in the midst of the Council, and with many signs of grief repeated her story. Athanasius had concerted his defence with Timothy, one of his priests; and when the tale of the woman was finished, sat still, as if merely a spectator. Timothy, on the contrary, replied, "You affirm then that I have been guilty of violating your honour?" "I do", replied the woman, pointing him out with her finger, and adding the details of time and place. Those of the Bishops who were impartial spectators, could not refrain from laughing: Eusebius and his faction were covered with confusion, and drove the accuser from the place, in spite of the request of S. Athanasius that she might be arrested, for the purpose of discovering the author of the calumny.

The Arians, furious at their repeated failures, now came to that charge which was the most heinous, and which they thought the best capable of proof, as not thinking that the discovery of Arsenius before mentioned was capable of proof before the Synod. They brought forward the severed hand of Arsenius, affirming that he had been murdered by the Archbishop of Alexandria. A murmur horror passed through the Council : when it was hushed, Arsenius. S. Athanasius rose, and demanded if any of the Bishops then present had been acquainted with Arsenius. Many replied in the affirmative. He then sent to his own house, and in a short time a man, muffled from head to foot, was introduced into the hall where the Council were assembled. "Look well", cried S. Athanasius, uncovering his face, "and see if this be not that Arsenius whom I am reported to have murdered". The Bishops were astonished: those ignorant of the plot because they really believed Arsenius to be dead; those implicated in it, because they thought him at a distance. Athanasius, pursuing his advantage, exhibited first one hand, then the other, of his supposed victim; thus completely exposing the groundlessness and malice of the plot. The rage of the Eusebians at this discovery was so great, that had it not been for the prompt interference of the secular authorities, S. Athanasius would have been torn in pieces.

They were not, however, to be so baffled. The Council, recurring to the first charge, decided that the treatment of Ischyras could not so well be judged at a distance from the spot, and appointed a deputation to visit Mareotis for the purpose of gaining such information as personal examination might enable them to furnish. Six of the most determined enemies of S. Athanasius, Macedonius, Maris, Theodorus, Theognius, Ursacius, and Valens, to whom Theodoret adds Narcissus, were appointed commissioners; and the Meletians had already dispatched four of their own body into

Egypt, to smooth the way, and to pack evidence. The Egyptian Bishops protested in writing against the whole procedure. Alexander of Thessalonica, who possessed influence with Flavius Dionysius, addressed a letter to him of the same tenor,—and, as it at first seemed, with some effect. The Prelates attached to the True Faith did the same thing, but the faction of Eusebius prevailed, and the deputation set forth with a letter of recommendation to the Prefect of Egypt, and a cohort of soldiers for their safeguard. It is true that the Count cannot be charged with injustice on this score; for, on the complaint of Athanasius and his friends, who were afraid that an iniquitous choice would be made, he wrote to the Council, urging all fairness, and reminding them that truth, not condemnation, was the object of the inquiry. But, by referring the selection to a Committee, the Eusebians contrived to choose the commission as we have stated.

On this the Egyptian Bishops, to the number of forty-nine, drew up a memorial to Dionysius, pointing out the visible injustice of the late proceeding, and calling on him to put a stop to it. They also applied to Alexander of Thessalonica, one of the oldest Prelates in the Church; and he, who possessed great influence with the Count, addressed a letter to him in behalf of Athanasius, which the latter has preserved. Dionysius again interfered by a letter to the Commission: but no attention was paid, and probably he did not wish that any should be paid, to his remonstrance. Thus convinced that no justice could be expected at Tyre, the Bishops signed an Act of Protest, and, it would seem, also appealed to the Emperor.

In Egypt, however, things went on very differently. The deputies found a most willing coadjutor in Philagrius, the prefect, who, being an apostate from the Faith, and a man of bad character, bore a particular hatred to S. Athanasius; he not only gave the commissioners all the assistance in his power, but himself accompanied them into Mareotis. Arrived there, they evidently showed that they had already prejudged the cause. They lodged at the house of Ischyras; the tendency of the inquiry all was one way: and they would not allow copies to be taken of the testimony. The Priests and Deacons of Alexandria drew up a firm but moderate protest: they stated that Macarius ought to have been brought into Egypt, as his accuser was there; they claimed the right of themselves being present at the inquiry, and called all impartial persons to witness that the refusal of this claim rendered the whole conduct of the commission in a high degree suspicious.

The Priests and Deacons of Mareotis protested in a similar manner. Ischyras, they said, had never been a priest; he had never possessed a church; complaints had never been made against S. Athanasius by any Catholic; they themselves had claimed to be present in the course of the investigation, and had been refused. The former paper was signed by sixteen Priests and five Deacons; the latter by fifteen of each. So that here, in the immediate vicinity of Alexandria, were fifty-one of the Catholic clergy bearing testimony in favour of their Bishop: and not one who in any way appealed against him, or brought forward any statement prejudicial to his character. Jews, Catechumens, and Pagans, were openly admitted and encouraged to give evidence: the most palpable discrepancies were overlooked, as when some of the Catechumens professed themselves to have been present at the irruption of Macarius, while Ischyras all along declared that when the Chalice had been broken, he had already commenced

the Sacrifice: if so, the Catechumens would of course have departed. To these facts, however, the Commissioners paid no sort of heed. On their return to Alexandria, they openly persecuted the Catholics, and encouraged the heathen soldiery to every kind of insult against them, more especially violences at against the Consecrated Virgins.

On arriving at Tyre, they gave in their report: and S. Athanasius being no longer there, (for he had thought it necessary to his safety to hasten to Constantinople,) sentence of deposition was pronounced against him. John the Meletian and his party were received into Communion; Ischyras was raised to the Episcopate; and a grant obtained from the public treasury to rebuild the church which Athanasius was asserted to have demolished. The village thus, contrary to the Canons, erected into a See, was as we have said so small, that it never had up to that time possessed even a parish church.

The Bishops were about to receive Arius into their Communion, when a message was received from the Emperor, commanding them to hasten to Jerusalem, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was now complete. Athanasius, in the meantime, remained at Constantinople, where the Bishop, Alexander, was a pillar of the orthodox doctrine. After the solemnities of the dedication, the Council of Tyre was continued, and Arius, on giving in a new, but equally unsound, profession of his Faith, was received into the Communion of the Church.

The Emperor returned to Constantinople, and on entering the city, was astonished by the appearance of Athanasius, who threw himself at his feet, recounting the injustice which he had suffered, and praying for protection. Constantine did not at first recognize him, and was for some time unwilling to have any communication with a man whom he regarded as justly condemned by a Council. Athanasius called God to judge between himself and his accusers, whom he adjured the Emperor to set face to face before him, and Constantine yielded. The Bishops, yet sitting in Council of Jerusalem, were summoned to Constantinople. The messengers who bore the summons, found them about to condemn Marcellus of Ancyra, a partisan of Athanasius, and who though, as appeared afterwards, unsound in doctrine, was for a long time considered by the Catholics, chiefly on the strength of his vigorous opposition to the Arians, perfectly orthodox.

The Council was thus a second time broken up: and although the Emperor's letters desired the attendance of all the Bishops then in Jerusalem, the Eusebians played their part so well, that six only were sent as deputies, and these six were the most powerful enemies of Athanasius, three of them having been also employed as commissioners to the Mareotis.

On their arrival at Constantinople, they dropped all their former calumnies against Athanasius, but adopted a new charge, which they considered likely to touch the Emperor more nearly. They affirmed that the subject of their hatred had, by his influence with the people of Alexandria, obstructed the supplies of corn which that city was in the habit of furnishing to Constantinople. Constantine, who was tenderly jealous of the greatness of his own foundation, and who knew that without the granary of Alexandria it could not subsist, burst forth into fury: it was in vain that Athanasius

denied the calumny; Eusebius of Nicomedia pressed the charge, and Constantine too easily believed him. Indeed, on a similar accusation, this impotent prince, whom the adulation of the Eusebians represented as the chief pillar of the Church, had ordered the philosopher Sopater, an intimate friend of his own, to execution. Taking credit to himself for his clemency, he banished Athanasius to Treves in Gaul. Thus after a struggle of ten years, this holy Confessor was given over to the will of his enemies. He generously, in his writings, excuses the Emperor: the exile, he says, was rather intended to remove him to a place of safety, than as a punishment. And indeed Constantine showed his suspicion of the Arian faction by refusing to fill the see of Alexandria with the candidates whom they wished to intrude. Five of his Bishops stood by S. Athanasius in the hour of his need; and four Priests, his most active supporters in Egypt, were also subjected to the same sentence of exile.

### SECTION XIX.

#### FIRST EXILE OF S. ATHANASIUS.

Athanasius was received with great honour, both by S. Maximin, Bishop of Treves, and by Constantine the younger, who had the chief Command in the Gauls, and resided in the city which was then capital. Shortly after his arrival the news of the Council of Constantinople under the presidency, it would seem, of Placillus of Antioch, reached him with all its remarkable consequences. Marcellus of Ancyra was deposed, how justly it is impossible to say, on a charge of Sabellianism; the work which laid him open to this accusation was one on that passage of S. Paul, "Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him That put all things under Him": the reply to it, by Eusebius of Caesarea, is still extant. With this intelligence, Athanasius also received other tidings of greater importance. Wrought on by the Eusebians, the Emperor allowed Arius to be received into the Church; his faction desired S. Alexander of Constantinople, then more than ninety years old, to do so: he refused; they threatened him with deposition if he would not comply: he persisted; they by the mouth of Constantine named a certain day on which Arius should be received; the city was in consternation; arguments and entreaties were bootless; by the advice of S. James of Nisibis, then present, the Catholics discontinued them, and had recourse to prayer alone; the Friday night was spent by Alexander in earnest supplications that God would stretch forth his right arm; the morning dawned; the triumph of the Arians seemed complete; Arius was led in procession round the city; S. Alexander still persevered in prayer; the day was wearing away; the Catholics began to despair; at three in the afternoon, Arius, then in the square of Constantine, was struck by the Hand of God, and gave up the ghost; the Catholics crowded the churches to return thanks for their deliverance; many Arians were converted; and the place of the archheretic's death was long held accursed.



In the meantime, the people of Alexandria were not idle. They were earnest in their supplications to God that He would open the Emperor's eyes, and to Constantine himself they addressed a memorial, praying him to recall their Bishop. S. Antony himself wrote again and again to the same effect; but Constantine, now drawing near the end of his days, turned a deaf ear to all petitions. He upbraided the Alexandrians with folly, in desiring the return of an ambitious and turbulent Prelate; he commanded the Priests and Consecrated Virgins to concern themselves no more in the affair, and professed his fixed determination to abide by his resolve. To S. Antony he represented the probability that the few who attached themselves conscientiously to the party of Athanasius might be mistaken through ignorance or party feeling: while it was not to be supposed that the decision of the many pious Bishops who had condemned him could err through the one, or be influenced by the other. At the same time, as John Arcaph was intriguing at Alexandria, Constantine, in spite of all the efforts of the Eusebians, banished him also.

Shortly after came tidings of the baptism of Constantine, who had till then deferred that Sacrament, by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his subsequent death. He is reckoned by the Greek Church among the Saints; the Latin Church has judged more soberly and reasonably in denying him the title, although reckoning him in a certain sense one of the greatest benefactors that the Faithful have ever known.

In spite of all the efforts of Eusebius, the dying Emperor gave strict commands for the recall of Athanasius; and, it is said, reiterated these injunctions in his will. But, whatever might be the reason, the exiled Prelate did not, or could not, at once avail himself of this permission. It is a tradition at Treves, that he principally dwelt in a cavern, which is still shown, and is in the precincts of the late abbey of S. Maximin; and that, in this place, he composed the Hymn *Quicumque Vult*. The last part of this assertion is undoubtedly false; the former is probable enough.

The division of the empire followed:—Constantine, the friend of S. Athanasius, had all the territory beyond the Alps; Constantius, Egypt and the East; Constans, Italy, Illyria, and Africa. From the share of Constantius must be subtracted Armenia and Cappadocia; from that of Constantine, Achaia and Macedonia, which had before been apportioned to Hannibalianus and Dalmatius. These, however, having been murdered by the soldiers, not, it is said, without the instigation or connivance of Constantius, these provinces were annexed by the respective emperors to their own shares.

Constantius was soon gained by the Arians; and Eusebius of Nicomedia resolved, by the Emperor's authority, to fill the See of Alexandria with a partisan of that heresy. Constantine however prevented this occurrence by determining to send Athanasius to his own Church: a resolution which he well knew Constantius would not venture to oppose. He therefore addressed a letter to the Faithful of Alexandria, in which he exhorted them to receive their Prelate with joy, as a true preacher of the Law of Christ; and menaced his calumniators with the severest punishment. Athanasius accompanied Constantine into Pannonia, whither he went to confer with his brothers on the division of the empire, and had an interview with Constantius at Viminicum, a city of Moesia. He here procured the recall of many other Catholic Bishops, and even



ventured so far on the indulgence of Pope S. Julius, as to expel several Arian Prelates who had intruded themselves into the Sees of the cities through which he passed. After a short stay at Constantinople he proceeded into Cappadocia, and had a second interview with Constantius at Caesarea; and so, in the autumn, he arrived at Alexandria. The burst of exultation with which he was received is reported to have exceeded the usual demonstrations with which the Emperor himself was wont to be welcomed.

The return of S. Athanasius, though doubtless in itself most justifiable, nevertheless gave a greater handle to his enemies than any other action of his life. By a Council, they said, he had been deposed; by a Council therefore he ought to have been restored. But their complaints were drowned in the burst of joy which greeted the passage of the exiled Bishop through Syria to Egypt. Marcellus of Ancyra, still held to be a Catholic, and probably erring rather in words than in meaning, took the same opportunity of returning to his See. (A.D. 340).

Full of indignation at the return of Athanasius, the Eusebians invented another calumny against him. Constantine, after the Council of Nicaea, had by public ordinance decreed that in every city a certain quantity of corn should be set apart for the ecclesiastics, the widows, and the Consecrated Virgins; and more especially for the Sacrifice, in places where, as in Libya, the soil did not produce corn. This portion, freely distributed by Athanasius, was affirmed by his enemies to have been disposed of by him to his own advantage. This charge was in vain denied and the Arians then drew up a memorial to the three Emperors, embodying this with other accusations. They obtained, however, neither his death nor his banishment, evidently as they longed for either; but Constantius was weak enough to credit the charge with respect to the corn, and wrote a letter to the Prelate upbraiding him with avarice. Many of the Egyptian Bishops came forward with an attestation of his innocence: and thus this accusation fell to the ground.

The Eusebians, who had already, by the unjust deposition of S. Paul of Constantinople, seated their patron on that throne, now assembled in considerable force at Antioch, and pretending that the See of Alexandria was vacant, proceeded to fill it with that Pistus whose deposition we have already mentioned. That the deposed Priest might not want a suitable consecrator, Secundus, Ex-Bishop of Ptolemais, took upon himself that office. It does not appear that the civil power gave any encouragement to this monstrous act; and it was by God's good Providence attended with happy effects. It was desirable to obtain the recognition of Pistus by the Roman See: to this end his friends dispatched a Priest and two Deacons to Rome, who carried with them the information that had been collected in the Mareotis. Julius forwarded them to Athanasius, and he dispatched his own legates to Home. The Arian deputies, who expected nothing less, were thrown into consternation; Macarius, though sick, left the city by night; the Deacons Martyrius and Hesychius, who, with greater effrontery, stood to their charges, were covered with confusion.

The same legates were charged with another important document. The Bishops of Egypt, whether at the suggestion of Athanasius, or from their feeling that to allow him to bear alone the brunt of the storm was, so far as in them lay, to betray the truth,

met in Council at Alexandria to the number of nearly one hundred; and addressed a synodal epistle to all Catholic Prelates, which S. Athanasius has preserved. In it they set forth the entire innocence of Athanasius, the gross and impudent falsehoods of his adversaries, the preposterous conduct of Eusebius who, himself guilty of the greatest violations of the Canons, ventured to upbraid the Bishop of Alexandria with his pseudo-deposition at Tyre; and conclude with the information that the Eusebians had now thrown off the mask, were making common cause with the pure Arians and were openly communicating with them in Egypt.

On the receipt of these missives, Julius resolved on convoking a Council, where the point in question might be decided. To this the deputies of S. Athanasius willingly assented, while those of the Arians could not venture directly to decline the proposal. Athanasius himself went to Rome, where also a memorial arrived to Pope Julius, signed by sixty-three Bishops of Asia, Phrygia, and Isauria, in his favour. But whether or not the Pontiff ever had proceeded so far as actually to separate Athanasius from his Communion, certain it is, that he regarded him with some suspicion : and perhaps justly, but not generously, endeavoured to bear himself as an impartial judge between two contending parties.

Athanasius waited at Rome during eighteen months, in the vain hope that his adversaries would bring their formal charge against him, and that the matter would come to a trial. The Council was fixed for the middle of the year 341, and the Eusebians were invited to attend. In the meantime, Bishops from all parts of the Church, among whom Marcellus of Ancyra was the most eminent, continued to arrive in Rome, in hopes of their obtaining that justice which their Arian persecutors had denied them. The Eusebians were compelled to declare that in their opinion no Council was necessary; the event showed how much reliance was to be placed on their words.

Constantine had been, in the preceding year, murdered by the troops of his brother, Constans; so that Constantius was at liberty to follow his own pleasure regarding Athanasius. Ten years previously the elder Constantine had commenced a church of rare magnificence at Antioch; and his son had now completed it. The Eusebians gladly took advantage of the solemnity of the dedication to assemble a Council of ninety-seven Bishops;—and the Synod of Antioch is one of the most famous in Ecclesiastical History. With its three Creeds, none of them Arian, and yet none fully Catholic, we have nothing to do; we are here concerned with its treatment of S. Athanasius alone. Among the twenty-five Canons which under its name have been received by all the Church, two, though not in themselves objectionable, were evidently intended by the Eusebians as fatal weapons against Athanasius.

The Fourth Canon provided, that if a Bishop deposed by a Council, or a Priest or Deacon deprived by his Bishop, presumed to exercise his office, he should not be capable of restoration even in another Council. The twelfth Canon ordered that if a Bishop or Priest, under the like circumstances, should appeal to the Emperor, his punishment should be the same.

It is easy to see that Athanasius had laid himself open to the penalty pronounced in both cases. Constantius was at Antioch, assisting at the Synod, and the Arian portion of the Council importuned him to allow the Canons to be put in force against the Bishop of Alexandria, dwelling on their old as well as their later calumnies against him. The Emperor did not, or would not, see the flagrant injustice of an *ex post facto* application of Canons, and consented.

The next difficulty of the Arians was to choose another Bishop for Alexandria. Eusebius of Emessa, a learned Prelate, and voluminous author, though afterwards suspected of Sabellianism, was first proposed, but he declined the dignity. Gregory of Cappadocia was then brought forward. He had spent much of his time at Alexandria, had been kindly treated by Athanasius, and had requited his benevolence by becoming one of his calumniators. This ordination was entirely contrary to the Canons; and, fearing great opposition at Alexandria, the Eusebians obtained an escort from the Emperor for the new Bishop, and the re-appointment of Philagrius (who had before distinguished himself in the inquiry with respect to Ischyra), as Prefect of Egypt.

Gregory and his followers arrived at Alexandria towards the end of Lent; and the excesses which they committed are beyond description. The imperial edict, treating Athanasius as deposed, and his successor as the orthodox Bishop, was published by Philagrius the Apostate: young men of debauched lives, Jews, and Pagans, were encouraged to attack the Catholic churches, to wound the monks, to insult the virgins, and even to kill some of the worshippers. Heathen sacrifices were offered on the altar of the church of Quirinus: in its baptistery such enormities were committed as cannot be mentioned. On Good Friday, Gregory and Philagrius entered another church and, as a punishment for the horror everywhere evinced at their horrible proceedings, caused thirty-four persons, as well married women and virgins, as men of high family, to be publicly scourged. Athanasius, whom the affairs of his Church had again called to Alexandria, finding that his presence only increased the disturbance, while he was utterly unable to render any assistance to the Catholics, embarked for Rome.

On Easter Day, Gregory threw many Catholics into prison, and attacked several churches. He drew up a series of charges against Athanasius, signed, for the most part, by Pagans, and filled with such enormities as to deserve no punishment short of death.

Gregory not only possessed himself of all the churches, but forbade, under severe penalties, the private assemblies of the Catholics. The dying departed without the viaticum; children remained unbaptized: better this, said the Faithful, than recognize the ministrations of the blasphemers of our Lord. Complaints were made in vain to Constantinople; no letters were allowed to pass. Gregory soon after began his visitation of Egypt: he pursued the same course wherever he went; Bishops were treated with the same barbarity which had been exercised towards the Priests of Alexandria. Potammon, the illustrious Confessor, whom we have already mentioned, and one of the Three Hundred and Eighteen, was beaten so cruelly as to occasion, shortly after, his death; and the Church reckons him among the Martyrs.

## SECTION XX.

### EGYPTIAN MONASTICISM.

It is refreshing to turn from these bloody scenes to the quiet life of S. Antony. At the age of ninety, he was tempted to consider himself the most perfect of all the Monks. That night it was revealed to him that he had overrated his attainments, there being a hermit who had made greater advances in holiness, whom he was exhorted to visit. Three days' journey brought him to the cell of S. Paul, the first hermit, then in the ninetieth year of his solitary life. They knew each other at once, though they had never before met : and the raven that had brought half a loaf daily for the supply of Paul's wants, on that day came charged with a double portion. S. Paul knew by revelation that the hour of his departure was at hand; after sharing his repast with his guest, and spending the night in prayers and psalms, willing to spare S. Antony the pain of witnessing his death, he requested him to fetch him a mantle which S. Athanasius had bestowed on him. Antony returned with speed to his monastery for the purpose of bringing it: on coming back again, he beheld in a vision the soul of S. Paul carried by Angels into Heaven. Hastening onward to the cell, he found the corpse of the hermit in an attitude of prayer, and bitterly lamented that he had known so late one whom he had lost so soon.

Antony, as we have said, had already paid a visit to Alexandria during the Pontificate of S. Athanasius. The occasion is related thus: — His disciples observed him in an ecstasy, which, after lasting about an hour, passed off. He threw himself on his knees, and prayed long and fervently, shedding at the same time abundance of tears. When he arose, he warned his hearers to prepare for a severe persecution of the Church. "I have seen", said he, "in a vision, an altar surrounded by mules, who were employed in kicking at and overturning it: and I heard a voice which said, "My Altar shall be profaned. Notwithstanding, my children, be not discouraged —the Catholic Faith will in the end be victorious, and Arianism must be cast out. Only stand fast in the Faith, and resist the doctrine, not of Apostles, but devils".

Of S. Antonys disciples, we have already mentioned the Macarii. S. Paul the Simple held also a distinguished place among that holy fellowship. He was a poor countryman, who, till the age of sixty, had served God in the married state. The vices of his wife induced him to quit the world; and he took an eight days' journey into the desert, for the purpose of being received as the disciple of Antony. The latter rejected him, observing that he was too old for the monastic life; and that he had better return and serve God in the state to which he had been called. The fervour of the candidate induced him to remain three days without food at the door of the Hermit; and Antony, won by his importunity and earnestness, at length admitted him his disciple. After a long and rigorous practice of obedience, he placed him in a cell at three miles' distance from his own; and was accustomed to regard him as the holiest among his followers. Paul had the gift of miracles in a far more eminent degree than his great master; and to him, accordingly, S. Antony was in the habit of sending such sick or possessed persons

as he himself was unable to cure. He had departed to his Lord some time before the period at which we have now arrived.

S. Hilarion, again, was one of the most successful imitators of S. Antony. Born at Gaza of heathen parents, he was sent to Alexandria for instruction. While there he received the illumination of Baptism, and at once changed a life of dissipation for one of penance. After a visit to S. Antony in the desert, he conceived the idea of following the same life in his own country; and to this end, at the age of fifteen, he took up his abode in a desert on the Asiatic border of Egypt. He here, though naturally of weak constitution, passed a life of singular austerity: but twenty years elapsed before he was known or followed. Then he was privileged to work his first miracle; and soon became the most celebrated of all monks for his supernatural gifts. From that time his disciples increased rapidly, and, as the Father of the Monks of Palestine, he enjoyed little solitude from the concourse of those who came to visit, to consult, or to be cured. On the death of S. Antony,—for we will anticipate the course of history,—he resolved to retire into greater privacy; and though opposed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, who assembled to the number, it is said, of ten thousand, to resist his determination, he went into Egypt for the purpose of visiting the monastery of Antony. At Aphroditopolis, he obtained the requisite information from Barsanes, a Deacon, who let dromedaries for those who wished to visit Mount Pisper; and, after three days' journey through a fearful desert, he was received by the disciples and attendants of Antony, Isaac and Pelusius. By them he was conducted over the various places which had been hallowed by their Master. Hence he retired to a desert near Aphroditopolis, and was soon regarded by the Egyptians as him on whom the mantle of Antony had fallen. Distressed at the honour he received, he went first to Alexandria, and thence retired to the desert of the Oasis. His reputation still following him, after a year spent there, he sailed to Sicily, and took up his abode near Pachynus. For a similar reason he left this retreat also, going first to Epidaurus, and then to Cyprus, where, after five years' residence, he gave up the ghost with great calmness. "Go forth", he said, "my spirit; what hast thou to fear? Threescore and ten years hast thou served Christ, and dost thou dread death?" The well-attested miracles of S. Hilarion are more astonishing and more numerous than those of any other Father, with the single exception of S. Gregory the Wonder-worker.

Less celebrated than Hilarion, and yet a worthy follower, though not disciple, of Antony, was S. Isidore. He was the spiritual director of many in the great desert of Secte; and to the end of a long life persisted in the severest manual labour. He was principally remarkable for the gift of tears,—both that he had sinned so much, and that he fell so far short of Antony and Pambo.

For Pambo also was one of the great Fathers of the desert; and was to the Wilderness of Cells,—as that inhospitable tract of country was called,—what Antony was to the desert of Pisper. Here, eighty miles beyond Mount Nitria, in a solitude where travellers directed their course, as in the high seas, by sun and stars, he laid the foundation of that wonderful brotherhood, of which we shall hereafter have to tell more largely. Of him the story is related, that towards the beginning of his course, he applied to another holy anchorite for spiritual direction. The hermit began to recite the thirtieth Psalm: — "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not with my tongue".

“Stay”, said Pambo, “that is enough: let me retire to my cell to practise it”. In the seventy-first year of his age, he fell asleep (A.D. 386). in the Lord, as he was engaged in his usual occupation of basket making.'

We can perhaps hardly calculate the prodigious influence which this noble army of anchorets must have exercised on the affairs of the Egyptian Church. The supernatural austerities of all, the wonder-working powers of many, the impossibility of influencing them by hope or by fear, and the physical security in which their solitude placed them, rendered them a barrier which Arianism in vain endeavoured to assault. If, in after times, when little remained of their original institution, except its austerities, they were powerful enough to lead nearly the whole Church of Alexandria into heresy, can we doubt that under God, and next to S. Athanasius, they were the means, at this epoch, of preserving it unshaken in the profession of the Catholic Faith?

### SECTION XXI

#### SECOND EXILE AND RETURN OF S. ATHANASIUS.

On leaving Alexandria, S. Athanasius appears to have remained for some little time uncertain whither he should direct his course. He lay concealed near the city for a few days: and employed himself in the composition of his encyclic Epistle to all Catholic Bishops throughout the world; in which he stated the proceedings of Gregory at length, and showed that, as the danger was common to all prelates, so the defence should be undertaken by all in common. He then sailed to Rome, apparently after the conclusion of the Paschal solemnities, Easter having this year fallen on the nineteenth of April.

Pope Julius received Athanasius in the most cordial manner; and again despatched legates to the Eusebians, requiring them to send a deputation without loss of time, for the purpose of making good their charge against the Bishop of Alexandria. In the meantime, through the exertions of the two companions of Athanasius, during both this and his former visit to Rome, the monastic system was becoming known and followed in that city. Ammonius and Isidore, for such were the names of these monks, were noted for their holiness of life, and contempt of the world; Ammonius carried the latter quality to such an excess as to refuse, when in Rome, to view any of the public buildings or other spectacles of interest, except the basilica of S. Peter.

In due time, Pope Julius received the answer of the Eusebians, still in Council at Antioch, to his summons. It recognized, in general terms, the Primacy of the See of Rome, but excused the Prelates from attending the proposed Synod in that city, on the grounds of distance, shortness of time, and the Persian war. Julius for some time kept



the letter by him, hoping that the Orientals would change their mind; but finding no likelihood of such an event, he convoked the long intended Council. Fifty Bishops assembled in the church of which Viton, the same who had been legate at Nicaea, was parish priest. After a careful examination of the causes of Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and S. Paul of Constantinople, the Synod acquitted all; and Julius announced the fact in a Synodal letter to the Fathers of Antioch. He severely rebuked them for their injustice, violence, and false excuses for non-attendance: and concluded his epistle by an assertion of the privileges of his See, and by reminding his brethren of the terrible account that they must one day render to God for all their works.

That account had, when the legates arrived at Antioch, been already given in by Eusebius of Constantinople. But Julius, finding that those who now were at the head of the Eusebian faction, paid little attention to the Epistle of the Council of Rome, addressed himself to Constans, the firm friend of the banished Bishop. On his remonstrance to Constantius, Narcissus, Maris, Theodore, and Mark of Arethusa, in Syria, were ordered to wait on the Emperor of the West, and to vindicate the proceedings of the Council of Antioch. This they failed in doing: S. Maximin of Treves abstained from their communion, and a breach seemed on the point of breaking out between the East and West.

A second Council at Antioch produced a Confession of Faith, called Macrostickus, on account of its length: it was not heretical, but was declined by the Western Council of Milan, at which S. Athanasius was present; the Fathers declaring their preference for the Creed of Nicaea. It was now plain that an Ecumenical Council would be the only remedy for the distracted state of the Church; and by the consent of the two Augusti, it was summoned at Sardica, on the confines of the two empires. A.D. 347. About one hundred and seventy Bishops met: but to relate at length their proceedings would be beyond our purpose. The Western Bishops, about a hundred in number, remained at Sardica, Hosius of Cordova presiding; acquitted Athanasius and Marcellus, and excommunicated the heads of the Eusebian party.

The Eastern Bishops retired to Philippopolis: and there, to the number of seventy-three, at the head of whom was Stephen of Antioch, excommunicated Julius, Hosius, Athanasius, Paul of Constantinople, and all their adherents. Thus the East and West were thrown into a state of open schism.

In the meantime the persecutions continued at Alexandria. Public notice was given that if S. Athanasius or his companions returned, it should be lawful for anyone to bring them to condign punishment. A second Council of Milan prevailed on Constans to send an embassy to his brother, requesting the return of S. Athanasius, in compliance with the Council of Sardica. Constantius, however, found some pretext for evading the escape of the exiled Bishop, till the murder of Gregory by the Alexandrians, who naturally hated him, left him without the shadow of an excuse. Finding that the result of his longer refusal would be a civil war, he determined to do with a good grace that which must at all events be done; and the letter which he wrote on the occasion to Athanasius, was by no means wanting in fair professions or obliging offers. Athanasius was at first undecided how to act; but the result of a second, and then of a third

invitation, each more urgent than the former, accompanied with the offer of a public conveyance, convinced him that it was his duty to return. Leaving therefore Aquileia, which had been the place of his abode since the Council of Sardica, he waited on Constans at Milan, and on Pope Julius at Rome; and furnished with a letter from the latter to the Church of Alexandria, exhorting them to receive their Pastor with all joy and thankfulness, he went by land to Antioch. Here he was favourably received by Constantius, who confirmed by word of mouth all that he had before written: and besides this wrote many letters in his favour, and swore to the sincerity of his own joy at his return. S. Athanasius in the mean while carefully abstained from the communion of Leontius of Antioch, assisting in the private assemblies of the Eustathians, as the Catholics were called in that city, from their last Bishop, and one of the Fathers of Nicaea. The Emperor took the opportunity of asking, not as a matter of right, but simply as a favour, that in consideration of the large body of Arians at Alexandria, Athanasius would allow them the use of one church. The latter at once consented; “but then”, he added, “it is but just that the Eustathians, who are also a numerous body, should have the use of one church in this city”. Constantius replied that he was satisfied with the proposition: but on consulting with his Arian Bishops, he found them averse from closing with it. “Arianism”, they urged, “will make no great progress at Alexandria, while Athanasius is there; on the contrary, if the great number of the Eustathians comes to be known, their tenets will spread more and more extensively in Antioch”. The Emperor on their advice withdrew his request.

S. Athanasius, in his progress through Egypt, held ordinations everywhere, according to the peculiar right of the See of Alexandria. The joy of that city on his return was unbounded. Prelates from every part of Egypt were awaiting his arrival; multitudes pressed round him, as he entered: many embraced the monastic life as a token of thankfulness; each house seemed for the time turned into a church; charity was extensively bestowed on orphans and widows; many among the heretics joined the Catholic Church; many of the enemies of S. Athanasius openly retracted their sentiments; many others who had appeared against him, visited him in private, assuring him that in their hearts they had always clung to his communion. In the words of the Sacred Historian, “there was great joy in that city”

The peace with which the Church of Alexandria was blessed remained unbroken by the commotions which shortly afterwards arose in the Western Empire; the murder of Constans, the civil war of the three claimants to the purple, the battle of Mursa, and the final accession of Gallus as Caesar. But Liberius, having succeeded to the chair of S. Peter, vacant by the death of Julius, the Eastern Bishops took that opportunity of requesting the new Pope to refuse his communion to Athanasius. At the same time a memorial in favour of the latter was presented from about seventy Egyptian Bishops: and Liberius and his Council at Rome remained firm to the Church of Alexandria. The Eusebians renewed their calumnies to Constantius persuaded him that the ill-will of Constans toward himself had been an effect of the machinations of Athanasius: that they, and the Emperor as well, were regarded by the Catholics as heretics; and finally, that Magnentius, the murderer of Constans, had been supported by the influence of the Bishop of Alexandria. Constantius, forgetting his promises and his

oath, and being completely under Arian influence, became daily more inveterate in his hatred to that Prelate: though as yet veiling his ill-will.

The Arians, shortly afterwards, invented a method of annoying Athanasius, of implication in which it is difficult to acquit the Emperor. They forged a letter, addressed by the Bishop to Constantius, in which he requested permission to wait upon him in Italy, for the purpose of conferring with him on Ecclesiastical affairs. Accordingly, to the great surprise of Athanasius, an officer of the palace named Montanus, visited him and informed him that he was to be transported at the public expense to Italy. The Prelate, after some hesitation, determined on remaining where he was: and explained by letter to the Emperor the fraud that had been used. This behaviour was, by his opponents, treated as a crime of disobedience to Constantius.

Athanasius despatched five Bishops, one of whom was Serapion of Thmuis, and three Priests, to the Court, to watch the turn of affairs. (A.D. 353) By the artifices of the Eusebians he was condemned in a Council holden at Arles this year; the Pope's legate, Vincent Bishop of Capua, and probably the same who had been present at Nicaea, after much persuasion, and with great reluctance, signing the sentence. He, however, in some measure repaired this fault, by his subsequent noble behaviour with respect to the apostacy at Rimini. The news of this event probably gave rise to the composition of the great apology of S. Athanasius, commonly called his second: it contains only a short introduction and conclusion of his own, the greater portion being taken up with a collection of documents which establish his innocence. He afterwards appended some additional matter to it; for, as we have it now, it contains allusions to events which did not occur till subsequently.

Liberius, afflicted and indignant at the betrayal of the Faith by his legates at Arles, demanded another Council: it was summoned by Constantius, then at Milan, in that city. Heresy again triumphed. Athanasius was condemned; but the Church of Rome was no longer implicated in the sin. Liberius was banished; Felix, Archdeacon of Rome, himself a believer in the Faith of Nicaea, though communicating with the Arians, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, thus becoming an Antipope, and Hosius of Cordova was harassed and persecuted. A persecution broke out everywhere; the Catholic Bishops were in many places insulted or exiled; and to crown the misfortunes of the Church, in this year Julian the Apostate was made Caesar.

Officers from the Court arrived at Alexandria, charged, as they said, with orders that all should communicate with the Arians; and that Athanasius should present himself before the Emperor. Athanasius demanded to see the instructions of the officers, but they were not forthcoming; and so many prepared to arm themselves in defence of their Bishop, that the Arians did not at once dare to proceed. Troops however were thrown from every part of Egypt; and there appeared some danger of a civil commotion, when the dispute was compromised by the agreement that Athanasius should be left in quiet possession of his Church, till the Emperor's pleasure could be more definitely known. The Bishop addressed a circular to all his suffragans, exhorting them to constancy in the Orthodox Faith, by a recapitulation of the variations existing at different times and in different places between the Creeds adopted by the Arians, as

contrasted with the One Faith of Nicaea; of the violences employed by their Prelates, and the remembrance of those Holy Bishops as well living as dead, who had exerted themselves manfully for Catholic Truth.

In spite of the assurances given that the orthodox should not for the present be molested in their public assemblies, as the people were keeping vigil on Thursday night, February 8, in the Church of S. Theonas, the Emperor's officers, conducted by the Arians, and followed by five thousand soldiers, invested the whole place, rendering escape impossible. S. Athanasius remained in his Throne, and ordered one of his Deacons to read the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm, which dwells on the eternity of God's mercy, exhorting the congregation to respond, "His mercy endureth for ever", and then to retire. The soldiers burst in : swords were unsheathed, and bows drawn : some persons of the assembly were killed by the arrows, and a general rush made towards the door. Athanasius still remained in his place; the soldiers surrounded the Choir, or rather the Holy of Holies; the monks formed in a close body round their Bishop, and bore him off; but such was the heat, the violence, the confusion, and the struggle, that he fainted, and was carried out for dead. This is one of the events which may lead us to suspect that Athanasius was not a man of much physical courage; and the rather to admire the grace which enabled him to give so long and so arduous a proof of moral constancy.

The corpses were buried, in order to prevent inquiry: but those who fell on this occasion are reckoned among the Martyrs. The arrows found in the church were preserved, as incontestable proofs of the outrage; the soldiers attempted to obtain possession of them, but were prevented by the Catholics. A protest was drawn up by the latter, and forwarded to Constantius. So far from attending to it, he addressed a letter to the people of Alexandria, approving what had been done, and exhorting them to drive from the city Athanasius, whom, he said, he had only recalled out of respect to the wishes of his brother. Heraclius, to whom this letter was sent, read it in public, and declared that resistance to the wishes of the Emperor would be absolutely useless: if the inhabitants would not communicate with the Arians, their public allowance of corn should be stopped; and if the Pagans would not declare their readiness to receive that Bishop whom the Emperor should appoint, their idols would be taken from them. It is hard to say whether the latter threat were more blasphemous or ludicrous; nevertheless, it produced great effect. The Cathedral was shortly after attacked by Heraclius with a band of Pagans and heretics; the same violences were committed that have been described in the church of S. Theonas : the altar, the throne, the seats, and the curtains were publicly burnt, and incense was offered in the fire to the idols of Alexandria. It was noted as a mark of Divine vengeance, that one of the rioters, who seated himself insolently in the Bishop's chair, was pierced by a splinter, and died in a few hours.

During these troubles, S. Antony, who had now attained the hundred and fifth year of his age, found his health gradually decline. Calling two of his most favoured disciples to him, he said, "My sons, as Scripture saith, I am going the way of all the earth: the Lord hath called me, and I am desirous to depart". After exhorting them to avoid all heresy and schism, he left one sheep-skin cloak, and a cloak on which he was then lying, to S. Athanasius : another sheep-skin to S. Serapion of Thmuis : and his vest

of hair to those whom he was addressing. “And now”, he continued, “farewell; Antony is going, — and will not be seen in this world among you again”. And so he departed to his rest.

### SECTION XXII.

#### THIRD EXILE OF S. ATHANASIUS.

One George had been ordained by the Arians for the See of Alexandria. Of low birth, he had first been a parasite, then a pork contractor for the army, then forced to fly on a charge of dishonesty; and now he was made Bishop of the Second See in the world. He had probably been ordained at Antioch two years previously, and was by many believed to be a Pagan : his very appearance testified the sensuality and cruelty of his disposition, and he did not give himself the trouble to make any pretence to religion. He made his entrance into Alexandria during Lent; and though behaving with the greatest insolence from the beginning, his principal cruelties were reserved for the week after Pentecost. Many were put to death for the Catholic Faith; and the tortures invented for them by George were quite worthy of the most ferocious of the Pagan Tyrants.

Athanasius retreated into the desert: diligent search was made for him, but in vain: and the persecution extending itself throughout the whole of Egypt, many Bishops were driven into banishment. S. Athanasius shortly after resolved on a personal appeal to the Emperor, and was only debarred when actually on his journey, by authentic news of the consequences of the Council of Milan, and a perusal of two letters of Constantius. One of these was addressed to the Princes of Axum, desiring them to send Frumentius, now at the head of a very flourishing Church to be examined by George of Alexandria: in order, that if his sentiments were heretical, he might be sent into exile, or if approved, reordained. It appears that one Theophilus, an Arian Bishop, after visiting the western coast of Arabia, and the island of Socotra, came to Axum, and thence returned to the Court; but neither his mission, nor the Emperor’s letter, occasioned any difficulty to Frumentius, who steadily persevered to the end of his course in the Catholic Faith, and dying peaceably, was succeeded by Cosmas, commemorated, like himself, in the Ethiopic Calendar. Athanasius employed the period of his exile in visiting, and informing himself on, the Monasteries of Egypt. He also composed another apology and addressed it to Constantius, in which he clears himself from the charges of having sown discord between the two Royal brothers; of having assisted the usurper Magnentius; of having celebrated the Holy Eucharist in the great church, while yet unconsecrated; (this was a new accusation of his enemies, and he defends himself by producing several instances, where in case of necessity the practice had been allowed by Bishops whom the whole Church venerated), and finally, of disobeying the Emperor in refusing to leave Alexandria.



The tidings which S. Athanasius received in the desert grew as every day worse and worse. First, he heard of the persecution raised by Macedonius at Constantinople; next of the creed of the Council of Sirmium, which, so far from pronouncing the Son to be Consubstantial, would not allow Him to be like in substance; then of the persecution of Hosius of Cordova, who was more than a hundred years old, and had presided at Sardica,—of his courageous resistance of torture,—his fall, his communicating with the Arians, his bitter repentance, and death; then of the fall of Liberius, and loss of the immaculateness of S. Peter's Chair: of the schism among the Arians, the one party affirming, the other denying, the Son to be of like substance: of the persecution, under Eudoxius of Antioch, of the former, who assumed the title of Eusebians, by the latter, under that of Anomoeans, (from the Greek *anomoiōs*, *unlike*;) of the Council of Ancyra, where the former party, though still wide of the whole truth, showed some symptoms of returning to the Catholic Faith; of the labours of S. Hilary in defence of that truth for which he was exiled; of the project of an Ecumenical Council at Nicaea; of the mischievous alteration, by which it was proposed to hold two simultaneous Councils of the East and West; of their assembling at Rimini and Seleucia respectively; of the artifice by which the four hundred Bishops in the former place were led to subscribe to a formula which might be interpreted to mean that the Son was created; of the deposition of George of Alexandria and other violent Arians, at Seleucia, where the Eusebians numbered one hundred and five out of one hundred and sixty Bishops; of the final victory of the Arians, by means of the Creed of Rimini, over both East and West, at Constantinople. Thus the whole world, as it were, became Arian; and the Church Catholic was nearer to a general apostacy than she has ever at any other time, been permitted to come.

Athanasius in the meanwhile had not been idle. He had addressed a letter to the Monks of Egypt, in which he at length exposed the vacillation and perfidy of Constantius. He wrote a treatise on the new Confession of Faith adopted at Rimini and Seleucia; forcibly exposing the absurdity of imagining that the Faith had till now been unknown. And Macedonius of Constantinople, deposed as an Eusebian by the Anomoeans, having been the author of a new heresy, which denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and his followers, thence called Pneumatomachi, or *Fighters against the Spirit*, extending themselves widely, S. Athanasius, in a third treatise, refuted his blasphemy.

The Church was now in a very low condition: Athanasius was her principal support in the East, and S. Hilary, or rather his influence, in the West: but God was raising up other champions,—S. Martin of Tours, S. Basil, and S. Gregory Nazianzen. If the Church of Alexandria were divided, much more was that of Antioch, split, as it was in a short period, into three factions; the Eustathians, or old Catholic party: the Meletians, or followers of Meletius, a Catholic in heart, (though consecrated by the Eusebians,) and reckoned among the Saints; and the Enzoians, or pure Arians, so called from their lately advanced Bishop Euzoius, one of those Deacons whom S. Alexander of Alexandria had excommunicated in the beginning of the troubles. It is necessary here to note this, because this schism led to important consequences. The bright spot in the horizon of the Church was the increasing inclination of the Eusebians to return to the



True Faith; they seemed startled at the depths of impiety into which their scheme led, when consistently carried out; and when they had to decide between the *Consubstantial* and the *Dissimilar in Substance*, seldom failed to prefer the former.

Such was the state of things when Julian declared himself Emperor at Paris, but offered to share the world with Constantius. The latter, preparing to march against him, fell ill of a fever; and finding his illness mortal, received baptism from the hands of Euzoios the Arian, and shortly after departed this life.

Julian succeeded peaceably: and to show his contempt of Christianity proclaimed a general toleration for all sects, and liberty for the exiled Bishops to return. Of this edict Athanasius did not dare to avail himself, on account of the violences committed by George in Alexandria. But the end of this wretched man was approaching.

Artemius, general of the forces in Egypt, was accused by the Pagans to Julian of having deprived the temples of their dues, and appropriated their wealth to other uses; and his head was struck off by the Emperor's order, at Antioch. George had irritated the heathen in a similar way, and they now turned their fury against him. Odious to the Catholics for his persecutions and blasphemies, disliked by the Arians for his vacillation and time-servingness, he now offended the Pagans by bringing to light the cruelties attendant on the worship of Mithras, having discovered the skeletons of those who had been its victims, when building a church on the spot once appropriated to those rites. The Gentiles could not endure this exposure of their enormities; they assaulted the church where George was, slew several of his adherents, and tying cords to his feet, and to those of two of his friends, dragged them up and down the city till life was extinct; then bringing them on the sea shore, they scattered their ashes on the waves, fearing that their victims might be honoured as martyrs; an apprehension most certainly groundless, so far as respects the tyrant and the blasphemer George. Julian overlooked the riot, though not failing in his epistle to blame the Alexandrians for the want of reverence it evinced to their god Serapis.

S. Athanasius lost no time in returning to Alexandria, and mounted on an ass, he made his entry into that city. The same joy prevailed as on his previous restoration. Roofs, walls, and battlements were thronged; incense was burnt, and torches lit; the Catholics present from all parts in the great mart of the world vied with each other in doing honour to the Confessor: the inhabitants of Alexandria, in different divisions, according to their age and sex, gave welcome to their Bishop; there were feasts in public, and banquets in private. The Arians were driven from their churches; the Mystery of the Most Holy and Consubstantial Trinity was again preached in them: and no thing distinguished the Professors of the Catholic Faith more illustriously than the gentleness with which their persecutors were treated. Those Arians who still retained their heresy obtained episcopal consecration for Lucius, a Priest ordained by George.

A Council was next held at Alexandria, at which S. Eusebius of Vercell, an illustrious Confessor for the Faith in the West was present: he, and the celebrated Lucifer of Cagliari, had been banished into the Upper Thebais: and, when the edict of

Julian allowed them to return to their Sees, Eusebius proposed to go back by way of Antioch, for the sake of settling the distractions of that Church, while Lucifer should repair to Alexandria, and give his assistance to Athanasius in the Synod which was then on the point of assembling. Lucifer unhappily preferred to visit Antioch: and there, by consecrating Paulinus Bishop for the Eustathians, instead of inducing them to communicate with the Meletians, he perpetuated the schism. He however dispatched a Deacon to Alexandria, with orders to assent to what should there be done. The Council of Alexandria, on the contrary, was not more distinguished for its firmness than for its moderation. The first business was to decide with respect to those who had been induced to subscribe the formula of Rimini. They had anathematized all such as should say that the Son of God was a creature like other creatures, meaning thereby, that He was not a creature at all; while the Arians intended to assert that being a creature. He was yet different from other creatures. The Bishops who had subscribed, protested in the most solemn manner that they had meant no harm: some further affirmed that they had only attached their names to the formula, in order that by retaining their churches, they might be enabled to exclude heretical Prelates from possessing them. There was a difference of opinion in the Council on this subject; some were for deposing all those who had subscribed this formula, or any other heretical Creed; the greater part pointed out the tremendous breach that such a sweeping condemnation would occasion; others wished that those who had fallen should content themselves with the Communion of their own Church, being separated from that of all other Churches. But in the end, gentler sentiments prevailed. The Bishops who had erred were only compelled to anathematize Arius, and to subscribe to the Creed of Nicaea; and even those of the opposite party were received into lay communion, on renouncing their errors.

The Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and the equality of the co-eternal Trinity was affirmed by the Council, who next proceeded to settle a point of dispute between two parties of the Catholics. The one asserted Three Hypostases in the Trinity, the other only One: the former were called Arians, the latter Sabellians by their opponents. S. Athanasius perceived that the Faith of both parties was orthodox, and that the Question of dispute was only about words. To the asserters of Three Hypostases, he said, “Do you mean by these words, as the Arians do, Three substances differing from each other, or, as other heretics, Three Principles, or Three Gods?” “God forbid”, they replied: “we only mean that the Father is and exists; that the Son is and exists in the Substance of the Father; and that the Holy Ghost is and exists : we abhor the heresy that teaches the existence of Three Principles : we hold the Son to be Consubstantial with the Father, and the Holy Ghost inseparable from the Substance of Both”. “This”, said the Council to their opponents, “is the very Catholic Faith. But you, who hold One Hypostasis only in the Holy Trinity, do you mean, with Sabellius, to annihilate the Substance of the Son and the Holy Ghost?” “God forbid”, they answered: “we merely use the word in the sense of substance, that we may assert the Holy Trinity to be Consubstantial”. Then said the Council to both parties, “You are all agreed, then, in anathematizing Arius and Sabellius, Paul of Samosata and Manes, and to subscribing the Creed of Nicaea”. Thus unity was restored among the orthodox. In a similar way, those who, both holding the Faith, were dissatisfied with each others’ expressions on the subject of the Incarnation,

were made to allow their real accordance. In this Council Asterius, an Arabian Bishop, was spokesman for the Eastern, Eusebius of Vercell for the Western Church.

S. Athanasius, writing in the name of the Council to the Church of Antioch, detailed the proceedings which we have recounted : and sent several other letters on the same subject to the more influential among the Bishops. The only unfortunate result of this most Catholic Synod, was the schism of Lucifer of Cagliari, who would not communicate with those who received to their communion the subscribers of the formula of Rimini. Thus the Luciferians were with respect to the Demi-Arians what the Novatians were to the Pagans; though in no other respect can the two sects be compared. For Lucifer had been a Confessor for the truth, and, but for his unhappy division, would doubtless have been reckoned among the Saints by the Church at large, as by a peculiar devotion of that of Sardinia he is to this day. Of the proceedings of the Apollinarians in this Council we shall have a further occasion to speak.

### SECTION XXIII.

#### FOURTH AND FIFTH EXILES OF S. ATHANASIUS : HIS RETURN AND DEATH.

The Pagans, emboldened by the favour of Julian, addressed a memorial to him, in the same year, against S. Athanasius, whom they represented as the great enemy of their religion, and the preventer of the due exercise of their rites. For they had recently reintroduced the murder of infants, for the purpose of drawing auguries from an inspection of their entrails. Julian replied, that although out of his moderation he had allowed all the Galileans, banished by Constantius, to return, yet he would not suffer the insolence they complained of in the case of Athanasius, whom he commanded on the receipt of that epistle to leave the city. The Christians also presented, though in vain, a memorial : Julian taunted them with being the slaves of those Hebrews who had been bondmen to their fathers, and with preferring a man accused of the most heinous crimes, to the memory of Alexander their founder, and Serapis their guardian god; and Athanasius, who had at first been required only to leave Alexandria, was now commanded to withdraw from Egypt.

Troops were sent to drive the bishop into exile, with orders, if they were able, to slay him: the Caesarea, or great church, was sacked and burnt. S. Athanasius consoled his weeping friends by assuring them that it was a cloud that would soon pass. He embarked in a boat, and sailed up the Nile towards the Thebais. He was soon missed and pursued; but a friend had time to give him warning of the design against his life. With great presence of mind, he ordered the boat to be put about, and descended the river towards Alexandria: in a short time he was met by the murderers, who demanded

if Athanasius was far before him. "He is very near" replied the friends of the Prelate, according to others S. Athanasius himself; and the boat of the officer was urged on with greater speed.

Julian was now on his expedition against the Persians. Didymus, celebrated in the Church of Alexandria for his piety, and, although blind, for his learning, was in deep distress at the tidings of persecutions in different places, and at the general exultation of the Pagans. He had passed a whole day, towards the end of June, in fasting and prayer : and as he slumbered in his chair, at one o'clock in the morning, heard a voice say distinctly, "Julian is dead ; rise, and eat, and send tidings to Athanasius." Didymus carefully noted the day and hour; and found that at that very hour the Apostate had indeed gone to his account: as though wounded in the morning, he survived till after midnight. S. Athanasius, it is said, received a yet earlier intimation of the Emperor's fall. While at Antioch, he received a visit from Pammon, an Abbat in the adjacent country, and S. Theodore of Tabenna. By their advice he betook himself to the cells governed by the last-named hermit; and while one day lamenting the state of the Church to his two friends, was amazed to see them look at each other, and interchange a smile. "Are you mocking the weakness of my faith?" demanded the Prelate. On which they informed him that the tyrant had been summoned to his account.

Arianism now began to totter. The succeeding emperor Jovian professed himself a Catholic, and recalled the Bishops banished by Julian. Athanasius had not waited for this summons, but had previously returned to Alexandria. He was here agreeably surprised by receiving a letter from the Emperor, requesting from him a True Exposition of the Catholic Faith. He assembled a Council, and inserted in his reply the Creed of Nicaea, and a brief but clear explanation of it. Jovian requested Athanasius to visit him at Antioch, where, shortly afterwards, a small Council was held, by those in the Communion of S. Meletius, where several Demi-Arian Bishops approved of the term *Consubstantial*. The proceedings of this Council having been laid before Athanasius, he wished to enter into Communion with Meletius: but the affair was procrastinated by the Meletians till it fell to the ground.

Lucius, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, and his friends, made a journey to Antioch, wishing to influence the Emperor in their favour: but they only succeeded in incurring his indignation: and to make the prospects of their sect yet darker, a schism broke out among the pure Arians.

Athanasius, on his return into Egypt, spent some time in visiting its principal monasteries, more especially that of S. Pacomius. We may refer to this period his letter to Rutinianus, who had consulted him on the proper method of dealing with penitent heretics. The Prelate points out that various Synods had already defined the matter; that the originators of heresy, if ecclesiastics, were, on repentance, to be received to lay Communion only; those who had joined the heresy through ignorance or infirmity, were to be retained in the enjoyment of their full rank. In this decision, he says, the whole Catholic Church was agreed: the Luciferians only objected and rebelled. While thus engaged, he heard of the death of Jovian, and the appointment of Valentinian as Emperor, who at once gave the East to his brother Valens. The happy reconciliation, in

a great measure, of the Eastern with the Western Church followed: and was succeeded by the Arian persecution of Valens.

At its outset, an Edict was passed, banishing those Bishops who, having been exiled under Constantius, had returned under Julian. In virtue of this proclamation, the prefect of Egypt endeavoured to drive the Alexandrian Catholics of their churches, and to drive Athanasius from the city. The orthodox replied, that Athanasius did not come under the terms of the edict: that he had indeed been banished by Constantius, but had also been restored by the same Emperor; and were on the point of taking up arms in defence of their Bishop. The Praefect wrote to Valens for instructions and the sedition was appeased. A few days after, S. Athanasius, divinely warned of impending danger, left his house and the city towards evening, and hid himself in the tomb of his father. Towards midnight the prefect surrounded the house with troops, hoping to seize Athanasius, and convey him quietly from the city. This was the last trouble which befell the Confessor: an order came from Valens to recall him; and after a few months' absence, he again entered Alexandria.

Various conjectures have been made as to the reasons which induced Valens, while persecuting the other Catholic Bishops and their flocks, to spare Athanasius and Alexandria. It is probable that he did so either from fear of Valentinian, who might have taken it ill that so great a champion of the truth should suffer anything; or by the persuasion of the Arians, unwilling to bring the powerful genius of Athanasius in contact with the mind of Valens, and fearing that persecution might induce him to try the force of a personal appeal to the Emperor.

Athanasius had now governed Alexandria more than forty years, and the end of his life was peaceful. At the head of a Council of ninety Bishops, he remonstrated with S. Damasus of Rome, that Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, had not been excommunicated, and his representation had the desired effect. The synodal letter addressed by this Synod to the Bishops of Africa exists among the writings of S. Athanasius.

About this period we meet with an instance of his willingness to drop the rights of his See where the good of the Church was at stake. There was, in Pentapolis, a See called Erythrum, which comprehended, among other villages, the petty towns of Palaebisca and Hydrax. Orion, Bishop of Erythrum, a man advanced in years, was solicited by the inhabitants of Palaebisca and Hydrax, in consideration of their distance from the See, and his own infirmities, to consecrate a young man named Siderius, their Bishop. Orion consented, and the ceremony was performed by Philo, Bishop of Cyrene, a well-meaning man, but inexact in his observance of the Laws of the Church, without any reference to the See of Alexandria, and by himself: thus violating two Canons. S. Athanasius not only confirmed Siderius in his See, but sometime after, approving his character, translated him to the Church of Ptolemais, which we now find to have become, in a sense, Metropolitan. He did credit to the choice of the people: and in old age, resigning the more honourable See of Ptolemais, retired to end his days in the charge of his former See. We also find him excommunicating the governor of Libya for cruelty; defending S. Basil, lately made Bishop of Caesarea; at length apparently

reconciled to Meletius and instructing Epictetus in the Mystery of the Incarnation, which the widely-spreading Apollinarian heresy rendered a necessary task.

Three years after the date of this work, S. Athanasius was attacked by a mortal illness. Being pressed to name his successor he mentioned his faithful and aged companion Peter: and shortly afterwards, after so many perils and banishments, gave up the ghost in his bed, in his own house, justly claiming the most illustrious place among the Confessors, and known in his Church by the title of the Apostolic Patriarch. “And thus”, as S. Gregory Nazianzen closes his panegyric, “he ended his life in peace, and he was gathered to his fathers in a good old age, to the Patriarchs and Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, who strove for the truth. And on his departure he received more excellent honours than those which attended his entrances to the city: for he so left this world, as to move the tears of many, and to leave a glorious remembrance of himself, of more value than visible tokens of respect, in the hearts of all”.

### SECTION XXIV.

#### PONTIFICATE OF PETER.

The death of S. Athanasius was a signal for fresh efforts on the part of the Arians. Peter was however peaceably enthroned by the unanimous voices of the clergy and people, the neighbouring Prelates having assembled with the utmost speed to prevent any attack of the opposite faction.

Euzoius of Antioch resolved to go himself to Alexandria, and to put Lucius into quiet possession of the See. This project was approved by Valens, who in the meantime wrote to Palladius, the prefect of Egypt, to drive out Peter by main force. This commission was very pleasing to Palladius, who was a Pagan: and assembling a band of heathens and of Jews, he surrounded the church of S. Theonas; and informed Peter, that if he did not voluntarily retire, he would be dragged forth by force.

The Prelate was thrown into prison and on his liberation thought it prudent to retire: and the same scenes were re-acted, which in the time of S. Athanasius had been witnessed in the same church. A youth, infamous for his debauched life, mounted the altar, and there exhibited a popular dance; another ascended the pulpit, and thence delivered an harangue in praise of vice. Many of the Catholics suffered on this occasion, and are reckoned as Martyrs.

Shortly after, Euzoius and Lucius, in company with the Count Magnus, arrived in Alexandria. The blasphemous congratulations with which they were received by the Pagans must have been revolting even to themselves. “Welcome”, they cried, “to the



Bishop who does not acknowledge the Son: welcome to the Bishop, the beloved of Serapis!". Nineteen Catholic Priests and Deacons, some of them in extreme old age, were dragged before the tribunal of Magnus the Quaestor, a man of bad character, who had narrowly escaped capital punishment under Jovian, for having destroyed the church of Berytus in the time of Julian the Apostate. He pressed them to communicate with the Arians, urging that even if they were in the right, God would surely pardon them for yielding to compulsion. They appealed to the Creed of Nicaea, and protested that they could not vary from that. Having been thrown into prison for several days, they were scourged in public, and banished to Heliopolis in Phoenicia. Those who by tears or gestures expressed their sympathy with the sufferers were also imprisoned or sent to the mines by Palladius the Praefect. Among the latter was the Deacon whom S. Damasus of Rome had commissioned to carry to Peter his congratulations and condolences on his accession to the Chair of S. Mark. Ephianus even assures us that some of the most strenuous advocates of the Truth were condemned to the beasts. With the details of this persecution we are acquainted from an encyclic epistle of Peter himself, preserved by Theodoret.

Though Arianism thus again prevailed in Egypt, it was in a far different manner from its former supremacy. Now the Church knew herself better: the Formula of Nicaea was acknowledged by all to be the expression of her belief; and the True Faith was known to be so by those who yielded to fear or constraint. The number of the Arians was also much diminished: the contest had more definitely assumed its true form, and was felt to be a struggle, not about words, but for the greatest Truth for which man can contend.

Euzoius, having accomplished his errand, returned to Antioch. Probably by his persuasion, Valens shortly afterwards issued an edict, commanding the banishment from Egypt of all who confessed the Consubstantial. Eleven Bishops were sent into exile. The behaviour of S. Melas of Rhinocorura deserves to be mentioned. The soldiers sent to convey him to his place of exile reached his church towards evening, and found him engaged in preparing the lamps. Not imagining that a Prelate could be employed in so menial an office, they inquired for Melas. The Bishop informed them that he was within, and should be told of their arrival. Taking them into his house, he set supper before them, and himself waited at table: when they had finished he made himself known. They were so much touched by his humility and kindness, that they offered to let him escape; but S. Melas preferred sharing the exile of his brethren. He must have been at this time young; since Sozomen, writing nearly eighty years after, mentions his brother Solon, who succeeded him in the Episcopate and seems to have resembled him in virtue, as not long dead.

The Monks of Egypt were one of the great objects of the hatred of Lucius. He spared no pains in discovering their abodes; and even himself led a large party of soldiers to drive them into exile. It is said that the inmates of a particular monastery which he was about to visit, were requested, as they often were, to pray over a paralytic man brought to them for that purpose. They anointed him with oil, and on saying the words, "In the Name of Jesus Christ whom Lucius persecuteth, arise, and go to thy house!" they restored him whole to his friends. Neither their prayers, however, nor their

miracles protected them from the insults and from the fury of the Arians; till Lucius, perceiving that the number of the Monks prevented the exercise of any very severe measure against the whole of their body, contented himself with banishing their Abbats.

Among the most illustrious of the exiles had been the two Macarii and Isidore. They were banished to an island in the Nile, the stronghold of Paganism, where the Gospel had not as yet been preached, and where the priest was honoured for the supposed sanctity of his life and prevalence of his prayers. At the moment that the bark which was carrying the Holy Confessors touched the shore, the daughter of this man was seized by a demon. Rushing down to the coast,—“We had trusted”, she cried, “to be safe from you in this unknown spot: it is our ancient habitation; here we abode in peace; here we hurt none. But if you claim this island also, take it: we cannot resist your power”. As the spirits thus spoke, they threw the maiden to the ground, convulsed her, and left her. The result of this miracle was the conversion of the whole island. The populace of Alexandria, on receiving intelligence of the event, were scarcely to be restrained from an open outbreak: and Lucius thought it prudent to give private orders for the release of the Macarii and Isidore.

Peter, shortly after his release from prison, retired to Rome, where he was honourably received by S. Damasus, the successor of Liberius. While there, he assisted at a Council held by S. Damasus against Apollinaris, whose heresy, as we have already observed, may be said to have arisen at Alexandria. He had been for some time accused of teaching that the Saviour was Only in His Body a man, and that His Divinity supplied the place of a human soul; but his great reputation had rendered the Eastern Bishops unwilling to condemn him, though not hesitating to anathematize his doctrines. At length his errors became too flagrant to be any longer concealed or connived at: and the See of Alexandria had again the honour, in conjunction with that of Rome, to be the foremost in condemning heresy.

The presence of Peter at Rome was important on another account. The schism at Antioch, between the Eustathians, or old Catholic party, under their Bishop Paulinus, ordained by Lucifer before his return to the West, and the new Catholic party under S. Meletius, had troubled both the East and West. The holiest Bishops in the East, such as S. Basil and S. Eusebius of Samosata, sided with Meletius. S. Damasus and the Western Bishops communicated with Paulinus. Meletius asserted Three Hypostases in the Holy Trinity, Paulinus One: S. Damasus would not allow the former, for fear of being considered an Arian, nor S. Basil the latter, lest he should be imagined a Sabellian. Notwithstanding the decision of the Chair of S. Peter, Meletius after his death was reckoned even by the Western Church among the Saints,—an honour not accorded to Paulinus. Peter served as a kind of connection between the two conflicting parties, though his sentiments inclined to those of Damasus. S. Basil addressed a letter to him while at Rome, on the subject, in which he complains in very strong language, that the Western Bishops, who could not be so well acquainted with the actual state of affairs, should presume to class Meletius and Eusebius among the Arians.

S. Basil also addressed an Epistle to the Faithful of Alexandria, in the absence of their Bishop, calling on them to contend earnestly for the Faith once for all

committed to the Church, to call to mind their own illustrious Saints, to emulate them in their conflict, that they might be accounted worthy to share with them their glory, and to play the man for the Lord of Hosts.

A remarkable event which happened about this time must have convinced the Arians that they were not recognized by any party as the legitimate occupants of the Throne of Alexandria. Mauvia, Queen of the Saracens, who bordered on Palmyrene and Phoenicia Libanensis, had been engaged in a series of wars with the Roman Power, and had generally been successful. Terms of peace were offered, and accepted by the Queen, on condition that Moyses, a monk of reputation in her dominions, should be ordained Bishop of the Saracens. The proposal was considered reasonable; and Moyses was directed to receive consecration from Lucius. When brought before that Arian Prelate, "I am unworthy", said the Monk, "to receive the grace of the Episcopate at all: but if necessity be laid upon me, I refuse to accept it from a blasphemer of our Lord, and an intruder into a See already filled". However much Lucius might resent this public affront, for the protest was made in the presence of the civil authorities of Alexandria, the necessity of the case compelled him to acquiesce; and Moyses was ordained by the Metropolitan of Damascus.

During the persecution of Lucius, the Monks of Egypt received the most essential services from the celebrated Melania, who was at that time on her way to Palestine, and remained eight months in the country. Her zeal led her to provide retreats for a vast multitude of recluses; and during three days, she supported, at her own expense, five thousand monks. She was summoned before the Prefect, and threatened with the severest punishment, unless she consented to acquaint the magistrates with the names and hiding-places of those whom she maintained; but her popularity and high birth exempted her, though desirous of suffering for Christ, from further molestation.

Valens, now at Antioch, found it necessary to defend Thrace from the incursions of the barbarians; and accordingly set out for Constantinople. But before leaving the city, he gave orders that the persecution against the Catholics should cease, and that the exiles should be restored. As soon as the intelligence reached Rome, Peter, provided with letters of Communion from Damasus, returned to his Church, where he was received with great joy. On this, Lucius retired first to Constantinople, then to Beroea. Valens, by the just judgment of God, perished in his expedition. The few remaining months of the life of S. Peter were darkly clouded by an unfortunate action on his part, which threatened to lead to serious results.

The Church of Constantinople was now in a most lamentable condition, having been in the hands of the Arians for more than forty years. Demophilus, their present Bishop, was altogether intolerable to the Catholics, and Theodosius, on being elevated to the purple in the East, was anxious to provide a Prelate who might be able to raise that important Church from her ruins. S. Gregory of Nazianzum, a Bishop without a See, appeared to the orthodox party the most eligible for the post; and he accordingly, not without great reluctance, came to Constantinople. His difficulties were at first great: the Arians possessed all the churches, and he was compelled to hold his assemblies in the house where his friends entertained him. This house afterwards became the

celebrated church of the Resurrection: so called from the Resurrection of the Faith in Constantinople, which had its origin there. Peter favoured the election of S. Gregory, and, in virtue of the jurisdiction which Alexandria claimed, and still claims, over Constantinople in a vacancy of the latter See, instituted him therein. But from whatever cause, he soon after repented of this action. There was one Maximus, a native of Alexandria, who although a Christian, professed himself a Cynic, and wore the ordinary dress of that sect of philosophers. This man, whose character had been notoriously bad, obtained from Peter a promise to ordain him Bishop of Constantinople. We are not informed by what artifices he procured this engagement; but having secured it, he sailed for Constantinople, where, partly by praising the eloquence of Gregory, and partly by exhibiting, as if received in Confession, the marks of stripes by which he had been punished for a misdemeanour, he insinuated himself into the confidence of the Bishop, and made some progress in popular esteem in the city. Having so far succeeded, he informed Peter of his proceedings, and requested him to send some Prelates for the purpose of consecrating him.

The character of Peter at this time stood high; and he used all his authority for the promotion of the design of Maximus. He dispatched three Bishops to Constantinople, with full powers to consecrate him. The pretext, however, under which these Prelates were sent, was the conveyance of the customary tribute of corn to Constantinople. On arriving in the Imperial City, they, in a most irregular and hurried manner, ordained Maximus. The people were indignant: the expressions of their affection towards S. Gregory were numerous; and the intruder was compelled ignominiously to leave the city. The Emperor and the Pope declared against him; the latter, indeed, who did not approve of the Translation of Gregory, considered the See as vacant. Maximus, meanwhile, after a fruitless interview with Theodosius at Thessalonica, returned to Alexandria, and urged Peter to assist him in reestablishing himself at Constantinople. To entreaties he added threats, declaring that if the Bishop of Alexandria would not give him the help he demanded, he should himself be deposed. But the Prefect of Egypt banished Maximus; and Gregory was for a short time quietly restored to his dignity.

Peter's life was now drawing to an end. On the fourteenth of February, (A.D. 380), he was taken from the world. His memory is venerated by the Coptic Church, which reckons him among the Saints. But the Church Catholic has refused him the title: partly on account of his inconstancy in the matter of Maximus; partly, as it would seem from S. Jerome, from the too great facility with which, after his return to Alexandria, he admitted heretics to his Communion;—thence laying himself open to the charge, though perfectly unfounded, of having received bribes for the purpose of shortening the period of their probation.

Fourteen days after the death of Peter a law was published by Theodosius, then at Thessalonica, for the purpose of defining the Catholic Faith; in which Communion with S. Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria is required in its professors. The tidings of the death of latter had not as yet reached Thessalonica.

### SECTION XXV.

#### PONTIFICATE OF TIMOTHY.

On the decease of Peter, Timothy, his brother, who appears to have been designated by the dying Prelate as his successor, was, by the election of the Bishops and Clergy, placed in the vacant See. (A.D. 380).

In the year following this election, Theodosius, eager to put an end to the various disputes by which the Church was distracted, determined on convoking a numerous Synod for their Second Consideration and settlement; and the Second General Council met at Constantinople. Though consisting only of Eastern Bishops, from the subsequent reception of its decrees by the whole Church it is justly regarded as Ecumenical.

The first proceeding of the assembled Fathers was to declare the consecration of Maximus null and void. This was done the more easily, because, from whatever reason, no Egyptian Bishop was then present at the Council. S. Meletius of Antioch, as Prelate of the See third in dignity, presided. Gregory was then solemnly installed in the Episcopal Throne, in spite of the most vigorous opposition on his own part. S. Meletius shortly after went to his reward; and it was now hoped that the Antiochene schism might cease. For it had been agreed by both parties, that of the two Prelates, Paulinus and Meletius, whichever should survive the other should be accounted by all as the Canonical Bishop. S. Gregory, now presiding in the Council, was urgent that this compact should be observed; but the younger Bishops could not endure the idea of thus yielding to the Western Church, which had always continued in the Communion of Paulinus : and the schism was continued by the election of Flavian.

It was probably during this interval when neither Alexandria nor Antioch were properly represented in the Council, that its celebrated Canon was passed, whereby Constantinople was declared the second See. But Timothy constantly refused to allow the validity of this Canon; the Church of Rome did the same; and, for centuries after, Alexandria still held the second dignity everywhere but at Constantinople.

Timothy having arrived at the latter city, immediately attacked the validity of Gregory's translation; rather out of jealousy of the Eastern Church (Alexandria, as we have seen, always allying itself with Rome), than from any dislike to that Bishop. His opponents could not be more willing to insist on, than that aged Prelate was to tender his resignation: and the appointment of Nectarius to the See was the final result. On the cession of S. Gregory, Timothy presided in the Council; till disgust at the influence of the Eastern Prelates and at the Canon by which his own See was degraded, caused him

to sail for Alexandria; and he refused again to leave his city, though invited to be present at the subsequent consecration of Nectarius.

It need hardly be said that the chief thing done in the Council of Constantinople, besides what has been specified, was the expansion of the Creed of Nicaea into that form which we, in common with the whole Catholic Church, employ in our Communion Office : the single point of difference being, that the Procession of the Holy Ghost was only affirmed to be from the Father. In the law which gave force to the decrees of the Council, Timothy was named with Nectarius and other principal Bishops, as those with whom all, professing to be Catholics, were required to be in Communion.

Timothy, after returning to his flock, was under the happy reign of Theodosius spared the persecutions to which his predecessors had been subjected. He was an old man when raised to the See, and departed this life in peace, after having held it more than five years. Though not reckoned among the Saints by any except the Coptic Church, his character stood high for piety and learning. The rescript of Theodosius to Optatus speaks of him in the highest terms, and his contempt of riches appears to have been so great, as to obtain for him the surname of the Poor. His most celebrated work was a Canonical Epistle on Penance, still extant; and he had composed the lives of S. Apollos and other Egyptian recluses. He is said to have built several churches in Alexandria: and to have been eminently successful in the conversion of Arians.

### SECTION XXVI.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SERAPIS: THEOPHILUS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The episcopate of the two succeeding Patriarchs was the period at which the Church of Alexandria attained her highest dignity. The power of its Prelate was in some respects, as we have already observed, greater than that of the Bishop of Rome over his own Prelates; and the civil authority attached to the office was, as we shall have occasion to notice, exceedingly great.

Theophilus had been secretary to Athanasius, and was, so far as the management of business and the maintenance of his Churches dignity was concerned, a fit possessor of the Evangelical Throne. In other qualities yet more important for a Prelate, the contrast between himself and his predecessors is sorely to his disadvantage.

His first memorable action proves him, however, not to have been wanting in zeal. There was at Alexandria an ancient temple of Bacchus, once of great celebrity, but now so complete a ruin that only the walls remained. Theophilus obtained a grant of it



from the Emperor Theodosius, purposing to build a church on the spot. In clearing the ground for the foundations, various crypts were discovered, and in them figures connected with the abominations of the Phallic rites. The Pagans could not endure the discovery of their shame. They flew to arms: the Christians defended themselves, and, although the stronger party, would not attack their opponents. The latter, after having killed some of those who were most foremost in exposing their secret crimes, retired into the Temple of Serapis. This building served excellently as a fortress. It was raised on a terrace of enormous height; its form was square with a central court; there were subterranean passages and communications known only to the Priests; the walls were massy, and composed externally of excellent masonry, while covered internally with copper plates, under which popular belief held a layer of silver to be concealed, while under that again was one of gold. The greater part of the edifice was taken up by lodgings and apartments of various kinds for the Priests and official attendants : the shrine itself was lighted with only one window, so contrived that at midday, once a year, a ray of the sun fell on the face of Serapis, an enormous figure, the extended hands of which reached from one side of the temple to the other : and precisely at that time the sun-god was brought on a visit of congratulation to his brother idol. The Pagans having fortified themselves in this building elected Olympius, a philosopher, as their leader: they were even bold enough to attempt a sally, in which some Christians were taken prisoners: these were instantly dragged to the altars, and either compelled to sacrifice, or exposed to the most cruel tortures.

Evagrius, the Praefect of Egypt, collected a few soldiers, and hastened to the temple, representing to the rebels the madness of hoping to resist the whole Roman power, and the punishment which a prolonged resistance would necessarily entail. Driven to despair, and encouraged by the harangues of Olympius, who exhorted them to suffer any extremity rather than abandon the gods of their ancestors, the besieged refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. As the situation of the place rendered it inaccessible, except with loss of life and by means of a regular storm, Evagrius thought it his duty to write to Theodosius for instructions how he should proceed in this conjuncture, and, in the meantime, the insurgents were left in quiet possession of the fortress. Theodosius replied, that he envied the lot of those Christians who had fallen in this affair, as esteeming them Martyrs; that their murderers should be freely forgiven (the invariable custom of the Church, lest the glory of the Martyr should be tarnished by revenge), but that, at the same time, all the temples of Alexandria, which had been the causes of this outbreak, should be demolished. Theophilus, in conjunction with Evagrius, charged himself with the execution of this edict. It was read in public Christians as well as Pagans assembled to hear the result of the inquiry. The former, as soon as its bearing was manifest, gave a shout of exultation; the latter were struck with terror and fled; the insurgents, and Olympius among the rest, quitted the temple of Serapis, and left it an easy prey to the Catholics. It is said, that in the dead of the preceding night, the doors of the shrine being shut, and no person within it, the chant of "Alleluia!" was heard in its recesses. It is certain that the victory of the Christians was not stained with any blood; for even Helladius, the Priest of Jupiter, who had, or professed to have, slain nine persons in the revolt, was permitted to fly to Damascus, where he obtained a livelihood as a teacher of grammar.

Theophilus and the people repaired to the temple of Serapis for the purpose of effecting its destruction. There was however an ancient tradition that, when the idol should be destroyed, the earth would perish, the heaven fall in, and chaos would return. This belief, actually held by some, and influencing others almost unconsciously to themselves, held back the crowd from attempting its ruin. At length a soldier, possessing more courage than the rest, struck the image, which was of wood, though studded with various metals and precious stones, a blow on the cheek destroyed: with his hatchet. A shout of horror arose from the Pagans, of triumph from the Christians. The soldier redoubled his blows: he smote the idol on the knee, and it fell; a third blow lopped off the head. The Heathen were in expectation of some dreadful event: an extraordinary noise was heard in the body of the fallen god; and a swarm of rats, its ancient tenants, escaped at the neck. Now all was derision and mockery: the unfortunate Serapis was hacked in pieces, and afforded materials for a bonfire; and the images of the same deity, the common ornaments of the Alexandrian houses, were demolished, their place being supplied by a painting of the Cross.

In levelling the foundations of the temple the Cross was found engraven on several of its stones : and an ancient tradition was then remembered, purporting that, when that figure was triumphant, the worship of Serapis should be at an end. This prophecy has been imagined, like others, to have been made after the event; but recent discoveries in Yucatan have strangely tended to confirm it. The Cross, in that country, was venerated long before the arrival of the Spaniards; and a tradition was current to the effect that when it was triumphant, the Mexican gods would no longer be worshipped.

The Pagans had yet one strong hold on popular feeling. The celebrated Nile-gauge, kept till the time of Constantine in the temple of Serapis, transferred to the cathedral by Constantine, and brought back again at the command of Julian the Apostate, was now a second time removed to the church. The worshippers of Serapis prophesied that the Nile would not rise that year: on the contrary, it arose higher than had ever been known. A few years subsequently there was a deficient inundation: the Pagans attributed it to their being forbidden to appease the Nile by their usual sacrifices. The Governor, in reply to their remonstrances, assured them, that if such rites as theirs were necessary to the fertilization of Egypt, the goodness of the result did not compensate for the wickedness of the means. Shortly after, the river rose rapidly: it passed the highest mark, and fears were entertained that Alexandria itself would be inundated. The Pagans consoled themselves for their disappointment by an indecent jest.

The destruction of idols, commenced at Alexandria, extended itself throughout the whole of Egypt: the infamous secrets of their worship were discovered, the metal obtained from them recast into vessels for the use of the Church; and one image only retained, that of a ridiculous ape, lest in after times the heathen should deny their worship of such monsters. The wrath of Eunapius, a pagan writer, is excessive. He accuses Theophilus of changing the worship of the great gods into the adoration of miserable men who had suffered for their crimes, referring of course, to the honour

shown to the relics of the Martyrs; and asserts that the Bishop's private interest was at the bottom of his exertions against idolaters.

The schism of the Church of Antioch still continuing, the Council of Capua entrusted Theophilus with the final settlement of the matter; but Flavian, the same who was ordained by the Council of Constantinople, would not submit to his arbitration. It must be confessed that the Western Bishops interfered unwarrantably in this matter: they attempted to prejudice Theodosius against Flavian, by complaining of his tyranny; but the Emperor stood firm to that excellent Bishop, the patron of S. John Chrysostom, and the preserver of Antioch from the penalties which it had incurred by sedition

We find Theophilus at a Council holden in Constantinople (A.D. 394); on occasion of the consecration of the Church known by the name of the Apostolicon, and dedicated in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, to decide the dispute between Agapius and Bagadius, for the possession of the See of Bostra, the Metropolis of Arabia. In the course of the examinations, Theophilus, who presided with the Bishops of Constantinople and Antioch, gave it as his opinion, that although three Bishops could consecrate, they could not depose a Prelate, and that nothing less than a Provincial Council was sufficient for the latter act. This was approved by the Fathers then present.

The errors of Origen, which had slumbered for so long a time, were now to occasion fresh trouble in the Church. A difference arose between John Bishop of Jerusalem, who was suspected of holding these tenets, and S. Epiphanius and S. Jerome; and the angry feelings excited on both sides, before the death of Theodosius, brought forth bitter fruit subsequently to that event.

Epiphanius was a great admirer of Theophilus, and was drawn on by him to acts of which, had he lived, he would assuredly have repented. On the death of Nectarius of Constantinople, the Emperor Arcadius resolved to supply his place by S. John Chrysostom of Antioch; and to render his consecration the more solemn, he convoked a Council on the occasion. Theophilus had designed a Priest of his own, named Isidore, to fill the chair of the imperial city: and the reason assigned for this desire is, if true, not a little discreditable to both. In the war between Theodosius and Maximus, Isidore had been entrusted by Theophilus with two letters, charged with which he awaited the event at Rome. The one was a congratulation to be delivered to Maximus, in case his forces should prove victorious; the other was to be given to Theodosius, if success should declare in his favour. Having formed this design, it was natural that the Alexandrian Patriarch should be opposed to the election of S. Chrysostom; and personal intercourse did not diminish his unwillingness to officiate, as his office rendered it necessary for him to do, at the consecration of the new Prelate. Eutropius, the then powerful prime minister, on hearing of the opposition of Theophilus, took a summary method of putting an end to it. Taking him aside, he showed him a large quantity of documents, carefully preserved. "These", he said, "are memorials received at different times from several of your Bishops against your proceedings your choice is free, either to consecrate John of Antioch, or to defend yourself against these accusations". Theophilus chose the former alternative. This account too clearly shows the closeness of that dangerous embrace with which, at Constantinople, the State had already clasped the Church.

At the same time we must remember that on this matter and the subsequent transactions connected with it, we are left for information almost entirely, so far as historical accounts are concerned, to writers prejudiced in favour of S. John Chrysostom. It cannot be denied that the latter, in common with S. Meletius, and the rest of the Antiochene school, had a tendency to rationalizing views;— a tendency from which, as we have observed, the national feeling of the Egyptian Church shrank with horror. We, in looking back on the whole course of events, are able to perceive that this tendency in S. Chrysostom's mind was left in check by his piety and the authority of the Church: but Theophilus had no guarantee at that time, that it would not result in semi-Arian, or even Arian tenets. Doubtless his desire of placing a Priest of his own in the chair of Constantinople, had much influence on his conduct: but it were uncharitable not to allow that he might not unreasonably be prejudiced against a Priest of S. Flavian, who had been elevated to the Throne of Antioch in spite of a most solemn compact, and who undoubtedly represented the Arianizing portion of the Catholic Church in that city.

In the next year (A.D. 399) the Sees of Alexandria and Constantinople re-established communion between Flavian of Antioch and the Church of Rome. But this harmony between S. Chrysostom and Theophilus was not of long continuance.

Rufinus, the friend of S. Jerome, unfortunately at this time (A.D. 400) published a translation of Origen's work *on principles*, hinting in his introduction that Jerome had approved it; that Father wrote against Rufinus, and strongly condemned the doctrine of Origen. The tenets of the latter were condemned at Rome, and generally in the West; Theophilus had already set the example. The hasty tempers of S. Epiphanius and S. Jerome accused the See of Alexandria of too great tolerance for heretics; and a circumstance occurred which quickened the proceedings of Theophilus.

The errors and doctrines of Origen had for many years ceased to occupy a prominent place in public interest. The Arian controversy had concentrated on itself all the polemical theology of the Church; and while that lasted, no other heresy, not even the Apollinarian, could excite more than a passing investigation. But the writings of Origen had made their way into the Monasteries of Egypt, and there found readers who were not engrossed by the all-prevailing topic of Arianism, and the mystical temperament of whose minds disposed them to adopt the opinions of that extraordinary man. Men, who dwelt in the furthest recesses of the desert, who passed months together without the sight of a stranger, who had wild crags and interminable wildernesses for their companions, who were familiarized with the sublimity of a mountain noon-tide, and the awful beauty of a tropical night, these men, we say, must have been peculiarly susceptible to the impressions of nature, and peculiarly willing to see or to imagine the links which unite visible nature with the invisible world. Hence they eagerly received the wild theories of Origen on Angelical natures, the origin of spirits, the essence of stars, and the like mystical visions; and hence, when the word Origenian became a term of reproach, Egypt was plunged in endless disputes. For, though undoubtedly the public tendency was to the mysticism of that writer, few owned themselves his partisans, and some among the Monasteries were declared enemies to his name and doctrines. Foremost among these were a set of heretics who at this time appeared in Egypt, and interpreted literally those passages of Scripture where the different members of the

human body are attributed to the Deity. They thence acquired the name of Anthropomorphites; they were for the most part ignorant monks, and violently opposed to Origen, as from his attachment to the mystical significations of Holy Writ, the most diametrically opposed of all Christian writers to their own dogmas. They went further, and branded the Catholics with the title of Origenians.

Theophilus, in his usual Paschal letter, took occasion to combat this heresy, which he did with great clearness and by solid proofs. His Epistle was received by the Monks with an outcry of indignation. Those of Secte, reputed the most perfect in Egypt, would not allow it to be read; their Abbat Paphnutius was the only person in the monastery who received its doctrine as sound. Serapion, who possessed great authority among the brotherhood, from his age, his austerities, and his exemplary life, was in vain told by Paphnutius that the passages he quoted were to be taken in a spiritual sense. It happened opportunely that Photinus, a Deacon of Cappadocia, well esteemed for his learning, visited the monastery: and from him Paphnutius learnt that the Eastern Church explained the texts in as he himself had done. This concurrence of testimony overcame the obstinacy of Serapion; the poor old man burst into tears, exclaiming, "They have taken away my God, and I know not what to worship!". The greater part of the Monks were not so easy to be convinced. They came in a crowd to Alexandria, exclaiming against Theophilus as a heretic and a blasphemer. If, they cried, he is not implicated in the errors of Origen, why does he not anathematize them? The Bishop, desirous of restoring peace to his Church, promised to do so; and in a Council which he shortly after assembled, he fulfilled his engagement. In his next Paschal letter, he took occasion to dwell at length on the subject; and in some instances, appears to have dealt unfairly with the expressions of Origen. The Paschal letters, in which Theophilus attacked these errors, are now only known to us through the Latin version of S. Jerome.

A dispute arose about this time at Alexandria, which was destructive of the peace of the whole Eastern Church. An aged priest named Isidore, who had been ordained by S. Athanasius, was master of the Hospital in that city: and as his charity was well known, he was presented with a thousand pieces of gold by a rich widow, engaging himself by oath to expend the money in clothing the poorest women of the city. The donor was unwilling to entrust the sum to Theophilus, because his passion for building was notorious: and she feared that he would employ the money in increasing the principal Church, already too large. The Bishop heard of the transaction, and though indignant with Isidore, was unable at the time to punish the affront he imagined himself to have received. But shortly afterwards, he called his Priests together, and in their presence, put a paper into the hand of Isidore, informing him that it was a memorial presented eighteen years before against him, and desiring him to answer it. Isidore represented the injustice of requiring him to defend himself when no accuser was present; and Theophilus, after shuffling for some time, promised that on another day the plaintiff should be forthcoming. He soon, by a bribe, prevailed on a young man to undertake the character; but the transaction came to the ears of Isidore; and Theophilus, perceiving his scheme to be discovered, excommunicated that Priest, on pretence of a heinous crime committed by him. His victim took refuge in the monastery on Mount Nitria, where he had been brought up. Theophilus commanded the neighbouring



Bishops to drive the principal Monks from their retreat, without assigning any cause. Four brothers, known by the surname of the Long, Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, men of great learning and reputation among the Monks, presented themselves at Alexandria, conjuring their Prelate to inform them wherein they had offended him: but they received the grossest insults, and were taunted with vague accusations of Origenianism. Theophilus went farther; he prevailed on five Monks whom he selected from Mount Nitria, by bestowing on them Ecclesiastical preferment, to accuse their brethren, and to sign memorials which he had himself composed. Fortified with these documents, he obtained the assistance of the civil power in dispossessing the Monks of their mountain: and they retired, to the number of three hundred, into the surrounding provinces. Fifty of them, whom with others, to the number of eighty, the malice of Theophilus had pursued into Palestine, sought refuge at Constantinople; and casting themselves at the feet of S. John Chrysostom, implored his protection against the unprincipled attack of Theophilus.

S. Chrysostom acted in this affair with great prudence. He learnt, no less from the statement of the Monks themselves, than from the confession of some clerks of Theophilus, then at Constantinople, that great wrong had been done them; at the same time, he was unwilling to come to an open rupture with the Bishop of Alexandria, not only for the sake of preserving the peace of the Church, but because his own station was at this time, through the machinations and violence of the Arians, exceedingly insecure. He therefore lodged the fugitives in the buildings attached to the Church of the Resurrection; yet, while he allowed them to perform their devotions in it, and took care that their wants should be amply supplied, he would not admit them to his communion.

In the meantime he wrote to Theophilus, beseeching him, from friendship to himself, his spiritual son, to receive them. In reply, Theophilus despatched the five monks whom he had suborned, and their accusations were laid before S. Chrysostom. The exiled Monks, now thoroughly aroused, drew up a memorial of the violence they had suffered, and appended to it several grave accusations against their Bishop. Chrysostom wrote in more urgent terms to Theophilus, and received an angry answer, to the effect, that the Canons of Nicaea forbade one Bishop to interfere with the concerns of another; that if the See of Alexandria was to be tried, a Synod of its own Bishops was the proper judge: and that the Bishop of Constantinople, at so great a distance, could in no case be a proper authority. S. Chrysostom, thus finding interference useless, contented himself with general exhortations to peace, and let the matter rest. Theophilus, on the contrary, was determined that it should not sleep. He had at one time regarded S. Epiphanius as an Anthropomorphite but he was now glad to avail himself of his authority. Knowing his hatred of Origenianism, he requested him to assemble the Bishops of Cyprus, to condemn the errors of that system, and then to send its Synodal letter to S. Chrysostom. For, he hinted, the Bishop of Constantinople was not thoroughly opposed to them; as he had evinced by giving shelter to certain Egyptian monks condemned for holding them, who had taken refuge with him. At the same time, he wrote to S. Chrysostom, exhorting him to convene a Council for the same purpose.

S. Epiphanius, having done as he was requested, brought the acts of the Cyprian Council in person to Constantinople (A.D. 402); where he would not hold communion



with Chrysostom, who had proposed to receive him with great honour. The four Fathers whom we have previously mentioned, not contented with the manner in which their cause was espoused by S. Chrysostom, presented a memorial to the Emperor, against Theophilus, and the latter was required to present himself at Constantinople for the purpose of justifying his proceedings. He did so; and the result was very different from that which the parties interested in promoting his arrival had expected.

Theophilus brought with him many Egyptian Bishops: and some from India, by which Abyssinia is probably meant. He was lodged for three weeks in one of the palaces of the Emperor: and during the whole of that time pointedly abstained from every mark of communion with S. Chrysostom. The contrast between the behaviour of the two Prelates to each other was indeed remarkable. Chrysostom, although the Monks importuned him continually to do them justice, would not take cognizance of an affair out of his own province; on the contrary, Theophilus wrought night and day to effect the destruction of his rival. Nor was he alone in his endeavours. The reform brought to pass by S. Chrysostom in his Church, had of course raised many enemies against him: already a deputation had been sent to Antioch, in the hope of discovering some fault of his youth, for which he might be deposed,—but to no purpose; Acacius, Bishop of Beroea, was incensed against him, and some Priests and Deacons, and a few ladies of consideration, at court, whom Chrysostom had reprov'd for their love of dress, and their false hair, were eager to revenge themselves upon him. Theophilus kept open house for all the discontented, lavished his money where he thought it necessary, promised promotion to those who should remain faithful to him, and even engaged to restore two Deacons to their rank, one deprived for adultery, the other for murder, if he should succeed in his project.

He then drew up a memorial to himself, which he caused to be signed by his partisans: it contained a number of false accusations, and only one true charge, which, even if proved, was immaterial. The Empress Eudoxia was won over to the side of the malcontents; and by her means they doubted not that the Emperor would lend a favourable ear to their representations.

Matters being thus ripe, Theophilus passed over to Chalcedon; the Bishop of that place, Cyrinus, an Egyptian, was known to be an enemy of S. Chrysostom, and was unable, from an accidental wound, to cross the strait to Constantinople. A Council of synod of forty-five Bishops, of whom thirty-six were Egyptian, were assembled in a suburb of Chalcedon, known by the name of the Oak: and twenty-nine articles of accusation were presented against S. Chrysostom. He on the other hand assembled a Council of forty Bishops in the hall of the Bishop's house. The relation of this event belongs rather to the History of the Church of Constantinople; Theophilus triumphed, and S. Chrysostom was deposed. He was forthwith banished by the Emperor's orders, and carried over into Asia. His exile, however, only lasted a day. On the night of his banishment, an earthquake occurred, which Eudoxia regarded as a warning of the Divine anger. The people loudly exclaimed against the Emperor, and against Theophilus; orders were given for the recall of Chrysostom: there was a burst of popular joy when he crossed the strait; and though unwilling to re-enter the city till acquitted by a more numerous Council than that which had condemned him, he was

constrained by the people to resume his ordinary episcopal functions. The sermon which he delivered on the occasion, in which he compares his Church to Sarah, and Theophilus to Pharaoh, is still extant.

In the meantime, the Council at the Oak were in no small danger from the violence of the people. Theophilus, finding that there was a project of throwing him into the sea, embarked in the middle of the night, and at the beginning of winter, when the navigation of the Mediterranean was dangerous, and hastened to Alexandria. He had previously reconciled himself with the two superiors of Mount Nitria, Eusebius and Euthymius, who were the only survivors of the four whom he had driven into exile. This very reconciliation, however, so easily effected, excited still more strongly popular indignation against Theophilus; and that the rather because, after all his opposition to the works of Origen, he did not himself desist from reading them. This inconsistency was pointed out to him. "The works of Origen", he replied, "are like a meadow, adorned with various kinds of flowers. If I find anything useful or beautiful, I gather it; if I light on anything poisonous, I pass it by". Of the whole of this proceeding, so disgraceful to Theophilus, the Eastern historians say not one word.

On his return, he wrote a long work against Chrysostom, in which the language is said to have been worthy of the design. We know it from the description given of it by Facundus. In the final exile and persecution of S. Chrysostom, however, Theophilus seems to have borne no part. Had the request of S. Innocent to Honorius for a general Council been attended with success, it is more than probable that the Bishop of Alexandria would have paid the penalty of his violence by his deposition. Yet it is fair to remember, that, had the grounds of S. Chrysostom's condemnation been just, Theophilus was only exercising an undoubted right in the deposition of a guilty Patriarch of Constantinople. It is, however, but charitable to hope, that in the nine remaining years of his life, his repentance was sincere. And there are the more grounds for believing this, because of the willingness which he displayed, after the death of S. Chrysostom, to communicate with the Bishops of his party, and his intercourse with the illustrious Synesius. Synesius was a native of Cyrene: he had studied philosophy at Alexandria, where he also married, Theophilus performing the ceremony. He gave himself up, on his return to his own country, to his studies, and to the pleasures of the chase, but his reputation was so great that it was proposed to elevate him to the See of Ptolemais, which, as we have seen in the Introduction, was at this time invested with Metropolitcal, or rather Legatine dignity. To this he offered the greatest resistance, declaring, in the first place, that his faith on the subject of the Resurrection was not the same with that of the Church: and in the second, that he by no means proposed to himself to observe continence. Theophilus convinced him that, on the first point, his creed was essentially Catholic: and was content, in order to avail himself of his services, to overlook the second. And, in fact, this proceeding was fully justified by the event. Synesius became an excellent Prelate: and his letters, still extant, evince the respect and submission he entertained for the decisions of the Evangelical chair.

We have already mentioned that Siderius had, by S. Athanasius, been consecrated Bishop of the little town of Palaebisca. He had no successor: and the See was again united with that of Erythrum. Paul, Bishop of the latter place, was

exceedingly beloved: but Theophilus, thinking it more for the interest of the Church, that Palaebisca should once more be constituted a separate See, despatched Synesius thither to arrange the matter. The inhabitants of Palaebisca, while professing the greatest respect for the decrees of the See of Alexandria, besought with the most pitiable entreaties that they might not be deprived of the watchful tenderness of Paul. Women held up their children to move compassion: and neither the promises nor the threats of the legate could prevail over their deep-rooted affection. He adjourned the assembly for four days; but the next meeting presented the same scene; and Synesius, quite overcome by the affection of these poor people, advised Theophilus not to insist on the point : and the latter consented.

But Synesius, on proper occasions, knew how to display the most determined firmness. Andronicus of Berenice, a city of Pentapolis, having purchased his situation by bribery, used it to practise the most odious cruelties. He invented new instruments of torture: the hall of justice had become a mere place of punishment. The people complained to Synesius : and the latter warned the Governor, but uselessly, against the course he was pursuing. Andronicus, instead of paying any attention to this remonstrance, affixed to the doors of the church an edict against the Priests. At length, as Synesius requested him to set free a man of high birth, whom he was putting, without any pretext, to the torture, Andronicus exclaimed to his prisoner, “Your trust in the Church is hopeless: if you had clasped the knees of Christ Himself, He should not deliver you”. Having heard this blasphemy, Synesius solemnly excommunicated its author, and announced this proceeding in a letter to all the Bishops of Pentapolis. Andronicus was terrified, and made a profession of penitence: Synesius did not believe him in earnest, but yielding to the persuasion of Bishops more experienced than himself, he re-admitted him to communion. The event justified his suspicions; Andronicus committed greater excesses than before; and was finally disgraced and imprisoned. Synesius interceded for him with the civil government, and procured the alleviation of his punishment.

In the next year (412), Theophilus fell sick of a lethargy, which proved to be mortal. Just before his death, he exclaimed, “Happy wert thou, Abbat Arsenius” (referring to one of the most illustrious of the Egyptian monks) “to have had this hour constantly before thine eyes!”

So died Theophilus, in the twenty-eighth year of his episcopate. His faults are obvious to all, and admit of no defence. His ambition, his intolerance of opposition, his total want of principle, are displayed in his persecution of the Monks of Mount Nitria, and of S. Chrysostom. But he had also virtues, for which he was esteemed by his contemporaries, and held in honour after his death. His care of his province was most exemplary: his orthodoxy was never questioned; his writings were afterwards appealed to as authorities; his ecclesiastical regulations were judicious. His Paschal Cycle was celebrated in antiquity. He created several new Bishoprics: but is said neither to have been sufficiently careful of the character of those whom he consecrated, nor of the Canon which forbade the erection of a See in a hamlet or village. On the whole, he appears to have possessed most of the requisites for a good Bishop, except the most important of all,—personal piety .

## SECTION XXVII.

### THE EARLY PONTIFICATE OF S. CYRIL.

On the death of Theophilus, two claimants of the Chair of S. Mark appeared. The one was Timotheus, Archdeacon of Alexandria, who was supported by the influence of the Prefect; the other Cyril, brother's, or as the Arabian writers will have it, sister's, son to the deceased Bishop. The people were on the point of sedition: but at length the party of Cyril, providentially for the Church, prevailed. After a vacancy of three days, the neighbouring Prelates assembled, and laying the Gospels on the head of the Bishop elect, prayed over him, that God, Who had chosen him, would strengthen him with the virtue necessary for the well governing of His Holy Church.

Cyril had been brought up under Serapion, on Mount Nitria; he had early displayed great diligence in study: and is said to have known the New Testament by heart. It is the reproach of S. Isidore of Pelusium, in a letter addressed to him, that his thoughts were rather with the world than in the desert. After five years' abode in Mount Nitria, his uncle summoned him to Alexandria, where he was ordained, and where he expounded and preached with great reputation. His favourite authors, if we may believe the Jacobite Severus, were S. Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, S. Clement of Rome, and S. Basil. The works of Origen he held in abhorrence, and would neither read them himself, nor have any communication with those who did.

The power of the Alexandrian Bishop was now very great: it is somewhat inconsistently, by writers of the Roman Communion, termed excessive and S. Cyril, from the first, seems to have determined that it should lose nothing in his hands. Indeed from the hasty and violent actions which distinguished the beginning of his episcopate, we should rather expect a repetition of the outrages of Theophilus, than,—in spite of whatever infidel or schismatical historians may choose to call it,—the noble defence of the perfect Divinity of our Redeemer, which has rendered his memory precious to the Church.

The See of Alexandria was not, at this time, in Communion with that of Rome : the Western Church had vindicated the character, and now revered the memory, of S. Chrysostom; Theophilus, on the other hand, and, following in his steps, Cyril, would not insert the name of that illustrious Prelate in the sacred diptychs; that is, in the list of those Bishops who were commemorated in the office of the Holy Eucharist. And this state of things lasted for several years.

Cyril's two earliest acts were by no means worthy of his character or of his dignity. He not only closed the churches of the Novatians, but deprived them of their vessels and treasures, and confiscated the property of Theopemptus, the Bishop of that sect. He next exerted himself against the Jews; and certainly not without great

provocation. Hierax, one of his most zealous auditors, was in the theatre, while the Governor was transacting in that place some civil business. The Jews who were present cried out, that he came for the purpose of exciting sedition. Orestes, the Governor, had long been offended at the enormous power assumed by the Bishop, and the more so, as it encroached on his own: he was glad therefore of any excuse for venting his anger on Cyril, and having arrested Hierax, caused him to be scourged publicly on the spot. Cyril sent for the principal persons among the Jews, threatened them severely, and charged them to beware how they again excited popular feeling against the Christians. The Jews, in their turn indignant, concerted a general massacre of their adversaries; and, on an appointed night, having taken care previously to distinguish themselves so as to be easily recognizable by each other, gave the alarm in all quarters of the city at once, that the great church was on fire. The Christians rushed forth in large numbers to give their assistance: the Jews fell upon them, and despatched not a few. On the following day, Cyril, with a large body of his adherents, and the corporation of the Parabolani, whose office it was to visit the sick and Jews, in time of plague or other mortality, and who were thus familiarized with scenes of horror, attacked their synagogues, drove the Jews themselves out of the city, and gave their houses to a general sack. Orestes was justly indignant that Cyril should thus have taken the law into his own hands : and was besides fearful that the commercial prosperity of the city would receive a blow from the compulsory exile of so many of its inhabitants. He drew up a representation of the case for the Emperor's consideration; and the Bishop forwarded a counter-memorial. But the latter some short time afterwards, probably thinking that he had carried matters with too high a hand, requested to be reconciled with Orestes; the latter obstinately refused. The Monks of Nitria, hearing this, came in a crowd to the city, and attacked the Governor in his chariot; and one of them, named Ammonius, wounded him severely with a stone. The culprit was arrested, condemned, and executed; Cyril ordered that his name should be changed to Thaumasius, (*admirable*), and that he should be honoured as a Martyr. But the more sober part of his people were opposed to the step: and in the course of a few years, Cyril himself was glad to let this monstrous canonization sink into oblivion.

It would have been well had matters stopped here. But the people, imagining that a lady of high birth, celebrated as one of the first philosophers of the day, and the correspondent of Synesius, named Hypatia, was the chief hindrance to the reconciliation of Orestes with their Bishop, attacked her, headed by one Peter, a reader, in the street, dragged her into the Caesarea, tore her in pieces and burnt her remains in a public place. This audacious crime deservedly threw a dark cloud over the reputation of Cyril, which was not dispersed for some time; and was the occasion of a severe law from Constantinople, to prevent for the future the like excesses, as well as to restrain the number of the Parabolani, and to deprive the Patriarch of their nomination.

The name of S. Chrysostom was inserted in the diptychs about this time, first at Antioch, and then at Constantinople; Atticus, Bishop of the latter See, wrote to Cyril, excusing himself for the act, and exhorting him to imitate it. Cyril blamed what had been done, and positively refused to follow the example of the other great Sees. S. Isidore of Pelusium, hearing of this, wrote in strong terms to Cyril, exhorting him not to imitate the passionate violence of his uncle, nor to let private hatred, under the mask of



piety, entail a perpetual schism on the Churches. The other yielded to this remonstrance, and, it is said, to a supernatural vision: and thus Alexandria came once more into Communion with Rome.

The Pelagian heresy made but few converts at Alexandria; and S. Cyril therefore took no prominent part in defending the Doctrine of Divine Grace. He was principally employed in the quiet government of the Church, and in the composition of some of his voluminous writings. Among these we may mention the earliest of his Paschal Homilies, of which we have twenty-nine, from A.D. 414 to A.D. 442, his seventeen books on “Worship in Spirit and in Truth”, his *Glaphyra*, or commentary on the Pentateuch; and those on Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and S. John. He also confuted the treatise of Julian the Apostate against Christianity: and the remark which Severus makes on this subject is an amusing proof how little dependence can be placed on his accounts. Julian’s treatise, says he, was worse than the writings of Origen or Porphyry; which is the same thing as if an historian of the present day were to declare that the works of Voltaire were more dangerous than those of Bishop Taylor or Gibbon.

It would seem that years were necessary to mellow down the spirit of S. Cyril, before he could be a fit instrument in the Hand of God for the maintenance of the Faith, in the great contest to which he was to be called.

Egyptian monasticism still maintained its high sanctity: and continued to produce recluses whose names are had in veneration by the whole Church. Of these, Arsenius, the same who was envied by the dying Theophilus, stood forth at this time the most illustrious. A Deacon of the Roman Church, he had been entrusted with the education of the young Arcadius: and having irritated the Prince by inflicting on him corporal punishment, escaped to Alexandria, and at length took refuge in the desert of Scete, where he received the apologies and forgave the anger, of Arcadius. Here he dwelt for forty years, distinguished above all other monks by his love of solitude. When that part of Egypt was ravaged by the barbarians, he retired into another wilderness: where he lived fifteen years longer.

It is a strange and almost incredible picture that Cassian draws, who visited the most celebrated Egyptian monasteries towards the close of the fourth century. On the mountains of S. Antony five thousand monks followed his example, and venerated his memory. Near Hermopolis, S. Apollonius was charged with the spiritual conduct of five hundred recluses: S. Isidore, in the Thebais, with that of a thousand. At Antinous, Dioscorus instructed twice that number: five thousand occupied the Desert of Nitria: five hundred that of Cells. The Rule of Tabenna was followed in most of the Egyptian monasteries: twice a year the monks met, or, as it would afterwards have been termed, held a chapter of their order: at Easter, and in August; and the Easter Communion was sometimes attended by fifty thousand monks. These monasteries consisted for the most part of about thirty houses: each house contained a certain number of brethren, generally about forty, who all wrought at the same trade: and these were distributed by three and three in cells. The houses were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and the inmates of the house wore that letter worked on their habit. Three or four houses formed a tribe,—that is, a body that during one week took, in turns, the manual labour, the more



immediate service of the Church, and every other branch of monastic discipline. Their usual food was biscuit and water: of the latter they took two of six ounces each, one at three in the afternoon, the other at sunset. This quantity of food was not easily eaten by the novices, but was found necessary, after long trial. On Festivals, the first meal was taken at noon: but no alteration was made in the quantity or quality of the food.

They met for prayer at night-fall, and at midnight. It consisted of twelve Psalms, recited by one of their number, stand-ing, the rest sitting on low stools; for their labours and fastings did not permit them to stand. At the end of each Psalm, they rose, continued awhile in mental prayer, prostrated themselves for a moment, and again sat. To the Psalms were added two lessons, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament: except on Saturday, Sunday, and in the Paschal Season, when they were both from the New Testament. They communicated on Saturday and Sunday morning: on other mornings they did not meet for prayer, but continued at work in their cells, and engaged in mental devotion.

But the nearest approach to Heaven which was ever made by the Church Militant, was to be found at Oxyrinchus. It was a large city: but the monks and consecrated virgins formed the greater part of the population. The number of the former was ten, of the latter twenty thousand. There was neither heretic nor Pagan in this city. It contained, besides the oratories of the recluses, twelve churches: the praise of God continually resounded in its streets; and by the order of the magistrates, there were police continually on the look out for the poor and the strange, who were constantly supplied and lodged by the wealthier citizens.

BOOK II.

FROM

THE RISE OF THE NESTORIAN HERESY,

A.D. 428,

TO

THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS, AND THE GREAT  
SCHISM

A.D. 451.

## SECTION I.

### NESTORIUS PREACHES AND DEFENDS HIS HERESY.

WE now approach the critical period of Alexandrian History. We shall see the Church of Egypt, in the brief space of twenty-three years, stand forth the foremost champion of Catholic Truth, and its deadliest enemy;—we shall see it overthrowing rationalism, and succumbing to mysticism: we shall find it at length rent into two opposing Communion, both continuing to this day, and thenceforth declining, till the second See in the Christian Church sunk to an unassignable position among Catholic Bodies, till its succession of Patriarchs has become little more than a name, and the region once so illustrious for Bishops and Martyrs, is almost swallowed up by the doctrines of the False Prophet of Mecca.

We are bound therefore to dwell more minutely on the two controversies which distracted the Church concerning the Incarnation of the SON of GOD, than we did on that, which while its subject-matter may be held of more importance, left no trace behind it;—the Arian heresy. It would seem as if rationalism, in its stronghold, Antioch, unable longer to deny the True Divinity of the WORD, sought another outlet whereby it might trouble the Church. Of the rise of the new heresy we are now to write : and it will be necessary for a while to leave Alexandria, that we may trace the controversy to its source.

Sisinnius, the successor of S. Atticus on the Throne of Constantinople, departed this life, after a Pontificate of less than two years, on the twenty-fourth day of December, A.D. 427. The choice of his successor was a question of much difficulty. A large number of the clergy were in favour of Proclus, the Metropolitan of Cyzicum, who is reckoned among the Saints; but Philip, a Presbyter of the Church of Constantinople, had also his partizans, and there seemed but little likelihood that the contending factions would be able to agree in the election. Theodosius, desirous of composing the difference by the nomination of a third party, cast his eyes for that purpose on the Church of Antioch; both because its Presbyters were at that time celebrated for learning and eloquence; and doubtless also because the memory of S. John Chrysostom seemed to render such a choice popular and full of promise.

Among the clergy of Antioch, Nestorius had the highest reputation. A native of the little town of Germanicia, he had embraced the monastic life in the house of S. Euprepus near Antioch. On entering the Priesthood, he was made Catechist of the Church of that city: and in that capacity was noted for the facility with which he exposed and combated the heresies of the day. He had studied under Theodore of Mopsuestia; and was imbued by him with those unsound principles of rationalising tendency which, a century earlier, might have made him a ready disciple of Arius, but which now, without at present assuming, either in his master or in himself, any very

definite form, floated round and obscured the Doctrine of the Incarnation. His learning was not deep: but his asceticism, his solitary life, his decisive and dogmatical manner, and above all, his great power of extempore eloquence, rendered him the admiration of the citizens of Antioch. He was an imitator of S. Chrysostom in his style and sentiments, and employed himself principally, and with sufficient effect, in attacking the Arian and Apollinarian heresies.

It has been the fashion to regard him as a man who, having thoroughly digested his own system, simulated asceticism, and affected piety, for the sake of attaining an eminence whence he might propagate and support it. But it is unnecessary to attribute any such well-formed plan to one who, in truth, seems neither to have been possessed of talent nor powers of dissimulation, to render it effectual. It is sufficient to regard him as weak, and ambitious, but as much inferior to Arius in power as superior to him in morality; one who regarded the orthodox with a great degree of contempt, as illogical and superstitious; and who was determined, if the occasion should present itself, to propagate those purer and more enlightened principles which he believed himself to possess.

On receiving the Emperor's summons to Constantinople, he chose for his companion Anastasius, a fellow Priest, who was imbued with the same sentiments as himself, and of whose assistance he afterwards availed himself. His nomination was popular; and he was consecrated amidst a large concourse of Prelates, Priests, and Laity. A speech which he shortly afterwards made in public to Theodosius, was considered at least as derogatory from his humility as expressive of his zeal. "Give me, O Emperor", he exclaimed, "a world freed from heresy, and I will bestow on you the Kingdom of Heaven as your reward. Assist me in quelling heretics; and I will assist you in putting the Persians to flight".

Nor did his somewhat intemperate zeal confine itself to words. Only five days after his consecration, he demolished a church of the Arians. Its possessors set fire to it; the flames spread; and had not the wind providentially changed, that quarter of the city would have been reduced to ashes. The populace, from this circumstance, bestowed on their Prelate the name of "the incendiary", and the fact was afterwards remembered and commented on. He attacked with similar violence Macedonians, Pelagians, and Novatians; and shortly afterwards procured a law from the Emperor against all heretics. A deed of at least equal merit was his extinguishing the last spark of hatred against the memory of S. John Chrysostom, whose name, though precious among the citizens of Constantinople, had up to this time been regarded with jealousy and dislike by the Court.

Whatever might have been the opinions, and the general system of Nestorius, his orthodoxy seems to have been unsuspected for seven months after his ordination. A circumstance then occurred which brought him into direct collision with the implicit teaching of the Church.

Anastasius, the Presbyter whom we have already mentioned, preaching in the great church, and in the presence of Nestorius, asserted that the Blessed Virgin Mary

had no right to the title of Mother of GOD: for, said he, she was a human creature, and Deity cannot be born of humanity. A tumult instantly arose in the church, and the preacher was compelled to pause; on which a Bishop, Dorotheus by name, and one of the most intimate friends of Nestorius, rose in his place, and said, in a loud voice, “If any man affirm Mary to be the Mother of GOD, let him be anathema”. Nestorius, in the increasing confusion, showed by his silence that he approved the new doctrine; and, not content with thus negatively supporting it, he prepared to uphold it by most vigorous measures.

On Christmas Day, the great church, as usual, was thronged with worshippers; and Nestorius openly stood forward the patron of the new heresy. After a few commonplace observations on the general providence of GOD, he proceeded to dwell on the Incarnation as its most wonderful display. Man, he observed, the image of Divine Nature, had been attacked and corrupted by the devil: for man, he proceeded (using a metaphor happy from its appositeness to the then state of things), the King of Kings grieved, as for a violated statue of his own, and by forming a nature, without human seed, in the womb of the Virgin, brought to pass by a man the restoration of humanity.

“Hath GOD”, he continued, “a Mother? Then may we excuse Paganism for giving mothers to their divinities. Then was Paul a liar when he testified concerning CHRIST, that He was “without father, without mother, without descent”. No: Mary was not the Mother of GOD. For “that which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit”. A creature brought not forth Him Who is uncreated; the FATHER begat not of the Virgin an Infant GOD, the WORD; for in the beginning was the WORD, as John saith: a creature bore not the Creator, but rather a Man who was the organ of Deity. For the HOLY GHOST created not GOD the SON : and that which is conceived in her, is of the HOLY GHOST; but He fabricated of the Virgin a Temple, wherein GOD the WORD should dwell. GOD was incarnate, but never died; yea, rather elevated him in whom He was incarnate: He descended to raise that which had fallen, but He fell not Himself. On account of the employer, then, I venerate the vestment which He employed: on account of that which is concealed, I adore that which appears”.

The horror which these doctrines occasioned were so excessive, that, even in the presence of that august assembly, there were not wanting some who openly expressed their indignation. A monk was bold enough to oppose the celebration, by Nestorius, of the Holy Mysteries; and, as the reward of his zeal, he was publicly scourged, and driven into exile. Yet this violence was without effect on the popular mind; and the greater part of the pious inhabitants of Constantinople abstained from the communion of their patriarch.

At the commencement of the following year, Nestorius delivered his second sermon in defense of his dogma. The moderation of tone in the second, as compared with the first sermon, is remarkable; and the same observation is also applicable to the third, delivered a few days subsequently, possibly on the Feast of the Epiphany.

In this discourse, while he applauds the piety and reverence of his flock, he severely rebukes them for their want of a proper knowledge of GOD. From hence, he

proceeds to establish the two Natures of CHRIST, on which his sentiments are sufficiently orthodox and temperate; and then dilates on the Scriptural argument, which he conceived to lie against His One Person. It is never, he observes, said in the Gospel that GOD was born, or that GOD died : the term employed on such occasions is JESUS, or CHRIST, or LORD. This point he endeavours at length to establish; and, singularly enough, in the course of his argument, he reveals how low were his views on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. His conclusion is this:—"Say of Him That assumed, that He is GOD; and of that which was assumed, that it was the form of a servant. Then infer the dignity of the union, because the authority of the two is common—because the dignity of the two is the same; and while the natures remain separate, confess the oneness of their conjunction".

The seventeenth Paschal Epistle of S. Cyril was read, as the custom was, on the Feast of the Epiphany. It is certain, therefore, that if the first sermon of Nestorius were delivered on the preceding Christmas Day, S. Cyril would not have seen it; but he might very well have heard of the occurrences at the end of November, and of the anathema then pronounced by Dorotheus. It is not wonderful, then, that he should devote the homily to a discussion of the Doctrine of the Incarnation. It must be confessed that, in some of his statements, the writer goes to the very verge of Catholic truth; and it is almost necessary to receive them with a tacit explanation of his words in an orthodox sense. Among these passages, his explanation of the text, "JESUS increased in wisdom and stature", stands preeminent. The name of Nestorius, and all allusions to Constantinople, are suppressed.

In that city a spirit of determined opposition was also awakened; and, as has been so often the case in a holy cause, it began with the laity, and, through Monks and Priests, finally communicated itself to Bishops. Eusebius, then an advocate at Constantinople, afterwards Bishop of Dorylaeum, put forth a short pamphlet, in which he accused Nestorius of renewing the heresy of Paul of Samosata. "I conjure those who shall read these lines"—thus the writer commences it,—“by the Most Holy TRINITY, to communicate it to all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers, and laymen, residing in Constantinople, to the evident confusion of the heretic Nestorius, as evincing him to hold the sentiments of Paul of Samosata, condemned a hundred and sixty years since by Catholic Bishops”.

While this composition was the principal topic of conversation in the city, Marius Mercator, a resident in Constantinople, and a man of considerable power in religious controversy, brought out a pamphlet on "the difference between the heresy of Nestorius, and those of Paul of Samosata, Ebion, Photinus, and Marcellus"; and this treatise was also conducive towards the exposure of the new teaching. By degrees, the Priests took up the defense of the faith; and one or two who had ventured in the church of S. Irene-next-the-Sea, to inveigh against Nestorius, were by his authority, silenced. "We have an Emperor", exclaimed the populace, "but no Bishop". Complaints were brought forward in all quarters against the Patriarch: he was charged with want of charity towards the poor, covetousness, and indolence; and threats were heard of easting into the sea one who had now manifested himself to be a wolf in sheep's clothing.



Nestorius, alarmed at the turn which affairs were taking, threw himself on the Emperor's protection; and Theodosius took care to repress by an exertion of his authority, the murmurs of the people.

The Festival of the Annunciation drew on; and Proclus, whom we have already mentioned as one of the candidates for the Throne of Constantinople, was appointed to preach on that day. He had been consecrated Metropolitan of Cyzicum by Sisinnius: but the clerks of that church claimed the election, and would not admit the Patriarch's nominee. Proclus therefore resided at Constantinople as a Priest attached to the great church : and his eloquence pointed him out as an appropriate preacher to address so numerous an audience on so august an occasion. Nestorius was present in person: and it is easy to judge what his feelings must have been when Proclus delivered his magnificent oration on "the Virgin Mother of GOD"; an oration which, if we except a few homilies of S. John Chrysostom, finds no match in the treasures of Oriental Theology. It was the Festival of the Virgin, he said, that had called that assembly together;—that Virgin to whom earth and ocean emulously offered their best and their noblest gifts; she who was typified by the bush that burnt with fire, and was not consumed:—the Mother and the Maiden,—the Bridge from GOD to man;—in whose womb the incircumscribed GOD found an habitation; who embraced Him Whom the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain. "GOD", continued the orator, "was born of a woman, but not mere GOD:—man was born of her,—but not man unmixed : and He made the gate of ancient sin the gate of safety, and where the Serpent by disobedience had diffused his poison, the WORD, by obedience, formed a living Temple. Be not, O man, ashamed of that Birth;—it was the means of thy Salvation. If GOD had not been born, he could not have died; if He had not died He could not have destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. It is no injury to the architect to remain in the building which he himself has raised; it is no pollution to the potter to renew the clay which he himself has formed; it contaminates not the Incontaminable to proceed from the Womb of the Virgin. In that Womb the deed of our common liberty was engrossed; in that Womb the panoply against death was fabricated. There, as in a Temple, GOD was made a Priest;—not changing the nature that He had, but out of compassion putting on that which is after the order of Melchisedech. *The Word was made Flesh*, although the Jews believe not the truth; GOD put on the form of man, though the Pagans deny the miracle: and for this cause the Mystery is *to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness*. If the WORD had never dwelt in the womb, Flesh could never have ascended the Throne. If GOD had abhorred to enter the Virgin, it had been an injury to the Angels to minister to man. We speak not of a deified man; we confess an Incarnate GOD. He That is in his essence without a Mother, is in the earthly economy of grace without a Father; or else how shall we say with Paul, *without father, without mother?* If He be purely man, He is not without a Mother : if He be purely GOD, He is not without a Father; but now He, remaining one and the same, is without a Mother as the Former, and without a Father as the formed". Thence Proclus takes occasion to dwell on the debt which human nature owed, and of its utter inability to pay: a debt which could be paid by none but GOD, and which GOD accordingly condescended to pay. If CHRIST be one, and the Word another, we have no longer a Trinity, but a Quaternity. This were to rend the tunic of the dispensation, *woven from the top throughout*; this were to be a

disciple of Arius, and with him to divide the Essence;—this were to sever the Unity, and to be ourselves severed from GOD. He came to save, but it was necessary also that He should suffer: and how could both these things be? A mere man could not save; a mere GOD could not suffer: but He That was GOD by essence, became man: and that which was, saved; and that which was made, suffered. “I see”, concludes the Saint, “His miracles, and I proclaim His Deity: I behold His sufferings, and I deny not His Humanity: Emmanuel opened the gates of nature as man; but burst not the bars of virginity as GOD. He so came forth from the womb of Mary, as by hearing He entered, [when she heard the Angelic Salutation]: so was He born, as He was conceived: without human passion He entered: without human corruption He came forth; as saith the Prophet Ezekiel: This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass out thereat: because the LORD, the GOD of Israel, hath passed out thereat, therefore shall it be shut. Behold the manifest setting forth of S. Mary, the Mother of GOD. Henceforth let contradiction be at an end: that, being enlightened with the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, we may obtain the Kingdom of Heaven for ever and ever”.

As soon as the preacher had concluded, the loud and long-continued applause of the congregation gave token that his sentiments on the controverted question were entirely their own. Nestorius, with great presence of mind, relying on his power of extempore discourse, rose in his place, and commenced an address to the people. Though his name had not been mentioned, nor his office hinted at, by Proclus, the allusions to his three sermons were frequent and manifest; and the turn given to the text, *without Father, without Mother*, sufficiently showed the person whom Proclus had in view. It must be allowed that the answer of Nestorius, considering the circumstances under which he spoke,—the eloquent discourse that had preceded, the infuriated multitude that surrounded, and, above all, the badness of the cause that he supported, evinces a high degree of coolness, judgment, and tact. No wonder, he began, that these applauses are considered due to the praises of Mary: the Temple of the LORD’S Flesh exceeds all praise. Still, the dignity of the SON of GOD ought not to be sacrificed to the honour of a creature. To say that GOD was born of Mary is to give a handle of unbelief to the Pagans: to say that GOD was joined to the Son of Mary is firm and impregnable ground. To affirm with him who had just spoken that CHRIST, Who was born of the Virgin, was neither purely GOD, nor purely man, was indeed a strange doctrine. Surely the people of Constantinople were not inferior in theological knowledge to those of Antioch: surely they would not endure to be told, as they had just been, that “GOD was made a High Priest”. The words of the Angels to the Apostles as they stood gazing after their ascended LORD were beyond all controversy. *This same Jesus*, Who was hunged, Who died, Who bore the Cross, *He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven*. If the Quickener of all could die, where is He That shall give life to us? To confuse the Persons of our LORD is to put arms into the hands of the Arians: the Catholic Truth is far otherwise to be enunciated. He who inhabited the Temple is one thing; the Temple which He inhabited, another. It is the LORD’S own declaration. *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again*. By Nature, then, CHRIST is Two: in so far as He is the SON, One. To confound this with Photinianism was a mistake unworthy of a serious confutation: it was the only doctrine by which the error of Photinus could be opposed. *Answer not a fool according to his folly*. The

blandishments of eloquence, the popularity of a dogma, must never be suffered to stand in the way of diligence in examination, and the glory of Truth.

There can be no doubt that this sermon was not without its effect: and Nestorius resolved on re-stating at greater length, what he had then briefly touched. The three statements of Proclus, that S. Mary is entitled to the name of Mother of GOD,—that GOD was made a High Priest,—that GOD suffered and died,—afforded Nestorius materials for three elaborate sermons. They would appear to have been delivered on the Saturday and Sunday following Easter, and on the next Sunday. In the first he endeavours to explain how the term “Mother of GOD”, may be used in an inoffensive sense, while he alleges that its employment may lead the way to heresy and blasphemy. “I have learnt”, he concludes, “from Scripture that GOD passed through the Virgin Mother of CHRIST; that GOD was born of her, I have never learnt. Holy Scripture never asserts this;—there we are told that CHRIST, that the SON, that the LORD, was born of the Virgin. Let us all confess this; for he that receives not the words of Scripture, when he has heard them, is wretched indeed. *Rise, take the Child and His Mother.* It is an Archangel that speaks. An Archangel may be supposed to be acquainted with the Incarnation better than yourself. *And he arose, and took the Child and His Mother.* It saith not, he arose, and took GOD and His Mother”. And with this notably inapposite quotation, the sermon, as we now have it, abruptly ends.

The next sermon of Nestorius, founded on the text, “Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, CHRIST JESUS”, vehemently attacked the statement of Proclus, that GOD was made a High Priest. It contains little more attempt at argument than the stringing together of several passages which the author thought favourable to his views: and while, like the preceding, it suppresses the name of Proclus, it freely deals out to him the charges of madness, of heresy, of evident opposition to Scripture. Finally, the third and most famous sermon contradicted the dogma of the Birth and Death of GOD. It commences by a statement of the opprobrium, under which Nestorius then laboured,—and for which he seized this opportunity of congratulating himself. “Nothing”, says he, “is more wretched than the state of that shepherd who boasts that he has received the praises of wolves. For, if he desired to please them, and chose to be loved by them, woe to his flock! None can please at the same time sheep and wolves; and therefore do I condemn the voices of those that reproach me, and employ against them the words of our LORD, generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?”. Such language showed that no compromise was to be looked for: and the whole tenor of the discourse evinced the same thing. In its doctrine and its arguments it in no respect differed from those that had preceded it.

It was probably with a view of strengthening his cause by spreading his dogma beyond his own Diocese, that Nestorius dispersed copies of his sermons, more especially of his first Homily, in all quarters. They by this means reached Egypt, and falling into the hands of some Monastic bodies were read and received. Cyril had hitherto taken no active part in the controversy that was raging at Constantinople. But he now came forward with a Letter to the monks, in which he stated and vindicated the True Doctrine of the Incarnation. We feel immediately that a new turn is given to the controversy. Cyril was an antagonist from whom Nestorius must instinctively have

shrunk. There is no laboured panoply of culled texts and adjusted quotations : the Bishop of Alexandria seems imbued with the whole analogy of the Faith, and evidently perceives, almost by instinct, that it and the new doctrine could not co-exist. And yet it would also appear that Cyril was not as yet fully awake to the danger with which the Church was threatened. For he speaks, in one passage, of the desirableness of leaving a question so difficult in the obscurity with which it had pleased GOD to invest it. After bringing forward the authority of Athanasius, for the term which Nestorius had condemned, he proceeds to argue against those who, from the silence of Nicaea, object to the word *Theotocos*. After reciting the Creed, without its Constantinopolitan additions, he deduces from that the orthodoxy of the common belief as to the Incarnation. To call S. Mary the Mother of CHRIST, says he, is to bestow on her a term which, in a sense, might be applied to others: as it is written, Touch not My CHRISTs, and do My Prophets no harm. He then dwells on the objection, that S. Mary was in no sense the Mother of the Divine Nature of our LORD; and proves that in consequence of the intimate union between the Two Natures, which, however, he in no way confounds, (and we may see Divine Providence in his clearness, when we remember the heresy that was, at no great distance of time, to arise on this point,) what may be predicated of one may be, and in Holy Scripture frequently is, predicated of both. And from many passages both of the Old and New Testament the writer makes manifest, that CHRIST was not a Deiferous Man, but Incarnate GOD. The concluding words of the Epistle were, in after times, perverted by the Monophysites to an heretical meaning : but they contain in themselves nothing besides Truth. “Since then, according to nature, He is truly GOD and King, since we read expressly that they crucified the LORD of Glory, how can we doubt that the Holy Virgin is to be named the Mother of GOD? Thou, therefore, adore Emmanuel as truly One, nor, after the conjunction once made, again sever Him into Two. Then the infatuated Jew will laugh in vain, then will he be manifestly guilty of the Death of the LORD: then he will be convicted of having sinned, not against a man like ourselves, but against GOD the Saviour of all. Then shall the words be fulfilled,—Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters : ye have forsaken the LORD, ye have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger : ye are gone away backwards. Then shall the Gentiles in nowise be able to mock at the Christian Faith. They will acknowledge that it is to no mere man that we pay Divine honour: GOD forbid: but to Him That in His Nature is GOD, for we are not ignorant of His Glory. For though He was born as we are, yet He remained that which He was, namely GOD”.

A copy of this Epistle was forwarded by Cyril to his apocrisarii, or ecclesiastical agents, at Constantinople: and thus reached the hands of Nestorius. It was well received by several of the most influential men in the government, and some even thanked the Patriarch by letters for his exertions in the cause. But Nestorius, while for some reason he did not think fit to reply himself, committed that task to one Photius, who was probably a Priest attached to the great church. That pamphlet has perished: though Cyril himself saw it. Not contented with this, Nestorius is accused of suborning certain Egyptians, who were then resident in Constantinople, and had been banished from Alexandria by Cyril on account of their immoralities, to present a memorial both to himself and to the Emperor against their Patriarch, accusing him to the one of ill

administration of his Church, to the other, of arrogating to himself Imperial powers in the civil government of his province.

In the meantime, as the controversy was beginning to attract the attention of the whole East, S. Celestine, who then filled the Roman chair, received information of it from some quarter, of which we are ignorant. A Council (as was so frequently the case), was then sitting at Rome: and the Pope, in its name, addressed a letter to Cyril, requesting information on the subject. The Patriarch replied; and then, understanding that Nestorius was still continuing his efforts to injure him at Court, addressed his first letter to him, which is extant. In this he complains that Nestorius left no means untried to injure him : that he had given no just ground for such proceedings : that he was impelled now to write, as well by his own desire to contend for the Faith, as by the Epistle he had received from Pope Celestine, and by the general complaint of the Eastern Churches; that if a false statement of doctrine had been made by Nestorius, the recognition of one word, the *Theotocos*, would restore orthodoxy to himself, and peace to the Church,—that he himself was not then for the first time engaged in the controversy, having composed a treatise on the Incarnation before the ordination of Nestorius; and that he was prepared to submit to imprisonment, exile, or death itself, rather than betray the truth once delivered to the Saints. This letter was despatched to Constantinople by Lampon, a Presbyter of Alexandria, and the confidant of Cyril.

The terms in which it is couched were by no means calculated to conciliate: and show somewhat of the same spirit which had led Cyril to the vehemence displayed by him in his youth. Nestorius, to a mere worldly eye, has a great advantage in his answer, which is extremely short. “The importunity of Lampon”, he writes, “has wrung from me these few lines. I shall say nothing further than this: that though, in the Epistle of your brotherliness, there are many expressions which ill assort with Christian charity, yet, for the sake of that gentleness than which nothing is more mighty, I am resolved to persevere in my former relations of friendship, and not to be provoked to a rupture”. It is evident that Nestorius was playing the same game which Eusebius had employed with so much effect in the early part of the Pontificate of S. Athanasius, and was determined to represent the controversy as one about words, and its origin as lying solely in the pertinacious dogmatism of the Bishop of Alexandria. Henceforward, the two most powerful Sees of the East were in a state of open opposition, and in the ruin of his rival consisted the only safety of either Nestorius or Cyril.

The Patriarch of Constantinople resolved, if possible, to support himself by the authority of the Roman Pontiff. He therefore addressed to him an Epistle on the subject of certain Pelagian Bishops, then resident in Constantinople, and subjoined three pamphlets,—the first on the Incarnation: the second against the Arians and Macedonians: the third professedly against the Apollinarians, but in reality against the Catholic doctrine. Nestorius, however, was attacked at the same time by Marius Mercator, on the ground of the intimacy he maintained with the Pelagians; and by several monks of Constantinople, in which they complained of the hard usage to which they had been exposed, on account of their defence of the *Theotocos*, and demanded a Council. Complaints were openly heard of the conduct of Cyril, that, whereas he had shown himself manifestly equal to supporting the controversy, he had hitherto taken no



steps in his official character to overthrow Nestorianism. He excuses himself, in a brief reply, by observing that himself, and all the Eastern Bishops, had, in fact, been anathematized by Nestorius, since all held Mary to be the Mother of GOD: and that to retort that anathema on those who should deny that title to her was a step which he and his Egyptian Synod had not thought it right, in the then juncture of affairs, to take. But the eighteenth Paschal Homily, published at the commencement of this year, dwells, as might be expected, on the subject of the Incarnation, though it does not commence with that topic. According to their usual custom the Synod of Alexandria assembled before Lent. S. Cyril, having now received the attacks made by Nestorius on Proclus, addressed a letter, in the name of his Council, to that Patriarch. He commences by complaining of the injurious reports which had been circulated against him, and leaves his innocency to be vindicated by GOD: he proceeds to warn Nestorius of his errors, to prove that he misunderstood the Nicene Creed, to explain the Incarnation of the SON of GOD, neither by the conversion of the Divinity into Flesh, nor into man, that is into Flesh and Soul, but by the hypostatical union of the Soul and the Flesh to GOD the WORD : Who thus, in an inscrutable manner, became man, and is called the Son of Man. He proceeds to dwell on the two generations of CHRIST, from his FATHER, before all Worlds, from His Mother, in the world: he asserts that it was not by the infusion of the WORD into a man previously conceived by the Blessed Virgin, that CHRIST became what He was; he explains in what manner GOD may be said to have suffered, in what manner to have died, and to have risen again : in what manner the Humanity of CHRIST is to be adored: he affirms that the term *Theotocos* has the authority of the Fathers, and concludes as he began, with entreating Nestorius to acknowledge his error.

Nestorius replied by an Epistle which evinces more talent than any of his other writings. He artfully confounds his use of the word GOD, with that of the word Divinity; and thus, by confusing the abstract with the concrete, is enabled to distort various passages of Scripture to his own meaning. He however, virtually at least, allows that Two Natures are united in one Person : and praises Cyril for asserting this “true”, as he calls it, “and orthodox” dogma. The end of this letter is remarkable. Nestorius praises the zeal of Cyril for preventing scandal, but tells him that he has been misled by the clergy of Constantinople, who entertained his sentiments, but were infected with Manichean errors : that so far from the Byzantine Church being in any confusion or trouble, its state had never been more flourishing,—that, in particular, the Court was well satisfied with all that had passed, and concludes with an application to himself and his opponent of the text, “David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker”.

In mentioning these “Manichean” clerks, who were undoubtedly Catholics, as opposed to Pelagians, Nestorius adds that they had been deposed, and the Council in which this deposition, whether just or unjust, took place, was probably held at Constantinople according to the usual custom, enjoined by the Canons of Nicaea, before the Lent of this year.

By the same messenger to whose care he had entrusted his second Epistle to Nestorius, Cyril had also written to his apocrisarii, instructing them how to reply to the



difficulties proposed by the Nestorians,—how to bring forward their own arguments,—and, above all, on what conditions to assent to a pacification. He had also addressed a letter to a common friend of Nestorius and himself (who has been supposed to be Acacius of Melitene) protesting that he was earnestly desirous of peace, so that it could be obtained only without injury to the Faith; but that he was resolved to suffer the extremest penalty before he would suffer that to be violated or attacked.

In the meantime the See of Rome had not been idle. When Celestine had received from Nestorius the letters that we have already mentioned, he lost no time in laying them before Leo, then Archdeacon of Rome, afterwards his more celebrated successor. By his advice the documents were entrusted to his intimate friend Cassian, to be translated into Latin and refuted. And a more suitable choice could hardly have been made. For, besides his skill in both languages, he had a particular affection for the Church of Constantinople, in which he had been ordained deacon by S. John Chrysostom. The result was the work of Cassian on the Incarnation, divided into seven books, and containing a complete refutation of Nestorius, whom the writer frequently quotes, but never names.

Having probably heard some report that such a work was in hand, Nestorius again addressed Celestine: in appearance on the subject of the Pelagians, but in reality with the intention of making good his own cause. This letter was entrusted to Valerius, a patrician of reputation, and an active friend of the Patriarch's; but the result, as will be seen, by no means answered the expectations of the writer.

S. Cyril, finding that the account given by Nestorius of the favourable disposition of the Emperor towards his doctrine was not unfounded on fact, addressed two treatises to Theodosius, and his sister Pulcheria, who is since reckoned among the Saints. That Princess appears not to have shared in the general prepossession towards the Patriarch of Constantinople; and doubtless her dislike to his tenets was strengthened by the timely interference of Cyril. He, meanwhile, as soon as the Paschal Festivities were over, despatched an Alexandrian Deacon, by name Possidonius, to Rome: together with a confession of faith, authorized by the Septuagesimal Synod, and contained in a letter to Celestine. Possidonius was detained some weeks in Rome, probably while Cassian was putting the finishing stroke to his work: at length, in the beginning of August, a Synod met in that city, where the Treatise on the Incarnation, Cyril's confession of faith, and the Epistle of Nestorius, were publicly read. The Synod resolved that the statements of Nestorius were heretical, that those of Cyril were consonant to the orthodox faith; that the Patriarch of Constantinople should be compelled, on pain of deposition, to subscribe the Alexandrian confession, on or before the tenth day after monition,—and that Cyril should take the proper means for notifying and carrying out the sentence. The Pope, in the name of the Council, wrote to Cyril, informing him of the province that had been assigned to him; to Nestorius, warning him even now to recant his error, and escape the severest penalty that the Church could pronounce: to the Clergy of Constantinople, exhorting them to stand fast in the faith: and to the Prelates of four of the principal Oriental Sees, John of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, setting forth what had

already been done, and the peril with which the Truth was menaced. These letters all bear the same date, August 11, 430.

Possidonius returned with these documents to Alexandria, and having allowed himself a few days' rest in that place, proceeded to Jerusalem and Antioch. To the Prelates of those Sees Cyril also wrote, defending his own proceedings, and acquainting them with his appointment as the Legate of Celestine, to carry out the resolutions of the Roman Council. The result was a letter from John of Antioch to Nestorius, advising him, but in vain, to retract. As soon as the unwearied Deacon had embarked, Cyril assembled the autumnal Synod, and, as its head, addressed his last and most celebrated letter to Nestorius, which was approved as it seems most probable on the third of November. None can justly accuse Cyril of eagerness in procuring the downfall of his opponents, but such as, to carry out their own preconceived hypothesis, dare to violate all truth, and to reject all testimony. The controversy had now lasted two years: the unity of the Church was endangered. Rome commissioned (had commission been needed) and the East requested Cyril to interfere : the rationalizing Oriental school was gathering strength, and every moment's delay was dangerous; and yet, allowing a month for the voyage of the Deacon from Rome to Alexandria, the Patriarch delayed his final and decisive communication to Nestorius six weeks longer. The letter, which is of considerable length, contains the Creed of Nicaea, and an exposition of that part of it which concerns the Incarnation,—which exposition Nestorius was summoned to sign, as also to subscribe to twelve anathemas, proposed by Cyril, and directed against the errors of the new Constantinopolitan school. These celebrated anathemas are in substance as follows:—

1. If any shall assert that EMMANUEL is not Very GOD, and consequently that His Blessed Mother is not the Mother of GOD:

2. Or, that the WORD is not hypostatically united to the Flesh, so as to be one CHRIST :

3. Or, that the Union is not real, and more than a simple connexion of authority and power; thus, after that union, dividing the LORD into Two Hypostases:

4. Or, that the things said of CHRIST in the Gospels, Epistles, or by Himself, are attributable to Two Persons or Hypostases:

5. Or, that the SAVIOUR was not True GOD, but a Man carrying or filled with the Divinity; whereas the WORD being Incarnate was fellow-sharer with us in Flesh and Blood:

6. Or, that the Word is the GOD or LORD of CHRIST, instead of confessing that after the Incarnation of the Word, One and the same is GOD and Man:

7. Or, that the Man JESUS was energized by the operation of GOD the WORD :

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8. Or, that the Man, assumed as an Habitation by GOD the WORD, ought to be honoured, and glorified, and named GOD *with* Him, as being another from Him:

9. Or, that CHRIST was enabled by the SPIRIT, as by a virtue alien from Himself, to do His mighty Works :

10. Or, that our High Priest was not the Very WORD of GOD; or, that in the Sacrifice offered for man, He offered also for Himself:

11. Or, that the SAVIOUR'S Flesh is not life-giving, as proper to the WORD, but as belonging to another joined with the WORD :

12. Or, that the WORD did not suffer, was not crucified, and did not rise according to the Flesh:

LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

This Epistle was dispatched to Nestorius by four Egyptian Bishops, Theopemptus of Cabasa, Daniel of Dardanis, and Potamon and Macarius, whose sees are unknown. With it, Cyril despatched two others. The one is addressed to the Clergy and people of Constantinople; in which, as upbraiding himself for the delay which had taken place, he informs them that the step was now taken which ought to have been made long before; that the authority of Celestine and of himself had denounced excommunication to the troubler of the faithful; and exhorts them, whatever might happen, to stand firm, remembering the blessing promised to them that are persecuted for righteousness' sake. The other is to the monks of the Imperial City, in which the Alexandrian Synod praise them for, and exhort them to maintain, their constancy.

The Bishops sailed from Alexandria at the beginning of November, but contrary winds prevailing, they did not arrive at Constantinople till Friday, the fifth of December. Thus they crossed, as we shall see, the mandate of the Emperor for the Ecumenical Synod. On the following Sunday, at the conclusion of the Liturgy, they followed Nestorius to the Bishop's palace, and there, in the presence of almost all his Clergy, and a considerable number of laymen of rank and station, they delivered to him the anathemas. After receiving them, he promised the Legates an audience on the following day; but, on presenting themselves for that purpose, they were refused admittance. Nestorius, in the early part of the week, sent an express to John of Antioch, with a copy of the Epistle of S. Cyril. He appears to have mistrusted his own power of coping with such an antagonist, and he requested his friend and former Prelate to call on Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata for a reply.

Theodoret had now attained considerable eminence. Born at Antioch, he had been dedicated to GOD from the cradle; he had been the intimate friend of Nestorius and John of Antioch; and had now for about seven years been Bishop of Cyrus, in Syria, to which dignity he had been raised against his own will, as he preferred the quiet

retreat of his monastery of Apamea. He distinguished himself by his untiring zeal: his diocese had contained a great number of heretics, all of whom he was made the means of converting; among others, he baptized ten thousand Marcionites. He wrote against both Pagans and heretics, and now, conceiving that the views of Cyril were Apollinarian, declared himself against them.

Nor is it to be wondered at, that one so intimately connected with the Syrian rationalistic school should have entertained apprehensions of the uncompromising tone of Cyril: or imagined that, to say the least, some balance of doctrine was needed in his statements. Andrew of Samosata, originally a monk of Constantinople, was of the same school and temperament as Theodoret; like him also in this, that, while his feelings and prejudices were on the side of Nestorius and the Asiatic teachers, he did not finally forfeit the Communion of the Church.

Before the legates could arrive at Constantinople, the Emperor, by a rescript of the nineteenth of November, had, at the desire of both Catholics and Nestorians, convoked an Ecumenical Synod. Ephesus was fixed as the place: the approaching Pentecost as the time. The Bishops who were summoned by their metropolitans would thus be enabled to celebrate Easter with their flocks, before they began their journey to the place of meeting. It would appear that this “appeal to the Future Council”, (as in later ages it would have been called,) had the effect of suspending the execution of the sentence on Nestorius. With the summons to the Council, the Imperial messenger bore a private letter from Theodosius to Cyril. The emperor accused the Prelate of being the cause of the then troubles and rebuked him for having addressed separate letters to himself and the Princess Pulcheria, as if there had been division in the Royal Family. To this letter Cyril thought it better to return no answer, till the Ecumenical Council should establish his innocence.

Having secured the co-operation of his Eastern friends, Nestorius, on the Saturday following his receipt of the anathemas, delivered a sermon in the great church on the question. The Priest-Catechist had preached on the necessity and benefits of charity: and Nestorius, taking up the subject when he had left off, proceeded to complain, (though not expressly naming Cyril,) of the want of that virtue exhibited by the See of Alexandria in its dealings with Antioch and Constantinople. “From it”, said the Patriarch, “Flavian and Nectarius suffered: from it, Meletius, now reckoned among the Saints: from it he, whose holiness, in spite of their unwillingness, thou hast been compelled to own, John Chrysostom”. He then debates the question at great length, not without many inuendos against John of Antioch: and concludes by recommending moderation, on both sides, as to the use of words, so that Catholic virtues might be retained in deed. On the following day he again spoke, but very shortly, on the same subject; and with that discourse, our collection of his sermons terminates.

As winter passed on, S. Cyril employed himself in the composition of three works: the first, his reply to Andrew of Samosata, whose work had been approved by a Council at Antioch; the second, his answer to the treatise which Theodoret, as requested, had composed: the third, his answer to the Blasphemies of Nestorius. The controversy raged uninterruptedly at Constantinople: Nestorius replied to the twelve

anathemas of S. Cyril by twelve counter anathemas, and Marius Mercator again answered these.

With the approach of spring, preparations were made at Ephesus for the numerous body of expected Prelates: provisions were laid in, houses made ready: and the holy season of Lent drew on.

### SECTION II.

#### THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

A.D. 431

As soon as the Paschal Feasts were over, Nestorius and Cyril respectively set sail for Ephesus. The former was accompanied by ten of his Bishops, by a large body of private friends, among whom was Count Irenaeus, and a sufficient number of slaves, who are said to have been armed: Count Candidian, the Emperor's commissioner and captain of the Imperial Guard, also went with the Patriarch. On the other hand, Cyril was attended by fifty of his Bishops: but was not accompanied by any retinue. As the Diocese of Alexandria contained about one hundred Prelates, we may judge that the Patriarch was unwilling to deprive the faithful of more than half their Pastors, lest the business of the Churches should be insufficiently carried on.

Their voyage was prosperous as far as Rhodes: and thence Cyril wrote to his flock a short letter, expressive of his affection for them, and his desire to be remembered in their prayers. From Rhodes the Egyptian Prelates had a less favourable passage: nor did they arrive at Ephesus till the Tuesday or Wednesday before Pentecost, which this year fell on the seventh of June. Nestorius was already there: Juvenal of Jerusalem arrived on the Friday after Pentecost; and the concourse of Bishops was very numerous. Cyril embraced the opportunity of again writing to his people. The Prelates, he assured them, were in good health, and eagerly expecting the opening of the Council: nor did they doubt that the Catholic Faith would prevail, to the consolation of the orthodox, and the confusion of heresy. But "that wicked one, the sleepless beast, walked about plotting against the Glory of CHRIST": his purposes however must fail, since a Mightier than he confined him, and overruled them.

The fact that the Egyptian Bishops were well was of no trivial moment, for the extreme heat of the weather was most prejudicial to the health of the assembled Prelates, and had actually cost one or two their lives. The Fathers were extremely impatient of their long detention, and it began to be whispered that something more than the mere length of the journey must detain John of Antioch and the Oriental Prelates of

his Diocese. On the 18th of June, that Patriarch wrote to S. Cyril, acquainting him with the hardships which he had undergone in a forced march of thirty days. "Many of the Bishops", says he, "are sorely afflicted from the difficulties of the journey,—and many of our beasts of burden have perished through long continuance of labour. Pray therefore for me that we may accomplish without inconvenience the five or six days which yet remain, and embrace with joy thy holy and reverend head". Alexander of Apamea and Alexander of Hierapolis were charged by the Patriarch to inform the Fathers of his near approach;—and they again and again requested them, on his part, not to delay the opening of the Council.

But during these delays, the Prelates were not idle. Various conferences were held on the grand subject of controversy; and S. Cyril found no more devoted adherent than Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus,—a Prelate whose personal character did not equal the orthodoxy of his sentiments. Among those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence in the sermons which were preached before the Fathers, S. Cyril stood conspicuous; though the vehemence of his expressions against Nestorius, who was, at all events, as yet uncondemned by the Church, can neither be justified nor excused. Acacius of Melitene and Theodotus of Ancyra also supported the True Doctrine, though friends of Nestorius. He, meanwhile, after having so far yielded as to confess that the Blessed Virgin might, in a certain sense, be termed the Mother of GOD, so she were also confessed the Mother of Man, relapsed into worse than his former error, and persisted in declaring that he would never allow a Child of two months old to be GOD.

Wearied out with the delays of John of Antioch, suspecting that he was purposely prolonging his journey, finding that other Prelates had already arrived from a greater distance, and having already passed the prescribed time by fourteen days, S. Cyril and the greater part of the Prelates determined to open the Council on the twenty-second day of June; and, on the preceding morning, they signified, by four Bishops, their resolution to Nestorius. He, with seven Prelates who happened to be with him, replied, that he should come or not come, as he should judge expedient. He then went to Memnon, and demanded the church of S. John for himself and those of his party; the Council being in possession of that of S. Mary. Memnon, very properly, refused: and the inhabitants of Ephesus were loud in their approbation of his conduct. That day was employed by the Constantinopolitan faction in procuring signatures to a protest against the opening of the Council, previously to the appearance of John. It was signed by sixty-eight of the Fathers; but produced no impression on the majority of the Council.

The next day, the Imperial Commissioner, Candidian, hearing that Cyril and his partizans were already assembled in the church of S. Mary, hastened thither, and represented to them that his instructions forbade any secret or partial meeting of the Bishops, and expressly ordered that whatever was concluded on should be decided by common consent and in full Council. Cyril demanded to see the Commission, and after much hesitation on the part of the Courtier, it was produced. On being read, however, it was found to be totally irrelevant to the present question: merely ordering Candidian to be present, without a deliberative voice, at the Council, and to make arrangements for the decent order and uninterrupted quiet of the deliberation. The Fathers therefore declared themselves resolved to proceed: Candidian earnestly requested a delay of but



four days; and when this was denied him, he retired in anger, and despatched a protest the same day to Constantinople.

On the departure of the Commissioner, the Prelates took their places; the book of the Gospels being open in the Episcopal Throne, to signify the Presence of CHRIST, and the Bishops being arranged on either side of the church. They were one hundred and fifty-eight in number, besides Bessula, a deacon of Carthage, who represented the African Church.

Cyril presided, both by virtue of his own dignity, and as Legate of Pope Celestin; Juvenal of Jerusalem was next in honour; then Memnon of Ephesus; and after him Flavian of Philippi, who appeared for Rufus of Thessalonica. There were also six other Metropolitans.

When all were seated, Peter, an Alexandrian Priest, and chief notary, briefly stated the cause for which the Council was summoned; and on Juvenal's demand, the imperial edict convening it was read. Memnon of Ephesus reminded the Prelates that sixteen days had elapsed since the period fixed for the first Session; and Cyril pronounced it to be his opinion that the Council had now waited with sufficient patience for the Bishops not yet arrived. This being the general sentiment of the Fathers, Theodotus of Ancyra inquired why Nestorius was not present. The Bishops who had carried the citation on the preceding day gave an account of their proceedings, and mentioned the unsatisfactory reply which they had received. A second and third deputation, the first consisting of three Bishops, the second of four, were sent with a written citation to Nestorius: they found his house surrounded by soldiers, and could only obtain the reply, that when the Council was fully assembled, by the arrival of John of Antioch, he would appear before it. The defendant had thus been, as the Canons ordered, three times admonished; Juvenal expressed his perfect willingness to do so a fourth time, but said that as they had no occasion to expect any happier result, the next thing, in his opinion, was to examine the question of faith. The Creed of Nicaea was first read, and then the second letter of S. Cyril to Nestorius. Cyril, when it was finished, said, "You have heard my letter: I believe it not to be at variance with the Faith of Nicaea; if your opinions are different, say so". Juvenal of Jerusalem, the metropolitans, and a hundred and twenty of the Bishops, severally declared their adherence to the doctrine of S. Cyril; and the rest of the Council expressed its concurrence by acclamation. The second letter of Nestorius was then read: when it was finished, Juvenal said, "This epistle is at variance with the Faith of Nicaea: anathema to them that hold its doctrine". The Metropolitans briefly agreed with him. Acacius of Melitene was the only one who spoke at length: he observed that the writer of that Epistle attributed the Birth and Passion of our LORD to His Humanity only, and therefore in effect destroyed the real Unity of GOD the SON with our flesh. When about thirty Bishops had expressed the same sentiments, the whole Council burst out in different cries, all tending to the same effect: "Anathema to the heretic Nestorius! Anathema to the doctrine of Nestorius! Anathema to him that will not anathematize Nestorius". There was then a call for the letter of Celestin to Nestorius; a Greek translation of which was read; and it was followed by the third epistle of S. Cyril, that which contained the threat of excommunication if Nestorius did not retract within ten days, and the twelve

anathemas. The Bishops who had been charged with the delivery of these letters proved that they had been given to Nestorius in the presence of all his clergy, after he had celebrated the Holy Eucharist on a Sunday in his Cathedral; but that so far from retracting his doctrine, he had, in his subsequent sermons, re-stated and enforced it.

Two of his intimate friends, Acacius and Theodotus, were examined as to whether any change had appeared in his sentiments since his arrival at Ephesus. They professed that, however dear Nestorius was to them, the Faith of CHRIST was dearer; and their testimony clearly showed, that he had not, in the smallest degree, retracted, on the contrary that, by his blasphemous expression concerning a GOD of two months old, he had amplified and strengthened his heresy. Extracts were next read by the notary on the subject of the Incarnation, from S. Peter of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, SS. Julius and Felix of Rome, Theophilus of Alexandria, S. Cyprian, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Gregory Nyssen, S. Amphilochius of Iconium, S. Atticus of Constantinople,—twelve Fathers in all, of whom one only, Theophilus, is not reckoned among the Saints. Twenty articles, extracted from the writings of Nestorius, were also produced. A letter from Capreolus of Carthage, brought by his deacon Bessula, was then read: in it he excused his own and fellow Bishops' absence, on the grounds of shortness of notice, and the desolate state of Africa; mentioned that S. Augustine who, on account of his reputation, had been specially summoned to the Council, had been called to his rest; and prayed the Fathers to maintain the Catholic Faith against all novelties whatsoever.

Sentence was then pronounced against Nestorius to the following effect:—Forasmuch as Nestorius hath refused to obey our citation, and declined to receive the Bishops whom we charged with it, we have thought it necessary to examine his dogmas; and having proved both by his letters and sermons, as well as his conversations in this city, that he holds and teaches heresy, we are compelled by the Canons and by the letter of our most holy Father and colleague, Celestin, Bishop of the Roman Church, to pronounce with tears this grievous sentence: Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Whom he hath blasphemed, declares by this holy Council that he is deprived of all Episcopal dignity, and excommunicate from every Ecclesiastical Assembly.

This sentence was subscribed by Cyril, Juvenal, and all the Bishops then present; others, to the number of forty, accidentally absent, or not yet arrived in Ephesus, afterwards attached their names to it.

Thus ended the First Session. It had opened at an early hour, and night had now shut in, although it was one of the longest days. On issuing from the Church, the Bishops found an immense multitude collected at the door to learn the sentence. It was received with expressions of great joy: the men conducted the Fathers by torchlight to their several lodgings, the women went before them with perfumes, and the city was generally illuminated.

On the following day the sentence was communicated to Nestorius, and affixed to the principal public places. At the same time the guardian and treasurer of the Church of Constantinople were informed of the deposition of their Bishop, and desired to take

the same charge of the sacred property that they would do in case of a vacancy. S, Cyril also took the opportunity of writing to those whom he knew to be the warmest and most influential supporters of the truth in the Imperial City.

Nestorius and Candidian, for their parts, drew up a memorial to the Emperor, complaining of the excesses and violences of the Council, accusing Memnon as the principal author of the disturbances, and requesting that the Synod, which they treated as not having yet commenced, might be held agreeably to the Canons : that none but Bishops should be admitted thereto; that but two Prelates should accompany each Metropolitan; and that the confusion attendant on a large and tumultuous assembly might thus be obviated. It is easy to see that the last requisition, however plausible in itself, was directed against Alexandria, that See, as we have observed, possessing no Metropolitan, except the Catholic of Abyssinia.

The Acts of the Council were some time in preparation for the Emperor's eye : and the opposite faction were thus enabled to present their own account first. The Acts had not only to be transcribed from the short-hand of the notaries, and furnished with the necessary apparatus of documents, (no inconsiderable task in itself, since the matter thus brought together exceeds in size the present volume,) but the whole was confessedly subjected to the revision of Cyril. He, no doubt, omitted such parts as were irrelevant to the matter in hand, such as the protest of Candidian: and, it is probable, such also as, in his judgment, made against himself. It is impossible but that something must have been said on the subject of the anathemas; and we have reason to believe that the feeling of many of the Bishops was strong against them. It is hardly likely that not one of the Prelates raised his voice in favour of Nestorius. We must remember, however, that such alterations, however much they may impair to us the value of the original documents, were certainly not regarded by contemporaries as necessarily unfair. No doubt it was necessary to subject the genuine Acts to a revision: much, in the heat of the moment, might be said, which the speakers would afterwards regret having spoken, and be extremely sorry to have entered upon record; there must necessarily have been much repetition, and much that would bear compression. The complaints, therefore, that have been raised against *any* alteration are evidently out of place: and on the question whether S. Cyril took any unfair advantage of the trust committed to him, we conceive that there are not data to decide.

On the fifth day after the Council (June 27), John of Antioch arrived, accompanied by about fifteen of his Bishops. It appears that he had received information of what had been done from Count Irenaeus, who had left Ephesus for that purpose. The Council, having heard that the Patriarch was entering the suburbs, deputed several Bishops and Priests as his escort into the city: but the soldiers by whom he was surrounded would not permit them to approach him. Immediately after arriving at his lodgings, without giving himself time to make any change in his garments, and covered with dust as he was, he held a Council of the Prelates whom he had brought with him, and of those of his faction who were already in Ephesus.

At this disorderly assembly, convened in a private room, summoned by no lawful authority, the fraction of a schism, without citation, examination, witness, or

lawful judge, Cyril and Memnon were deposed. During all this time, the deputies of the genuine Council were in waiting at the door: they were then admitted, and allowed to give their message. They received, however, no other answer than blows, which were inflicted on them, in the very sight of John, by Irenaeus and the soldiers. Escaping to the Synod, they exposed the marks of the ill treatment they had received, and in the presence of the Holy Gospels related what had passed. On this, the Fathers separated John from their Communion, till he should make reparation for the outrage at which he had connived. At this time the sentence against Cyril and Memnon was not known: for, though subscribed by forty-three Bishops, it was not published in the city, but privately sent to the Court as the Act of the True Council.

In the meantime the legates Arcadius and Projectus, Bishops, and Philip, Priest, arrived from Rome; and the Second Session of the Council was forthwith held. The proceedings were opened by the Priest, Philip, who demanded that the letter of Celestin to the Council, with which they were charged, should be read and inserted in the Acts. Celestin, though by no means failing to support the dignity of the Chair of S. Peter, yet freely acknowledged in this Epistle, that there must be a concordance of the various Bishops of the Church for the preservation of the precious deposit of Divine Truth: he allowed that the charge of teaching was equally given to all Bishops; and exhorted them by their sound deliberations to maintain the reputation of that city where S. Paul had preached the Gospel, and S. John founded the Church. The Council loudly expressed its approbation, "Praise to Celestin, another Paul! to Cyril, another Paul! One Celestin, one Cyril, one Faith of the Council, one Faith over the whole earth"

The Legates were then formally acquainted with the anterior proceedings: the Acts were laid at their disposal; and the Second Session thus terminated.

On the following day, the eleventh of July, the Fathers again assembled; the Legates declared their perfect accordance with the determination of the Council, and their approbation of the Canonical method of their procedures. The whole of the Acts of the First Session were then *pro forma* read, and the Legate, Philip, after dwelling on the Primacy of S. Peter's Chair, then speaking by himself and his fellow Legates, announced his assent and consent to them; the two other Legates did the same, and at the request of S. Cyril, all three subscribed the sentence of the deposition of Nestorius. Synodal letters were written to the Emperor, and to the Clergy and People of Constantinople.

Five days afterwards, the Fourth Session was held. As the business was peculiarly connected with S. Cyril, Peter, the notary, as a member of the Church of Alexandria, abstained from conducting the proceedings, as before: but Hesychius, a Deacon of Jerusalem, informed the Council, that the most holy Bishops of Alexandria and Ephesus wished to present a memorial, which they held in their hand. Juvenal of Jerusalem desired that it might be read.

It set forth the uncanonical proceedings of the Council held by John of Antioch; the deposition of Cyril and Memnon without citation, or opportunity of defending themselves; the bad character of the Bishops who had pronounced it, some of them

having even been deposed; and finally conjured the Council to oblige John of Antioch to appear before them in person, and there to give account of himself and of his proceedings. Acacius remarked, that the idea of any Council then assembled in Ephesus, except the Catholic Council at which he was assisting, was perfectly absurd, and that, for his own part, the request of Memnon and Cyril seemed superfluous; as, however, they thought otherwise, he proposed that John of Antioch should be forthwith summoned by three Bishops whom he named. The deputies went as they were desired; and on their return informed the Council that, when arrived at the lodging of John, they were refused admittance by soldiers who were posted at the door: that when their errand was known, they were insulted, ill-treated, and had, not without danger, escaped the swords of the military, and the stones of the populace. A second citation was made with as little effect; and the Council then declared, that as John had not appeared to defend his own proceedings, they were null and void.

On the following day, S. Cyril complained that the schismatical party had published a paper derogatory to the Council, and accusing its members of Apollinarianism : he therefore desired that John should be a third time cited to answer for all these violences. The citation was again carried by three Bishops, who reported that on approaching the house of John, the clerks who surrounded it began, as usual, to insult them, but were restrained by the soldiers, who, it appears, were acquainted with the person of Commodus, one of the Legates, as having been posted in his See, Tripolis of Lydia. That the Archdeacon of Nestorius, on hearing their errand, gave them a paper as from his own Council; and on their refusal to accept it, declined all further communication. On hearing this account, the Council pronounced John of Antioch, and his accomplices, to the number of thirty-five in all, excommunicate, and concluded the Fifth Session with subscribing the sentence, of which information was given as before to the court of Constantinople, as also to S. Celestin. It is remarkable that in the signatures Juvenal of Jerusalem, who seems to have presided on this and the former Session, subscribes before the Roman Legates.

The Sixth Session was taken up by matters of general importance : principally by the condemnation of an erroneous formula of Faith, to which some converted Asiatic heretics had been compelled to subscribe, and the proposition of an explanation of the Creed of Nicaea. It was decreed, in the Seventh and last Session, that the bounds of the jurisdictions of Metropolitans should remain as they were; a complaint having been made by the Bishops of Cyprus that the See of Antioch had usurped, of late years, the authority of ordaining in that island. As John of Antioch was not present to defend the rights of his own see, the Council guardedly decreed, that if the assertions of the Cyprian Bishops were true, they should remain, as in time past, free. The fact was, that the claims of Antioch in this instance were well founded.

Thus the deliberations of the Council ended: but its troubles were yet to begin. The Count John arrived from Constantinople as the Emperor's Commissioner, and gave orders that the Bishops of both parties should appear on the following day at the house where he was lodged. The animosity between them was so great, that he considered it necessary to post a body of troops between the quarters of the two factions. On the next morning, Nestorius came first before the Commissioner; shortly afterwards John of



Antioch and his followers; and lastly S. Cyril, with all the Catholic Bishops, except Memnon. The greater part of the day was spent in a series of useless disputes. The Catholics would do nothing while Nestorius, nor the schismatics while Cyril was present. The Count John at length, but not until evening, settled the matter, by obliging both of those Prelates to retire. To the rest of the Bishops he then read the Emperor's letter, which was so drawn up, as if both the false and the true Council were the same Assembly to which the acts of both were to be attributed, and was addressed to Pope Celestin, and to Rufus of Thessalonica, neither of whom were personally present. Its purport was that the deposition of Nestorius, of Cyril, and of Memnon, met with the approbation of the Emperor. The schismatics were overjoyed at this result; the Catholics as much depressed, and John, to avoid a popular tumult, arrested the three Bishops in question, committing them to proper guards. After this act, and attending prayers in the great church, the Commissioner gave a report of his proceedings in a letter to the Emperor; and with this went a strong remonstrance from Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the other Bishops who had assisted at the genuine Council: and who now exerted themselves in every way, both by fresh epistles to the Emperor, and by addressing the Bishops who then happened to be in Constantinople, to set their cause in its right point of view. So great was the prejudice excited against S. Cyril, that even S. Isidore of Pelusium, whose locality would naturally render him favourable to Alexandria, thought necessary to exhort him not to follow the bad example, and to be sharer in the violence, of his uncle Theophilus.

During the whole of these negotiations, S. Cyril was in considerable danger. He was strictly guarded by the soldiers appointed for that purpose, who even slept at the door of his chamber: nor could he be certain that any moment might not bring the Emperor's sentence for his banishment into some inhospitable region, where he could never more in this world hope for justice, nor for a return to the possession of his own See.

It is not our intention to pursue with minuteness the tedious course of negotiations which followed the Council of Ephesus. The Catholics of Constantinople manfully exerted themselves for their distressed brethren: and the Abbots and Monks were more particularly distinguished by the freedom with which they addressed Theodosius.

At length, in the month of August, the Emperor desired that a deputation from each of the Councils should wait on him. Both parties obeyed: and eight Commissioners were sent from each: on the Catholic side, Juvenal and Acacius, with the legate Philip, possessed the greatest influence; in the party of the schismatics, John of Antioch, and Theodoret. The instructions given to the former were carefully to avoid all communion with John of Antioch and his followers, at least until they had subscribed to the deposition of Nestorius, anathematized his doctrine, and asked pardon of the Council; they were also charged with a letter of thanks to the Bishops at Constantinople, commending their zeal for the Council, and requesting them not to relax their efforts in its behalf. The instructions of the schismatics were far more general; the only point in which their deputies were restricted, was the forbidding them, on any pretext, to agree to the twelve anathemas of S. Cyril. This Father, in the meantime, employed himself in



drawing up a defense of his anathemas, in which he shows that they are free from any taint of the heresies which were attributed to them, and exerts himself to reconcile the Oriental Prelates to himself and to his writings.

As soon as the Commissioners were on their journey, Nestorius was banished by the Emperor from Ephesus, with a permission, however, to go where he chose. This came to the knowledge of the deputies on their arrival at Chalcedon, for they were not permitted to cross the strait; and was a severe blow to the hopes of John of Antioch and of his party. On the fourth of September, both parties had an audience of Theodosius: in which, while nothing definite was settled, the schismatics obtained the grant of a church, while they should remain at Chalcedon. The deputies on both sides wrote to their respective Councils, and gave such accounts as might raise the hopes of their friends.

Theodoret preached more than once to the assembled deputies of his party, and was attended by a number of the inhabitants of Constantinople, whom the fame of his eloquence attracted across the strait. He expresses, in the fragments we possess, horror at the thought of a passible GOD; not distinguishing, or not choosing to distinguish, between this expression, and belief that the Divinity was passible. But he had the better grounds for his mistake, if, as is reported, Acacius of Melitene, one of the deputies, had advanced the latter proposition. He also speaks of Nestorius as the legitimate pastor of Constantinople, and expresses his firm belief that, at no distant period, he would be restored to that dignity.

At length, after five audiences, in which the Catholics confined themselves strictly to the facts of the case, and much to the chagrin of their opponents, would not dispute on points of doctrine, the Emperor announced his final determination in a letter to the Council. While expressly forbearing to condemn the Orientals, he ordered the Bishops, including Memnon and Cyril, to return to their own Dioecese, and exhorted them to cultivate peace to the utmost of their ability. At this result, confirming in fact the deposition of Nestorius, the schismatical deputies were frantic with disappointment. They despatched memorial after memorial to Theodosius; they conjured him to alter his judgment; they protested that they shook off the dust of their feet against him, and were clear from his blood. But their threats and lamentations were to no purpose; and their only, remaining consolation was to vilify the character of Cyril in the last letter which they addressed to their friends at Ephesus. The Catholic deputies and Bishops at Constantinople, proceeded to the election of another Bishop for that See, and consecrated Maximian, who had greatly distinguished himself by his efforts in behalf of the Council, to the dignity. In the meantime S. Cyril returned in triumph to Alexandria, which he reached on the thirtieth of October, after an absence of rather more than half a year. It is said by his enemies that he did not wait for the Emperor's permission, but escaped from his guards before his final acquittal had been pronounced.

### SECTION III.

#### RECONCILIATION OF ANTIOCH WITH ALEXANDRIA.

THE Sees of Antioch and Alexandria were now out of Communion, and John, during and on his return to the former, again deposed, in two separate Councils, S. Cyril, and the seven Bishops who had assisted in the consecration of Maximian. The latter, on the other hand, in a letter to the Archbishop of Alexandria, gave him the highest praise. "Thy desire"—so he wrote,—“O Servant of GOD, is fulfilled: thy labours for the cause of the Faith accomplished : the wishes of thy piety brought to a close : thou hast been made a spectacle to Angels and to men, and to all the Priests of CHRIST. Thou hast not only believed in CHRIST, but hast borne for Him all kind of ills. Thou alone hast been accounted worthy to bear His marks on thy body. Thou hast merited to confess Him before men, that He might confess thee before the FATHER, in the Presence of the Angels. Thou hast been able to do all things in CHRIST, Which strengthened thee: thou hast overcome Satan through patience: thou hast despised torments: thou hast trampled on the fury of rulers : thou hast counted hunger to be nothing, because thou didst possess that Bread which, coming down from Heaven, imparteth Celestial Life to men”. And S. Celestin, a few months later writing to the clergy and people of Constantinople, speaks as strongly: “In no work of an Apostle”, says he, “was that apostolic man wanting: he conjured, he admonished, he rebuked.” And comfort like this Cyril needed. The whole of the East was in the greatest confusion: and it was a happy circumstance that four out of the five great Sees remained firm to the True Faith. The Prelates, ordained in the place of Nestorian Bishops, were not everywhere favourably received; in some places they had to call in the secular arm, in others they could not establish themselves at all. Theodosius consulted Maximian, and a few other Bishops, of whom some were, it would appear, the Deputies from the Council, as to the best means of restoring unity. They all agreed that John of Antioch must approve of the deposition, and anathematize the doctrine of Nestorius; and that Cyril must forgive what had passed at Ephesus. There was a plan proposed, for the meeting of the two, in the Emperor’s presence at Nicomedia; but it was dropped, on account of the repugnance which John felt towards it. There was, however, a Council held at Antioch, in which six propositions were drawn up, which S. Cyril was required to sign as a preliminary step to union. We know not what they were, further than may be gathered from Cyril’s reply. “He could not”, he said, “retract what he had written previously to the Council; he was ready to declare the sufficiency of the Creed of Nicaea, only against those who explained it heretically its true meaning must be boldly stated; that he was perfectly willing to forgive all the insults he had himself received, but that the See of Antioch must anathematize the heresy of Nestorius : he repudiated the doctrines of Arius and Apollinaris; he held the Divine Word to be Impassible; he acknowledged that the SAVIOUR’S Body was informed by a reasonable Soul, and he promised, when peace should be restored, to give full satisfaction on the subject of the twelve anathemas.

The reception of this letter was different among the Eastern Bishops, as their tempers or prejudices varied. But John of Antioch, the most important among all, thought that it afforded a ground for reconciliation. He despatched Paul of Emesa to Alexandria, with a Confession of Faith, and a letter, in which he stated his personal friendship for Cyril, his longing for peace, his ardent hope that the anathemas would be given up, and his joy that they had a common ground on which to argue, namely, the letter of S. Athanasius to Epictetus on the Incarnation. This treatise was much insisted on by Paul, until Cyril by a reference to the original copy, preserved in the archives of Alexandria, proved that it had been altered by heretics. Indeed he was by no means satisfied with this communication, though confessing the orthodoxy of the Creed of John. Far from being an apology for the past, it was rather, he said, a new offence. Paul, who was well skilled in negotiations, used all his efforts to persuade him that this was not the case; he, however, could hardly prevail on the Bishop of Alexandria to admit himself to his communion, and only after signing a Confession of Faith, drawn up in the form of a letter to S. Cyril. Having done this, he preached in the great church of Alexandria on Christmas Day : and in the early part of his sermon, after dwelling on the peace to men which the *Gloria in Excelsis* promises, having pronounced the words, “Mary, the Mother of GOD, brings forth Emmanuel”, he was interrupted by the acclamations of the people : “The True Faith! the same Faith! welcome, orthodox Bishop! welcome, like to like!”. His discourse, which was very short, was continually interrupted by such exclamations as these: and on the succeeding feast of the Circumcision, he had the opportunity of explaining his sentiments at greater length. Paul was anxious that the declaration he had himself signed might be accepted for John of Antioch also : but to this S. Cyril would by no means consent, and drew up another formula which he required that Prelate as a condition of Communion to subscribe, founded on John’s own Confession. He at the same time carried on a negotiation at Constantinople, for the purpose of bringing about the wished-for reconciliation; and the influence of the Princess Pulcheria was highly useful in the furtherance of his views. John, finding that his cause lost ground, was glad to come to terms: and signed the Confession of Faith which Cyril required, and which was the same which he had previously sent by Paul. In it he expressed his belief, that “our LORD JESUS CHRIST is the Only Son of GOD : perfect GOD and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and of flesh subsisting: according to his Divinity, begotten of the FATHER before the world; according to His Humanity, born in these last days for our Salvation, of the Virgin Mary: consubstantial to the FATHER, according to His Godhead, and consubstantial to us, according to His Manhood : and in that the Two natures have been united, we acknowledge one LORD, one CHRIST, one SON. Wherefore we confess that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of GOD : because the Word of GOD was incarnate and made man”. The formula concluded by an approbation of the deposition of Nestorius, and an acknowledgment of Maximian as the rightful possessor of the Throne of Constantinople.

The anxiety consequent on the prolongation of this affair, had already cost S. Cyril two severe illnesses : one before Christmas, at the time of the arrival of Paul,—the other a few weeks later, which prevented him from announcing in person the time of

Easter, according to his custom. And that during the whole of this year he suffered from ill health, the commencement of his twenty-first Paschal Letter sufficiently shows.

S. Cyril announced the happy news of his reconciliation with John, in a sermon which he delivered on the twenty-third of April, A.D. 433, in which he took occasion to explain his own tenets, and to vindicate them from certain objections which had been raised against them. For some members of the Latin Church took exception at this reconciliation, as if it had been brought about by a retractation, or at least suppression of the truth on the part of Cyril; and Isidore of Pelusium now as hastily accused him of a disposition to compromise the truth, as, during the Council of Ephesus, he had complained of his obstinacy in defending it. On the other hand, some,—the precursors of the destructive heresy of the Jacobites,—complained that though he denied the existence of two Persons, he still allowed John of Antioch to confess two Natures in the SAVIOUR. The Orientals, when once satisfied that he was not implicated in the error of Apollinaris, were glad to profess their unity of faith with the Bishop of Alexandria : the Emperor and the Pope expressed their approbation of the happy reunion : and thus the difference, which at one time threatened such serious consequences, was quietly composed. Heresy, indeed, still prevailed in the far East, and Chaldea was not many years afterwards separated—as it still remains—from the Church Catholic : the followers of Nestorius keeping up their succession of Bishops from that day to this. Theodoret was one of the last to forsake the heretical party: and though some of his expressions on the Incarnation were always held unsound, or at least suspected, he thenceforward lived, as he finally died, in the Communion of the Church.

With respect to the conduct of the Oriental Bishops throughout this whole affair, we may remark that it has been usually characterized in much harsher terms than truth allows. One or two of the companions of John fell away into open heresy;—but the greater part, as soon as Cyril gave proof that he was not an Apollinarian, thankfully accepted his Communion. Had it not been for these men, the Monophysites, in the next phase of that controversy, by which the Church was harassed for two hundred and fifty years, would have reaped a fearful advantage : when, in fact, they did use or abuse, even notwithstanding this safeguard, many of the expressions of the Alexandrian Patriarch.

S. Cyril was much taken up in the business of composing, both by writings and by negotiation, the divisions of the East; but he also found time for the arrangement of a Paschal Cycle of ninety-five years. That Alexandria was still considered, by the larger majority of Christians, the Second Church, we have a striking proof in a letter of Pope Sixtus to a Council of Illyria, wherein he draws a distinction between the Decrees of the Council of Constantinople on matters of Faith, and on points of Discipline.

After this time we find Cyril vainly attempting to procure the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia: and from time to time interposing in the Oriental disputes on the Incarnation. In the course of his labours in this way, he once visited Jerusalem. At length, worn out rather with labour than years, he departed to his reward on the twenty-seventh day of June, A.D. 444.

The character of S. Cyril, like that of S. Gregory VII., S. Thomas of Canterbury, Nikon, and our own Laud, is precisely that which the world will never be able to comprehend. That he should have laboured and suffered, and spoken and written so earnestly in defence of an abstract point of doctrine, should have excommunicated, and should have been excommunicated for its sake; and, in obtaining the victory should have been content, although a heresy, yet existing, thereby had birth,—all this is mystery and scorn to those who have not learnt to value Catholic doctrine on the subject of the Incarnation, as closely connected with the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist, and with our own Resurrection, or who have learnt to despise dogmatic teaching under the lax influence of a faithless age. But Cyril, while he knew the value of the great deposit which he guarded, was willing to yield everything of a personal nature to his adversaries, and insisted on nothing which he did not deem essential to the preservation of the truth in its fullness and purity. It is true, that in youth his temper had been hasty, and his manner perhaps overbearing: so much the more is it to his praise, that in the great act of his life, the Council of Ephesus, where the one was severely tried, and the other closely observed, the defects of his earlier years are in vain sought. Again : his calm and moderate statement of Truth is worthy of notice. Pressed by adversaries who asserted the doctrine of Two Persons in our LORD, it would have been most natural for him to fall, as his followers did, into the opposite error of denying the existence of Two Natures. This he never did. The same writings, which had crushed one heresy in the Council of Ephesus, crushed its opposite in that of Chalcedon : they have indeed been quoted by the Jacobites, as testimonies in their favour, but only in detached portions, and with a manifest perversion of their sense. If, in any of his voluminous works, he speaks in a manner which, may seem to give advantage to the Monophysite creed, it must be remembered that many of his writings were falsified when the Church of Alexandria, with all its archives, was in the power of that sect. The letter of S. Leo, which was with respect to Monophysitism what the anathemas of S. Cyril were with respect to Nestorianism, was approved by the Fathers of Chalcedon expressly on the ground of being consonant with them. And Theodoret, with a candour which does him the highest honour, makes use of the works of his great rival as a sword against the Apollinarians, with whom he once confounded him, and against the Monophysites, who professed, and still profess, to be his followers. If, nevertheless, any casual expression may fairly be quoted as favouring the tenets of Eutyches, we must say with the Catholics in their great conference with the Severians, that if such expression seems at variance with the Twelve Anathemas, and S. Cyril's defence and explanation of them, we neither approve nor condemn it. If we compare S. Cyril's conduct with that of others, who have been placed in a similar position, it will but shine the more brightly. It is no derogation from the veneration due to the memory of a most glorious Doctor of the Church, to say, that S. Augustine, in defending the doctrine of Divine Grace against the Pelagians, sometimes trembled on the verge of heresy: and, as matter of fact, the worst errors of Calvinism are defended by quotations, (unfair, it is true, and distorted quotations) from the writings of that Father. Again, S. Jerome, in his writings against Vigilantius and his fellows, while elevating Virginitiy, gave great countenance to those who regarded marriage as a tolerable evil, rather than as being honourable in all. And, as we have seen, S. Dionysius, in opposing Sabellianism, gave great occasion to the Arians to blaspheme. And yet S. Cyril's temptations to defend one truth at the expense



of another, were stronger than in any of the above cases. There may be other Fathers whose writings will be more generally interesting, and in these days more profitable, (though at the present time, when many openly refuse, in unconscious heresy, to bestow on the Blessed Virgin the title of Mother of GOD, they seem peculiarly appropriate,) but we shall not be wrong, while bestowing the first place among the defenders of Divine Truth on S. Athanasius, in allotting the second to S. Cyril. His courage was, doubtless, his most distinguishing feature: but his moderation in his conduct with John of Antioch, and his acquiescence in the creed proposed by the latter, notwithstanding the comparative unsatisfactoriness of some of its expressions, are truly praiseworthy. And if at Ephesus he may be thought to have carried matters with a high hand, it must be remembered that his moderation was chiefly visible in his prosperity, his impetuosity in his adversity. And even in that action which may be considered the great weakness of his life, his precipitation of the Council of Ephesus, he still evinced the same disregard of personal danger in the prosecution of a great cause. His humility is amply proved by the patience with which he received the unjust rebukes of S. Isidore of Pelusium. Thus, with S. Eulogius, we shall call him “the ardent, the pious, the learned, the never-vacillating”; with Anastasius, “the most celebrated and blessed light of the Fathers”; with the Menology, “the glory of all Priests, the defender of the most Holy Synod”; with Sabbas of Palta, we shall regard him as one that, by the inspiration of the HOLY GHOST, followed the doctrine and expressions of the Fathers; with S. Celestine, as the generous defender of the Faith, as he that made good all that S. Paul requires in a teacher; even though we may not entirely subscribe the affectionate exaggeration of S. Sixtus III, that “Cyril surpassed all persons in all things”.

It remains to say a few words on the fate of Nestorius. After having resided for some time at his monastery of S. Euprepus, near Antioch, he was banished by the Emperor to Petra. But Theodosius appears to have changed his determination, and the great Oasis was chosen as the final place of his exile. The end of his life was miserable. Driven by the barbarians from the Oasis, seeking, in extreme old age, a refuge in Panopolis, hurried thence, by the inhumanity of the governor to Elephantine, recalled before arriving there, brought back to Panopolis, half dead with fatigue, and suffering from the effects of a fall, and again exiled to a neighbouring town, he was seized with a mortal disease; and according to some his tongue, according to others his whole body, being eaten of worms, he gave up the ghost. By his followers he is, of course, esteemed a glorious Saint and Confessor: the Jacobites have a tradition that the dews of heaven visit not the grave of the heresiarch.

### SECTION IV.

#### THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF EUTYCHIANISM.



THE bright days of Alexandria are past: and we are about to trace the decline of a Church, which we have followed through her various stages of increasing splendour, till, in S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, she reached the zenith of her reputation. It was reserved for a disciple of the latter to commence the downward course.

On the death of S. Cyril, his Archdeacon Dioscorus succeeded to the chair of S. Mark, although, as it would appear, not without some opposition. For it was afterwards asserted that he had been ordained by two Bishops only: and this report, though probably exaggerated, seems to indicate a diversity of sentiment from the outset as to the merits of the Bishop-elect.

He had hitherto been accounted a man of excellent disposition, and was much beloved for his humility. But the asperity with which he claimed from the heirs of S. Cyril certain money which he alleged to be due to the See, procured him many enemies; nor was it accepted as a satisfaction by the people, that these sums were employed by the Patriarch in enabling the sellers of bread and wine to furnish the poor with subsistence at a lower rate.

In the answer which Pope S. Leo wrote to the letter, in which, according to custom, Dioscorus announced his election and consecration, we find the first attempt on the part of the Church of Rome, to intermeddle with the affairs of that of Alexandria. He gave the new Bishop instructions as to the rites to be observed at Ordinations and in Festivals, prefacing his advice with the apologetic, and indeed half-playful, remark, that doubtless the observances of the two Churches were the same, inasmuch as S. Peter must have taught S. Mark the same discipline which he himself observed. And in point of fact, there was, as we have already had occasion to notice, a great similarity between the ceremonies of the two Churches. One remarkable point of discipline wherein they agreed, is pointed out in this letter of Leo : that even on the greatest Feasts, such as Easter, the Holy Eucharist was only celebrated in one church of the city, although it might be repeated as often as there was occasion, from the multitude of the people who attended in several distinct congregations.

The new Bishop, however, soon showed that personal holiness formed no part of his character. His palace was disgraced by the public dancers of Alexandria, and the too celebrated Irene was notoriously entertained as the Patriarch's concubine.

Theodoret had been, previously to the death of S. Cyril, apparently much esteemed by Dioscorus, as indeed the tone of the letter addressed by the former to the latter on his elevation sufficiently proves. But after that event, the Archbishop of Alexandria thought fit to change his conduct to his early friend. He, in the meanwhile, continued his writings on the subject of the Incarnation, and particularly opposed himself to the teaching of those who, through an excessive zeal against the errors of Nestorius, maintained that there existed only One Nature in the SAVIOUR. Whatever, in other passages, may least, maintaining the Catholic doctrine; and other witnesses in its favour, he cited Theophilus and Cyril, who could neither of them be suspected of any partiality for the heresy of Nestorius. Theodoret was accused of dividing the Person of our SAVIOUR into two Sons, and Dioscorus, probably wishing to imitate Cyril, wrote

to Domnus of Antioch, in which city Theodoret had promulgated his opinions. The latter addressed a letter to his accuser in his defence, in which, after satisfactorily explaining his faith, he concluded by anathematizing those who should say that the Blessed Virgin was not the Mother of GOD. But Dioscorus paid no manner of attention to this defence; he not only, in the Church of Alexandria, delivered Theodoret over to an anathema, but made a formal complaint of him to Flavian of Constantinople. Theodoret loudly complained of this step, as in contravention of the Canons of Nicaea. "The province of Alexandria", so he wrote to Flavian, "is Egypt and Egypt alone; if that city has the chair of S. Mark, Antioch has that of S. Peter, the Master of S. Mark". Domnus, for his part, also sent a deputation to Constantinople, to defend himself against the charges of Dioscorus; regardless of the taunts of the latter, that Antioch was thus giving precedence and jurisdiction to Constantinople, and abandoning its high post of the Church third in dignity.

It was evident, that although Alexandria and Antioch professed the same faith, there was a substantial difference in their tenets; and an occasion soon presented itself of bringing them into collision. There was one Eutyches, Abbot of a large monastery near Constantinople, who had been a friend of S. Cyril, and was considered by him as one of the staunchest defenders of the Truth against Nestorius. This man was accused by Eusebius of Dorylaeus, (who by a singular coincidence had been the first opponent of Nestorius,) of renewing the Apollinarian heresy, by asserting that the Divinity and Humanity of the SON of GOD formed but One Nature, and that the former as well as the latter had suffered. This heresy had often been imputed to S. Cyril, but was now clearly brought home to Eutyches, before a Council of about thirty Bishops at Constantinople. They treated him with the utmost patience; but finding him invincibly wedded to his errors, proceeded, Flavian being the president, to anathematize himself and his tenets. This proceeding threw the East into confusion : Flavian was stigmatized as a Nestorian in disguise: even Pope S. Leo, afterwards the great bulwark of the Church against the Eutychians, was not at first fully satisfied : and the Emperor was finally persuaded to summon an Ecumenical Council at Ephesus. Several letters were addressed by Theodosius on the subject: one to the future Council, marking out the question to be debated, namely the differences which had arisen between Flavian and Eutyches; one to the two commissioners, whom he appointed for the maintenance of order; and one to Dioscorus, appointing him President, Flavian being required to appear as a party, not as a judge. Leo was also invited to attend : but excused himself on account of the shortness of notice. He however sent three legates: Julius, Bishop of Puteoli; Renatus, a Presbyter; and Hilarus, Archdeacon of the Roman Church, and addressed a most important letter to Flavian, on the subject of the Incarnation; which, from its subsequent reception by the Church, may be considered an embodiment of Catholic teaching on this point.

As it was the rejection or adoption of this Epistle which influenced the whole future fortunes of the Church of Alexandria; as a great part of its subsequent history is nothing else than an account of the struggle between the heresy condemned, and the truth supported by Leo; and as without a clear understanding of the exact and dogmatical decision of the Church on this subject, much that will occur in the following

pages will be unintelligible, it seems well to give a translation, in this place, of the doctrinal portion of this celebrated Epistle.

LEO BISHOP, TO HIS BELOVED BROTHER FLAVIAN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

HAVING perused the letters of your love, at the lateness of which we marvel, and having gone through the Episcopal Acts in order, we have at length become acquainted with the scandal which has fallen out, and which has risen among you against the integrity of the Faith, and those matters which aforehand appeared to be hidden, have at length been opened and made manifest to us. By which it appears to us, that Eutyches, who was beforetime honourable from the name of Priest, is exceedingly imprudent and unlearned; so that the saying of the Prophet may refer also to him, *He hath left off to be wise, and to do good, he imagineth mischief vpon his bed*. For what more wicked, than to give the mind to impiety, and to refuse trust to the wiser and more learned? but into this folly they fall, who, when they be by any obstacle hindered from the knowledge of the Truth, seek not to the voice of the Prophets, nor to the letters of the Apostles, nor to the authority of the Evangelists, but to themselves : and are therefore masters of error, because they were not disciples of Truth. For what erudition hath he acquired from the sacred pages of the New and Old Testament, who understandeth not even the principles of the Creed itself. That which is uttered through the whole world by the mouths of all Catechumens, is not yet received in the heart of this aged man.

He then, ignorant what he ought to believe concerning the Incarnation of the WORD of GOD, and unwilling to labour in the extent of Holy Scripture, that he might merit the light of intelligence, must at least have received by continual hearing that common and consentient confession, by which the whole multitude of the faithful professes, That they believe in GOD the FATHER ALMIGHTY, and in JESUS CHRIST His Only SON our LORD, Who was born by the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary. By which three sentences the engines of well-nigh all heretics are destroyed. For since GOD, Almighty and Eternal, is asserted to be the FATHER, it is proved that the SON is Co-Eternal with Him, differing in nothing from the FATHER, because He is GOD of GOD, Almighty of Almighty, Co-Eternal Son of the Eternal; not later in time, not inferior in Power, not dissimilar in Glory, not divided in Essence; and the Same Eternal and Only Begotten SON of the Eternal FATHER was born of the HOLY GHOST, and the Virgin Mary. Which temporal Nativity in no way detracted from that divine and eternal Nativity, in no way added to it; but expended itself wholly in restoring man, who had been deceived, and in conquering death, and destroying by its virtue the Devil, who had the power of death. For we could not have overcome the author of Sin and Death, unless He, Whom neither sin could contaminate, nor death detain, had taken upon Himself our Nature, and made it His. For He was conceived of the HOLY GHOST in the womb of the Virgin Mary, who bare Him, even as she had conceived Him, without loss of Virginitie.

But if from this most pure Fount of the Christian Faith he was not able to draw true knowledge, because he had, by his own blindness, darkened the splendour of manifest truth, he should have betaken himself to the doctrine of the Evangelists, seeing that Matthew saith, *The Book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham*. He should have sought instruction from the preaching of the Apostle; and, after reading in the Epistle to the Romans, *Paul, a Servant of JESUS CHRIST, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of GOD, which He had promised afore by His Prophets in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His SON JESUS CHRIST our LORD, Which was made of the Seed of David according to the flesh*, he should have turned his pious attention to the pages of the Prophets, and he would have found the Promise of GOD to Abraham, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*. And that he might not doubt concerning the propriety of this Seed, he should have followed the Apostle, where he saith, *Now to Abraham and his Seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of One, And to thy Seed, Which is CHRIST*". He should have apprehended by the hearing of his heart the preaching of the Prophet Isaiah, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call His Name IMMANUEL, which being interpreted is GOD with us*. He should have read with faith the words of the same Prophet, *For unto us a Child is born; unto us a Son is given; and the Government shall be upon His Shoulder; and His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty GOD, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace*. Nor did he speak in vain, when he said that the WORD was made Flesh, as if CHRIST, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of a man, and not the verity of His Mother's Body. Or did he think that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was not of our nature, because the Angel, sent to the Blessed and Ever-Virgin Mary, saith, *The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee : therefore also That Holy Thing Which shall be born of thee shall be called the SON of GOD*: as if, since the conception of the Virgin was a Divine Act, the Flesh of the Conceived was not of the nature of the conceiver? But we are not to understand that Generation, singularly admirable, and admirably singular, in such sort, as if, by the novelty of That Which was created the propriety of kind were removed.

For the HOLY GHOST gave fecundity to the Virgin : but the Verity of the Body was taken from her body; and Wisdom building Herself an House, *The WORD was made Flesh and dwelt among us* : namely, in That Flesh which It took from man, and animated with the spirit of rational life. The propriety then of Each Nature and Substance being preserved, and both uniting so as to form One Person, humility was assumed by Majesty, infirmity by Virtue, mortality by Eternity, and to pay the debt of our condition, inviolable was united to passible nature : that (which was in congruity with our remedy) One and the Same Mediator of GOD and Man, the Man CHRIST JESUS, might be able to die from the one, might not be able to die from the other. Therefore in the whole and perfect Nature of Very Man, Very GOD was born, altogether GOD, altogether as we. But in saying "as we", we mean in those things which the CREATOR formed in us at first, and which He undertook to restore. For what the Deceiver introduced, and deceived man committed, of these things there was no trace in the SAVIOUR. Nor did He, because He participated in human infirmities, therefore participate in human guilt. He assumed the form of a servant, without spot of

sin, honouring humanity, not dishonouring Divinity; because that emptying of Himself, by which, being Invisible, He made Himself Visible, and being CREATOR and LORD of all things, condescended to be a Mortal, was the inclination of His Compassion, not the failure of His Power. For He, Who remaining in the Form of GOD made man, The Same, in the form of a slave, was made man. Each Nature holds without defect its own propriety; and as the Form of GOD destroys not the form of a servant, so the form of a servant diminishes not the Form of GOD. For because the Devil boasted, that man, deceived by his arts, was without divine gifts, and deprived of his dowry of immortality endured the hard sentence of death, and in his miseries he had found some consolation from the fellowship of another transgressor (viz. man), and that GOD, the principle of justice so requiring, had changed His Own designs touching man, whom He had formed in so great honour; need was there of the dispensation of a secret council, that GOD, Who cannot change, and Whose Will cannot be deprived of its benignity, should fulfil towards us, by a hidden Sacrament, the Dispensation of His Mercy, and that man, driven into sin by the craft of the malice of the Devil, might not perish, contrary to the Will of GOD.

The SON of GOD therefore enters this lower world, descending from the Heavenly Seat, yet not departing from the Glory of His FATHER, begotten after a new sort, by a new Nativity. After a new sort: because, invisible among His Own, He condescended to become Visible among us: the Incomprehensible condescended to be comprehended : He That existed before time, to be born in time; the LORD of the Universe took upon Himself the form of a servant, having veiled the immensity of His Majesty: the Impassible GOD disdained not to be a passible man: the Immortal to be subject to the laws of death. By a new Nativity: because inviolate Virginité was ignorant of concupiscence, and yet ministered the material of Flesh. From the Mother of the LORD, nature, not sin, was assumed; and in our LORD JESUS CHRIST, born of the Virgin's womb, because His Nativity was wonderful, it followeth not therefore that His Nature is dissimilar from ours. For He That is Very GOD, the Same is also Very Man; and there is no deceit in this Union, while the humility of man and the Majesty of GOD meet together. For as GOD is not changed by the Mercy displayed, so man is not consumed by the dignity bestowed. For each form acts after its proper sort while in communion with the other : the WORD working that which is proper to the WORD, and the Flesh accomplishing that which is proper to the Flesh. The one is glorious with miracles, the other yields to injuries : and as the WORD recedeth not from the equality of the FATHER'S Glory, so the Flesh leaveth not the nature of our race. For,—which is often to be repeated,—He is One and the Same: Very SON of GOD, Very Son of Man. GOD :—because it is written, *In the beginning was the WORD, and the WORD was with GOD, and the WORD was GOD* : Man : for *the WORD was made Flesh, and dwelt among us*. GOD : *for all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made*. Man: for *He was made of a Woman, made under the Law*. The Nativity of the Flesh is a proof of Human Nature: the pregnancy of a Virgin, testimony of Divine Virtue. The Infancy of the Babe is shown by the humility of the cradle; the Majesty of the MOST HIGH is declared by the songs of Angels. He was in form as the infants whom Herod sought to slay; but He is the LORD of all, Whom the Wise Men rejoice, as suppliants, to adore. When He came to the Baptism of John His



Forerunner, lest it should be hidden from sight that Divinity was concealed by the veil of the Flesh, the Voice of the FATHER thundered from Heaven, and said, *This is My Beloved SON in Whom I am well pleased.* To Him, Whom as man the craft of the Devil tempteth, to the Same as GOD, the services of Angels minister. To be anhungered, a-thirst, to be weary, to sleep, is evidently human. But to feed five thousand with five loaves, and to give to the Samaritan Woman Living Water, which whoso drank should never thirst, to walk the sea with unsinking footsteps, and to still the lifting up of the waves by rebuking the tempest: this, without doubt, is Divine. As therefore,—to pass over many things,—it is not of the same Nature to weep for Lazarus, a departed friend, and by the command of the Voice to raise him from the dead, having rolled away the stone of the four days' sepulchre; or to hang on the tree, and to turn day into night, and shake the elements; or to be pierced with nails, and to open the gates of Paradise to the faith of the thief:—so it is not of the same Nature to say, *I and the FATHER are One,* and *the FATHER is greater than I.* For, albeit in our LORD JESUS CHRIST there is One Person of GOD and Man, yet *that* whence contumely is common to both, and that whence glory is common to both, differs. From our Nature He hath the Humanity, which is less than the FATHER; from the FATHER He hath the Divinity, which is equal with the FATHER.

On account then of this unity of Person to be understood of both Natures, we read that the Son of Man descended from Heaven, since the SON of GOD took Flesh of that Virgin of whom He was born. And again, we read that the SON of GOD was crucified and buried, though He suffered these things, not in His Divinity, in which He is Only-Begotten and Co-Eternal SON, and Consubstantial with the FATHER, but in the Infirmary of His Human Nature. Wherefore we all, even in the Creed, confess that the Only-Begotten SON of GOD was crucified and buried, according to that saying of the Apostle, *For had they known it they would not have crucified the LORD of Glory.* And when our LORD and SAVIOUR Himself was instructing by His questions the faith of His Disciples, *Whom,* said He, *do men say that I the Son of Man am?* And when they had related the divers opinions of divers persons, *But ye,* saith He, *Whom say ye that I am?* Whom say ye that I, *Who* am the Son of Man, and Whom ye see in the form of a servant, and in the verity of Flesh, Whom say ye that I am? Then blessed Peter divinely inspired, and about, by his confession, to profit all nations, *Thou art,* saith he, *the CHRIST, the SON of the Living GOD.* And not without reason was he pronounced blessed by the LORD; and he, who by revelation of the FATHER confessed the same to be the SON of GOD, and CHRIST, drew from the Corner Stone the firmness both of his virtue and of His Name : because one of these things confessed without the other, had not profited to salvation; and it was equally dangerous to acknowledge the LORD JESUS CHRIST to be GOD alone, and not Man, or Man alone and not GOD. But after the Resurrection of the LORD, which was the Resurrection of a true Body, because the Same arose from the dead, Who had been crucified and buried, what else was performed by the delay of forty days, than that the integrity of our Faith should be purged from all darkness? For conversing, and dwelling, and eating with His Disciples, and allowing Himself to be examined by the diligent and curious touch of those, who yet doubted; He therefore both entered, when the doors were closed, and by breathing on them bestowed on them the HOLY GHOST, and gave them the light of understanding, and opened to



them the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures, and also showed them the Wound in His Side, and the prints of the nails, and all the signs of His recent Passion, saying, *Behold My Hands and My Feet, that it is I Myself; handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have* : that the proprieties of the Divine and Human Natures might be acknowledged to remain in Him undivided; and that we may thus know, that the WORD is not that which the Flesh is, but might confess that the One SON of GOD consisteth of the WORD and the Flesh.

Of which Mystery of Faith this Eutyches is to be reputed altogether ignorant, who has neither acknowledged our nature in the SON of GOD, neither by the humility of mortality, nor by the Glory of Resurrection; nor feared the saying of the blessed Apostle and Evangelist S. John, where he saith, *Every spirit that confesseth that JESUS CHRIST is come in the Flesh is of GOD: and every spirit that divideth JESUS is not of GOD: and this is Anti-Christ*. But what is it to divide JESUS, except to separate from Him the Human Nature, and by impudent fictions to make void the Mystery of Faith, by which alone we are saved? For he that is ignorant with respect to the Nature of the Body of CHRIST must also be possessed with the folly of the same ignorance with respect to His Passion. For, if he believes that the Cross of the LORD was not imaginary, and that the Sufferings undertaken for the Salvation of the world were real, let him acknowledge His Flesh, Whose Death he believes. Let him not deny that He was a Man with a Body like our own, Whom he allows to have been passible; for a denial of His Flesh is a denial of His Corporeal Passion. If therefore he embraces the Christian Faith, and turns not away his ears from the preaching of the Gospel, let him see what Nature it was that hung transfixed with nails on the wood of the Cross; let him understand, when the Side of the Crucified was opened by the spear of the soldier, whence the Blood and Water flowed forth, that the Church of GOD might be refreshed by the Laver, and by the Chalice. Let him hear also Blessed Peter the Apostle preaching, that Sanctification of the SPIRIT is through sprinkling of the Blood of JESUS CHRIST. Let him read attentively the words of the same Apostle, where he saith, *Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed by corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers : but with the Precious Blood of CHRIST, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot*. Let him not fight against the testimony of Blessed John the Apostle, where he saith, *And the Blood of JESUS CHRIST His SON cleanseth us from all sin*. And again: *This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that JESUS is the SON of GOD? This is He That came by water and blood, even JESUS CHRIST, not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the SPIRIT That beareth witness, because the SPIRIT is Truth; for there are three that bear witness, the SPIRIT, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three are one*. The SPIRIT, that is, of Sanctification, and the Blood of Redemption, and the Water of Baptism, which three are one, and remain undivided; and none of them is disjoined from its connexion because the Catholic Church lives and makes progress in this Faith, that neither in CHRIST JESUS must Humanity be believed without Very Divinity, nor Divinity without Very Humanity.

Dioscorus, on the receipt of the Emperor's letter, sailed from Alexandria to Ephesus, to take the presidency of the Council, just as S. Cyril, eighteen years before, had done. But here the resemblance ends: Cyril went to support Catholic Truth, Dioscorus to give for a while the victory to error.

### SECTION V.

#### THE "ROBBERS' MEETING" AT EPHESUS.

THE time for the opening of the Council approaching, Dioscorus arrived at Ephesus with ten of his Bishops :—the mandate of the Emperor, requiring ten metropolitans, being, in his case, incapable of being obeyed. His cause, on first consideration, seemed fair. The friend of S. Cyril had been condemned in a hastily summoned Synod at Constantinople; and that friend an Abbot, venerable for his age, illustrious for his sanctity, distinguished for the opposition which he had offered to the first fury of Nestorianism. Many of those who clamoured against him had also calumniated S. Cyril: the charge of Apollinarianism was the same in both cases : the Prelate by whom he was condemned was openly accused by the Emperor as the origin of the troubles. One hundred and twenty-eight Bishops, besides the deputies of absent Prelates, with a large number of Priests and Abbots, assembled in the church of S. Mary : and Dioscorus presided, as well by virtue of his dignity, as by the express command of the Emperor. Next to him came Julian, Bishop of Puteoli, the Thrones of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople : the last-named See being thus unaccountably degraded to the fifth place.

It was on the eighth of August, A.D. 419, seven days after the appointed time, that the Council was opened. Though Dioscorus was President, yet the Emperor's letter charged Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Caesarea, with a share in the conduct of affairs; though, in truth, their colleague allowed them little else than nominal authority.

John, a presbyter of Alexandria, and chief of the notaries, briefly stated the cause of the assembling of the Synod, and read the Epistle of the Emperor convoking it. Immediately on its conclusion, Julius the Roman Legate, interpreted by Florentius, Bishop of Sardis, informed the Council that Leo had also been summoned, and Hilarus, a Roman Deacon, the third of the Legates, (the Priest Renatus, who was one of them, having died on the journey,) stated that it was not the custom for the Roman Pontiff to appear in person at an Ecumenical Synod; but they had an epistle addressed by him to the Council, which they were desirous to present to it. "Let the letters of our holy brother, Leo", said Dioscorus, evidently by a preconcerted plan, "be given in". As they were being handed forward, John the Notary, as if he had not heard the demand of the

Legates, said that there were further letters of the Emperor, which it might be well to read. "Let them be read", said Juvenal of Jerusalem, "and inserted in the Acts". This communication requested that Parsumas, a Syrian Abbot, characterized as a man of great piety, (and who had come accompanied by a thousand monks,) should be present in the Synod, as the representative of all the Eastern Archimandrites. "The same notification has been made to me", remarked Juvenal; "and the Holy Ecumenical Council will probably do well to admit the Abbot". Dioscorus inquired if the Emperor's Commissioners, Elpidius and Eulogius, had any information to give on the subject? Elpidius spoke, and spoke well, on the grave responsibility of the Fathers. "Today", said he, "the LORD and GOD of all, the WORD and SAVIOUR, submits Himself to your judgment, and honours you with the power of deciding His Cause; that, if He find you judging rightly here, He may both honour you on earth, and confess you before the FATHER when He shall come to judge the world. But if any come with a deceitful heart, to shake the foundations of the Faith, or to call in question the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, woe to him from both, from GOD and from the Emperor! Good were it for that man that he had never been born; who, when the thief, and the publican, and the harlot, and the Syro-phoenician confessed, refuses to acknowledge Him Who is in the Glory of the FATHER, and Who humbled Himself for our sakes". These reflections were evidently levelled at Flavian; and their object was made more manifest when the Imperial letters, having been read, were found openly to accuse that holy Prelate as the source of the present calamities. At its conclusion, Thalassius proposed that till the Faith was decided, nothing else, in compliance with the Caesar's will, should be treated. "My instructions are the same", remarked Julius. Elpidius proposed the examination of the Acts of the Constantinopolitan Council, and of the deposition of Eutyches. Dioscorus at once assented. "We must decide" said he, "whether they are consonant to the decrees of the Fathers. Ye would not wish to innovate on their Faith?", "Anathema" cried the Council, "to him that shall innovate! Anathema to him that shall call into question! Keep we the Faith of the Fathers!". And the notaries of Dioscorus added several exclamations in praise of that Prelate, which seem to have had no real existence, but which were inserted in the Acts. "Then", said Elpidius, "since the Council is unanimous in the confession of Faith, let the Archimandrite Eutyches be introduced, and heard in his own defence". There was a token of general approbation. Juvenal gave orders that the Archimandrite should be allowed to enter, and to produce his documents; and Thalassius, when he appeared, informed him that he was at liberty to bring forward anything which might serve his cause with the Great and Holy Synod.

Eutyches, after uttering the words, "I commend myself to the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and to your justice", handed in a memorial, which he requested the Council to consider, and which was accordingly read to them by John the Notary. It commenced with the Nicene Creed; after the profession of which, "This is the Faith", proceeded the aged Abbot, "in which I was born :—in which I was forthwith dedicated to GOD : in which I have lived:—and in which I hope to die". He then appealed to Cyril in defence of his position: accused, he said, by Eusebius of Dorylaeum, of a heresy which could not be defined, because he objected to a new definition of the Faith, and clave to the Creeds of Nicaea and Ephesus, and to those alone. Vainly, he continued, had he appealed from the unjust judgment of Flavian to the

future Council: vainly pointed to his hoary hairs, grown gray in warfare against heresy : unheard, unheeded, he was deposed by a sentence drawn up long before, anathematized, and delivered over to public indignation, as a heretic and a Manichaean. “To the judgment of your Blessednesses”, concluded the Archimandrite, “I appealed from the beginning: and now again I confess, in the Presence of JESUS CHRIST, Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that I thus hold, and believe, and understand, as the Holy Fathers who assembled in Nicaea defined the Faith: which definition was confirmed by the former Council of Ephesus”.

The memorial having been finished, Flavian spoke : “The accused has been heard : the accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, ought to be heard also”. Elpidius interposed. The function of the present Council, he said, was not to re-open the question, but to judge at Ephesus those who had judged at Constantinople. The rest of the acts of that Council ought to be read. Elpidius, said Dioscorus, has spoken well. And he called on the other Bishops for their opinions. Juvenal of Jerusalem, Stephen of Ephesus, Cyrus of Aphrodisias, Thalassius of Caesarea, and thirteen other Prelates, of whom the last, Uranius of Himeria in Osrhoene, spoke in Syriac, gave their sentence for reading the Acts:—and then the whole Synod, by acclamation, called for them. This unanimity of sentiment in so manifestly unjust a proceeding, might have been considered a fabrication of Dioscorus, had it not been allowed to pass unquestioned, when the Acts of the Robbers’ Meeting were read at Chalcedon. Dioscorus, after the acclamation, turning to Julius, inquired whether he, as Vicar of the most holy Bishop Leo, also opined for the Acts? We will that they are read on this condition, replied Julius, that the Epistle of the Pope be first heard. “Since”, said Hilarus, “the most holy Bishop of the Roman Church, on a perusal of the documents which ye now desire to hear, has written and sent”—Eutyches interrupted. The Roman Legates were suspected men :—they had lodged with Flavian :—he hoped that their testimony would not be received to his prejudice. Dioscorus insisted that the Acts should be first read, and then the Epistle of Leo: and the notary obeyed. The Acts were interrupted, as was usual, by various exclamations of the Council. The name of S. Cyril having been accidentally mentioned in the memorial presented by Eusebius to Flavian, there was a confused cry. “The memory of Cyril is eternal!”. “Dioscorus and Cyril are of one mind!”. “The Synod believes as Cyril!”. “Anathema to him that adds!”. “Anathema to him that subtracts!”. “Anathema to him that innovates!”. Julian said, “It is the Faith of the Apostolic See”. The Acts of Constantinople included the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, part of the Acts of the First Council of Ephesus, and the Epistle of Cyril to John of Antioch, on the conclusion of the misunderstanding between their Churches. This was brought forward at Constantinople for the purpose of showing that Cyril held, definitely and unreservedly, the doctrine of Two Natures Incarnate : and, as soon as it was finished, Eusebius, Bishop of Berytus, endeavoured to neutralize the effect which it might have produced on the Ephesine Synod. Cyril of blessed memory, he said, had been, by the wise ordering of Divine Providence, misinterpreted in his life, and so compelled to explain what might appear doubtful by what was more clear. Thus, though in the letter recited above, he appeared to allow Two Natures after the union, yet in other Epistles, to Valerian of Iconium, to Acacius of Melitene, to Successus of Diocaesarea, he had used these express words,—“We must not then imagine Two Natures, but One Incarnate

Nature of GOD the WORD". And this statement has the authority, real or fictitious, of S. Athanasius. The reading of the Acts at Constantinople proceeded again, with hardly an interruption, till it came to a question put by Eusebius to Eutyches, in order to press him to declare that Two Natures remain after the Incarnation, and that CHRIST, according to the Flesh, is Consubstantial with us; then the Egyptian Bishops cried out, "Out with Eusebius! burn him! burn him alive! sever him in two! as he divided, let him be divided!". "Will you endure", said Dioscorus, "that Two Natures should be spoken of after the Incarnation?". "Anathema", cried his own Prelates, "to him that shall say so!". "I want your voices and your hands", continued the President : "if any cannot speak, let him stretch out his hand". And the obedient Egyptians again shouted anathema. The remaining Acts of Constantinople having been read, and the proceedings subsequent to the deposition of Eutyches, a conversation ensued as to whether the Acts of the Synod had been falsified. Flavian in vain endeavoured to obtain a hearing: and Dioscorus imperiously called on the Prelates to vote.

It is necessary to bear in mind the state of the Synod. Dioscorus, in the plenitude of his power, openly threatened deprivation and exile to those who should dissent from him : the Imperial troops blocked up every avenue to the church; the thousand monks of Barsumas were ready for any deed of violence; the Parabolani were ready to obey the least nod of their Master. That a sentence thus pronounced was not Canonical, is most certain: it is only marvellous how more than one hundred Prelates could so basely prefer their safety or their Sees to the Truth with which they were entrusted. Somewhat may be said in their favour. Eutyches came before them as the friend of S. Cyril; the archdeacon of S. Cyril presided in the assembly; the words of S. Cyril had just been quoted, "We confess One Nature after the Incarnation" : the case had been prejudged by the Emperor; the Creed of Eutyches might be looked on as not so utterly opposed to that of his opponents; they affirmed that CHRIST was Consubstantial to us, according to the flesh, and he confessed that CHRIST was Incarnate of the Blessed Virgin, and that she was consubstantial to us: this, in a judgment of charity, might be supposed to neutralize the pertinacity of Eutyches in defending One Nature. Partly then terrified, partly ignorant, partly, perhaps, persuaded, the assembled Fathers set their hands to the acquittal of Eutyches, and thus the Monophysite heresy was born in the Church. Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, and Thalassius of Caesarea, led the way in this foul injustice; and, contrary to usual custom, all the Prelates gave their opinions separately, there being no acclamation at the end. The Roman Legates would appear to have opposed the acquittal of Eutyches.

The Protonotary proceeded to inform the Council, that he held in his hands a memorial addressed to it by the Monks who composed the Religious House over which Eutyches had presided. It was found to contain, on being read, a complaint of the injustice suffered by them in common with Eutyches, and a prayer for redress. Their confession of faith was demanded, and declared orthodox, and they were accordingly absolved from all censure.

Dioscorus, having carried this point, determined on a still bolder step. The Acts of the sixth Session of the Council of Ephesus were, at his request, publicly read; and he then demanded, whether those, whose tenets were in opposition to those of that Synod,



or of Nicaea, or who had added anything to, or subtracted anything from them, deserved condemnation or not? The Bishops declared that they deserved condemnation: the legates affirmed the same thing; still, though uselessly, pressing that the letter of Leo might be read to the Council. Dioscorus proceeded, that the Holy Councils of Nicaea and Ephesus had already laid down the Faith; that Flavian and Eusebius had been convicted of adding to the Creed of those Councils, to the subversion of all good order, and the scandal of the faith; and that therefore these two Prelates were deprived of all dignity both Episcopal and Sacerdotal. The whole Council was thrown into an uproar: Flavian exclaimed, “I appeal”: and Hilarus, *Contracticitur*. Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, with several others, threw himself at the feet of Dioscorus, beseeching him to proceed more slowly. “Flavian is deposed”, replied Dioscorus : “were my tongue to be cut out for them, I would say no other words”. And in the meantime, the Bishops went on signing the sentence. Onesiphorus, rendered desperate, urged his request in the strongest language : Dioscorus rising, cried, “Where are the Counts?” A body of armed men rushed in : swords waved, staves fell, and chains clanked, among the Bishops. Barsumas and his herd of followers fell on his opponents, insulting, wounding, and maiming them. The greater part were terrified into subscription : some stood firm till evening, and then yielded ; a few, who were impracticable, were sent into exile. Flavian and Eusebius were thrown into prison: Hilarus escaped. Of all this violence, the Acts, as amended by Dioscorus, say not a word: they give the sentences of the various Prelates in the usual way:—and it is certain that through terror, or by persuasion, many signed, among whom were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, and the thrones of Ephesus and Caesarea. Of the conduct of the Legate Julius, we are not informed : if he did not acquiesce, it is certain that he offered no vigorous resistance. Three days afterwards, Dioscorus caused Domnus of Antioch to be excommunicated in the Council: and on his way home, excommunicated S. Leo himself: causing this latter sentence to be subscribed by the ten Egyptian Bishops whom he had brought with him. From this time the power of the See of Alexandria declined, never to rise again.

When Leo was informed of the result of the Council of Ephesus, for which he waited with anxiety during a long time, as Hilarus was compelled to choose the most circuitous routes for his return, he assembled a Synod at Rome, wherein all its Acts were condemned. He wrote strongly on the conduct of Dioscorus to Theodosius, who paid no great attention to this communication, but requested Leo to communicate with Anatolius, the successor of the deposed Flavian. The latter was dead in banishment, having never recovered the violence of Barsumas: and he is reckoned by the Church among the Martyrs. On the propriety of acceding to the request of Theodosius, S. Leo suspended his judgment, but did not fail to instigate Valentinian, Emperor of the West, to demand the assembling an Ecumenical Council. Shortly after the receipt of this letter, Theodosius departed this life; his sister Pulcheria gave her hand to Marcian, who was forthwith raised to the imperial dignity.

The new Emperor was strictly orthodox: and from the very beginning of his reign determined to repair the faults of his predecessor. A Council was held at Constantinople, in which Anatolius anathematized Eutyches and his adherents, the Pope’s Legates assisting : the body of S. Flavian was translated with all honour to his



own church. Marcian wrote to S. Leo, proposing the convention of an Ecumenical Council: the Pope was not so well inclined to the project, on account of the then disturbed state of the West; but the resolution of the Emperor prevailed. An imperial edict assembled Bishops from all parts of the East, at Nicaea. Legates were despatched by Leo, who also wrote four letters on the subject, two to Marcian, one to Anatolius, and one to the Council. He recommends that no discussion should be allowed on points already ruled in the three Ecumenical Synods: that the Bishops deposed by the second Council, or as it was generally termed, the *Robbers' Meeting* of Ephesus, should be restored to their Sees : and that the greatest lenity should be shown to those who should renounce the Eutylian heresy, and express their sorrow for the past.

### SECTION VI.

#### THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

THE Fathers were assembled at Nicaea, when they received a letter from the Emperor, requesting them to suspend their deliberations till he could be present; and on their soon after representing to him, that this detention from their flocks was extremely inconvenient to them, he requested them to come to Chalcedon, alleging that he could not on account of the threatened attacks of the Huns, absent himself for any time, or to any great distance, from Constantinople.

To Chalcedon, therefore, the Fathers resorted; and found that the church of S. Euphemia, situated at a little distance from the city, and on the borders of the sea, was the place appointed for their meeting. Historians dwell with delight on the ravishing beauty of the prospect. The ground in front, well wooded in some parts, in others laid out in beautiful meadows, or rich with harvests, sloped down to the Propontis : beyond the strait, sometimes like a mirror of glass, sometimes rippling in the wind, rose, with its abbeys, its palaces, and its churches, conspicuous among which were those of the Holy Resurrection and of the Divine Wisdom, the Imperial city of Constantinople: behind was a stately amphitheatre of mountains, clothed with forest trees to the summit. The number of the assembled Fathers was far larger than in any other Ecumenical Council; at Nicaea there had been three hundred and eighteen; at Constantinople, a hundred and fifty; at Ephesus, more than two hundred: but at Chalcedon there were six hundred and thirty. The magistrates, to the number of nineteen, were seated before the Altar rails; on the left, the Catholic Bishops, in order thus : the legates of the Pope, the Thrones of Constantinople, Antioch, Caesarea, and Ephesus : with the Bishops of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. On the opposite side were Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the Bishops of Illyria, Palestine, and Egypt. The Book of the Gospels, symbolising the Presence of the SAVIOUR, was, as at Ephesus, placed in the middle.

The first session took place on the eighth of October, A.D. 451. It was opened by a protest on the part of the legates, that Dioscorus ought not to be admitted to the Council. By the order of the magistrates, the accused Bishop left his place, and seated himself as defendant in the midst of the assembly. Eusebius of Dorylaeum advancing as plaintiff, conjured the Fathers that the memorial which he had drawn up might be read; in it he charged Dioscorus with having violated the Faith of Nicaea, condemned himself and Flavian unjustly, and supported the heresy of Eutyches : it concluded with a demand that the Acts of the Pseudo-Council of Ephesus might be read. Dioscorus at first agreed in this demand; but instantly after urged the previous discussion of the question of Faith. The magistrates, however, decided that the Acts should be read: they were accordingly begun when Theodoret, by the command of the civil authority, took his place in the Council. His entrance gave the signal for an uproar. "Out with the Nestorian!" cried the Egyptian Prelates : "the Faith is violated: Theodoret is banished from the Council by the Canons: long life to the Empress! out with Theodoret, who anathematized Cyril!". "Out with Dioscorus" shouted the Oriental Prelates : "out with the murderer! with the man who summoned the Counts! the man who made us sign a blank paper!". Theodoret stood firm in the midst, and demanded a patient hearing : the magistrates, having with difficulty appeased the tumult, decided that he should be received as a plaintiff: observing that this could in no way violate the rights of the Council. The tumult increased: the magistrates at length composed it by commenting on the want of Episcopal dignity which it involved : and the acts of the Pseudo-Council were read, though not without many interruptions. The Prelates who had signed the deposition of Flavian protested that they had done so through fear : Stephen of Ephesus in particular stated, that the number of soldiers and monks employed in intimidating the assembly was about three hundred : and that he had not been allowed to leave the church, until he subscribed a sheet of blank paper, afterwards attached to the sentence of deposition. All bore witness to the violence of the conduct of Dioscorus; to his refusal to hear the letters of Leo; to the effacing the true Acts of the Council, by breaking the tablets of the notaries of some of the Catholic Bishops. Dioscorus taunted his accusers with their confession of having done through terror that which their conscience disapproved. The Orientals three times confessed their fault, and begged for pardon.

It must be confessed, that however grievous had been the fault, and unwarrantable—even had it been exercised for the Truth—the conduct of Dioscorus, he deserves at least the credit of great courage and presence of mind, and of not having been wanting to himself in his great extremity. During the whole time consumed in the reading of the Acts, he defended himself in every defensible action, put the fairest gloss on his violent demeanour, and turned the confession of his adversaries to the best account. Each succeeding step, however, only served the more clearly to expose his guilt: the creed of Flavian, as exposed in the Council of Ephesus, was found perfectly orthodox, and in conformity with that of S. Cyril; and towards the conclusion of the session, Juvenal of Jerusalem passed over to the side of the Catholic Prelates, amidst loud acclamations: Peter of Corinth followed his example, and was received with shouts of *Peter holds the Faith of Peter* : and he was imitated by the Bishops of Macedonia, and even by some of Egypt. Dioscorus, reduced to despair, exclaimed, "They are condemning the Fathers as well as me; I have passages from Athanasius and from Cyril

which forbid us to speak of Two Natures after the Incarnation". The Acts of Ephesus were continued : Dioscorus, knowing that the conclusion of that Synod would tell more fearfully against him than anything else, remarked that, as it was growing dark, it would be better to postpone the conclusion to another time : the magistrates would not consent; and the Acts were concluded by torch-light.

When they were finished, the Oriental Prelates cried out as one man, "Anathema to Dioscorus! Let the deposer be deposed! Long life to Leo! long life to the Patriarch!". The magistrates announced that the question of the Faith would be examined in another session : and proceed to pronounce sentence to the following effect: That as from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus it appeared that Flavian of blessed memory, and the holy Bishop Eusebius, had been unjustly deposed, it appeared good to themselves, as well-pleasing to GOD, if the Emperor consented, that Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the Bishops of Caesarea, Ancyra, Berytus, and Seleucia, should, as presidents or chief movers of that Council, undergo the same penalty, and be deprived, according to the Canons, of Episcopal dignity. It seems to have been understood, that the deprivation of the five latter Bishops would only, in case of acknowledgment of their fault, be inflicted *pro forma*. The first Session terminated by the reiterated confession of their fault by the Bishops of Illyria, and a confused outburst of exclamations. "Long years to the Senate!". "Holy GOD, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us!". "Long years to the Emperor and Empress!". "CHRIST hath deposed Dioscorus!". "CHRIST hath deposed the homicide!". "GOD hath vindicated His Martyrs!"

At the beginning of the Second, which was held two days afterwards, the question of faith was debated. The creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople were first read,—then the letters of S. Cyril to Nestorius and to John of Antioch : and at the end of each, the Fathers professed their entire acquiescence in its doctrines. After these preliminaries, a Greek Translation of the famous letter of S. Leo to S. Flavian was read, and some exceptions were made to the passages where it states, in strong terms, the doctrine of Two Natures. The parts which gave offence were in the third and fourth sections.

The orthodoxy of these disputed passages was proved by a reference to the works of S. Cyril, in the first two instances by Actius, Archdeacon of Constantinople; and in the third by Theodoret. At the conclusion of the letter, the Fathers exclaimed, "It is the faith of the Apostles! our Creed is the same! Anathema to them that gainsay! S. Peter hath spoken by Leo". Some of the more cautious Prelates, however, requested time for the more careful comparison of this letter with other writings of the Fathers, and in particular with the Twelve Anathemas of S. Cyril : and five days were allowed for this purpose, Anatolius having it in charge to hold public meetings, for the further explanation of Leo's sentiments, and the clearing up any difficulty which might occur to the minds of the more scrupulous or less-informed among the Bishops. The Session ended in confusion. The Eutychianizing party shouted, "The Fathers to the Synod!". "Dioscorus to the Council!". "Dioscorus to the churches!"—Their opponents were equally ready with "Dioscorus to exile!". "The Egyptian to exile!". "He that

communicates with Dioscorus is a Jew!”—Order having been restored by the magistrates, the Session terminated.

The third Session was held three days later: the five days fixed by the magistrates having nothing to do with the judgment of Dioscorus, which was now to come on, but only with the pure question of Faith. The magistrates were not present: and Dioscorus absented himself. Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, opened the Session by informing the Council that Eusebius of Dorylaeum had drawn up a memorial, which he requested might be read. In it he represented the great violence which had been done both to the Canons and to justice, in the deposition of himself and of Flavian, and petitioned the Council that the punishment inflicted on Dioscorus might be signal, to serve as a warning to future offenders. Dioscorus was ordered to attend: Aetius informed the Council that he had already been advertised of its Session, and had promised to come, if his guards would allow him. On this, search was made for him outside the Church, but to no purpose. He was then canonically cited a first time by three Bishops, and refused to come; firstly, on the ground that the guards would not permit him, and secondly, that the magistrates were not present at the Session, as they ought to be, he said, in order that the accusations against him might be fairly examined. A second citation was met by the same excuse, joined to which was a plea of illness. He further inquired if Juvenal and the other deposed Bishops were assisting at the Council: the deputies replied, that on this point they were not instructed to answer.

The Council being acquainted with these proceedings, received, in the next place, a deputation of clerks and of laics from Alexandria, charged with several memorials against Dioscorus. The accusations brought against him were of a very serious character: they included wanton destruction of property, homicide, wilful misappropriation of the Church's goods to his own pleasures, overbearing and cruel conduct to his Priests, and, lastly, an openly licentious life. Nor did the executors of S. Cyril fail to bring forward the hardships and injustice they had suffered at his hands.

Dioscorus was then, for the third and last time, summoned to appear : the citation was in writing : and bore in addition, that if the defendant did not appear, he would be condemned as contumacious. Dioscorus replied, that he had nothing to add to what he had already said, and repeated this answer seven times. On the commissioners' report, the legates pronounced sentence to the following effect: That whereas Dioscorus had been guilty of various excesses, clearly proved to the Council: had admitted to his Communion Eutyches, deprived by his Bishop : had persisted in defending, instead of asking pardon for, his conduct at Ephesus; had excommunicated Pope Leo; and being duly cited thrice, had refused to appear and answer for his misdeeds; therefore the Most Holy Archbishop of Rome, with the Apostle S. Peter, by the Legates, and the assembled Council, adjudged him to be deprived of all Episcopal Dignity, and the sacerdotal office. This sentence was subscribed by the Legates, the Patriarchal Thrones, and the Bishops in order : and with it terminated the third Session of the Council of Chalcedon.

BOOK III.

FROM

THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS

TO

THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE SARACENS.

## SECTION I

### CONSECRATION OF S. PROTERIUS AND RISE OF MONOPHYSITISM.

Dioscorus was duly informed of his deposition on the day that it was pronounced: letters were addressed by the Council to both Emperors, and to Pulcheria, announcing the news: and to those clerks of Alexandria who happened to be at Chalcedon, enjoining them to preserve the goods of their Church, as they would do in case of a vacancy. The fallen Patriarch gave out, that notwithstanding this sentence, he should, in the course of time, be re-established in his throne: the Council, in the public edict, whereby they notified the event to the people of Constantinople and Chalcedon, asserted that the thing was impossible.

In the fourth Session, which was held four days later, seven days having now been given instead of five for the consideration of the letter of Leo, it was again read in the presence of the magistrates. The Legates, Patriarchs, and Exarchs, expressed their acquiescence in its tenets; the Bishops of Illyria, who had demurred to some passages, informed the Council that their doubts had been satisfied by the Legates: and those of Palestine did the same. The letter was then approved generally by the Council: and thus became part and parcel of Catholic teaching. As soon as this matter had been settled, a tumultuous cry arose, "Restore the Fathers to the Council! they are Catholic! long life to the Emperor! long life to the Empress!". The Fathers, whose restoration was thus petitioned for, were, of course, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the four other Bishops who had been deposed with Dioscorus in the first Session, but who had always, though yielding to temptation, retained the Catholic Faith in their hearts, and now with deep penitence acknowledged their fault. The magistrate replied that the will of the Emperor must be known, and some hours were spent in waiting for his reply. The messenger crossed and re-crossed the strait with the greatest expedition: and the answer which Marcian returned, left the Council at liberty to pursue their own course with respect to the five Bishops, only reminding them that for their treatment of those Prelates they must one day render account to GOD. Anatolius exclaimed, "Let them enter", and the voice of the Council was unanimous. As soon as they had taken their places, the usual shouts were heard, "Long life to the Emperor! to the Empress! to the Magistrates! Long continuance to the unity of the Church!"

Thirteen Egyptian Bishops were then introduced, and took their places. Speaking by the mouth of Hieraces, Bishop of Aphaeum, in Augustamnica Prima, they expressed their perfect adherence to the Catholic Faith, and their willingness to anathematize whoever should infringe it, whether Eutyches or any other. But, they continued, the Council of Nicaea decreed, that the whole of Egypt should follow the Archbishop of Alexandria: and that no Bishop should do anything without him. The Episcopal Legate



of the Pope spoke unkindly and disparagingly, as if Bishops, grown old in their Sees, could not pronounce for themselves on the Catholic Faith; Eusebius of Dorylaeum flatly denied what they said, and the whole Council pressed them to subscribe Leo's letter, on pain of excommunication. The thirteen Bishops threw themselves on the ground, and cried, "Have pity on us! have mercy on our grey hairs! if we return to our own country, after infringing the Canons of Nicaea, we shall assuredly be slain: Anatolius knows that we speak the truth: we do not desire to disobey the Council: for GOD'S sake spare men whose lives are in your hands: give us our Archbishop, and prove if we will not comply: elect him at once; we will wait at Constantinople till he is appointed". The magistrates remarked, that what they said was reasonable: and they were permitted to stay quietly at Constantinople till a new Patriarch should be appointed for Alexandria: first, on the suggestion of one of the Legates, giving hail for their appearance, when required.

Neither on the fifth Session, wherein the Roman Legates so remarkably overruled the decision of the Synod, by inducing them to pronounce that CHRIST was not only of, but in two Natures, nor on the succeeding ten have we any occasion to dwell. It is only necessary to observe that the Second Dignity was, in the last two Sessions, confirmed to the Church of Constantinople, in spite of the opposition of the Legates: and that this Canon, as we have already had occasion to observe, was afterwards forced on Rome itself.

At the conclusion of the Council, Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia: and four of the Bishops whom he had brought with him to Chalcedon sailed to Alexandria, with the Emperor's mandate for the election of another Patriarch. They found that the decision of the Council was received with the greatest indignation in Egypt: that the people were resolute against receiving another Patriarch during the life-time of Dioscorus; and that their own motions were watched with great dislike and suspicion. At length, Proterius, Arch-Priest of the Church of Alexandria, was elected to fill the vacant throne: the people being the more willing to receive him, as having been left by Dioscorus in charge of the Church. But many still continued to consider Dioscorus as their rightful Patriarch: a sedition arose: the heretics attacked and routed the magistrates and their troops: besieged them in what had formerly been the temple of Serapis, whither they had escaped for refuge, and burnt them alive in it. A body of soldiers, sent by Marcian to quell the tumult, who reached Alexandria in the extraordinarily short time of six days, though successful in restoring order to the city, behaved so insolently, as to alienate still more completely the minds of the inhabitants from their rightful Patriarch: and during the whole of his Episcopate, Proterius could never consider himself in safety without a guard of soldiers.

The schism, thus begun, continues, as is well known, to the present day: the followers of Dioscorus far outnumbering the Catholics of Egypt. The former are generally known by the name of Jacobites; the latter, by that of Melchites. To enter into the origin of these appellations, and into the general history of the sect, will tend to explain the future progress of our history.

It may well be believed that Dioscorus, in his exile at Gangra, ceased not to spread his heresy by all the means in his power. But he only survived the Council two

years and a few months: and we find S. Leo, in a letter bearing date December 6, 454, expressing his hope that, with the death of the heresiarch, the heresy would die. Such, however, was not the case. The murderer Barsumas, who had been condemned at Chalcedon, returned into Syria, and there propagated his heresy: his disciple Samuel carried it into Armenia: it took deep root in Alexandria and Ethiopia: but its greatest propagator was Jacobus Baratheus, or Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa, who flourished a century later than Dioscorus. This man possessed considerable talents and unwearied energy, and from him the series of Monophysite Patriarchs of the East may be said to have had its rise. From him also the name of Jacobite was assumed: though writers of that sect affirm it to have had its origin from James, the LORD'S brother.

The appellation of Melchites, or followers of the King, was fixed on the Catholics as a term of reproach by their opponents: by way of implying that their reception of the Council of Chalcedon was merely in compliment to the Emperor Marcian. The term, however, was never objected to by the orthodox: and by their own writers is employed to designate the Catholics even before the time of the Fourth Ecumenical Council. It caused them much trouble under the Muhammadan tyranny: the Jacobites rendered the Caliphs suspicious of the Melchites, as friendly to the Eastern Emperors: and this constant habit of dependence on Constantinople has not, it must be confessed, been without disastrous consequences to the Egyptian Catholics. Not only did it cause them voluntarily to resign their claim to be the Second Church, out of complaisance to the Emperors: but it has gradually introduced among them the rites and ceremonies of Constantinople, and destroyed all those national peculiarities, which the Jacobites retain, and with the loss of which they taunt their opponents, and stigmatize them as foreigners and intruders.

No heresy has ever been divided into more sects than the Monophysite. But two grand divisions include the whole. Pure Eutychianism was the heresy of Barsumas and of his disciple Samuel: Monophysitism, that of Dioscorus and his followers. The former asserted that the Divinity was the sole Nature in CHRIST: whence it followed that his Body was not Consubstantial to our own, but a mere phantasma; and this was the extreme tenet of the Phantasiasts. The latter hold that, as body and soul make one man, so the Divinity and Humanity make up one compound Nature in CHRIST. Egypt was always Monophysite; Armenia, always Eutychian; and the Armenian Church symbolized its heresy by forbidding the till then universal practice of mingling water with wine in the Chalice. But Syria fluctuated between the two forms of heresy; and after at first receiving that of Barsumas, was, chiefly by the efforts of Severus of Antioch, and Jacobus Baradreus himself, drawn into that of the Monophysites. The Jacobites are willing to anathematize Eutyches and his adherents. The Liturgy which goes by the name of Dioscorus, expressly denies this heresy. The Priest, immediately before the consecration, is ordered to say:—"Who, when He beheld our race ruined, and spoiled by the spiritual lion, sent the Only Begotten GOD for its salvation: Who, Incarnate by the Holy GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, and that by a carnal, and not phantastical nativity, became in verity the Son of Man".

Of the names of the unhappy sects into which Monophysitism has subdivided itself, we shall hereafter be compelled to speak more at length. The usual names of the

extreme sections were Eutychianists, from their author: Phantasiasts and Docetae, from their attributing to CHRIST only an apparent humanity;—those of the more moderate faction, Dioscorians; Severians, from Severus, the celebrated Patriarch of Antioch; Timotheans, from Timothy the Cat; Theodosians, from Theodosius of Alexandria.

Of Eutychians, the Julianists, who were also called Gaianites, (the first from Julian of Halicarnassus, the latter from Gaianus of Alexandria,) held that the Body of CHRIST was incorruptible, i.e. not only not subject to decay, but not obnoxious to the usual wear and reparation of human frames. They called their opponents Phartolatrae and Ctistolatae,—worshippers of the corruptible, and creature worshippers. Severus of Antioch wrote a work against them, which is extant in MS., and besides Docetae and Phantasiasts, they were also named Aphthartodocetae and Manicheans. They split into three sects. One held (by a dogma which appears unintelligible,) that the Body of CHRIST was not only Incorruptible, but from the moment of the Immaculate Conception, uncreated: the second, that it was Incorruptible, but not uncreated: the third, that it was not Incorruptible essentially, but preserved so by the indwelling virtue of the Word. We meet with a Patriarch of the Julianists as late as AD 798, but the dogma is now extinct, except so far as its general type is preserved among the Armenians.

The Theopaschites had their rise from Peter the Fuller, and attributed the Passion to the Divinity, as Acacias of Melitene *is said* to have done when forming one of the Commission at Chalcedon. Peter was the author of the celebrated addition to the Trisagion, *You That was crucified for us*,—which, however, has been used by Catholics, and does not prove its deviser to have been involved in that peculiar error of his sect.

The Severians interpreted the works of that Bishop differently as to some doctrinal points, from the rest of the Monophysites. They were divided into nine sects, of which none attained much notoriety except the Agnoites. These were so named from their distinguishing tenet, that, while the WORD was Omniscient, the Human soul hypostatically united to Him was ignorant of much. Of other sects we shall have occasion to speak incidentally.

The Jacobite heresy, taken in its largest sense, comprises three Patriarchates: those of Alexandria, the East or Antioch, and Armenia. But the latter is not in Communion with the other two: though at various times a reconciliation has taken place. Under the Patriarch of Alexandria is the Metran of Abyssinia: under him of Antioch, the Maphrian, or Primate of the East. But we have already had occasion to dwell on this subject in our Introduction, to which, therefore, we refer the reader.

As a ready acquaintance with the principal sects of the Jacobites is requisite to a clear understanding of Alexandrian History, the following table may be found useful. It is impossible to observe any very strict accuracy in such a scheme, from the perpetual variation of names:—Severians, for example, sometimes signifying the professedly stricter followers of Severus, sometimes the whole body of Syrian Jacobites: Acephali, in like manner, properly meaning those who rejected the Henoticon of Zeno, but being also applied to Monophysites in general.

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|           |                                    |                  |                         |  |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--|
|           | Eutychianists=Armenians            |                  |                         |  |
|           | Phantasiasts.                      |                  |                         |  |
|           | Docetae                            |                  |                         |  |
|           | Julianists                         |                  |                         |  |
|           | Garanites                          |                  |                         |  |
| Eutyches  |                                    | Antropomorphites |                         |  |
|           | Acephali                           | Barsanuphites    |                         |  |
|           |                                    | Esaianists       |                         |  |
|           | Theopaschites                      |                  |                         |  |
|           |                                    |                  | Agnoites=Themistans     |  |
|           |                                    |                  | Condobaudites           |  |
|           | Monophysites                       |                  | Paulianists             |  |
|           | Dioscorians                        |                  | Damianites=Angelites    |  |
| Dioscorus | Severians                          |                  | Cononites               |  |
|           | Timotheans                         |                  | Tritheites=Philoponians |  |
|           | Theodosians                        |                  | Serianites              |  |
|           | Diacrinomeni ( <i>Hesitaters</i> ) |                  | Petrites                |  |

|  |  |  |          |  |
|--|--|--|----------|--|
|  |  |  | Niobites |  |
|--|--|--|----------|--|

The orthodoxy of Proterius, as having been a disciple of Dioscorus, was at first suspected by Leo: he was therefore the more gratified, on receiving the usual letter, announcing the Consecration of the new Patriarch, to find that his tenets were strictly Catholic: that the name of Dioscorus had been removed from the diptychs, and the Council of Chalcedon inserted therein. His reply was in the most friendly strain: he exhorted Proterius to bring back the heretics by convincing them that his Faith was the same with that of S. Athanasius, Theophilus, and S. Cyril: “as a means to which”, he continues, “you will do well to read to them in the first place the works of those Fathers, and in the second, my own letter to Flavian, pointing out the perfect unanimity which exists between them”.

Proterius was at this time engaged in a work of a different kind. According to the cycle of Theophilus of Alexandria, then used by the Church, Easter, in the following year, fell on the twenty-fourth of April. We are perfectly aware, at the present day, that by an extreme case, it may fall as late as the twenty-fifth; but at that time it was believed that the twenty-first was the limit. S. Leo consulted the See of Alexandria on the subject, and Proterius proved at length that Theophilus was right. His authority, however, does not seem to have carried conviction to Leo, who yielded the point rather from a love of peace, than from a belief in the correctness of the calculation. To prevent such difficulties for the future, Victorius, a Gaul, domiciled at Rome, invented his famous cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years; and his computation was afterwards generally used by the Roman Church. Thenceforward the Paschal Homilies of the Bishops of Alexandria began to fall into disuse.

But Proterius found that the difficulties arising from the divided state of his Church, daily increased. Some of the Bishops who had been at Chalcedon were a thorn in his side, and a more formidable adversary arose than even these. This was Timothy, surnamed Elurus, or the Cat, an Alexandrian Priest, who separated himself, in company with a few Bishops and Monks, from the Communion of his Patriarch, and began to hold assemblies apart, and to speak against the Council of Chalcedon. Proterius convened a Synod of his Bishops, and anathematized them: and the ringleaders were, by order of the government, sent into exile. Undismayed by this punishment of his companions, Timothy visited by night the cells of the Monks, and informed them from the outside that he was an Angel sent from Heaven, to exhort them to forsake the Communion of Proterius, and to elect Timothy, that is himself, Patriarch in his stead. By these means, he perverted many simple monks, and probably procured for himself the surname of the Cat. On the death of Marcian, whose vigour of government was no less remarkable than his orthodoxy of Faith, he collected a body of disorderly monks and desperadoes, seized the great church of the Caesarea, and was consecrated Patriarch by two of the Bishops whom the Council of Alexandria had condemned, and whom the Emperor had exiled. The Governor had been absent from the city: on his return, he was

made acquainted with the riot: and finding that Timothy was out of Alexandria, he forbade his return. Infuriated at this edict, the partizans of Timothy assaulted the house of the Patriarch. Proterius fled to the neighboring church, and took refuge in the Baptistery, thinking that the holiness of the place, and of the season, (for it was Good Friday) would protect him. But he was mistaken. The heretics burst in, respecting neither his grey hairs, nor the devotions in which he was engaged; a soldier pierced his body with a sword,—the mob transfixed it with sharp reeds, exposed it in a place called Tetracylon, dragged it with insults round the city, tore it in pieces, burned it, and scattered its ashes in the sea.

No sooner was the death of Proterius known to the Church Universal than he began to be regarded as a glorious Martyr; and is justly reckoned among the Saints. A proof of the estimation in which he was long afterwards held in the Western Church occurs in the instructions of S. Atto of Verceil, who recommends the works of S. Proterius, (then extant,) among those of other Fathers, as profitable for his Clergy. “And therefore”, as Baronius well says, “though the fury of popular licence slew, dishonored, burnt, scattered the poor ashes of the Martyr, erased his name from the diptychs, and would fain have destroyed its memory, far more secure are those brazen tablets wherein the name of S. Proterius is written in Heaven: while on earth not one land alone, but every Church pays it merited and annual honors: knowing that he who bore it was graced with the robes of a Pontiff, beautified with the purple of a Martyr, and now hath his part with the Blessed Apostles in Glory everlasting”.

Timothy then entered the city boldly, and took upon himself all the functions of Patriarch. He paid his followers from the wealth of the Church, thus depriving the poor of their subsistence; he pillaged the private estate of Proterius; he dispatched the few Bishops who supported him into different parts of Egypt to spoil and to persecute; he advanced heretics in place of the aged Bishops consecrated by Theophilus and S. Cyril; he burnt the Pontifical Chairs used, and cleansed the Altars hallowed by Proterius.

The news of these enormities soon reached Rome; and we have several letters of S. Leo on the subject. The first (dated June 1, 457) is to Julian of Constantinople, on certain indistinct rumors of popular disturbances at Alexandria:—on the eleventh of July, when precise intelligence had reached Rome, we find the Pope writing to the new Emperor Leo, to Julian of Constantinople, and to Anatolius of Constantinople: and again, on the first of September, to Leo, to Basil, Patriarch of Antioch, and to the Bishops of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Dyrrachium.

Several Egyptian Bishops sought refuge at Constantinople from the persecution of Timothy; and presented a memorial to Leo, drawn up in the name of all the Prelates of Egypt and Clerks of Alexandria. In it they relate at length the outrages of the intruder, demand his deposition and exile, remind the Emperor of the promise with which he had begun his reign, to support the Catholic Faith, pray for a canonical election of a new Patriarch, and conclude by promising that in case another Ecumenical Council, which the heretics loudly demanded, should be thought necessary, they would fearlessly come before it. Timothy, for his part, sent a deputation to Constantinople, who presented a memorial wherein he and his party declared their inviolable attachment to the Councils



of Nicaea and Ephesus, and their rejection of that under Flavian at Constantinople, and that of Chalcedon.

This memorial had no signatures, because the number of the heretical Prelates was so small, that they were unwilling to proclaim their own weakness; the Catholic document was signed by fourteen, four Priests, and four Deacons. A similar memorial was presented to Anatolius of Constantinople; and it is worthy of notice, that no application seems to have been made to Rome.

The Emperor Leo was unwilling to summon the Bishops to another Ecumenical Council, on account of the fatigue, and separation from their flocks to which it exposed them. Instead of this he sent a full account of the late proceedings in Egypt to the Patriarchates and other principal Sees, desiring the assembly of provincial Synods, and a report of their sentiments on the matter in question. Among others who were consulted, S. Symeon Stylites, whose extraordinary life on the summit of a pillar rendered him the object of great veneration, held a conspicuous place; and his answer had no small weight on the Catholic side. The replies of the Metropolitans were all in favor of the Council of Chalcedon, and in condemnation of the election of Timothy, with one exception only—Amphilochius of Side, and he, while condemning the Synod, also condemned the intrusion of the Egyptian Patriarch. Of these replies we have thirty-six, exclusive of the last; and most of them are signed by several Bishops.

Fortified with having again, though in a less satisfactory manner, taken the sense of the Church Catholic on the disputed points, Leo wrote to Stylas, the commander of the forces at Alexandria, to drive Elurus from that city. The latter came to Constantinople, professed himself a Catholic, and then demanded to be reinstated in his See, as if he had only been driven from it on account of his heretical doctrine. This was prevented by S. Leo, who remarked in a letter to the Emperor, that however pure the faith of Alums might be, the enormity of his crimes was sufficient to exclude him forever from the Episcopate. The wretched intruder was shortly after banished to the Chersonese, under a good guard.

In the meantime, supported by the secular arm, the Catholics of Alexandria proceeded to the election of a new Bishop.

The result of their choice was Timothy Salofaciolus, or the White, called also Asbus, and Basilicus, a monk of Canopus, and a man of great gentleness and amiability of character. The letters which passed between this Patriarch and S. Leo evince perfect harmony of feeling, and the afflicted Church of Alexandria began to recover itself. The last three letters of S. Leo are addressed respectively to Timothy, to the Clergy of Alexandria, and to the Bishops of Egypt, congratulating them on his elevation, and exhorting to unity. They were written about eight months before the death of that great defender of the truth.

The first fifteen years of the Episcopate of Timothy the White were profoundly quiet: the death of Leo and succession of Zeno caused no disturbance; nor was it till the crimes of the latter caused him to leave Constantinople for fear of assassination, and

Basiliscus assumed the purple, that any new trouble arose. Basiliscus himself probably cared no more for one form of religion than for another; but the Empress Zenodia was a determined Eutychian, and influenced her husband in his interference with Church affairs.

The Monophysites of Alexandria, imagining that now (AD 476) was a favorable conjuncture for the promotion of their interests, sent deputation to Basiliscus, to set forth that Elurus had been unjustly banished, and to request his recall. The Emperor consented: and Timothy made his public entrance into Constantinople in great state. He was mounted on an ass; and the people before him profanely exclaimed, "Blessed be he that comes in the Name of the Lord". The procession, however, did not conclude without an untoward accident: the animal on which Elurus was mounted, fell, and dislocated the foot of its rider. All the enemies of the Council of Chalcedon began boldly to appear; Elurus was well received by the Emperor, who was guided by his advice.

A circumstance at this time happened, which proves the truth of what we lately stated, concerning the difference between the tenets of the Eutychians and those of the Jacobites. Some Eutychian Monks at Constantinople took the opportunity of presenting themselves to Elurus, and requesting to be received to his Communion; but were shocked on discovering that he confessed the SAVIOR to be Consubstantial to us according to the Flesh. It is highly probable that up to this time the Egyptian Monophysites had never made this confession: and it is not unlikely that Alurus made it rather as matter of expediency than with hearty consent. For he knew that Dioscorus, whom he professed to honor as a Confessor, would never have agreed in it; but he also knew that although his party was then prevalent, his enemies at Constantinople were very numerous and strong, and close observers of all his actions; and he was aware that the writings of that S. Cyril whom all his faction claimed as the great pillar of their heresy, were decisive as to the Consubstantiality of our LORD according to the Flesh with ourselves, and therefore dared not to deny it. It is a *prima-facie* evidence of the falseness of the Jacobite Creed, that with such miserable duplicity they at once embrace tenets anathematized by the first teacher of their doctrine, and yet hold him for their master, and honor him as a Saint.

Basiliscus, by the advice of Elurus, published a circular letter, in which he professed the faith of the three Ecumenical Councils, and rejected that of Chalcedon. This was signed by Peter the Fuller, the intruded Patriarch of Antioch, Anastasius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Elurus himself: in addition to whom it was subscribed by nearly five hundred Bishops. Simplicius of Rome and Acacius of Constantinople constantly refused to agree to it.

Elurus, having thus assisted in the promotion of the general interests of his party, sailed for Alexandria, by way of Ephesus, to which city, in revenge for the opposition he had experienced from Acacius of Constantinople, and to mark his contempt for the Council of Chalcedon, he restored its Exarchal rights; an arrangement which had no permanent effect. Timothy's arrival in his See was the signal for the flight of Salofaciolus. He retired to his monastery of Canopus; his personal character had so

endeared him to the people, that his enemies would not venture to persecute him. There arose, however, a fresh schism between the heretics. The reception which Elurus had given to the Eutychian Monks of Constantinople, and his persisting in the Confession of Faith which he had then made, gave occasion to several pure Eutychians to separate themselves from his Communion.

Basiliscus's reign was of short continuance, for Zeno returned to Constantinople after an absence of twenty months. The usurper abdicated the throne; and trusting to the mercy of the conqueror, was starved to death. Zeno, though his private character remained as worthless as ever, showed himself at this period well-disposed to the Council of Chalcedon: and expressed his firm determination of driving from the Sees the heretical Bishops intruded during the reign of his predecessor. Pope Simplicius urged him more particularly to deliver Alexandria from the oppression of Timothy Elurus, by sending him into banishment. An imperial edict was issued for the purpose, but the Governor represented to Zeno that this Prelate was now in extreme old age; that a few months more must terminate his life; and that the odium which would attach to his exile might more than counterbalance the evil arising from his stay. He was accordingly permitted to remain at Alexandria till his death, which took place shortly afterwards, and the time of which he foretold; as he easily might do, if, as it appears probable, he poisoned himself. With respect to his character, there can be but one opinion. Even the more moderate of Jacobite authors, such as Elmacinus, are compelled to allow him to have been in all respects worthy of detestation and abhorrence.

His death did not end the schism; Peter, surnamed Moggus, or Mongus, a Priest of Alexandria, and a very able defender of his heresy, was chosen in his place, and, it is said, was ordained by one Bishop only. The Emperor was indignant at the boldness of the Monophysite party, and sent orders to Anthemius, Governor of Egypt, to put the intruder to death, to punish those who had elected and consecrated him, and to re-establish Salofaciolus in the Patriarchal Throne. But by the kindness of Salofaciolus, Mongus was only banished, and a deputation waited on Zeno from the Patriarch to thank him for his interference. The gentleness however which had endeared him to his people seems in his old age to have degenerated into feebleness and indecision; for, after his return, he allowed the name of Dioscorus to be recited in the diptychs. Of this Pope Simplicius very properly complained; and Timothy satisfied him, asking pardon for his fault. It was probably this action which induced Eutychius, the Catholic, but inaccurate historian of Alexandria, to reckon Salofaciolus among the heretics. Peter Mongus would have been capitally punished, had it not been for the intercession of his rival; and so amiable was the character of the latter, that even the Jacobites exclaimed, "Though we communicate not with thee, we cannot help loving thee". And when Mongus made his public entry into Alexandria, his partizans saluted his rival with acclamations, "You has fed your enemies, O Pope!" "True", replied the old man, "I have fed them".

In the sixth year of his return, Salofaciolus fell sick; and finding that the disease was mortal, sent a deputation to Zeno, at the head of which was John Talaia, one of his principal Clergy. Its object was to procure the Emperor's leave for a free election of the next Patriarch, with the sole stipulation that he should be chosen from among the

Catholic Clerks of Alexandria, and ordained by Catholic Bishops. The Emperor received the deputies graciously, complied with their request, and in the letter which he gave them by way of reply, spoke strongly in praise of John. Shortly after their return to Alexandria, Timothy Salofaciolus departed this life in peace (AD 482).

### SECTION II.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF JOHN TALAIA

JOHN TALAIA was elected his successor by the unanimous voice of the Clergy and people. An unfortunate mistake gave rise to a serious misunderstanding with Acacias of Constantinople, which led to disastrous consequences. Talaia took care to inform the Sees of Rome and Antioch, by the usual synodal letter, of his Consecration; and fully intended to have paid the same compliment to that of Constantinople. But, having been in habits of close intimacy with Illus, an officer of some influence at court, he thought that his letters would be received with more favor, both by the Emperor and the Patriarch, if they came through him. They were therefore consigned to the care of a trusty messenger, and sent under cover to Illus; the messenger himself being apparently ignorant of their contents. Illus was at Antioch; and to Antioch the letters were carried. Before they could reach their destination, Acacias had heard from another source of the election of Talaia ; and was highly indignant at the slight put upon himself. It happened that there was then at Constantinople, Gennadius, Bishop of Hermopolis the Less, a relation of Salofaciolus, who had been charged by him, in conjunction with Talaia, with the office of his Apocrisarius to Acacius. Gennadius conceived himself to have been slighted by Talaia, and therefore willingly assisted Acacius in the invention of some pretext for his deposition. They devised two accusations: the first, that the name of Dioscorus had been reinserted in the diptychs by the advice of Talaia: the second, that Talaia had taken an oath, when on his last embassy at Constantinople, that he would never take any steps for securing his election to the Chair of S. Mark. Whether such an oath was ever taken by him is doubtful: but if it were, his conduct in accepting of the dignity, when freely proffered him, can by no means brand him with the guilt of perjury. These calumnies, however, were amply sufficient for the accomplices; and on their advice, Zeno wrote to Pope Simplicius, informing him that John, as a perjured man, was unworthy of the See of Alexandria; and that it appeared best, for the promotion of unity, and composure of the present unhappy discords, to allow Mongus to be restored to that Chair. For Mongus had, by his agents, been practicing on Acacius; and the latter, once a firm supporter of the Faith of Chalcedon, was now ready, as the event proved, to fall into heresy. The answer of Simplicius was sensible and well weighed; that while John lay under so grievous a charge as that of perjury, he would never confirm his ordination to Alexandria, however Catholic were his profession of Faith; but the return of a heretic convicted, like Mongus, was not for a moment to be

allowed. If he repented truly for his past conduct, that might be sufficient to procure him the Communion of the Church, but could never entitle him to any, much less to so considerable a dignity amongst its rulers.

Zeno was indignant at this opposition, and determined to pay no attention to it. Talaia was driven from Alexandria, at his command, by the Governor: and, as he never returned, we may finish his history in this place. He betook himself first to Antioch, where he was furnished with Synodal letters by the Patriarch Calandion, and thence to Rome, where he was favourably received by Pope Simplicius, who exerted himself greatly in procuring his re-establishment; but all to no purpose. Felix, the successor of Simplicius, gave the Church of Nola in Campania to Talaia. He held it several years, and died there peaceably, though the precise period of his decease is not known. With Talaia, the Catholic succession of Alexandrian Bishops ceased for nearly sixty years.

### SECTION III

#### THE SEE VACANT

BY the advice of Acacius, Zeno, before allowing Mongus to resume his episcopal functions, issued his famous Henoticon, decree for Unity, the fruitful source of much subsequent division and trouble. It was addressed to the Bishops and Faithful in Alexandria, Libya, Egypt, and Pentapolis, and commanded the reception of the decrees of the first three Councils, and of those alone, confessing the Consubstantiality of the SON of GOD to us, according to the Flesh, but anathematizing all who, whether at Chalcedon or elsewhere, divided or confounded the Natures, and principally Nestorius, Eutyches, and their followers. This decree was so much the more dangerous, by how much its first appearance was fair; but its rejection of the Council of Chalcedon as an Ecumenical Synod, and its hypothetical attribution of errors to it, rendered it impossible for any Catholic to subscribe to, or be directed by, it.

Acacius set the example of communicating with all who would receive it, even though they had previously been heretics, as was the case with the apocrisiarius of Peter Mongus. The latter, in company with Pergamius, the new Prefect of Egypt, sailed for Alexandria, with the Henoticon, which they promised that Mongus should acknowledge; and on their bare word his name was inserted in the diptychs at Constantinople.

Mongus made no difficulty in receiving the edict; and communicated with all who would follow his example, whether hitherto they had been reckoned Monophysites or Catholics. But he went farther than the chiefs of his party wished. He publicly anathematized the letter of S. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. He disinterred the

body of Salofaciolus; he inserted in the diptychs the names of Dioscorus and of Alurus. Acacius was much perplexed at this headstrong conduct of his partizan: Mongus assured him that reports were exaggerated; and both to him and to Simplicius asserted his approval of the faith of Chalcedon. He thus equally disgusted the Catholics and the consistent Monophysites; and the unhappy Church of Alexandria was, by the conduct of one wicked man, rent into three divisions. The first of these were the Catholics, weakened and persecuted, but still holding their regular assemblies, and known by the name of Proterians; the second, the followers of Mongus; the third, the pure Eutychians. The last were termed Acephali, or Headless, as having separated themselves from the communion of their Patriarch. The Acephali themselves were split into many parties. Of these, the earliest was occasioned by the arrival of Esaias, a Deacon of Palestine, with episcopal consecration derived, as he said, from the Bishop Eusebius. He was followed by many, who from him were called Esaiianites: but others asserted that the hand of Eusebius, when dead, had been laid by others on the head of Esaias, and therefore turned front him with horror. Another sect was that of the Barsanuphites, so called from one Barsanuphius, who pretended, though it would seem falsely, to have received episcopal consecration. The old heresy of the Anthropomorphites reappeared, or rather, perhaps, revived. There was, lastly, an extraordinary schism, hearing the name of Semidalites: they had no succession of Priests, and in order to partake of the Holy Eucharist, they scraped a few crumbs of some of the Bread consecrated by Dioscorus into a vessel of meal, and considered the loaf so baked as consecrated. The Jacobite authors reckon up as many as ten of these miserable sects: they continued, the schism of a schism, for more than two hundred years; but were at length, in great part, brought back to the Jacobite body by Alexander, the fortythird Patriarch of that communion. So wretchedly was the Church of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril divided.

Mongus, having obtained the summit of his ambition, began a cruel persecution of the Catholics. Not Alexandria alone, but the whole of Egypt was involved in it: the representations of the Government, though the Emperor despatched officers on purpose, were despised and rejected; Clerks, Monks, and Laics were subjected to the most grievous maltreatment if they would not receive the edict of the Emperor. Pope Simplicius, by letter, declared his disapprobation of the proceedings of Acacius, and Pope Felix, his successor, sent two legates to Constantinople, with instructions to demand the acknowledgment of the Council of Chalcedon, the banishment of Mongus, and a reply from Acacius to a memorial which Talaia had presented against him. But the legates proved faithless to their trust: they were thrown into prison, and threatened with death, if they would not communicate with Peter Mongus and with Acacius. Yielding to the influence of terror, they appeared in public with Acacius, acknowledged Mongus as the rightful occupant of the Chair of Alexandria, and communicated with his apocrisarii. The Pope, justly indignant, summoned a Council at Rome; in which, after deposing and excommunicating, his legates, and anathematizing Mongus, he proceeded to the further step of excommunicating Acacius. But during the life-time of the latter no advance was made to unity.

His successor, Flavitas or Fravitas, was better inclined. He requested, in his synodal letter, for the Communion of Rome: but as his deputies were not instructed to



promise that the names of Acacius and Mongus should be erased from the diptychs, they were not instantly admitted to communion by Felix; and before the affair could be arranged, Flavitas died suddenly, and was succeeded by a Catholic Priest, Euphemius. He had, however, sent a synodal letter to Mongus, and Mongus, in his reply, anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. This document coming into the hands of Euphemius, he excommunicated the Bishop of Alexandria; and Councils would have been assembled by the rival Prelates, had not death cut the projects and the violence of Mongus short. He survived Flavitas not many months; and in the autumn of the year 490 went to his own place.

Mongus had been a laborious writer; and his works were long preserved in the Monastery of S. Macarius. A few fragments only remain to us, and our loss is probably very small. The Syrian Jacobites have a liturgy which bears the name of Mongus. Of this, however, the Copts know nothing.

The Catholics appear to have been too much dispersed and dispirited to attempt the election of a Bishop; and Athanasius, the parish-, or to adopt the term in use at Rome, the Cardinal-, Priest of one of the Alexandrian churches, was unanimously elected Patriarch. At the beginning of his episcopate he labored for the uniting of the Catholics and heretics: he contented himself with urging subscription to the Unitive, and was willing to leave the question of the Council of Chalcedon untouched. But we may perhaps be allowed to trace the hand of Providence in the manner whereby the Catholics were delivered from the snare into which the gentleness of the new Patriarch might probably have led them. The Acephali were indignant with, and refused their communion to, Athanasius, on two accounts: the one, that he did not openly anathematize the Council of Chalcedon; the other, that he did not erase the name of Mongus from the diptychs. A deputation from both the Acephali and the friends of the Patriarch waited on the Emperor: but the result was that matters were left on the same footing as before. The four Sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, were now in Communion, on the strength of a subscription to the Unitive; Rome alone stood forth as the Guardian of the Faith. But in his synodal letters to Palladius of Antioch, Athanasius virtually anathematized the Faith of Chalcedon: and the breach between himself and the Egyptian Catholics was thus happily made irreconcilable. Pope Gelasius did not cease to fight the battle of John Talaia and the Church of Alexandria, in letters both to the Emperor and to Euphemius of Constantinople: but his endeavors were to no purpose; and Athanasius, having held the See seven years, departed this life in peace (Sept. AD 497). Although a heretic, he is not for a moment to be classed with his predecessor; and his liberality and other virtues have given him a place among the Coptic Saints. He is generally known by the name of Celites; and is said to have built many new churches in Alexandria.

His successor was John, surnamed Hemula, by others Mela. Like his predecessor, he at first carefully abstained from condemning the Council of Chalcedon: and indeed there is reason to doubt whether he ever did so: but he took an active part in continuing the schism between the East and the West. The Emperor Anastasius was of the party of the Acephali, and persecuted the Catholics, more especially Macedonius of Constantinople. In a conversation which the apocrisiarii of John at Constantinople, (of

whom one was Dioscorus, his future successor), held with the legates of Pope Anastasius II, then in the same city, for the purpose of healing, if possible, the schism, they presented a memorial, a Latin Translation of which we still possess. In this they state that the rise of the present troubles must be dated from a mis-translation by Theodoret of Cyrus and his party, of the famous letter of S. Leo to S. Flavian; in which words had been so changed, and phrases so turned, as to render it, in fact, an advocate for the heresy of Nestorius, a heresy peculiarly hateful to the people of Alexandria, from the veneration and love with which they regarded the memory of S. Cyril: that the dislike which the Egyptians had exhibited to this mistranslation had been the cause why the Roman Pontiff, imagining their objections to lie against the genuine document, had suspended them from his Communion; that the Church of Alexandria had sent legates to that of Rome, charged with full instructions, and capable of explaining the misunderstanding; that, through the artifices of John Talaia, they had not been favorably received; although Pope Anastasius had, they affirmed, confessed that there were errors in the translation. The Confession of Faith which these apocrisarii exhibited is, so far as it goes, perfectly orthodox; but there is a careful avoidance of all reference whatever to the Two Natures. So far, however, from Anastasius being a bigotted enemy of the See of Alexandria, there is reason to believe that he was by no means a resolute supporter, in his heart, of the Faith of Chalcedon.

The disruption between the Churches became daily worse: Rome, as we have seen, was not in communion with any: Alexandria broke off communion with Jerusalem, which, though hesitatingly, received, shortly afterwards, the Creed of Chalcedon; and Jerusalem with Antioch, because the latter held the Faith of Alexandria.

John only sat in the Patriarchal chair for nine years: his character seems to have resembled that of his predecessor: and like him, he is by the Abyssinians and Egyptian Jacobites reckoned among the Saints.

To him, John, surnamed Niciota, from Nicius, probably the city of that name in the Thebais, (for there were two,) a relation of the late Patriarch, succeeded. He had apparently practiced the Monastic life: for he is by the Arabic writers surnamed Habis; the title given to the most retired kind of recluses. The deplorable state of things, chiefly owing to the heresy of the Emperor Anastasius, still continued. Alexandria was at one time in communion with no other Church: the Unitive became every day more contemptible, as going too far for many, and not far enough for some; and the subdivisions of those who held by Eutyches, or Dioscorus, or the Monophysites, of the Unitive, became almost interminable. John the Recluse was more decidedly heretical than his predecessors; he would not communicate with any that did not expressly anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and he promised two hundred pounds of gold to the Emperor, if he would procure the final and decisive abrogation of its decrees. Anastasius was of himself willing to bring to pass such a result he banished Macedonius from Constantinople, and Flavian from Antioch, who, though not in communion with Rome, as obstinately preserving the name of Acacius in the diptychs, were nevertheless Catholics; and in their places he substituted Timothy and Severus respectively. Severus was regarded as the great champion of the Acephali, or rather of their moderate part: he sent his synodal letters to John Niciota, by whom they were gladly received: and yet, by

a strange perversity, the Egyptian Acephali rejected the communion of their own Patriarch.

Hormisdas, during these troublesome times (AD 514), filled the chair of S. Peter; at the request of the Emperor he sent legates to Constantinople, for the purpose, if it were possible, of restoring communion between the afflicted Churches. The written instructions which he gave to his legates, containing hypothetical speeches for the Emperor, and the answers which were to be made to each, are the earliest, and some of the best specimens of their kind: but though Anastasius, with strange inconsistency, declared himself willing to receive the Council of Chalcedon, no real progress was made to a reconciliation, because he would not remove the heretical Prelates whom he had intruded. Indeed, his insincerity was shown by his ultimate proceedings: as Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, steadily refused the communion of Severus, he was deposed from his dignity.

It is on this period that the Jacobite writers dwell with peculiar complacency: and their heresy had now gained a footing, which it never, before or since, possessed. Severus, Bishop of Ashchumin, one of the principal historians of the sect, and whom we shall frequently have occasion to quote, declares that this was a period of wonders; when the Emperor Anastasius upheld the truth, and Severus of Antioch was a horn of salvation to the orthodox. The synodal letters between the latter and John, were the earliest examples of this interchange between the Jacobite Sees of Antioch and Alexandria; an interchange which has been kept up till this day, the schism having continued in the former city equally, though not with the same power, as in the latter. They are generally despatched by Bishops; but sometimes by Priests; and are read publicly in the churches, that the unity of sentiment among these widely-separated Communion may be kept up and increased.

The memory of Severus of Antioch, in whom this custom began, is solemnly honored by all the Jacobite Communion; and next to Cyril and to Dioscorus, they regard him as the greatest protector of their sect. His letter to Anastasius is viewed by them in the same light in which Catholics receive that of S. Leo to Flavian.

John the Recluse held the See ten years: his memory is, like that of his two predecessors, celebrated among the Jacobites. A work of his—unless indeed, it be rather of his predecessor,—against the Pelagians, addressed to Pope Gelasius, is mentioned as learned and satisfactory.

He was succeeded by Dioscorus (517), a nephew of Timothy Elurus, and in all probability the same person who had been apocrisiarius of John I, at Constantinople. The new Patriarch was enthroned by the magistrates; a great multitude at once separated from his Communion, demanding the strict observance of the Canons. Fearing a general defection, he was content that the ceremony should be canonically performed by the clergy in the church of S. Mark, and, the rite being finished, he proceeded to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in that of S. John. The principal persons connected with the government of Egypt were present, among them the son of the Prefect. A murmur arose in the crowd against the Prefect Calliopius, who had spoken in praise of Anastasius, the

Emperor being odious at Alexandria. His son naturally resented it, and probably by word or deed still further irritated the crowd, who were at length roused to such a pitch of fury, as to rush upon him and put him to death. The commander of the forces fell on the mob, and cut down such as appeared to have been accomplices in the crime. As it was known that the Emperor was highly indignant with the Alexandrians on account of this outbreak, Dioscorus was deputed to go to Constantinople and pacify Anastasius: a commission which he conducted not only successfully, but with great temper. For the Catholics of the Imperial city, imagining that the design of his visit was to procure some decree against the Faith of Chalcedon, insulted him in the streets: he made no complaint, but after transacting his business, returned quietly to Alexandria.

On his return, he procured the restoration of many of the Acephali to his own Communion, thus imparting to it a strength which it had not possessed since their secession in the time of Peter Mongus. But what he gained in one way he lost in another. The Emperor Anastasius having been taken from the world, Justin, a firm Catholic, succeeded to the Purple. One of his earliest acts was the deposition of Severus from the Throne of Antioch. The intruder, on his ejection, found that his safest asylum would be Alexandria: the other churches being either already received, or on the point of being received to the Communion of the West. To Alexandria, therefore, he came: and Jacobite profanity commemorates, as a feast, the entrance of Severus into Egypt. Julian of Halicarnassus, deprived for the same heresy as Severus, sought, like him, a refuge in Egypt, though not at Alexandria. The question was put to both, whether the Body of JESUS CHRIST were corruptible or incorruptible? Severus replied that it undoubtedly was corruptible: otherwise the truth of His Passion must be denied, and the heresy of Manes would be strengthened, which attributed to Him the appearance, but not the reality, of a Body. Julian, on the other hand, who was a stricter follower of Eutyches, answered that it was incorruptible. Otherwise, he continued, we must confess Two Natures, by admitting a difference between the Body of CHRIST, and the Word of GOD. We are not to imagine, however, that by the corruptibility of the LORD'S Body, was meant the possibility that, at death, it could be subject to that corruption which humanity undergoes: for the most extreme *Corrupticolae* never held thus. The controversy concerned the question, whether that Body were in such sort subject to the wear and tear of Human Nature, as necessarily to require food and rest for its preservation.

The Jacobites arranged themselves under one or other of these opinions: the followers of Severus were termed *Corrupticolae*, or worshippers of the Corruptible: those of Julian *Aphthartodocetae*, or less properly, *Phantasiasts*. But Dioscorus had no opportunity of interfering in these disputes, for before they had reached their height, he was called to his account, and was succeeded by Timothy, under whose Episcopate the difference rose to a serious height. He endeavored to balance between the parties, so as to preserve the Communion of both, but was believed to incline rather to the Creed of Severus. On which a deacon of the Church of Alexandria, by name Themistius, remarked, that if the Body of CHRIST were corruptible, we must confess also that He was ignorant of some things, as, for instance, where Lazarus lay, when He inquired for the spot. Timothy denied this consequence, and Themistius headed another party, called

from himself Themistians, but by some, *Agnoites*, or the asserters of ignorance, under which name they afterwards became more famous.

In the fourth year of the Episcopate of Timothy, a war and persecution broke out in a distant part of his Diocese. The western coast of Arabia Felix, on the shores of the Red Sea, was inhabited by a nation called the Homeritae, known to the Romans in common with other tribes of these parts, by the general name of Indians. It is said that the Gospel was first preached in these regions by the Apostle S. Bartholomew: but it is more certain that they were visited and instructed by Pantaenus, the predecessor of Origen in the School of Alexandria. From his time they probably had a succession of Bishops, though we are not in possession of even one of their names; for it is hardly to be believed that the Arian mission of Theophilus, which we formerly mentioned, should have been so utterly fruitless, had not the Homeritae enjoyed the protection of some able guardian of Catholic Truth. At this time the Christians were sufficiently numerous, and had lately been under the Government of a Bishop named Paul, though it does not appear that at this exact period they were possessed of any Prelate. Their King was named Dunaan. He was not only a Jew, but an inveterate persecutor, and it was his wont to give his subjects the option of professing his own religion, or of being thrown into a pit or trench full of fire. Nagran, one of the principal cities, was entirely peopled by Christians: Dunaan besieged it, and took it by capitulation. Unable to render any of the inhabitants apostates, he lighted a huge pile, on which he first consumed the bones of Paul, and then a numerous body of Priests, Monks, and Nuns. Arethas, the Governor of the city, venerable for his age and virtues, was beheaded, and is reckoned among the Saints; many others shared his fate; and many more were led into captivity. But Elesbaan, King of Ethiopia, who was zealous for Christianity, and who had already cause of complaint against Dunaan, declared war against him: and, assisted by some Roman forces, overthrew his army, and took prisoners his principal friends and relations. Dunaan, finding that no hope of re-establishment remained, spurred his horse to the edge of a precipice, and was swallowed up in the sea. Elesbaan was requested to choose a King for the Homeritae, which he accordingly did, and application was then made to Justinian, and the See of Alexandria, for a Bishop, and one John accepted this dignity.

The whole history is excessively obscure: and the great difficulty arises in settling the question, whether the re-established Church of the Homeritae were Jacobite or Catholic. We have already stated that the time at which Monophysite tenets were carried into Ethiopia is unknown. The evidence seems to stand thus:—Elesbaan is, by the whole Church, reckoned among the Saints,—which establishes the general belief entertained of his orthodoxy. And Gregentius, the successor of John, is not only commemorated in the Menology, but seems, from a fragment of his writings, to have been a Catholic. On the other hand, Dionysius, Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites, affirms, quoting John of Asia, a contemporary of Justinian, that when the orthodox succession was restored to Alexandria, it was rejected by the Homeritae. The fact that Elesbaan received a Bishop from Alexandria is not convincing, for two reasons,—that the application was made through Justinian, and that the Patriarch of Alexandria is



called, not Timothy, but Asterius,—a fact which we shall proceed to explain. We are inclined, therefore, on the whole, to believe in the orthodoxy of the new succession.

It was at this time that Jacobus Zanzalus, a disciple of Severus, from whom the whole sect of the Monophysites received the name of Jacobites, was spreading the poison of his doctrine in Syria.

There is considerable difficulty in either wholly receiving, or totally rejecting, the traditions of both Catholic and Jacobite authors concerning one Apollinarius, or as others call him, Asterius, who was sent by the Emperor to displace the heretic Timothy, and himself to fill the Chair of S. Mark. The account which Euty chius gives is as follows:—Apollinarius, who was of Patrician dignity, found that his claims were not admitted at Alexandria. He therefore called to his assistance the Commander of the Forces, and on the day which he fixed for taking possession of the See, divided the troops into three bodies. One was placed round the doors of the Caesarea; one kept near himself; and the third was disposed about the streets, to prevent or quell popular commotion. Apollinarius having thus ordered matters, arrayed himself in the Patriarchal Robes, over which he threw his military cloak, and, thus disguised, entered the Cathedral, and mounted the ambo, or pulpit whence the Gospel was read. He then threw off the cloak, appeared in his true character, and began to read the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Fathers of Chalcedon. A violent clamor was raised against it: the people broke out into sedition: the soldiers, on a given signal, attacked them, and the church was filled with bloodshed and confusion. The fate of Apollinarius himself is not recorded. A Prelate of this name shortly afterwards occupied the Sec of Alexandria; and the ignorance of Oriental historians may have confused his name with the whole story.

Whatever be the truth of this tale, it is certain that Justinian, who had now succeeded Justin, commanded Timothy to come to Constantinople, designing that he should either confess the Faith of Chalcedon, or be driven into exile. Timothy prepared to obey; but, on the eve of sailing, departed this life.

A schism forthwith broke out among the heretics: the secular Clergy and the men of wealth elected Theodosius, of the sect of the Corrupticolae; but the people and the Monks chose Gaianus, a Phantasiast. It was the custom of the Church that the Patriarch elect should keep vigil by the body of his predecessor, celebrate his funeral, and take the pall of S. Mark from his neck. Theodosius having been ordained by the help of the Chamberlain Calotychius, (a man of great authority with the Empress,) had performed the usual rites, but the rabble burst in with Gaianus, drove the rival Patriarch from the city, and enthroned their favourite. Gaianus thus took upon himself the insignia of the Patriarchate, which he held, however, but three months; for Theodosius represented his case at Constantinople, and Narses, the Chamberlain, was sent with full power to reinstate him, and to banish his competitor. Gaianus was sent into exile, first to Carthage, then to Sardinia. Theodosius was put in possession of the Church, but had little besides the name of Patriarch. Few dared to communicate with him: combats every day took place between the populace and the military, wherein the loss of life was considerable on both sides, though greater among the soldiers: women threw from the tops of their houses, tiles and whatever else came to hand, on the intruders; and Narses



revenged himself by burning a portion of the city. At length, weary of these intestine commotions, Theodosius took the resolution of going to Constantinople, where he was received with great honor, as the Empress had engaged that he should embrace the Council of Chalcedon. But as he pertinaciously refused to do so, he was banished to a place called Sycae, at the distance of six miles from the city, and here he ceased not to propagate his tenets. Constantinople was torn to pieces by his heretical followers and their different factions. Under the name of Theodosians they openly held assemblies: the Gaianites were not a whit behind in audacity; there were the Condobauditae, so called from the place in which they met, who differed from Theodosius on the Doctrine of the TRINITY; and the Tritheites, who, however they concealed their belief, held, in fact, the existence of Three GODS. These last were also called Philoponites, from their leader, John Philoponus; and the Cononites were another branch of this heresy.

Justinian, anxious to put an end to this lamentable state of division, ordered that a conference should take place between six of the Catholic, and six of the Monophysite, Bishops. It was held in a hall of the palace. The Catholics, at the head of whom was Hypatius of Ephesus, used the utmost lenity, and put forth the utmost strength of argument, during the three days that it lasted; but only one of their opponents was won over to the True Faith.

### SECTION IV.

#### THE CATHOLIC SUCCESSION RESTORED.

THE Emperor, finding that there was no hope of the conversion of Theodosius, determined on filling his See with some Prelate, who should be a supporter of the Faith of Chalcedon. It happened that Paul, a native of Tarsus, and a Monk or Abbot of the Order of Tabenna, was at Constantinople, whither he had come, for the purpose of requesting the Emperor's assistance repressing some disorders of which his Monks had been guilty. Pelagius, the Roman Legate at Constantinople, knowing him to be perfectly orthodox, procured his elevation to the Chair of S. Mark, to which he was accordingly consecrated by Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople. Justinian invested him with considerable temporal authority; and understanding that the divisions and heresies were fomented by the civil and military Governors of Egypt, he expressly charged the new Prelate to compel them to do their duty. But, on his arrival at Alexandria, Paul found a cold reception. During the half century which had elapsed since the deprivation of John Talaia, the Monophysite heresy had deeply eaten into the Alexandrian Church. Theodosius was now, by the vacillation of the people, much beloved; and the character of Paul does not seem to have been such as to command either attachment or veneration. His election, too, had been against the Canons; and there had never yet been an example of the consecration of an Alexandrian Patriarch being performed by the

Chair of Constantinople. It is true that he might plead in his own justification, not only the extreme necessity of the case, but the consent of all the other Patriarchal Thrones, as given by their apocrisiarii, who had been present at his ordination. There were however but few who would communicate with him: by his enemies he was stigmatized as a new Judas; he had little support but that of the military; and his letters to the Emperor, though they procured him a larger body of soldiery, could not procure him the love of the people.

It is proper to give in this place, the Arabic account of the affairs of Ethiopia; though, if it be received, it must be at the expense of regarding S. Elesbaan as an (unintentional) heretic.

It happened that the See of Axum became vacant shortly after the ordination of Paul; and the Emperor of Abyssinia, hearing that the Faith of Chalcedon was now professed at Alexandria, refused, in common with the King of the Homeritae, where the Episcopal Chair was also vacant, to send thither for a new Metropolitan, but deputed an embassy to Justinian, requesting that prince to nominate a Prelate who held the Monophysite belief. He refused, although repeatedly solicited to do so; and so great was the antipathy of the Abyssinians to the true doctrine, that they remained for five and twenty years without any attempt to keep up then succession, nor even to consecrate Priests and Deacons. The latter fact is the more remarkable, because, as we said before, there were in Abyssinia seven Suffragan Bishops under the Metropolitan. It is therefore probable that, in ordinations, they acted only as Vicars of their Primate; just as, according to some authors, the Egyptian Bishops, in administering the same rite, acted as the Patriarch's Vicars. At the end of that time, the Priests were very nearly extinct; and, fearing that their Church would come to an end, they elected one among themselves, and holding the Gospels above his head, professed to confer on him Episcopal Consecration. This step, however, was rejected by many who held the Monophysite belief; and (if the truth of the story be assumed,) it perhaps led the way to a return of the Abyssinian nation to the Catholic Church,—of which it probably made a part in the time of S. John the Almoner, AD 610, since the Coptic Calendar reckons that illustrious Prelate among the Saints.

Theodosius, for his part, was not idle. He composed, during his exile, Catechisms and Sermons for the instruction of his party; and, on hearing of the efforts which Paul was making, dispatched a pastoral letter to Alexandria, exhorting the Jacobites to remain firm in the traditions which they had received. Stimulated by this epistle to new efforts, they built two churches, the first erected of which, called the Angelium, gave rise to the appellation bestowed on its frequenters, and their sect in general, of Angelitae. Theodosius also dispatched a disciple, Julian, into Ethiopia. But Jacobite accounts of the proceedings of their own party have little authenticity till after the Mahometan invasion; because the Patriarchs of that sect, while the authority of the Roman Emperors lasted, were not allowed to enter Alexandria, and fixed their residence in the monastery of S. Macarius in the Thebais. Here, at a distance from the scene of action, deprived of the means of learning, and daily losing the knowledge of the Greek tongue, it is not to be wondered at that they should obtain very imperfect accounts of

what passed in the Church Catholic, and should preserve records still more inaccurate than the sources from which they were derived.

Paul, finding that persuasion and gentle means made but little progress in advancing his interests, determined on having recourse to harsher methods. Seeing that Elias, the military commander, was invincibly attached to the Monophysite heresy, he resolved, using the extraordinary power with which the Emperor had invested him, to remove that officer from his post. Elias was at a distance from Alexandria, and Psoius, or Psoes, a deacon, and treasurer of the Caesarea, a friend of the commander, dispatched a letter to him, written in Coptic, by one of the Symmachi, or swift runners, for whom Egypt was famous. This letter fell into the hands of the Patriarch; and remembering the end of Proterius, he determined to crush at once the conspiracy that seemed to be forming against him. He instantly called for an account of the money received and expended by Psoius, and as such a document was not on the instant forthcoming, the unfortunate deacon was committed to the custody of Rhodon, the Prefect of Egypt, till Justinian's pleasure could be known respecting him. Rhodon was persuaded, or bribed, by a wealthy citizen, named Arsenius, to put Psoius to the torture during the night-time, and then to murder him. His relations complained to the Emperor, who, justly indignant, made Liberius Prefect of Egypt, with a commission to inquire strictly into the whole circumstance. Rhodon, being interrogated, affirmed that he had only acted on the command of Paul, whom the Emperor himself had charged him to obey. Paul protested that he had never given any orders involving the death of Psoius; and at length the guilt was clearly fixed on Arsenius, who was capitally punished. Rhodon was sent to Constantinople and there executed; and Paul, whose dislike, of Psoius had rendered him an object of suspicion, was banished to Gaza. Pelagius, the Legate by whom he had been recommended to the See of Alexandria, was then dispatched by Justinian to Antioch, and, acting on the orders he had received, summoned the Patriarchs of that city and of Jerusalem, with the Bishop of Ephesus Paul and some other Prelates; and, in a Council held at Gaza, they deprived Paul of his pallium, and ordained Zoilus in his place to the Throne of S. Mark.

Paul, however, was by no means willing to acquiesce in the decision of the Council. He repaired to Constantinople, and promised to present a large sum of money to Justinian, if the latter would restore him to his seat. Justinian promised to do so; and applied to Pope Vigilius for his sanction of the measure. As Vigilius refused, the Emperor found it useless to persevere: and it is not known what became of Paul in the sequel.

We are here, and almost for the last time, compelled to give a glance at the circumstances under which the Church Catholic was placed, that we may be able to comprehend either the conduct or the fate of Zoilus.

The Emperor Justinian was too much given to interfere with the affairs of the Church, and to take upon himself the anathematizing of heresy, as if his bare edict had the force of an Ecumenical decision. The wild statements of Origen having been brought before him, he published an edict, in which nine of his principal errors were condemned, and himself, though so long since departed in the Communion of the

Church, anathematized. The followers of Origen were at this time very numerous, more especially in Palestine; and the Emperor's anathema, subscribed by the Patriarchs, grievously offended them. Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who was both an Origenist and a Monophysite, devised a method at the same time to avenge the memory of Origen, and to diminish the credit of the Council of Chalcedon. And this leads us to the famous controversy of the Three Chapters.

Theodore, who possessed good interest at Court, represented to Justinian, that an easy way was open for the union of the Acephali with the Catholic Church. There were three things, he said, which chiefly set them against the Council of Chalcedon: the letter of Theodoret against the twelve anathemas of S. Cyril; the letter of Ibas to Maris; and the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The last had been notorious also for his writings against the Origenists, which was the reason of the hatred borne to him by Theodore. Now, as Theodoret had been, and the letter of Ibas was said to have been, received in the Council of Chalcedon, and Theodore of Mopsuestia had been mentioned therein with honor, any blow directed against these writers, would in fact be a blow at the Council which received or approved them. This consideration did not enter the mind of Justinian, who, intent upon bringing the Acephali into the Church, drew up an edict in the form of a letter addressed to the whole Church. In this, after giving a profession of his faith at length, he anathematizes Theodore of Mopsuestia, his writings, and his followers; the letter of Ibas; and the work of Theodoret against the Twelve Anathemas.

This Edict gave rise to the greatest confusion. The four Eastern Patriarchs' signed it, although not without great opposition. The Bishops who refused to do so were deposed or banished. The African Bishops, assembling at Carthage, condemned the edict, affirming their ignorance of the writings it anathematized, their willingness to condemn them if anything heterodox existed in them, but asserting that it was impossible for them to anathematize the dead. The conduct of Pope Vigilius sensibly impaired the credit of the See of Rome. He was ordered by the Emperor to come to Constantinople: on his arrival there, he suspended Mennas from his Communion for four months, on the ground of his having subscribed the edict. At length, pressed by the Emperor and the Court, he assembled a Council to deliberate on the question; then, again vacillating, he broke it off, and demanded the sentiments of the Prelates who composed it in writing. Having received their Confessions of Faith, he at length drew up and published his own, which he termed his *Judicatum*, wherein, without detriment to the Council of Chalcedon, he condemned the Three Chapters. He thus offended both parties: the one by his condemnation, the other by his salvo. A Council in Illyria rejected his decision; and the Council of Carthage went so far as to excommunicate him. Finding that instead of appeasing the dispute, he had only added to the scandal, Vigilius now demanded a General Council, and publicly retracted his *Judicatum*; in the meanwhile ordering that no one should presume to speak either for or against the Chapters, until an Ecumenical decision could be obtained. A preparatory Council was held at Mopsuestia, in which it was clearly proved that the name of Theodore had never been in the diptychs since the memory of man.

## SECTION V

### THE FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

IN the meantime, Zoilus, who had retracted his subscription to the Emperor's edict, was banished from his See; and Apollinaris, by the royal authority, intruded in his place (AD 550). Theodore of Caesarea, now imagining his triumph certain, began to press Vigilius to condemn the Three Chapters; and removing the name of Zoilus from the diptychs, inserted in its place that of Apollinaris. The Pope then declared the Eastern Prelates separated from his Communion. The indignation of the Emperor obliged him to take refuge in a neighboring church, where he clung to the shafts which supported the altar. The envoys of Justinian attempted to draw him thence; and in the struggle which ensued, the altar itself was nearly thrown down. At length, on a promise of personal security, he came out; but as he found himself closely guarded, and daily treated worse, he made his escape by night, and took refuge in the church of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon,—the same in which the Council had been held. Here he remained for a considerable period, until Justinian gave him his word assuring his safety, and the Eastern Bishops appeared more willing to come to terms.

Apollinaris, summoned to the General Council, was now at Constantinople; and with Eutychius, who had succeeded Mennas, and Donminus of Antioch, presented their Confession of Faith to the Pope, which he found orthodox, and gave them his Communion; thus acquiescing in the deposition of Zoilus. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, in some respects as remarkable an assembly as the Church ever knew. GOD'S good providence over His Church was wonderfully manifested in it; for while the result to which it came, the condemnation of the Three Chapters, was precisely that which the enemies of the Truth, as set forth in the Council of Chalcedon, had been anxious to bring about, that result was accompanied by a strong protest in favor of the obnoxious Council, and a salvo, that by it nothing which it had determined was impugned or slighted. It was a remarkable assembly, too, in continuing its deliberations although Pope Vigilius refused to be present; and in decreeing the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although the same Pope expressly forbade it in his *Constitutum*, published during the sitting of the Council; and it is still more remarkable that Vigilius, after the conclusion of the Synod, should have confessed a want of charity in refusing to sit with his brethren, and should have ratified their decrees, though contravening his own *Constitutum*. The condemnation of the Chapters, in the case of Ibas and Theodoret, did not extend to their authors; but the person and followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia were, as well as his works, condemned.

At the conclusion of the Council, Apollinaris returned to Alexandria. It does not appear that any great accession to the Church took place in Egypt, in consequence of the Council of Constantinople; and the earlier years of the Episcopate of Apollinaris are

undistinguished by any event of importance. For although many of the Western Churches rejected at first the Fifth Ecumenical Council, as believing it prejudicial to the honor of the Fourth, in the East it was unhesitatingly received by all, with the exception of some communities of Monks in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, who, being Origenians, could not bear the condemnation of that Father, said to have been pronounced by the Council, though in what Session, or in what manner, we are not certainly informed.

It is remarkable that Justinian, who was so much given to the discussion of abstruse points of Theology, and who was accustomed to require from his Prelates unhesitating obedience to all his decisions thereon, should himself have died in heresy. Perverted by the same Theodore of Cappadocia, who had been the principal means of the assembling of the Fifth Council, he gave at length into the error of the Inconrupticolae, which, as we have already seen, was closely allied to that of the extreme Eutychians. As was his wont, he published an edict, in which he asserted that new doctrine, and which he required all the principal Bishops to sign. But he prevailed with none: S. Eutychius of Constantinople was sent into exile for his firmness, and the Sees of Antioch, and in all probability Alexandria, severely threatened. But the death of the Emperor delivered the Church from further persecution on this account.

Justin, who succeeded him, although a prince of dissolute life, began his reign with professions of strict orthodoxy. The Church of Alexandria was now sorely tried: Theodosius was still living, (AD 566), and though in exile, exercised considerable authority in the city; the Gaianites had lately consecrated Elpidius as their Bishop, so that Apollinaris had two rivals in the Chair of S. Mark. Justin therefore dispatched Photinus, a step-son of the great Belisarius, into Egypt, with full power to settle the affairs of the Church. Elpidius was seized and sent into exile, but died on the way. The accounts of the Church, under the Episcopate of Apollinaris, seem to have fallen into confusion; and his brother Agatho, in endeavoring to rectify them, threw the treasurer into prison on a charge of mal-administration; he contrived to snake his escape; and thus fresh elements of confusion were added to the already disturbed state of things.

At length Theodosius departed this life. Apollinaris, if may believe the accounts of Monophysite historians, not only received the tidings with great joy, but gave a sumptuous banquet on the occasion, thinking that now the schism was completely extinct. But, as it happened, the governor of Alexandria was well inclined to the Jacobites; and by his connivance, they proceeded to another election: the Gaianites and Theodosians finding that their only hope of injuring the Catholic Church was by their own union. The terms and duration of this concordat are very obscure. It would appear that it was determined to elect a Patriarch who should hold a *via media* between the two parties; that one Dorotheus was accordingly chosen, who soon proved himself a mere Gaianite; that the Theodosians then chose John, who, whether he died before consecration, or went off into some other heresy, or became a Catholic, is not reckoned by the Monophysite writers in their list of Patriarchs; and finally, the Gaianites having become now a determined schism from the other Monophysites, that Peter was elected by the Theodosians, and was consecrated by Paul, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.



Apollinaris, on receiving the tidings of Peter's consecration, wrote to Constantinople, to inform the Emperor, and to request assistance. But before his letters reached the Court, he departed this life. His character does not seem to have fitted him for the very difficult post he held; he would appear to have been unable to acquire influence, and incapable of contending with the heretics by whom he was surrounded. There does not, however, seem any good reason for accusing him of that cruelty to the Jacobites which these writers assert him to have practiced, and that he slew two hundred thousand of them is perfectly incredible.

On the characters of this Prelate and of his predecessor, humanly speaking, the future fortunes of the Church of Alexandria depended. Had they by possessing the zeal and piety of their successors, been enabled to crush heresy in the very bud, Alexandria under the Mahometans must indeed have been a persecuted, but would nevertheless have been an united Church: the infidels could not have fostered an heretical party to the detriment of the Faith, and the almost total destruction of the Catholic succession in Egypt. As it was, though some, bright years were still in store for the Church of Alexandria, they were but like a parting sun-gleam before a long night: and neither the piety of S. Eulogius, nor the charity of S. John the Almoner, could entirely cut clown that heresy which the passions and worldliness of Paul and Apollinaris had permitted to grow up.

### SECTION VI.

#### DECLINE OF JACOBITISM.

APOLLINARIS was succeeded by John, who, contrary to the Canons, was ordained at Constantinople: and this gave great matter of triumph to the Jacobites. Anastasius of Antioch, one of the holiest Prelates of the age, did not fail, in his reply to the synodal letter of John, to reproach him with this violation of order: and this, as well as his defense of the truth in other cases, provoked the profligate Justin to depose the Patriarch of Antioch.

Peter, the Jacobite Patriarch, is said to have been profoundly learned in Ecclesiastical history, and to have had six hundred monasteries under him, and was succeeded by Damianus, his *syncellus*. The syncelli were a kind of confidential ecclesiastics, who were always ill the company of their Bishop; to be witnesses of the purity of his life; that in case any scandal should arise, it might be promptly and satisfactorily contradicted. The Jacobite heresy, however, seemed tottering to its downfall: not only was the communion between the Egyptian and Antiochene Monophysites interrupted, on account of some novelties introduced by the latter into their profession of faith on the subject of the HOLY TRINITY, in which Damianus

also, though in the contrary manner, was heretical; but the Acephali procured for themselves a Bishop; it is said that only four of their presbyters remaining, three of them consecrated the fourth, by name Aristochas. This was done in the Eastern part of Egypt: the Acephali, who were in its Western division, indignant at this monstrous proceeding, constituted—by what means we are not informed—a second Bishop over themselves. It is possible, however, from the ignorance of Jacobite writers in all Ecclesiastical history previous to the Mahometan conquest, that this account may only be a repetition of the schism which we related as happening in the time of the immediate successors of Peter Mongus. Damianus, so far as the obscurity of the history will allow us to understand, would appear to have fallen into the heresy of Sabellius.

In what manner, and with what success, John, in the meanwhile, upheld the interests of the Catholic Church, we have no means of determining. But the Church of Alexandria was yet again to resume her former glory, and to enjoy the blessings of peace, before her long season of humiliation and strife, under the followers of the Arabian impostor, should commence.

### SECTION VII.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF S. EULOGIUS (AD 579)

ON the death of John, Eulogius, a priest of the Church of Antioch, and Abbat of the Monastery of the Mother of GOD in that city, was unanimously chosen his successor. He was either, according to the vicious practice of the times, consecrated at Constantinople, or else paid a lengthened visit to that city, shortly after his accession. It was here that he formed an intimate friendship with Gregory, then apocrisiarius of Pope Pelagius, but afterwards himself raised to the Chair of S. Peter, and known in the church by the well-deserved epithet of *the Great*. This friendship lasted through the whole of the lives of these Prelates.

The earlier works of S. Eulogius consisted of a treatise in six books, against the Novatians, who, after three hundred years' separation from the Church, still lingered in Alexandria and at other places. It appears that this sect protested against the veneration in which the relics of Martyrs were held: and one book of the treatise was devoted to the consideration of this subject. We find the Patriarch engaged in writing against the Eutychians: exposing the fallacies of Monophysitism by the contention between the Theodosians and Gaianites, and stating the principles and duties of the Monastic life. The character which Photius gives of his works is favorable. His words, says he, are usually well chosen: the construction of his sentences sometimes approaches solecism: but his deep acquaintance with, and happy application of, the Scriptures, is highly instructive. He was vigorously engaged in propagating the Faith of Chalcedon; and that

not less by his admirable sanctity than by his excellent doctrine: and it was universally agreed that the Chair of S. Mark had not been so worthily filled since the days of S. Cyril.

In the midst of these labors S. Eulogius was called on to resist a heresy which appears to have made some progress at Alexandria. One Dositheus, in the very early times of the Church, had arisen in Samaria, giving out that he was the prophet spoken of by Moses, in the words: "A Prophet shall the LORD your GOD raise up unto you from among your brethren". His pretended miracles, or real dealings with the Evil One procured him many followers: yet the Dositheans were so nearly extinct in the time of Origen, that the entire number of the sect did not exceed thirty. At a later period it must have much increased in strength: for it not only created much interest in Palestine, but at Alexandria, a city which abounded with Jews. These insisted that Joshua was the Prophet intended; an interpretation which a fair consideration of the words will not admit. S. Eulogius deemed it necessary to summon a Council for the purpose of condemning both parties: his most learned Prelates were invited to attend it: and it in some degree brought to mind the earlier and better ages of the Church. The question was carefully discussed: and the Council finally pronounced, that the Prophecy in question did not refer to any mere man, but to the LORD JESUS CHRIST. This is one of the few instances in which a Catholic Synod pronounced authoritatively on the meaning of a particular text; a proceeding of which heretical assemblies give many examples. Eulogius, not contented with this decision, composed a work against the same Samaritans, in defense of the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead. He also addressed a letter to S. Gregory of Rome, on the Monophysite heresy, which that Prelate highly commended, and congratulated the Church on the perfect unanimity which prevailed between the East and the West on this subject. Indeed, it was time that a defense of the Faith should be undertaken: for during the Patriarchate of Eulogius, an Egyptian of high rank employed no less than eighteen amanuenses, for the purpose of adulterating the text of the most celebrated Fathers with Monophysitical error.

We next find S. Eulogius at Constantinople, in a Council summoned under the following circumstances. S. Gregory of Antioch had been engaged in a dispute with Asterius, governor of the East: the inhabitants sided, as their prejudices or love of truth led them, with the Count or the Prelate: the rabble were on the side of the former, and Gregory could not pass through the streets without being insulted. John, the successor of Asterius, was commanded by Maurice, who was now Emperor (and whose character, in an age of licentiousness, is spotless, except on the ground of parsimony,) to inquire into the origin of this dispute, and, if possible, to compose it. So far from doing so, the new Count, following the steps of his predecessor, gave public notice of his willingness to receive any complaints which might be lodged against Gregory. This invitation of course produced several charges. The two most important accused the Bishop of incest, and exciting discontent against Maurice. Gregory, confident in his own innocence, offered to defend himself on the second head before John himself: on the former, he appealed to the Emperor. The four other Patriarchs assisted at the Council appointed to investigate the case, either in person or by their deputies: there were Metropolitans and Bishops present, but the proceedings were not strictly canonical, inasmuch as, in a

purely Ecclesiastical cause, the senate were also recognized as judges. Gregory was acquitted, and dismissed with honor: but this Council gave rise to a more important question. John, surnamed the Faster, from his frequent abstinences, was then Patriarch of Constantinople: and in the acts of this Synod he assumed the title of Universal Bishop. S. Eulogius would appear to have disapproved of this unmeaning and pompous appellation from the beginning, and Pope Pelagius separated the See of Constantinople from his communion; notwithstanding which, John the Faster still persisted in retaining the title.

Gregory, on his accession to the Chair of S. Peter, though protesting against the pretension of John, did not think fit to separate him from his Communion. But in the sixth year of his Pontificate, he addressed a letter to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, who were chiefly interested in opposing the between exorbitant pretensions of Constantinople. He points out that the adoption of this title by one Patriarch, necessarily degrades all the others; that the error or fall of an Universal Bishop would involve the whole Church in his mistake or guilt: that the anger of the Emperor, if provoked by opposition to the title which he allowed the Prelate of his own city to assume, was not to be feared; that the other Bishops should remember the end to which they were promoted, the preservation of the Truth; that to lay down rank for this end was a glorious sacrifice: and that the question was not merely one of words and forms, but of faith, because it touched on the Infallibility of the Church Catholic.

S. Gregory shortly after addressed another letter to S. Eulogius, which cannot but be highly interesting to an English Catholic. It commences by a congratulation on the spread of the Faith of Chalcedon in Egypt: in return for these good news, the Bishop of Rome proceeds to inform his brother Prelate of the conversion of the Angles: how S. Augustine had been dispatched for this great work, in company with other Roman Monks; how he had received consecration from the Gallican Bishops; how it had pleased GOD to confirm his mission with the most illustrious miracles; and how, at the preceding Feast of Christmas, ten thousand Pagans had received the Illumination of Holy Baptism.

S. Eulogius, in the letter to which the above is a reply, had mentioned his refusal of the title of Ecumenical Bishop to Cyriacus, the successor of John the Faster, “as”, said he to Gregory, “you ordered me”. “I pray you”, replies S. Gregory, “to use the term ordered no more. I know who I am, and who you are: my brother by position, my father in character. I ordered nothing: I only advised: and even that advice you have not strictly followed. I requested you to give that title neither to the See of Constantinople, nor to anyone else: and you have applied it to myself. Away with all terms which excite vanity, and wound charity”.

Nor was the compliment to Eulogius conveyed by this letter entirely without foundation. Great as was the learning of S. Gregory, and high as has been the esteem in which he has always been held by the Church, Eulogius was his superior in a thorough knowledge of Ecclesiastical History. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the correspondence of these Prelates. In writing to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Gregory had mentioned two causes of complaint in the synodal letters received from Cyriacus on the

accession of the latter to the Throne of Constantinople. The one was his retention of the title of Ecumenical Bishop: the other, that among the heretics, whom, according to the ancient custom, he condemned in that epistle, the name of Eudoxius was inserted. S. Gregory seems to have been perfectly at a loss as to who this Eudoxius could be; and was disposed to be offended that one, not condemned, so far as he could find, in any Council, should be anathematized by a single Patriarch. S. Eulogius explained, that this Eudoxius was the same who had been the head of the pure Arians in the reign of Constantius, and had, contrary to the canons, been translated from Antioch to Constantinople; and was, on all accounts, justly anathematized by Cyriacus.

In the meantime, the Jacobite Patriarch Damianus was succeeded by Anastasius Apozygarius, who appears to have possessed more courage than his predecessors. Notwithstanding the danger to which his appearance in Alexandria exposed him, he ventured to hold ordinations, not only of Priests, but even of Bishops, ill the city. The Churches which the Jacobites possessed within the walls, or in the suburbs, and which had apparently been deserted by them, were now supplied by him with Priests: and he even built another church under the name of S. Michael. Yet, notwithstanding his energy and exertions, he was much troubled by the Gaianites, who possessed at least two Bishops. S. Eulogius also viewed his proceedings with some uneasiness a feeling shared by the leading men on the Catholic side. On the murder of Maurice by Phocas, and accession of the latter, one of these wrote to the Emperor, misrepresenting, if we may trust Monophysite writers, but probably stating strongly, the errors of that party: and the result was an order to the prefect of the province, that one of their churches should be taken from them, and put into the hands of S. Eulogius.

The correspondence between that Patriarch and S. Gregory was kept up during the whole course of their lives: and allusions are made to various presents that passed between the friends. Thus, at one time, we find Gregory acknowledging the receipt of some *colatun*, and *viritheum*, of which all that can be said is, that they were some kind of beverage. He sends in return six pallia of Aquitaine manufacture, and two stoles. To S. Eulogius, S. Gregory addressed one of the last letters he ever wrote, in which he details the symptoms, and describes the violence of his disease, the gout.

Nor did Eulogius very long survive his friend. He had done all that was in the power of man to restore peace to his See, and though it was not the will of God that his efforts should be more than partially successful, he has received even in this world the recompense of his merit, and is both by the East and the West reckoned among the Saints. He departed to the joy of his LORD, Feb. 13, 607.

The peace which S. Eulogius had enjoyed and bestowed did not continue in the time of his successor, Theodore, surnamed Scribo, of whom however we know little besides the name. The feeble government of Phocas encouraged the revolt of Heraclius, Governor of Africa, whose son, of the same name, sailed to Constantinople, took Phocas prisoner, struck off his head, and possessed himself of the purple. The Monophysites availing themselves of the unsettled state of public affairs, while Heraclius was yet in rebellion in Africa, and encouraged by the boldness of their Patriarch Anastasius, fell upon Theodore, and cruelly murdered him, in the second year

of his episcopate. He was thus the second Patriarch who perished by the hands of the same heretics.

### SECTION VIII.

#### PONTIFICATE OF S. JOHN THE ALMONER.

WE come now to the last Patriarch under whom the Church of Alexandria can be properly said to have flourished. John was a native of Amathus, in Cyprus, and of good family, being the son of the governor of that island; he had been married; but having lost his children and his wife, he devoted himself to GOD, and was distinguished for the extensiveness of his alms. Others, however, affirm that he had married against his will, and had never had children. Thus he had never been either a monk, or in the secular clergy: but so great was his reputation for piety and charity, that on the murder of Theodore, the Catholics of Alexandria requested the Emperor to nominate him as their Patriarch. John was vehemently opposed to accepting the proffered dignity: but the urgency of the Egyptians and the decision of the Emperor prevailed. His life was written by Leman's, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, and translated into Latin by one Anastasius, librarian of the Papal palace at Rome. As Leontius was a contemporary of John, and only six miles distant from Amathus, and as he possessed a high reputation for virtue, (which we learn on the occasion of an extract from his writings being read in the Second Nicene Council, when the then Bishop of his Sec pronounced his eulogium,) we have every reason to receive unhesitatingly his account of S. John, and of the good works and alms deeds which he did.

On his arrival at Alexandria, he not only found heresy again rampant, but discovered that simony was extensively practiced among the Catholics. The earliest years of his episcopate were spent in depressing the one and exposing the other: but an occasion of exhibiting the virtue in which he more especially excelled was not long in presenting itself.

Cosroes, king of Persia, who had, during the beginning of the reign of Phocas, contented himself with trifling predatory excursions and temporary inroads on the Roman Province, commenced a settled system of invasion towards its conclusion. Aleppo, Antioch, and Damascus, successively fell into his hands, and the fifth year of his conquest he besieged and took Jerusalem. Ninety thousand Christians were massacred, and that principally by the Jews, who purchased them from the Persians on purpose to put them to death; the churches were burnt: their treasures and sacred vessels pillaged: the True Cross fell into the hands of the Invaders; the Patriarch Zacharias, and an immense number of the inhabitants were carried into captivity. The whole of Syria was ravaged and many sought a refuge from the fury of the Persians in



Egypt. Men of all ranks and of every station appealed to the liberality of John: Bishops and clergy, magistrates and the common people, must have perished alike, if he had not been, as it were, raised up to save them. The treasures of the Church of Alexandria were immense; at the accession of John there were four thousand pounds of gold in its coffers: and he received innumerable contributions from the faithful for the promotion of his charitable designs. Not content with feeding and clothing all the refugees, he sent large sums to Jerusalem, for the redemption of the captives, and the rebuilding of the churches. Modestus, an Abbot, the Vicar of the Patriarch Zacharias, was charged with the proper management and distribution of these alms.

He established hospitals for the sick: he visited and consoled the dying: he supplied the recovering with necessaries. Innumerable are the anecdotes related of his generosity. Among those who applied for daily alms, were some who had retained golden ornaments; the dispensers of the Patriarch's bounty hesitated to relieve such applicants, and complained to John. He was much offended, and remarked that neither GOD nor he were desirous to have such inquisitive and officious ministers: that were the money his own, the case might be different; but that if the whole world came to ask alms at Alexandria, they could not exhaust the infinite riches of God's goodness.

To add to the general want, there was a deficiency in the rise of the Nile; provisions were dear: the treasury of the Church was exhausted; the Patriarch borrowed till he could find none who would lend or trust; and still the scarcity became more terrible, and the number of fugitives increased daily. There was an inhabitant of Alexandria, a rich man, who was desirous of being admitted to the Diaconate; but having been twice married, was canonically incapacitated for that office. He thought that the present was a favorable opportunity of pressing his request: but, not daring to make the communication by word of mouth, he drew up a memorial to the Patriarch, in which he offered, if he might be ordained Deacon, to put at the disposal of the See of Alexandria, an immense supply of corn, and a hundred and eighty pounds of gold; alleging, though not much to the purpose, the passage from the Hebrews, where S. Paul teaches that "the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law", as a proof that the strictness of the Canon must give way to considerations of public good. It was a sore temptation for the Patriarch: he summoned the inhabitant who had made the offer, and the latter came with the joyful anticipation that it would be accepted. He was equally disappointed and confused when S. John remarked that it would be a great and a most opportune assistance: but the motive being impure, the offering must be declined. "God", he continued, "Who supported the poor before either of us were born, can find the means of supporting them now. He Who blessed the Five Loaves and multiplied them, can bless and can multiply the two measures of corn which remain in my granary". Hardly had the applicant been dismissed, when tidings were brought, that two of the great vessels which belonged to the Church had returned from Sicily with a large cargo of corn: and the Patriarch, falling on his face, thanked God that he had not been permitted to sell His gifts for money.

In the meantime, the Patriarch Anastasius had been diligently laboring to put an end to the schism which had, as we have related, subsisted between the Jacobite Communion of Antioch and Alexandria: and the invasion of Syria by Cosroes gave

him the opportunity of effecting his design. Athanasius had been raised to the Monophysite Chair of Antioch : and a synodal letter was dispatched to him by Anastasius, setting forth his desire for union, and his grief that it should ever have been interrupted. Athanasius returned a friendly reply : and with the advice of his bishops, received Alexandria to his communion. On the news of the advance of Cosroes on Antioch, Athanasius fled into Egypt: and the meeting of the two Patriarchs was accompanied with great rejoicings and pomp. The Jacobite clergy of Alexandria were assembled, and addressed by Athanasius, who afterwards communicated with them: and having remained a month in Egypt, returned again to his Province. Athanasius possessed the more authority, and his visit was the more cheering to the Jacobites, because he was, at the time, the only Patriarch of Antioch: no orthodox successor having been given to S. Anastasius, who had been murdered by the Jews about the same time that Theodore Scribo had fallen a victim to the Jacobites. This union is condemned in the strongest terms by S. Sophronius of Jerusalem. “Be Athanasius the Syrian, and Anastasius Apozygarius”, says he, “and all that madly receive their agreement that is no agreement, anathema and catathema”

Anastasius of Alexandria did not long survive this visit. That he was held by his party as an able and learned defender of their tenets all must admit, from the catalogue of his works. His Sermons, Catechetical Works, and Paschal Epistles are all mentioned by the Arabian writers. His own party, however, are compelled to confess that their Communion was, during his time, at a very low ebb. He was succeeded by Andronicus, a deacon of the church of the Angelium, which we have before mentioned. His family was of the first nobility of the city: and the influence and power of his connections rendered the Catholics unwilling to banish him, as they had done his predecessors, from Alexandria. He therefore spent the whole time of his episcopate within the precincts of the city.

In the meantime the alms of S. John were unabated. He every day fed seven thousand five hundred of the poor. He sent to Modestus at Jerusalem, two thousand sacks of wheat and pulse, a thousand tubs of dried fish, a thousand skins of wine, a thousand pounds of iron, a thousand pieces of gold, and a thousand Egyptian workmen. All these were intended as contributions to the re-establishment of the Holy City: and in the letter which accompanied them, the Patriarch bewailed his inability to send anything worthy of his SAVIOR, and to go in person to work at the church of the Resurrection.

His love of justice was as conspicuous as his charity. The commercial frauds practiced in Alexandria, the mart of the world, were very great. He endeavored, as far as in him lay, to put a stop to the use of false weights and measures; and published an edict, confiscating, to the good of the poor, all the goods of those who should continue to employ them: so extensive was the temporal authority of the Chair of S. Mark. He was informed, that the persons into whose hands he had put the money to be laid out in the redemption of captives, were in the habit of receiving bribes to determine the objects whom they should first ransom. He called them together, and without any reproaches for the past, forbade them in future to receive money for such a purpose, at the same time increasing the salaries which he allowed them, in order to lessen their temptation.

Some were so much touched by this act of generosity, as voluntarily to decline the augmentation of their stipend.

Finding that the complaints of the poor and oppressed did not, through the partiality or negligence of his officers, reach him as they ought, he determined on giving a public audience to all applicants twice a week. The days he appointed were Wednesday and Friday: and on these occasions a scat was placed for him at the door of the Caesarea, while some of the principal men of the city were arranged on each side of him. He held the Book of the Gospels in his hands: and when no business was going forward, he would occupy himself by conversation with his assessors. It was his maxim always to dispatch any complaint which might be addressed to him, on the spot: "how", he asked, "can we expect that God will hear us readily, if we do not pay immediate attention to the requests of Our brethren?" On one occasion, he waited till almost midday, without having the opportunity of redressing any wrong. On leaving the tribunal, he was observed to shed tears: and the reason being inquired, he replied, "It is because I have today nothing to offer to my Savior for the remission of my sins". It was remarked by the inquirer, that rather he should rejoice in having so pacified his flock, that they dwelt together without giving or receiving cause of complaint.

During the time allotted to his meals, some passage of Scripture was illustrated, some dogma hearing on the heresies of the times discussed, or the life of some Saint read: among the last, S. John heard with the greatest pleasure the histories of those who had been eminent for the grace of almsgiving. He frequently exhorted his people to avoid the Communion of heretics, even should they be compelled, in the absence of a Catholic Priest, to depart without the Viaticum. The manner in which he instructed his flock was sometimes peculiar. During the office of the Eucharist, he found that many were in the habit of leaving the Church at the conclusion of the Gospel. He took the opportunity, on one occasion, of accompanying them. They expressed great surprise at so unwonted a thing: but the Patriarch calmly replied, "My sons, where the sheep are, there the shepherd ought to be. It is for your sakes that I go to the church: for my own part, I could celebrate the office at home". Persisting in this course twice, he corrected the practice.

Though S. John had never been a monk, he held the monastic system in the greatest reverence; and was the more profuse in his liberality to different monasteries, as if to balance the neglect which his earlier life seemed to have manifested. His own manner of life, however, was quite in accordance with the discipline of an Abbey: his fare was poor and simple, and the couch on which he slept small, and such as an artisan only would have employed. A rich friend, knowing this, purchased a magnificent bed, of which he requested the Patriarch's acceptance. S. John, unwilling to hurt the feelings of the donor, complied: but after using it for one night, he declared that it hindered his sleep, by seeming to reproach him with slothfulness and luxury, while so many poor were lying in cold and misery. He therefore sent it to be sold; dividing the proceeds in charity. The original giver repurchased the bed, and again presented it to the Patriarch. The same thing took place three times: S. John declaring that it should be seen that he was not the first to give over.

The Patriarch was happy in the confidants on whom he placed most dependence. One of these was John Moschus, celebrated for his treatise entitled, *The Spiritual Meadow*: the other Sophronius, who is reckoned among the Saints. They were Syrians by birth: had embraced the monastic life in Palestine; and were first dispatched into Egypt by their Abbot, on business connected with their house. The accounts which Moschus has preserved, shew that the monastic system was still most flourishing in Egypt.

In the meantime the victorious Persians approached daily nearer to Egypt: and S. John, finding that Alexandria must fall into their hands, resolved on retiring to his native island of Cyprus. What were the circumstances which justified his thus leaving his flock exposed to the fury of a Pagan enemy, we do not learn; but his eminent sanctity may convince us that he was doing his duty, and a further proof is to be found in the fact, that his biographer has not considered it necessary to AD 620 apologize for this, the last action of his life.

He therefore sailed, in company with his friend Nicetas, man of worth and of patrician rank, for Cyprus. Nicetas, unwilling that he should be lost to the world, prevailed on him to pay a visit to the Emperor Heraclius, at Constantinople. S. John consented: and advanced as far as Rhodes on his way to the Imperial City. There, however, he was warned in a dream that his own end was approaching, and in consequence he resolved on returning to his native land. "You call me", said he to Nicetas, "to the Emperor of the Earth: but the KING of Kings summons me elsewhere". Leaving his friend to pursue his journey alone, he himself returned to Amathus. There he drew up his will: in which he thanked God for having permitted him to distribute the vast sums which had been, at his accession, in the treasury of his Church; so that hardly any money was now to be found in it, in spite of the donations which it had received from the liberality of the faithful. Dying shortly afterwards, he was buried in the Church of S. Tychon, at Amathus. This Saint had been a former Bishop of the See, held in great veneration for his sanctity, and surnamed, from his numerous miracles, the Wonder-worker. His feast is still observed with great solemnity in the island of Cyprus. In this Church the body of S. John the Almoner rested for some time: thence it was translated, at an uncertain epoch, to Constantinople; thence to Buda, about 1460, and to Posen, in 1530: in 1632 it was interred in a magnificent shrine by George Drascowitz, Bishop of the Five Churches. As the day of his decease is occupied in the Oriental Church by the Feast of S. Mennas, by that of S. Martin in the Latin, the former commemorate him, on the morrow of his departure, the latter on the twenty-third of January, which was probably the day on which his remains arrived at Constantinople. It is a curious fact that he is also commemorated by the Jacobites. From S. John the Almoner the famous order of the Hospitallers, in the first instance, derived its name.

We now approach the time when, in relating the History of the True Church at Alexandria, we are deserted entirely by the ordinary Ecclesiastical Historians. We have little for many centuries, but some lists of names, and catalogues of dates, subsequent which vary as much from each other, as all differ from truth. Of the Jacobite succession, indeed, we have full and authentic accounts from Severus and his continuers: and to these we shall often be forced to confine ourselves. The orthodox Patriarchs we must be

content to receive from the inaccurate annals of Eutychius, whose comparative value we then only learn, when his history, terminating in his own elevation to the chair of S. Mark, leaves us in midnight darkness.

### SECTION IX.

#### RISE OF THE MONOTHELITE HERESY.

THE See of Alexandria probably remained vacant for some time, as in the same year with the death of S. John, the Persians took the city. Ravaging the whole of Egypt, they extended their conquests to the borders of Ethiopia, and the country was reduced to a deplorable state of misery. Heraclius, finding that if he did not exert himself to oppose the invaders, he should soon be reduced to the empty shadow of an empire, (if indeed he were not deprived of that also, for the general of Cosroes had already appeared before Chalcedon, and been visible from Constantinople) determined on marching into Asia. His arms, during several successive campaigns, were constantly blessed with success; and Cosroes was, in time, obliged to concentrate his forces for the defense of his own kingdom, and in the eighth year of his misfortunes, perished miserably by the orders of his own son.

Left thus in peace, the Alexandrians were at liberty to proceed to the election of a Patriarch. The choice of the Catholics fell upon George, of whom we know little more than that he was the author of the life of S. Chrysostom, principally extracted from the dialogue of Palladius, but intermingled with several fables. The Jacobites chose Benjamin, whom the subsequent events which we shall presently have to relate, have invested with a degree of importance superior to any of his predecessors. He was born of rich parents, and embraced the monastic life at Dir Kyrios, the only monastery in the Eastern part of Egypt which had escaped the ravages of the Persians. Here he distinguished himself by his austerities and long continuance in prayer, and was considered as one of the most eminent persons, while yet a young man, among his party. Introduced to the Patriarch Andronicus, he was favorably noticed, and retained in Alexandria by him, and finally became his successor. Of the government of George we know nothing: it is probable that he found sufficient employment in repairing the mischief which the ravages of the Persians had occasioned.

In the last years of his life a new and subtle heresy sprung up in the East. Theodore, an Arabian Bishop, who had hitherto been accounted orthodox, and who professed to the last his agreement with the Faith of Chalcedon, began to teach, that although it was necessary to a right faith to recognize Two Natures in the One Person of our SAVIOR, yet nevertheless his Unity of Person entailed, as a necessary consequence, His Unity of Will and Operation. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, predisposed by



an early Jacobite education to this new doctrine, gladly embraced it, and endeavored to the utmost of his ability to propagate it among his suffragans. Thus these sentiments gradually extended themselves, but meeting with no decided opposition, except from Arcadius, Archbishop of Cyprus, their progress was quiet, until an unexpected occurrence brought them prominently before the Church.

Heraclius, in the course of his Persian war, (AD 629), being at Hierapolis, in Upper Syria, was visited by Athanasius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and the same who had previously been at Alexandria. The conversation naturally turned on the doctrine in dispute between the Church, and the sect of the visitor: and the Emperor, pleased by his behavior, and amused by his talk, promised to raise him to the Throne of Antioch, if he would embrace the Creed of Chalcedon. Athanasius, who was, as was the general character of the Syrians, a man of deep artifice, and whose malignity against the True Faith procured him the title, by a paronomasia on his name which cannot be preserved in English, of Immortal Death, professed to embrace the offer. "And in this ease", he inquired of the Emperor, "will it be proper to confess One Will and Operation in Our LORD, or Two?" Heraclius, who was more of a soldier than a theologian, could not reply; and found it necessary to write to Constantinople, in order that Sergius might explain to him the Doctrine of the Church on this subject. Sergius replied, that beyond all question, the Catholic Doctrine was perfectly clear: and that it asserted only One Will in our Blessed LORD. Heraclius, hearing that Cyrus, Bishop of the Lazi, or Phasis, possessed great reputation for learning, summoned him to his presence, and requested his opinion on the point in question. Cyrus asserted the truth of the doctrine of Sergius, which was that to which Heraclius had now become firmly wedded. This union of sentiment, and the general behavior of Cyrus, rendered him so acceptable to the Emperor, that he was by the Imperial authority translated to the vacant See of Alexandria.

Cyrus lost no time in repairing to that city: and set himself vigorously to effect an union with the Jacobites. He found the task easy: the Monophysites were perfectly aware, that if one operation only were allowed in the SAVIOR, the definition of the Council of Chalcedon was virtually abrogated; and openly professed, that the Melchites were coming over to themselves,—not they to the Melchites. Cyrus, however, not alarmed by the suspicious facility with which his scheme of reconciliation was accepted by the heretics, continued to press it; and an act of reunion was agreed on between the Catholic Church, and by far the greater number of the Jacobites. It contained nine articles, of which eight were perfectly sound; but the seventh affirmed, that it was the same will which produced the Divine and Human actions of our LORD, and that, in the phrase of S. Dionysius, by a Theandric operation; that is, an operation in which God and Man jointly, and as it were confusedly, acted. Sophronius, the friend and favorite disciple of S. John the Almoner, was requested by Cyrus to examine the articles: and having done so, he threw himself at the feet of the Patriarch, requesting- and conjuring- him, even with tears, not to publish them, because they were undoubtedly contrary to the Catholic Faith, and were imbued with the Apollinarian heresy. Cyrus paid no attention to these representations; and in the spring of 633, the act of reunion was formally accepted by both parties. The Theodosians, among whole appear to have been



the principal personages of the city, solemnly communicated with the Patriarch in the Caesarea. It would appear that such as still refused Communion with Cyrus were severely dealt with, both by him and the Prefect: of this number was Benjamin, who for the sake of his personal safety, was compelled to retire into a small monastery in the Upper Thebais. Sergius of Constantinople received with joy the news of this union, in spite of the remonstrances of Sophronius, who had left Alexandria at the same time with the letters of Cyrus, which announced it. Sophronius finding his protest disregarded, returned into the East, where he was shortly afterwards, and against his will, elected to the Patriarchal Chair of Jerusalem.

BOOK IV

FROM  
THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE SARACENS  
TO  
THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN  
AD 610-1165

### SECTION I.

#### RISE OF ISLAM.

IN the meantime it pleased Goo to raise up, as a punishment for the sins of His Church, a more fearful adversary to her doctrine, and a more cruel oppressor of her children, than any with whom she had yet been called to contend. Mahomet had already proclaimed his mission in Arabia, and the Church of Alexandria, ill-recovered from the invasion of Chosroes, was about to endure a more severe and a more lasting tyranny.

Born at Mecca, and descended from a family which to trace their connexion with Kedar, the eldest son of Ishmael, Mahomet lost his father Abdallah, at the age of two years. A rich uncle educated him, and prepared him for that traffic which was the principal occupation of the inhabitants of his native city. Employed as the agent of Cadijah, a rich widow, he obtained her affection, and notwithstanding the disparity of their years, received, at the age of twenty-five, her hand. For the fifteen subsequent years he was anything rather than a prophet: at the end of that time he declared himself, to his own family, a prophet sent for the reformation of mankind, and the re-establishment of religion. In four years he only gained nine converts; and relying on the fidelity of his adherents, and the fertility of his genius, although he could neither write nor read, he then began a public profession of his pretended authority.

The state more especially of that part of Arabia, was at this time highly favorable to the spread of any false doctrine. There was, it is true, an Episcopal See at Nagra, which we have already mentioned; but the efforts of its Bishops for extending the Faith would seem to have been small; and they considered themselves connected rather with the Ethiopians, from whom they were only separated by the Red Sea, than with their neighbors the Arabians. There were, however, many Episcopal Sees on the borders of Arabia, towards Persia and Syria, and there was a considerable sprinkling of Jews throughout the country.

Of the remaining inhabitants, many were idolaters; some followed the doctrine of the Magi, and worshipped fire; and a very large proportion held the creed of the ancient Sabaeans and adored the stars and the heavenly Intelligences. Thus, a religion promulgated with authority, and adapted in some measure to the prejudices of the differing sects to whom it was addressed, would, a priori, have been likely to make some progress in Arabia: that it should pervert the third part of the world was one of those events which no human wisdom could have considered within the range of probability.

That Mahomet was not the enthusiast which some semi-infidel or latitudinarian authors have considered him, is evident from the ingenuity with which, while he panders to the passions of his followers, he also infuses into his religion so much of

each of those tenets to which the varying sects of his countrymen were addicted, as to enable each and all to please themselves by the belief that the new doctrine was only a reform of, and improvement on, that to which they had been accustomed. The Christians were conciliated by the acknowledgment of our Lord as the Greatest of Prophets; the Jews, by the respectful mention of Moses and their other Lawgivers; the idolaters, by the veneration which the Impostor professed for the Temple of Mecca, and the black stone which it contained; and the Chaldeans, by the pre-eminence which he gives to the ministrations of the Angel Gabriel, and his whole scheme of the Seven Heavens. To a people devoted to the gratification of their passions and addicted to Oriental luxury, he appealed, not unsuccessfully, by the promise of a Paradise whose sensual delights were unbounded, and the permission of a free exercise of pleasures in this world. To allow that there was some truth intermingled with his falsehood, is only to allow Mahomet sufficient knowledge of mankind to be aware that a system, neither based upon one true, nor supported by one generous principle, would be sure, in a few years, to come to an end. Thus, his inculcation of an entire submission to the Will of GOD is the salt which has for so long a series of years preserved from decay the imposture of which Mahomet was the author.

During the Monothelite controversy, the arms of the Mussulmans were making rapid way towards Constantinople. After the Hegira, the power of Mahomet augmented by gigantic strides: the ten years which he survived it rendered him sufficiently formidable; and if the short reign of his immediate successor, Abubekir, did little beyond consolidating the foundations of the new empire, Omar, the second Caliph, lost no time in extending the conquests of the Arabians. The Persian empire tottered to its fall; and the Roman cities in Syria fell one by one. Already was Damascus threatened: and Heraclius, finding resistance vain, prepared to retire to Constantinople.

It is the common cry of worldly-minded historians, that, unmoved by the impending danger, the Eastern Christians continued their verbal disputes on abstruse mysteries, till orthodox and heretic were alike swept away in the flood of destruction. It would be more fair to admire the courage of those, who, fully aware of the fate in store for them, could nevertheless persist in defending what they felt to be an essential portion of Catholic Truth. And this remark applies more particularly to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem, whom God at this time raised up to be the Athanasius or Cyril of the Monothelite heresy. That he calculated the danger at its true amount is evident by the sermons which he preached to his flock, exhorting them to repent now at least, in this season of peril and distress, and by the manner in which he requests the prayers of Sergius of Constantinople, that it might please God to give the Emperor victory over the Saracens. But he, as well by his synodal letter as by a special embassy to Rome, endeavored to procure the decision of Pope Honorius in his favor, and to bring back Sergius to the Faith; but in vain. The sentiments of the latter remained unchanged; and Honorius persisted in his first resolution of forbidding the assertion of either one or two operations. It is remarkable that at this time, Jerusalem alone, of the Patriarchal Thrones, upheld the orthodox doctrine; and, which never happened at any other period of Ecclesiastical History, the three Chairs founded by S. Peter were infected with, or at least countenanced, heresy: Honorius was so far guilty of it, as to be condemned, after

his death, by the Sixth Ecumenical Council; Cyrus of Alexandria was an active Monothelite; and the only Patriarch of Antioch was Athanasius the Jacobite.

S. Sophronius did not live to see the result of the controversy, though he survived seven years the surrender of Jerusalem to Omar, after a siege of twenty-four months. Antioch having next fallen into the power of the Mussulmans, they were at full leisure to attempt the conquest of Egypt.

In the meanwhile, Sergius prevailed on the Emperor Heraclius to publish his celebrated edict, commonly known by the name of the Ecthesis, or Exposition. After an orthodox statement of faith so far as respects the Holy TRINITY, the Incarnation, the One Person and Two Natures of our Blessed LORD, it proceeded to forbid the teaching of either one or two operations: the former, as appearing to destroy the doctrine of the Two Natures; the latter, as an expression entirely new to Theology, appearing to imply two contrary wills, and leading to results more dangerous than even the tenets of Nestorius. At the same time, it was clearly and positively asserted that the Catholic Faith required the acknowledgment of only one Will. The Ecthesis differed in language from the Articles of Reconciliation adopted by Cyrus; but as the variation was rather verbal than real, he gladly adopted it. In the letter which he sent to Sergius on the occasion, he expresses his sense of the clearness and orthodoxy of the document in question: he asserts that he had perused it, not once or twice only, but many times; that both he and those who had heard it had been struck with its beauty, and that he had returned thanks to God for giving himself and the Church so prudent a guide. A Patriarch of Alexandria would not, in the times of the glory of that See, have thus allowed himself to address the inferior Throne of Constantinople. His letter ends with a prayer, that God Who had already delivered them from the tyranny of Phocas, and the pride of the Persians, would also deliver them from the insolence of the Saracens.

In the meantime, the Mussulmans pursued their conquests with rapidity. Omar, the Caliph, had entrusted the command of the Egyptian expedition to Amru-ben-ulaz. Cyrus, however, on promise of a tribute, prevailed on the Infidel to retreat; but the terms were rejected by Manuel, then Augustal Praefect. Amru continued his victories in Syria, and was then about to return into Egypt, when he received sealed orders from Omar, by the hand of a confidential messenger. "Of what tenor are they?" he inquired naturally, before perusing them. "They desire you", replied the messenger, "if you are in Egypt on receiving the letter, to prosecute your design on that country; if not, to desist from it". "Keep the letters by you", answered the General; and immediately marched towards Egypt. As soon as he reached El-Arish, the first town in Africa, he halted, called for the dispatches, read them, and with great appearance of interest, demanded whether he were in Egypt. Answer being made in the affirmative,—"Then", said he, "we are directed by Omar to attempt its conquest".

The Roman forces were under the orders of Marianus. Cyrus advised him not to stake his success on an engagement, but rather to persuade the Emperor to compound for the safety of Egypt by the payment of a tribute, and to offer to betroth either his daughter Eudocia, or some other of the Royal Family, to the Caliph, "whom", said the Patriarch, "she would doubtless convert". Marianus rejected the advice, and marched to

the relief of Memphis, which Amru was then besieging. The Romans were defeated in three pitched battles, and the city surrendered, stipulating for safety of life and property on the payment of a tribute, through the intervention of the Jacobite Mokaukas, who had concealed his religion to obtain the government of the province. In consequence of the advice given by Cyrus, he was accused to the Emperor of strengthening the hands of the barbarians, and forthwith summoned to Constantinople. Heraclius heaped insults on his head, terming him a Pagan and the enemy of GOD, being irritated at the proposal made by him with respect to Eudocia. His life was even threatened, and what preserved him, it is not easy to say. It was probably the news of the farther success of the Saracens: possibly, information of the commencement of the siege of Alexandria. Cyrus was dismissed with power to treat with Amru, and to offer the annual tribute, if he would retreat from Egypt; but he arrived too late.

Amru was prosecuting the siege of Alexandria with vigour: it lasted fourteen months; at the end of which time it capitulated, and Egypt fell thus under the power of the Saracens. The walls were leveled, and many of the churches burnt; among which was that of S. Mark, in which the relics of the Evangelist reposed. While the fate of the library was undecided, a Jacobite, John, surnamed the Grammarian, esteemed among both Christians and Mussulmans for his learning, demanded it for himself. Amru replied, that he must know the Caliph's pleasure before he could reply. Omar returned for answer, says the often repeated but uncertain story of Abulpharaj, that if the books in question were in accordance with the Koran, they were superfluous; if in opposition to it, pernicious: in either case, to be destroyed. The four thousand baths of Alexandria were supplied by them with fuel for six months.

With the arrival of the Saracens, the Jacobites became, in a certain sense, the Christian Establishment of Egypt. It is true, they were sometimes exposed to persecution; but they always retained a degree of consequence and reputation; and in the eyes of the Mussulmans, the Jacobite Patriarch was the Patriarch of Alexandria. It is not difficult to account for this state of affairs. The Jacobites were, in the first place, by far the more numerous body: if we may believe Makrizi, the number of the Melchites did not amount to four hundred thousand.

Furthermore, from the circumstance that the Catholic Faith was the Faith of the State, all the civil governors and officers in the army, all, in short, who had offered any opposition to the Mahometans, were orthodox in their Creed:—a circumstance not calculated to procure it much favor in the eyes of the conquerors. Again, the Jacobites had suffered so severely from the Emperors of Constantinople, that, for the most part, they welcomed with open arms a change of dynasty; and thus procured favor in the eyes of their new masters. It may also be remarked, that the Melchites were for the most part Greeks, or of Greek extraction: the Jacobites native Egyptians. The Mussulmans could not but regard the former as the immediate dependants on their great enemy, the Emperor of Constantinople. Greek usages were beginning among them to supersede, as they afterwards did in a far more engrossing manner, national rites; and the circumstance that, however much in defiance of the Canons, the Catholic Patriarch was now usually consecrated in the Imperial City, would render him an object of suspicion to the Saracens.



To all this, we may add two further considerations. The one, that the natural tendency of error is to unite with error; the other, that the Catholic Church could not have been surprised in a more inopportune hour. The Master came; but she was not prepared. Her chief pastor was a heretic; and the sympathy and communion of the rest of Christendom, which might have supported and cheered her, were withheld or wanting.

One of the first acts of Amru was to give Benjamin a letter of safety, conceived in the following terms:—"Let every place, wherein Benjamin, Patriarch of the Coptic Christians, may be, possess full security, peace, and trust from God, let him come with safety and fearlessness, and freely administer the affairs of his Church and people". Benjamin availed himself of the concession, and returned to Alexandria, where he was received with great joy: he had an audience of Amru, who asserted that he had never seen one possessed of a more august aspect, or more resembling a Man of God. About this time, but the exact year is not certain, Cyrus departed this life.

The reader will bear in mind, that, from henceforth, our guides must principally be annalists infected with the Jacobite heresy. It is easy to guard against one of the inconveniences thence arising, that, namely, of the prejudice with which they view every event connected with their own, or with the Catholic Patriarchs; but we have to deplore unavailingly the very slight accounts which they give us of the true Egyptian Church, while dwelling at sufficient length on the achievements or reverses of their own sect. Of Peter we know hardly anything more than that he was a Monothelite. The precise date of his election is not known, nor indeed is it absolutely clear whether it were before or after the capture of Alexandria; but it is certain that Peter, as soon as he found Egypt irrecoverably in the power of the Saracens, retired to Constantinople.

The flight of Peter, and return of Benjamin to Alexandria, was the signal for a general defection from the Faith of Chalcedon: many who had professed it under Heraclius, either allured by the hope of reward, or terrified with the fear of punishment, now apostatized: others who had fled into Pentapolis, or various parts of Africa, returned to swell the ranks of the victorious sect. There were not, however, wanting those who remained firm in the orthodox belief. Benjamin was indefatigable in collecting the scattered members of his communion; in refounding monasteries and nunneries, and in reforming the corrupted morals of his flock. The lamentable confusion of things was increased by a severe famine, followed by a great mortality.

The See of Axum being at this time vacant, it was filled by Benjamin with Cyril, one of his own partisans. It appears that the monastic life had not until now been introduced into Ethiopia: its first originator, by name Teklahaimanot, is said to have been dispatched thither by Benjamin, and the name of this Monk is not only to this day illustrious in Ethiopia, but various extraordinary fables were propagated with respect to him in Europe. He may almost be considered the national Saint of the Ethiopians; and is thrice commemorated in their Calendar. Doubtless through all the fables which embellish his life, we may clearly see that he must have been a man of prodigious influence and reputation, and the "sons of Teklahaimanot" are as famous in the Ethiopic as the Benedictines in the Western Church. Till the occupation of Ethiopia by the

Portuguese Missionaries, it was usually believed that he lived before the Monophysite heresy, and was perhaps a disciple of S. Antony, or of one of S. Antony's followers. But it is now clear that he was a Jacobite : and there is no reason why we should not receive the Ethiopic tradition, that he was ordained Deacon by “Amba” Cyril at the age of fifteen.

Benjamin, finding himself unequal, from the advance of years, to take any active concern in the affairs of his Patriarchate, committed its more laborious concerns to Agatho, one of his Priests, and his successor. This man had been indefatigable, during the reign of Heraclius, in encouraging and exhorting the Alexandrian Monophysites, going from house to house in a disguise, for the purpose of avoiding the observation of the Orthodox.

One of the last acts which distinguished the life of Benjamin, was the consecration of the church of S. Macarius: a ceremony which must have been considered at the time of no small import, inasmuch as it forms a subject of commemoration in the Coptic Calendar. During the Episcopate of Benjamin, either weary of the errors of Jacobitism, into which they appear to have fallen after the death of Gregentius, or unable to obtain easy access to Alexandria, the Homerite embraced the opposite heresy of Nestorianism, and submitted themselves to the Catholic of Seleucia, Jesuiab II.

### SECTION II.

#### THE SEE VACANT.

ON the death of Peter, the Catholics were left without a Pastor for the long space of more than seventy years; and this was the most fatal blow that has ever been inflicted on the Alexandrian Church, and the cause of its having sunk into its present insignificance.

The state of Egypt in the meantime was most deplorable. During the early years of Mahometan power, the Caliph, as supreme Vicar of the Prophet, was regarded as the Lord of all the Musulman conquests: but, as it was impossible that he should attend personally to such large tracts of country, he had his Governor or Emir in each, removable indeed at his pleasure, but possessing, while in office, little less than absolute authority. Ill administration, if it produced complaints from the wretched inhabitants of the conquered regions, was easily overlooked by the Caliph on consideration of a bribe; a bribe also might procure the recall of the Governor, and the substitution of a more wealthy or more liberal candidate. To supply the requisite sum, both in the one and in the other case, the wealth of the Christians was the more heavily taxed, and as Egypt, on

account of its riches, was regarded as a peculiarly desirable prize, its Emirs were the more frequently changed, and the condition of its inhabitants the more miserable. At the same time, their lives were perfectly secure: it was the express injunction of Mahomet, that they who were willing to pay tribute should be no further molested. The Bishops, Priests, Abbats, and other dignitaries of the hierarchy were regarded with a certain degree of consideration by their Mahometan conquerors; and justice, in a certain sense, was dealt forth to them. Amru, misinformed as to the Christian Faith, naturally prejudiced against the Melchites, and assured by the Jacobites that themselves were the legitimate successors of S. Cyril, can hardly be blamed for having believed their assertions; when the Melchites, as the course of the history will show, made good their claim to the same character, they obtained in some degree a restitution of their rights.

It will be proper, for a few moments, to glance at the state of the rest of the Church, so far as respects the Monothelite heresy. It still continued to rule in the Church of Constantinople. Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius, was an inveterate upholder of the doctrine: and he, having renounced the Chair in disgust, was succeeded by Paul, also a determined Monothelite. Notwithstanding the lapse of Pope Honorius, the See of Rome remained pure from the infection; John IV, though excusing his predecessor on the ground that he simply condemned the assertion of two contrary Wills in CHRIST, condemned Monothelitism. Theodore, who followed him in the Chair of S. Peter, openly rejected the Ecthesis, in a letter addressed to Paul: and the Church of Jerusalem, and that of Africa, importuned the Pope to resist any innovation on the faith. S. Maximus, a native of Constantinople, and not more distinguished for his deep piety, than for his acute powers of argument, was the man whom God was pleased to choose at this period, as the great defender of His Truth. Abbat of Chrysopolis, near Chalcedon, he found his situation unsafe from the attacks of the barbarians, (by whom it is more likely that the Persians are meant than the Saracens,) and sought refuge in Africa. Pyrrhus, on leaving Constantinople, betook himself to the same province: and Gregory, its governor, conceived the idea of contriving a disputation between the two champions of their respective parties. Pyrrhus exerted his utmost powers: but was finally compelled to own, that the assertion of either One Will, or a Composed Will, could not be maintained, and that to forbid the expression of either One or Two Wills was irrational and uncatholic. He passed, after the conference, to Rome, where he retracted his error, although he afterwards relapsed.

As the Ecthesis continued to give universal dissatisfaction, Paul persuaded the Emperor Constantine to replace it by a new edict commonly known by the name of the Type, or Formulary: in which it was forbidden, for the future, to dispute on the subject in question. One of the last acts of Theodore's life, was the deposition of both Paul and Pyrrhus. The succeeding Pope, S. Martin, was honored by being permitted to suffer for the Truth. Encouraged by S. Maximus, then at Rome, he assembled a Council of more than one hundred Italian and African Bishops, in the church of S. Savior Lateran, better known by its later name of S. John Lateran, where, in the Fifth Session, twenty Canons were passed, condemning the heresy of the Monothelites, the Ecthesis, the Type, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Paul, and Pyrrhus of Constantinople. The letter announcing this

decree was addressed to the Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, in which, among other heretics, they were guarded against Peter of Alexandria, who was yet living.

Constans was indignant at the rejection of his Type. Martin was seized in Rome by the exarch Calliopa, imprisoned on board a vessel, conducted by a tedious voyage of three months to Constantinople, imprisoned, interrogated, insulted, tortured, and finally banished to Chersonesus: where, wearied out with privations, and ill treatment, he departed to his reward, after an exile of nearly six months. S. Maximus, after enduring many sufferings, was exiled, recalled, scourged, deprived of his tongue, and re-exiled, into the country of the Lazi, whither he was on his way, when called to his rest. S. Martin is by the Latin Church reckoned among the Martyrs; by the Greek, among the Confessors.

On the death of Benjamin, Agatho, of whose labors in the cause of his sect we have already spoken, was chosen his successor. He was particularly successful in uniting to the Jacobites the remains of the Gaianites and Barsanuphians, who up to this time existed in some numbers. But the days of this Patriarch were not tranquil. Theodosius, a Catholic, obtained from the reigning Caliph Yezid very extensive power over all the Christians of Alexandria, Marcotis, and the neighboring country: and strengthened by this grant, extorted a considerable tribute from Agatho, besides extraordinary contributions. Agatho, unwilling or unable to supply the latter, confined himself to his own house; and Theodosius gave orders that if he appeared beyond its precincts, he should be stoned.

A story is related of this Patriarch, which, if it proves nothing else, proves how tenacious were the Alexandrian Christians, even in the time of their depression, of the ancient Canons. Informed by revelation that John Semnudeus was to be his successor, Agatho would not permit him to be consecrated Bishop of any other place, lest his succession to Alexandria should thereby be prevented. Translations had, by this time, become common matters in other parts of the Church.

Agatho was succeeded by John Semnudeus, or John of Sebennythus,—that city being afterwards called Semnud,—though not, it would appear, without some opposition. Theodosius, on the death of the former Patriarch, affixed his seal on all the goods contained in the Episcopal residence, so that the domestics of Agatho had not, on that day, the necessary materials for one meal. Abdel-Aziz was now Governor of Egypt: a man, it would appear, not naturally indisposed to the Jacobites: for he at once redressed the injury of which they complained as having been inflicted by Theodosius. But on the entrance of the Governor on his province, it happened that John, through a mistake, did not pay him the customary compliments: on which a brother-in-law of Theodosius, who was now dead, took the opportunity of informing Abdel-Aziz, that the Patriarch John had amassed a considerable sum of money, and exhibited, in his ordinary behavior, the most intolerable pride. The Governor forthwith summoned John, and insisted on his paying into the public treasury a hundred thousand pieces of gold: and the more speedily to procure the money, he gave him into the charge of one of his officers, of harsh disposition and barbarous manners. John protested that he had not a hundred drachma in his possession: his keeper applied a vessel of hot coals to his feet,

in the hope of eliciting a different confession, but in vain. The sudden illness of the wife of Abdel-Aziz terrified the latter: and he changed his menaces into persuasions. But, these being equally unsuccessful, he threatened John to expose him, in the dress of a Jew, and with ashes on his head, to public insults: and at length, beginning to believe the Patriarch's excuses, he reduced his demands to fifty, and at length to ten thousand pieces of gold. The latter sum was promised by the Jacobites: and John was not only liberated, but dismissed with great honor. As it happened to be Maundy Thursday, he repaired forthwith to the church, and went through the customary ceremony of washing the feet: and, after distributing the Holy Eucharist to the people, he returned home. Abdel-Aziz seemed determined, by heaping benefits on the Jacobites, to make them forget his harsh treatment; he published an edict to the effect that none should presume to injure the Patriarch by word or deed; that he should have full liberty to go where he would; and should meet with due honor from all persons. His accuser was put to the torture and slain.

Encouraged by these proofs of the Governor's favor, John ventured on a laborious and extensive work, the rebuilding of the church of S. Mark. He accomplished it in three years, and the contributions of his flock towards it were very liberal. At this time, in a worldly point of view, the Patriarchate of Alexandria must, notwithstanding the domination of the infidels, have been a desirable post, and probably the Jacobite Communion was never in a more flourishing condition than now. Mills and oil presses were purchased for it by the Patriarch in more than one province of Egypt: and in a three years' famine, which was severely felt throughout the country, multitudes of poor were supplied, twice every week, with bread and money.

These temporal advantages no doubt co-operated with the absence of a Catholic Patriarch, to the spread of the Jacobite heresy in Egypt. The immense power which the See of Alexandria claimed, now turned out its most deadly enemy: there were no Metropolitans to consecrate Catholic Prelates throughout the Diocese, and consequently the orthodox Bishops were dying off, and the ignorant people were easily seduced by the fair words and specious arguments of the intruders: and the name of S. Cyril, whom they constantly cited as the first leader of their dogmas, must also have exercised great influence among a nation who fondly clung to it. Accordingly, during this Patriarchate, the Churches of Syene and Lycopolis appear to have been perverted from the truth.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Catholic Church, at the lowest ebb of its influence, ever actually ceased to exist either in Alexandria, or in the provinces. It possessed no Patriarchs: but a succession of Prelates was procured from Syria. It may be inferred, that those who were so consecrated, were Monothelites; but this heresy was now on the decline in Egypt, and wanted only the decision of an Ecumenical Council to disappear altogether.

In November, AD 680, the Sixth General Council was, by the efforts of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, assembled at Constantinople. The number of Prelates were small compared with those of Nicaea or Chalcedon, as in the fullest session there were not more than between a hundred and sixty and a hundred and seventy present. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were there in person: Pope Agatho was

represented by his three legates: the domination of the infidels prevented the appearance of any delegate from Jerusalem, and the members of the Church in Alexandria commissioned Peter, a Priest of that Church, “and Vicar”,—so he signs himself- “of the Apostolic Throne”, to represent the Egyptians. The seventeen, or as the Latins reckon them, eighteen sessions of the Council lasted from the November of 680, till the August of 681: and the great and Canonical order of its proceedings is very observable. Macarius of Antioch was the chief support of the Monothelites: and after a fair hearing, and candid examination of the passages he quoted from the Fathers in his defense, he was condemned, with the partners of his errors. In this condemnation Pope Honorius was included, being anathematized with Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and others, in the thirteenth session, hold on the twenty-eighth of March.

It was, however, impossible that this Council could in any way assist the suffering Alexandrian Church, further than by ridding it of the dangerous heresy which it had hitherto allowed, if not embraced, and which, while it lasted, rendered its dispute with the Jacobites a question rather of words than of things.

In the meantime Semnudeus, desirous of not repeating his former cause of offence, proposed to visit the court of Abdel-Aziz, for the purpose of paying his respects to the Governor: but was seized with a pleurisy on the journey, and brought back to Alexandria by water. Finding his end approaching, he gave orders that he should be carried into the church of S. Mark, which he himself had built: and there, while engaged in celebrating the Holy Eucharist, fell into a swoon, and, being borne into a neighboring house, expired. Nov. 27, 686.

On the death of Semnudeus, the Bishops who had consoled him in his last moments, assembled in Council with the Priests of the Church of Alexandria, and the most influential of the laity, elevated George, a deacon of the Church of Saca, or Xoïs, to the vacant Chair. The consent of the Emir, however, had not been previously obtained; and they determined, if their choice should be displeasing to him, to shelter themselves under the plea, that the late Patriarch had bound them by oath to this election. It does not appear that there were any grounds for such a statement. George was accordingly ordained Priest: and public notice was given, that on the following day he would receive Episcopal Consecration. At the time appointed, clad in the Patriarchal robes, he was led towards the church; when the consecrators were met by Mark the Archdeacon, a man of consummate prudence, who represented it to be contrary to custom, that a Patriarch of Alexandria should be consecrated, except on the Sunday. The ceremony was thus procrastinated: and before it could take place, letters arrived from Abdel-Aziz, commanding the attendance of all the parties concerned, at Misra, better known by the name of Old Cairo. He gave the matter a patient hearing, when it became evident, that Isaac, a monk of S. Macarius, had been the man whom Semnudeus had intended as his successor. The election of George was hereupon pronounced null and void, and Isaac consecrated with the consent of all parties.

It is worthy of observation, that, tenacious as in many points the Egyptian Jacobites were of the discipline of the early Church, they permitted, without scruple, that a Bishop should nominate his successor. This was contrary to Canons, no less



express than repeated: and yet it had been the constant use of the Church of Alexandria. So we have seen S. Athanasius designated by Alexander as his successor: so also Achilas and Alexander himself by S. Peter the Martyr.

It appears that at this time war was raging between the Emperor of Ethiopia, and the King of Nubia. Isaac wrote letters exhorting them to concord: and this is the first instance which occurs of any ecclesiastical connection between Nubia and Egypt. The act, however, was misrepresented to Abdel-Aziz, whether as a political intrigue for the overthrow of the Mahometans, or in some other light equally offensive to the Emir: and Isaac. was condemned to lose his head. In this extremity, his friends, by a substitution of letters entirely free from offence, in the place of those with which the Legates were really charged, contrived to pacify the Governor, and to preserve the life of the Patriarch.

But Abdel-Aziz, though prevailed on to spare Isaac, commenced a persecution of the Christians. He ordered that all the Crosses, of whatever material, in use for the Divine Offices, should be broken: and he insulted the Faith by the sentences which he required to be written on the church-doors. Thus, he gave directions that the words, MAHOMET, THE GREAT APOSTLE OF GOD, and JESUS CHRIST, the APOSTLE or Goo, should be painted there in juxtaposition; as also the famous sentence, from the Koran, GOD NEITHER BEGGETTEH, NOR IS BEGOTTEN. Thus the Christians could not assemble for worship, without having their eyes wounded, and their feelings shocked by blasphemy. Isaac, however, was enabled to restore, at very great expense, the church of S. -Mark named Kamseia: and to build one at Holwan, the place where he had first met Abdel-Aziz. The Patriarch did not long enjoy his dignity. His life was written by a Bishop named Mennas; and the work is preserved in MS. in the Vatican Library. He is commemorated by the Ethiopians under the title of The Just.

On the death of Isaac, a difficulty arose as to the choice of his successor. The Priests of the Angelium, a hundred and forty in number, and a very influential body, were in favor of John, Abbat of Mount Nitria, or as the Arabic writers term it, Elzejage : that dignitary was also supported by a relation, who happened to be Secretary of State to the Emir. The second candidate was Victor, Archimandrite of some other monastery. John's party prevailed, and he was carried before Abdel-Aziz, that he might obtain the confirmation of his election.

It happened that in the same monastery of Mount Nitria, there was a monk of considerable eminence for his learning, by name Simon. A Syrian by birth, he had been early dedicated by his parents to the service of GOD: and they had made choice of Mount Nitria as the House to which he should be offered, because the remains of the famous Jacobite Severus reposed there; this heretic being venerated by his party as a Saint, second only to Dioscorus, and the object of especial devotion to his fellow countrymen, the Syrians. As the youth grew up, he distinguished himself by the study of the Scriptures, the greater part of which he knew by heart, and was an especial favorite of the Abbat, whom he accompanied, when he presented himself before the Emir. A considerable number of the most influential Jacobites followed the Patriarch elect: the Emir, struck with the dignity and calmness which distinguished John, demanded

whether the choice which marked him out were unanimous. Those who were present replied with one voice that it was, and signified their approbation by loud acclamations; when, on a sudden, a Bishop who was present observed, without consulting any of his brethren, that John would not be their Patriarch. "Whom then", continued Abdel-Aziz, while all around were struck with astonishment, "do you consider worthy of the vacant dignity?" "Simon", replied the Prelate. "What countryman is he?" continued the Emir. Those who stood around made answer that he was a Syrian. "And is there no one", pursued the Governor, "of this country, who has merit enough to assume its Patriarchate?" The by-standers observed that their choice had already fallen on an Egyptian: but that the Will of God, and the Emir's pleasure, must decide the matter. Simon here took occasion to remark, that no more deserving candidate than John, his own spiritual father, could be supplied either by Egypt, or the whole East: and urged Abdel-Aziz to confirm his election. But the Christians were so fascinated by the modesty of his speech, that with one accord they demanded him for their Patriarch, and the Emir having consented, he was consecrated in the church of the Angelium. His first act was to appoint John his coadjutor in the more difficult affairs of his Diocese: he still acknowledged him as his master, and was in all respects guided by his advice. When, at the end of three years, the Abbat was seized with a mortal disease, the Patriarch hardly left him during the forty days that it lasted, and finally closed his eyes. He erected him a sepulcher, and gave directions that his own remains should be interred beside those of his beloved master.

He relaxed nothing of the severity of the monastic rule in his new dignity: never tasted flesh, and sought, as far as might be, to remain in solitude. It is not wonderful that Jacobite authors should have attributed to him the power of miracles. And here we may remark, that we shall not relate any legends of a similar kind, unless they are such as to throw light on the doctrine or discipline of the Jacobite Communion. This is not the place to discuss the very difficult question, whether it may ever have pleased GOD in a contest between, on the one hand, an infidel power, and on the other a branch of the Church, whether heretical and schismatical, as the Egyptian and Antiochene Jacobites, purely heretical, as the Ethiopians and Nubians, or purely schismatical, as in later times, the Alexandrian Bishops of the Latin Rite, to bear testimony to the great portion of truth which even the worst of the three latter cases has retained, by the intervention of a miracle. But it may at least be said, that such accounts should be very cautiously received: the more so, when related by authors who speak of similar manifestations of power exerted on behalf of their own heresy or schism against the True Church.

John, Bishop of Nicius, a observer of the Canons, was made by Simon superintendent of the Egyptian Monasteries. This was a post of no small difficulty and labor, for the zeal for monastic life was still vigorous in Egypt, and new cells were built every day. A monk, who was convicted of adultery, was by this Prelate's order so severely scourged, that he died on the tenth day. The Bishops, indignant at this cruelty, petitioned the Patriarch to deprive the offender, which was accordingly done, in spite of the imprecations with which John loaded his accusers: and it would appear that this was the first instance of the deposition of a Prelate which had occurred in the Jacobite Communion in Egypt.

The Catholics still remained in a lamentable state of depression. There were, however, two officers of the bedchamber in time court of Abdel-Aziz, who retained the True Faith : they obtained leave from the Emir to erect a church, and accordingly built a small one at Holwan, known in after ages by the name of that of the Two Grooms of the Chamber. Depressed, however, as the Catholic Church was, it did not fail to send a Legate to time Council summoned by Justinian II, to Constantinople, in the year 691. As neither the Fifth nor Sixth Ecumenical Councils had composed any Canons of discipline, it was desired to supply the defect; and being designed to serve as a supplement to them, this Synod is usually known by the name of the Quinisext. It is also called the Council in Trullo,—from the Council place chosen for its sessions,—a large room of the palace, covered with a dome, and thence called Trullus. The Emperor had intended that it should be Ecumenical: the Legates of Pope Sergius, the Patriarchs of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and Peter, Vicar-General of Alexandria, the same who had been present at the Sixth Council, all appeared, with other Bishops to the number of two hundred and eleven. But as the Pope's Legates refused to sanction the Canons, which were afterwards condemned at Rome, this Synod can only be considered as a General Council of the Eastern Church, by which its Canons, in number one hundred and two, have been ever since received as a rule of Church discipline.

The most important of these Canons is that which treats on the marriage of the Clergy. The Fathers of the Quinisext Council blame the strictness of the Western rule, and while they forbid marriage after elevation to the Priesthood or Diaconate, they allow those who are already married to be raised to either order, forbidding any vow of continence to be imposed on them at the time of their ordination. But Bishops, whether previously married or not, are bound to observe entire continence. They also enjoin, apparently hinting at the disorders beginning to be introduced into the Latin Church, that if any married Clerk pretends to observe continence, he should entirely quit the society of his wife, thereby proving his vow to have been made in earnest. The other Canons of this Council we shall have a fitter opportunity of noticing.

It is remarkable that in this Council, Peter of Alexandria should have signed himself Bishop of that city. Difficult as was then the intercourse between Egypt and Constantinople, there must have been too much to allow a Presbyter to pretend himself the Patriarch. Probably he assumed this title, as having as much authority to represent the Church of Alexandria as if he had been really Patriarch; and perhaps also to give his signature more weight at Rome, where the posture of affairs might not be so well understood. The Council were extremely desirous to obtain the Pope's subscription: a blank was left for it in the highest place, and immediately underneath followed the names of the three other Patriarchs and Peter. The document might be supposed to possess the appearance of more authority, if the hither assumed the title which he merely represented.

At this time there arose a set of heretics in Egypt, who taught that it was lawful at pleasure to divorce a wife. The Jacobite Bishops separated these men from their Communion, and, indignant at the insult, they applied to the Emir, pretending that the Prelates, their enemies, forbade marriage and permitted fornication. The Emir, knowing that the usual expedient among Christians, in case of any difficulty, was to decide it by

a Council, determined on having recourse to this method, and accordingly summoned the Bishops of every sect, and from all parts of Egypt, to discuss the subject. Sixty-four assembled, and we may hence learn how much its distractions had numerically weakened the Egyptian Church. S. Athanasians could convene a hundred Catholic Prelates; but now, Jacobites, Gaianites, Barsanuphians, and Catholics, who seem to have been termed Theophylactians, could not furnish two-thirds of that number.

While this Council was sitting, news arrived of the disturbances at Constantinople, which had ended in the deposition of Justinian. The Emperor, already odious for his bad conduct, at length arrived at such a pitch of frenzy, as to order a general massacre of the inhabitants of the metropolis, to commence with the Patriarch. Leontius, a patrician of eminence, who had gained reputation by his military conduct in the East, but had afterwards been detained three years in prison, was entrusted with the government of Greece, with orders to take his departure instantly. At the instigation of his friends, who contrived to liberate many prisoners, he put himself at the head of a party of the citizens, seized the Emperor, mutilated, and sent him into exile, and himself assumed the purple.

On the receipt of these tidings, the Emir, whose conduct to the Christians had been probably influenced by the fear of Justinian, imagining the power of the Greek empire to be seriously shaken, began to give the rein to his natural disposition.

He forbade the celebration of the Divine Offices, upbraiding the Christians, as well with their belief in the SON of GOD,—the common reproach of the Mussulmans,—as also with their intestine divisions. Summoning the assembled Fathers, he inquired of the Gaianite Bishop which Prelate, not of his own sect, he considered to be nearest to the truth. The Bishop pointed to Simon, the Jacobite. The same question, put to George the Barsanuphian and Theophylact, a Catholic Prelate, met with the same reply. Simon was then asked, which of his rivals he thought the most sound in doctrine. The Jacobite Patriarch made answer that he could fix on none as in any degree entitled to his approval, inasmuch as he anathematized equally, Melchites, Barsanuphians, and Gaianites.

Shortly afterwards, a Priest arrived from India, requesting Simon to ordain a Bishop for that country. It is difficult to say what region is meant, in this instance, by the name India: whether India properly so called, Ethiopia, or the Homerite. It is probable, however, that it is not the Homerite who are intended, because, in the first place, the Priest is said to have been black, and in the second, not to have been a subject of the Mahometans. Neither is it likely that Ethiopia is meant, as well because a Metropolitan, not a Bishop, would have been, as the custom was, requested, as because the course taken by the messenger on his return was not towards Ethiopia. We may therefore probably understand the Church of Malabar, commonly called the Christians of S. Thomas. It is true that, at this time, so far as the obscurity of history permits us to discover, this people were Nestorians; but it is also true that Nestorians and Jacobites have always been more ready to sympathize with each other than with the Catholic Church, which takes the *via media* between their errors. The Malabar Church, instead of sending to the Catholic of Chaldea for a Bishop or Metropolitan, might have found it

more easy to apply to Simon. At all events, if the Legate did not come from Malabar, he must have come from some country beyond the Abyssinians, and on the eastern coast of Africa.

Simon, in answer to the application, returned, that he was unable to comply with their request, until he should have obtained the sanction of the Emir, which he offered, if they wished it, to request. But in the meantime, Theodore the Gaianite obtained the confidence of the foreign Priest, and having ordained a Bishop for India, and two Priests as his companions, he sent them away. After twenty days' journey they were arrested, and, with the exception of the Indian, who saved himself by flight, carried as prisoners before Abdel-Melech the Caliph. The latter commanded them to be punished by the loss of their hands and feet, and returned them into Egypt, blaming the Emir for allowing spies to pass from his province to India, and commanding that the Patriarch who had presumed to ordain the prisoners, should receive two hundred blows, and pay an enormous sum to the treasury. Simon protested his innocence, but without obtaining credit: he petitioned for a delay of three days, in which time the Indian Priest was found, who confirmed his account. The Indian was thrown into prison, and Theodore the Gaianite crucified: the Emir at the same time wrote to the Caliph, setting forth the true history of the proceedings, and giving Simon a high character for probity and moderation.

Abdel-Aziz, intent on beautifying the principal cities of his province, carried on considerable works, such as the erection of market-places, baths, and aqueducts, at Alexandria, Holwan, and his own residence, Misra. The latter city we have had occasion to mention. Its original name was Babylon; and it is by some, although erroneously, imagined to be referred to under that name in the first Epistle of S. Peter. It became deserted in the sixth century, and from its ruins Old Cairo arose: the Emirs fixed their seat here, and gave it the name of Misra, from Misraim, the name, throughout all the Semitic family, of that people. In Holwan the Christians were commanded to build two churches, as a public ornament: and the work was put under the direction of Gregory, Bishop of Kis, a town known to the Romans by the name of Cusae, in the province of the first Thebaid. The whole of Egypt suffered much from the passion of Abdel-Aziz for building: he is termed by the Eastern historians a second Pharaoh. Simon, however, prudently took care that the works with which the Christians were charged should be finished with diligence, so to prevent all pretext for another persecution. The Patriarch did not long survive these events: he died on the Feast of Pentecost, and was buried in the monastery of Mount Nitria, where he had been educated, near the tomb of his Abbat John. His memory is celebrated, as a great Festival, by both Ethiopians and Copts, on the twenty-fourth of July. Among his other miracles, he is said to have thrice received poison, after he had celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and to have escaped unharmed: a fourth attempt, made before he had celebrated, was followed by forty days' illness.

On the death of Simon, there was a vacancy of three years, from what cause is unknown: and for some portion of that time the affairs of the Church were administered by Gregory, Bishop of Kis. At the end of that time, Alexander, a monk of Nitria, was raised to the Jacobite Throne, to which he had not long been consecrated, when a persecution broke out over Egypt.



Asabah, the eldest son of Abdel-Aziz, was at this time entrusted with the chief care of the government, to which it was believed that he would succeed; and his cruel and rapacious temper, and sentiments of hatred to the Christian religion, caused him to be viewed with terror and dislike. He admitted to his intimacy a Deacon, by name Benjamin, an apostate, who instructed him in the mysteries of the Faith, explaining to him the Gospels in Arabic, and reading to him various books on the subject of religion, and several of the Synodal Letters of the Patriarchs.

From his increased knowledge, the infidel only acquired increased opportunities of blasphemy: and listening to the calumnies of some who had access to his person, although fire-worshippers by religion, he conceived a particular aversion from the Monks. He commissioned Yezid, one of his courtiers, to take a census of the Monks throughout Egypt, for the purpose of imposing a capitation tax of one gold piece on each: and at the same time forbade that any one, in future, should take upon himself monastic vows. Besides the common tribute which the Bishops paid, he loaded them with a tax of two thousand golden pieces. The apostate Benjamin incited him to carry on his tyrannical proceedings; and their violence was such, that many, both of the Clergy and laity, embraced Mohammedanism. The storm, however, did not last long. Asabah and Abdel-Aziz were removed from the world within a few weeks of each other; and the Jacobite historians assure us that the circumstances attending their decease were such as evidently to prove a supernatural effect of GOD'S vengeance. Asabah, they affirm, entered one of the churches at Holwan, and after looking at an icon of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Child, inquired of the Bishop, who was present, whom it was intended to represent. On being informed, he blasphemed and spat on it, and pledged himself, at some future time, to exterminate Christianity from the country; "for who", asked he, "is CHRIST, that he should be thought worthy of Divine honors?" He was terrified, the same night, by a vision of the Judgment-seat of God: he beheld himself and his father brought in chains before the Throne, and condemned to perish. He related the dream to Abdel-Aziz; was the next day carried off by a violent fever; and was followed, at no long period of time, to the grave by his father, who died of a broken heart.

The Caliph Abdel-Melech appointed his son Abdallah Emir of Egypt. This Prince excelled his predecessors in cruelty: he invented tortures for the Christians, and delighted in commanding the head of a guest to be struck off as he sat at table. Notwithstanding these ferocities, it was necessary that Alexander should wait on him at Misra, for the purpose of complimenting him on his accession. It was with difficulty that he was admitted into the presence of the tyrant, who at length condescended to ask him whether he were the man whom the Christians venerated as a father? The reply being in the affirmative, Abdallah gave the Patriarch into the hands of one of his officers, with the direction to obtain from him the greatest sum of money that it appeared possible to extort. Alexander was thrown into prison; and three thousand pieces of gold was the sum which his captors demanded. The Christians who were about the court, prayed that some abatement might be made in the terms; but their petitions were useless. After three days, George, a Deacon, who was present, and who was convinced that till the money was paid down, the Patriarch would not be freed, obtained



leave to take the charge of Alexander, engaging, at the expiration of two months, to produce him. In that time, he said, he could, by travelling through the towns and villages, and exhibiting to the people the sorrows of their Patriarch, collect from their charity the required donation. His request was granted: and thus was the lamentable state of the Christians in Egypt vividly displayed. The heretical occupier of the Chair of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril was compelled to wander, like a vagabond, from city to city, and from hamlet to hamlet, committed to the charge of one who was responsible for his return to the court of his persecutor, and endeavoring to excite pity where he might, and to obtain alms where he could. The required sum was at last obtained: and the insatiable Abdallah doubled, and in one year trebled the tribute paid by the Christians: observing that he considered them no better than Romans or Greeks, and the enemies of God. He took a census of all the Christian youth: he branded all strangers on the forehead or in the hands: nor would he allow the dead to be committed to the grave before tribute money was paid for each. Churches were spoiled and laid waste: those persons who were able, fled: many in their wanderings died of hunger, and lay unburied.

A rebellion took place in Lower Egypt; but the Christians were overcome in a bloody battle, and the persecution became more severe.

This lamentable state of things lasted two years: at the end of which time, the Caliph Abdel-Melech dying, was succeeded by his son Walid: who made many changes with respect to his Emirs, and amongst others, replaced Abdallah by Korahben-Serik. The friends of the late Emir, whether Mussulmans or Christians, were alike thrown into prison; but the condition of the Jacobites was not improved. On the complimentary visit paid by Alexander to Korah, another sum of three thousand pieces of gold was demanded. The Patriarch replied, and swore to the truth of his statement, that he had no money by him, except a sum quite insignificant in comparison of that demanded: adding, that the donations required by Abdallah had been raised by begging, and that he was in a state of poverty. The Emir was unmoved, and still insisted on the amount named, giving Alexander leave to collect it in Upper Egypt. Thither he accordingly bent his steps; and was received with great joy by the inhabitants, who had not seen a Patriarch among them since the time of Benjamin. He was accompanied by his Treasurer and his Secretary, who however appear to have remained in the northern parts of the Thebais, while the Patriarch himself pursued his journey to its very extremity. In the meantime, a recluse, who had two Monks as disciples, directed them to prepare him a cell in another place: in digging its foundations, they discovered five chests of ancient Creek coins. Four of these they showed to their master: the fifth they reserved for their own use. The old man gave directions that the supply, so providentially sent, should be presented to the Patriarch; but, as he was still absent, it was entrusted to the hands of his Treasurer and his Secretary, who appropriated it to themselves. The two Monks, so unexpectedly possessed of a treasure, threw off the ascetic life, gave a loose to their passions, and reveled in splendor and luxury. As it was known that they had possessed no property which could support this extravagance, one of them was arrested on suspicion, and being put to the torture, he confessed his own theft, at the same time mentioning the parties to whom four of the chests had been entrusted. The matter came to the ears of the Emir: he, apparently believing that there must be some collusion

between the Patriarch and his followers, commanded the great church of Alexandria and the Bishop's Palace to be shut up: seized all the moveables and books that were to be found in the latter: commanded the Patriarch to be brought in chains before him: upbraided him as guilty of perjury in the oath he had taken of his poverty: threatened him with death, and finally, after seven days' imprisonment, dispatched him again on the same cruel errand. Two years' wandering, produced only a third part of the sum demanded; and with this, it would appear, the Emir was compelled to rest contented.

But no sooner had he emerged from this danger than Alexander was beset by another. He was accused to Korah of having a private mint in the patriarchal residence, and of striking money there. This calumny was willingly believed, and acted upon without inquiry: a band of soldiers was sent to the Episcopal palace, and though no trace whatever of the proceedings in question could be discovered, the Patriarch and all who were in the house were seized, and scourged till they were covered with blood, and in danger from the severity of the punishment.

The selfishness of the Alexandrian Ecclesiastics augmented the troubles of their Patriarch. At Easter, although aware of the poverty of their Church, they demanded their accustomed presents; and though Alexander represented to them that the Holy Mysteries were celebrated in glass and wood, instead of gold and silver, they were hardly to be pacified. But one Jounes, a Jacobite of eminence, and possessing some influence with the Emir, bethought himself of a method by which he could in some degree lighten the load under which his brethren were laboring. He requested Korah to put the enforcement of the tribute into his hands, observing that, as at present collected, it fell unequally, the distinction between the wealthy and the destitute not being sufficiently observed. On being raised to the post for which he had petitioned, he also obtained leave to double the tribute of those who were neither Musulmans nor members of the Church, intending, of course, by the latter denomination, Jacobites only. Those so punished included, in all probability, the Melchites, as well as the heretical sects. Alexander seems to have considered this a favorable opportunity for increasing the influence of his party: and accordingly set forth on a patriarchal visitation, the peculiar privileges of the Bishop of Alexandria giving him, as we have so often before had occasion to remark, metropolitical powers over his whole Diocese.

In Sais, or, as the Arabians call it, Sa, he found a large number of Gaianites and Semidalites. Having convinced them of their error, he re-baptized them; a fact which shows what was the Jacobite use as to the reception of heretics, at least at this time; for authors of that sect are not agreed as to the propriety of re-baptizing. In the Diocese of Mena, a name which seems corrupted, there were a large number of unbaptized Monks, as well as Barsanuphians, all of whom he received into his Communion.

Korah, after a short pause, renewed his vexations and exactions, seizing at his pleasure the wealth of those men of eminence who were Christians. He extorted from the Bishops an additional sum of a hundred thousand pieces of gold, and in order to prevent the emigration which his violence occasioned, he appointed an officer for the express purpose of punishing with death such as should presume to change the place of their abode, for the purpose of escaping the fury of the tyrant. A pestilence, which broke

out in Egypt, added to the miseries of that unhappy country; unless, indeed, the benefit it conferred by carrying off Korah might be considered an equivalent for its ravages.

But the persecution did not end with the persecutor. Theodore, lieutenant of Korah at Alexandria, appears to have taken upon himself the administration of the province, until the appointment of another Emir; and to gratify his avarice, he gave orders that the piers of porphyry and marble should be removed from many of the churches, the ruin of which necessarily followed.

The new Emir was Asama, appointed either by Walid or by his successor Soliman and he surpassed his predecessors in cruelty. Famine trod in the steps of the plague: and pestilence again followed famine. The Monks, in the meanwhile, were the special object of the tyrant's hatred: he renewed the law against the future adoption of a religious vow; he took a census of all the existing Monks, and he commanded that each of them should wear on his right hand an iron fetter, upon which the name of his house and the year of the hegira was engraved. Those who attempted to fly, or who were discovered without that badge of ignominy, he mutilated or blinded: he put many to death, some of whom expired by tortures; and at length, giving a full rein to his avarice, he allowed his ministers to put to death whom they would, on the condition that he received the property of the murdered person. Thus Bishops, Churches, and individuals were reduced to destitution; and such was the Emir's passion for amassing gold, that the value of that metal rose considerably. Many were reduced to sell their children for subsistence; and when it might have been thought that human ingenuity could not suggest a further method for the extortion of money, the Emir commanded that no one should presume to travel without a passport, which was to be obtained for ten gold pieces; and if lost, must be replaced by another which cost the same sum. The story is even told of a woman who, journeying with her son, had given the necessary titles of security into his care: the latter, while drinking at the river side, was seized and devoured by a crocodile, and the wretched mother was compelled to sell some of her garments and to beg, to avoid the amputation of her hands, the penalty attached to the neglect of the Emir's law.

On the death of Soliman, Omar, his successor, threw Asama into chains, and he perished miserably at Misra. The government of the new Caliph, who does not seem to have sent any Emir into Egypt, at first gave some alleviation to the Christians; and the Churches and Bishops were freed from tribute. But shortly afterwards, letters arrived in Egypt, commanding that all Christians should embrace Islam, or, failing that, should leave the country. His successor, Yezid, the sixteenth Caliph, renewed the taxes abolished by his predecessor, and gave orders for the destruction of all the images which adorned the churches. His successor, Hischam, showed himself much more favorable to the Christians. Obeidallah, however, the Emir whom he appointed over Egypt, did not share his master's sentiments; he doubled the tributes, he not only numbered the Christians, but decreed that all such should wear round their necks a leaden signet, on which the figure of a lion was engraved. The Patriarch, summoned before this Emir, escaped by sea, accompanied by the Bishop of Wissim, a city the situation of which is unknown. On arriving at a place called Paroeut, Alexander was seized with mortal sickness, and was released by death from his many sufferings, in

which, although a heretic, he had set a noble example of consoling and supporting his flock. (Feb. 1, AD 726). The Bishop who accompanied him, AbaHamoul, was arrested, and commanded to pay a thousand pieces of gold to Obeidallah; unable to do this, he was dragged with blows through the streets of Misra, and being suspended before the doors of the church of S. George, was scourged almost to death, until he was ransomed on the payment, by the Christians, of three hundred pieces of gold. He is celebrated in the Ethiopic Calendar on the first of February. The sanctity of the Jacobite Monks at this time is the theme of great praise among their own historians: the monastery of Semida, and its archimandrite Aba-Sebeb, are especially lauded; as also Abraham and Genge, Monks of Wad y Habib, of whom Abraham is commemorated by the Ethiopians on the fourth of January.

Cosmas, a native of Panopolis and a Monk of S. Macarins, was against his will, as the character of the times rendered likely, elevated to the Patriarchate. He was instant in prayer to obtain a speedy release from the afflictions and dangers of his station, and only sat fifteen months. He is commemorated on the twenty-seventh of February; and his Ethiopic encomiast relates that during his short Episcopate the Church enjoyed peace. We must again repeat, that the dates of these events are extremely uncertain: the Arabic historians contradict each other, and the same writer sometimes differs from himself. The dates assigned, it is hoped, be found the most probable, where there is any obscurity or difficulty, but are not to be understood as offered with any further degree of confidence than as representing the time within two or three years either way.

Theodore, a Monk of Mareotis, succeeded to the vacant dignity. But it will now be proper, before we relate the re-establishment of a Catholic Patriarch in Alexandria, to dwell for a short time on some of the rites and ceremonies attendant on the election and consecration of the Jacobite Patriarchs, which we shall not have another so fair opportunity of relating.

### SECTION III.

#### ON THE METHOD OF ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE JACOBITE PATRIARCHS.

IT was unnecessary, while treating of the flourishing times of the Alexandrian Church, to dwell at any length on the method observed in the election and consecration of its Patriarchs, unless it were on the extraordinary privileges attached to the Priests of Alexandria, to which we have already referred. But the case becomes different when Egypt had fallen into the power of the Musulmans. Not only was freedom of election denied, but other changes, in consequence of the transfer of the seat of government from Alexandria to Misra, or Cairo, were necessarily made, which it will not be unprofitable

to particularize. The election of Jacobite Patriarchs will, if the paradox may be allowed, better exhibit a specimen of the manner in which the Church adapts herself to existing circumstances, than that of the orthodox Prelates; because the latter, as we have before said, were molded and acted on by foreign influence; while the former, in the details of ceremonial and the observance of the Canons, departed little from the spirit of their forefathers. The reader will by this time, we hope, have formed a tolerably accurate conception of the relative strength, position, and bearing of the two rival Communions in Egypt. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find a parallel to the condition of the Catholic Church in that country: but some idea of it may be obtained, if we remark that it much resembled that which, to the eye of a Romanist, his own Communion in England must possess. It was Catholic, but that was all; it did not possess the people's love; it was in no sense national; it was supported and fostered by foreign influence, and, last and not least, it was not established.

On the death, then, of a Jacobite Patriarch, the neighboring Bishops assembled, in order to proceed to a new election. The place of their meeting was sometimes at Alexandria, sometimes at Cairo; and, generally speaking, the two cities alternately enjoyed that honor. When this custom arose we have not the means of determining; nor does any instance present itself of its adoption earlier than the eleventh century. Its origin appears to be, that those laymen, who, on account of the proximity of the Court, had taken up their abode in Cairo, were unwilling to be deprived of all interest in the election: and perhaps, also, that it was found prudent to be near the Governor, in order with the greater ease to obtain his approbation of the party chosen. On the other hand, as well ancient precedent as the wishes of those who still remained at Alexandria, would vindicate the election for that city; and the matter could in no manner be compromised with such facility as by bestowing the privilege alternately on each. For a privilege it was felt to be: inasmuch as although the city in which it was held could not by any means determine the person to be elected, it yet acquired, for the time being, a greater influence than it would otherwise have obtained. There are also instances of the Bishops meeting in the monastery of S. Macarius. In later ages, Cairo only was the place of election.

The assembly consisted of such Prelates as were able to be present, each attended by his own Priest: the Clergy and principal laity of Cairo: the principal laity and Clergy of Alexandria; and, in the midst of the assembly, the Priests of the Church of S. Mark, in the same city, headed by their Proto-pope, or Arch-Priest, and occupying that post, as principally concerned in the election. The rest took their places in order of consecration, and the senior Bishop presided; for, as we have had occasion to remark in another place, there was no Jacobite Metropolitan in Egypt. The first proceedings were the celebration of Mass, and the offering of prayers for the Divine direction; and license was obtained from the Emir, or, in after times, from the Sultan: until this *congé d'élire* was granted—and there are instances of its being refused—the business could not proceed, or if it did, the whole was invalid. It may be observed that, with the advance of ages, the liberty of election was gradually diminished: until, at length, in many instances, the highest bidder was sure to obtain the Prince's favor, and the consequent election of the obsequious Council.



Among the laity and Clergy, the most important influence was possessed by the Priests of S. Mark. In former times, the election had been, as we have seen, entirely vested in their hands. But after the Mussulman invasion, this privilege was abolished: they still, however, retained that of being the first to give their opinion, though, when the election was held at Cairo, the Clergy of this city disputed with them the right. The right of proposal lay among the Priests and the laity, and in all cases the Alexandrians enjoyed more influence than the Cairites; but a strong protest from the united body of Bishops frequently prevented the adoption of an otherwise popular candidate. Disputes on such occasions sometimes ran high, and protracted or postponed the election for many months.

It sometimes happened that an ambitious ecclesiastic would procure letters commendatory from the Emir; in such cases a remonstrance was made by the Bishops and principal laymen, setting forth the inherent right of every Church to elect its own governors; and it rarely occurred, during the earlier ages of Mussulman rule, that they ultimately elected any one whom they did not approve. Thus the enslaved Jacobites rejected a yoke to which Catholics, in a free country, unworthily submit!

It was necessary that the suffrages should be unanimous: and where there was a difference of opinion, the Bishops endeavored, to the utmost of their power, that the matter should be discussed in an amicable manner: and any necessary length of time was allowed, for the purpose of arriving at an unanimous decision. There may be said to have been three parties influencing the result—the Prelates, the Alexandrians, and the Cairites. The Priests and laics voted together: the Bishops formed a separate body. But when an election was incapable of being decided in the ordinary method, recourse was had, in a solemn manner, to casting lots. In the first place, a hundred Monks were selected, of such as appeared fittest for the Patriarchate. From these, by plurality of voices, fifty were chosen; from these, twenty-five; from these, ten; and from these again, three. It might happen, that a sudden outburst of feeling directed itself in favor of one of the three; and in this case the thing was considered as providentially arranged; but if this did not occur, then the matter was committed to the lot. This casting of lots was known by the name of Heikelia, or Heikeliet, a derivative from the word Heikel, which signifies the Holy of Holies, and even the Altar itself; because it was at the Altar that the matter was entrusted to the Hand of GOD. The name of each of the candidates was written on a piece of parchment, and the three placed in an urn, a fourth being added, inscribed with the Name of JESUS CHRIST THE GOOD SHEPHERD: and the urn itself was placed under the altar. Mass was then celebrated at the same altar, sometimes once only, sometimes on three days: and prayers offered in the same church day and night. At the termination of these offices of devotion, a young child was directed to take one of the pieces of parchment from the urn; and if it bore the name of any of the three candidates, the party so designated was at once acclaimed Patriarch, and none dared to question the validity of his election. But if it happened that the schedule chosen bore the SAVIOR'S Name, it was concluded that none of the three persons nominated were acceptable to GOD: and the whole process was repeated, until the lot pointed out some other candidate.



There were many requisites necessary to render it allowable to aspire to the dignity of Patriarch. It was necessary that the candidate should himself be free, and born of parents that were also free; that his father had been the only, or at least the first husband of his mother; that he should be sound in members, of good health, and at least of the age of fifty; should strictly have observed continence; should not even have been married, though by compulsion, and only in name; should never have shed the blood of man or beast; should either be a native of Egypt, or familiarly acquainted with the tongue; should be sufficiently well learned; of good character; not a Bishop; should not be elevated by the favor of the Emir; and should be of undoubted orthodoxy. On two of these conditions it seems necessary to say a few words.

That which enjoins that the Patriarch should be the child of his mother's first marriage, is thus to be explained. The Eastern Church not only condemns fourth marriages as absolutely unlawful, but considers both second and third marriages as in some degree blamable: third marriages indeed have been, in certain cases, prohibited. The benediction of the bride and bridegroom, which is, by the Eastern Church, called their coronation, because crowns are placed on their heads, does not take place when either of the parties have been previously married, neither are they, or rather were they, admitted to Communion for a certain time subsequently—generally, in case of a bigamist, two, in case of a trigamist, five years, hence a distinction was drawn between the son of a crowned and of an uncrowned mother: and as it was thought fit to present the most pure only to be the servants of the ALMIGHTY, the latter were excluded from all ranks of the hierarchy, and much more from the dignity of Patriarch. The bigamy of the father did not, however, exclude the son even from that post.

The learning required in the Patriarch is chiefly to be understood of a thorough knowledge both of the Arabic and Coptic tongues. The Coptic, the Vernacular language at the time of the Mussulman invasion, gradually gave way to the Arabic, which was introduced by the conquerors; but the Jacobites tenaciously clung, for the most part, to the former. In the Thebaid, and the remoter provinces, where the number of Christians was large in comparison with that of Mussulmans, Coptic long flourished; but in Lower Egypt, especially at Alexandria and Cairo, it was speedily replaced by Arabic. In all cases, however, it was retained for the Divine offices, and thus became the Ecclesiastical language: and hence the necessity that the Patriarch should be well acquainted with it.

The practice of raising to the Patriarchate none but those who were Monks was gradually introduced, but at last passed into a settled rule; and at the present time the privilege is still further restricted to the monasteries, which we have mentioned in our Introduction. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to notice several instances in which the above-mentioned conditions were violated or relaxed.

When the election was over, the people gave their assent, as in other places, by exclaiming either in Greek, or in their own language, He is worthy. The Bishop elect was then, as he still is, fettered, in a poor imitation of the golden days of the Church, when as in the case of Demetrius, the twelfth Patriarch, those designed for the

Episcopate were so conscious of its fearful responsibility, that it was sometimes necessary to employ force in their consecration.

The Patriarch elect was then received, brought forward, and the senior Bishop spoke a few words in his praise. The deed of election—in Arabic, Tazkiet; in Greek, Psephisma—was next prepared: it ran in the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Christians of Alexandria, and of the whole of Egypt. And this form seems to have been preserved, even after the place of election was always at Cairo. The instrument first dwelt at length on the praises of the deceased Patriarch, the public grief, the regular assembly for a new election, the inquiry into the character of the person proposed, his virtues, and his choice. This document was signed by the Bishops who were present, in order of their consecration; the senior Bishop, who had the title of Akbar, or Mokaddem, affixing his name first. Nor did the Metropolitan of Damietta, when that dignity was constituted about the twelfth century, claim the prerogative of precedence. The formula of subscription, in the Coptic language, was thus: “I, M., Bishop of the City N., that loveth CHRIST, consent to this Psephisma”. After the Bishops, three Priests and three Deacons of Alexandria subscribed, who represented the whole of the Alexandrian Clergy. Next in order, the Archimandrite of the Monastery of S. Macarius attached his name; and he was followed by several of the principal laity, as well of Alexandria as of Cairo.

If the party elected were an Arch-Priest, or Comus, or Hegumen, he might immediately, on the next Sunday, be consecrated Patriarch. But if a simple Monk were chosen, it was considered necessary for him to pass the inferior orders. On the first day he was made Deacon; on the second, Priest; on the third, Arch-Priest; and so, on the following Sunday, he was constituted Patriarch. Before, however, this took place, the Bishop elect was taken before the Emir, that his Sigel, or deed of confirmation, might be secured. The principal Prelates and most eminent among the laity accompanied him: and, in times of peace, the procession was conducted with great pomp; the Priests went first, with tapers, crosses, censers, and the Books of the Gospel: the Deacons followed: then came the Bishops, surrounding the Patriarch elect, who was mounted on an ass, as well to imitate the humility of the entering of our SAVIOR into Jerusalem, as because, by the Mussulman Laws, Christians were forbidden to use horses. The procession was closed by a promiscuous assemblage of Christian laity. The same order was observed in returning, except that a guard of honor accompanied the Christians, not less by way of assuring protection, than of conferring dignity.

The place of consecration was the church of the Angelium, in Alexandria. This custom continued till the end of the eleventh century: after which, the consecration was frequently performed at Cairo, but the enthronization was reserved for the Angelium. Not only was a public profession of faith previously required from the candidate, but certain promises were also exacted; both with respect to the city of Alexandria, and the common interests of the Jacobite Communion. It was stipulated, for instance, that the Patriarch elect should engage to pay an annual sum to the Clergy of Alexandria, to be expended in the ornaments, restorations, and every-day expenses of their churches. his engagements with respect to the Coptic Church were of various kinds: they were committed to writing, and copies being made of them, entrusted to the senior Bishop,

and others of eminence. Instances occur where the Patriarchs, by force of an anathema, repossessed themselves of these documents.

The election being performed, a feast was held on that, and on the two following days: on the second the new Patriarch was enthroned in the church of S. Michael, on the third, in that of S. Mark. If the election had taken place at Alexandria, proclamation of its result was made at Cairo.

As soon as he was invested with the new dignity, the Patriarch set forth for the Monastery of S. Macarius. The Monks came out to meet him, and conducted him with great pomp into their larger church. This church, dedicated by Benjamin, as we have before related, is viewed by the Jacobites as a place of extreme sanctity: and commemoration of its consecration is made yearly in their Calendar. The Patriarch prostrated himself in the chapel of Benjamin; the Archimandrite pronounced over him the Prayer of Absolution,—of which we have given a translation in the Introduction,—and the Patriarch then celebrated Mass at the same Altar. He had previously been proclaimed here also: and this was regarded in the light of a further confirmation of his dignity. From the Monastery of S. Macarius he proceeded to others, celebrating Mass in each.

The Patriarch occasionally, but not frequently, changed his name on his accession: so we find that Cyril, in the twelfth century, had previously been called George: John, in the thirteenth, Abulmeged.

On the conclusion of his accustomed duties, the Patriarch betook himself to the Patriarchal residence, or, as it was generally termed, Cell. The place of this abode varied with the varying fortunes of the Jacobites: but, wherever it were, it was near to that which for the time was their principal church. The Monastic rule was observed in this Cell: and the daily and nightly offices performed, as in a Religious House. For this purpose, the Patriarch made choice of some of his Clergy, on whom he could most fully depend, for his companions and assistants: and they formed, as it were, a kind of privy council, without whose assistance he undertook nothing of moment. Among these were his Katibi, or private secretaries, of whom there was more than one kind. The composition of the Paschal letters required considerable intimacy with the works of the Fathers: that of correspondence with the court at Cairo, a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language: and the ordinary legal business of the Patriarch's court, a deep acquaintance with the Canons. These Syncelli, or confidential secretaries, were commonly Monks, but sometimes, although contrary to the usual discipline, Bishops. They possessed, and too frequently abused, immense power: and their ambition was one principal source of the crimes with which a History of the Jacobite Communion must abound.

The above remarks may enable the reader to enter more fully into those events which we are about to relate. A few others, though partly anticipatory, may here be made with advantage.

It is worthy of remark, that the Jacobites appear to have erected no new Bishoprics. No heathen nations first received Christianity from them: while, however foul a heresy, Nestorianism exerted itself greatly in spreading its faith to the remotest regions. If in any instance we find an Episcopal See, in the time of the Jacobites, called by a name which does not occur while the Catholic Faith was alone that of Egypt, we may conclude that it arises from the desertion of some city which was anciently an Episcopal See, and the erection of another in some neighboring situation.

In Lower Egypt, through most of the cities, we shall find two Bishops, respectively Catholic and Jacobite: but in the Thebais the Jacobites alone possessed the churches. We shall find that the exactions of Mussulman tyranny gradually introduced the fearful sin of simony: and this, while in other particulars, such as in the forbidding Episcopal Translation, the ancient Canons were rigorously observed.

We shall further trace a very considerable resemblance in many particulars between the Bishops of Rome, and the Jacobite Prelates of Alexandria. However scandalous the morals, or infamous the life of any one of the former, (as in the case of Sergius the Third, and John the Eleventh) being amenable,—practically at least,—to no earthly tribunal, (except in the most outrageous instances,) he could indulge his passions without check or fear. And the case was the same with the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria, as we shall find in the instance of Cyril-ben-Laklak. Among these there are no examples of deposition: whereas a General Council of the East could always be summoned to restrain the violence, or correct the vices, of the Catholic Patriarch.

### SECTION IV.

#### THE CATHOLIC SUCCESSION RESTORED.

THE successor of the Jacobite Cosmas was, as we have seen, Theodore. For some time after his accession, the state of the Christians was much ameliorated: until Obeidallah, intent on procuring, by whatever means, a supply of money, overwhelmed both them and the Mussulmans with new taxes. Complaint was made to the Caliph, Hischam, who removed the tyrannical governor, appointing him, by way of exile, to the province of Africa, that is, Mauritania. Here, by his cruelties he excited a rebellion, and was most barbarously murdered.

The long widowhood of the Church of Alexandria was now about to come to an end: and the courage and constancy of those who during its course had upheld the Faith of Chalcedon, was to meet at length with its reward. The circumstances which gave them courage, at this juncture, to elect a Patriarch, are not clearly stated. Cosmas, on whom their choice fell, was a needle-maker, who could neither read nor write, but a

man, as the event proved, not unequal to the management of the Alexandrian Church in such difficult and critical times. He found that the situation of his flock was most deplorable. Branded as Melchites, they were naturally viewed with all the suspicion which attaches itself to the character of an alien and an intruder: crippled in resources, tainted with heresy, robbed of their ancient possessions, deprived of their ancient rights, their situation was, to the eye of man, almost hopeless. Thebais was almost utterly lost: Ethiopia entirely heretical; so was Nubia: the Bishops were few: the laity dispersed: the Church viewed with suspicion both by East and West, as infected with Monothelism. Cosmas, however, determined on an appeal to the Caliph's sense of justice: and for this purpose he took a journey to Damascus. He was, by some means, possessed of the good will of some of Hischam's secretaries, who possibly,—as was not unusually the case,—were Christians: and by their means, he obtained a favorable audience from the Caliph. He explained the fraud which had been practiced by the Jacobites on the first Emirs: he proved that he himself was the real successor of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril: and that consequently to him were the Patriarchal revenues and the churches due. Hischam wrote back to the Emir commanding him to put the Christian churches, with all their appurtenances, into the hand of Cosmas: and the latter returned with the mandate to Misra. In what manner it was fulfilled, it is not easy to determine accurately. That many of the churches were given up, is certain: and among these were the Caesarea and the Angelium, to which latter the Catholics could have no claim: at the same time, it is equally certain that many were retained by the Jacobites. Thus the Catholic Church became once more partially re-established in Egypt.

The state of this unhappy country, however, was truly deplorable. A pestilence broke out, which carried off, in one day, two thousand persons: and the daily ravages of which amounted to upwards of one thousand. Famine was, as always, its attendant: and it was believed that the severity of the latter was increased by magical incantations. The horrors of war were added: a predatory tribe of Arabs, to the number of thirty thousand, took up its quarters in the mountains to the east of Cairo, and thence ravaged the country, and in particular pillaged the large monastery of S. Mary, near Tanis.

In the meantime the Jacobite Communion was deprived of its Patriarch: and the long vacancy of the See, and the disputes which arose with respect to the choice of a successor, must have contributed to strengthen the interests of the Catholics. The Prelates met, as usual: but it was impossible to obtain an unanimous consent in favor of any candidate, and recourse was had to the decision of the lots. But all the three names were rejected, the schedule which bore the Savior's name being drawn. In the meantime Kacem, the son of Obeidallah, was summoned by Hischam to Damascus, to give an account of his government. As he was passing through the streets of Pelusium, the Bishops requested his license to proceed to another election; but finding it impossible to extort the money which he had demanded for the *congé d'élire*, he refused it. On which Moses of Wissim is said to have prophesied that he would never return into Egypt: a prophecy which, if not made after, was fulfilled by the event; Kacem being deprived of all his wealth, and thrown into prison. He was succeeded by Hafiz, and the interrupted election was resumed. The minute accounts which Severus has left of it are not uninteresting, as throwing light on the character of the times. Twelve Bishops

assembled at Cairo, and requested the congé d'élire from the new Governor. He replied, that they should first make the election, and that he would then use his own pleasure in confirming or annulling it. On this they returned to the church, but could come to no resolution that day. On the next, when they were re-assembled in the same place, the Proto-pope, or Arch-Priest of Alexandria, exhorted the Bishops to put an end to the question in dispute by consecrating the elected candidate. "Who is it", inquired Theodore, one of the Bishops present, "that the Presbyters of Alexandria consider worthy of the office?" "The name", replied the Proto-pope, "is contained on this schedule": and he handed it in. Theodore returned, that the consent of the Episcopal College was necessary to make the election valid. The Arch-Priest persisted, that it was the right of the Presbyters to elect; the Bishops had only to consecrate. Ten days were spent in similar disputes: and the contention grew serious, and threatened a schism among the Jacobites. The nominee of the Proto-pope was agreeable to the Alexandrians, and to the Bishops of Lower Egypt: those of Upper Egypt, on the contrary, were opposed to his election. Two Prelates who seem to have been respected for their age or learning, Moses of Wissim, and Peter of Pareout, but who had been detained by illness, were summoned: and the former, unable to ride, was borne on a litter to Cairo. Their presence, however, proved ineffectual: and the two parties, headed respectively by the Proto-pope of Alexandria, and Abraham, Bishop of Fayoum, were resolute, the former for, the latter against, the proposed candidate. The Bishop of Wissim, unable to tolerate the vehemence of the Alexandrians, rose from his couch, and after severely rebuking them, drove them front the church with his staff: and then endeavored to bring about an unanimous election. Many candidates were proposed, but to no purpose, and the day terminated without any result. That night, a Deacon, who was apparently a Syncellus of the Bishop of Wissim, and in that capacity occupied a couch in the same chamber, suggested to him Chail, or Michael, a Priest of the Monastery of S. Macarius. On the following day, when there appeared as little likelihood of unanimity as before, Moses proposed that Monk: and his name was received with an unanimous shout of applause. Hatiz consented to his election: and a deputation was sent to the Abbat of S. Macarius, requesting hint to send Chail to Misra for consecration. As the Legates were on their road, they met a deputation of Monks from S. Macarius, bound to Cairo, with the design of procuring a relaxation from the heavy tribute which Kacem had imposed on them, and among them Chail: and the two parties returned together to the Emir with great joy, who regarded the matter as showing the special interposition of GOD. The Bishops and Patriarch elect went to Alexandria by the river: and the election was conducted with the usual formalities.

No sooner was Chail established in his dignity, than Hatiz changed his conduct, and exacted the accustomed tribute with the greatest rigor. Many were compelled to sell, not only their cattle, but their children: and the Emir devised an ingenious method of rendering this persecution more dangerous to the uninstructed. "Remain Christians", said he, "in every other respect: only daily repeat the prayer that we use, and you shall be free from tribute". Tempted by apparently so simple an offer, many fell away from the Faith.



Many Jacobite Bishops forsook their Sees, and lay hid in monasteries: Moses of Wissim greatly distinguished himself by exhorting those who wavered to constancy: and when he was told that twenty-four thousand had forsaken the faith of their forefathers, he still retained his vigour of mind, and comforted those around him by predicting that the persecution would have a speedy end. At this time the affairs of the Caliphs were in great confusion: and the House of the Ommiads was tottering to its ruin. Hischam was succeeded by his son Wahd, whose impiety and debauchery raised a conspiracy against him, in which he lost his life, after reigning fourteen months; Yezid, his successor, died of the plague after five months' sovereignty: Ibrahim, his brother, was dethroned in the same year in which he began to reign, by Meruan, the twenty-first Caliph, and fourteenth and last of the Ommiads. These civil commotions gave rise to disturbances in the provinces: and one Reja, a military robber, infested Egypt. Both he and Hafiz were put to death by a commander sent, with five thousand men, from Meruan.

The new Emir, Hassan, proved himself a friend to the Christians, more especially to the Jacobites; and Chail enjoyed his familiarity and confidence. That Patriarch was now occupied in assigning penitence to those who had fallen away in time of persecution. At this period, it seems to have been the same with that allotted to those who had apostatized to Paganism: afterwards it was considerably lessened in the Egyptian Church, so that six years' penitence was all that was required from those who had spontaneously apostatized, and three years for those, who through fear, or by tortures, had fallen away.

At this time we find the first open appeal to the Emir from both Catholics and Jacobites against each other. Whatever advantage had been previously, in this way, gained by either party, had been gained by an uncontradicted statement on the part of one or the other: as when Benjamin pleaded the cause of the Jacobites before Amrou, or Cosmas that of the Catholics before Hischam. But the relation of this affair, which we only possess through Jacobite historians, is so evidently mixed up with fables, and the arguments put into the mouth of the heretics so plausible, and those given to the Catholics so poor, as to show that the whole is the work of a later age, and of an interested historian. We are therefore left without a guide, to separate the true from the false.

The cause of dispute was the church of S. Mennas, in the Mareotis, alleged to have been famous for its miracles. The Emir commanded that both Cosmas and Chail should come before him, and defend their respective Creeds. Cosmas was accompanied by Constantine, a Bishop whose see is not named, but who is reputed to have been strongly opposed to Jacobitism; Chail by Theodore, Bishop of Misra: there were other Christians present of inferior dignity. The Emir, after hearing both sides, gave orders that their statements should be made in writing. Chail, after consulting with his friends, drew up a document in Coptic and Arabic: in which it is remarkable that they take upon themselves the name of Theodosians. In this they claim the succession from the orthodox Prelates before the Council of Chalcedon, some of whom had built the church which was the subject of dispute: they affirm Dioscorus to have been the staunch upholder of the truth against Pope Leo; they make the most of the hardships which they

had suffered under the later Roman Emperors: and end with a compliment to the Mussulman conquerors, as their deliverers from Melchite persecution. The Catholics, on the other hand, could not deny that appearances were against them: yet, if they were not the successors of S. Athanasius in fact, at least they were in doctrine: if their line could not be traced to S. Mark, it could be pursued to S. Mark's Master: as derivable through the Archbishop of Tyre from the Church of Antioch, and thence to the great founder of that Church. The Emir was not satisfied with either of these statements, and required others, which were prepared. Finally, the church of S. Mennas was adjudged to the Jacobites, on the ground that the finishing stroke had been put to it by the Patriarch Timothy.

In the meantime the great contest for the Caliphate was carrying on between the Ommiads and the Abbasids; a contest not merely political, but also religious. The vices of the former house had won for them the hatred of all their subjects: and a rival arose against them in the person of Ibrahim, a descendant of Abbas, an uncle of Mahomet. This pretender enjoyed a precarious sovereignty for four years, when he was taken and put to death by Meruan: but his brother Abdallah, surnamed Abul-Abbas-Saffah, survived to avenge him. His party boldly denounced the whole race of the Ommiads as usurpers, who could never have reigned but for the murder of Ali, the fourth successor of Mahomet, who is by the followers of that impostor regarded as a Martyr, and whose sepulcher is a famous place of pilgrimage. Indeed the Persian Mussulmans regard Ali as the only legitimate successor of Mahomet. At all events, the Abbasids were more nearly related to the founder of their religion than the Ommiads: and, which is of more importance to our history, they were successful. Meruan lost Syria and Palestine, and at length took refuge in Egypt.

While Meruan was unsuccessfully engaged with his rival, Abdel-melech, the Emir, considered the opportunity a favorable one to enrich himself. Chail and Moses of Wissim were thrown into a dark dungeon, and with them more than three hundred of both sexes. The Patriarch and his suffragan excited them to penitence, and consoled them to the best of their abilities: and the former at length was allowed to collect through Upper Egypt his own ransom. It would appear that subsequently Chail recovered the favor of the Emir: and enjoyed considerable influence among the Mussulmans. But the tyranny of Abdel-melech, and the intestine convulsions of the Caliphate, tempted the Egyptian Christians to throw off the yoke. The Thebais arose in arms, and the inhabitants of Osiout, the ancient Lycopolis, especially distinguished themselves. Both Patriarchs appeared among the insurgents: and the campaign opened with bright prospects for the Christian forces. Abdel-melech drew together his troops, and marched against the rebels, but was defeated with great loss. At this juncture, Meruan, in his flight from the victorious armies of Abdallah, entered Egypt. The Coptic forces, encouraged by their late victory, and not dismayed by the presence of a new foe, entrenched themselves on an inaccessible eminence, and obtained considerable advantages against the enemy. But, in a chance attack, both Patriarchs were taken prisoners, and brought before Meruan. Cosmas ransomed his life by the payment of a thousand pieces of gold: Chail, who had nothing to give, was in greater danger. He was severely beaten, and about to be beheaded, when the Caliph bethought himself of a

more politic use which might be made of his prisoner. He was employed to negotiate a truce with the insurgents by letter: and in the meantime the troops of Meruan overran that part of the country, pillaging, devastating, and sacking: the monasteries, in particular, afforded free scope to their avarice. The Arabic writers record a singular story of the manner in which a nun of great beauty preserved herself from dishonor,—a manner showing no little confusion in the moral ideas of her who perpetrated, and of those who praise it. To the soldiers whose prize she was, she affirmed that she was possessed of an ointment, which rendered her incapable of receiving any wound, and offered to prove its virtues. Eager to see its marvelous effects, they assented: she presented her neck to the sword, and commanded them to strike: and, it is needless to say, her head was severed from her body.

As if to make still more wretched the already miserable condition of Egypt, the victorious armies of Abdallah entered it from the East. Meruan, infuriated by his successive losses, gave orders that Misra should be set on fire, and Chail brought before him. The Christian insurgents, probably hopeless of prevailing by their unassisted efforts, and despairing of any succor from Constantinople, had joined the Abbasids: and the armies of the rival Caliphs were encamped on opposite sides of the Nile. Moses of Wissim, and the Jacobite Patriarch, were tortured in sight of the allied forces by the cowardly Meruan, who trusted to the safeguard of the river, against the revenge of the Coptic Christians. On the following day, the two Prelates, in company with other Bishops and Ecclesiastics, to the number of eleven, among whom was John the Deacon, to whom we are indebted for this history, were again brought before the falling Caliph. Various instruments of torture lay in the presence-chamber, and Meruan, unable to avenge himself on the Christians under arms on the opposite side of the stream, promised himself the satisfaction of harrowing their feelings, and glutting his own thirst for blood, by inflicting a terrible death on his captives. The Bishop of Wissim, expecting nothing short of destruction both for himself and his companions, requested the Patriarch to pronounce over them the Prayer of Absolution, according to the Canon of the Coptic Church. It will not be amiss, as this form is of no small note in Egyptian Ecclesiastical history, to present the reader with a translation of the prayer, never perhaps uttered in a more striking situation than now; by a Patriarch, in the midst of persecuting infidels, separated by the broad Nile from all hope of safety, yet by his firmness encouraging the Christian troops on the further side, and cheered by the knowledge that they were spectators of his courage, and would, if need were, sympathize with his conflict. Surely if heresy could ever be effaced by a Baptism of Blood, it was by such an one as that for which Chail now prepared himself. The prayer then pronounced by hint was as follows:

“O LORD JESU CHRIST, the Only-begotten SON, the Word of God the FATHER,

Who, by Thy salutary and life-giving Passion, hast burst in sunder all the chains of our sins;

Who didst breathe on the faces of Thine Holy Apostles, saying unto them,

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Receive ye the HOLY GHOST: whose sins soever are remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained;

Thou hast also, O Lord, made choice by the same Thine Apostles, of them that should always discharge the Office of the Priesthood in Thy Holy Church, to the end that they may remit sins upon the earth, and loose and relax all the bonds of iniquity.

We pray and beseech Thy Goodness, O Thou lover of men, for Thy servants our fathers, our brethren, and our own infirmity, who now bow down our heads before Thy holy Glory: show us Thy loving-kindness, and burst all the chains of our sins.

And if we have offended against Thee by knowledge or ignorance, or by hardness of heart, by word, by deed, or by our weakness, do Thou, O Lord,

Which knowest the frailty of man,

Which are gracious, and the lover of men, give unto us the remission of our sins:

bles us and purify us, absolve us and all Thy people:

fill us with Thy fear, and direct us into Thy Holy and gracious Will for Thou art our GOD,

and to Thee with the FATHER and the HOLY Ghost, all honor and glory is now and evermore to be ascribed.

Thy servants who this day have the office of the ministry, the Priests, the Deacons, and Clergy,

all the people and my own weakness, are absolved by the mouth of the HOLY TRINITY, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST:

and from the mouth of the one, only, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church:

by the mouth of the Twelve Apostles, and by the mouth of the wise Mark, Apostle and Martyr:

by the mouth also of the Patriarch Saint Severus, and of our holy Doctor Dioscorus;

of S. John Chrysostom, S. Cyril, S. Basil, S. Gregory, of the three hundred also that met at Nicaea,

of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople, of the hundred at Ephesus,

and by the mouth of my humility, who am a sinner:

for blessed and full of glory is Thy Holy Name, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, world without end.

Amen”.

When this prayer had been pronounced by the Patriarch, Abdallah, the son of Meruan, advancing to his father, represented the impolicy of the act which he meditated. “If we irritate”, said he, “the Copts by murdering one whom they consider as a father, we insure a still more powerful reinforcement to the army of Abdallah; and we are equally certain of rendering the whole body of Christians, who may now be prevented from enlisting under his standard, our deadly enemies. Victory will thus become more difficult, from the resistance of the first: flight more dangerous, from the hatred of the second”. Meruan was not so absolutely blinded by his passion, as to be incapable of discerning the expediency of his son’s advice: and the Ecclesiastics were remanded to prison. Loaded with chains, they were cast into a dark and loathsome dungeon, where they were animated by the exhortations and predictions of Moses of Wissim, who appears to have exercised a powerful influence over his brethren: prayer was also made, day and night, by the Monks of S. Macarius, for their liberation.'

The two armies, which were to decide the mastership of the Caliphate, at length met: and Meruan received a total defeat. Thus ended, in its fourteenth prince, the line of the Ommiads: and Damascus ceased to be the capital of the empire. The conquered family still maintained themselves in Spain. Meruan himself was taken prisoner and beheaded. The Prelates were immediately released from prison: and Abdallah, now recognized as Caliph, gave orders, that to prevent any accidents or violence which might occur in the onward march of his victorious army, the Christians should carry the Cross as a mark of their religion, and paint it on the doors of their houses. Their tributes were diminished, and their condition became far more tolerable. But this happy change only continued for four years: the same treatment was then renewed which they had previously experienced, and the revolt of the Thebais against Meruan, and the possibility of a similar event again occurring, were alleged as a reason for this conduct.

The political state of Egypt and the whole Caliphate was not altered by the change of masters. The Caliphs, as before, held the dignity of Vicars of the Prophet: as such, they were supreme in all matters, both Ecclesiastical and Civil: they were publicly prayed for in the mosques: their head was struck on coins: and every legal proceeding was carried on in their name. They still appointed Emirs in the various provinces, (excepting Spain) removable at their pleasure: and a part of the tribute collected in the different subject countries was claimed by the treasury of the Caliph.

The state of religion, with a few slight differences, remained the same. The principal point in dispute between the families of the Ommiads and Abbasids, was, as we have previously remarked, the character of Ali: he, of course was now venerated as a Martyr, whereas, under the late dynasty, his name had been at certain seasons publicly execrated. The color of the banner, and coverings of the pulpit in the mosques had hitherto been white: the Abbasids employed black: and hence, by Greek historians, are called Mavrophori.

Shortly after the accession of Abdallah, an event occurred, which, if not to be blindly received as true, at least deserves relation. In order to produce a crop at all, it was necessary that the Nile should rise to the height of fifteen cubits: on the present occasion it only rose fourteen. It happened that the Prelates were, according to the ancient Canon, which they still observed, met for the Autumnal Synod; and with the Patriarch at their head, they assembled in the great church of S. Peter at Misra, and thence, with an infinite multitude of people, moved in procession to the bank of the river, praying for a higher rise of the waters, and singing *Kyrie Eleison*. They continued in prayer from morning twilight until nine in the forenoon: when, to the astonishment of Jews and Mussulmans, the Nile rose another cubit. The Governor, though glad of the occurrence, was unwilling that it should redound to the glory of the Christians; and, calling together those of his own religion, he exhorted them to join in prayer for the same blessing,—thus hoping that the credit of the miracle might be possessed, or at least shared, by the false prophet. While they were thus engaged, a report was brought from the Nilometer, that the water, which on the preceding day had risen a cubit, had now sunk to its ordinary level. The Emir, astonished at this intelligence, gave orders that no public prayers should be offered either by Christian or Mussulmans, and the water still remained stationary. At length he permitted the former again to try the effect of their supplications: the Nile began to rise again, and did not stop till it attained its usual altitude of seventeen cubits. The Emir, struck with wonder, diminished the tributes imposed on the Christians; and it would appear that both Catholics and Jacobites enjoyed profound tranquility for some years.

Chail employed the respite thus obtained in visiting his Diocese; and it is surprising to learn that, after an interval of nearly four centuries and a half, he should have found some remains of the Meletian schism. Its partisans are said to have been imbued with Arian principles, but as this was the common charge brought by the Jacobites against the supporters of the Catholic Faith, we may perhaps believe that in their Creed these schismatics did not differ from that of the Church. They dwelt in monasteries, rocks, and the neighboring habitations, and amounted, in the settlement which Chail visited, to the number of three thousand. They also existed in the Diocese of Wissim, as John the Deacon informs us that he was assured by Moses the Bishop.

This was, if we may believe Jacobite writers, one of the golden times of that sect: many of the Prelates are said to have been eminently learned, among whom Moses of Wissim holds the first place; and not a few miracles are attributed to them, probably by the fraud or superstition of their own historians. There was, however, a schism between the heretical Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, on the following occasion. One Isaac, Bishop of Barran, had ingratiated himself with the Caliph Abdallah, who rewarded him with the Antiochene Patriarchate. As the ancient discipline, which forbade translations, was still in vigour among the Jacobites, and as it had lately been confirmed in the Diocese of Antioch, (in a Synod hold under John II, the fourteenth Jacobite Patriarch, by whose death the See was now vacant), great opposition was raised to the promotion of Isaac. But, Schism as the Caliph's mandate gave leave that whoever should resist might be put to death, Isaac availed himself of it to procure the murder of two of his Metropolitans, who persisted that, far from being the rightful possessor of the



See, he was worthy, according to the decree of the Synod, of an anathema. Having perpetrated this barbarity he sent, as usual, synodal letters to Chail of Alexandria, requesting his Communion. Abdallah, probably informed by Isaac that some difficulty might arise, sent at the same time orders to the Emir, that if the Synodal Epistles were not received by Chail, the latter should be sent into Syria to himself. Chail informed the messengers that on so grave a question he could determine nothing without the concurrence of a Council, to which he therefore summoned all the Bishops both of Lower and of Upper Egypt.

There was at first some difference of opinion in this assembly, in which John the Deacon (whose history is here, as throughout all this Patriarchate, followed by Severus,) was present. On the one hand it was urged, that not only ought the violation of the Canons, of which Isaac had been guilty, but the heinousness also of his crimes, to separate him from the Coptic Communion: on the other it was argued, that the Caliph's mandate plainly proved what would be his sentiments, in case Isaac's request were refused; that the tranquility which the Egyptian Church now enjoyed was not lightly to be periled; that no point of orthodoxy was involved; and that this was one of the times when a little wrong might be done, to prevent a much greater mischief. At length, when a month had been consumed in deliberation, it was agreed to leave the whole matter to the discretion of Chail; and his reply was to the effect that neither sword, fire, wild beasts, nor exile, should compel him to infringe the Canons, or to annul an anathema lawfully incurred. The Legates from Antioch demanded that, in this case, the commands of the Caliph should be fulfilled, and Chail sent into Syria. The Emir, however, who, since the supernatural rise of the Nile, had shown himself friendly to the Christians, replied that there was no hurry in the business; that it was necessary to deliberate before the journey was taken, and that when the Patriarch was prepared, he should be sent. The limit allowed by him at length expired: Chail, though now infirm, with his inseparable friend, Moses of Wissim, and John the Deacon, had prepared themselves for the journey, and were on the point of setting out, when news was brought of the death of the intruder, Isaac. The Legates, who were the Metropolitans of Damascus and Edessa, hastily departed; and communion with Antioch was not restored during the life of Chail, who survived Isaac about eleven years.

On the death of Chail, Minas, or Mennas, a Priest and Monk of S. Macarius, was elected to supply his place. His Episcopate commenced propitiously, and the Jacobite Communion began to rise from the depression in which the late persecutions had left it. But this state of things was soon destroyed by the wickedness of one Peter, a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria. Irritated by the refusal of Minas to raise him to the Episcopate, he left Egypt, ingratiated himself with the Caliph Almansor, the second of the family of the Abbasids, and at length returned with the orders of the latter that he should be elected Patriarch. He was an avaricious and bloody prince: and it is recorded that by one of those who principally contributed to raise his family to the Caliphate, Abumuslem, six hundred thousand lives were sacrificed. Bagdad was founded by Almansor, in AD 762: and thenceforth became the seat of the Caliphs, and the head of the empire. The Emir, who had been well disposed to Minas, summoned him to Misra, and allowed him to assemble a Council for the purpose of deciding whether the mandate

of the Caliph should be obeyed. The synod assembled in the great church of Misra on a Sunday: when to their astonishment, the Deacon Peter, supported by an armed band of soldiers, entered the Sanctuary in Patriarchal vestments, and began the Liturgy. Moses of Wissita, and Mennas of Tanboua rushed upon him, and by main strength expelled him from the church. But this action only injured their cause: the assembled Bishops were loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison, where they remained for some days, looking for nothing better than death. In the meantime it would appear that Peter instilled into the Emir's mind the belief, that Minas was possessed of the art of transmuting baser substances into gold. The Emir summoned him, and demanded that all the sacred vessels in use throughout Egypt should be given up to the Caliph. Minas replied, that such had been the depredation made by Mussulmans and Heretics, that he could not speak positively as to the value of the Church-plate still existing: but that at Alexandria, its poverty was so great as to render the use of chalices of wood or glass indispensable.

The Emir's next inquiry was for the book which contained the mystery of the philosopher's stone. Minas endeavored to disabuse him of this belief. He and the other Jacobite Bishops were conducted to the docks, where they labored, exposed to the heat of the sun, while engaged in working in the construction of ships: and this punishment lasted for a year. But in the meantime, Peter, presuming on the influence which he enjoyed with the Caliph, behaved with insolence towards the Emir, and threatened to complain of his administration of affairs: but his arrogance was punished by his being thrown into prison, where he remained for three years; and Minas and his friends returned to Alexandria.

A new Emir, having been appointed over Egypt inquired at the beginning of his government into the character and condition of those whom he found prisoners, among whom the case of Peter came under consideration. The revengeful Deacon expressed a desire to be sent to the Caliph, to lay before him an account of the mal-administration of the late Governor: and the Emir, probably not unwilling that the faults of his predecessor should be exposed or aggravated, dispatched him, according to his request, to the Caliphal Court. Arrived there, he was received with the same distinguished favor as before; obtained, as a mark of honor, the name of Abulhari, and procured letters of the most ample authority, by which he proposed, on his return to Egypt, to avenge himself upon Minas and the other Jacobites. But while on his road thither, news was received of the death of the Caliph: and his power and schemes alike fell to the ground. Struck with remorse, he applied to several Bishops to be admitted to penitence, but in vain: and this is a rare instance of its denial. He perished miserably, shortly after the death of Minas, of whom history has recorded no other particulars.

## SECTION V.

### THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY.

IT is now time that we take a view of one of the saddest controversies that ever agitated the Church, — the Iconoclastic dispute. It is true that Alexandria was but little disturbed by it, yet as Cosmas was actively concerned in promoting the honour of Images, we may not pass over a page from which every ecclesiastical historian would willingly turn.

The rise and progress of Images in churches, and the honour due to them, is a subject on which it would here be out of place to enter. It does not, however, appear that any particular attention was paid to the question, till after the Mahometan conquests had brought the observances of the Church, and the laws of the Impostor, into contact with each other. It was then found, that in two principal points the Mussulmaus considered themselves opposed to the Christian practices: the one, in asserting the UNITY of the DEITY, the other in abhorring the use of Images. And it is a remarkable thing that, on a first view, the Infidels would appear to have had the better of the Catholics in both these respects.

To a heathen, perhaps also to a schismatic, the excessive honour already paid to departed Saints must have appeared like idolatry; and hence the dogmatical manner in which, by infidel historians, the plain and sublime doctrine of the UNITY of the DEITY is said to have been, as it were, reproclaimed by the Mussulman conquerors to countries where it was obscured by the multitude of Saints to whom adoration was paid. Nay, members of the Church, though not adopting language so profane, have allowed themselves to speak of this doctrine, as if the acknowledging and upholding it were one source of the success of the followers of Mahomet, not in a political, but in a moral point of view. But it must be remembered, that if, as taught by them, it was opposed to the Invocation of Saints, it was even more so to the doctrine of the Ever Blessed TRINITY. To the former, Islamism has something parallel, in the honour attributed to Mahomet and to Ali: to the latter it has no approximation. With respect to the worship of Images, the case was somewhat different; inasmuch as sonic abuse had already mingled with the benefit to be derived by the ignorant from that winch their advocates call painted history.

It cannot be denied that the whole history of the Iconoclasts is most melancholy. All that was holy or excellent in the Church was opposed to them: the Emperors and Prelates who supported them were for the most part men of scandalous lives: the profanity which they introduced under the pretence of zeal against idolatry, the most horrible: they persecuted to the death those who would not subscribe to it: their victims suffered with a constancy worthy of the purest ages of the Church. And yet, we cannot but constantly feel, while we allow the right premises from which the latter argued, that their conclusions were unwarrantable. Whatever has been used from the earliest ages of the Church must, they said, be Catholic: the worship of Images has been so used, and

therefore is to be defended as a part of Catholic Tradition. They did not know that the minor, in their syllogism, was false; and there are many excuses for their not having done so. The ignorance which prevailed as to the genuine and supposititious writings of the Fathers was not their fault, but their misfortune. We are able to perceive at once that most of their alleged authorities are fabrications of a later age: they received them as undoubtedly genuine. Nor can it be wondered at, if the horrible irreverence with which they beheld the holiest things treated by their opponents, made them carry their sentiments to an undue extreme. It must always be remembered also that Iconoclasm was an offshoot of Mahometanism, and therefore hateful, as well in its origin as in its progress.

At the same time, none will deny that the Second Nicene Council, which contained the development of the views of the upholders of Images, has, in its effects, been one of the most mischievous events of which Church history treats.

The seeds of the contention had thus been sown long before; and a very slight circumstance, as is frequently the case, called them forth into life. A thick smoke which arose from the sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia, in the Archipelago, was regarded by the Emperor Leo as a token of the Divine displeasure. He persuaded himself that the honour shown to Images was the cause of GOD'S anger; and, in consequence, determined on suppressing their use in the churches of his empire. He further asserted, that the very making of Images was an act of idolatry, and found some Prelates weak or wicked enough to uphold him in this opinion. S. Germanus of Constantinople resisted his designs, endeavouring to point out the distinction between Image-worship and that sin with which the Emperor confounded it. This opposition induced the Emperor to deprive him of his Patriarchate; and in the violent proceedings which followed with respect to the defacing and removing certain Images, ten persons lost their lives at Constantinople. Leo, an excessively ignorant man, destroyed a library shortly afterwards; commanded that all figures painted on churches should be effaced, took down all the Images on which he could lay hands, and burnt them in the middle of the city. Many more persons, clerks and laics, lost their lives on this occasion. The tidings were received with extreme indignation in Italy: the statues of the Emperor, -for this relic of paganism still remained-, were thrown down and trampled under foot; and Gregory III, who, in the midst of the civil commotions, succeeded his predecessor of the same name, debated the point at length with Leo in two Epistles.

A Council of ninety-three Bishops, assembled at Rome, with the Pope at their head, excommunicated all persons who destroyed or profaned ecclesiastical Images. The Emperor, in revenge, confiscated all that part of the Patrimony of S. Peter, which lay within his own dominions; and commenced a persecution against the opposite party, abstaining, however, from putting them to death, lest they should be honoured as Martyrs.

S. John Damascene appeared at this time, as the principal opponent of the Iconoclasts; and from him we have three discourses on the subject, at the end of each of which is a Catena of Authorities. His own language, fervid and eloquent, has won for him the title of the Doctor of Christian Art; but of the authorities in his Catena, some are

supposititious, some so far-fetched as to render it difficult of belief that they could be seriously cited, and those which are to the point are taken from late authors.

Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, a barbarous and brutal prince, succeeded his father Leo, and trod in his steps. His successes against the Mussulmans, distracted by the civil contentions of the Abbasids and Ommiads, determined him to renew his efforts against Image-worship. For this purpose he assembled at Constantinople a Council of three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops; hoping, perhaps, by its numbers, exceeding that of any Ecumenical Council except at Chalcedon, to make up for the fact, that none of the Patriarchates were represented in it; for Constantinople was at this time vacant, by the death of Anastasius, intruded on the See at the exile of Germanus.

Their definition of faith, which contains the most loathsome flattery to Constantine, condemns pictures and Images on two grounds. In the first place, say they, the act of making them establishes the error of Nestorius, in separating the Persons of our Savior, at the same time that it favours that of Dioscorus, which confounds His Natures. But as this reasoning did not apply to representations of the Blessed Virgin and other Saints, they argued that the Church stood, as it were, between Judaism and Paganism: it rejected the bloody sacrifices of the one, and the fabrication of idols which disgraced the other. Therefore they forbade, under pain of an anathema, all persons to make, adorn, conceal, or worship, whether in churches, or private houses, any Image: and S. Germanus, and S. John Damascene were anathematized by name. This decree, when published through the provinces, was the signal for the general destruction of all pictures and Images; even chalices and other vessels for the Holy Eucharist were not spared by the sacrilegious Iconoclasts.

Shortly after, to avoid persecution, all the Monks left Constantinople. In fact, the hatred evinced by the Emperor against them, amounted to little short of monomania: and the cruelties practised upon them are almost incredible. Many of them were punished with death for their resolute adherence to the cause of Image worship. Of these Stephen, commonly called S. Stephen the Younger, was the principal.

Four years before this, the three Patriarchs, Theodore of Jerusalem, Theodore of Antioch, and Cosmas, by mutual agreement, anathematized, on the Feast of Pentecost, Cosmas, Bishop of Epiphania, in Syria, who had proclaimed himself an Iconoclast. Theodore of Jerusalem, in a Synodal letter to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, undertook the defence of Images: and they, after signing it, sent it to Rome, as their confession of faith in this matter. By these two events Alexandria became implicated in the Iconoclastic controversy.

The date of Cosmas's death is uncertain. He was on friendly terms with Rome, as appears from one of Pope Paul's letters.

It proves the obscurity with which the history of the True Church of Alexandria is involved, that the name of the successor of Cosmas should be disputed. Some will have it, that it was Athanasius. It is certain that in the fourth Session of the Second Council of Nicaea, holden the first of October, 787, a document was read, purporting to

be an account of a miraculous Image of our SAVIOUR at Berytus, written by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. The Fathers of that Council were so unversed in Ecclesiastical criticism, as to believe it the composition of the great S. Athanasius: later writers have imagined a second Bishop of that name, and introduced him here: but neither opinion is tenable. He is said to have held the See forty-six years: but this account can hardly be reconciled with other dates.

Either immediately after, or, which is as probable, before his election, John was chosen by the Jacobites to supply the place of Minas: and his election is the first example extant of that appeal to the Judgment of GOD by the *Heikeliet*, which we have already noticed. Nearly a year appears to have elapsed between the death of Minas, and the election of his successor. He availed himself of the comparative calm which his Communion enjoyed, to restore the churches; and Mark the Deacon, his successor, was entrusted with the work. It happened, however, that a Catholic, Yuçab or Joseph by name, was in possession of the Caliph's confidence as a skilful physician: he ungenerously represented to that prince, that the buildings of John were erected on ground belonging to the Caliph, and the Jacobite Patriarch was condemned to a large fine. Undeterred, however, by this, he prosecuted his labours; and in five years completed the great church of S. Michael the Archangel, at Alexandria: a building better known in later times as the church of Penitence. A famine by which the land was afflicted, gave John the power of strengthening his influence, by displaying at once his riches and his liberality. It is now time to take up the history of the Iconoclasts.

The persecution of Image-worshippers continued during the lifetime of Constantine Copronymus: and that against the Monks, the chief supporters of the ordinary practice, was equally severe. His son Leo, the fourth of that name, succeeded: at first shelved respect to the Images, and chose the principal Bishops from the Monastic orders, but he soon exhibited the same principles with respect to the first, which had influenced his father. On his death, Constantine his son, a child of ten years old, succeeded to the purple: but his mother, Irene, in reality directed the government.

On a vacancy of the See of Constantinople, Tarasius, secretary to the Emperor, whom his zeal for Images has caused to be reckoned among the Saints, was raised to the Patriarchate. His first care was to make preparations for the assembly of an Ecumenical Council to decide the question as to the honour due to Images: he had obliged the Emperor and the Empress to promise their consent to this step, before he consented to accept the dignity which they eagerly pressed upon him. He wrote to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with his profession of faith: requesting at the same time that each of them would send two legates to the Synod which it was proposed to convene. His letter to Pope Adrian contained the same profession and the same request. The latter professed himself highly gratified with the orthodox confession of Tarasius: but took exception at two points. The one, that he had been elevated from the condition of a simple laic to the Episcopate: the other, that he assumed the title of Ecumenical Patriarch. However, notwithstanding these subjects of offence, Adrian sent two legates, as he had been requested.



The deputies of Tarasius to the Eastern Thrones were less fortunate than his commissioners to Rome. Arrived in Palestine, they were prevailed on by the Monks to abandon their enterprise as useless, and fraught with the most imminent danger to the Churches which they wished to consult. The Mussulmans, they said, would view the whole proceeding with dislike and aversion: the Patriarch of Jerusalem was already exiled for having given occasion to a slight suspicion; and what would be the consequence to those of Alexandria and Antioch were the measure persisted in, it was impossible to tell. The deputies were extremely unwilling to return without having accomplished their purpose: it was indispensable, they urged, that the Council should be held: in order that it might be Ecumenical, the Eastern Thrones must be consulted, and in what manner was this to be effected? In this difficulty their advisers cast their eyes on two Monks, one of whom, John, had been Syncellus of the Patriarch of Antioch: the other, Thomas, had enjoyed the same office either with Cosmas or with Politian. The latter had also been Abbot of S. Arsenius in Egypt: he was afterwards raised to the Archbishopric of Thessalonica. These two Ecclesiastics were persuaded to assume the style and title of Legates of the East: Thomas representing the See of Alexandria, John, those of Antioch and Jerusalem. The deputies from Constantinople, glad to have succeeded in procuring at least a nominal commission from the Patriarchal Thrones, and perhaps not unwilling to be spared the fatigues and dangers of a longer journey, returned with the two Syncelli to Tarasius. They found that the Emperor's letters of Convocation had already assembled a large number of Bishops at Constantinople; among these, however, a great proportion were Iconoclasts, and the laity were prejudiced in favour of the latter. On the return of Constantine and Irene from Thrace, the Council was opened, on the first of August, in the church of the Holy Apostles. But such was the fury of the soldiery, that the Prelates were compelled to desist from their intentions, after celebrating Mass in the presence of the troops, who threatened to put them to death. The city was not in a state to allow the resumption of the Synod, that winter: the Bishops retired to their several Dioceses: the Legates of the Pope returned to Sicily: but Thomas and John remained, by the special order of the Empress, at Constantinople. The seditious regiments, who having served under Constantine Copronymus, were inveterately possessed with his sentiments, having been broken, and their place supplied with troops from Thrace, letters of Convocation were again issued, but the place of assembly was fixed at Nicaea: that city probably being chosen, not only as being situated at a convenient distance from Constantinople, near enough to render the Emperor's journey thither, or that of the Fathers to him, easy, and not too near to expose the synod to danger from any Iconoclast outbreak in the Imperial City, but also as a city of happy omen, from the immortal glory of its First Ecumenical Council.

Thither accordingly the Prelates journeyed in the autumn: and the First Session was held in the church of the Everlasting Wisdom, on the first of October. There were present three hundred and seventy-seven Bishops, the Emperor's commissioners, and many Abbats and Monks. The legates of the Pope are named first: then Tarasius: and next to him, John and Thomas, Legates and Vicars of the Apostolic Thrones of the East. Why John, who represented the Churches inferior in dignity, should be named first, does not appear: unless it be, that the two jointly acted as Vicars of the whole East, and that John was individually superior to Thomas in reputation or in age.

In the melancholy proceedings of this Synod we are little interested. The Iconoclast Bishops were received to penitence in the first Session: in the second, the letter of the Pope to Tarasius was read, but with the omission of those parts, such as the refusal of the title of Ecumenical Patriarch to the Bishop of Constantinople, which were considered likely to give offence, or to injure the influence of the President: in the third, the letter of Tarasius to the Patriarchs of the East, and the Synodal Epistle of Theodore of Jerusalem to Theodore of Antioch, and Cosmas of Alexandria, which we have already mentioned: in the fourth, the authorities of the Fathers were consulted: in the fifth, the sentiments of various heretics, as to the subject in question, discussed; and at its conclusion an Image, at the request of the Roman Legate, was brought into the Council, and there publicly adored : the sixth was occupied in the refutation of the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople: in the seventh, the definition of faith was proposed, the principal Iconoclasts anathematized, the names of S. John Damascene and S. Germanus of Constantinople honoured with acclamations of eternal memory, and the Synodal letters written, the one to the Emperor, the other to the Clergy of Constantinople, as the city most interested in the controversy. In these the Fathers draw the celebrated distinction between the honour which may be paid to the Images, from the adoration which is due to GOD alone. The definition of faith was signed by the legates, and by three hundred and five Bishops, or deputies of Bishops. The eighth Session, which by some is not reckoned as such, was held at Constantinople, in the palace of Magnaura, and consisted of little else than an interchange of compliments between the Emperor and the Fathers.

It is certain that Politian approved, although he was not present at the Council of Nicaea; and the controversy, which had never much disturbed Africa, may henceforth be considered as terminated in the Diocese of Alexandria.

In the meantime, the Caliphate was filled by the celebrated Aaron-al-Raschid, not only the greatest Prince of the race of the Abbasids, but one of the most illustrious of all the Caliphs. He was the last who personally undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, which he performed several times; and in the years in which he was unable to undertake it himself, he defrayed the expenses of three hundred pilgrims thither. His alms were immense: he gave away a thousand drachnife daily: and was exceedingly liberal to such learned men and poets as frequented his court. It happened that one of his favourite concubines was afflicted with a disease, which the physicians about him were unable to cure. Grievously afflicted at this event, the Caliph made inquiries for those throughout his dominions who were skilled in the medical art. Politian was mentioned to him as one possessed of great learning in it, and was accordingly summoned to Bagdad. His efforts were successful; and Aaronal-Raschid, in a transport of gratitude, dismissed him to Alexandria, with letters commanding the restitution of the churches which the Jacobites still withheld from the Orthodox. But it does not appear that this grant was followed by any important results.

The death of John IV (AD 799) opened the way for the accession of Mark to the Jacobite throne. It is worthy of remark that, till this period, reverence for the memory of the Evangelist had prevented the retention or assumption of this name. Two years afterwards, John was followed to the grave by Politian.

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## SECTION VI.

### THE PATRIARCHATE OF EUSTATHIUS

(AD 801-805).

Eustathius, was his successor. This Patriarch had arisen from an humble origin, having been a linen manufacturer: having discovered a concealed treasure, he determined to retire from the world, and to devote his wealth to the service of GOD.

He took the vows in the convent of Alkosairi, the church of which he built or rebuilt, and enjoyed the Abbacy of the same house, when called to till the chair of S. Mark.

Mark, having written the usual synodal letter to the Jacobite See of Antioch, which he dispatched thither by the Bishops of Tanis and Parma, next applied himself to heal the divisions of his own Communion. We have already petitioned the rise of the heresy of the Barsinuphians; and it appears, that till this period they had kept up the succession of their Bishops. But, wearied out with the endless divisions of the sect, they determined in a body to unite themselves to the Jacobite Communion: and their Prelate, waiting on Mark, expressed to him their determination. He informed him of the joy which that return gave him; but at the same time expressed his determination not to recognize him as Bishop: and the suppliant, of his own accord, presented the Patriarch with a written document, by which he subjected himself to an anathema, if he were guilty of seeking, through ambition, the Episcopate. Finding him in earnest, Mark received him to his Communion; and in time, consecrated him, and raised him, and one of his clerks to vacant Sees. The remainder of the sect followed the example of their Bishop, their churches and monasteries were reconsecrated, their Liturgies revised, and themselves thus admitted to swell the ranks of the Jacobites. This is one of the many almost imperceptible steps by which that heretical Communion obtained vigour and strength, while the Orthodox were gradually sinking into comparative insignificance. We shall, hereafter, in a more convenient place, investigate the cause of the rise of the one, and the fall of the other.

## SECTION VII

### THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHRISTOPHER. (AD 805)

IN this exigency, for to the Catholic Church it was an exigency, when her whole efforts were required to meet the accession of strength which the union of her enemies

gave them, she was deprived of her Patriarch, who only held the Apostolic Throne for the space of four years. Christopher, who succeeded, seems to have been in other respects worthy of that dignity: but it pleased Divine Providence that, shortly after his accession, he should be incapacitated, by a stroke of paralysis, from performing his episcopal functions. One of his suffragans, named Peter, acted as his vicar: but the weakness of her head must have affected the influence of the Church, the rather that, in spite of disease, the Episcopate of Christopher was protracted to some length.

And times of grievous trouble were at hand. On the death of the Caliph Aaron-Raschid, a civil war broke out between his sons Abu-Abdallah and Almamon, which continued for about four years. In the various provinces of the Mussulman Empire, the greatest violences prevailed: no law was recognized but that of the strongest, and of all the sufferers, the Christians endured most. Egypt, although free from the immediate influence of these commotions, had its full share in their miserable effects. Its Emir became nominally absolute, without power to wield the authority he had assumed; and a set of rebels, or freebooters, sprang up throughout the country. Obeying different chiefs, they levied tributes, infested the roads, plundered the merchants, destroyed commerce, came to blows among themselves. And as if this affliction was not sufficient, a foreign enemy appeared on the shores of Egypt. The Spanish Arabs had been since the fall of the House of the Ommiads, under the dominion of one of its branches: its head assumed the title of Emir-el-Moumenin, Commander of the Faithful, which belonged to the Caliphs alone: and the whole race were therefore regarded at Bagdad, not only as rebels, but also as heretics. Willing, probably, to avenge the downfall of the Ommiads on the territories of their conquerors, the Spanish Caliph led an expedition into Egypt, and his troops overran the country.

Amrou, the Emir who nominally held the province for the Abbasids, threw himself into Alexandria, where it would appear that the Patriarchs also remained. The Spanish forces made slaves of all whom they took prisoners; Priests, Deacons, matrons, and virgins daily swelled the list of the captives. Mark offered, to the leader of the invaders, to buy all the prisoners whom they were willing to sell: and as a market so near at hand, and so certain, was preferable to one further off, and attended with greater risk, his offer was willingly accepted.

Six thousand persons were thus sold by the Infidels to the Jacobite Patriarch, who, on obtaining possession of them, presented them with a deed of freedom, and provided with necessaries those who wished to return to their native homes. Those, on the contrary, who were willing to remain in Alexandria, were furnished by him with instructors in his own faith: and heresy probably thus reaped a harvest of converts. We have no means of telling how Christopher behaved during this season of trial, but we may conclude, both from this and from other recitals of a similar nature, that however great might be the desire of the Catholic Patriarchs to assist the unhappy sufferers, their Jacobite rivals possessed, in a far more abundant measure, the means of bestowing aid. The Egyptian malcontents, at length joining themselves with the invaders, obtained possession of Alexandria, and slew Amrou by stratagem. Frenzied by their success, the conquerors fell out among themselves, and the battle was carried on in the very streets of the city. Victory declared for the Spanish, who, having thus triumphed over a double

enemy, abandoned themselves to fancied security: some sought the pleasures of the bath, some lay down to sleep in the houses of the vanquished, and others sought repose through the streets. The inhabitants of Alexandria, regaining courage, remarked that the foreigners, after all, had entered the town in comparatively small numbers, that they were fatigued with the combats in which they had been engaged, and separated from each other: planning their measures with caution and speed, they fell upon their enemies, and cut off as many as eight hundred. The comrades of the fallen Arabs, burning to avenge their death, again entered the city; slaughtered indiscriminately Christians, Jews, and Mahometans; and subjected the place to the horrors of a second sack. The church of S. Saviour, which had lately been restored at great expense by the Jacobites, contrary to the wishes of Mark, who represented the envy that such a display of riches might procure from the Emir, attracted the attention of the excited soldiery. For before its doors lay the corpses of some of the slaughtered Arabs, which had been thrown there for the purpose of clearing the streets, as a public place perhaps extended itself before the church; and an old man appearing upon the walls exhorted the victors to avenge the fate of their companions.

“I was present”, said he, “when the Patriarch Mark, the builder of this church, and its Prelate, slew with his own hands the men on whose bodies you are gazing. I heard him excite the Christians to further deeds of butchery: how much his example availed, how eagerly his exhortations were followed, let the streets and houses, thronged with the bodies of your friends, testify. Your revenge is easy: the erection of this pile cost those very Christians, and that very Patriarch, their money, and time, and labor: a few moments of exertion on your parts may destroy that which they, with so much difficulty, succeeded in erecting”. The church was in a few moments in a blaze; the spirit of destruction, once raised, was hardly to be allayed: after an indiscriminate slaughter, the Arabs collected such booty as they could find, and then fired the city in several places at once.

While ravage and anarchy thus reigned over Egypt, Mark retired with two disciples into the desert: and lay hid, as he could, for five years. Such persons of the Jacobite Communion able resorted to him for instruction and consolation: and he exercised, in the meantime, such an inspection of his as the unhappy state of the times would permit. Nor did he confine his attention to the affairs of his own Dioceses. Previous to this time, a heresy concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, of a new character, according to the Arabic historians, made its appearance in the Dioceses of Antioch. Its author was one Abraham, a Metropolitan of that Patriarchate, but of what province we are not informed. The nature of this heresy was, says Severus, too horrible to relate: and it is therefore impossible to speak with certainty on the point; but it appears not improbable that it asserted the Holy Eucharist to be a merely Commemorative Rite, denying it to be a true participation of the Very Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord. Mark, however, considered it his duty, as Prelate of a See in communion with Antioch, to oppose this error; and accordingly wrote to Cyriacus, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and exhorted him to repress the growing evil. The latter exerted his utmost endeavors to bring back the heretics; but in vain. Many of the Antiochene Prelates embraced the new doctrines, and made a secession from the



Jacobite body, under the appellation of Abrahamaeans. Thus have we another proof how it is the wont of heresy to propagate heresy: no sooner was one of the many schisms of Jacobitism healed by the reception of the Barsanuphians to the communion of their more powerful brethren, than another sect takes root in another soil, and propagates the fruits of division and unbelief. The authors of this division were convinced of their heresy by the successor of Cyriacus. After five years' exile, by application to one of the petty tyrants tinder whom Egypt groaned, Mark was allowed, with a letter of security, to retire to Wad y Habib. After some interval of repose, the Arabs continued their incursions over Egypt, and many monasteries were burnt and sacked by them. The news of this calamity afflicted Mark to such a degree, as to throw him into a fever: and on Easter Eve, finding that his end was near, he desired the Bishops who were present to administer to him the Viaticum, and after receiving it, departed this life. He is celebrated by the Ethiopians on the seventeenth of April; on which day, says his encomiast, "the redeemer of the captives of his people departed to the place of the heavenly nuptials". He is called the "new", or the younger, to distinguish him from the Evangelist; and the "rich", probably on account of his alms.

The successor of Mark was Jacob, who was raised to the dignity against his own will; and, indeed, in such times of distress it could have been little short of force that compelled one brought up in the retirement of a monastery, to come forward in the invidious position of chief of a Christian sect.

Abdel-Aziz, whom we have mentioned before as one of the tyrants of this afflicted country, during the civil war which raged between the sons of Aaron-al-Raschid, made himself master of a considerable part of Egypt. As the Spanish Arabs, or, as the Arabian historians term them, Andalusians, or Khowarege, still continued their ravages, this chieftain, careless of human suffering, and willing to sacrifice his subjects, if his enemies might also share their fate, burnt a considerable quantity of corn, and removed the rest into public granaries, whence he forbade it to be distributed. He thus hoped, since he could not, by force of arms, compel the Spanish troops to evacuate Alexandria, to effect by starvation that which he could not do by the sword. Hence a famine raged throughout the country. Abdel-Aziz had a particular subject of complaint against the Jacobites, that they had refused to elevate his nominee, on the death of Mark, to the Patriarchate. Anxious to get the Patriarch into his own hand, he threatened with an oath that he would destroy all the churches, and put to death all the Bishops, unless Jacob obeyed. Before the latter could reach the camp of the chief, a violent death had freed Egypt from her tyrant, who was succeeded by his son Ali.

The aspect of affairs assumed a brighter appearance, when the civil war for the Caliphate came to an end. Almamon having succeeded to that dignity, dispatched Abdallah as his Caliphate of Prefect into Egypt. It appears that there were difficulties attending his entrance on his province; for it was not till a year after his having visited Pelusium that he made his entry into Cairo. The Spanish invaders were compelled to leave the country; peace was again restored: a year of extraordinary fertility succeeded the famine; and as Abdallah was imbued with the principles of justice, the Christians enjoyed an exemption from the calamities under which they had lately suffered.



This happy state of affairs had been nearly brought to an end by the ambition of a private individual. The Bishopric of Phane being vacant, this man wished to secure it for himself: but conscious that he did not possess sufficient merit to aspire to the Episcopal dignity, he sought, in the first place, a mandate from the Emir for his consecration. Jacob refused to obey: but on the instant entreaties of his friends, who were unwilling, after so brief an interval of peace, to hazard a rupture with the Mahometan powers, he at length, in violation of the Canons, consented. It is said that the intruder did not live to reach his See.

In the meantime, it appears that Christopher was employing the leisure of his long illness by the composition of various works. The little treatise, which we have before mentioned under the title, “What does the Life of Man resemble?” is by some ascribed to him. And he undoubtedly, in conjunction with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, wrote a letter, the origin and nature of which it will be necessary to explain, by a further sketch of the proceedings of the Iconoclasts.

During the remainder of the reign of Constantine, and under the succeeding rule of Irene alone, no opposition was offered to the reception of the Council of Nicaea. Nicephorus, who succeeded and banished the latter,—a man of the greatest impiety, and guilty of involving the Church of Constantinople in schism,—was not an Iconoclast: Michael Curopalates, his successor, was a favorer of Images; but Leo the Armenian, by whom he was succeeded, revived the Iconoclast violences. Theodore Studites was his principal opponent; and addressed himself to Christopher as well as to the other Patriarchs, explaining to him the state of affairs, in order that he might receive the benefit of his counsel and sympathy. The answer of the Patriarch of Alexandria, if ever dispatched, does not now exist. The persecution of Leo finished with his life: on his falling a victim to a conspiracy, Michael assumed the purple. The new Emperor, although not professing to honor Images, at first allowed liberty of opinion to all; and recalled the exiles. It appears that at this time Constantinople was not in communion with any other of the Patriarchates, while the remaining four freely communicated with each other. Michael, however, before long, trod in the steps of Leo the Armenian; and Theophilus, his son and successor, was still more opposed to them than his father had been. It was to this Emperor, that about the year 830, Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, and Basil of Jerusalem, addressed a letter on the subject of the honor due to Images. Indeed, it appears that the first-mentioned Bishop possessed a high character for wisdom and learning.'

It shows the deep ignorance which long prevailed on the subject of Alexandrian heresy, that Sollerius should have devoted fifteen sections to an attempt to prove that the Jacobite Church, from its agreement with the Catholics on the subject of Images, was in communion with Rome and the other great Sees during these troubles,—a thing positively and even absurdly impossible.

The quiet reign of Almamon continued to give a breathing time to the Christians. This Prince was distinguished above all his predecessors by his love of learning. The Arabs had previously confined their studies to their own language, to the composition of poetry, and to the text of, and commentaries on, the Koran; but they now

began to embrace a wider range. The Greek language became a branch of education; and many works were translated from it, or from Syriac versions of the Greek, into Arabic. Among them were those of Aristotle; those of Galen, Hippocrates, and other eminent physicians; and those of Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and others. These translations were principally made by Nestorians; and it was through them that those Latin versions of Aristotle, which were employed in the schools, had their origin. Almamon also bestowed much attention on the science of astronomy; and the Tables of Almamon, deduced from observations made by the most learned astronomers in the Plains of Sennaar, in Mesopotamia, were famous in antiquity; and the groundwork of several later tables. The most celebrated of the observations taken by the command of Almamon, was that of three brothers, astronomers, for the purpose of determining the circumference of the earth. They fixed it at eight thousand leagues; thereby showing that they must have had a considerable knowledge of mathematics. These studies not only tended to soften and to humanize the fierce dispositions of the Mahometan conquerors, but also to inspire them with greater respect for the Greeks, into the treasures of whose literature they were thus in some measure introduced. But by the stricter Mahometans these new studies were believed to introduce novelties into, and to corrupt the simplicity of, their religion: and by such Almamon was severely censured. Another cause of complaint against this Caliph was the severity of his persecution against those who asserted that the Koran was uncreated: for this absurd tenet had many supporters; and several were found ready to suffer imprisonment and death rather than abjure their belief in it. Almamon not only proclaimed, by public edicts, that the Koran had been created, but, furthermore, issued a decree to the effect that it was only the third in the rank of creatures; Ali occupying the second place after Mahomet. Much bloodshed was occasioned by the controversy on this point.

After a reign of twenty years, Almamon was succeeded (AD 837) by his brother, Muhatecim Billa, who had during his lifetime been Emir of Egypt .

The Jacobites were cheered by a visit from the Patriarch of that sect at Antioch, Dionysius. This ecclesiastic, known to us by a “Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own times”, was induced to undertake the journey into Egypt by the fame of Jacob, which had extended itself into Syria. Of the latter we have no further accounts; except that he ordained one John, Metropolitan of the Ethiopians, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter. Jacob was immediately followed or preceded to the grave by Christopher.

### SECTION VIII.

#### THE PATRIARCHATE OF SOPHONIUS (AD 836)

THE successor of Christopher was Sophronius: of Jacob, Simon, a native of Alexandria, who held the dignity only for five months. On his death, or abdication, a

difficulty arose as to the election of his successor. One Isaac, surnamed the Cid, or the Lord, was the candidate fixed on by some: and a few Bishops, among whom were Zachary of Wissim, and Theodore of Misra, joined themselves to this party. Isaac was not only rich, but of noble birth: he was, however, canonically incapable of election to the Patriarchate, from the fact that he was married. Anxious to obtain the dignity which seemed to be within his grasp, he wrote by the advice of his party, to the Clergy and people of Alexandria, making liberal offers of what he would do, if raised to the post of which he was desirous; of restoring all the decayed churches, with their necessary buildings, sustaining the Priests and the poor from his own purse, and paying the tribute to which they were liable. But Chail, Bishop of Pelusium, and John of Bana, or Panephusus, opposed the compromise of a principle for the sake of expediency. "Shall the fear of the lord", said they, "be neglected, the Canons violated, and custom set at defiance, by elevating to the Throne of S. Mark a man incapable of that dignity, and expressly forbidden to aspire to it? Shall we thus lower ourselves in the sight of the Melchites, only too eager to find a flaw in our proceedings on which they may fasten, and to turn the slightest failure of duty to our reproach and confusion? Shall we throw a stumbling-block in the way of our brethren of Antioch, whose distance from us renders it doubly necessary that we commit nothing by which, as has in former times too often unhappily been the case, our Communion with them may be interrupted? Shall we do that which since the time of S. Mark has only been done once, and then in an instance where a miracle was wrought to prove the continency of the man thus raised to the Chair of the Evangelist?"

These arguments prevailed: the claims of the Canons were allowed to be paramount to those of expediency, and Yucab, or Joseph, Abbat of S. Macarius, was mentioned as worthy of the Patriarchate. This ecclesiastic was accordingly summoned; and although very unwilling, compelled to receive the proffered dignity. But now appeared the unhappy consequences of the ambition of Isaac. When Yucab was brought before the Emir of Alexandria, in order that his election might be confirmed, the latter refused to consent, unless on the payment of the thousand pieces of gold which the rejected candidate had promised. The Bishops replied, that this being the case, the consecration should take place at Cairo, where, it would appear, the authority of this Emir did not extend; and by this answer they obtained an exemption from the threatened imposition.

Yucab found the affairs of Egypt in great confusion. The Bschammyrites, weary of the oppressions of the Emirs, flew to arms, and raised the standard of liberty. The Caliph, probably finding that the forces then in Egypt were not sufficient to crush the revolt, dispatched an army against the insurgents. The Patriarch, desirous to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and perceiving that the struggle would be ineffectual, wrote to the rebels, reminding them of the duty of subjection to the powers that be, and exhorting them to lay clown their arms. To give his epistles the more weight, he dispatched them by Bishops: but the insurgent army not only treated them with contempt, but carried their indignation so far as to insult the messengers. The war continued with various fortune, until at length the Caliph found his presence necessary for its close. In his name, Dionysius of Antioch visited Egypt. The Caliph, on learning

the efforts already made by Yucab for the restoration of peace, dispatched the two Patriarchs to the insurgents, charging them with an offer of oblivion, if they would now return to their duty. The negotiation, however, failed: the Caliph's army took the field: the insurgents were shut up in their citadel: a blockade was commenced; and the fortress at length being taken, all the males were put to the sword, the women and children, and those not actually engaged in the defence, were carried to Bagdad. Dionysius represented that the severity of the Emir had induced this rebellion: and the Caliph to shelter him from the revenge of the tyrannical officer, advised him to return into Syria. This step, however, was not sufficient to shelter the Patriarch from the indignation of Ibrahim, who was the brother of Almamon, and Emir : and at a later period, Dionysius was compelled to leave his See, and to fly for his life.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Tanis and of Misra complained bitterly of the mal-administration of their Bishops; the former openly declared that, unless Isaac, their Prelate, were removed, they would no longer profess the Jacobite faith; and the latter proceeding so far as to threaten their Bishop with stoning, Yucab, after requesting the advice of his suffragans, deposed them. Finding it necessary to strengthen his influence, he endeavored, by gentle treatment, to win the affections of his late competitor Isaac: and for this purpose, he committed to him the custody of the Patriarchal seal, ordained him Deacon, and finally elevated him to the See of Wissim. But the deposed Prelates, thirsting for revenge, requested an audience of the Emir Afschin, the chief by whom the rebellion of the Bsehammyrites had been quelled: and informed him that Yucab, however much he had, in appearance, endeavored to suppress that rising, had been, in fact, its author. Afschin dispatched his brother to the church in which the Patriarch was then officiating, with orders to destroy him. From this fate Yucab was preserved, as the Jacobites will have it, by a supernatural interposition: he went to the Emir, proved the falseness of the accusation, and exposed the motives which had induced the Bishops to make it. Afschin was about to punish the calumniators according to their deserts: but Yucab interposed, and procured their pardon. This act of forgiveness was related to the Caliph, and was so much admired by him, that he issued an edict, forbidding any appeal, on the part of the Christians, from the judgment of their Patriarch.

Yucab next turned his attention to the affairs of Nubia. The king of that province was named Zacharias; and had, for some time, discontinued the tribute which had been accustomably paid to the Caliph. The Emir reproached him with this neglect: and Zacharias, unwilling to leave his kingdom, yet desirous to content his Mahometan neighbours, sent George, his son, and the heir of his crown, to Bagdad. He charged him with letters to Yucab, informing him that it had been war alone which had prevented his previously communicating with hint. George was successful in his negotiations at the court of the Caliph; and returned into Egypt loaded with presents, and with an immunity for the arrears of tribute. He requested the Patriarch to consecrate a wooden altar, which might attend the King, his father, in his various journeys; and this petition is remarkable, as containing the first instance of the use of a portable altar in the Alexandrian Church. The wandering life of the Nubians probably induced the Patriarch to accede to this application. We accidentally learn that, in the celebration of Mass by the Prelates who attended George, bells were rung, and as it would appear from various

Coptic Canons, at the Elevation of the Host. George was accompanied for some distance on his return by Yucab, who gave thanks to GOD that he had accomplished three things on which his heart had been set: that he had renewed Communion with the Antiochene Jacobites by personal communication with their Patriarch; that he had obtained from the Caliph such powers as were necessary for the well-governing of the Churches over which he was set; and that he had been enabled to regulate the affairs of Nubia and Ethiopia.

And this leads us to speak of the ecclesiastical occurrences among the latter people. We have already mentioned that John had been consecrated Metropolitan, or Abuna of this nation by Jacob. The proceedings of this Prelate were not popular: and taking advantage of the absence of the Emperor of Abyssinia, a conspiracy was formed against him, at the head of which was the Empress: he was compelled to fly; and an intruder substituted in his place. The exiled Bishop retired into Egypt, and took refuge in the monastery where he had been brought up. Shortly afterwards, the Emperor, having experienced several defeats, returned into Ethiopia: and there for the first time, learnt the proceedings of his queen with respect to John. He lost no time in dispatching a messenger to Yucab, confessing the fault of which his country had been guilty, and requesting that the Metropolitan whom they had rejected might be restored to them. Yucab acceded to the petition, and John was again sent to his people. Though well received by the Emperor, he was still obstinately rejected by the Abyssinians: who, circumcised themselves, assigned as a reason for their conduct, that they could not submit to the government of an uncircumcised Abuna: and it was then found that John had been circumcised in his youth, probably by the Mahometans, who were accustomed, in certain cases, to subject Christians to that rite by force.

Affairs being thus arranged, Yucab conceived the idea of establishing new Jacobite Sees in the more remote parts of his Diocese. It is probable that the Catholics were unable front their poverty, depression, and paucity of numbers to keep up the orthodox succession in many of the remoter Dioceses: and it was for these that Yucab now consecrated Prelates. Thus, perhaps, the Island of Zocotra, and others in the Red Sea, became imbued with Monophysitism: for it is equally certain, on the one hand, that these regions were once in the Communion of the Catholic Church, and on the other, that when the Portuguese penetrated into the Indian Ocean, they found that, in the parts towards the Red Sea, the faith of the Christian inhabitants was Jacobite. We have already had occasion to remark on the deadening effects of heresy ill paralyzing missionary exertions. We do not find that either Yucab, or any of his successors, dispatched Prelates west of Pentapolis, although the Christian religion was fast sinking in the once flourishing Church of Carthage. In the expedition which the Emperor Charles V undertook into Africa, some few Christians were discovered, it is true, but only such as used the Western rite: a clear proof that they were spiritual descendants of the Carthaginian Church, and had never been interfered with, either by the orthodox, or by the heretics of Alexandria.

Sophronius, in the meantime, was in high reputation for piety and learning. The Emperor, Theophilus, continuing to persecute those who honored Images, the Patriarch of Alexandria wrote an Epistle to him on the subject, which is said to have had the



effect of rendering him, for the short remainder of his life, less favorable to the Iconoclasts. But the most remarkable part of this Patriarch's character, is the intimate friendship by which he was connected with Yucab. His orthodoxy indeed is by the Jacobite writers called in question; but as they affirm that his inclination to Jacobitism was produced by a miracle, it will be charitable to give as little credence to the former, as to the latter part of their tale. We have, however, a lamentable proof of how completely the Catholics were misunderstood by their opponents, in the occurrence which preceded the pretended supernatural interposition. A Jacobite artificer, refusing to pursue his trade on Good Friday, assigned as a reason, that the "Word of GOD was on that day crucified!". This is said to have been denied by the Catholic to whom he spoke, who at the same time reproached him for the expression which he had used; Whereas it is certain, that he who should object to the terms thus employed would be guilty of Nestorianism.

The private friendship of the Patriarchs did not prevent a division between the orthodox and heretical communions, on the following occasion. One Eleazar, professing the faith of Chalcedon, however much acting unworthily of it, came into Egypt with authority from the Caliph to confiscate to the use of the latter the marbles with which the churches of the Jacobites abounded. That of S. Mennas, in Mareotis, was by far the richest in Egypt: and from this the marble columns, notwithstanding the earnest prayers of Yucab, were abstracted. The Patriarch did what he could to repair the loss: and it is said that Eleazar, afterwards touched with remorse, sent a large sum of money to Chail, the successor of Yucab, as a compensation for the crime of which he had been guilty.

On the death of the successor of Multatecim Billa, who was named Aaron Wathich Billa, Mutewakel Jaafar acceded to the Empire. This prince was given to luxury, cruelty, and superstition: his only virtue was military capacity. Though of the house of the Abbasids, he entertained a particular hatred for the memory of Ali: and put a stop to the persecution against those who asserted that the Koran was uncreated.

Yucab was shortly afterwards embroiled with the Emir. On the death of Isaac, Bishop of Wissim, who seemed born for the trial of the Jacobites, a disciple of his, by name Theodore, was desirous of succeeding his Master. Yucab, finding that another Prelate was desired by the inhabitants, refused to consecrate the applicant. Theodore applied to the Emir, for the fulfillment of his wishes; and the Mahometan issued a mandate to the Patriarch, to consecrate this wicked ecclesiastic. Yucab refused: the consequence was an order for the destruction of the churches in Cairo. The work of ruin had already proceeded to some extent in that which stood in the place called Kacer-el-chema, when the Jacobites persuaded the Patriarch to perform the required consecration. He was also compelled to pay three thousand golden pieces as a fine for his first refusal: and this sum was raised by the wealthiest among the Christians.

It appears that the Bishop of Misra, proud of the importance which that city received from the residence of the Caliphs, conceived shortly afterwards the idea of freeing himself either altogether, or in part, from the yoke of the Patriarch of Alexandria. To accomplish this design, he did not blush to have recourse to a Mahometan Court. The Cadi summoned Yucab, and demanded by what title he



pretended to exercise any authority over the other Bishops of Egypt. "By the right", he replied, "received from GOD, and confirmed by the princes of this land". He produced the privileges bestowed on the See of Alexandria by Almamon, and thus obtained the acknowledgment of his dignity. We learn from this occurrence, that the Coptic tongue was still generally employed among the Christians, inasmuch as the words of Yucab were explained to the Cadi by an interpreter.

An insult which Yucab experienced on receiving the synodal letters of John, the successor of Dionysius in the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch, shows the insecure state of the Christians under the Mahometan government, even at a time when they were not exposed to actual persecution. Naturally anxious to receive the Legates with the most imposing possible appearance, he came from Misra to Alexandria, where the letter of John was publicly read. But, being at that very time accused to the Emir on some false charge, he was ordered to be scourged before the Antiochene Prelates, who were filled with admiration at the patience with which he underwent this unjust punishment.

We find, at this period, many distinguished Monks commemorated among the Jacobites. For Yucab took particular care of the monasteries in his Diocese, more especially of those round the Abbey of S. Macarius. Indeed, but for the foul blot of his heresy, the character of Yucab would be a bright spot in the pages of Alexandrian History. His life, now drawing to its close, was not to end without further suffering. A new Emir, who exceeded his predecessors in wickedness and cruelty, made the Patriarch the especial object of his hatred. Entering the Episcopal "Cell" with his concubines, he not only made it the scene of his revelry, but polluted the oratory by debauchery. And not content with this, he suborned an accuser to charge Yucab with a correspondence with the Greeks: and on this fictitious accusation, threw him into a narrow dungeon, where he was daily beaten, and could neither sleep nor apply medicine to his wounds. Into this prison the writer from whom Severus transcribes the account, was also thrown. A thousand pieces of gold were exacted as ransom: and the Emir only survived for seven days the receipt of this ill-gotten treasure.

And, as if to plead his cause against his persecutor at the Tribunal of God, Yucab quickly followed. Seized with a fever which he perceived would be mortal, he received the viaticum on the seventh day, and departing this life, was buried at Alexandria with the other Patriarchs or his Communion.

To him succeeded his Syncellus, Chail, (Ad 850) the second Jacobite Patriarch of that name, who was no sooner established in his dignity than, by the rapacity of the Emir, his church was reduced to such poverty, as to compel him to sell the Sacred Vessels. This persecution, and the infirm state of his own health, rendered him constant in prayer to be delivered from so wretched a condition. He only held the See for a year and five months: and was buried in the Monastery of S. Macarius, being the first Patriarch that was there interred.

He was succeeded by Cosmas, a Deacon of the church of S. Macarius; and the commencement of his Patriarchate was not more happy than had been that of his predecessor. In the Feast of S. Mennas, which was celebrated with great devotion, two

men of bad character happened to fall out in church, and one of them slew the other. This was made the pretext for throwing Cosmas into prison, for extorting from him the various presents which had been made to his church, and finally forbidding him to leave Alexandria. This restriction was afterwards, by the intercession of two friends in the Emir's court, partially removed; and Cosmas was called to Cairo, and permitted to live in a part of that city called Demira, where none but Christians dwelt.

About this time Mutewakel, on account of an injury which he imagined himself to have received from a Christian physician, obliged all the Christians of his dominions to wear, as a mark of ignominy, rags, or fringes of different colors over their other clothes, to use ropes instead of bridles, to paint on their doors the figure of an ape, a dog, or a devil; and forbade them the use of horses. The men were obliged to wear girdles,—an order peculiarly hateful to them: women on the contrary prohibited from using them, it girdle being the known mark and sign of feminine modesty. The obligation of men to wear the zone was well met by the Bishops. They constantly treated the girdle as an honorable badge, and exerted their fancy to discover the mystical meanings which it might bear. At length they went so far as to ordain that no one should pray without the girdle. The newly erected churches and sepulchers were thrown down: lights or processions disallowed: and no Christian was permitted to serve in any public capacity. These regulations were, from time to time, renewed: and doubtless they had their effect in thinning the numbers of the Christians; for while these marks of disgrace must have been perpetually felt, they did not cause sufficient suffering to entitle those who were subject to them to the honor of confessorship.

This persecution extended over the whole of the Mahometan Empire, and was very severe at Bagdad: Jews, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Catholics, equally suffered from it. The Emir, whom the historians call, although probably by a wrong name, Abdel-Messias, seemed determined on abolishing the Christian name out of Egypt: he forbade that funeral obsequies should be performed: that bells should be rung: that prayers should be offered in the churches, except in a low voice: and finally, that the Holy Eucharist should be celebrated at all. To carry the latter prohibition into the more complete effect, he also forbade, under pretext of extraordinary veneration for the Mahometan Law, the buying or selling of wine throughout Egypt, but more especially in Cairo: and so vigilant was the care exercised in the carrying out of this edict, that wine was by no means to be procured. In this extremity, the Christians bruised raisins in water, and used the expressed juices to celebrate the Holy Eucharist. A question arose whether the Sacrament, thus, in ease of necessity, administered with unfermented liquors, could be considered valid. Many canonists denied its validity. Even Egyptian writers do not venture to defend it. So Michael, Bishop of Melicha or Nilopolis, a Divine of eminence among the Jacobites, though his age is uncertain, decides that it is not to be allowed.

An expedition made by the Greeks, in which they seized on Damietta (A.D. 852), served only to irritate the Mahometan tyrants; and the miseries of the Christians reached such a pitch that it seemed impossible to add to them.

Sophronius was now well stricken in years: and the last act of his public life was to condemn the intrusion of Photius into the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the banishment of S. Ignatius. To give any account of these events were beyond the intention of our history. It was probably in the next year after this occurrence, that a dropsy ended the life of the Patriarch Sophronius. And the same year Cosmos also was called to his account.

### SECTION IX.

#### THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL I (AD 859).

THE successor of Sophronius was Chail, or Michael. With respect to the succession of Cosmas, a difference of opinion, as usual, prevailed among the Jacobites. At length Chenouda, or Sanutius, treasurer of the church of S. Macarius, was elected with the unanimous consent of the Clergy and people in his absence. Being summoned to the Council, he entered the church of S. Sergius at Misra at the very time, during the celebration of Mass, that the words, "It is meet and worthy", were being sung: and (as there is no neuter gender in Coptic,) this circumstance was received as a testimony of the fitness of the election.

Chenouda had a particular veneration for the Blessed Name of JESUS, and made it a custom, which has since been observed in Egypt, that all private letters on important subjects, and all public ecclesiastical documents, should commence with the letters JESUS CHRIST, the SON, GOD. The new Patriarch was also a determined enemy to Simony. It is astonishing that, in the depressed and persecuted state of the Coptic Jacobites, any should have been found desirous of committing so great a sin, for the sake of uncertain emolument, and certain risk: but it appears that the crime was prevalent.

Turning his attention to the state of his Diocese, he discovered that in a town of Mareotis were some remains of the ancient Quartodeciman schismatics, who in their time for the observation of Easter set the Council of Nicaea at defiance. This sect, falling from bad to worse, had now acquired several new tenets from other heretical bodies, such as the Phantasiasts and Barsanuphians; and denied the reality of the LORD'S Passion, affirming Him to have suffered it in a kind of trance. It is melancholy to find the opportunity of reclaiming these wanderers from the Fold lost by the Catholic Church, especially as they appear, unsought, to have renounced these errors. They came to Chenouda, requesting him to give them a formula of Faith: and at their reception of it, he received them, by confirmation, to the Jacobite Communion. Thus this heretical body became, not actually stronger, for apostasy to the Mahometanism had thinned its numbers, but stronger with respect to those who asserted the True Faith of Chalcedon.

It may appear from this voluntary submission on the part of the Quartodecimans, that the reputation of Chenouda must have been high. And he appears to have acquired great estimation for his theological knowledge: his Paschal letters were, in particular, much valued. It will not be amiss to quote, as a specimen of the then teaching of his Communion, a part of that which he wrote in the second year of his Episcopate.

“ We believe also that, in the end of time, GOD, when He was pleased to deliver our race from slavery, sent forth His Only Begotten SON into the world, Who was made man, (being made like unto us in all things,) of the HOLY GHOST and of the Virgin Mary, taking unto Himself a perfect Body, without sin: a body endued with a soul after an incomprehensible sort: and He made That Body one with Himself, or united it to Himself, without alteration, commixtion, or division, but so that there was One Person, and One Nature. He suffered in the Body for us: He died, and rose again from the dead according to the Scriptures : and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of GOD the FATHER. But when we affirm, that GOD suffered and died for our sakes, we affirm it according to the sense of the True Faith, that He suffered in the body, being Himself impassible, and that He is One God as the Fathers of the Holy Church have taught us. But. whoever shall blasphemously divide Him, affirming that God was obnoxious neither to Passion nor to death, but that it was Man that suffered and died, and this divide Him into two, GOD the WORD on the one part, and Man on the other: thus affirming Him to consist of Two Natures in Two Persons, of which each worketh that which is proper to itself; men who thus affirm, endeavoring to introduce the impure Creed of Nestorius and the Faith of the profane Council of Chalcedon, against the Orthodox Belief: these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizeth, we avoid and execrate them, and anathematize them that assert that God the Word, after the incomprehensible Union, hath two Natures. But we with the True Faith confess, that Cod the WORD took upon Himself Voluntarily a Body and its natural affections: for it is certain that the Union is complete altogether and in all things. For the Natures, which were at first united, are by no means separated, the Word thus ordering, when they are inseparable, even in the time of the Passion which He endured in His Body”.

The Paschal letter was highly esteemed by many among the Jacobites, as a faithful transcript of the teaching of S. Cyril. There were not, however, wanting those, more especially in the Thebais, who exclaimed loudly against that part of it which asserts that the Divine Nature had suffered death; and who called for the deposition of the Patriarch that had taught this belief. The Bishops of Semnuda and Moniet Tama were at the head of this party: and it might have been hoped that the Church would reap the advantage of these divisions. But those Prelates died suddenly: and their inferior partizans were induced, even in their lifetime, to recognize the Orthodoxy of Chenouda.

Abdallall was now Emir of Egypt, a man in every way tyrannical, and extremely averse from the Christians. Finding it difficult on account of their extreme simplicity of life, to tax the Monks, he made the vegetables and fruits, on which they lived, exciseable articles: and doubled or trebled the taxes of the other Christians. He also ordered search to be made for the Patriarch of the Jacobites: but Chenouda,

unwilling to risk himself at court, made a tour, with one disciple, of the remoter parts of his Diocese, visiting its monasteries; sometimes travelling on foot, sometimes going by water. The goods of the Clergy were seized, and the churches in Misra, with only one exception, were closed. After six months' wandering, Chenouda, apparently ashamed of his want of courage, determined to wait on the Emir; and returning secretly to Cairo, was harboured by a private Christian of that city. Thence he wrote to Abdallah, requesting security for his person, but received a threatening reply: nevertheless he ventured by night, with Mennas, his disciple and secretary, to present himself before the Emir. He was favorably received; and in a second audience it was agreed that the Church of Alexandria should pay an annual tribute of two thousand, the Monasteries of two thousand three hundred golden pieces.

It is possible that the growing strength of the Orthodox in Upper Egypt was one reason for the risk to which Chenouda, on this occasion, exposed himself. It is easy to see, through the fables of Jacobite historians, that the Church had obtained a power, in that province, by no means agreeable to the heretical Communion: and it was considered necessary that Chenouda himself should pay a visit to those parts, in order to confirm them in the Jacobite belief.

And indeed, about, or before, this time, a great and a last effort seems to have been made by the Church for the recovery of her lost power. We have already observed, that the Patriarch of Alexandria was in fact, from the earliest ages, the only Metropolitan of Egypt. But it seems to have suggested itself, either to Chail, or to Sophronius, that it would be a likely method of acquiring greater strength and reputation, were this dignity established in the Alexandrian, as in all the other Eastern churches. Probably also the desire of approximating to the Church of Constantinople, and of complimenting it by adopting its usages, might have pleaded in favor of this step. That it was wise or prudent to give further occasion to the reproach under which the Melchites already lay, of deserting the customs and the discipline of their forefathers, might seem, regarding the matter a priori, more than questionable: that it eventually answered in some degree the wishes of its devisers is evident, from the fact that a similar plan was, at a later period, adopted by the Jacobites.

It is impossible to speak with precision of the time at which the institution of Metropolitans took place. It is certain, however, that it was before AD 879: for in the letter of Chail to the Pseudo-Eighth Council, assembled in that year at Constantinople, and which we shall presently have occasion to quote, mention is made of four Metropolitans. Their numbers are still more uncertain than their date: but they would appear not to have exceeded ten or twelve: as we have had occasion to observe in our Introduction.

In the meantime, the feeble authority of the Caliphs was, through civil disputes, growing daily feebler. Moustansir, the son of Mutewakel, enjoyed only for six months a government which he had obtained by parricide. His uncle, Ahmed, surnamed Moustain, succeeded, and perished after a reign of nearly four years, by a violent death; and was followed by his brother Mahomet, surnamed Mutazzi. In the civil war between these two princes the Emir of Egypt maintained a strict neutrality, determined to bestow



his allegiance on the successful rival. He did not, however, refrain from oppressing the Christians with exactions; and his tyranny and the incursions of the Arabs into the Thebais, rendered it a matter of public rejoicing when Mutazzi was proclaimed Caliph. But a more important change was at hand for Egypt. The Turks possessed, at this time, the principal authority in the Caliph's Court: and by their means Muzahem, of Turkish origin, was appointed to the Emirate, and thus displaced the time-serving Yezid. He brought with him a body of Turkish troops, to which the native soldiery were far inferior: he quelled, with a high hand, various insurrections, conducted his military operations, both by land and by water, with great spirit, and though cruel in exacting punishment, was on the whole a strict observer of justice. The activity of the government was acknowledged: robbers disappeared; industry was protected, and order re-established. Nor were the Christians exempted from the benefit of the change. Under the Caliphate of Moustansir, two men of property, after communicating their design to Chenouda, and receiving his blessing, set forth to Bagdad, and under the government of his successor Moustain succeeded in obtaining a deed, by which all that had been unjustly taken and detained from the Christians, by preceding Emirs, should be restored to them, whether churches, monasteries, plate, lands, ornaments, or property of any other description. And on their return into Egypt, this mandate was dispatched by Chenouda from one end of his Diocese to the other: he accompanied it with consolatory letters to his suffragans, and from Farma, says Severus, to Assowan, that is, from Rhinocorura to Syene, in other words, from Phoenicia to Ethiopia, churches were restored, and religion re-established.

Muzahem, after raising the Emirate to a dignity which it had never previously attained, in the short space of little more than a year, left it to his son, who died at the end of two months: his successor, Argouz, also appears to have retained it for a very short time. He was followed by the more celebrated Ahmed, son of Touloun, also of Turkish race, who, weary of the feeble yoke of the distant Caliphs, erected the province of Egypt into a separate government, and ruled it with royal power.

Intercourse had hitherto been but slight between Constantinople and Alexandria. But on the accession of Basil, surnamed the Macedonian, he deposed Photius, the usurper of the Patriarchal Chair of the Imperial City, and re-established Ignatius: and being desirous of punishing the former, and vindicating the latter at the Tribunal of an Ecumenical Council, he proceeded to take the necessary steps for its convocation. He requested leave from Ahmed, that Chail might be allowed to dispatch Legates to Constantinople: and to this proposition the Emir, feeling perhaps the importance that one who was only a successful rebel against the Caliph, should be on good terms with the Greek Emperor, very willingly consented. The Council met at Constantinople early in October; but was interrupted in the winter months: and it was not till the following February that Joseph, Archdeacon of Alexandria, and Legate of Chail, made his appearance in it. With the proceedings of the Council, and its condemnation of Photius, we have nothing to do; but the letter of Chail to Basil, gives some idea of the state of the Alexandrian Church.

He stated therein his anxious desire of writing to the Emperor, a desire which nothing but the slavery in which the Church lay had prevented him from carrying into



practice; that the Governor of Egypt had, using a policy different from that of his predecessors, willingly consented to his sending a Legate to Constantinople, to decide on the question about to be discussed by the Council: that for this purpose he had dispatched Joseph, a man whom he well knew to be worthy of the mission, and one who, from his infancy, had been engaged in the Monastic Life. With respect to the question itself, he added, it was impossible for him, living at such a distance, to venture a decisive opinion; that, however, Bishops and Abbats were not wanting, who would be able to discuss it thoroughly, and to decide it justly: and after imploring the Emperor to receive the deputation graciously, and to favor them in the redemption of captives, the alleged object of their mission, he commends him to the Divine Mercy, by the intercession of S. Mary, S. Mark, and All Saints. Joseph, who was well received by the Council, did not arrive in time to share in the condemnation of Photius, but he testified in writing his approbation of it. He afterwards, in common with the other Legates of the East, decided in favor of Constantinople, against the claims of Rome to the ecclesiastical supremacy of Bulgaria. We shall find that the character of this Legate was afterwards, though most unjustly, branded with infamy.

It was, however, discovered, in the course of this Council, that a gross deception had been practiced by Photius under the name of Chail. There was one Leontius, dispatched by the Patriarch to Constantinople, for the purpose of procuring alms: he was by birth a Greek, had been taken as a slave to Alexandria, and ransomed by Chail, whose kindness he abused. He assumed, at the request of Photius, the character of Legate from Alexandria, and in this capacity was made use of by the Patriarch of Constantinople, for the purpose of strengthening his cause. He confessed his fault in the Ninth Session, and was forgiven.

Chail survived the return of his Legate, and his own ratification of the Council, but a short time, and departing this life, was succeeded by a Patriarch of the same name with himself.

### SECTION X.

#### THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL II (AD 872).

THE new head of the Alexandrian Church was a Roman by nation: unless we imagine in concordance with another reading of Eutychius, that he was a native of Gaza.

In the meantime, the favor with which Ahmed beheld the Catholic Church was by no means extended to the Jacobites. A Deacon applied to Chenouda for promotion to the Priesthood, who having assumed the monastic habit, had again left it, and on this account was refused the desired promotion. Indignant at the refusal, he accused

Chenouda to Ahmed of having defrauded him of a considerable sum of money. Chenouda, who does not appear to have been conspicuous for his courage, hearing of the accusation laid against him, betook himself to a place of concealment, where he was, however, discovered, and carried to Misra, whither Ahmed summoned all the Prelates of the Jacobite sect. They were stripped of the Episcopal, retaining only the Monastic habit: promenaded through the city on asses without saddles, and exposed to the insults and jeers of the mob. Chenouda himself, although suffering severely from the gout, was confined for thirty days in prison, with only one companion, until he had satisfactorily proved that he did not possess the money which the unprincipled Deacon accused him of detaining.

The latter finding that his crime was made evident to all, requested letters of Absolution from the Patriarch: "otherwise", said he, "not a Christian will pray with me in church, or receive me to his house". Chenouda assented; and not only did what was requested, but presented hint with a sum of money for travelling expenses, a beast of burden, and three garments, for which he was accused of mistaken clemency by his secretary, from whose account this history was taken by Severus. The answer of Chenouda proves one of two things: either the gross ignorance which at this time existed in the Jacobite Communion as to the practice of Penitence, or, which is more likely, the Patriarch's terror of being again accused to the Emir. "My son", said he, "thou art ignorant that when a sinner dares to receive the Communion of the Eucharist before he shall have confessed his sins before God, and implored pardon, he imagines that by the reception of that Sacrament he becomes a perfect Christian, thinking that it bestows remission of sins, according to that saving in the Gospel, 'This is My Body: take of This for the remission of sins': whereas, by this action his sin is the more increased". He hence argued that it was better to absolve one who had committed a crime of the heinousness with which his accuser stood charged, lest, being unabsolved, he should add to his own condemnation. By the same rule, all Penitential Canons were null and void, since the moment a sinner requests Absolution, that moment ought it to be conferred on him. We shall hereafter have occasion to mention the innovations proposed in the Jacobite Communion on the subject of Confession: but it does not appear that at this period any such notions had been received by it, though the event just related proves a tendency to error on this subject. The Deacon in question soon manifested how insincere had been his penitence, by falsely accusing other Christians: he was therefore arrested by the Emir's order, in the city Sa, or Sais, where he resided, and after being severely scourged, was hardly allowed to escape with his life.

The Patriarch's last years were embittered by another calumny of the same kind, and from which he suffered in nearly a similar way. A Monk, whom he refused to ordain, was the author of this new calamity, in which both the Patriarch, and Simon, recently ordained by him Bishop of Panephusus, were fellow-sufferers. The former was reputed to have large sums of money, which he expended in propagating Christianity among the Mahometans, whom he secretly dispatched to be baptized in the distant monasteries. The Emir, who had received directions from the Caliph to exterminate the Christian religion in Egypt, (a proof that Ahmed was contented at this time with real, and did not care for nominal, independence), took the matter vigorously in hand, and

examined the chests of the Patriarch, in which he was supposed to keep his treasures. They proved to be full of Manuscripts, of which Chenouda was a great collector, and a rich adorer: but besides these, and his Episcopal vestments, for the most part poor, nothing was discovered.

We may here make a few remarks on the low state to which all these occurrences prove the Church of Alexandria to have been reduced. The danger of acting out the Canons, when to obey them might be to offend the Emir or the Caliph, opened the door to a long train of abuses: but in nothing more than in the administration of Penitence. The dispensing power of the Patriarchs was often stretched to its utmost limits, and sometimes exceeded them: and there was no tribunal before which they could be arraigned, and no earthly superior whom they could fear. A general synod of Egyptian Bishops might have done much: but these assemblies were, not unnaturally, regarded with feelings of suspicion and dislike by the Mahometans, and seldom took place, except when a convocation of at least twelve Prelates was necessary for the election of a new Patriarch. If ever a Synod was allowed to meet, it was one scene of confusion and disgrace: the minority appealed to the heathen Prince, and made up in brute force what was wanting in justice or in persuasiveness. Excommunication was used as an instrument for the revenge of private wrongs: the celestial power of binding and loosing was prostituted to the subservience of human passions, or the attainment of the objects of earthly ambition. To meet the relaxation of discipline, it was usual for the Bishops, as we shall see, to draw up certain heads or Canons of Reformation, to which they compelled the Patriarch elect to swear assent, before consecration. But this step was of little use: and thus, in the Jacobite Communion, discipline fell lower and lower, the Patriarchs became more and more careless of their charge, the appeal to the heathen tribunal more and more common, and Absolution little more than a dead letter, till, as we shall have occasion to relate, a Patriarch was judged by his own suffragans, and the evil in some degree remedied.

That the Catholic Church suffered equally with her heretical rival, is evident from the wretched vacillation displayed, and the contradictory courses followed, by her Patriarchs in the matter of Photius of Constantinople. This Prelate had been deposed and condemned in that which the Latin Church reckons as the Eighth Ecumenical Council: and that, as we have seen, with the full consent of the Church of Alexandria, as expressed in the person of Joseph, its Legate. But S. Ignatius, re-established in that Synod, having departed to his rest, Photius found means, with the consent of the Emperor, to re-insinuate himself into the Patriarchal Chair: and in order to make his title to its possession good, he obtained the Convocation of another Council. Three hundred and eighty Bishops met at Constantinople: even Rome, with a vacillation most unusual to her, sent her Legates to assist in the re-instatement of the intruder; and John VIII then proclaimed, either that he himself was now mistaken, or that his predecessor Adrian II had decided unjustly with the former Synod of Constantinople. Chail of Alexandria, seeing in which direction the Emperor's favor now turned, did not scruple to address Photius as his "thrice blessed colleague and Lord, and Patriarch of Constantinople": that Photius whom Chail I had, by his Legate, condemned and anathematized. But the Patriarch went further than this. He had, he said in his letter to Photius, learnt from his

predecessor the merit of that Bishop: he therefore hastened now to acknowledge him, as he had ever done, rightful Patriarch of Constantinople. And that this acknowledgment might be the more solemn, he had done it with the consent of some of his Metropolitans: Zachary of Tamianthus, James of Babylon, Stephen of Thebes, and Theophilus of Bari. This, as we have said before, is the first mention that occurs of Egyptian Metropolitans. The name of Photius was inserted in the Alexandrian diptychs: Joseph, the Legate at the former Synod, was said to have assumed a character he did not possess, and to have died in his sins. This was the substance of the letter brought by the Abbat Cosmas, Legate of “the Abbat Michael, Pope of Alexandria”. Cosmas, in common with the other Eastern Legates, supported Photius in his successful opposition to the demands of Rome: and it is remarkable that the acclamations of the Council prayed for long life to the Patriarchs Photius and John: thus reducing the Pope to the second place.

In the meantime Ahmed was bent on erecting the Emirate of Egypt into an independent government: and the feeble rule of Mutamid, the fifteenth Caliph of the house of the Abbasids, gave him the opportunity of carrying out his design. The authority of the Caliphs was indeed, at this time, little more than nominal, and the whole of their so-called empire was distracted by sects and disturbance. There was a rebellion in Arabia, under one who gave himself out to be of the House of Ali, which lasted fifteen years: there was the sect of the Carmatians, whence afterwards rose the body of Hassissin, better known by the name of Assassins, and who taught that no Mussulman ought to pay obedience to the usurping race of the Abbasids. Some of the pretenders to independence consented to allow a nominal supremacy to the Caliphs: and the latter were only too happy to receive, in token of this precarious vassalage, presents which they applied in inventing new luxuries, gratuities to their favorites, in toys for their concubines. But, finding this condition insecure, they endeavored to introduce a guard of body of foreign troops, who unconnected with, and possessing a differing interest from, the rest of their courtiers, might hang on the will of the Prince alone. Such a race they found in the inhabitants of Turkistan, from whom they formed a kind of Praetorian Cohort, with the same design, and with the same fate, as that which was intended by, and which befell, the later Roman Emperors. The Turkish guard soon began to find their obedience to the Caliphs nominal: they influenced their wills, directed their actions, and at length began to depose their persons. Thus despised abroad, and overawed at home, the Caliphs were a mere shadow of power, and one of the most despised of this despised race was Mutamid.

Ahmed, then, seizing his opportunity, renounced allegiance Egypt a to Mutamid: and not content with Egypt, carried his arms into Syria, of the greater part of which, including Antioch, he became master: and thus laid the first foundation of the Sultanate of Egypt, although, on the deposition of the descendants of Ahmed, a difference was made in the form of government. Against such a rebel, neither Mutamid, nor his brother Muaffek, who under his name carried on the administration, were able to offer any resistance. Muaffek therefore contented himself with excommunicating Ahmed in all the mosques of Bagdad.

Chenouda, after a troublesome Patriarchate of somewhat more than twenty-one years, departed this life; and was succeeded by Chail (AD 881), the third of that name. His Episcopate was equally distracted with that of his predecessor, and his troubles in it began at an early period. In the Diocese of Saca, the same city anciently known by the name of Xoïs, was a town called Denuschar, in which place the munificence of some Jacobites had raised a church in honor of S. Ptolemy the Martyr. The Patriarch and many other Bishops were invited to be present at its consecration: a large body of laity were also in attendance. The hour of celebrating the Holy Mysteries drew on: the assembled Prelates grew impatient; and still the Bishop of Saca did not come. Inquiry was made as to the cause that detained him: he was entertaining his friends at a banquet. Respect for the rights of a Bishop within his own Diocese restrained, for some time, the Ecclesiastics who were present: at length, as the morning wore away, they requested Chail to celebrate Mass himself. Won by their solicitations, he consented; and, after having read and expounded the Scriptures, as the manner was, he performed the Oblation—the Illation which in the Coptic Church precedes, though in the Constantinopolitan Liturgies, under the title of the Great Entrance, it follows, the Epistle and Gospel. Chail had already offered them on the altar, when the Bishop of Saca entered, and furiously demanded why, in his own Diocese, another Prelate had dared to celebrate the Holy Eucharist? Advancing to the altar, he seized the offered, although not consecrated, bread; flung it to the ground, and went out. The Patriarch, again going through the office of Oblation with another Host, finished the Liturgy, and distributed the Communion to the people. But such a monstrous violation, on the part of the Bishop of Xoïs, of all ecclesiastical order, seemed to demand exemplary punishment: and accordingly, on the following day, the Bishops, who had been present at the Consecration, assembled; and in full Synod deposed the offending Prelate, and ordained another in his room. Following the example which had been, unhappily, so often previously set, the disgraced Bishop repaired to Cairo, and laid his version of the case before Ahmed, then on the point of setting forth on an expedition into Syria, whether for the purpose of enlarging his dominions or of confirming his power in those parts. The Patriarch, said the Bishop of Xoïs, has wealth enough to defray the expenses of the military expedition which your Highness has in view; the plate which adorns our churches is of extreme value: it needs but a command on your part to obtain them. Ahmed summoned Chail, and desired that everything belonging to the Christian worship, except the vestments, should be surrendered to the public treasury: and on the Patriarch's refusal, committed him to prison, where he remained for one year.

Satisfied, at length, that nothing was to be obtained in this way, Ahmed released Chail, taking bond for the payment of twenty thousand golden pieces; the one half to be paid within one, the other within four, months. For this sum, John, the Emir's secretary, and his son Macarius, became bound; and the wretched Patriarch, totally at a loss how to raise the immense amount required, and probably unwilling to exhibit his misery among his own people, took refuge in a Melchite church, where he was supported by the daily alms of the Jacobites. Cathri,

The month had now nearly expired, and no method of discharging the debt suggested itself when it was hinted to Chail that ten Sees were vacant, and that possibly



ten persons might be found who would be willing to pay for the title of Bishop. This unholy advice was followed: and the money thus simoniacally obtained sufficed to satisfy the rapacity of Ahmed for a time. But the greater part of the amount yet remained undischarged, and to meet the exigencies of the case, the Bishops, assembled in Synod, determined that each should repair to his own Diocese, and exact a small sum from every individual belonging to the Jacobite Communion. The Patriarch, not to be behind-hand in this exertion, visited the monasteries of Wady Habib, and by a kind of legal fiction, deprived the Monks of the places which they had been in the habit of occupying in the parish churches, and sold the right of possession to them again. And this deserves notice, as the earliest instance with which we are acquainted, of the monstrous system whereby traffic is made of the House of GOD, and that space which ought to be free for all, turned into seats, for which it is necessary to pay. We may also observe, that the whole of the above account shows how much the power and influence of the Jacobites had declined since the establishment of the Mahometan tyranny in Egypt. Then, when it was necessary to raise a sum of money to satisfy the rapacity of the Emir, it was sufficient that the Patriarch should (with great bodily fatigue, it is true, but still with the assurance of obtaining that which he desired,) traverse his Diocese; and the sight of him whom they considered the successor of S. Mark, an exile for the sake of religion, exposed to danger, and harassed by want, opened the hearts and unlocked the treasures of those, whether in town or country, among whom he passed. Then the bulk of the native population was Christian: the Mahometans were the aliens and the exceptions. Now, the proportion was mournfully reversed; and such a pilgrimage would evidently, in the case of Chail, have been useless.

The money, however, arising from the united efforts of the Bishops in their Dioceses, and of the Patriarch among the monasteries, not proving sufficient, Chail next repaired to Alexandria, where he endeavored to persuade the Clergy that the ornaments of the churches should be sold to meet the exigency. They positively refused: until, after long contention, Chail bound himself and his successors to pay annually to the Alexandrian Church the sum of a thousand pieces of gold: and this custom lasted for many ages. By these means, half the amount required was at length presented to Ahmed.

Chail, although driven in his distress to use the methods which we have narrated, did not fail to confess and to acknowledge his fault. In his public letters, subsequently to this period, he termed himself, by a slight alteration of his name, Chaïa, that is, *the last*: as thereby signifying that he was the last of the sons of the Church, in that he had violated her most sacred Canons, and dissipated her property. Happy had it been for his successors had he been the last who was guilty of the crying sin of Simony; but it was, in fact, he who opened the door to it. That which he had thus commenced, his successors continued: and the selling and purchasing the gifts of the HOLY GHOST for money attained, in course of time, a fearful height; and is, perhaps, a blacker stain on the Jacobite Communion of Alexandria than even its heresy.

The rest of the twenty thousand pieces of gold would doubtless have been required, had not Ahmed perished before he could lead his army to Damascus. The bond for the remaining moiety was then returned to Chail. Ahmed was succeeded by his



son Hamarowia, the eldest of thirty who survived at his death; and under this prince, the glory of the family of Ahmed, or, as it is generally called, (from Touloun, the father of Ahmed,) the house of the Toulounide, rose to a very great height. Hamarowia was master of Egypt and Syria: Alexandria, Antioch, and Tarsus, equally obeyed him. He did, in a certain way, own the authority of Mutadid, the successor of Mutamid in the Caliphate; and both he and the other independent Emirs, who had practically thrown off the yoke of Bagdad, owned the spiritual authority, as successor of Mahomet, of him to whose temporal rule they refused to submit. In this they differed essentially, as we shall have further occasion to notice, from the Fatimids, who arrogated to themselves ecclesiastical, no less than civil power, and assumed the title of Caliphs. Hamarowia probably felt that his power was not sufficiently settled to allow of his taking such a step: that the Egyptian Mahometans, viewing the Caliph at Bagdad as the Vicar of their Prophet on earth, would be ill disposed to admit any claim which infringed on this belief: and perhaps, more than all, that some one of the powerful Turkish chiefs in attendance on Mutadid would make religion a pretext for requesting the Emirate of Egypt, and prove a far more formidable rival in actual, than the feeble Caliph was in nominal, power. In fact, Hamarowia paid an annual tribute of two hundred thousand golden pieces to Mutadid, and a still larger sum by way of arrears, for the purpose of obtaining the investiture of all the provinces which his father or himself had held. Desirous of still further strengthening his family, he entered into negotiations for marrying his daughter to the son of Mutadid; but, on receiving an intimation that the Caliph himself was not averse from such a marriage, he willingly altered his plans, and the nuptials were celebrated with the most extraordinary splendor. Everything which Oriental luxury could suggest, or Oriental wealth execute, was carried out on the largest scale; at every spot where the Princess Katerelineda was to rest, in her journey from Cairo to Bagdad, arose a sumptuous palace; the train which accompanied the bride seemed endless; and the presents were of the costliest and most varied description. Mutadid's willingness to become the son-in-law of Hamarowia, was not altogether the effect of love for his daughter. He well knew the extended views and love of magnificence which characterized the Emir of Egypt; and trusted by stimulating him to a display like that which we have related, to exhaust his treasury, and thus to render into an easier subject of attack, and a more likely object of victory. The treasury at Cairo was in fact emptied; but the designs of Mutadid were rendered unnecessary. The works of Hamarowia had been of the most extensive description; building was his passion: and his palace and hippodrome near Cairo were on the largest scale. His income, derived from Egypt, amounted to four million three hundred thousand pieces of gold annually. Aware that he could place but little dependence on the fidelity of his servants, he had trained a lioness to lie at his feet during the night: and such was the instinct and faithfulness of the animal that, had his most intimate friend ventured to approach her master while he slept, he would have fallen a victim to her jealous care. But in the year of his daughter's nuptials, being at Damascus, Hamarowia gave orders that a youth who waited on him should, without any fault, be scourged to death: and the fellow-servants of the victim revenged his murder by killing the tyrant, now without his accustomed guard, while he slept. He was succeeded by his son Gisch. He does not appear to have sustained the power left him by his father; for he was in a short time deposed by the Emir of Damascus, and succeeded by his brother Aaron.

Of Chail, the Catholic Patriarch, history has preserved no particulars after the legation of Comas to assist in the reestablishment of Photius. He departed this life after an Episcopate of more than thirty years; and the See remained vacant. He had been long preceded to the grave by his namesake, the Jacobite Patriarch, and that See also remained vacant. This double vacancy seems to point to some persecution or affliction which both Communions equally shared: but such is the ignorance or carelessness of the historians of the period, that we are unable to detail its nature, cause, or duration.

### SECTION XI.

#### THE PATRIARCHATE OF ABDEL MESSIAH (AD 906).

AFTER a vacancy of about four years, Abdel Messiah, a native of Aleppo, was raised to the Chair of S. Mark. He was elected at Jerusalem on Easter Eve; and consecrated by Elias, Patriarch of that city. On his arrival in Egypt, the circumstance of his foreign ordination excited the Catholics against him: and they refused to submit to his government, unless the prayers for the benediction of the Patriarch were again repeated. To this Abdel Messiah consented; and an impending schism was thus averted.

The vacation of the Jacobite See lasted still longer, and it was at length filled by Gabriel, originally a Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, but afterwards domiciled in a religious house of apparently stricter observance, where no Monk was allowed to join in the Hallelujah at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, who could not repeat front memory the whole Psalter. Indeed, Gabriel appears to have been better fitted for the contemplative than for the active life. He shrank from His want of the arduous duties of the Episcopate, and even after his consecration, continued to reside in a religious house, never visiting Misra or Alexandria, except when summoned by urgent business, and even then returning as soon as possible to his beloved solitude. The same love of quiet may be seen in the answer which he returned when pressed to give in his Confession of Faith; a custom which, as we have before noticed, was practised by the Jacobite Patriarchs on their election, and of which this is the first express example. No new Confession of Faith, he said, was necessary; the Creed of Nicaea was an impregnable bulwark against all heresies; the Confession of the Three Hundred and Eighteen might well suffice for himself. This answer, however plausible it might sound, was of course lamentably weak; inasmuch as Gabriel must well have known that the Melchites and Nestorians, no less than himself, admitted the Faith of Nicaea.

The Alexandrian Clergy insisted on the stipend to which the preceding Patriarch had bound his successors. To meet this his demand he continued, but with less palliation for the crime, the simoniacal ordinations of his predecessor.

The church of the Caesarea, of which we have before had occasion to speak, built from the remains of a temple raised by Cleopatra to Saturn, was burnt down in the first year of this Patriarch, if not before his consecration. It had been seized by the Jacobites under Benjamin, and restored to the Catholics under Cosmas: to which of the two Communions it now belonged, is not certainly known; the probability appears to be, that it was in the possession of the Melchites.

Gabriel continued the exaction of one golden piece from each member of his Communion, which Chail had established. There can be no doubt that this tribute also was not without its effect in causing some to apostatize to Mahometanism. It might certainly be complained of as a hardship that, since the very profession of Christianity entailed a heavier tax than was borne by the Mahometans, the Patriarchs should, without pressing need, impose a second tax on their already oppressed brethren.

The youth and incapacity of Aaron suggested to his uncles, two of the sons of Ahmed, the possibility of obtaining his empire for themselves. This enterprise, however, was fatal to the family of the Toulounids. Moetasi, the successor of Mutadid, and seventeenth of the Abbasid Caliphs, raised Schiban, Vizir of Egypt, to its Emirate: and having by this method utterly overthrown the empire which, under Hamarowia, had been so formidable, dispatched Muhamed the son of Soliman as Emir in the place of Schiban. Apparently anxious that the Governor of Egypt should not again have time to consolidate a power which might resist the Caliphate, Moetasi, in the course of a few years, twice changed the Emir: and thus the Caliphs regained, in spite of their sinking influence, some power over the Province of Egypt. Muetadir succeeded Moetasi; and under his Caliphate, Gabriel, of whose actions nothing further is related, was elevated to the See of Alexandria; and after an Episcopate of about eleven years, was succeeded by Cosmas.

It would appear that, since the ordination of John as Metropolitan of Ethiopia by Jacob, and his re-instatement tinder Yucab, about a hundred years previously, no application had been made to Alexandria for a new Abuna. In the meantime disorders of all kinds prevailed in that remote region; and it is not improbable that it was in this century, in the absence of all ecclesiastical discipline, that the Emperors of Ethiopia took upon them those sacerdotal functions, the knowledge of which was carried, in the middle ages, into Europe, under the celebrated title of Prester, that is, Presbyter, John. We are informed by Abusclah, (and there seems no reason why we should call his testimony into question,) that all the Emperors of Ethiopia considered themselves invested with priestly power; celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and considered it forbidden by the holiness of their character to slay any animal with their own hands. If they transgressed this tradition, they not only lost the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, but, which seems even more singular, all the laws which they had made since the beginning of their reigns became ipso facto invalid. We may probably believe that this assumption of a character entirely foreign to them arose at a time when the succession of Bishops had entirely failed, from an honest, although ill-informed, zeal on the part of the Emperors to maintain a knowledge of the Christian religion among their subjects; and it was rendered easier because, like all the East, Ethiopia was governed by that custom, which (though after the Jacobite heresy had broken out,) was embodied in the

Canons of the Quinisext Council, and which permitted the marriage of Priests. Such is the impenetrable obscurity which hangs over Ethiopic history, that the labors of learned men have been able to throw little or no light on the subject we are considering. That the sacerdotal power of the Ethiopic monarchs arose somewhere about the date to which our history has now arrived, is highly probable; and it is not impossible, as we said above, that it had its origin in the century which elapsed between the Episcopates of Jacob and of Cosmas III. On this subject, however, we have already treated in our Introduction, and we will therefore consider it no further in this place.

Cosmas, it would appear, was requested to send another Metropolitan into this distant and neglected region, and the Ecclesiastic on whom his choice fell was named Peter. He was received with much honor by, and acquired considerable influence over, the Emperor, who, on his death-bed, summoned him to his side, and gave the crown into his care, and, at the same time, commending his two sons to him, spoke as follows: — “Thou art”, said he, “the Vicar of CHRIST the King and Mighty God, in Whose Power are all the kingdoms of the world: my kingdom and my sons I give into thy charge, that thou mayest govern them according to the Will of God: him then whom thou shalt consider the worthier of the kingdom, him appoint to be king”. On the death of the Emperor, the Abuna faithfully fulfilled the duty imposed on him; and, in process of time, finding that the younger brother gave the brighter promise of excellence, he availed himself of the power of choice, and preferred him to the firstborn. Shortly afterwards two vagabond Monks, of that class against whom so many Canons have been at different times made, came into Egypt, and applied to the Abuna for money, which he, either unable through circumstances, or unwilling from his knowledge of the character of the applicants, refused to bestow on them. They devised the following method of revenge. One of them assumed the episcopal habit, and gave himself out as bearer of letters from the Patriarch of Alexandria, to the effect that he had heard, with infinite surprise and regret, that an impostor, named Peter, had appeared in Ethiopia, professing to have been ordained as Metropolitan, but neither ordained by, nor in Communion with, himself; that the rightful Metropolitan was Mennas, the hearer of this epistle; that it was the duty of all true sons of the Church to expel the usurper, and to install the rightful Abuna in his dignity; and that this course was the inure needful, since, contrary to every principle of justice, the intruder had preferred the younger son of the late Emperor to his elder brother, and raised him to the throne. The elder of the two princes had, up to this time, been leading the life of a private individual, with few friends or courtiers: but on receiving the intelligence which the supposititious letters conveyed, he, not unnaturally, turned his thoughts to the kingdom of which he had been deprived, and determined to risk a struggle for its possession. He assembled such forces as he could muster, and marched against his brother: the two armies met, and the reigning sovereign was taken prisoner. Pursuing his advantage, the victor threw his rival into prison, instituted Mennas, the principal of the two monks, to the dignity which he claimed, and drove Peter into exile. Victor, the companion of Mennas, probably chagrined at finding himself unnoticed or unelevated, pilfered the cell of the new Metropolitan, and, escaping into Egypt, gave notice to the Patriarch of the fraud practiced in his name. On receiving this intelligence, Cosmas excommunicated the offender; and the Emperor of Ethiopia punished him with death, and gave orders for the

recall of Peter. The latter had, however, also departed this life; but a disciple, who had accompanied him into banishment, was summoned to Axum, and there elevated by the Emperor to the Episcopate. He requested leave to go into Egypt, in order to obtain consecration from the Patriarch, and promised that on succeeding in this object he would return. The Emperor absolutely denied; and in spite of the remonstrances of the Metropolitan-elect, compelled him to perform the Episcopal functions, without receiving Episcopal consecration. Why, under this state of things, the Abuna did not receive consecration from some of his suffragans, it is difficult to say; for though he would thus have been guilty of a double breach of the Canons, which, in the first place, enjoined that the Metropolitans of Ethiopia should be consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and, in the second, required twelve Prelates to be present at the consecration of a Metropolitan, it would surely have been preferable to choose so comparatively slight a breach of ecclesiastical discipline, rather than with profane mockery to perform functions for which the party performing them had never received power. Yet in this wretched state did the Ethiopic Church remain for about seventy years, the new Abuna either not professing to consecrate suffragans, or, if he did, doing it as it were in solemn mockery of veritable consecration.

In the meantime the political situation of Egypt was deplorable. It was the policy, we have before observed, of the Caliph to bring about a frequent change of Emirs; more than one who was deprived by him had the good fortune or dexterity to supplant those to whom he had for a time been compelled to yield. One in particular, by name Tekin, was, after his deprivation, restored to the Emirate no less than three times. Bribery was powerful at Bagdad, and was unsparingly employed by the Emirs; and this obliged them to have recourse to exactions and extortions in order to obtain the money which was to support them in their dignity.

The general confusion and misery of this period have deprived the ecclesiastical historian of any satisfactory materials. There can be no doubt that, of the many who suffered, the Christians suffered most; but no further trace of persecution is left, than that Muctadir forbade the employment of Christians and Jews in any other capacity than as physicians or merchants; and that, on a new tribute being imposed by one of the numerous Emirs on the Bishops and Monks, a Christian embassy to Bagdad procured an order from the same Caliph to the effect that nothing in addition to the usual tax should be exacted from them.

It appears, however, that the Catholics, though doubtless grievously oppressed, were not altogether without showing signs of life and energy. Some years previously, the church of S. Buctor, or S. Victor, at Tanis, which belonged to them, having been thrown down by the Infidels, they began to rebuild it, but their work was brought to a stand-still by a second attack of the Mahometans, who pulled down the rising walls. Yet even thus the orthodox persevered; and, at length, under the protection of the Caliph, they succeeded in finishing the church.



### SECTION XII.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF EUTYCHIUS (AD 993).

ABDEL-MESSIAH having been called to his account, the celebrated annalist, Euty chius, succeeded to the Chair of S. Mark. His real name was Said Ebn-Batrich; but he was usually known by the Greek translation of Said, which signifies Fortunate. Born at Cairo, in the year 876, he distinguished himself by his attachment to the theory and practice of Medicine, and historical studies, particularly those connected with the Church. We find four works of Euty chius mentioned. The first, a treatise on Medicine; the second, to which he himself refers, the Disputation between a Christian and a heretic; the third, his "Contexture of Gems", *i. e.*, his Annals of Alexandrine History; and the fourth, which was extant at a comparatively late period, and therefore undoubtedly is so now, a similar work on the History of Sicily, after its invasion by the Saracens. The only mediaeval writer of the Western Church by whom he is quoted is William of Tyre, who speaks of him as a "venerable man, Scith the son of Patric".

The reader will already have formed a tolerably correct idea of the value of his Annals. They are inscribed, in an affectionate address, to Isa-ebn-Batrich, his brother. "May God",—it is thus that his work commences,—“give thee, my brother, the fairest and best of fair things, and avert from thee the worst and most hurtful of all events : may He cover thee with the veil of His protection, and continue to thee His power : may He give thee an inheritance in both worlds, and a portion in both states : may He make thee to understand all things that please Him, nor separate thee from His Presence with those that He removes therefrom”.

Grossly ignorant on many points, as we had occasion to observe when dwelling on the wonderful tale which he relates of the Presbyteral College of S. Mark, and extremely careless in his relation of facts and arrangement of dates, he has yet laid the Church under a considerable obligation by his preservation of the names of the Alexandrian Patriarchs who preceded him. It is true that, beyond a bare list, he has given us little; and we hardly become aware of his value till we have lost him. In the earlier parts of Alexandrian history, where his value is least, we have light from other quarters: in advancing towards his own time, we are indebted to him for almost all that we know of the Catholic Church in Egypt. It does not appear that he ever intentionally misleads his readers, or endeavors to render the actions of the Jacobites more odious than they were: nay, for the knowledge of some of their most monstrous proceedings, we are indebted, as we had occasion to observe in the history, true or false, of Pachomius of Xoïs, to Jacobite writers alone. To the higher qualifications of an historian, Euty chius has not a single claim: his compression of an event which has affected the whole existence of the Church into a few lines, may be followed by the allotment of pages to the trifling annals of an obscure Caliph, and the theological digressions with which he intersperses his history are very wearisome. How deeply



should we have been indebted to this author had he, instead of his Annals, given us a concise, clear, and graphic description of the state of the Catholic Church in Egypt under himself and his immediate predecessors! As it is, the historian of Alexandria cannot but rejoice when the painful necessity of keeping the tedious “Annals” close at hand terminates, as it does, with the present page. Deserted by Eutychius, we find ourselves, as respects the true Church, in an almost impenetrable mist or darkness. For the list, such as it is, of the succeeding Patriarchs, we are indebted to the labors of Le Quien. He procured at Cairo the names of those who were said to have been raised to the Patriarchate between Eutychius and his own time; but it is, as he himself modestly confesses, plainly imperfect.

Eutychius was also distinguished, as we have said, in the Medical art; to which profession many Christians turned their attention, and in which, judging from the edict of Muctadir, mentioned above, they would appear, more particularly at this time, to have been especial proficient. In the fifty-eighth year of his age he was called to succeed Abdel-Messiah; and he held the Evangelical Throne rather more than seven years

Cosmas was succeeded by Macarius (AD 931), concerning whose proceedings history is nearly silent. He is said to have been greatly indebted to the early instructions of his mother. Immediately after his ordination, he left Alexandria, and could not be prevailed upon to take up his residence in that city: and since the havoc which Chail III had made of the possessions of the Church, it is not wonderful that his successors should have felt an aversion from dwelling among the remembrancers and testimonials of departed glory. The mother of Macarius survived at his accession; and, anxious to see her, he visited, accompanied by several of his Suffragans, the place of his birth. Expecting probably to receive her congratulations on his elevation, he was not a little chagrined when, bursting into tears, she exclaimed that she would rather have seen him in his coffin, than surrounded with the pomp and magnificence in which she then beheld him; that in the former case he would have been required to answer for his own sins alone, in the latter, all the errors of his people would be required at his hand.

In the meantime, Egypt had again become an independent province. Muctadir, after reigning twenty-five years, a longer time than any preceding Caliph had enjoyed the crown, was cut off in an engagement with a rebel; and succeeded by Mahomed Abulmansor Kahirbilla, who only reigned for two years, and being deposed, was allowed, through contempt, to live, but compelled to earn his subsistence by asking alms at the door of the Mosques. A son of Muctadir, called Ahmed Abul Abbas, succeeded, commonly known by the name of El Redi. He found that the Caliph was, even in his own court, little better than a shadow of royalty, the real power of the government being wielded by the Vizir. To this office he accordingly put an end; but unfortunately for himself established in its place another minister, whom he called Emir of Emirs. This officer encroached still more on the Caliph’s jurisdiction than the obnoxious Vizirs had done: they had at least respected his spiritual character, but the Emir of Emirs usurped his office in the Mosque no less than in the palace or the field. The various provinces of the Caliphate were in the hand of various powerful families, who acknowledged the Caliph no further than as the Prophet’s Vicar in spiritual

matters, while with the actual power, they assumed also to themselves the title, of kings. It was under the Caliphate of Abulmansor, that Mahomed Akchid, being appointed to the Emirate of Egypt, constituted himself a sovereign prince in it, and possessed his kingdom so entirely, as to be able to leave it to his children.

Euty chius, in the meantime, was harassed by the internal divisions of the Melchites; on what ground these arose, we are not informed. At length they reached such a pitch, as to attract the attention of Akchid, who, in order that he might take an easy method of putting a stop to them, dispatched a body of soldiers to Tanis, who seized the treasures of the church, and carried them to the Emir's palace at Misra. Their value, if we may believe Jacobite historians, was immense; and their loss served to reunite the Orthodox under their common persecution. The Bishop of Tanis, on applying for the restitution of the property of his church, received for answer that he should receive it, if he could raise the sum of five thousand pieces of gold. In order to accomplish this, he sold the property which still belonged to his church at a price far below its value, and it shows the uprightness of Akchid, in a matter where his own avarice was not concerned, that on hearing of this proceeding he compelled the purchasers to pay the real worth.

The name of Euty chius must have been, in his own day, highly esteemed: for not only is his history mentioned and employed by heretical historians, like Elmacinus, but even by Mahometans as Makrizi.

It would appear that the bonds of friendship between the Eastern Churches were not at this time very close. Theophylact, raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 933, wrote to the Thrones of Alexandria and Antioch, requesting the insertion of his name in the diptychs; the custom of thus commemorating the Patriarchs of Constantinople having ceased, it would appear, since the times of the Ommiads.

Euty chius only held the See seven years, and departing this life at Alexandria, was succeeded by Sophronius, of whom we know nothing but the name.

### SECTION XIII.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF SOPHRONIUS II (AD 940).

MACARIUS survived Euty chius for fourteen years: but of the later actions of his life we are altogether ignorant. The obscurity which pervades this part of Alexandrian History, is not easily explicable: unless we imagine that the civil commotions of this troublesome era, either hindered the composition, or destroyed the

manuscripts of those private memoirs of Jacobite Prelates, which Severus unites and connects in his history.

The successor of Macarius was Theophanius, whose election involved the Jacobite Communion in great trouble. He was already worn out with years and infirmities when raised to the Patriarchal dignity. At the commencement of his Episcopate he paid to the Church of Alexandria the annual pension of a thousand pieces of gold which had been covenanted by Chail III: but finding this exaction a heavy drain on his resources, he called the Clergy of Alexandria together, and requested them either to disclaim altogether their right to it, or if this were too great a sacrifice, to lower the yearly sum which had been promised. They obstinately refused to pursue either the one or the other course; and words ran high between the Patriarch and his Clergy. Some of the latter insolently observed, that he had no right to take upon himself the responsibility of thus openly rebuking those who were his equals in everything but in the Patriarchal Vestments, vestments which he owed, not to himself, but to those who had elevated him to the dignity which he held. In impotent fury, Theophanius tore his Episcopal robes from his shoulders, flung them on the ground, and trampled on them: and at the same moment was seized with frenzy. In order to secure his safety, it was necessary to put him into chains, and as his disease did not diminish, and a similar occurrence had never yet taken place at Alexandria, a synod of Bishops appears to have met, to take such steps in this emergency as might seem advisable. For the sake of medical treatment, it was determined to remove Theophanius to Misra, and as the journey by water was the easier, he was put on board a ship, and accompanied by several of the Clergy and some Bishops. The motion of the vessel increased his frenzy: his madness took a religious turn; and the blasphemies which he uttered, proceeding even to the denial of CHRIST, were too horrible to be borne. He was therefore thrust down into the hold: and as evening drew on, he became more and more furious.

During the night, as his outcries were heard over the ship, one of the Bishops descended into the hold, and put an end to his life by suffocating him, or as others say, by compelling him to drink poison; and his dead body was thrown overboard. Thus perished this wretched Prelate in the fifth year of his Episcopate: and God, say the Jacobite historians, took away from him His Grace and Lovingkindness.

It may be observed that Theophanius was the first of a series of Patriarchs, who were the disgrace, and had almost proved the ruin, of their sect. Hitherto the greater part of these Ecclesiastics have been men of respectable moral character: the majority of their successors, for the next two hundred years, will be found examples of little more than ambition and vice.

To Sophronius, as Catholic Patriarch, succeeded Isaac, and to him Job; but the years of their elections, the time that they sat, and their actions of the Episcopates, are alike unknown.

In the meanwhile, the poor shadows of Caliphs retained their nominal authority. El Redi, however, was the last who possessed the right of offering prayer in the tribunal of the Mosque at Bagdad: and his successors sank, if possible, lower than himself. His

brother Moctasi, who succeeded him, was, when driven from his throne, generously invited by Akchid into Egypt, where he led a private life for more than twenty years. To pursue the successors of this prince, would be alike tedious and unprofitable: it will be sufficient for us to confine our attention, for the future, to the succession of the Egyptian Emirs.

The successor of Theophanius, named Mina, or Mennas, was raised to the Patriarchate on the recommendation of an aged Monk, who after being himself elected, refused to undertake the responsibility with which it was sought to invest him. Mina had been married, but had preserved continence: the murmurs therefore which were raised against the new Patriarch by a knowledge of the former fact, were soon dispersed by the discovery of the latter, though the strictness of the Canons was violated.

### SECTION XIV

#### RISE OF THE FATIMIDS

EGYPT was now about to experience a change of masters. To explain its occurrence we must go back to the year 910. Before this time, an Arabian Dervish, by name Abdallah, had preached, more particularly near Bassora, that the blood of Ali and of his sons cried for vengeance; that the family of the Abbasids were usurpers, not only of the temporal dignity, but of the spiritual office of the Caliphate; that it was the will of God to remove them from their dignity: that their partisans must be overcome with the strong arm; and that his followers were commissioned to work out His Will. In the name of God he promised that the Meheden, (that is, the last of the family of Ali, and whom the Persians yet expect,) would shortly appear: and to verify this prophecy, he shortly afterwards exhibited Obeidallah as the promised deliverer. This chief, assembling his already numerous partisans, made an expedition into Africa, which was then an hereditary Emirate under the nominal authority of the Caliph, defeated its governors, and took Kirowan, their principal city, built, when the Mahometans first seized Africa, a short distance from the ancient Carthage. Obeidallah fixed his seat in a new city, which he called Mehedia compelling all his subjects not only to swear allegiance to him, but to profess their belief in the right of the descendants of Ali to enjoy the Caliphate. Two successors quietly consolidated the empire of the first of the Fatimids: the third, Muazzi, though desirous to extend his dominions, did not venture to make any attack on Egypt during the Emirate of Akchid. But on the death of that prince, he dispatched an expedition into Egypt, which was, under the able generalship of Jauher, perfectly successful. The latter on obtaining possession of Misra, compelled those whom he had vanquished to swear to the right of the Fatimids: and thus Egypt was till the time of Saladin, spiritually as well as temporally, lost to the Abbasids. In the same year, Jauher began to build New Cairo; and it will not be amiss to say a few words

in this place on the city which the new town supplanted. The original name of Old Cairo was Babylon: the name was derived from some captives, who, brought into Egypt by Sesostris, were employed by him in servile labors: but who, weary at length of their slavery, rebelled, and occupying a strong situation near the river, maintained a successful war with their surrounding oppressors. At length they were allowed to retain quiet possession of this spot, which, from the name of their own country they called Babylon. It would also appear to have occupied nearly the same situation with that of the ancient Memphis: and that part of the city on the Western bank of the river is to this day called Menf or Menuf. In the first Mahometan invasion under Amrou, that general, in besieging Misra, occupied a situation afterwards possessed by a town, thence called Fostat, that is, the Tent, and sometimes Fostat-Misra, and it was here that Jauher laid the foundations of New Cairo.

Muazzi at length determined to transfer the seat of his empire to Cairo: which thenceforward became the head of the Empire of the descendants of Ali: generally known by the name transferred of the Fatimids, from Fatima, the only child of Mahomet, and wife of Mi. The Abbasids, as we have before said, employed black for the color of their Royal Banner, and for the tapestry used in the Mosque: Muazzi, by way of marking his distinction from them, chose white: and this custom prevailed among the African and Egyptian Mahometans until the present time.

The conquest of Egypt was achieved with little opposition, and without much loss of life. But a famine prevailed for seven years after the establishment of the empire of the Fatimids, in which multitudes perished: and so great was the devastation among the Christians, that several Episcopal Sees remained vacant, because there was no flock over whom a Prelate might preside, and were joined to the nearest Dioceses. Mina himself remained in Lower Egypt, where he was sustained by the charity of a wealthy lady.

Mina was closely connected with John the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who addressed two letters to him, which are still extant. In one we have a curious account of a dispute between this heretical Prelate and the Emperor, which is, however, hardly sufficiently connected with Alexandrian history to warrant us in here detailing it. The other contains a confession of Faith. From the former of these we learn that Elias was now the Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria. On the death of Mina, who held the See, as we have before remarked, about twelve years, and from whom a synodal Epistle to John of Antioch is still extant; the Bishops and Scribes of the Diocese and Clergy of Alexandria, met in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Misra, to deliberate on his successor. Ephraim, a Syrian merchant, who happened to enter the church at the time the Council was sitting, and was not only of known religion, but of some influence with the Caliph,—for by this title we must henceforth designate the governors of Egypt,—was elected by the unanimous suffrages of the Synod. He found two corruptions prevalent among his clergy. The one, that of simony, the other, of concubinage. On the latter, we may remark, that the relaxed morals of the Clergy of the Western Patriarchate, at the same era, where celibacy was enforced, would hardly appear to have been worse than that of the Egyptian Ecclesiastics, to whom marriage was allowed. Against both

these corruptions Ephraim set his face like a rock: and not only strove against them in his life, but testified against them by his death.

As if to compensate the Jacobites for the genius and learning of Eutychius, and the influence which, by his means, the Catholic Church enjoyed, they at this time possessed one of their brightest ornaments in the person of Severus, Bishop of Aschmonin, the celebrated Historian and Divine. Aschmonin or Aschemin, situated in Thebais-Prima, is the same with Hermopolis Magna. The works of this Prelate are very numerous, but hardly anything of his writing has as yet been printed. The History, which has chiefly made his name famous, is a work of little judgment and less accuracy. The palpable mistakes to be discovered in it, the fables with which it abounds, the perversions of truth to serve the ends of his party, its tediousness and unsatisfactoriness, would have deprived it of all value, had it not been, in the times of which it treats, our only guide. It was continued by Michael, Bishop of Tanis, who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century, Mauhoub ben Mansour, Marcus hen Zaraa, and others.

His controversial works embrace, a Jacobite Exposition of the Faith: a Treatise against Eutychius: an Explanation of the Mystery of the Incarnation: a work against the Nestorians; and another of heresies. But he also wrote a Commentary of the Gospels: a Treatise on Ecclesiastical Rites: on the Unity of God; and a Confession, with many others. Indeed, his genius appears to have been of a widely extended nature: for we find that he was the author of a book of Parables and Enigmas. The most esteemed, however, of all his works was that on “the Passover and the Eucharist”: which appears to have been frequently used by the Jacobites as a preparation to the Holy Communion.

The condition of the Christians, during the reign of Muazzi, appears to have been far superior to that under the dominion of the Caliphs. There was however, one Abulserour, a Jacobite of great influence, and possessing a place in the Caliph’s Court, who persisted in retaining a number of concubines, after having been admonished by the Patriarch of his sin, and invited to repentance. Finding him incorrigible, Ephraim pronounced him excommunicate; and Abulserour, indignant at this proceeding, revenged himself by causing poison to be administered to the Patriarch, who might thus, had he been a member of the True Church, have claimed the glory of a martyr.

His successor was of a far different character. The Bishops who were assembled for the choice of a Patriarch, turned their thoughts to John, the eldest Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, who for the sake of greater privacy dwelt in a cell called Zakar-el-Fakara. On sending for him, they found him worn out with old age, and entirely unequal to the office for which they had designed him: but struck with the appearance of a disciple, Philotheus, who accompanied him, they elevated him to the vacant Throne. It was not long before he gave ample proof how much they had been mistaken in his character. His predecessor had abolished the simoniacal consecrations of which Chail III had given the first example: but Philotheus, although without the excuse of Mahometan exactions, as the Christians, during his Episcopate, enjoyed profound peace, renewed, and carried still further, the practice of Simony.



### SECTION XV.

#### THE HISTORY OF VASAH

UNDER the Patriarchate of Philotheus, a remarkable incident happened, which, though not uncorrupted by fables, is handed down to us on good authority, and in itself deserves relation. There was at Misra, a Mahometan of noble birth, named Rejah, who was one of the Caliph's councilors. His son, Vasah was diligently instructed by his father in the principles of his own faith, and evincing an early fondness for theological learning, became such a proficient as to know the Koran by memory. He was at the same time, as might naturally be expected, an eager opponent of the Christians: and rejoiced, on every occasion which presented itself, to manifest his hatred to their Creed. It chanced that, one day, in crossing the market-place of his native city, his attention was attracted by a crowd who were accompanying a criminal to execution: on inquiry he discovered that the sufferer was one who, having been brought up in Mahometanism, had embraced Christianity, and was condemned, as an Apostate, to the stake. Vasah, eager to show his zeal for the faith of his forefathers, pressed through the crowd, and advancing to the prisoner upbraided him with his madness in acknowledging three Gods, and thus exposing his body to the flames in this world, and consigning his soul to everlasting fire in the next. The Martyr calmly replied, that he worshipped One God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity: and that the very youth who now so bitterly insulted the Christian Faith, would in the course of time, and the leading of God's good Providence, embrace it, propagate it, and suffer for it. This prediction enraged Vasah to such a degree, that loosing his sandal, he struck the prisoner over the head, and continued his insults to the place of punishment. The Martyr was beheaded, and his body thrown into a pile of wood, which burned for some time without consuming it: it was then, by the order of Muazzi, honored with burial. Vasah, on his return home, passed a sleepless night; the words of the Martyr still seemed to ring in his ears: the consolations of his father and his relations were vain: and he could not persuade himself that the prediction would be unfulfilled. Some time after he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca: and was entrusted by his father to the care of a friend, bound on the same journey. His dreams were thrice disturbed by the appearance of an aged Monk, who bade him, if he valued the salvation of his soul, to rise and follow him: and his friend could not dispel the disquietude of Vasah by his assurances that such diabolical illusions should be unnoticed or condemned. On their return, it happened that Vasah was proceeding at a distance from his companions, who had preceded him: and while in fear of wild beasts, which abounded in those parts, he was startled,—so runs the tale,—by the appearance of a horseman, who loudly inquired his business in that vast desert. Vasah explained the circumstances, and his companion desired him to mount behind himself; and when he had done so, conveyed him within a building, which from its lamps and images, he knew to be a Christian church. It was now night, and the young Mahometan remained within the sacred walls till twilight, when the Sacristan appeared to prepare for the offices of the day, and having first imagined the intruder to be a thief, began to suspect,

from his account, that he was a madman. Vasah inquired, in honor of what Saint the building was dedicated; and on the Sacristan's replying that it was named from S. Mercurius, at the same time giving an account of his sufferings, and showing his picture, Vasah, who found, or imagined that he found, a likeness between that Martyr and his companion of the preceding evening, intimated his intention of becoming a Christian.

The Sacristan, fearing that destruction would equally involve the church and the convent, should his change of religion be publicly known, requested hint to withdraw into a more retired spot, whither he promised to send a Priest, who should instruct him in the doctrines of Christianity. Vasah complied: and in due time received the Sacrament of Baptism. By the advice of the Priest who had received him into the Church, he prepared to take up his abode in the Monastery of S. Macarius, and there to endeavor after a further advance in religion. It happened, however, that he was recognized by some former friends, notwithstanding his change of dress and altered appearance, who communicated their suspicions as to his son's fate to Rejah. The latter caused Vasah, or, as he called himself since his baptism, Paul, to be arrested: and he, unable longer to conceal himself, openly confessed CHRIST. Confined without food for three days, he persisted in his resolution: and after consulting on the proper course to be pursued, his relations, who at one time entertained the idea of denouncing him as an Apostate, were prevailed on by their love to the youth, and the fear of the disgrace which such an event would bring on their family, to dismiss him unhurt. He retired to Wady Habib, where he passed some time in Monastic exercises: but on hearing one of the Monks declare, that the man who, having been converted from Mahometanism, did not profess the faith in the same place where he had once professed infidelity, could not be deemed acceptable to God, he returned to Misra, where he met with a cruel reception from his father. Neither six days' imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, where he was confined without provisions, nor the endearments of the mother of his only child, yet an infant, and murdered, in revenge of his son's obstinacy, by Rejah, sufficed to change his determination: and he was then denounced to the Caliph as an Apostate. But, on being allowed to plead his own cause, he was permitted to depart unhurt. He retired into a distant part of Egypt, on the borders of Abyssinia, and there built a church in honor of S. Michael the Archangel.

At this time he formed a close friendship with the historian Severus, Bishop of Aschmonin; and composed several works in Arabic. Of these, two attained considerable celebrity. The one was entitled an Explanation of the Faith against Heretics, whose errors he refuted from their own works. It is probable that by Heretics, Mahometans, rather than Nestorians or Melchites, are here to be understood: as it is more likely that a convert would attack that belief by which he had once been misled. It is true, that at a later period, and under the Turkish Empire, Christians were not allowed to publish any work against the Established Religion: but at the time of which we write, no such prohibition appears to have existed. The other was a treatise entitled, an Admonition to Interpreters: he also left an account of his own life.

After some time, Paul returned to the Wady Habib, and was there ordained Priest. The emissaries of the Patriarch, always on the search for a possibility of

obtaining money, demanded the usual tribute from him, on occasion of his elevation to the Sacerdotal Office: he constantly refused to give it: and it was paid by a by-stander, in order that further scandal might be avoided. Rejah, hearing that his son had taken upon himself Monastic vows, hired a band of Arabians to search for, and to murder him: and his companions advised him to retire to a place called Sendafa, in Lower Egypt, where he became treasurer of the church of S. Theodore. Having held this office two years, and finding that his end was approaching, he was visited by Theodore, the Patriarch's secretary, who, at his request, concealed his body from the fury of some of the neighboring Mahometans, and from whom Michael of Tanis received the above account. Paul was wont to say, that in all his distresses and afflictions, he had never felt real sorrow, but thrice: once when the mother of his child was exposed, in his presence, to the insults of his brother: once, when his infant was murdered: and lastly, when the simoniacal demand was made by Philotheus for his ordination.

### SECTION XVI.

#### CRIMES OF PHILOTHEUS, AND SUCCESSION OF PATRIARCHS.

Muazzi, after a prosperous reign, left his crown to his son Aziz, whose reign was equally fortunate: he was the more inclined to be favorable to the Christians, from the circumstance of having, among his wives, one who was not only a Christian, but apparently a Catholic, and the mother of his successor.

The crimes of Philotheus were now matter of public notoriety. To supply money for his various excesses, he continued his simoniacal proceedings: entirely given to the pleasures of the table and the bath, he hurried over the Ecclesiastical Offices: and bestowed no longer time on the care of his flock, than was rendered absolutely necessary by the immediate pressure of business. The only good action which is recorded of him,—and it has procured him the title of a Saint in the Ethiopic Calendar,—is his supplying that distracted Communion with another Metropolitan, none having been sent thither since the time of Cosmas III, about seventy years before.

It is impossible to penetrate the darkness which hangs over Ethiopic History : but as far as the researches of the learned have been able to gather, it appears, that towards the end of the tenth century, the ancient line of Ethiopic Emperors, known by the name of the Salomonean, was driven from the throne by the wickedness of an intruding princess, who is known by the name of Saada or Essat. Her crimes, her shamelessness and avarice, but more especially her sacrilege, are dwelt on by the historians: and the churches suffered much under her rule. She was succeeded, whether immediately or not, it is impossible to say, by another female monster, Tredda Gabcz: she endeavored to strengthen her hands by the destruction of the rightful family, and

only one of the Salomomean dynasty escaped her search. He raised the standard of revolt: but, amidst the dangers and troubles with which he was surrounded, appears to have been not unmindful of religion. Unable, from some unknown cause, to apply to the Jacobite Patriarch himself, he requested the assistance of George, King of Nubia, in a letter, part of which still exists. In it he sets forth the miseries under which his kingdom labored, the cities that were burnt, the churches that were destroyed, the captives that were barbarously sold; attributing all these calamities to the ill treatment which the Metropolitan, sent by Cosmas, had received at the hands of the Ethiopians. "These things, my brother", he proceeded, "I have written to you, in hope that the Christian religion may not be utterly destroyed and perish from among us. There have now been six Patriarchs of Alexandria, who have taken no care of our country, which has therefore remained desolate and without a pastor. Our Bishops and our Priests are dead, our churches are laid waste. Nor can we deny that we suffer these evils justly, on account of our crimes committed against our Metropolitan". The King of Nubia communicated this request to the Patriarch Philotheus; who ordained Daniel, a Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, to the dignity of Metropolitan of Axum. On this Prelate's arrival in Ethiopia, he was received with the greatest joy by the Royal party: their courage revived, their arms prospered, and the usurping queen was deprived, in a short time, of her crown and her life.

The crimes of Philotheus met with signal punishment. He was employed in celebrating the Holy Eucharist, in company with several other Bishops, when, on completing the Oblation, he was suddenly unable to proceed. The Bishops imagined that his silence proceeded from forgetfulness, and suggested to him the words that followed, but to no purpose; and the Liturgy was finished by another. The Patriarch, after languishing for a short time, was thus called to his account. It is curious that this Prelate, whom Makrizi calls Philajus, should be almost the only one whom he selects for praise, on the ground of his munificence.

Aziz, after a reign of nineteen years, left his crown to his son Hakem, yet a youth, and the third of the Egyptian Fatimids. This prince, as we have before said, was born of a Christian mother; and his uncle Arsenius was, by her influence, elevated to the Catholic Throne of Alexandria. His brother Jeremiah, otherwise called Orestes, was at the same time made Patriarch of Jerusalem, which, with all the rest of Syria, was no under the dominion of the Fatimids. It must be confessed, that to find two Catholic Patriarchs the nominees of an infidel Prince, and that on the strength of their sister's dishonor, gives a sufficiently distressing picture of the state of the Church.

On the death of Philotheus, one Abraham, a merchant of eminence, was proposed to fill the vacant See; and was principally supported by the Alexandrian's, whose turn, says Michael of Tanis, it now was to elect. We have explained, in a former section, the custom to which this remark refers, and of which this is the earliest recorded example. The Bishops, disapproving of the candidate, were on the point of returning to their respective Dioceses, when Zacharias, Treasurer of the Abbey S. Macarius, was unanimously chosen. The Bishops, however, gave it as their advice, that since Abraham had obtained the command of the prince for his election, he should be consoled under his disappointment by the promise of elevation to the first vacant See; and he was

accordingly, in process of time, promoted to that of Menuf, or Memphis, which was a distinct Diocese from that of Misra or Cairo.

### SECTION XVII.

#### TENTH PERSECUTION UNDER HAKEM.

THE Church, as well as the Jacobite Communion, was now about to be exposed to the most severe persecution which it had experienced since the Mahometan invasion. Hakem, as he grew up to manhood, gave ample tokens of his ferocious disposition.

He was not only implacable in his resentments, and a thirster after human blood, but blindly superstitious, addicted to astrology, and the inventor of a peculiar kind of worship which he paid to the star Saturn. It was his custom to propitiate it with nocturnal sacrifices; and on these occasions, as it was vulgarly believed, the Evil One would appear in a bodily form, and converse with the Sultan. His nights were spent, in company with the infamous ministers of his will, in wandering through the city in black raiment, mounted on a black ass; sometimes he would endeavor, by his spies, to discover any who spoke ill of himself; at others, he performed his infernal ceremonies on a mountain to the east of Cairo. His sycophants publicly proclaimed him to be the CHRIST; and the Druses of Mount Lebanon still adore the divinity of Hakem. The flatteries of his court, joined to his own excesses, appear to have converted him from an almost idiot into a confirmed madman. He ordered that swine should be publicly sacrificed; commanded that all the dogs throughout Egypt should be slain; forbade wine under the severest penalties, and directed every wine-cask to be broken. His contempt of Jews and of Christians was extreme; the former were compelled to carry masks in the shape of a calf's head, because their ancestors had worshipped a golden calf; and the latter to wear a black dress, and to give up their crosses, and silence their bells. Further than this, Hakem did not at first carry his persecutions: and indeed condescended, at the request of his mother, to bestow a church, then in the possession of the Jacobites, on the Melchites: it was called after S. Mary, and stood in the street of Abut-Husseim in Cairo, and was subsequently termed the Patriarchal Church.

It was the folly and wickedness of the Jacobites which, by arousing the fury of this tyrant, involved both themselves and the Catholics, not only of Egypt but of Syria, in one general venality of persecution. The venality and ambition of their Bishops are allowed by their own historians: and these were but ill restrained by Zacharias, a man of weak mind, and although desirous of, seldom permitted to enjoy, peace. The more turbulent of his suffragans controlled his actions, and under the name of the Patriarch actually governed the Diocese. The most scandalous disorder prevailed everywhere: there were instances of a Bishop who by extortion or falsehoods had amassed the sum

of twenty thousand pounds, the disposition of which formed the great care of his death-bed: of another Prelate, who threw down an altar, which had been consecrated in his Diocese by the Bishop of another See: of a Priest, who reserving to his own use the wine intended for the Holy Eucharist, employed water, scantily tinged with it, for the service of the altar: and of others who refused, on account of the labor, to celebrate the Eucharist daily. But the immediate cause of the persecution was the ambition of John, the parish priest of a village named Abunefer, near the Monastery of S. Macarius. Finding that others were continually purchasing their elevation to the Episcopate, and conscious that he himself, though equally desirous of the dignity with them, had nothing to offer, he went to the Patriarch, and requested to be consecrated Bishop of one of those Dioceses which were now, from the paucity of the Faithful, without a Prelate. Zacharias, who was only so far guilty of simony, that he allowed it to be practiced in his name by the Prelates who were always about him, might probably have complied with John's request; but the simoniacal Bishops, who formed his perpetual council, unhesitatingly repelled the application. The revengeful priest drew up a memorial to Hakem, and went to Cairo, with the intention of laying it before that tyrant; when, fortunately, some of the Christians about the Court, fearing lest the petition, if presented, might give a handle to fresh extortion or persecution, prevailed on John to delay his design, and dispatched him with letters to Zacharias, recommending his elevation, for the sake of peace, to the honor which he coveted. The Patriarch, who was then in Wady Habib, entrusted John to the care of Chail, Bishop of Xoïs, or Saca, who was his own nephew, and possessed great influence over him. The perfidious Prelate, enraged that a petitioner, whom he himself had rejected, was likely, after all, to be successful in his application, directed a party of Arabs who were at his disposal, to throw his guest into a dry well, and to stone him from above: John, however, was unhurt by the fall, and finding a cavern at the bottom of the pit, crept in thither, and avoided the shower of stones which his murderers cast from above. On hearing of this treatment Zacharias was deeply grieved, and consoled the sufferer with the promise of the next vacant Bishopric. It happened that two, shortly afterwards, fell into his hands: but, prevailed on by the importunity of his council, he forgot his promise, and filled them with other candidates. John determined no longer to delay his revenge: and drawing up a memorial, in which he termed the Caliph God's Vicar upon earth, and laid numerous crimes to the charge of the Patriarch, he presented it to Hakem. The latter summoned Zacharias before him, loaded him with chains, and threw him into prison, from which place he was, at the expiration of three months, released only for the purpose of being exposed to lions. It is said, however, that they refused to touch him: and that a second trial, in which their ferocity was still further excited by hunger, proved equally unavailing. This miracle is celebrated among the Jacobites, and is mentioned by the Mahometan Makrizi and it seems unreasonable to doubt it, when attested by those who could have been convicted by a whole nation of falsehood, had they been guilty of it and whose veracity would be subjected to a strict examination, not only on the part of the Mahometans, but also on that of the Catholics. Nor does it seem in any way contrary to that which analogy would lead us to expect, that the truth of that creed, which heretics held in common with Catholics, and in opposition to Mahometans, should be demonstrated to a Mahometan tyrant by a miracle wrought in favor of an heretical Patriarch.



There were others among the Jacobites who, about this time, were honored by becoming, if we may use the word in an inferior sense, martyrs for the Name of CHRIST. Abunegiah, an officer in the Caliph's Court, was summoned by Hakem, who offered him the dignity of Vizir, and the administration of his whole empire, if he would renounce Christianity and embrace the creed of the false Prophet. The other requested the delay of a day, promising on the morrow to give a definitive answer; and in the interval, going to his house, he called together his friends, and assured them, that it was not from any terror of the fate that awaited him, nor from any doubt as to the substance of his answer, that he had procrastinated the one and the other: but that he might have the opportunity of exhorting them to constancy, of bidding them farewell, of setting before them the contempt in which they should hold this transitory world, and of expressing his joy at the prospect of suffering for Christ's sake. That evening he entertained them at a banquet; and on the next day, presenting himself before Hakem, boldly and publicly professed his resolution, and was not to be moved by the threats of death, or the allurements of worldly dignity. The Caliph commanded that he should be scourged to death: the martyr expired after eight hundred strokes; and the remainder, necessary to complete a thousand, were, by the tyrant's order, indicted on his lifeless body. The sufferer is also known by the name of Gabriel.

Another illustrious instance of firmness was exhibited by of Kahad, the Caliph's principal secretary. Refusing to deny the faith, he was beheaded, and his body thrown into a fire kindled to consume it. He had, in his lifetime, been noted for his abundant alms: and the right hand, with which he dispensed them, is said to have remained unhurt by the flames. Eight of the inferior secretaries were then seized, and by various torments tempted to deny their Lord: four remained firm to the end: an equal number apostatized: of the latter, one died suddenly on the following night; the three others were at the close of the persecution received as penitents.

But the most illustrious sufferer in this persecution, and one that without doubt attained to the True Crown of Martyrdom, was Jeremiah, brother to the Catholic Patriarch Arsenius, and himself, as we have seen, Patriarch of Jerusalem. For the fury of Hakem had now extended its effects to that city: and the church of the Holy-Sepulchre was, at the suggestion, it is said, of some European Jews, leveled with the ground. Jeremiah was arrested at Jerusalem by his nephew Hakem, then on the spot for the purpose of carrying out his plans, and by him carried to Cairo. Here he was scourged, tortured with burning lamps, tormented on a rack, and at length beheaded: and having constantly endured to the end, is reckoned among the Saints. And he is commemorated on the fifteenth, or, according to others, on the seventeenth of May. In what manner Arsenius himself escaped the fury of his nephew, it is not easy to imagine: unless we may suppose that he was about this time taken away from the evil. And this conjecture is the more probable, because the See of Alexandria had been filled by another Patriarch before the year 1019. It is a sad reflection for a historian of Alexandria, that with S. Jeremiah he bids farewell to the canonized Saints of the Eastern Church.

The persecution in Egypt became daily more severe. Orders were issued for the destruction of all the churches: Christians were forbidden to change their residence from one place to another. Zacharias still remained in prison: he was threatened, on the one

hand, with being burnt alive, and promised, on the other, dignity and promotion. But the one and the other proving ineffectual, he was at length restored to liberty, and, retiring into the desert of S. Macarius, remained there for some years. At the Feasts of the Epiphany and of Easter, the Jacobites were in the habit of resorting in large numbers to this celebrated Monastery, for the purpose of receiving the holy Communion, in company with their Patriarch.

To Arsenius succeeded Philotheus (Ad 1015), in whose time the remarkable title of ECUMENICAL JUDGE was first given to the Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria. A dispute having arisen between the Emperor Basil and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius II, apparently on the subject of a tax which the former had levied, and to which the latter objected, Philotheus, then at Constantinople, was called in as arbiter of the disagreement. Finding that both the Prelate and the Emperor were in the wrong, and unwilling to provoke their indignation by openly saying so, he had recourse to an ingenious and symbolical method of stating his opinion. Having made two figures of wax, representing, we may suppose, the contending parties, and carrying them before Basil and Sergius, he cut off the right hand of that which represented the Emperor, and the tongue of that by which the Patriarch was imaged: thus reproofing the severe actions of the former, and the unbridled words of the latter. Sergius placed on him his Omophorion, the Emperor his Crown; and since that period the Patriarch of Alexandria wears two Omophoria, and a double crown on his mitre. This title was afterwards absurdly assumed by the Jacobite Patriarchs, who interpret it of the ancient right of the See of Alexandria to settle any dispute which might arise as to the time of Easter.

The last three years of Hakem's persecution were the most severe; and, except in the remoter monasteries, the celebration of the Liturgy ceased throughout Egypt. In some provinces, indeed, the governors were bribed to allow of its celebration in a private manner, and in private houses. At the end of this period, the Christians, beginning to recover their spirits, consecrated oratories in some houses: and their indefatigable perseverance in the performance of their rites being reported to Hakem, far from exciting his indignation, served rather to weary him of the persecution, which had been so laboriously yet so fruitlessly carried on. This change of sentiment in the Caliph being known, many of those who had apostatized came before him, earnestly requesting that they might be allowed to return to their ancient religion, without exposing themselves to the severe penalties which Mahometanism prescribed for lapsed converts. Hakem consented, and gave them letters of amnesty; and thus a great multitude returned to the faith. Among these was a Monk named Yemin, who, having some influence with Hakem, and having retired to the Monastery of S. Mercurius, near Cairo, was sometimes visited by the Caliph, who would partake of the frugal meal of the recluses. On one of these occasions, Yemin obtained leave to recall Zacharias, whom, at a subsequent visit, he introduced to Hakem. The latter was astonished at the deference paid by the other Bishops to an aged man, of insignificant appearance, unseemly dress, and without any external mark of dignity, especially when among the surrounding Prelates were some who, both in age and personal appearance, were superior to the Patriarch. He inquired how far the authority of Zacharias reached, and was informed that it extended over Egypt, Ethiopia, Pentapolis, and Nubia; and that

without military forces or a well-stocked treasury, the simple letter of the Patriarch, signed with the Cross, was sufficient to insure attention to his orders. "Then", returned Hakem, "it appears to me that Christianity has a firmer hold on the mind of man than any other religion: we, after the effusion of blood, and the exhaustion of treasure, and the marshalling of armies, cannot effect what one contemptible old man can, by his bare word, achieve". He then requested the Bishops who were present to remain with the Patriarch in the Monastery of S. Mercurius, until he should return; when he would himself decide on the course to be pursued with respect to them. During his absence, John, the author of all the persecutions, arrived, as if for the sake of congratulating the Patriarch: and with incredible effrontery he again requested to be raised to the Episcopate. Zacharias, unwilling to risk the perpetuity of the newly established peace, promised to comply with his request. This raised a tumult on the part of Chail of Xoïs, who carried his threats so far, that John, conceiving his life to be in danger, implored assistance from those on the outside of the monastery. The other Bishops interfered: and John was pacified by being raised to the rank of Hegumen.

On the return of Hakem, he brought with him an Imperial edict, in which he not only allowed the restoration of the ruined churches, but commanded the restitution of the timber, columns, and stones which had been taken from them, as well as of the landed property which they had possessed. By the same edict, he abrogated that which had imposed a peculiar dress on the Christians, and the other marks by which they had been compelled to distinguish themselves from the Mahometans. But the moral effect of the persecution of Hakein has probably never been removed to this day: the destruction of churches was enormous: the number thrown down in Egypt, Syria, and the other dominions of the tyrant is affirmed by the Mahometan historian Makrizi to have amounted to more than thirty thousand: a loss which the exhausted state of the Egyptian Christians could ill replace.

The publication of this edict was followed almost immediately by the death of Hakem. While carrying on his nocturnal rites on his favorite mountain, he was attacked by a band of assassins, hired, it is said, by his sister, Setel-melouka: who, in order to screen herself from the suspicion of fratricide, caused the murderers to be executed. The ass on which Hakem rode, his garments, pierced in seven places, and the corpses of his two companions, were discovered: his own body could not be found. An opinion prevailed that he had not perished, but was only lying hid for a time: and this idea was, as we shall see, the cause of fresh troubles to the successor of Zacharias.

Such was the end of Hakem: a prince whose cruelty vied with his superstition, and whose feebleness surpassed both. A despiser of Mahometanism, he was a persecutor of Christianity: he had not that zeal for his own Creed, which most of the opponents of the True Faith have been able to plead in palliation of their crimes: and the tortures he inflicted were suggested by self-will alone, and carried out to gratify an innate thirst for blood. He was succeeded by his son Taher, under whom, the government being in reality carried on by Setel-melouka, a woman of masculine mind, the Christians enjoyed the immunities guaranteed them by the last edict of Hakem. At length Zacharias, after surviving the persecution twelve years, died in a good old age; and was buried at Cairo, in the church called Kane-sat el Derage, whence his remains

were afterwards translated to the monastery called Dir il Habeseh. He is commemorated by the Ethiopians on the ninth day of November.

### SECTION XVIII.

#### THE CRIMES AND MISFORTUNES OF CHENOUDA II.

THE consequence of the peace which was, at the death of Zacharias, the portion of the Christians, was an unusual number of competitors for the Jacobite See. Setel-melouka was now dead, and Taher, still a youth, and though of mild disposition, feeling his incapacity for alone directing the affairs of government, constituted Mogib-el-doulet, a friend to the Christians, his Vizir. This minister, on hearing from Bekir, a Jacobite nobleman, of the sharp contests by which the peace of that Communion was endangered, replied that he was content to remit the tribute of six thousand pounds, which had been accustomedly paid by the new Patriarch to the privy purse: and recommended the disputants to have recourse to a method which he had known practised at Bagdad, (by the Nestorians, in the election of their *Catholics*,) that namely which we have already described under the title of Heikelict. Whether, however, from unwillingness to follow the advice of a Mahometan, or from repugnance to imitate, (although it was a ceremony, as we have seen, not unknown in Egypt,) the custom of a Nestorian, the Bishops, unhappily for themselves, refused to assent to the proposed plan: and again assembling, chose, after long debates, Chenouda or Sanutius (AD 1032), the second of that name, a native of Tenana, and a Monk of the monastery of S. Macarius.

Before his election was confirmed, the Prelates demanded from him a promise of raising to the Episcopate that John, who had, under his predecessor, been the cause of so much suffering to the Christians: and that he should be put in possession of the vacant See of Farma, or Rhinocorura, a then insignificant town in the desert which lies between Syria and Egypt. Chenouda consented: and John proceeded to increase his demands, by requesting, in consideration of the poverty of his See, an annual pension of sixty pounds from the Patriarch, and that brother should also be raised to the Episcopal dignity. With both these conditions Chenouda was compelled to comply, and then found that, before the Alexandrians would receive him, two bonds were presented for his signature. By the one, he promised to pay one thousand pounds annually, for the restoration of the great church at Alexandria: by the other, that he would neither ask nor receive any money for conferring the Grace of the HOLY GHOST, and the Power of the Keys. These bonds were, in fact, hard to be reconciled: for Chenouda had no property of his own: and the great schism, and the exactions of the Mahometan tyrants, had miserably reduced the once princely income of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. It was not long before Chenouda proved that he regarded little the last-mentioned promise: for the

See of Panephusus, which shortly afterwards became vacant, was sold by him to one Raphael for twelve hundred pounds: and this money was raised by the usurper from Mahometan usurers. To such fearful corruptions of practice will speculative errors lead! and such are the men, at whose election, Jacobite writers scruple not to record, or to devise miracles!

Shortly after his consecration, Chenouda began to exhibit, his perjury, in still plainer colors, his true character. He lost no opportunity of simoniacally enriching himself, to the great scandal of his flock, who were not more irritated by the crime itself, than by the flagrant violation of a solemn promise which, in this case, it involved. His arrogance and haughtiness of demeanour were repulsive in a high degree: and when Bekir, who had been a warm opposer of his election, waited on him for the purpose of paying his compliments, and obtaining his Prelate's benediction, he impiously uttered, as his only answer, the words, "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble". The other modestly warned him against perverting the Scriptures from their genuine meaning: the Patriarch replied in wrath: and the two parted in great anger. Still further to outrage the feelings of his people, Chenouda shortly afterwards bestowed the Bishopric of Osiut, or Lycopolis, on the Protopope of that Church, on payment of a large sum of money: but the citizens, as if eager to efface the remembrance of the sin of their town in the ancient Meletian schism, pertinaciously, for three years, refused to admit the simoniacal Prelate. He, in the true spirit of a mercantile transaction, returned to Chenouda, and requested him, either to refund the money, or to compel the Lycopolitans to acknowledge him as their Bishop. The Patriarch declined to do either: and rage and disappointment had nearly deprived his nominee of his senses. Michael of Tanis, the Ecclesiastical historian, was present: and on his recommendation the neighboring Bishops were ordered to consecrate the simoniacal candidate in some one of the villages included in his Diocese.

Nor were the crimes of Chenouda confined to simony: it was his practice to lay hands on the property of his Suffragans at their deaths. Elias, Bishop of Chenana, having departed this life, his brother was required by the Patriarch to give up all the goods of the deceased Ecclesiastic: and yielding to violence, he expressed his willingness to comply with the mandate, only requesting that the empty residence of the deceased might be left in his hands. This petition was refused by the insatiable avarice of Chenouda: and the petitioner, in revenge, embraced Mahometanism, and was protected by the law in the possession of both the residence, and the personal property of his brother. Having broken one of his bonds, it was only natural that this wicked Patriarch should be equally neglectful of the other. In the second year of his Episcopate he refused the sum which he had covenanted to pay to the great church of Alexandria: the clergy brought an action against him, and obtained, with costs, the sum in which he stood indebted to them.

At this time the Catholic Church of Antioch was much strengthened by the disputes of the Jacobite heretics: and we can hardly doubt that the case was so in Alexandria. To Philotheus succeeded Leontius: and to the latter Alexander, who occupied the chair of S. Mark, about the year 1059: but nothing further is known of either Prelate.



Chenouda, meanwhile, was proceeding from bad to worse. Bekir, who appears to have interested himself deeply in the affairs of the Jacobite Communion, represented to him the heinous sin of simony, and earnestly requested him to abstain from it in future. The Patriarch replied, that, without raising money in this way, it would be impossible for him to meet the demands of the Alexandrians. Bekir offered to engage, on his own part, and on that of his friends, that the necessary sums should be furnished to Chenouda, if the latter would only promise to desist from the infamous traffic which he had hitherto pursued. The Patriarch, having no possible excuse to allege, consented, although most unwillingly, and signed a bond to that effect. The Bishops were called together, and on being informed of the covenanted stipulation, were loudly indignant. "Shall a private individual", they exclaimed, "thus interfere with the dignity of the successor of S. Mark? shall a practice, sanctioned by his predecessors, be branded as unholy and blasphemous in Chenouda? Shall so fruitful a source of income be swept, at one stroke, from the first Orthodox Bishop in the world?" Bekir hearing of the hostility which his proposition had excited, hastened to the assembly, and endeavored to convince its various members of the fearful account they would have to render hereafter, if by their means, simony, but just before rooted up, should be again planted in the Church, and be allowed to bring forth its bitter fruit. "True", returned Chenouda: "and I, for my part, am firm against the solicitations of my Suffragans: but for their satisfaction and my own, I would wish to exhibit to them the deed, by which I have bound myself no longer to exercise Chortonia in the conferring of Ecclesiastical Orders". Bekir brought forward the document, and the Patriarch, taking it into his hands, tore it in pieces. But not even by this act did he satisfy the Bishops, who complained that, after calling them all together, he had, after all, rather seemed to follow the impulses of his own mind, than to be guided by their advice. They assembled in the church of S. Mercurius, while the Patriarch, with a few of his partisans, remained in that of S. Michael. The cry of the laity was loud against Simony: and at length, intimidated or persuaded, the Bishops appear to have acknowledged its justice. Chenouda was obstinate: he presented himself among his Suffragans, and a day was consumed in vain discussion. Bekir distinguished himself by his pertinacity, and the Patriarch, unable to reply to his arguments, ordered him to be seized, and publicly beaten: and the Synod, if it may be dignified by that name, broke up without having determined anything. The Bishop of Farma, on applying to Chenouda for his pension, received by way of reply a terrible sentence of anathema, which was published in all the Dioceses of Egypt.

The reign of Taher was signalized by no remarkable events. This Prince was of a merciful and liberal disposition, but his infirm state of health prevented his distinguishing himself by military achievements. Indeed, the empire of his father and grandfather was diminished, rather than increased during his reign; Aleppo was separated from it, and passed into the power of the family of the Mardasids, who made it the head of an empire which subsisted for about fifty years. He was succeeded by his son, Moustansir Billa, a child only in the eighth year of his age, who reigned for more than sixty years. Egypt was afflicted with a severe famine: and tempests, earthquakes and inundations seemed to betoken the Divine wrath that rested on this unhappy people. The character of Chenouda remained unchanged to the last: his mortal illness continued three years, and he suffered greatly. His eyes were closed by Michael, afterwards



Bishop of Tanis, the historian, who was ordained Deacon by Zacharias, Priest by Chenouda, and Bishop by his successor Christodulus. His history was written about four years after this period: it was continued, after the year 1085, by Manhoub, an Alexandrian Deacon, who thenceforth becomes our guide. His character for learning and piety appears to have stood high among those of his own party: and he was at a subsequent period employed as Legate to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch; and seems to have been well pleased with his reception.

### SECTION XIX.

#### CANONS AND ACTIONS OF ABD-EL-MESSIAH

ON the death of Chenouda, Abd-el-Messiah, a Monk of S. Primus in Wade Habib, and brother to the Abbat of that House, was unanimously chosen Patriarch; but, knowing the uncertainty which had attended some former elections, refused to leave his cell, until invested with the Patriarchal robes. On his accession (AD 1047), the affairs of the Jacobites seem to have taken a prosperous turn: for we find that at Alexandria he consecrated six churches at one time. The consecration of one among these, the church of S. Raphael, must have been an event of importance. He not only, on the same day, ordained one Priest and sixty Deacons, but published a series of thirty-one Canons, which are part of the code of the Jacobite Communion in Egypt. They are the first in the Patriarchal Canons, except those of the Great Athanasius. Of these we shall specify the most remarkable. Marriage is strictly forbidden in Lent: Baptism and Burial on Good Friday: Orders are not to be conferred in the Octave of Pentecost: no foreign Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, is allowed to exercise any function in Alexandria; the fast of the Apostles and of the Nativity are enjoined: Wednesdays and Fridays are also to be observed as days of Fasting: it was forbidden to baptize a child, (except in ease of danger,) without afterwards administering the Holy Communion: marriage with a Melchite wife was to be held invalid, unless both parties were crowned by a Jacobite Ecclesiastic: any Deacon, or Layman, who from a dispute with his Priest, is unwilling to receive the Communion from him, is forbidden to receive it at the hand of any other: anyone who appeals from the jurisdiction of this Church to that of a Mahometan Judge, or to the Caliph, if all Ecclesiastic, shall be suspended: if a Layman, excommunicated; the Corbans, or oblations, shall be prepared at home by the Faithful, after the accustomed manner.

A controversy somewhat similar to that which, at this very time, was, among other differences, opening the way to the great and final schism between the East and West, was also at work among the Jacobites. The dispute referred to the proper preparation of the Eucharistic oblations, in which the Syrians, both Jacobites and Nestorians, were in the habit of mingling a little salt and oil. Abd-el-Messiah happened

to be in the church of S. Mercurius at Misra, whe Chaia Abulbecker, a Syrian by birth, and principal physician to Moustansir, brought an oblation, prepared after the manner of his country. The Patriarch not only refused to receive it, but severely rebuked the offerer.

Chaia insisted on presenting it: and was by the order of the Patriarch violently thrust out from the church, and was wounded in the struggle. The sufferer complained to the Vizir: and also wrote to John X, surnamed Barsusan, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, detailing the insult which had been offered to the Syrian discipline. It is observable, and we shall have occasion to notice the fact again, that the Antiochene Jacobites always stood in awe of their Egyptian brethren, and dared not openly to oppose them. John wrote a treatise in defence of his practice, which still exists: and in which he carefully refrains from all reflections on Abd-el-Messiah, and on the Alexandrian Jacobites.

In this wretched state of things, it pleased GOD to give an illustrious example, even among the Jacobites, of constancy and courage, in the case of a young man named Nekam. His father was a man possessing some office at Court; and the son, thus probably brought into contact with the most learned, as well as the most polished among the Mahometans, was, in an evil hour, tempted to apostatize. The father, on this, drove him from his house : and Nekam, touched with penitence, began bitterly to lament the step which he had taken. He accordingly retired to the church of S. Michael, at Moctara, and after some short stay in that place, was urged by the Monks to retreat with them to the Monastery of S. Macarius. They were on the point of setting out, when Nekam refused to accompany them. "What real proof of penitence", he cried, "do I give by hiding myself in the desert? I ought rather to confess CHRIST in the very spot where I formerly denied Him, that so, those who were scandalized and grieved at my fall, may be strengthened, and may rejoice at my restoration". Having provided himself with the girdle, which, notwithstanding the edict of Hakem, which we formerly noticed, seems still to have distinguished the Christians, he betook himself to Misra, and there boldly presented himself in the various streets and public places. Some Mahometans, who were aware that he had formerly embraced their religion, laid an information against him as an Apostate: by the magistrate's order he was arrested, and thrown into prison. His father, dreading the consequences, applied to Adattedoulah, the Governor of the city, and commander of the Turkish regiment, and who had also, it would appear, raised him to the office which he then held, requesting his interference: and he backed his application by the promise of a large sum of money. The Governor protested that his authority was, in this ease, of no avail: that the very principles of Mahometanism demanded the execution of Apostates; that the guilt of Nekam could not be denied; and that the law must take its course. One method indeed he suggested, by which it might possibly be escaped: if the prisoner could be induced to feign himself mad, and to support the character which he assumed, he would send some persons on whom he could depend, to be witnesses of his pretended insanity, and on their report the judge would doubtless order the offender to be set at liberty, who might thus with impunity continue in the profession of Christianity. The father, overjoyed, hastened to the prison, and laid the proposal before Nekam, who agreed to adopt it. There was, however, in the

same place of confinement a Syrian Monk, who in the interval which elapsed before the promised witnesses could arrive, exhorted Nekam so strongly to Martyrdom, that when they were actually present, he received them in his natural character, and calmly and resolutely professed himself a Christian. He was consequently carried before the magistrate, and persisting in his determination, was beheaded. By the permission of Moustansir, the corpse was given up to his friends, by whom it was buried near the church of Moctara. But Abd-el-Messiah, on arriving at the place from the desert of S. Macarius, was displeased that the body of a Martyr should have been interred without the church, and by him it was removed within the building, and an Altar erected in honour of Nekam.

We have already had occasion to observe the theoretical severity of the Eastern Canons with respect to those who had apostatized to Mahometanism. The penitent was commanded by these to profess CHRIST in the place where he had rejected Him: that is, the guilt of Apostasy could only be washed away by the blood of the Apostate. This custom prevailed among both the Nestorians and Jacobites, rather than among Catholics: and in process of time, even with those two sects, it came to be considered rather in the light of a Counsel, than of a Precept, as was evidently the case with Nekam. Indeed, the general penitence imposed on those who had fallen away, was in the case of the Alexandrian Jacobites, extremely light: we do not find that any penance was exacted front the multitude who had denied CHRIST in the persecution of Hakem, and who returned to Christianity when that persecution had ceased.

The Throne of S. Mark was probably filled by Alexander when the great and final schism took place between the Eastern and Western Churches (AD 1054), by the act of excommunication which the Legates of Leo III (though not till after his death,) left on the Altar of S. Sophia.

With this blow, front which the Catholic Church has never recovered, Alexandria had nothing to do. Rome and Constantinople,—the Legates of the former, and Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of the latter, must share the blame. Antioch in vain endeavored to mediate between the two: all we know of the Egyptian Church is, that according to the account of Michael Cerularius, the name of the Pope had hitherto been retained in the Sacred Diptychs. The history of this grievous separation will fall under that of the Church of Constantinople.

At this time almost all the various secretaryships in the government offices were filled by Christians: and their influence, but more especially that of the Jacobites, stood high in Egypt. This prosperity was attended with its usual results: and the insolence and arrogance of the heretics soon opened the way for various calamities. The King of Nubia having refused to pay the annual tribute which was accustomedly given to the Caliph of Egypt, Abd-el-Messiah was accused to the Vizir of being the cause of this insubordination, and it was with some difficulty that the Patriarch obtained his acquittal. His principal place of residence at this time was Demrona, probably the same with the ancient Hermopolis Parva: and the conflux of Bishops and other Ecclesiastics thither, as well as the prepossession which the laity would naturally entertain for the residence of their Patriarch, had made this almost a Christian city. A Mahometan Cadi, who

happened to visit the place, was indignant at what he beheld; and complained loudly to the Vizir of the more than toleration which the Christians of Demrona enjoyed. There were, he said, seventeen churches in the place; and it seemed little short of another Constantinople. The consequence was an edict, by which those which had been newly erected, were ordered to be destroyed; a sum of money imposed by way of fine on each of the others; the inscription over the Patriarch's door, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD, erased; the churches throughout the whole of Lower Egypt closed; and the Patriarch and other Bishops thrown into prison, until the fine was paid. The fall of Demrona is a sad proof of the decline of Christianity in Egypt. At this time it possessed an Episcopal See, a Patriarchal Palace, and seventeen churches: in the year 1288, it seems to have been united to the Bishopric of Rosetta; and now it has no Bishop, either Jacobite or Melchite: and probably no church. But to return. The Governor of Alexandria, a man favorably disposed to the Christians, on receiving the mandate for closing their churches, gave them timely warning, recommending them at the same time to remove whatever treasures they might contain into some more secure place. This was done by night: and on the following day, the Governor dispatched his officers to search the churches, to lay hands on everything of value which they might contain, and to confiscate it to the use of Moustansir. The officers, as might be expected, found nothing but a few rags: and the Vizir was accordingly informed, that so far from possessing those immense riches which were attributed to them, the Christians were evidently suffering from the most extreme poverty. By this stratagem, a fine of £140,000 which they had been ordered to pay, was reduced to one of £4,000. It shows that at Alexandria, the numbers of the Jacobites and Melchites were nearly equal, when we find that the latter were compelled to bear half of this fine. Part of the money imposed on the Jacobites, to the amount of two hundred golden pieces, paid in by Mauhoub the historian and his relations, was restored by them, for distribution amongst the poor. The keys of the church of S. George, which was then held to be the oldest in Alexandria, and the house of S. Anianus, previously to his conversion by S. Mark, were also given up to the Jacobites. Abd-el-Messiah still persisted in his simony, and invented a disgraceful subterfuge, in order to authorize it. He pretended that all the churches in Egypt originally belonged to S. Mark: the reserving therefore to S. Mark, under the person of the Patriarch, a part of that of which the whole was his own, could not be termed unjust, or an infraction of Ecclesiastical order. The same Governor or Emir of Alexandria permitted the Procession on Palm Sunday, (which had been disused for fifteen years, on account of the insults to which it exposed those who assisted in it,) to be renewed; and ordered that a military guard should, for the sake of protection, accompany it.

Shortly afterwards, by the just judgment of God, a great calamity befel Abd-el-Messiah. The Sultan, informed of his wealth, gave directions that his cell should be searched by a band of soldiers; the sum of £12,000, discovered in it, was confiscated to the Privy Purse, and the Patriarch himself thrown into prison. This was the fate of riches acquired by simony. About this time, John succeeded Alexander as Catholic Patriarch.

Egypt was, at the expiration of a few years more, overwhelmed with a series of calamities. The first of these was an earthquake, which, though it spared Alexandria,

laid waste many other cities: at Ramla, five and twenty thousand souls were destroyed in it. A pestilence next broke out, which raged with unexampled fury; at Tanis, a city which had previously contained many thousand inhabitants, a hundred only escaped. Whole families were extirpated; houses stood open, and their effects were in the power of passers-by; and it appears not improbable that Michael, who had by Abd-el-Messiah been raised to the Bishopric of that city, perished with his flock. Lower Egypt endured another scourge, from a rebellion of the Curds and the Turks.<sup>3</sup> There were five thousand of these troops, who were employed by the Sultan at Misra and New Cairo as a kind of body-guard: they overran in the greater part of Lower Egypt, laying it waste with fire and sword, levying fines, and inflicting every kind of misery. Abd-el-Messiah fell into their hands: he underwent the torture, and was compelled to sign a bond for £6,000, of which the third part was furnished by the Secretary of the rebel chief, who would therefore appear to have been a Christian, and by his friends. Returning to Alexandria, the Patriarch convened the Clergy, requesting them to supply him, as a loan, with the £4,000 which were yet wanting to cancel his bond. They excused themselves, on the plea of public and domestic calamity; but when Abd-el-Messiah, justly enraged, threatened to seek that money from Infidels, which Christians denied him, his Clergy, partly through shame, and partly through fear of the consequences of such an appeal, furnished him with the amount of which he stood in need. The infamous ordinations of Abd-el-Messiah enabled him to free himself from this debt.

War and pestilence were followed by a famine, which occasioned almost unexampled sufferings. The horrors of this famine may be learnt from one circumstance, which has been left on record by our historian. The Vizir, going to pay his compliments to Moustansir, was accompanied by one servant only; his other attendants being unable to follow him through weakness and want of food. His horse, while standing at the door of the palace, was seized by three men, who satisfied their hunger on its flesh. The Vizir, on learning his loss, without any compassion for the sufferings which had occasioned it, arrested and crucified the culprits; on the next day, it was discovered that all the flesh had been removed from their bones.

Moustansir himself was all but reduced to want; out of more than ten thousand beasts of burden which he had possessed, three horses only survived: he was compelled to sell his precious garments, plate, jewels, glass and crystal vessels, twenty thousand ornamented shields, all the furniture of his harem, and all the treasures which the Fatimid Caliphs had amassed. These were distributed to the guards for the purpose of preventing a mutiny, the soldiers made captives of such women as they could find for the purpose of killing and devouring them,—to such misery was Egypt reduced. In this distress, Abd-el-Messiah applied to George, King of Nubia, by a Bishop, named Pamoun, whom he consecrated at that Monarch's request, and who dedicated a church lately built by him, in which, it is worthy of notice, there were four altars; and sought from him an offering for the relief of the Patriarch.

Tranquility was partially restored to Egypt by the defeat of Naserredoulah, the leader of the rebel Turks: the remains of his army betook themselves into the Thebais, where they spoiled the monasteries, and put to death many of the Monks. Naserredoulah being at length slain, these calamities ceased: the famine, much aggravated by the



depredations of the Turks and Curds, was alleviated; and affairs began to assume their previous appearance. From this time, however, the real power of the Caliphs began to decline: the Vizirs, as had been for so long the case at Bagdad, gradually assumed the whole actual authority, leaving so much the less to the Fatimids than had been possessed by the Abbasids, as the schism, of which they were the religious heads, was smaller and feebler than the rest of the Mahometans, who revered the spiritual authority of the Caliph of Bagdad. The Egyptian Vizirs were appointed by the soldiers, who nominated the candidate that was most agreeable to them, or disposed to pay the largest sum for the dignity; and this without any reference to the inclination of the Caliph.

The Vizir, his name was Bederelgemal, by whom the rebel Naserredoulah had been defeated, a hardhearted and wicked man, was informed that the Metropolitan of Ethiopia, by name Keuril, that is, Cyril, otherwise called Abdoun, was on such familiar terms with the Mahometans, who were tolerated in that country, as to invite them daily to his house, where among other things, they partook, in spite of the prohibition of Mahomet, of wine. Enraged at this rumour, and by another account which he received from Nubia, (but which afterwards proved to be false,) the Vizir wrote to his son to arrest Abd-el-Messiah. The Patriarch protested that he had never ordained any Metropolitan for Ethiopia; but that, hearing of Abdoun's claim to that dignity, he had intended to dispatch thither Mercury, Bishop of Wissim, for the purpose of confirming the pretender in his office. Abd-el-Messiah appears to have thought it better to conciliate the Ethiopians by legitimatizing the unauthorized assumption of Abdoun, than by forcing them to accept another Metropolitan to peril his own authority, and the peace of the Ethiopic Church. If Abdoun, then, was already a Bishop, he might easily receive Metropolitan dignity; if only a simple Priest, (an instance of which assumption we have already seen in the Annals of the Ethiopic Church,) Mercury of Wissim might ordain him. In this case, we must imagine that Abd-el-Messiah considered the case of sufficient urgency to justify a violation of the Canons, which imperatively demanded the presence of three Bishops, or else, that Mercury hoped to be able to associate with himself some of the seven Bishops whom it was allowed to the Metropolitan of Ethiopia to ordain. However this might be, the Vizir approved of the Patriarch's design: Mercury was sent into Ethiopia; and the Christians again enjoyed peace.

Abd-el-Messiah dispatched to, and received from the Jacobites of Antioch, the usual synodal letters. The latter were now much weakened, in consequence of that city having been so long repossessed by the Greek Emperors. It had been taken, in the year 968, by Nicephorus Phocas, and continued to make part of the Empire of Constantinople, till 1084, when it again fell into the hands of the Infidels. They, however, only held it for fourteen years : and it was then captured by the Crusaders.

Nothing further is related of Abd-el-Messiah, except that he was buried in the church of S. Mary, surnamed Muhallaca, at Misra; and that his body was afterwards transferred to the Monastery of S. Macarius. It was in the time of this Patriarch that Cairo became the fixed and official residence of the Jacobite successors of S. Mark.



In the election which followed the death of Abd-el-Messiah, we have the first hint that the Monks of S. Macarius attributed to themselves a particular voice in the matter. It was at this Monastery that the election took place, probably for the sake of more completely avoiding that secular influence to which the rapacity of the Vizir, and the ambition of rich ecclesiastics, rendered the choice of a Patriarch liable. George, a Monk of S. Macarius, was, after a delay of two months, raised to the Throne of Alexandria, and on his election assumed the name of Cyril. He was received by Moustansir with great honor, the mother and sister of the Caliph being present; and the new Patriarch was requested to bless the palace, which ceremony he performed with great state. His reception by the Vizir was also most flattering; and his Episcopate thus commenced under happy auspices.

Salmon, King of Nubia, weary of the turmoils of his kingdom, determined on embracing a solitary life; and for this purpose betook himself to the church of S. Onuphrius, which lay in the deserts at the extremity of the Upper Thebais, and at some distance from Asowan, the ancient Syene. It was announced at the Court of Cairo, that the King of Nubia was concealed within the territories of Moustansir; and a band of soldiers was dispatched to bring him to the Metropolis. Arrived, however, at Misra, he was received with much honor; drums and trumpets welcomed his entry, and the Vizir took care to provide him with commodious quarters and rich furniture, and continued his attentions till the death of the monarch, which took place about a year afterwards. The crown of Nubia had been left by Salmon to George, his sister's son; and this was done according to the singular custom previously introduced among the Nubians, and practiced among the surrounding barbarians, by which a deceased monarch was succeeded, not by his son, but by the son of his sister.

We now turn to the affairs of Ethiopia. Severus, a young man, but possessing considerable learning, had set his desires on obtaining the metropolitical dignity of that country. To effect this purpose he applied to the Vizir, and not only promised a considerable sum of money, but engaged to do his utmost in reducing the Abyssinians to receive the Caliph's yoke: an event which he represented as easy to be effected. The Vizir gave him a recommendatory letter to Cyril; and Severus was consecrated to the dignity to which he aspired. On arriving, however, in Ethiopia, he found Abdoun, whom we have before mentioned, in possession of the See of Axum; but, as it would appear, the mission of Mercury of Wissim had been ineffectual in procuring the end for which it was designed, and Abdoun exercised the Metropolitical Office without having received Episcopal Consecration. Severus attacked his pretensions with vigour, and dwelt on the superiority of his own claims; and Abdoun, finding that it would be impossible to maintain a contest with his rival, collected together all his goods, and fled to Dahlaka (A.D. 1086). Here he was arrested, and sent to Cairo, where he was beheaded.

Severus had been received with great honor; and as soon as he found himself firmly established at Axum, he turned his mind to the reformation of his people. Many abuses had crept in during the various periods of ecclesiastical anarchy to which the Ethiopians had been exposed: abuses rendered more tempting by the example of surrounding barbarians. Among these was the unrestrained practice of concubinage; which Severus earnestly endeavored to extirpate. Rightly conjecturing that royal

example would be more influential than episcopal precepts, he labored to persuade the Emperor of the duty of disbanding his harem; and so far succeeded, that he only retained one concubine, the mother of some of his sons. The Metropolitan then wrote to Cyril, (and the letter had been seen by our historian, Mauhoub,) requesting him, in an epistle addressed to the Emperor of Ethiopia and to his counselors, to set before them the heinousness of the connections in which they indulged. Cyril did as he was urged, but without any, or at least without any permanent, effect; as we shall see when we come to relate the rediscovery of Ethiopia by the Portuguese.

It appears that the Fatimid Caliphs, or, to speak more properly, their Vizirs, were exceedingly jealous of any intercourse between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Emperor of Ethiopia, insomuch that any letter addressed by the latter to the former was opened at Cairo, and not forwarded to its destination except by the Sultan's leave. The Caliphs were also particularly careful that there should be, in those regions, a toleration for the Mahometan religion; for there were a few who professed this faith whom the desire of traffic induced to take up their abode in them. Cyril, determined on abolishing simony, refused to receive any money for the bestowing Holy Orders; yet, by what is said to have been an ancient custom, though we now read of it for the first time, he reserved to himself a part of the episcopal revenues.

A serious dispute arose, about this time, between Cyril and some of his Suffragans. It appears that this Patriarch, although a man of good character, had not been remarkable for his learning; and that the Bishops of Lower Egypt had on this very account given their votes in his favor, hoping that he would be compelled in any difficulty to have recourse to the counsel, and that they, in fact, would thus enjoy the real authority. But, after the example of his predecessor Demetrius, Cyril applied himself so diligently to study that, as Mauhoub assures us, who was acquainted with him, and would sometimes lay before him difficult theological questions, the learning displayed in his answers was such as to exceed that of those who had hoped to govern him. Thus disappointed in their expectations, these Bishops were the more willing to lend themselves to any scheme for diminishing the authority of their Patriarch, and an opportunity was not long wanting. The Bishops of Abtou and Dikona, and one or two other ecclesiastics, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the principal Christian inhabitants of Misra, who requested Cyril to deprive them of his Communion; and such was their importunity in this request, that they extorted from the Patriarch a written document, by which he promised to comply with it. But, in point of fact, so far was he from fulfilling this promise, that, with one exception, he retained about himself the parties against whom complaint had been made. The Prelates, indignant at this conduct, presented a memorial to the Vizir, by his principal gardener, who was probably high in his master's favor, requesting him to examine, and to pass sentence upon, the behavior of their Patriarch. Cyril was then at a distance and employed in the consecration of some churches; but was called by a mandate of the Vizir, to Misra, and the attendance of such Bishops as could be present was commanded. The list of those who obeyed the summons has been preserved, and it is curious, as shewing the great strength which, after all their losses, the Jacobites yet possessed. We have seen that, in the most flourishing times of the Alexandrian Church, in the days of S. Athanasius or of S. Cyril,

the number of Prelates who were Suffragans to the Chair of S. Mark little exceeded a hundred; and that a most important Council at Alexandria only reckoned that number. We now find the Synod of Misra attended by fifty-two Bishops: (five of whom, however, were prevented by ill-health from attending its deliberations.) Of these the historian reckons twenty-seven to have belonged to Lower Egypt; twenty-two to the Thebais; and places, in a class by themselves, the Bishops of Misra, Khandek, and Giza. And it is not probable that the whole of the Egyptian Bishops would be able to attend: indeed, from the historian's enumeration, we may be satisfied that a large number were absent. For we know that the Jacobite heresy prevailed more in the Thebais than in the Maritime Provinces, and therefore, in all probability, possessed a greater number of Prelates in the former than in the latter. Yet, in the list of Mauhoub, the proportion is reversed; perhaps on account of the difficulty which must have attended the journey from the furthest part of upper Thebais to Cairo. Thus then the Jacobites may fairly be supposed to have possessed, at this period, sixty Prelates; or more than half of the whole number possessed by the most palmy days of the Catholic Church in Egypt. Those of the Melchites were probably not more than half as numerous, and, for the most part presiding in the same cities, give no great addition to the number of the Egyptian Sees.

The Synod assembled (A.D. 1086) in a country-house of the Vizir's near Misra. The Vizir opened it with an harangue, in which he severely rebuked the Prelates for having neglected the honor which, as he was informed, was due from them to their Patriarch. It was impossible for him, he said, unacquainted with their customs, and ignorant of their laws, to judge in the case before him, unless he had written documents to direct and to confirm his decision. He therefore requested both the accuser and accused to prepare from their Canons and other ecclesiastical pieces, such a compendium as they thought most likely to enable him to pronounce a correct judgment, and to do that justice to both parties which he wished. The Synod thus dismissed, Cyril and his partizans drew up their authorities, and the same course was pursued by his opponents; and the documents thus prepared were put into the hands of the Vizir. After a delay of three weeks, in which he had punished with death his head gardener for contemptuous conduct towards the Patriarch, the Vizir again summoned the Bishops before him. He had not, he said, read the collections of Canons which they had put in his hands, nor did he mean to read them: his duty was plain, and so was theirs. He could do nothing else but exhort them to unity and peace, as worshippers of the same GOD, as professors of the same religion. He had heard complaints of the inordinate love of money exhibited by some then before him: he cautioned them against such avarice: the proper use which a Bishop should make of money was not to pamper his appetite nor to minister to his luxuries, but, as CHRIST Himself had commanded, to give alms to the poor: the Canons which they had brought forward were doubtless good, but it was better to practice than to quote them; the lives of some to whom he spoke fell far below the mark which they prescribed: charity, good faith, and brotherly kindness, were virtues which he could not too strongly recommend, nor they too strenuously follow. Finally, that he might not be accused of preaching that which he did not practice, he gave directions to one of his officers to inquire into the particular affairs of each Prelate, and to give him a written document assuring him of immunity and protection.

It is hardly possible to conceive the humiliation which such an address, on such an occasion, must have caused to its auditors, the Bishops. A Christian Patriarch and Christian Bishops were taught their duty by an Infidel; and heard that duty enforced by a reference to the commandments of Him Whom they worshipped, and Whose Godhead he denied. The prominent feeling, however, on all sides, seems to have been that of joy, that so dangerous an appeal had terminated so prosperously. Cyril and his Suffragans retired to give thanks to God in the church of S. Mercurius, where on the following Saturday and Sunday they celebrated the holy Eucharist together. The kindness and good feeling displayed by one whose general character was as sanguinary as the Vizir's, may be accounted for by the fact that he was born of Christian parents in Armenia; and retained a favorable impression of the religion, as his partiality to the Armenians proved him to do of the country, of his childhood.

He showed himself, however, less favorable to the Christians on an occasion in which his avarice was more peculiarly concerned. Several Prelates, and more particularly the Bishop of Khandek, were accused to him of having received in trust the property of those who had, in the late civil war, sided with Naseredoulah: and under pretence of compelling them to surrender money which was thus confiscated to the privy purse, exacted from them the sum of £8,000.

On the death of John, the Chair of S. Mark was filled by Sabas. About this time, a son of Beder-el-gemal, persuaded by the relations of some who had suffered in the rebellion of Naseredoulah, raised the standard of revolt at Alexandria. His father hastened thither with an army: and the siege continued for two months. At the end of that time the city was surrendered on conditions which were not observed by the victor: £240,000 were exacted by way of fine from its inhabitants: and as the son of the Vizir continued to foment discontents, he was seized by his father's orders, and after an imprisonment of a year and a half, was put to death.

Cyril, whose residence at Cairo was undisturbed by these civil commotions, employed himself in the drawing up a body of Canons, which, after having been read in the churches of Misra, were by his directions sent into Upper Egypt. But the Jacobites in that part of the Diocese rose against them; and refused to allow of any innovation on the discipline of their forefathers. At a latter period they were received into the Canon Law of the Coptic Church.

A circumstance which occurred shortly afterwards, assisted in strengthening that heretical Communion. This was the visit of Gregory, calling himself Patriarch of the Armenians: of whom we have spoken in our Introduction.

The two prelates, on comparing their Creeds, found them, it is said, in all essential points to coincide: Cyril being probably too much delighted by obtaining so powerful a coadjutor in the Monophysite heresy, to peril their concord on this point by a reference to certain dogmas of faith and discipline, (as for example the refusal of the Armenians to mingle water with the Eucharistic Wine) on which it is certain that the two communion disagreed. Cyril, however, magnified the advantage which the visit of Gregory had given him, by causing it to be publicly stated that the Churches of Egypt,

Ethiopia, Nubia, Syria, and Armenia, were united in bearing testimony to the ancient Catholic Faith, and in anathematizing its corruptions, first by Nestorius, and afterwards by Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon.

The affairs, however, of Ethiopia were such as to cause considerable uneasiness to Cyril. The brother of the Metropolitan of Axum arrived in Egypt with presents, which did not, it would appear, satisfy the rapacity of the Caliph or of his Vizir. The Patriarch was summoned, and, accompanied by ten of his Suffragans, presented himself at Court; when he was asked, how he had ventured to consecrate a Metropolitan for Ethiopia, without the usual presents to the Privy Purse? and why the Metropolitan so consecrated had neglected, as bound by promise, to build mosques for the accommodation of the Mohometans in the region over which he presided? He was commanded, without loss of time, to send two Prelates into Ethiopia on this unchristian errand: and until this was done, the Patriarch himself, and each of the Bishops present, was given in custody to two guards, to whom each was obliged to pay the sum of four pounds daily. The Christians were in consternation, at the sudden change of the Vizir from his accustomed lenity to extraordinary harshness. While affairs were in this state, an embassy arrived from Basilius, king of Nubia, charged with presents for the Court of Cairo: among the persons who composed it, was the son of the late King, who requested to be ordained Bishop: the Nubian line of succession, as we have previously observed, descending, not from father to son, but from uncle to nephew. On this, the Vizir, probably glad to have the counsel of some who were better acquainted than himself with the affairs of Ethiopia, again summoned the Patriarch and his Suffragans, and repeated the accusation, that whereas the Metropolitan of Ethiopia had promised to build four mosques in his province, he had utterly failed in making this engagement good. The brother of the Archbishop replied, that so far from erecting four only, he had, in fact, built seven: that the Ethiopians, indignant at this act, leveled them with the ground, and endeavored to put to death the Metropolitan; that the Emperor, though not allowing them to proceed to such an act of violence, had nevertheless thrown him into prison. Beder-el-gemal was at length pacified: and only insisted in his demand that two Bishops should go into Ethiopia, and endeavor to obtain the rebuilding of the destroyed mosques. With them he sent an ambassador, to inform the king, that unless the mosques in question were permitted to stand, all the churches in Egypt should be thrown down. The king, undaunted by this menace, replied that in that case, or if even a single stone of one of God's Temples were touched, he himself would send to the Court of Cairo every brick and stone of Mecca: and that with so thorough a destruction of the city, that if one only should be wanting, it should be replaced with its weight in gold.

Cyril's attention to the poor, and to the restoration of the churches, is said to have been constant: and his fasts frequent and strict. It is worthy of notice, as showing how completely the Arabic was superseding the Coptic, as a spoken language, that the Patriarch is said to have turned his attention to the obtaining a thorough mastery over it.

On the death of Cyril, the contentions for his succession were even more than usually protracted; one ecclesiastic proposed, Simon the Syrian, having been rejected for having taught that the Body of our LORD was consubstantial with the Word according to Its Divinity. The assembled Prelates took advantage of the power put into



their hands to draw up four articles which they compelled the elected candidate, Chail, a Monk in an Religious house near Sinjara, to sign, before they would consent to raise him to the Episcopal Office. The first of these concerned an Orthodox Confession of Faith: the second, the annual stipend to the Clergy of Alexandria: the third, the abolition of Simony: and the fourth, the resignation of certain claims which were considered by the other Prelates to invade the Episcopal rights of the Patriarch's Suffragans. Chail bound himself, under an anathema, to observe the proposed conditions. How he fulfilled his pledge, the sequel will show.

### SECTION XX.

#### STATE OF THE EAST.

But, on the eve of entering on a relation of the influence produced on the Alexandrian, and other branches of the Oriental Church, by the first Crusade, it seems not amiss to turn our eyes to the condition of the East, at the time of Chail's accession.

The family of the Seljukids were now in possession of an immense empire, comprising the whole of Asia Minor, the savage regions which surround the Caspian Sea, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining countries: in fact it extended from Constantinople to the borders of China. The origin of this family is to be sought in Turkistan. Having embraced Mahometanism, they speedily, among the well disciplined Turks, began to arrive at distinction. Togrul-beg, the grandson of Seljoukt, possessed himself of the province of Khorasan: and was called by the Abbaside Caliph Kayem to his assistance. For a Turk named Basasir had expelled the latter from Bagdad, and ordered the Egyptian Moustansir, as the representative of the House of the Fatimids, to be prayed for in the mosques. Between this rebel and Togrul-beg a civil war raged for some years: the latter was at length victorious; Kayem was restored; and Togrul-beg succeeded to the actual authority, though leaving the name of Caliph in the hands of the representative of the Abbasids. His nephew, and successor, Albarslan, increased and confirmed the empires he left him: among other victories, that which he gained over the Greek Emperor Romanus Diogenes, (A.D. 1071), is especially celebrated.

“What would you have done to me”, inquired the victor, “had our conditions been reversed?”

“I should have caused thee”, replied Romanus, “to be scourged to death”.

“And I”, rejoined Albarslan, “will not imitate your cruelty : for I am informed that CHRIST, your Prophet, commands the forgiveness of injuries”. And far from insisting on any iniquitous terms, he dismissed the Greek Emperor with an honorable



peace. He was succeeded by Melek Schab, one of the greatest princes of his age. His good faith, extended views, mildness, taste, kind treatment of his inferiors, afford a pleasing contrast to the usual character of Mahometan tyrants. He lightened or removed taxes throughout the whole of his vast empire : was assiduous in the erection of mosques, schools, bridges, and baths; in the construction of good roads, and the fitting up their necessary concomitants, caravanserais. Not only is he free from the charge of cruelty, extortion, and rapine; but even from that of licentiousness. He died, after a glorious reign of twenty years, when only in the thirty-ninth of his age: and the civil wars of his four sons soon brought the empire of the Seljukids to that degree of weakness, as to smooth the way for the irruptions and conquests of the first Crusaders.

Thus much with reference to the powers of this world: let us now glance at the state of the Eastern Church. The Throne of Constantinople, which had lately been occupied by those who did honor to their election, and were not, as had too frequently been the case, the mere nominees of an absolute master, raised to gratify his caprice, and removed to make way for his other arrangements, was now possessed by Nicholas the grammarian. Notwithstanding his surname, he was not distinguished for his learning, although his attainments were above contempt: but he is honorably mentioned for his piety and virtue. Indeed he is also known by the name of Theoprobetos, as if raised a special act of Divine Providence to his high dignity.

The Church of Antioch had been grievously weakened: not only, like her sister of Alexandria, by heresy, schism, and by the oppression of the Infidels, but by the continued absence of the orthodox Patriarch at Constantinople, during the first possession of this city by the Saracens. For, as we have seen, it underwent a repeated change of masters: won back by the Greek Emperors from the Infidels, it was again wrested from them by the arms of Melek Schah, fourteen years before the Crusaders entered it. The present Patriarch was Emilian, who appears to have mixed himself up with the intrigues of the Constantinopolitan Court. Jerusalem, then in the lowest state of degradation, had Simeon for its Patriarch; that same Simeon, with whose concurrence Peter the Hermit returned to Europe to preach, by Pope Urban's authority, the holy War which was, for a time, to deliver the Sepulchre from the Infidels. Abd-jesus, the third of that name, was Catholic of the vast Nestorian Diocese of Chaldea, or Babylon.

This then was the condition of the East when Chail was elected. During his Pontificate it was, that the Council of Clermont declared it to be "the will of God" that Jerusalem should be rescued from the infidels : that Hugh the Great, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, the chivalrous Raimond of Toulouse, the saintly Godfrey of Bouillon, poured their gallant hosts into the Holy Land. And here the historian of Alexandria may be forgiven if he feels it, for the moment, hard to turn away his eyes from conquests which he is not called on to relate; and which brought nothing to the Church of which he is writing, but the chain of a severer tyranny, and the grief of a second schism, The conquest of Nicaea, the capture of Antioch, the storm of Jerusalem, were confined, in their glorious results, to the two Eastern Patriarchates; but the melancholy widening of the separation between the Greek and Latin Churches to which they led, was felt by the Throne of S. Mark as much as by those of Antioch or Jerusalem. We now return to the historical detail of events.

### SECTION XXI.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

CHAIL no sooner found himself safely established in the object of his ambition than he began to give his elevators cause for bitter repentance. Among the stipulations included in that article which he had signed, bearing on the retrenchment of certain exorbitant claims of the late Patriarchs, one referred to the restitution of some churches to the See of Misra, the jurisdiction of which had been usurped by Abd-el-Messiah. Chenouda, the then Bishop of that city, shortly after the consecration of Chail, reminded him of this promise, and requested him to fulfill it. To his astonishment and indignation, the Patriarch denied that he had ever subscribed such an agreement.

“But”, persisted Chenouda, “I have witnesses to the deed”.

“And I”, rejoined Chail, “will excommunicate any who ventures to come forward in that character against me”.

Several copies of the agreement had been taken; one was in the keeping of the Alexandrian Clergy; one in that of the Bishop of Xoïs, as the oldest of the Jacobite Prelates; and one in that of the Bishop of Misra himself, either as a party interested, or as having in fact (though nominal rank went by seniority) the see of most importance next to that of Alexandria. Of the two former copies, Chail, by threats and promises, obtained possession: but as the last mentioned Prelate remained firm in his refusal to surrender the document, he was threatened by his superior with a trial. Fearing that the personal influence of the Patriarch would be of more avail than his own innocence, the Prelate left Misra, and retired to a monastery: and it would appear that Chail did not venture to regard the See as vacant, and to fill it. As the temporal affairs of the Jacobites were settled in their Bishop’s Court, great inconvenience was occasioned by his absence to the inhabitants of a city so near the Court: and a strong representation being addressed to Chail, he at length consented to the return of the obnoxious Bishop.

It is possible that had the able and vigilant Beder-el-gemal been possessed of his usual activity, an appeal would have been made to the secular power against the tyranny of the Patriarch. But no long time after the consecration of Chail, the Vizir departed this life; leaving behind him the character of a powerful, diligent, and able minister: but an unscrupulous, violent, and too often tyrannical, man. Before his death, he wrung from the feeble Moustansir, himself on the brink of the grave, a confirmation of all the powers and dignities which he enjoyed to his son Abulkacem, commonly known by the name of Afdal. This hereditary Vizirship was a sure proof that the fall of the Fatimide Caliphate could not be very far distant. Afdal, however, used his enormous power, which, if anything, was superior to that of his father, to the public good; and his temperance, equity, and prudence are highly praised by the continuer of Severus.

The death of Beder-el-gemal was followed by that of Moustansir; a prince remarkable for nothing but his prolonged caliphate reign of sixty years. He was succeeded by his younger son, Mostali; Afdal, to gratify a private resentment, having caused the elder brother to be set aside. The latter revenged himself by seizing on Alexandria, the unfortunate battle-field of such rebels; he was besieged in that city by Afdal, compelled to surrender, and allowed to retain his life : but on endeavoring, to excite a second revolt, was thrown into prison, and there walled up.

Before the end of the eleventh century, as it seems probable, Sabas was succeeded by Theodosius in the Chair of S. Mark.

The earlier years of the Pontificate of Chail are totally barren of interest: at the end of this period Mostali was succeeded by his young son Amer-beahaeam-illah, a child of six years old. At the same time, the Church of Ethiopia, again deprived of a Metropolitan, requested the permission of Afdal for the consecration of another. Afdal accordingly enjoined Chail to gratify the wishes of the ambassador; and the Patriarch consecrated one George to the office. But, on arriving in Ethiopia, the licentious character and the avarice of the new Metropolitan raised a popular outcry against him: the King confiscated all the money which he had unscrupulously gained, and sent him back into Egypt, where the Vizir imprisoned him.

Chail, freed from the awe with which he had been inspired by the severity of Beder-el-gemal, now found time to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy Bishop of Misra. But, anxious to give a color of justice to his proceedings, he summoned a Synod of Bishops, before whom he denounced his enemy as guilty of having, in the time of Cyril, twice celebrated the Holy Eucharist in the same day. On this account, he continued, he had been excommunicated by the late Patriarch, and never having been absolved, must be considered as *ipso facto* deprived of not only the episcopal, but even of the sacerdotal, character. The Council were aware of the motive which led Chail to pursue procures his this course; but, overawed by his ferocity, they subscribed the sentence which he had dictated. Chenouda, the obnoxious Prelate, received a citation from the Patriarch to present himself for the purpose of being deposed; but, rightly judging that his only safety lay in escape, he took refuge in the house of a friend at Misra. Chail proceeded to take possession of the church of S. Sergius, which he claimed as under the jurisdiction of the See of Alexandria; and on the following day, the Vigil of Pentecost, went out in pomp to pay his respects to Afdal, who was returning from Tanis. As soon as the customary salutations were over, and the Patriarch had remounted, he was seized with the plague; and being carried home, ended his wicked life on the following day (May 25, 1102). Chenouda then openly returned to the exercise of his functions, and was received with great joy.

On the death of Chail, a delay arose in proceeding to the choice of a successor from a cause which sets the position of the Jacobite Bishops in no very favorable light. The late Patriarch, as we have seen, had departed this life on the Feast of Pentecost: but so busily were the Bishops employed in their harvest labors, and other agricultural operations of a similar character, that the Synod for the election of another Patriarch was not held till Holy Cross day, which, among the Egyptians as among ourselves, is

the fourteenth of September. The candidates were two: John, a Deacon, and Macarius, a Priest of the Monastery of S. Macarius. The former had the reputation of learning, and was remarkable for eloquence, but still young: the latter, deeply versed in the Canons, endowed, like his rival, with the power of speaking, and having all the experience which years could give him. The votes of the Synod were decided by that Canon which enjoins that every Bishop should have passed the age of fifty: and Macarius was elected. He, however, was as unwilling to accept, as some of his predecessors had been anxious to claim, the Patriarchal dignity and pleaded his incompetency for the office, as having been the offspring of a second marriage. As, however, this Canon only applied to the second marriage of the mother, and not of the father, the excuse was overruled, and the consecration took place in the usual form. The Alexandrians, with their usual rapacity, demanded a bond for the pension accustomedly paid them by their Patriarch: Macarius refused to be tied down to the sum they mentioned, but promised to give them as much as the poverty of his See would allow. As they persisted, he requested to be allowed again to take refuge in his beloved monastery: and the Alexandrians contented themselves with his written promise for less than half the sum that they had at first demanded.

The recent conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, while it inspired the Melchites with fresh determination to uphold the faith of Chalcedon, and with hope that the day of their deliverance also might be approaching, had considerably weakened, not only the Jacobite party, but also the Fatimid Caliphate. For, at the time of its capture, Jerusalem was in the possession of Mostali, or rather of Afdal, by whom, three years before, it had been wrested from the House of the Seljukids. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem, till then equally undertaken by the Jacobites and by the Orthodox, was, shortly after its conquest, forbidden to the former by the Western Christians: and this circumstance, which could not be concealed, and was the subject of deep lamentations to the Egyptian heretics, must have tended to open the eyes of the Court to the real truth of their claims to be the True Church, and must have served to raise the hitherto contemned Melchites in their opinion.

Cyril, at this time, or shortly after, was called by the Catholics to the Throne of S. Mark. He was a distinguished physician, grammarian, and poet: and several of his works, although not printed, are extant.

Up to this period, there had been a considerable confusion in the chronology of the Egyptian Christians,—arising from the following circumstance. In their dealings with foreign Christians, and with each other, they used the era of Martyrs, which, on a former occasion, we explained: and this was more especially the case in their Ecclesiastical histories. In their intercourse with the Mahometans, however, they found it necessary to employ the era of the Hegira: but although dating from the same epoch with their infidel conquerors, their computations were not the same. The Mahometan reckoned by lunar, the Christian by solar years: and as these differ in the proportion of 351 to 365, it follows, that at the end of every thirty-three years, the latter found themselves one year behind the vulgar computation. In the fifth year of the Patriarchate of Macarius, an edict was issued by Afdal, forbidding, for the future, in public transactions, the use of the solar year.

Macarius, among other changes which he made in the Ecclesiastical ceremonies of the Jacobites, issued one constitution which shews into how miserably degraded a state his people had sunk. Hitherto, says his biographer, it had been the custom that children should first be baptized, and then circumcised: he reversed the order. Besides these alterations, we read little more of the actions of this Patriarch.

In the meantime, the Catholics of Egypt were looking eagerly for help from their brethren at Jerusalem. On the death of Godfrey, and accession of Baldwin, Afdal seems to have hoped that a kingdom so lately founded, and so feebly supported, might without difficulty be overthrown. But one or two trials enabled him to form a truer estimate of the valor of the Christians and the arrival of a reinforcement from the West, under the Archbishop of Milan, the Count of Parma, and other spiritual and temporal dignitaries, proved to him that Jerusalem was, for the present at least, lost to the Fatimids. Cyril, and his persecuted flock, already encouraged by the capture of Caesarea, began to entertain sanguine expectations from the new Crusade: but a battle imprudently ventured by Baldwin was followed by his utter rout: a great slaughter was made among the Christians: and the Archbishop of Salzburg, being taken prisoner (A.D. 1103) by the Infidels, suffered constantly for the Name of CHRIST, and is reckoned among the Martyrs. A truce was, two years after, agreed upon between Baldwin and Afdal: and the expectations of Cyril were for the present disappointed.

Indeed, the views with which the King of Jerusalem proposed to increase his conquests, were such as must have struck consternation into the Patriarch of Alexandria. He learned (AD 1116) that Baldwin had obtained from Pope Pascal II a bull, whereby all the new conquests from the Infidels were annexed to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The degree of schism involved by the establishment of the Latin Church in the East, under the peculiar circumstances attending the success of the First Crusade, we may hereafter have a fitter occasion to consider. But that this grant of Pope Pascal's was a monstrous act of schism, hardly any one will deny. Bernard, Latin Patriarch of Antioch, lost no time in protesting against it: and the answer, or rather retractation, of Pascal seems almost to amount to a confession of previous error.

The peace between Baldwin and the Fatimidis continued for some years: at length, whether induced by the solicitations of Cyril, or urged by his own desires of enlarging his kingdom, the former marched into Egypt. He laid siege to, and took Farma, the ancient Rhinocorura: from thence he advanced to El Arisch, where he was seized with a sudden and mortal illness. His body was embalmed, and carried back to Jerusalem: where it reposes in the church of the Holy Sepulchre-

Thus Cyril's hopes were again disappointed: and no long time afterwards he was removed from the vicissitudes of earthly hopes and fears. The year of his death is not ascertained; but he was succeeded by Eulogius.

Afdal had now governed Egypt for more than twenty years. With the single exception of his wars against Baldwin, his designs had been successful: his probity and humanity were well known; and his character in the highest degree popular. Amer, who had grown up under his tuition, could not bear the power which the Vizier arrogated to



himself. With the melancholy spectacle of the Abbasids before his eyes, he beheld the Fatimid House gradually, like them, reduced to a shadow of power: while the real authority lay in the Minister. Unable to remove the obnoxious Vizier by fair means, he lured two of the Assassins, who fell upon him, in the open air, and dispatched him (AD 1129). Amer, by a righteous judgment, was some years after slain in a similar way: the friends and relations of Afdal were said to have been guilty of the murder.

But before this event took place, the heresy of the Bogomili, which had made fearful ravages in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, had begun to excite attention in that of Alexandria. These fanatics had their rise, at the beginning of the twelfth century, in Bulgaria: and their name implied those who called on Gog for mercy. But they were, in fact, merely a branch of that great body of Manicheans, which, under various names, such as Albigenses, and Good-men, infested at this period, or later, various parts of Europe. Their principal errors consisted in rejecting the writings of Moses: in affirming that Satan, before his fall, had been the Son of GOD: that the Incarnation and Passion were only appearances, assumed to confound the Devil: that consequently the Sign of the Cross was to be held ill abhorrence: that Baptism and the Holy Eucharist were of no avail: that no prayer, except the Lord's Prayer, was to be employed: that material temples were the habitations of demons: that Images were to be regarded as idols: that it was allowable, for the preservation of life, to deny the truth: and many others of a less important nature. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus used considerable pains to discover the true principles of this Sect: for as its members would not confess them, when such confession might be attended with risk or difficulty, stratagem was necessary, in order to arrive at the truth. Basil, the chief of the Bogomili, was invited by Alexius to the palace, and requested to explain his doctrine, the Emperor assuring him that both himself and his brother Isaac desired to be his disciples. Apprehensive at first of some deception, the fanatic gradually allowed himself to be prevailed on: he explained fully his tenets, while a secretary, concealed behind a curtain, took down his words. Search was then made on all sides for his converts and partisans, and a great multitude were taken into custody. But among these were many who avowed themselves innocent of the crimes laid to their charge: and how to distinguish between the real and the pretended heretics appeared a question of difficulty. Alexius at length devised a solution of the problem. He condemned them all, indiscriminately, to be burnt alive, and for this purpose constructed two furnaces, at the mouth of one of which a Cross was fixed. "The prisoners", said Alexius, "will have their choice as to the furnace in which they are about to suffer: and those who die in the true Catholic Faith, will doubtless prove their allegiance to it, by selecting that for the spot of their death, which is sanctified by the Sign of the Cross". The accused separated themselves into two parties: the veritable Bogomili, who conceived that no hope remained in concealment, avoiding, as their tenets taught them, the Cross.

Having thus obtained the information which he sought, the Catholics were set free, and dismissed with a high encomium; the heretics sent back to prison, where great efforts were made for their conversion. In some cases these endeavors were successful: but Basil himself continuing obstinate, was condemned to the flames, and publicly burnt in the hippodrome. His principal followers were committed to prison. It was then with



these heretics that Eulogius entered into controversy : and his work, though unpublished, is extant. It does not appear that this sect ever extended itself within the Diocese of Alexandria.

On the death of Amer, there was every prospect of an end to the Fatimid Dynasty. Ahmed, the son of Afdal, had been imprisoned by Amer immediately after the murder of his father: but now recovering his liberty, he endeavored to secure the Caliphate to himself. This was prevented both by the opposition of several of the most influential noblemen at Court, and by the superstition of the people, who held that no Fatimid Caliph would die without leaving a male heir. As the queen of Amer was pregnant at the time of her husband's death, it was agreed that the Caliphate should remain vacant till her delivery, Hafeth, a relation of the late Caliph, in the meantime, carrying on the government: that then, if the infant proved a son, he should be acknowledged Caliph; if a daughter, the Viceroy should succeed. The latter proved to be the case, and Hafeth was accordingly proclaimed Caliph. But the civil commotions did not end here : the two sons of Hafeth, each eager to be his successor, incited popular tumults, which were only quelled by the accession of Tageddoula, an Armenian and a Christian, to the Vizirate.

Hafeth thus sank into the subordinate situation occupied by his predecessors.

In the meantime Macarius the Jacobite Patriarch, whose character seems to have stood somewhat higher than that of the preceding Bishops, departed this life : and a vacancy ensued of about two years. Some alterations in the ceremonies attendant on the Liturgy were made by this Patriarch, which appear to have been adopted without hesitation by his Diocese. Indeed, the condition of the Jacobite Communion seems at this time to have been much depressed. In the Synod, if it may be so called, which met at Cairo to proceed to another election, there were no Bishops present: and the principal persons who were assembled agreed to proceed to the Monastery of S. Macarius, and to abide by the decision of one Joseph, a Syrian Monk of considerable reputation. He named Abulolah-ben-Tarik, as worthy of the dignity which they sought to fill : and his recommendation was followed. The new Patriarch, who took the name of Gabriel (II AD 1131), was in the forty-eighth year of his age: born of a noble family at Cairo, he had been in the earlier part of his life a secretary of the Divan: raised to the Diaconate, and attached to the church of S. Sergius in his native city, he had distinguished himself as well by his prudence, piety, hospitality, and almsgiving, as by his learning: he was well acquainted both with Coptic and Arabic and a successful collector of manuscripts. No sooner was he consecrated, than he was involved in a theological dispute with the Monks of S. Macarius, on the phraseology of the prayer, or rather Confession of Faith, before the Communion. They objected to the phrase, that the SAVIOUR, in taking Flesh of His Blessed Mother, had made it one with his Divinity:—the Patriarch insisted on it, as of long established use in the Church. The dispute was at length Compromised by the addition of the words, “without division, commixtion, or confusion”. But this alteration was not generally received.

The Vizir Tageddoula was brother to that Gregory, of whom we have already spoken as Patriarch of the Armenians. The latter had, it would appear, either lately

returned into Egypt for the purpose of congratulating his brother, or had never left the country. He died about this time; and Gabriel consecrated as his successor, Ananias. It does not appear by what right the Patriarch of Alexandria thus interfered: it might possibly be in consequence of a request to that effect from Gregory on his death-bed. But the consecration does not seem to have been recognized by the Armenians, as we find Nierses named as the successor of Gregory. Such, in the meantime, was the favor shown by Tageddoula to Christians, and such the facility with which he raised them to the principal offices of the Divan, that the Mahometan frequenters of the Court took umbrage, and asserted that many would embrace Christianity for the sake of its temporal advantages. They were headed by one Rodowan, who cloaked his desire of the Vizirate under a pretence of superior zeal for Mahomet; and Tageddoula, although amply able, from the multitude of his retainers, to have resisted with good hopes of success, declared himself unwilling to cause the effusion of human blood, and with some of his friends, retired into the Thebais, and took refuge with a brother, the governor of Cus, the ancient Cusae. Rodowan had already sent messengers to the inhabitants, exhorting them not to receive the late Vizier: they rose against their governor, put him to death, and buried him with ignominy. Tageddoula retired from the city, and, having collected a few friends, advanced to form its siege; but finding his efforts unsuccessful, he disbanded his troops, departed by himself into the desert, and embraced the monastic life.

Rodowan, determined to possess himself of his rival's person, led a band of men into the Thebais to secure it but on learning that Tageddoula had taken the religious vow, he allowed him to depart unhurt.

The new Vizier, resolved to show his dislike of the policy of his predecessor, entered Misra in triumph, and allowed his troops to sack the houses of the Christians, as well in the city as in its suburbs. He issued an edict, forbidding any, whether Jacobite or Melchite, to hold any office in the Divan, and enforcing the old law which compelled them to wear a girdle, and forbade them to use a horse. At the same time, he doubled their tributes. The harshness of Rodowan excited a sedition against him, for the authority of the Caliph appears to have been merely nominal, and the Vizier and the people were allowed by him to contend for the real authority. He was compelled to fly: but, collecting a band of Arabians, he again attempted to resume his office, and in his first combat was successful. But, being defeated in a second, he had the good sense to desist from his pretensions, and to live, as a private individual, at the Court of Cairo. (circ. 1139).

The Caliph, utterly unequal to the management of his empire, sent a message to Tageddoula, requesting him to resume the Vizirate. He replied, that not only would the religious vow which he had taken forbid such a thought, but that his heart was in his present life, and he regarded himself as a simple Monk, and no longer as a soldier. He accepted, however, an invitation to Court, where he appears to have practiced, in retirement, the monastic life, and where he died in peace.

The state of the Armenians at this time is almost unparalleled in ecclesiastical history. Pure schismatics, even among the Jacobites, they were not only tolerated by

that sect, but viewed by them with some favor, on account of their equal hatred of the Creed of Chalcedon. They now possessed a Bishop at Atfieh; and on the death of Ananias, who had been slain by Rodowan, together with many other Armenians, they wished to elevate him to their own Patriarchate. To render the ceremony more solemn, they requested Gabriel to be present: but that Patriarch, although unwilling to offend them by his absence, was by no means disposed to perform the consecration himself. Steering, therefore, a middle course, he first celebrated the Liturgy in his own Church; and, after breaking his fast, went to that of the Armenians. For it is a pious custom of the Eastern Church, that not only must the Priest be fasting who celebrates mass; but that the case should be the same with respect to all the Sacraments: to baptize, to consecrate, to give the Nuptial Benediction, all require previous abstinence from food.

This election, like that of Ananias, appears to have been unrecognized by the Armenians generally. The question of the intercourse of the Egyptian portion of that Church with the Alexandrian Jacobites, is one of considerable difficulty. It is certain that there could have been no intercommunion between these two branches of Monophysites, previously to the arrival of Gregory in Egypt, for the publication of his tenets could not have been received with such triumph by those who were previously acquainted with them. It is also equally certain, that the Armenians were guilty of two practices, which the whole Eastern Church considers grave errors: the one, the non-admixture of water in the Eucharistic cup; the other, the use—like the Latin Church—of unleavened bread. But it is probable, that the perfect intercommunion which appears now to have existed between these two bodies, was occasioned not only by their common hatred of the Melchites, but by the favor with which, since the times of Beder-el-gemal, himself an Armenian, his Christian countrymen were regarded by the Court of Cairo. It would appear that, although the Patriarch did not entirely approve of an Armenian succession being kept up in his own Diocese, his prudence, or policy, prompted him to allow his Suffragans to do that in which he refused to take a personal share.

Gabriel, knowing the fearful guilt which his predecessors had incurred by their simoniacal ordinations, not only refused to exact money for Orders, but refused the present which, after consecrations or ordinations, the recipients offered. We have a fair method of judging, in his case, of the yet flourishing condition, so far as respects numbers, of the Jacobite Communion. In his Episcopate of sixteen years, he consecrated fifty-threes Bishops.

At this time, it was attempted to introduce an important and most salutary change into the discipline of the Ethiopic Church. We have already observed that, in order to insure its dependence on that of Alexandria, the Metropolitan of Axum was not allowed to consecrate a greater number of Prelates than would raise the number of his Suffragans to seven in all: lest, if that Church should possess twelve Bishops, since so many were requisite for the consecration of a Patriarch, it might throw off all allegiance to the Mother Church. The practical inconvenience of this system we have frequently had occasion to observe: it gave rise to long periods of ecclesiastical anarchy, and engendered the most fearful abuses: it precluded the possibility of missionary exertion, and, in brief, has made the Ethiopian Church what it is.

The Emperor, influenced by these or similar considerations, endeavored to induce Chail, the then Metropolitan, to consecrate a greater number of Prelates. The latter replied, that without the leave of the Patriarch of Alexandria, the thing, as being forbidden by the Canons, was impossible. The Emperor dispatched a messenger to Egypt, charged with letters both for the Caliph and for Gabriel: in which he conjured the latter to give a permission so necessary for the welfare of the Ethiopian Church, and the former to use his authority in overcoming the scruples, if there should be any such, of the Patriarch. The Caliph directed Gabriel to comply with the request: the latter obstinately refused, and at length satisfied the Mahometan that to grant it would be the certain method of liberating Ethiopia from its dependence on Alexandria. Thus Gabriel lost the opportunity of rivaling S. Frumentius as a benefactor to that distant province; and thus ignorance and heresy were riveted in its unfortunate people. With every cause, therefore, to execrate the tyranny of this Prelate, his memory is, nevertheless, by the Ethiopians, celebrated as that of a Saint. As a proof how little dependence is, as a general rule, to be placed on Jacobite miracles, we may mention that supernatural judgments are said to have befallen the Monarch who endeavored to obtain a larger number of Prelates for his people, and only to have been removed on the expression of his sorrow to the Patriarch, whose dignity he had thus presumed to infringe.

The Thirty Canons of Gabriel-ben-Tarik form part of the Canon Law of the Copts. We will quote the most remarkable. The First forbids Simony. The Fourth forbids ecclesiastics of all degrees to frequent games or dances. The Sixth, excommunication for the obtaining a debt. The Tenth, the celebration of Matrimony in Lent, or during the Paschal Joy. The Twelfth, the custom, prevalent in Upper Egypt, of employing the wedding day in dances and games, and postponing the Liturgy till the evening. The Thirteenth forbids the offering of prayer for the dead on Sunday. The Sixteenth, the administration of Baptism during public Service. The Eighteenth, burial in churches. The Nineteenth forbids Circumcision after Baptism. The Twenty-fourth enjoins Priests to have no women resident in their houses except their wives, mothers, sisters, aunts, or grandmothers.

On the death of Gabriel, four mouths elapsed before the usual Synod for the election of a successor was held at Misra. As the easiest method of composing the customary disputes, recourse was had to the decision of lots: the names of three candidates were inscribed, each on a separate piece of parchment, and on a fourth, as the custom was, that of JESUS CHRIST, the Good Shepherd. The successful candidate was Chail, surnamed BenUlphak-dusi, a Monk of S. Macarius, distinguished for his regular life and accurate observance of the Monastic discipline, but so ignorant that he could not even read either Coptic or Arabic. It was with great difficulty that he learned by heart the Liturgy, which it was necessary he should do before receiving ordination as a Priest. The pomp with which his public entry into Misra was attended surpassed that of any similar occasion within the memory of man. He had not been possessed of his dignity for more than three months, when a slow poison was administered to him by one of the Monks of S. Macarius, among whom, on account of the strictness of his discipline, he was not popular. He lingered for some time; but fell a victim to the

treachery of his enemies within the first year of his Episcopate. He was succeeded by John, surnamed Abulfutah, one of his competitors.

Eulogies, meanwhile, had in vain been expecting succor from the kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin II had done nothing for the Egyptian Christians: his aged successor, Fulk, was unequal to a lengthened military expedition; and the youth of Baldwin III forbade the hope of present assistance from him, or from his mother, Melesinda. Indeed, it appeared hardly likely that his kingdom could itself last. The various Christian powers of Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were jealous of each other; the Emperor of Constantinople was hostile to all; and the Infidels were ever ready to foment every discord, and to take advantage of every mistake. It was therefore with no small joy that the tidings of a second Crusade were received by Eulogies. The authority of Eugenius III and the eloquence of S. Bernard were not excited in vain: Conrad of Germany and Louis of France hastened to the defence of the Sepulchre. But the army of Conrad, furnished, by the diabolical policy of Manuel of Constantinople, with treacherous guides, and attacked by the Sultan of Iconium, who was on a good understanding with the Emperor, in the deserts of Anatolia, was cut to pieces: of seventy thousand men-at-arms, and a countless multitude of followers, hardly the tenth part escaped. Louis was at the outset more fortunate: but a refusal to assist the schemes of Raymond of Antioch alienated that prince from the cause. Conrad and Louis finally met at Acre: the siege of Damascus was resolved on; and the city reduced to extremities, when, by treachery in the Latin Camp, the provisions of the besiegers failed, and they were obliged to retire. Louis celebrated Easter at Jerusalem (AD 1119); and this was all the advantage derived from the Second Crusade. Its moral effects were deplorable: the Infidels learned to despise, the Christians lost confidence in, these mighty armaments; and the condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem grew daily more and more hopeless. Shortly after this period, Eulogius was succeeded by Sophronius, the second of that name.

### SECTION XXII.

#### DECLINE AND FALL OF THE FATIMID CALIPHATE.

RODOWAN, weary of the insignificance of a private life, and considering his condition as only in name superior to that of a prisoner, made his escape, and suddenly appearing at Misra, put himself at the head of a discontented faction, and became master both of that city and of Cairo. Hafeth prudently kept within his palace; and shortly afterwards the turbulent Rodowan was slain in the sedition which he himself had excited. Hafeth did not long survive, and was succeeded by his son, Abu-Mansor, more usually known by the name of Dafer. The late Caliph had, since the abdication of Rodowan, dispensed with the services of a Vizier; but his successor, a youth in the eighteenth year of his age, and sensible of his own incapacity, promoted one of his



father's favorites to that dignity. A series of civil commotions ensued, various chiefs succeeding each other, by the law of the strongest, in the Vizierate; until at length one Abbas, descended from the family of one of the monarchs in the interior of Africa, raised himself by the murder of his predecessor to that office. An insult offered to a member of the family of Abbas by the unbridled licentiousness of Dafer, impelled the Vizier to the murder of the Caliph; and then, willing to conceal his own crime, he put to death two of the brothers of Dafer, as guilty of the slaughter of that prince. Fayeze, a child of four years old, was raised by him to the Caliphate, and Abbas thus became possessed of the real authority. But some of the Mahometan chiefs, indignant at his crimes, headed a rebellion, and drove him to seek a refuge in Syria. The Christians had lately become masters of Ascalon; and the sister of Dafer wrote to the commander of that place, promising him a large reward if he would arrest the fugitive Vizier, and put him in her power. A party was ordered on this service; Abbas was seized; the gold and jewels which he had secreted fell into the hands of the Christians, and he himself being sent to Cairo, was tortured to death by the harem of Dafer.

The successor of Abbas in the Vizierate was Talahia, who had been summoned by the connections of Dafer to avenge his death. Possessed, under the name of the infant Fayeze, of the most ample authority, he was enabled to abuse it to a persecution of his Christian subjects. One of his actions is recorded with the greatest abhorrence by the historians. Matarca was noted for the best balsam in the world; and a fountain in the town, where the Blessed Virgin was said to have rested with the Infant Saviour, was supposed from that circumstance to have received the virtue of producing that treasure, and was known to the Mahometans as well as to the Christians. Near this place the Jacobites possessed a church, which derived its name from S. George : Talahia deprived them of it, and converted it into a mosque.

The Jacobite Communion was at this time agitated by a controversy on an Eucharistical question. It was found that in the Confession of Faith which occurs in the conclusion of the Liturgy, and of which we have had previous occasion to speak, an addition had been made by some among the Monks. The word "life-giving" was added to the recognition that the Consecrated Elements became the Very Body of the Saviour: and this epithet was judged unsound by the Bishop of Sebennytos, or Semnuda, who informed the Patriarch of the addition, and of his objection to it. John agreed with his Suffragan; but considered the subject of sufficient importance to warrant the convocation of a Synod; by which the disputed term was recognized as orthodox. In fact, the opposite opinion, if consistently held, would lead to Nestorianism, a heresy towards which, since the time of S. Cyril, it would be difficult to find another symptom of tendency in Egypt.

Of the celebrated dispute concerning the abolition of Sacramental Confession which broke out under this Patriarch, we shall be able to speak more connectedly at a following period. Fayeze did not attain to manhood. Terrified in infancy by the sight of the corpses of his brothers, he was reduced to a state bordering on idiocy. He was succeeded by Aded, a son of Hafeth : the eleventh and last of the Fatimids. To trace the various contests for the Vizierate would be equally tedious and unprofitable. Chauer, one of the candidates for the dignity, finding a competition too powerful for him, retired



to Damascus, and implored the assistance of Nouraddin, Sultan of Aleppo, and the most powerful Chief of the East. This prince dispatched, at the Vizier's prayer, Chiracon, a Kurd by nation, and one of his generals, together with his more famous nephew, Saladin, into Egypt. Chauer was thus restored to his dignity; but soon found a formidable rival in Chiracon. The latter was dismissed from Cairo; and his dismissal was the signal for the commencement of an anarchy throughout Egypt. Wives were torn from their husbands by the licentious soldiery, freemen sold for slaves, houses sacked, and every evil suffered which the lawlessness of barbarians could inflict. Among those who fell victims to this outbreak, Chenufa, a monk of S. Macarius, had the honor, although a Jacobite, of laying down his life for CHRIST.

Chauer, finding his own party the weaker, dispatched an embassy to Amaury, who had succeeded his brother, Baldwin III, as King of Jerusalem, requesting his assistance. Amaury marched into Egypt; and Chiracon, hearing of his approach, raised the siege of Cairo, which he had commenced, and retreated into the Thebais. The allied army of the Christian King and the Vizier pursued him; and at a place called Elbaumn the two armies came to an engagement, in which both claimed the victory. Chiracon, however, found it necessary to fly to Alexandria, whence, after having been besieged for some time by the allies, he made his escape to Cairo. Amaury had by this time become sensible that his own position was not very secure; it was not impossible that the contending infidels might cometo terms of agreement, in which case it was hardly probable that, at a distance from his capital, without any strong body of soldiers in that capital, and entirely separate from the rest of Christendom, he should be able to make good his retreat. He therefore smoothed the way to a general peace; and having received the stipulated price of his assistance, which was punctually paid by Chauer, he returned to Jerusalem: Chiracon receiving a sum of money on condition of retiring again into Syria (A.D. 1164).

Before this time, John had been succeeded by Mark, the son of Zaraa. It appears that during these tumults, Sophronius had retreated from Alexandria; at least we find hint, in the year 1166, in company with Luke Chrysoberges, who then filled the Ecumenical Throne, and Athanasius, Greek Patriarch of Antioch, pronouncing the nuptial benediction over the Emperor Manuel and Maria, the daughter of Raymond, Prince of Antioch.

It will be better to finish the account of the political changes which were taking place in Egypt, before we speak of the great controversy by which the Jacobite Communion was agitated. Chiracon having returned into Syria, and King Amaury to Jerusalem, the counselors of the latter suggested the advantages derivable from an attack on the tottering dynasty of the Fatimids. Torn as it was by intestine broils, their empire, it was urged, could offer no resistance; a successful expedition would inspire the Christian soldiery; money, the best prop of a declining state, would be abundantly gained; and, finally, the empire of Christianity widened, and that of the Impostor of Mecca shaken. Persuaded by such arguments, Amaury again marched into Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta. Chauer dispatched pressing entreaties for help to Nouraddin; and that monarch again sent Chiracon to the relief of the Vizier. In the meantime, Amaury had taken Damietta, and, in the very action, disgraced the Latin Church. There were

many Christians in this city: it was the See of a Catholic Metropolitan, and of a Jacobite Bishop; but all, in common with the Mahometans, were put to the sword, or sold as slaves. Had the King now hastened forward on Cairo, it must have fallen into his hands; and,—to such important consequences do apparently trivial circumstances lead,—the Holy Sepulchre would perhaps never have been lost. But the Christian army, intoxicated with success, and probably suffering from the license accompanying the sack of Damietta, consumed ten days in what might have been the march of one. Chauer, by this time certain that assistance could not be distant, resolved to defend Cairo to the last: the siege was formed; but the approach of Chiracon made it useless to Amaury to continue it. That Prince took the resolution of meeting the Syrian army: aware that if he could defeat it, the whole country must fall into his hands. At that moment the Church of Alexandria was nearer to liberty than it had been since the Saracenic conquest; but GOD had ordered it otherwise. Chiracon had too much prudence to risk a battle: he turned his adversary's army, and effected a junction with Chauer; and Amaury retreated into his own kingdom.

Chiracon was magnificently received at Alexandria; but the success of his cause was the destruction of the Vizier. Chauer came out to pay his respects to the conqueror; Saladin, watching his opportunity, seized him, and ordered him to be detained as prisoner. The shadow of a Caliph, Aded, was easily persuaded to give orders for his death; and the head of the unfortunate Vizier was carried through the city on a pole. The populace, however, and native soldiery were indignant at the spectacle; and a sedition was on the point of breaking out, when Chiracon, with great presence of mind, exclaimed, that if Aded had given orders for the death of the Vizier, he had also given orders for the distribution of the Vizier's treasure to the people. As matter of course, the rioters hastened to the house of the murdered man, and Chiracon quietly received the investiture of his dignity. This office, however, he only joined two months; and, dying of a debauch, was succeeded in the Vizierate by his nephew Saladin.

BOOK V

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN AS VIZIR,

AD 1169,

TO

THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE,

AD 1490.

## SECTION I

### SALADIN VIZIR.

THE new Vizier of Egypt, who was to be God's instrument in working a mighty change in the East, and His Minister of Vengeance in chastising the sins of the Crusaders, and the ambition and worldliness of the Monarchs of Jerusalem, was, as we have seen, by birth a Curd. This hardy nation, deriving their descent, as by corruption, their names from the ancient *Goryaei*, had never been subjected to foreign dominion. The rocky and inaccessible character of their land, and their own valor, secured their liberty, and together with liberty impressed upon Nation them a peculiarly savage and inflexible disposition. Many of the youths were purchased by the Sultans of Damascus, for the purpose of forming their life-guard: and like the Praetorian Cohort, these household troops were often accessory to a change of dynasty.

The family of Saladin was in no way distinguished : though after he had raised himself to the honors of Sultan, there were not wanting flatterers to derive it from the line of the Ommiads. His original name was Yuceph or Joseph. He attached himself to the fortunes of his uncle Chiracou, by whom he was loved as a son : and having thus, as we have seen, followed him into Egypt, appears to have given the first earnest of his future prowess at the siege of Alexandria. On the death of his uncle, although there were many Emirs in the army, the superiors of Saladin, both in age and dignity, the latter was raised to the Vizierate, but with no friendly intent : his comparative youth, for he was but in the thirty-third year of his age, and inexperience, marked him out to Aded, who had by sad experience learned to tremble at his Viziers, as an officer who would he easily governed, or as easily destroyed.

Saladin's first care was to conciliate the envy of the Emirs to whom he had been preferred, and this, with one exception, he accomplished. His next was to send intelligence of his elevation to Nouraddin, who received the news with joy, and that on two accounts : both because he trusted thus to obtain authority, or at least influence, in Egypt, and because, himself owning the spiritual authority of the Abbasid Caliph at Bagdad, he viewed the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo as a heretic, and was eager for his destruction. Saladin, by distributing the vast treasures which his uncle had amassed, soon attained considerable popularity : he corrected his hitherto intemperate habits, and as a kind of expiation for former sins, vowed future war against the Christians. Nouraddin soon became jealous of his former general: and it was not without difficulty that the latter obtained leave for his brothers to quit Syria, and to fix themselves in Egypt (A.D. 1169). Damietta was besieged by the Christians : Ascalon by Saladin : but no important advantage was gained by either.

Nouraddin had been urgent with the Vizier to abolish in the Egyptian Mosques the prayer for Aded, as Fatimid Caliph, and to substitute that for Mustadi, the thirty-

third Abbasid Caliph. Saladin was unwilling to peril his newly acquired authority by any sudden change : but at length unable with any show of reason, to resist longer, he took advantage of the illness of Aded, and caused the required alteration to be made. That Prince shortly afterwards expired, without having been informed of the indignity to which he had been exposed, and Saladin peaceably succeeded to his authority, although contenting himself with the title of Sultan, and receiving investiture from the Caliph of Bagdad. Seizing the treasure which the Fatimids had hoarded in succeeding generations, Saladin wisely distributed it, and thus while removing temptations from the avarice of those who might be his rivals for the Crown, strengthened his influence among his dependents.

The account of those treasures seems more fitting for romance, than for history: we read of precious vessels of gold, silver, crystal, and porcelain: of precious vestments, tapestries, and carpets; of an emerald a palm and a half in length: of a pearl the size of a pigeon's egg: and, which seems yet more wonderful, of a library containing one hundred thousand volumes. Among these were commentators on the Koran, and writers on the unwritten traditions of the Mahometans; the works of Lawyers, Critics, Grammarians, Poets, Historians, Mathematicians, and Physicians: in each and all of which Mahometan literature was fruitful. These volumes were distributed among the most learned Egyptians of the day : the Sultan probably calculating that their pens might be no less powerful defenders of his title, than the swords of his less cultivated subjects.

### SECTION II.

#### THE GREAT CONFSSIONAL CONTROVERSY.

A DISPUTE, meanwhile, had sprung up in the Jacobite Communion, which threatened, by dissolving its connection with Antioch, to shake it to the very foundation. It is not necessary to prove that auricular Confession to a Priest, at first voluntary, afterwards compulsory, had been in use from the very earliest times. The testimonies of the Apostolic Constitutions, of Origen, Tertulian, S. Cyprian, S. Ambrose, Laetantius, S. Optatus, S. Basil, S. Jerome, amply speak to the practice of the first four centuries. S. Chrysostom, Anastasius Sinaita, S. Theodore Studites, Joannes Chinacus, Cresconius, S. Victor Vitensis, will carry on the chain of evidence for the Eastern and African Churches : S. Leo I, S. Gregory the Great, V. Bede, Egbert of York, and Alcuin, for the Western.

We have already had occasion to observe that the Penitential Canons had, in consequence of the complete subjection of the Jacobite Church to the Infidels, greatly fallen into disuse. The most heinous offenders were received without penance: apostates, on professing a wish to return, seem to have been, in many instances, at once

admitted to full Communion: and discipline was well nigh at an end. Corrupted in practice, the Penitential Canons soon became corrupted in theory: until at length the power of binding and of loosing was, if not denied, at least slighted and neglected.

We have, in our Introduction, related the various steps by which a belief was introduced into the Coptic Church, that the burning of the Incense at the commencement of the Liturgy was, in some mysterious manner, connected with the remission of sins which the people then privately confessed. Gradually, the rite was considered to convey Sacramental Absolution; and by a natural deduction from false premises, confession in a private house before a lighted censer, was elevated to the same dignity: and the office of the Priest was disused as superfluous. This practice was probably at first confined to the more ignorant Copts; gradually it seems to have extended itself to others, and finally was authorized by John V. Ebnassal gives a reason for the suppression of confession, in which there probably was much truth. The character of the Priests, he says, was so notoriously bad, that more harm than good arose from the ancient practice: and he illustrates his meaning in a manner, that, if taken literally, is heretical. Confession, says he, is spiritual medicine. Now, as temporal medicine, to be of use, must be administered by a wise and good physician, so must spiritual also.

This absurd novelty was not unopposed. Mark, the son of Kunbar, an ecclesiastic of remarkable powers, who had been ordained Priest by the Bishop of Damietta, preached earnestly and popularly the necessity of Priestly absolution. The innovators immediately attacked his private character. He had been married, they said: but, anxious to obtain the Priesthood, had persuaded his wife to remarry some other person, professing herself single. John was, of course, only too happy to avail himself of this tale for the purpose of excommunicating Mark.

The excommunicated Priest showed, by his deeds, his contempt of the censure: he began publicly to expound holy Scripture, and his expositions attracted, by their learning and eloquence, a large and attentive auditory. He dwelt especially on the absolute necessity of Auricular Confession, and Sacerdotal Absolution: the latter he affirmed to be essential to the Remission of Sin. He exposed the folly of imagining that Confession in the presence of a burning censer, a practice entirely unknown to all antiquity, could be of more avail than secret confession under any other circumstances, or with any other adjuncts. The consequence was, that multitudes flocked to confess to him, and he gave, in spite of his excommunication, penance and absolution.

The contrast is singular, if we compare this popular movement in favor of Confession, and the popular outburst in the German Reformation against it. Indeed, the spectacle of the abandonment of this practice by the Prelates, while it was insisted on by the Faithful, of the Church, is probably unparalleled in Ecclesiastical History.

But Mark did not allow his remonstrances to rest here. He inveighed against the practice of Circumcision, (which as we have seen, the Patriarch still allowed, provided that it preceded Baptism,) as a relic of Judaism, as contrary to the Apostolic precepts, and the consent of all antiquity. It was this doctrine which is said, more than any other,



to have embittered against its author the mind of the Patriarch, and to have procured his excommunication.

On the accession of Mark, the Bishops of Upper Egypt, where the son of Kunbar principally resided, wrote to the Patriarch, informing him of the success which attended the doctrines which he preached, and of the multitudes who flocked to confess to, and to be absolved by him. Mark was summoned by the Patriarch to Cairo, and obeyed the summons. He is said to have thrown himself at the feet of the latter, to have confessed his error, and to have promised amendment for the future. If he entered into such an engagement,—and that he did, we have only the assertion of his enemies,—on his return among his own people, he speedily violated it: he soon began again to deliver his exhortations on the necessity of Confession, and was followed by a greater number of disciples than before. To such a pitch did their enthusiasm in his favor arise, that they brought him money and other presents, which he distributed to the poor, and some even went so far as to offer him their tithes and first-fruits.

The Patriarch Mark, informed of the popular favor which attended him, sent a synodal letter to all his Suffragans: and the unanimous voice of the Prelates, eager to pander, by the maintenance of the novel corruption, to their head, was in favor of the deposition and excommunication of the obnoxious Priest. Indeed there are grounds for believing that a Synod of sixty Bishops was actually assembled, and decided against him. The latter, thus driven to desperation, applied to the Mahometan power, and drawing up a memorial in which he affirmed, which was true, that he had preached nothing contrary to Canonical authority, and the discipline of the Fathers, he demanded a fair and Canonical trial. The authorities approved of the proposition, and required the Patriarch to act upon it: but, knowing the weakness of his cause, he refused to obey, and in the meantime seems to have desisted from the persecution of his opponent. In the whole of this contest, one of the most vigorous supporters of innovation was Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta: and it is worthy of notice, that now for the first time we find any of the Jacobite Prelates dignified with this title. He wrote a short treatise on the subject, which still exists, and than the arguments of which nothing can well be weaker.

Both parties, however, appealed to Michael I, surnamed the Great, who then filled the Jacobite Chair of Antioch. The innovators, it would seem, preoccupied that Prelate's ear. Mark, they affirmed, was attached to the sentiments of the impure Massalians, and the opinion of Lemophtius; and, as traces of this heresy still remained in Egypt, the accusations carried with it the appearance of probability.

Michael fell into the snare. In his answer, he endeavored to steer a middle course between the contending parties. The one, he said, depreciated, the other exaggerated the importance of Confession; but the whole tone of his reply was favorable to the Patriarch. The Syrian writers naturally followed their ecclesiastical superior; and the account which Gregory Bar-Hebraeus has left of the transaction, proves how much lie was prejudiced against Mark, the son of Kunbar.

Nevertheless, as the real designs of the innovators were made more manifest, Michael declared more decidedly against them; and a temporary schism between

Antioch and Alexandria was the consequence. Michael, and Dionysius Bar-salibi, Metropolitan of Amida, one of his most learned Suffragans, composed works on the necessity of Confession, which are still extant. He, it appears, had been possessed with the idea, that Mark the son of Kunbar was a Massalian heretic, and he therefore condemned him and his tenets.

These dissensions led many to lose their affection for the Communion of the Jacobites: and finally, Mark himself, finding that no attention was paid to his remonstrances, that the practice against which he declaimed was upheld by the authority of the Alexandrian Patriarch, and that the influence of Michael of Antioch was not sufficient for its re-establishment, himself joined the Catholics.

It would have been, humanly speaking, to the great advantage of the Church, if a man possessing such influence, energy, talents, and popularity, could have been retained in its pale. But Sophronius was probably indulging himself in literary retirement at Constantinople; the new convert found no leading authority to steady his mind; and before long, he was dissatisfied with the step he had taken, and resolved to reconcile himself to the Jacobite Communion. He received absolution from Mark, and for some time persevered in his apostasy: at length, whether convinced by the arguments of the Catholics whom he had left, or influenced by his first grounds of dissatisfaction, he returned to the Melchite Communion. But he could not, even now, be contented : and again applied to Mark for absolution and reception into the body over which he presided.

The Patriarch this time refused to admit him; and of the future fate of this extraordinary man we hear nothing. His example, however, drew many to the Catholic Church, who remained more consistent members of it than he, whose guidance they followed. There would also appear to have been a large body of his disciples, who, although they remained Jacobites, persevered in his sound doctrine on the subject of Confession. Nothing further is known of Mark, than that he survived the Patriarch nineteen years, and was followed, though not by equal numbers, to the last. Did materials exist for such a task, perhaps few more interesting lives could be written than that of the Egyptian Chillingworth, Mark, the son of Dunbar.

We shall have occasion to refer to the various steps by which confession was restored in Egypt. At present, we need only observe, that its necessity is fully recognized by the Coptic Church, though negligently performed, and too often omitted. It is believed, however, that in the case of single persons, the state of minority (and therefore of presumed baptismal innocence) continues till the age of twenty-five; and that therefore, till then, confession is not needed. Consequently, Deacons below that age communicate without confession. But as, in case of marriage, minority is then supposed to terminate, confession is required before the celebration of that rite.

But the real definite mind of the Ethiopic Church seems never to have been fully expressed on the subject: its Priests are not agreed in stating its dogmas: and probably no statement could be made on the matter which would not find oppugners in that Communion. Nor, in a country where so much ignorance prevails, need we wonder

that even so important a doctrine as that of Confession has never been up to this time canonically elucidated.

### SECTION III.

#### SALADIN SULTAN.

It will now be our duty to narrate the proceedings of Saladin, so far as they throw light on, or are connected with, the Church whose fortunes we are relating. His affection to his father Job, one of the virtues for which he is conspicuous, led him to invite the aged Chief into Egypt, where he enjoyed the post of President of the Treasury, and had a chief voice in all political discussions. Nouraddin at this time began to suspect somewhat of the gigantic designs of Saladin; and the advice of the various counselors of the latter, as to the course of conduct to be pursued with respect to that Prince, who was reported to be marching into Egypt, were not satisfactory. Job, by his consummate art, averted the danger, and procured the adoption of a peaceable line of policy. Saladin gradually pursued his scheme of conquests.

Tripoli, in Barbary, first fell before his generals: he then turned his arms against Nubia, and after that, against Arabia Felix; and at this time was freed by death (1173) from his powerful rival, Nouraddin.

His policy, with respect to his Christian subjects of Egypt, was more generous than that of his predecessors. Well nigh every civil office had been, from their superior ability and learning, in the hands of Christians or of Jews; and the Fatimid Caliphs, finding it easier to plunder these than their Mahometan subjects, were willing that they should have the opportunity of enriching themselves, in order that their wealth might sooner or later be confiscated to the privy purse. Saladin, who abhorred the meanness of this species of oppression, made both Christians and Jews incapable of public employment; and enforced the edicts which had obliged them to wear a dress differing from that of the Mahometans.

He forbade the use of bells; he prohibited the Cross as the sign of a church, and the favorite procession on Palm Sundays: he directed that the churches should be painted black, and that the Divine offices should be celebrated in a low voice. Of these restrictions and injunctions grievous complaint was made: and some there were who, rather than resign their lucrative employments, apostatized to the Creed of the False Prophet. Under the new Sultan, the deepest tranquility prevailed in every part of Egypt; taxes were lightened or removed; and wealth could be securely enjoyed. To better the

condition of the Christians, and to till the apostates with remorse, the edict forbidding them to hold any office under government was at length removed, and in a short time, their numerical preponderance was as remarkable as it had been before.

At this time, the Egyptian Christians were informed that an armament from Europe was hastening to their relief. William II, King of Sicily, blockaded Alexandria by sea and land: but, whether through the incapacity of the leader or the faintheartedness of the troops, the siege was shortly afterwards raised. Saladin had thus leisure to pursue his conquests, and successively made himself master of Damascus; laid siege to Aleppo; fortified Cairo; crushed a rebellion in the Thebais; and though he sustained a momentary check from the Christian forces of Palestine at Remla, he gradually extended his conquests in that kingdom, and, step by step, united in his own person the whole of the vast empire of Nouraddin, in addition to that of Egypt and Africa. It remained only that he should take Jerusalem, and thus rid himself of the handful of his deadliest enemies, established, as it were, in the very centre of his dominions.

That unhappy kingdom tottered to its fall. Baldwin IV was a leper, and incapable of carrying on the government of his kingdom; he was also jealous of the Count of Tripoli and the Prince of Antioch, imagining that they sought to deprive him of his crown. He determined therefore to strengthen himself by the marriage of his sister Sibyl, widow of the Marquis of Montferrat: but, instead of bestowing her hand on any of the powerful families of the kingdom, he married her, precipitately, and in an uncanonical season, to a young and undistinguished Frenchman, Guy de Lusignan.

As if to provoke the anger of GOD to the utmost, and to tempt the vengeance of Saladin, Boemond of Antioch incurred excommunication by notorious adultery: and Arnold de Châtillon, lord of Carak, and the Templars by whom he was surrounded, perfidiously violated the truce made with the Mahometans, and made prizes of several rich caravans. Baldwin, sinking into the grave, learned by daily experience the incapacity of his brother-in-law, whom he had made regent, and declared the son of Sibyl, by her former husband, a child of five years old, and also named Baldwin, his heir.

Guy de Lusignan, enraged at the slight thus put upon his capacity for government, fortified himself in his castle of Ascalon, and refused to own the new king: the regency of the kingdom was given to the Count of Tripoli. It was in vain that the Christians, seeing the extremity of their danger, dispatched the most pressing entreaties to the various states of Europe: it was in vain that Heraclius, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited France and England: fair words, good wishes, and abundant promises were the principal result of these endeavors.

Arnold de Châtillon continued to provoke the vengeance of Saladin: the afflicted king of Jerusalem was called from the world, and was followed, in the next year, to the grave by the young monarch, Baldwin V. Guy de Lusignan was thus enabled to mount the throne; and had no sooner attained that aim of his ambition, than he called the Count of Tripoli to an account for his administration as regent. That prince

made a separate league with Saladin, who was thus at liberty to give his full attention to the destruction of the fated kingdom of Jerusalem. Sibyl's entreaties, however, recalled the injured chief to a sense of his duty.

Saladin entered the Holy Land with an army of fifty thousand men; and having obtained an advantage over the Templars and Hospitallers, laid siege to Tiberias. Guy, and all the Christian princes rendezvoused near Acre, and marched against the Infidel. The battle lasted two days: on the second, overpowered by numbers, and worn out by heat, the Latin forces were entirely defeated: the King of Jerusalem, the Masters of the two orders, Arnold de Châtillon, and many others, were taken prisoners: and the True Cross, after the death of the Bishop of Acre, who carried it, fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. The conqueror used, for the most part, his prisoners with humanity: but Arnold de Châtillon retrieved his errors and crimes by martyrdom. One by one, the cities of Palestine opened their gates to Saladin; and, finally, Jerusalem surrendered on honorable terms three months after the battle of Tiberias.

It was necessary to deviate from the strict course of Alexandrian history, because the expulsion of the Latins from Jerusalem was an event which, exercising the most powerful influence on the state of the Greek Church, influenced also that of Egypt: and because we shall find that the Crusades, general or partial, which after this period were poured forth from Western Christendom, and which would be unintelligible without some account of those which we have already noticed, were more nearly connected with Alexandria than the earlier efforts of a similar nature.

### SECTION IV.

#### CATHOLIC AND JACOBITE SUCCESSIONS.

Or Mark the son of Zaraa we know little, except his proceedings in the dispute on Eucharistical Confession.

It is said, indeed, that the laxness of his discipline, and the splendor of his banquets, gave origin to great scandal. His successor was named Abulmeged, and is remarkable for having previously been a secular Priest. The purity of his life, his learning and eloquence, secured his preference over the regular ecclesiastics who were candidates for the same dignity.

On his consecration, he assumed the name of John, and his first care was to dispatch a Bishop named Peter with the usual Synodal Epistle to Michael of Antioch. As that Prelate received it, we may imagine it to have been orthodox on the subject of Confession among the Catholics.

Sophronius II was succeeded by a Bishop, whose name has been corrupted into Alfter; and he by Elias, of whom we know nothing further.

But we are again called to follow Saladin in his warlike career.

### SECTION V.

#### REIGN OF SALADIN.

THE loss of the Sepulchre was received throughout Europe with a general burst of grief.

Pope Urban III died of sorrow the same month: Gregory, his short-lived successor, exerted himself to the utmost in exciting another Crusade: the kings of England and France, and the Emperor of Germany, prepared themselves to obey: in the realms of the two former, the land was tithed for the expedition: Bishops, Counts, and Barons emulously received the Cross. Guy de Lusignan sought an asylum at Tyre, now almost the only place of importance remaining to the Christians; the Marquis of Montferrat, its selfish lord, refused to receive the fallen monarch within his domain, but furnished him with troops, with which he recommended him to attempt some enterprise: and Guy, rather from the desire of doing something than from any hope of success, sat down before Acre.

The attempt appeared to Saladin so preposterous, that he would not give himself the trouble of by the crushing it in the bud: fresh supplies, precursors of the great Crusade, poured in from the West: Saladin, in endeavoring to retrieve his error, received a signal defeat: his Egyptian fleet, indeed, brought some succor to the besieged but a second land attempt was equally unfortunate; and when the besiegers were joined by Philip Augustus, and, afterwards, by Richard of England, the fate of Acre was sealed. It was the only important conquest achieved by this great Crusade: and Saladin survived its loss little more than a year.

In the terms of treaty which he had previously concluded with the Christians, Caesarea, Joppa, and one or two other places of less importance were yielded to the latter: and their monarch soon learned to content himself with the humbler title of King of Acre. Saladin, venturing to attack Richard after the departure of Philip, with far superior forces, at Arsonf, received another signal defeat: and this was one of the last combats, if not the very last, in which the Sultan was engaged. He took up his abode at Damascus, and there died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign.

There can be little doubt that the virtues of this prince have been, by modern historians, greatly exaggerated. If he were temperate in his pleasures, liberal of his



wealth, observant of the rites of his religion, it was not without treachery that he reached his usurped throne, without ingratitude that he possessed it, nor without blood that he maintained it. Ambitious beyond all measure, he sacrificed his relations and friends to his love of empire: he had no taste for learning, and wasted none of his patronage on the learned. The great merit of his character was its truth: and the faith with which he kept his plighted word, and observed the leagues into which he had entered, is sadly contrasted with the perfidiousness of the Christian chiefs by whom he was opposed.

He left fifteen, or as others will have it, seventeen sons. Of these, the eldest is known by the name of Melek Afdal : the second, by another wife, by that of Melek Aziz. The latter was named by his father Sultan of Egypt, the coast of Syria, and Jerusalem: the former of Damascus, and the rest of Syria: while Daher, a brother of Melek Aziz, had Aleppo for his share. The two elder brothers were speedily discontented with their portions: Aziz was desirous of Damascus and Aleppo, Afdal of Egypt: both were devoted to the pursuit of pleasure, and possessed of little besides nominal authority over their respective Emirs : the family of Saladin was disliked by the veteran, and the character of that family despised by all the soldiers.

In the meantime, Adel, the brother of Saladin, exercised considerable authority: he possessed several towns and castles in Mesopotamia and Syria, and possessed some share of his brother's talents. By keeping his nephews in a state of equality, repressing the stronger, and assisting the weaker, he gradually became possessed of the real power: and on being invited into Egypt by the soldiery, administered the affairs of the kingdom, leaving, however, to Aziz, the title and the honor of Sultan. The latter, after expelling Afdal from Damascus, and bestowing it in fief on a favorite of his powerful uncle, was killed, in the sixth year of his reign, by a fall from his horse.

It happened that Adel was absent in Syria: and as Almansor, the son of the late Sultan, was a child in the ninth year of his age, Afdal, the expelled Sultan of Damascus, was chosen by the Emirs as Regent. Hastening into Egypt, he collected an army with which, in conjunction with some forces of his brother Daher, he besieged Damascus: Adel threw himself into the town: but would probably have seen the end of his ambitious projects, had he not devised means of rendering the brothers personally odious to each other, and thus caused them to raise the siege at the very moment when it was about to be successful. Thus, set at liberty, Adel hastened to Cairo, and after governing a short time as Regent for Almansor, deposed him, and proclaimed himself Sultan.

### SECTION VI.

#### PATRIARCHATE OF MARK II.

WE are not informed at what time the Catholic Patriarch Elias departed this life : his successor was Mark, who was not an Alexandrian, and probably a member of the Church of Constantinople. We have already noticed the unhappy consequences that arose from the want of nationality displayed, on all occasions, by the Catholic Church of Alexandria. It was this, which, in all its struggles with the Jacobites, gave the latter that advantage which they constantly maintained: this, which from the days of Proterius to those of Cyril Lucar induced a spirit of desire for a more and more close intercourse with the Imperial City.

Mark, on his elevation, found several rites in use in the Church of Alexandria to which he had not been accustomed, and which he viewed with suspicion. Anxious to know in what light they would be viewed at Constantinople, he dispatched a letter filled with inquiries to Theodore Balsamon, requesting the satisfaction of his difficulties.

Theodore Balsamon, one of the most learned of Oriental ritualists, who was at this time librarian of the church of S. Sophia, but afterwards raised to the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch, was distinguished by his comments on the Canons. These, although displaying a vast extent of learning, are full of the most ludicrous inaccuracies; as where their author gravely informs us that S. Sylvester was the first Bishop of Rome.

To this authority Mark applied for the resolution of his doubts. His first question was, whether the so-called Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark, which were found in the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem, might be received and employed? Theodore replies in the negative: "because", says he, "the Catholic Church of the most holy and ecumenical Throne of Constantinople does in no sort acknowledge them. For all the Churches of GOD ought to follow the rites of New Rome, namely of Constantinople, and to celebrate the Liturgy according to the traditions of the great Doctors and Lights of the Church, S. Chrysostom, and S. Basil".

It appears that on another occasion later than this, Mark, about to celebrate the Liturgy in company with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and with Theodore, apparently then Patriarch of Antioch, (but resident at Constantinople, as was the then custom, Antioch being in the hands of the Latins,) was desirous of using the Liturgy of S. Mark, but was prevented by Balsamon, who furthermore extorted a promise from him that he would in future confine himself to the use of Constantinople.

By another question, we learn that there were still some remains of the Monothelite heresy in Egypt: Mark describes its supporters, as the Oriental writers are accustomed to do, under the name of Maronites. Other rites, peculiar to Alexandria, such as the unction of the dead bodies of Bishops and Priests with chrism are mentioned by Mark, and forbidden by Balsamon. From this intercourse we may learn how completely Constantinople, with rites less primitive than any other of the Patriarchal Churches, gradually remodeled their traditions, and regulated their offices, by its own : and thus imitated the example of, or left a pattern to Rome.

### SECTION VII.

#### AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA.

AFTER the succession of Adel, and while Egypt was in a state of political tranquility, the Jacobite Patriarch John received an embassy from the Court of Ethiopia, requesting him to ordain over them a new Metropolitan. Warned by the misfortunes which a hasty choice had entailed on his predecessors, the Patriarch determined to make a deliberate selection; and for this purpose sent to the principal monasteries, inquiring for an Ecclesiastic whose character and attainments seemed to point him out for the dignity. None such appeared, and the ambassadors, weary of the delay, presented to the Sultan another letter with which they had been furnished by their master, and accompanied it with presents, requesting him to interfere, and to compel John to make a speedy choice. Adel, to whom the character of the Metropolitan was an indifferent matter, complied with their request: and the Patriarch, thus compelled to expedition, and unable to find among the Monks anyone who met his approval, cast his eyes on Kilus, Bishop of Fua, the ancient Metelis, and nominated him Metropolitan.

Kilus, on his entrance into Ethiopia, was met at a distance of Abuna of three days from Alum by the King, the Bishops, the Priests, and the army, and conducted with great pomp to his metropolitical abode, an umbrella of cloth of gold being held above his head. The particulars of this entry were detailed to our historian, by one who had himself been an eye witness. Before he entered his palace, he celebrated, it would appear, the Liturgy, and the King and nobles assisted with great devotion. The country was suffering from a drought; and a fall of rain which occurred at the conclusion of the office, was regarded by the Ethiopians as a sign of GOD'S favor towards the new Metropolitan. On entering the Metropolitical palace, ten Priests were given to be his personal attendants: there were others who had the charge of his domestic concerns, of his library, and of the Sacred Vestments. He was frequently visited by the King, and received, as well from him as from the principal nobility, valuable presents, such as camels, mules, and all kind of necessary furniture. It is probable, that, in a worldly point of view, whether we regard public esteem, wealth, safety, ease, or influence among his people, the condition of the Metropolitan of Axum was superior to that of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

For four years Kilus governed the Church of Ethiopia with honor to himself, and profit to his flock. At the end of that time, John was informed that the Metropolitan had returned into Egypt, and on his presenting himself, no long time after, at Cairo, he inquired why Kilus had thus deserted the Church over which he had been appointed. He replied that, on the solicitations of the Queen, he had in an evil hour consented to raise her brother Hetron, or Gedron, to the Episcopate, that the latter had immediately assumed the umbrella or baldachin, the use of which had hitherto been restrained to the Metropolitan alone; that, not content with this, he had alienated the Clergy from their

rightful superior, had taken upon himself the administration of all affairs, reduced the Canonical Metropolitan to a state of contempt: and even attempted his life.

"In short", he continued, "the City was an unsafe abode for me: and with a hundred who still continued by me, I fled into Egypt, my Companions perished, by hunger and thirst, on the journey". The Patriarch requested Kilus to take up his abode at Misra, until he could inquire into the circumstances which had led to his flight : and for this purpose he dispatched a Priest named Moses, in whom he could place dependance, into Ethiopia; and a year was consumed in the mission. The reply of the King gave a version of the affair very different from that of the Metropolitan. Kilus, it asserted, had suspected the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Church of theft, in having purloined a golden staff of great value belonging to it. On the bare suspicion, he had caused the Priest to be seized, and scourged to death : and it was from the vengeance of the relations of the sufferer, who filled an important post, and had been Priests under his orders, that the Metropolitan had been forced to fly. The ambassadors who accompanied Moses were charged with presents for the Patriarch, among which was a crown of great value: to the Sultan they brought appropriate gifts, and among them a lion, an elephant, and a camelopard.

Adel was then absent on a military expedition: but Kamel, his son and successor, was acting as Vizier, and to him the ambassadors were introduced. Much conversation took place between the Prince and the Ethiopians on the subject of the Emperor of that country, his wars and riches: and the request which they bore for a new Metropolitan was graciously received. John was commanded to consecrate another ecclesiastic to that dignity: Kilus was solemnly degraded, both from it, and from the Episcopal Office: and the concourse of both Christians and Mahometans to the spectacle was so great, that a saddled ass fetched three drachmae for the day's hire.

The new Prelate was Isaac, a Monk front the Laura of S. Antony: and he was received with great honor by the Ethiopian Monarch Lalibala, or the Lion, and his Queen, Mascal-Gabret, or the handmaid of the Cross. This Emperor, of the Zagean family, filled the throne with great reputation for forty years, and was after his death inscribed by his grateful people in the Catalogue of the Saints. He has been celebrated by an Ethiopian poet quoted by Ludolph, as "the builder of cunning temples in the dry rock, without moist clay". That is, he caused masses of rock to be carved out into churches, of which we shall have to speak further when we relate the Portuguese Mission into Ethiopia, and its effects.

### SECTION VIII.

#### CORRESPONDENCE OF NICHOLAS I WITH ROME.

JOHN DE BRIENNE, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of the Queen Isabel and of Conrad, Marquis de Montferrat, had succeeded to the government of such part of the Holy Land as still remained to the Christians, under the title of King of Acre. Anxious to signalize the commencement of his reign by some renowned action, he undertook the siege of Damietta. He timed the adventure well. Adel was absent from Egypt, and Kamel had so small a force under his command, as to be obliged to content himself with securing Cairo, while the Crusaders ravaged the country up to the very gates of that city. According to their usual course, they plundered indiscriminately Mahometan and Christian, and a Melchite Monastery near Damietta was exposed to their ravages.

Nicholas, the first of that name, was now Patriarch of Alexandria. It must be remembered that the state of the Greek Church was now as low as it well could be. Antioch had been in possession of the Latins many years: and the Greek Patriarch of that City, however rightful his claims, possessed only a titular authority, and had usually resided at Constantinople. But Constantinople itself was now in the hands of the Crusaders, and the Patriarch was in residence at Nicaea, with the Greek Emperor.

Jerusalem was, it is true, possessed by the Mahometans: but the influence of the Latins in the whole Patriarchate, was far superior to that of the Greeks: and the titular Latin Patriarch resided at Acre. Thus it appears that the See of Alexandria was the only Patriarchal Throne which, depressed as it was, remained nevertheless in anything like its original state: it was the prop of the Greek Church, and alone seemed to prove its existence. Whether Nicholas believed that the Power of Rome was irresistible, or whether he hoped to induce the Crusaders to regard him with favor, certain it is, that he took pains to cultivate the good graces of Innocent III, that mighty Pontiff, who raised the authority of S. Peter's Chair to its highest pitch.

He wrote to Innocent, to request his interference on behalf of the Christian captives at Cairo and at Alexandria; imploring his good offices with the Templars and Hospitallers. The Pope replied favorably: and after praising Nicholas for "retaining, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, the savour of his devotion, as a lily among thorns, and seeking to console both himself, and those who were suffering captivity for the Name of CHRIST, by the comforts of the Holy Roman Church", he proceeds to inform him, that some of these prisoners were, nevertheless, guilty of the most heinous crimes; and that their guilt was sufficient not only to turn away GOD'S Mercy from themselves, but also to bring Christianity into ill repute among the Infidels. The Pope, did not, however, cease to act for their benefit: and on the same day in which the above letter was written, he wrote another to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, his Legate, setting before him the danger of apostasy incurred by these captives, and desiring him to bring their ease before the King, and the Masters of the two Military Orders.

In reading this correspondence, the mind naturally recurs to that of the two Dionysii, the one of Rome, the other of Alexandria, both reckoned among the Saints; to that of Celestial with S. Cyril, or to that of S. Leo with S. Proterius. To find the

Patriarch of Jerusalem acting on a general legantine commission, and the Patriarch of Alexandria commended for his filial devotion to Rome, would have indeed astonished the Popes and Patriarchs of an earlier age.

We find, however, further communications between Innocent and Nicholas. It appears that at this time a Latin Deacon was resident in Egypt, from whom the Latin Captives were desirous of receiving the consolations of the Church. Nicholas, however, was unwilling to elevate him to the Priesthood, before requesting and obtaining the leave of Innocent. The Pope, among those whom he summoned to attend the fourth Lateran Council, invited Nicholas: and the latter, though unable to attend, dispatched a Deacon named Germanus, as his Legate to that assembly.

### SECTION IX.

#### APOSTATE MONKS.

THE latter years of the Jacobite Patriarch John were disturbed by an unfortunate rupture with the Government. There was in the Monastery of S. Macarius a Monk, who, on some temptation apostatized; and gained a livelihood as a Government secretary. Touched with remorse, he presented himself before Kamel, Adel being still absent from Egypt, and requested his license to re-embrace Christianity : protesting that, if it were not given him, he would suffer martyrdom, rather than remain an Apostate.

Kamel, usually well disposed towards the Christians, made no difficulty in granting this request : and the Monk, returning to S. Macarius, there gave himself up to the penitence, practice of penitence. A Christian from the Thebais, who had also apostatized, hearing of the clemency which had been shown in this instance, applied at Court for a similar permission. But the Sultan Adel was now returned : and far from granting the request of the second petitioner, was indignant that so fundamental a Canon of Mahometanism should have been violated in the case of the first. Finding that the latter had retired to his monastery he dispatched a soldier thither, with orders to put the Monk to death, if he persisted in professing Christianity, but to spare his life, if he would again embrace maltometanism.

The wretched renegade not only apostatized a second time, but laid an information before the Government that the monastery to which he had belonged had a considerable quantity of gold and silver, which was concealed in a well, the situation of which he described, and where in fact the Sacred Vessels were preserved. A party of men, at the head of whom were some magistrates, were dispatched to possess themselves of the treasure. The Archimandrite assured them, that with the exception of



a Chalice, a Paten, and a silken veil for the separation of the sanctuary, no treasures were possessed by his monastery.

These were produced to the Commissioners: and by them taken to Cairo. By the intercession of Kamel, the property was, after a judicial examination, restored. The kindness of this Prince to the Christians was remarkable. The Patriarch was accused by another Monk of possessing concealed treasure; but the accuser was not allowed to bring forward his charge, and commanded to return to his monastery.

John did not long survive these events. He is said in the *Chronicon Orientale* to have abolished Confession, and recommended circumcision: we must therefore either imagine that the author inadvertently attributed to John what was done by Mark, or that the former renewed the decrees of his predecessor. We find this Patriarch commended in the Chronicle of Albert of Tres Fontaines; and a miracle is reported by the writer to have occurred during his celebration of the Holy Eucharist. This miracle was circulated to prove the superiority of the Latin over every other Liturgy.

Albert de Tres Fontaines reports it to have happened to John, or, as he calls him, Jonas: but Innocent, in his first letter to Nicholas, hints at some miracle, as well known to both, which, if the same, could hardly have been reported to him to occur in the Jacobite Communion. His liberality is much commended by writers of his own sect; and the seventeen thousand golden pieces which he had acquired by trade were distributed by him in charity. After the death of John, the Jacobite Throne remained vacant for twenty years.

### SECTION X.

#### DISPUTES AMONG THE JACOBITES.

THE funeral of John was remarkable for the circumstance, that it was attended only by one Prelate, and that a Melchite. This fact, taken in conjunction with the manner in which Innocent III speaks of the Eucharistical Miracle, might almost lead us to imagine that John had reconciled himself to the Church before his death, could we find any other vestiges of such an event. The Synod held to determine the choice of a successor was distracted with even more than the usual party violence. The principal candidates were Paul, David of Fayoum, and Abulkerim, Archdeacon of the celebrated church of Muhallaca.

The party which supported the former were the most powerful; but so much opposition was offered to the election of their candidate, that Kamel, who was desirous of nominating another Patriarch, was induced to inquire into the matter, and inform

himself as to the usual method of proceeding in a contested election. The appeal to the Heikeliet was named, and many were exceedingly desirous that it should be put in practice; but the faction of David, who still hoped to carry their point by main force, opposed, with all their might, the proposition.

Their opponents asserted that David had been excommunicated by his Bishop for exciting disturbance in the Church of Fayoum, with respect to the Eucharistical controversy, and to other debated points; and a charge to that effect was attested by the subscriptions of twenty-two of the Clergy of Misra and Cairo. Another reason which was brought forward by them is at least curious: David was, they said, a native of the Thebais, while none could be elected to the Patriarchal Chair who had not been born in Lower Egypt. The fact might happen to be as stated; but a regulation so absurd could hardly have existed. A more solid reason alleged was that David had already been a candidate for the dignity of Metropolitan of Ethiopia, and had been refused with indignation by the late Patriarch.

A month elapsed in various intrigues connected with the election; and, at its conclusion, the Bishops received a mandate from Court, requiring them to return to their several homes. As they imagined that so unusual an injunction had been procured by a secretary in the interest of David, four out of the five Bishops then in the city met before the altar of the church of S. Sergius, and there not only excommunicated David, but bound themselves with an oath never to lay their hands on him, as a disturber of the peace of the Church. Having united in this act, they separated to their several Dioceses.

The secretary, however, was not to be so baffled. He drew up the instrument of election, known by the name of Tazkeit, or Taklid, which we have previously explained, four copies of which were prepared by our historian, (who endeavors to excuse himself from being guilty of a fraud) , and respectively intended for the Bishops, the Priests, the principal persons among the laity, and the Monks; a filth was also made ready for the Alexandrians.

To this document the signatures of thirteen Bishops were obtained; among whom (and the fact speaks strongly to the degraded state of the Jacobite Communion), were two of those who had excommunicated David at the Altar of S. Sergius. Forty Monks also subscribed the instrument, and a large body of Priests, both from Misra and from Lower Egypt. Nor were the laity averse from the proceeding; and the ambition of David seemed on the point of being gratified, when the illegality and iniquity of the proceedings were exposed to Adel by his physician, Abuchaker.

Adel, on inquiry, found the charge to be true; and seemed desirous of referring the decision to lot. But the pertinacious secretary, by two false declarations, the one that the Heikeliet was opposed to the rites of the Coptic Church, the other, that it was in use among the Franks, or Western Church, succeeded in diverting Adel from his purpose. After an attempt to procure the election of another Monk, the business of election was, for the present, postponed. Adel did not long survive this controversy; but dying, after a reign of nearly twenty years, was succeeded by his son, Kamel, in Egypt, while Syria was divided among six of his other children.

The year before this event, a Catholic, accused of having spoken against the religion of Mahomet, was offered the choice of apostacy or martyrdom. He preferred the latter; and, after suffering gloriously, his body was committed to the flames; by which, it is the testimony of a Jacobite historian, it remained untouched, and was then buried in the Melchite church of the place.

### SECTION XI.

#### SIEGE OF DAMIETTA.

BUT other events were now transacting in Egypt; to explain which it is necessary to call to mind the state of the Western Church.

The recovery of the Holy Sepulchre was one of the great projects of Innocent III; and a special decree was made in the Great Lateran Council of 1215, on the subject. The rendez-vous was fixed for the first of June, 1217; and Innocent exerted himself to procure peace among all Christian Princes, in order that they might be at liberty to turn their arms against the East. Called away from the government of the Western Church in the year succeeding the Council, Innocent found an able successor in Honorius III. This Prelate, on the day succeeding his consecration, wrote to the King of Jerusalem, to inform him that the death of his predecessor should not diminish the vigour with which the Crusade was pressed forward: he did not cease to excite the Bishops of France to renewed activity; and the peace concluded between Louis the Dauphin, and the young Henry III of England, seemed to promise favorably for the succors which each of these kingdoms might be expected to furnish.

The King of Hungary, however, and the Duke of Austria were the only Princes who actually undertook the Crusade in the year which had been named by the Council. Rendezvousing at Cyprus, they sailed for Acre, where their arrival struck terror into the Sultan Adel, who was still alive, and in an equal degree animated the Latin Christians. The letter of the Grand Master of the Templers to the Pope was filled with the brightest prospects; and mentioned that it had been decided to attack the land of Babylon,—that is to say, Egypt,—by land and by sea, and to form the siege of Damietta. Honorius, on receiving these news, ordered a solemn procession from the church of S. John Lateran, to that of S. Mary the Greater, to beseech a blessing on the design entertained by the warriors of the Cross.

The winter, however, put an end to military operations; and the King of Hungary could not be persuaded to remain in the Holy Land longer than the three months to which his vow obliged; but, with the ensuing spring, the siege of Damietta was formed (May 29, 1218). Those who commenced it were principally German

Crusaders, who had been during the winter and part of the preceding summer, engaged against the Infidels in Portugal. They were followed by the Duke of Austria, and the Crusaders who had wintered in the East. No resistance was offered by the Infidels: the place was completely invested, and Honorius pressed all who had taken the Cross to lose no time in sharing the conquest of Egypt.

The arrival of a Legate from the Pope was attended with unfortunate circumstances; John de Brienne had hitherto commanded the Christian army; but the Legate insisted, that he, as the representative of the Holy See, the principal promoter of the Crusade, had a right to that post. The death of Adel, which occurred in the September of this year, made no difference in military operations: Kamel continuing the same plans which his father had originated. Heartburnings became rife among the Crusaders; complaints were carried before the Pope; but still the siege was pushed with

Damietta had been invested for fifteen months, when the camp of the besiegers was honored by the presence of an illustrious visitor. This was no other than S. Francis, who had long been desirous of martyrdom, and thought that the intercourse which he might obtain with the Egyptian army might lead to the honor which he coveted. With eleven companions, he sailed from Ancona, and found that Kamel was about to make a desperate attempt to relieve the besieged. To one of his brethren, named Illuminatus, he expressed his assurance by revelation, that, if a battle were fought, the Christians would be defeated.

“If”, he continued, “I make this known, I shall pass for a madman; and if I do not, how shall I answer for the blood of those men who will perish through my silence?”

Illuminatus exhorted him to be careless of the opinions of the army, and to relieve his conscience by making known the vision. Francis followed the advice of his companion: the Generals slighted his prediction; the battle was fought, and six thousand Christians perished, or were taken prisoners. Kamel had offered a besant of gold to any who should bring him the head of a Christian. Undaunted by the danger, S. Francis and Illuminates determined to pass over into the camp of the Infidels; and, on their way thither, as they happened to meet two sheep, “Courage, brother”, said S. Francis to his companion; “we are as sheep sent out into the midst of wolves”.

The pilgrims were seized by the advanced guard of the Egyptian army, bound, and insulted. Francis demanded to be taken before the Sultan, which was done. Kamel inquired by what authority the strangers had dared to present themselves in his camp? “By that”, replied S. Francis, “of the Most High God, Who has sent us to show to yourself and to your people the way of Salvation”.

Kamel who, as we have seen, was always favorably disposed to the Christians, admired the courage of the holy man, and invited him to pass a few days in his company. S. Francis replied that he would willingly do so, did the Sultan express any desire to be instructed in the truths of Christianity. “If”, he continued, “you entertain any doubts as to the truth of the Gospel which we preach, let us decide the matter by an appeal to God. Cause a furnace to be heated, and let any of your priests, in company

with myself, enter it. He, whose God protects him in the midst of the fire, shall be acknowledged as the teacher of the True Religion". Kamel, astonished at the offer, replied, that none of the Saracens would undergo such a test.

"Let it then be thus", said S. Francis "give me your word, as a King, that you and your people will embrace Christianity, if I am preserved in the offer I am about to make, and I will venture upon it. Light the pile,—but light it for me alone; —I will enter into it. If I perish, impute it to my own sins: if I am preserved, acknowledge the truth of the Gospel".

Kamel would not consent to this challenge, as he feared, he said, that it would occasion a sedition; but he loaded S. Francis with presents, which he rejected with contempt. The Sultan venerated the preacher for his disinterestedness, and retained him near his person for some time; but, at length, fearing that some of his followers might be persuaded to embrace Christianity, dismissed him with great honor, and with a request for his prayers, that God would lead him to know whether of the two religions was the more acceptable to Him.

In the meantime the siege continued, and Kamel, anxious to preserve, yet unable to relieve Damietta, proposed the following terms: on the part of the Christians, that the siege should be raised; on his own part, the restoration of Jerusalem, of all the that country, of all the Christian captives, of the True Cross, and of the fortresses in Palestine, except two, for which he offered to pay an annual tribute. He further offered the money necessary to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been demolished in this same year by his brother, the Sultan of Damascus. These offers strike us with astonishment, and to some of the Christian Chiefs they appeared very desirable; but those who were best acquainted with the character of their adversaries, were of opinion that they ought not to be accepted.

As soon, they said, as the Army of the Cross should be disbanded, it would be easy to the Infidels to retake Jerusalem: Damietta was a place, which, could it once be gained, it would be easier to preserve. This sentiment prevailed; but not without exciting the displeasure of those who considered the terms of accommodation reasonable. The spirits of the besiegers began to flag : the Legate saw that success must come now, or would never come at all. A night attack was made, and with very little carnage the city was taken on the fifth of November, 1219.

The length of the siege had not only filled houses and warehouses with corpses, but also bred infection in the place: and it was not till the Feast of the Purification in the following year, that solemn possession was taken of it by the Latin Church. Mass was said by the Legate, assisted by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and other Bishops : a metropolitcal See established in the city: several churches built or restored, and the practice of the mahometan religion forbidden. And this was the first act of open schism committed by Rome against Alexandria.

A great number of captives were sold; but Jaques de Vitri, Bishop of Acre, from whom we derive the principal part of our information as to the Siege of Damietta,

humanely interested himself in buying up the infants, for the purpose of baptizing them. Five hundred died shortly after their Baptism : some were brought up by the friends of the Bishop. The city was given to John de Brienne, to become a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

### SECTION XII.

#### INTRIGUES OF DAVID.

We must now turn our attention to the affairs of the Jacobites. On the death of Abuchaker, who had been the principal opponent of the unprincipled David, Neschelkelafet, the Secretary who had previously espoused the interests of the latter, besought the Sultan to summon another Synod, and to put an end to the affair.

The assembly was convened: more than a hundred of the principal Christians presented themselves at court on the appointed day: and a great number demanded David as Patriarch. The instrument of election, with the unfairly obtained signatures was produced: and the ambitious candidate would have been successful, had not a Deacon of the church of Muhallaca been present, Abu-Aziz by name, who with another, exposed the intrigues of the faction. The uproar was great: the lot was again proposed, and again rejected: and a year was consumed in the vain endeavor to adjust matters.

More than once the consecration of David appeared secure, the Sultan's confirmation having been affixed to the Deed: but it was revoked as often, when that Prince found that the objections of the opposite party remained in full force. The concourse of Priests at Cairo left the unhappy Communion of the Jacobites in distress for the consolations of the Church: in many churches the Liturgy was not celebrated on Palm-Sunday. The perpetual quarrels were too much for the usual good-nature of the Sultan: and finding that the late Patriarch had left the whole of his property to his sister, as his only heir, he allowed the Mahometan law to be put in force, by which women were prohibited from inheriting more than half the testator's property: and confiscated the rest to the privy purse.

David, finding that his wishes were not soon likely to be gratified, began to take upon himself something of the pomp and state of a Patriarch: and, attended by a large body of his friends, celebrated the Liturgy in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. He was interrupted by the violent entrance of several of the opposite faction, whose outcries and tumult could not, however, prevent his finishing the office. This action caused great scandal: and the woeful condition of the Christians was made yet still more deplorable, by the siege of Damietta.



The Melchites, however, fared the worse; as they were naturally suspected by the Mahometans of being far more anxious for the success of the Crusaders than the Jacobites, who were probably desirous rather to remain under that Mahometan rule by which their sect had risen to power, than to meet with the treatment which heretics were sure to receive from the victorious Christians. Both Melchites and Jacobites were nevertheless compelled to assist in the works hastily raised for the defence of Cairo: they were commanded either to enlist in the army destined for the guard of the country, or to compound, by a sum of money, for personal services. The prefect of Old Cairo summoned all the Priests of whatever Communion, and desired them immediately to repair to the camp at Damietta, informing them, at the same time, by way of more completely terrifying them, that they would probably be put to death by the soldiery. The Melchites promised four thousand pounds,—the Jacobites,—who at Cairo were by far the more influential body,—were taxed at twenty, of which, however, they only raised six, thousand.

The army which marched to the relief of Damietta, destroyed, out of revenge, all the churches by which they passed: and, as they were rather a confused collection of rabble than an orderly military array, the evils which they inflicted on the unhappy country were comparatively greater. The church of S. Mark, in the suburbs of Alexandria, was leveled with the ground, the Mahometans being apprehensive that the Crusaders might use it as a convenient fortress in attacking the city. The blow which the Christians in that city now received, seems never to have been recovered.

Damietta being fairly possessed by the Latins, and a protracted state of war being the necessary result, the tributes under which the Egyptian Christians groaned, were increased; provisions were dear: many families were reduced to beggary, and some individuals, unable to bear their misery, were tempted to commit suicide. A fresh attempt at an election to the Jacobite Throne, under these circumstances, was, as it was likely to be, unsuccessful.

### SECTION XIII.

#### LOSS OF DAMIETTA.

THE capture of Damietta, instead of inciting the Crusaders to thankfulness, unanimity, and discipline, was followed by a universal dissoluteness of morals, and contempt of the laws both of God and man. The accounts which Jacques de Vitri gives in a letter to Pope Honorius shortly after Easter, contain a frightful picture of the state of the city.

The king of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Templars had returned to Palestine; the Patriarch of Jerusalem had followed their example; the French knights had retired: and those of the Crusaders who remained were reduced to the greatest poverty, and almost all of them subsisted on alms. Three thousand had already been made prisoners by the Mussulmans, who lost no opportunity of seizing on those who incautiously ventured beyond the walls: some had even deserted and apostatized, and these were upbraided by their new masters with being as bad Turks as they had formerly been worthless Christians. But these calamities had in some degree induced a reformation of morals: games of chance were prohibited; abandoned women driven from the city; and a board of commissioners, consisting of a Marshal and twelve assistants, appointed by the Legate for the punishment of offenders.

The conquests of Zengis Khan are alluded to by the Bishop of Acre, as giving grounds to hope for the subversion of the Mahometan Empire: a hope which he proceeds to confirm by certain astrological predictions in vogue among the Egyptians, and by an apocryphal book of prophecies, called the Revelations of S. Peter, brought forward by some Oriental Christians.

But the real hopes of the Latins for the preservation of Damietta and of their other conquests lay in the Emperor Frederick, who had taken the Cross, but was in no hurry to fulfill his vow. The Pope exerted himself to procure reinforcements for the Christians in Damietta: and pressed the importance of speedy assistance on the Bishops of France, Italy, and Germany. Had Kamel been able to march against Damietta with a powerful body of troops, the immediate fall of the city must probably have been the consequence: but as his condition, if superior to that of his enemies, was sufficiently weak, the Crusaders might have held their conquest till new succors reached them, had it not been for their own impatience and imprudence.

The Legate Pelagius, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, finding that the number of soldiers in the city was considerably increased by the small reinforcements which occasionally arrived, requested the return of John de Brienne in such urgent terms, that that monarch was obliged to comply. It was then resolved to march upon Cairo, the army being victualled for two months. Arrived at a place, equally distant from the two cities, where the Nile divides itself into three branches, they made themselves masters of a bridge of boats connecting the two banks. Kamel had collected a large army from his own dominions, and by the assistance of his brothers, from Syria: but dreading the numbers and the superior discipline of the Christians, he judged it prudent not to offer battle. The Crusaders encamped on the low ground near the river:

Kamel interposed himself between their army and Damietta, and cut off all their supplies. Provisions began to fail : and to add to the distress of the Christian army, the time for the rise of the Nile came on. The infidels had taken care to choose such ground as should not expose them to inconvenience : but the Latins were surrounded by the inundation, and the very ground on which they were encamped was changed into a treacherous quagmire. Under these circumstances nothing remained but to come to terms: and it skews the good disposition of Kamel that he insisted on no harder conditions. On the one hand, it was made an indispensable point that Damietta should

be evacuated: but in return for this, the Christian army was to have free passage to Acre: the captives were to be freed: a truce of eight years to be conclude: and the True Cross to be restored: the latter a matter of the less importance, inasmuch as it was greatly suspected that that part of it which the Mahometans possessed had been destroyed by them.

Thus Damietta again fell into the hands of the Infidels: to the joy, doubtless, of the Jacobites: but how much grief the event caused to the Melchites may be understood from the following letter, addressed, after the surrender which took place on the eighth day of September, 1221, by Nicholas to Pope Honorius. And it must be remembered, that considering the dishonor inflicted on the Church of Alexandria by the erection of a Latin Archbishopric within its Diocese, this letter not only proves the deplorable condition of the Catholics, but their willingness to overlook the injuries received from, in their gratitude for the benefits conferred by, Rome. The epistle, as throwing light on the character of the Alexandrian Patriarch, shall be inserted whole.

*Letter of Nicholas I to Honorius III*

“To the Most Reverend Father and Lord, by Divine Grace, Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, and Universal Bishop, Nicholas, by the same Grace, humble Patriarch of the Alexandrian See, reverence, as prompt as due.

The Archbishops, Bishops, Presbyters, Clerks, and Laics, and all the Christians which are in the land of Egypt, supplicate your paternity and sanctity with groans and tearful cries. If any Christian church, from any accident, happens to fall, we dare not rebuild it; and for these fourteen years past each Christian in Egypt is compelled to pay a tax of one bezant and fourteen karabbas: and if he be poor, he is committed to prison, and not set at liberty until he have paid the whole sum. There are so many Christians in this country, that the Sultan derives from them a yearly revenue of one hundred thousand golden bezants. What further shall I say when Christians are employed for every unfit and sordid work, and are even compelled to clean the streets of the city?

It is well known, throughout the whole of Christendom, how shamefully Damietta hath been lost: and it is improper to trust that to letters, which to speak by word of mouth is most painful. Have pity, therefore, on us, our Lord and spiritual Father! As the Saints, before the Advent of CHRIST, longed for their redemption and liberation from our Savior, so we your children expect the coming of the Emperor; and not only we, but also more than ten thousand exiles, dispersed through the land of the Saracens.

I must not omit, but rather press, what it will be the duty of our Lord and Emperor to do on his arrival. This is the way of salvation and health, and which will be free, by God's grace, from danger: let the ships and galleys, whatever their number may be, sail up the river Rasceti, and as far as the town which is situated in an island of that stream, called Foha : and thus, by the mercy of GOD, they will secure without loss the whole land of Egypt. The river is deep

and broad : the island abounds with all necessaries; as the bearer of these presents, one in whom we have confidence, will be able to certify. We know him to be prudent and discreet, and have on that account sent him to you. Nor must I omit one of the greatest misfortunes which have befallen the Christians in Egypt; in consequence of the capture of Damietta, one hundred and fifteen churches have been destroyed”.

Such were the sentiments with which the Egyptian Catholics awaited the result of the efforts of Rome on their behalf. We cannot be surprised, however, considering the tenor of this correspondence, that Kamel and his government found it necessary to keep a strict watch over the motions of the Melchites, and suspected them of assisting, to the utmost of their ability, in any descent made by the Crusaders upon the coast of Egypt.

### SECTION XIV.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE JACOBITES.

THE internal dissensions among the Jacobites still continuing, Kamel convoked another Synod for the purpose of, if possible, putting an end to them: and besides the usual attendants on such occasions, Nicholas was summoned also.

The result was the same with that of all similar meetings lately held : but the Sultan gave, shortly afterwards, a plain proof of his desire to deal fairly by his Christian subjects, and his strict integrity. Information had been given by some apostates, that in the Monastery of S. Macarius there were several persons, who were Monks only in name, for the purpose of avoiding the capitation tax, and thus, at the expense of the revenue, enriching themselves. An Emir was dispatched to inquire into the truth of the matter: and he, without any form of trial, seized several Monks, and put them to the torture, and by these means succeeded in obtaining from them four hundred pieces of gold, and a bond for two hundred more. With this sum he returned to Cairo, whither he was followed by a deputation from the Monks, to represent to Kamel the injuries they had received: the Sultan directed the money to be restored to them; and they, as a sign of gratitude, bore it about the city in solemn procession with lighted tapers.

His integrity was also evinced in another way. The friends of David offered him two thousand pieces of gold, if he would consent to his consecration: the Sultan fairly refused, and would only permit that the election should take place in the usual way. The two thousand pieces were increased to three, five, and at last to ten thousand; all which offers met with the same refusal.

A visit which he paid to the Monastery of S. Macarius was the occasion of the Sultan's increased munificence to the Monks. They entertained him and his train to their best ability, and he, in return, bestowed on them large stores of provisions, the most acceptable present to such a community. The whole consisted of three hundred and thirty quarters of corn, two hundred of meal, sixty of beans, and as many of pease. He granted or confirmed several privileges: he exempted the Monks from tribute; he removed a Mahometan officer belonging to the treasury, who had hitherto had his abode in the monastery: and he granted to every Monk the power of leaving anything which he might possess to the religious house, free from all interference of the Government.

The Monks bitterly complained of their want of a Patriarch: eighty Priests, they said, had formerly been members of their community: these, by death, were reduced to four; and still there was none who could ordain others. This clearly shows that the Abbey of S. Macarius was Patriarchal, that is, exempt from Diocesan jurisdiction; and the occurrence is another proof of the miserable pertinacity with which the Egyptian Jacobites clung to the letter of the Canons, to the utter violation of their spirit. Baruch explained to them that the fault did not lie in himself: let the Christians, he said, make an unanimous choice; it should be his part to see it carried into execution, and no exaction, on any pretence, should be made from the new Patriarch.

The following years were passed in a series of vain efforts to obtain a Patriarch. It is astonishing that the pertinacity and obstinacy of the Jacobites did not weary out the patience of Kamel. But they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; permitted, which the Melchites were not, to restore their churches, or to build new ones; and freed from the various badges which the tyranny of former Emirs and Sultans had inflicted on Christians, and which the Melchites were still compelled to continue.

Indeed, the liberty which they enjoyed soon became license. So great a multitude of persons appeared in the monastic habit, that the officers of the treasury began to suspect collusion: and a careful inquiry being instituted, it soon appeared that many of these pretended Monks had assumed the dress that they might enjoy freedom from tribute. On this occasion, the true Monks suffered severely: upwards of a thousand pieces of gold were exacted from them; and in future it was ordered that the names of those who had really taken a religious vow should be entered in a book kept at Cairo for that purpose.

In the same year, the solicitations of David the son of Laklak, and his friends, were at length successful. The Sultan, wearied out with the continued contentions on the subject, and considering that any Patriarch was better than none, gave his consent to the consecration; and thus, after an intrigue of nearly twenty years, David gained the object of his ambition, and was consecrated Patriarch, assuming the popular name of Cyril.

He was received by the Sultan, when paying the usual visit at Court, with great affability: and the procession which accompanied the Patriarch to the church in which he first celebrated the Liturgy pontifically, was conducted with unusual pomp. Complaints were made to the Sultan, that crosses had been carried past the mosques:

and though Kamel neglected the complaint, Cyril found it prudent to remain for a few days in private.

About the same time, Nicholas departed this life, and was succeeded by Gregory.

In the meantime, the Crusade by no means kept progress with the anxious wishes of the late Patriarch, nor with the exertions of the Pope. The different Crusades in Prussia, in Spain, and against the Albigenses, distracted the strength and divided the counsels of the Western Princes. Frederick, although he had long taken the Cross, delayed, on various pretexts, to sail for the Holy Land; having married the daughter of John de Brienne, he assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, and thus sowed division both in the East and West.

Gregory IX the successor of Honorius, continued to press the Emperor to fulfill his vow; and at length, judging his excuses frivolous, excommunicated him. Frederick at length sailed: but did more harm by going than he had hitherto done by staying. Under sentence of excommunication, he was received but coldly by the defenders of the Holy Land, with the exception of his own immediate troops, and their commander, the Duke of Limbourg.

At the same time that Frederick landed, letters were received by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by the Grand Masters of the two military orders, commanding them to avoid him as an excommunicated and perjured man: and as the Emperor was only accompanied by twenty galleys, he found little obedience and less respect.

Kamel was already in the Holy Land: and a treaty was agreed upon between the two princes. By this, Jerusalem was to be delivered to the Emperor: but the concession was clogged with so many drawbacks as to be, in a great degree, valueless. The temple was left in possession of the Mussulmans; resident infidels were to be tried, in cases where neither plaintiff nor defendant was Christian, before a judge of their own creed; the Emperor bound himself to give no assistance to the other Latin princes of the East, for the term of the treaty, which was ten years, and even to defend the Sultan against their attacks; Nazareth, Sidon, and Bethlehem, were given to Frederick. This treaty, to which neither the Patriarch nor the two principal Military Orders would agree, having been ratified, the Emperor went to Jerusalem, and on the following day was crowned, or rather crowned himself, no Prelate being present, King of Jerusalem, in right of his son: the empress, daughter of John de Brienne, being dead.

The Patriarch bitterly complained of the whole transaction: the Templars endeavored to betray Frederick to Kamel, who, with his usual magnanimity, gave notice to the Emperor of their proposal: the churches in Jerusalem were not reconciled, nor the Divine Office celebrated in them. With the return of Frederick to Europe ended, for the present, the hopes of the Egyptian Catholics.



### SECTION XV.

#### CRIMES OF CYRIL

IT was not to be expected that one who had been so unscrupulous in the means by which he endeavored to secure his promotion to the Patriarchal Throne, should, when his ambition was satisfied, be a worthy occupant of that dignity.

The pomp, indeed, of Cyril's enthronization was greater than usual, and deeply offended the Mahometans. The Patriarch, in his earlier ordinations of Priests and Deacons, carefully abstained from simony; but no sooner did he commence Episcopal Consecrations, than he followed the example, in this respect, of the worst among his predecessors. The Sees, in consequence of the long want of Patriarch, were nearly all vacant: and the sum which Cyril thus raised was enormous, for, in a very short time, he ordained forty Bishops. As soon, however, as he had satisfied the fine which the government exacted on his accession, he became more moderate in his demands; but not till he had so far alienated the minds of many among his people, that a Monk, named Peter, renounced his Communion, and headed a schism among the Jacobites.

Things proceeding from bad to worse, and the rapacity of the Patriarch being no less notorious than scandalous, the principal Ecclesiastics and most influential laymen among the Jacobites met him in the church of S. Mary at Muhallaca, and laid before him their causes of complaint and dissatisfaction. Cyril excused himself on the ground of simony, by alleging the utter impossibility of his having, in any other manner, satisfied the demands of the Court. The Bishops rebuked the insatiable ambition which had led him to submit to these demands; and obliged him to swear that, for the future, he would abstain from the allowance or perpetration of simony.

The next proceeding of Cyril was one which, while it alienated the minds of his Suffragans, strongly resembled the policy of the Court of Rome. Indeed, it is possible that, from the then intercourse between Egypt and the West, the proceedings of the Bishop of Rome might not have been entirely unknown at Cairo. He declared all the Monasteries throughout his Diocese Patriarchal: that is, he declared them exempt from the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Bishops, and immediately dependent on the See of Alexandria. Not content with this, he proceeded to annex many of the country churches to the Patriarchal jurisdiction; and by this method he considerably increased his revenues.

Cyril subsequently proceeded to an act which was a still more flagrant violation of the Canons and of Ecclesiastical discipline. There had been, for more than six hundred years, a Jacobite Bishop at Jerusalem, subject to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Cyril announced his intention of raising that city to the dignity of a Metropolitan See, and of ordaining a Prelate to that office. He probably intended the

authority of the new Bishop to be above that of an ordinary Metropolitan, and to resemble that of the Archbishop of Axum, or the Maphrian.

The pretext was the spiritual need of many Egyptians scattered through Syria, who could not understand the language of the native Prelates. The Prelate who was raised to this office, and whose name is not known, gave himself out as another Patriarch, and in that capacity took up his residence at Jerusalem. The Egyptian Clergy were much offended at this infringement of the Canons: they represented to Cyril that Jerusalem lay entirely out of his Diocese, and that such an encroachment would not be borne by the Patriarch of Antioch. These objections were overruled; but Cyril, hearing that the Patriarchs of Antioch and of the Armenians were about to Jerusalem, thought proper to dispatch two Legates to them, with the view of obtaining their recognition of the schismatical Metropolitan. The presents which the envoys brought were willingly accepted; but Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch, refused to allow that the intruded Bishop possessed any kind of authority within his Diocese.

The dispute grew warm; the presents were returned, and the Metropolitan excommunicated. The latter appealed to the Latin Church, and on professing the same faith with them, was protected. Not content with those Canonical oppositions, Ignatius determined, says Abulfaraj, to requite wrong with wrong. He therefore resolved to ordain one Thomas, an Ethiopian by birth, Metropolitan of Axun. But before venturing on this step, he took the advice of "his brethren, the Frank Bishops of Palestine":—the expression is the Syrian historian's. They recommended patience till a communication could be made to Cyril, who would perhaps repair the wrongs that he had done: if he did not, they proffered their assistance to the Antiochenes. Ignatius, however, would not wait; but ordained the Metropolitan on the following day. The Franks were justly indignant; and were with difficulty pacified. This fellow-feeling between the Jacobite Chair of Antioch and the Latin Prelates of Palestine is, to say the least, very curious.

The Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch shortly after compromised the matter; the latter, by allowing the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan, the former, by consenting that it should extend no further than Gaza. This Bishopric subsists at the present day, under the title of that "of the East".

About this time, Cyril was accused to the Divan of having, under pretence of satisfying the demands of the Sultan, amassed the sum of nine thousand pieces of gold. This accusation was based on a more solid foundation than many which we have heretofore noticed of a similar tendency; and the Patriarch was compelled to pay fifteen hundred pieces before he was liberated.

The death of Kamel followed shortly afterwards (A.D. 1237): and the complaints of peculation were, under his son and successor, Adel, renewed against Cyril. The Patriarch was at this time at Alexandria: the inhabitants of which city were more favorably disposed towards him than those of any other part of Egypt. He was arrested, and sent to Cairo: the Bishops began to talk openly of his deposition, but it was finally agreed to offer him certain conditions, on his acceptance of which no further

measures should be taken against him. The principal terms were, that the practice of simony should be discontinued; that the rights of the Patriarch of Antioch should be respected, and the limits of the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan be strictly confined to Gaza; that those Ecclesiastics who had been ordained in spite of their Canonical incapacity, from being the offspring of a second or third marriage, should be deposed; that the Patriarch should content himself with the usual habit of the Copts, and not affect to imitate the innovations of the Melchites; and that one of the senior Bishops should be appointed secretary to the Patriarch. To these conditions Cyril thought fit to give no reply. The Jacobites loudly demanded a Synod for his trial; but the principal promoter of this measure, a Monk, by name Hamad, was, through the influence of Cyril's friends at Court, thrown into prison, and hardly escaped with his life. The Patriarch himself was set at liberty, and appeared firmly established in the favor of the Sultan Adel.

But as the complaints against his mal-administration grew louder, fourteen Bishops of Lower Egypt assembled at Cairo, and, after many conferences with Cyril, succeeded in obtaining his consent to a series of chapters, or decrees, which they considered necessary for the Reformation of the Alexandrian Church. The document in question commences with a profession of Faith, which thus treats of the Incarnation: "that CHRIST, God made Man, is One Nature, One Person, One Will; that He is at the same time God the Word, and Man born of the Virgin Mary; and that thus all the attributes and proprieties, as well of the Divine as of the Human Nature, may be verily predicated of Him". The Articles demanded are valuable as throwing light on the history of the times, and are as follows:

That none should henceforth be ordained Bishop, who was not qualified for that dignity by his learning, by the consent of the people, and by a regular Psephisma;

that the consecrations of Bishops and the ordinations of Priests should be performed gratis; and that Ecclesiastical judges should be forbidden, under any pretence whatever, to receive presents:—the whole under pain of excommunication.

That the Patriarch, assisted by a Council of the most experienced Bishops, should draw up a compendium of the Canons, particularly with respect to the Sacraments, and matrimonial and testamentary causes;

that copies of this document should be dispersed throughout Egypt, and that all future Ecclesiastical causes should be determined according to it.

That a general Synod should be held annually in the third week after Pentecost;

that the traditions of the Coptic Church should be preserved;

that Circumcision, except in case of necessity, should take place before Baptism;

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that none who had been a slave should be raised to the Priesthood, except in Ethiopia and Nubia, where this rule might be relaxed in favor of otherwise deserving candidates;

that the sons of *uncrowned* mothers should, both themselves and their posterity, be incapable of Ecclesiastical promotion;

that the Metropolitan of Damietta should retain that dignity;

that neither the Patriarch, nor any of the Prelates, should presume to hold an Ordination beyond the limits of their respective Dioceses;

that the Patriarch should not presume to excommunicate any of the faithful in another Diocese, till after due monition given to its Bishop himself to perform the excommunication; if the Prelate refused, the Patriarch might then act on his own authority:

that the same rite should hold with regard to absolution: that Patriarchal Churches should return to the obedience of their Diocesan Bishop;

that the stipend paid by the Monasteries to the Patriarch should not be exacted unjustly nor tyrannically;

that the Patriarch should not compel a Bishop to ordain any candidate against his own will, or that of the faithful in his Diocese;

that the Patriarch should not claim a right over the offerings made in the various churches of his Diocese, on Festivals, unless the Bishop of the Diocese had consented before his consecration to commute for these the ordinary pension paid to the See of Alexandria;

that the accusations of Monks against each other should not be rashly received; and that, in settling these differences, laics should not be employed as judges;

that no Bishop should be excommunicated for a trifling cause, nor without three admonitions from the Patriarch, two by letter, and one by word of mouth;

that an Hegumen, or head of a Monastery, should be considered as of the same rank as a Protopope, and should therefore pronounce the Prayer of Absolution, when a common Priest was celebrating, and receive the Communion immediately after the Celebrant.

Finally, that none of the Faithful should incur excommunication by attending, on a Festival, the Divine Office in a church out of his own Diocese.

The above are the principal heads of reform for the Alexandrian Church: how the compact was observed by the Patriarch, we shall have occasion hereafter to notice. The Compendium of Canons was also made; its principal author was Safi-el-Fedail,

better known by the name of Ebn-nassal, and one of the most distinguished theologians of his time. There was, indeed, another contemporary divine of the same name, and a brother of the former, known to us by an extensive and laborious work, under the title of *A Collection y the Principles of Faith*; in which he not only refutes the systems of Paganism and Judaism, but attacks the Nestorians and the Melchites. His method is, to give an account of each religion in the words of its supporters, and then to refute it, not only by Scripture but by philosophy. His work is chiefly valuable from the quotations and abstracts which it preserves of authors whose writings have perished. The Canons of Cyril-ben-Laklak contain nineteen sections in five chapters. The first, in one section, treats of Baptism; the second, in seven, of Marriage; the third, in one, of wills; the fourth, in eight, of inheritance; the fifth, in two, of the Priesthood.

At this time Egypt was thrown, by the rebellion of some discontented Emirs, into a state of civil war. The Christians suffered considerably from popular license: in the celebrated church of S. Mary at Muhallaca, the Divine Offices were for some time intermitted, because of the vicinity of a Mosque, whence the Muezzins incited time rabble against the Jacobites.

The Patriarch was again accused before the Government, occasion being taken as well from his simoniacal ordinations, as from his cruelty in the punishment of a madman, by whom he had been insulted. The former accusation, though notoriously true, could not be proved; and the enemies of Cyril then objected his consecration of a Metropolitan for Jerusalem, and his frequent and suspicious communication with the Franks. The only result of these proceedings was a fine of three hundred pieces of gold, to which the Patriarch was subjected, and increased hostility between him and his Suffragans.

It would appear, however, that, whatever were the crimes of Cyril, he has the credit of having restored Sacramental Confession, and put an end to the absurd rite of confessing over a burning censer. Nor does the Jacobite Communion seem to have again adopted the innovations of John and Mark.

The remainder of Cyril's life was passed in a continual struggle with his Prelates. Had there been any precedent for the deposition of a Patriarch of Alexandria by his Suffragans, such would probably have been the fate of this wicked man. He was perpetually accused to the Sultan; again heavily fined; and yet contrived to retain his dignity to the end of his days. The last years of his life were marked by several calamities; of which one of the greatest was the apostasy of the Bishop of Sendafa to Mahometanism. And thus much must be confessed to the honour of the Jacobites, that, sunk and depraved as they were, such a lapse of one of their Bishops is, if not unique, of the most extreme rarity.

At length that Communion was freed from the tyranny of Cyril; who, after passing some time in the Monastery of Elcbemah, enjoying the communion of no reputable Ecclesiastic, and held in contempt by all, went to his account. Nor were his funeral rites undisturbed. The Sultan having been informed that the deceased Patriarch had left behind him considerable treasures, threw two of his nephews into prison, and so

rigorously extorted from them the whole of their uncle's ill-acquired wealth, that there scarcely remained a sufficient sum to satisfy his funeral expenses.

With Cyril the son of Laklak the history of the Alexandrian Church, begun by Severus, and continued by various writers, comes to an end. Henceforward we know comparatively little of the Jacobite Communion, for although it is possible that MS. histories of the subsequent period may exist, they have not reached the West, and have escaped the researches which have been made, for that purpose, in the Monasteries of Egypt.

About the time that Cyril departed this life, the Catholic Chair of S. Mark became vacant by the decease of Gregory. He was succeeded by Nicholas, the second of that name. The Coptic Patriarchate remained vacant for about eight years.

### SECTION XVI.

#### SECOND CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA. *A.D. 1237.*

IT was in the year following the elevation of Nicholas, that S. Louis of France, on his recovery from a dangerous illness, assumed the Cross. Various circumstances conspired to defer the accomplishment of this vow: but the king wrote to the Eastern Christians, assuring them of his intentions to come to their assistance, and exhorting them, in the meantime, vigorously to defend themselves against the Infidels.

It will be proper, in this place, to say a few words as to the succession of the Egyptian Sultans.

To Kamel, as we have already remarked, succeeded his younger son Adel. This prince, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by his brother Saleh Negemeddin Tub. It was to him that Pope Innocent IV thought fit to address a letter, requesting him to break the truce which he had made with the emperor Frederick, then excommunicated and deposed by the Church: a letter to which the Sultan returned an indignant answer.

At length Louis, having resisted the advice of those who represented to him that a vow, taken under such circumstances as had been his, at the time of receiving the Cross, was not binding, sailed for Cyprus, where he passed the winter, and determined on commencing his enterprise by the siege of Damietta. His court and camp were such as befitted a Crusader: and the speech which he made to his nobles, when approaching the shores of Egypt, sets forth both his piety and courage in the strongest light.



“If we fall”, he said, “we die martyrs: if we conquer, God and Christendom will be glorified by our victory. He Who foresees all things would hardly have sent me hither in vain : let us fight for Him, and He will triumph by us”.

The sand banks preventing the approach of the larger vessels, the army embarked in boats, and advanced to the shore. In the first boat was the standard bearer with the Oriflamme; in the second, S. Louis himself, with Robert, or Guido, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Mahometans, who were drawn up to oppose the descent, after an ineffectual resistance retired : and in the course of the night abandoned Damietta. On the following day, which was the second Sunday after Pentecost, the Bishops, and Clergy, entered the city barefoot in solemn procession: and after reconciling the principal mosque, which had been, thirty years before, a church under the invocation of S. Mary, the Patriarch performed High Mass. The inundation of the Nile was about to commence, and Louis judged it prudent to remain in the newly conquered city till it should subside, and then to march upon Cairo. The name of the Catholic Metropolitan of Damietta is unknown: whoever he was, his claims were, of course, disregarded by the victors; and Louis, after richly endowing a Cathedral church, named one Giles, as Bishop.

The Count of Poitiers, brother of S. Louis, having joined him with reinforcements, the monarch marched from Damietta on the twentieth of November, a few days after the death of the Sultan Negemeddin : an event of which the Christians heard on their march. His son and successor Moadham Turanscha was at the time in Diarbeker : the widow of Negemeddin administered the affairs of the kingdom, during his absence, with great prudence, concealing as far as possible the death of her husband, lest the knowledge of his loss should occasion a civil war, or at least excite popular commotions.

In the meantime the Christian army advanced upon Massourah, where the Mahometan forces were encamped. A canal separated the two hosts : and to cross this was the principal object of S. Louis. It was now towards Christmas; and the time from thence to the beginning of February was consumed by him in fruitless endeavors to carry over a bridge into the enemy's camp. At length a Bedouin Arab having pointed out a ford, the French troops fell unexpectedly on the Egyptians, routed them, and slew their Emir. Elated with this success, the Count of Artois, brother to the king, proposed the instant assault of Massourab. The Master of the Templars, further advanced in years, and better experienced in the stratagems of Oriental warfare, opposed this advice: but stung by the charge of treachery, of which the angry Count accused him, unwillingly consented to the proposition. The place was taken without resistance: but the enemy, on observing the small number of the Christian victors, fell upon them, overwhelmed them by superior numbers, and cut off the greater part: the Count of Artois himself perished.

A few days afterwards, the new Sultan arrived at Massourah. His presence raised the courage of the Infidels, while the Christians were, from the failure of provisions, daily reduced to greater straits. At length the resolution was taken to retreat on Damietta; the French knights, and the king himself, were much enfeebled by illness: and a sudden and violent attack of the Saracens completed the rout of the

Crusaders. S. Louis was compelled by increasing feebleness to halt at a place called Carmesac, where, with his two brothers, the Counts of Poitiers and Anjou, he fell into the hands of the Infidels. The legate, embarking on the Nile, carried the news of the defeat to Damietta.

The King, with his attendants, was imprisoned at Massourah, where, with two Dominican Friars, he recited daily the Divine Office. His constancy and courage rendered him the admiration of his captors, and doubtless procured him more favourable treatment at their hands. The Sultan, in a few days, proposed a truce; the principal conditions of which were, the surrender of Damietta, of all the places still possessed in Palestine by the Christians, and the defrayment of all expenses occasioned by the Egyptian expedition. To the first and third of these Louis, knowing that Damietta was indefensible, consented : the second he absolutely refused, although threatened with the torture, unless he would yield. Turanscha at length demanded a ransom of five hundred thousand French pounds : Louis agreed to pay this sum for his followers, and to give Damietta for his own liberation.

The Sultan was so much struck by the liberality of his prisoner, in not endeavoring to reduce the enormous sum demanded, that of his own accord he struck off one hundred thousand pounds from the ransom : and the treaty was finally concluded on the following terms;—All prisoners, taken since the treaty concluded between Frederick and Kamel, were to be mutually restored: eight hundred thousand besants were to be paid for the ransom of the King, and to defray the expenses of the war; and the personal property of the Christians in Damietta, and the sick, were to be properly guarded.

The Sultan, on the conclusion of the treaty, marched towards Damietta; but was slain, on the road, by a conspiracy of the principal Emirs : and in him finished the race of the Yubids, or descendants of Job, of whom Saladin was the first. Disputes arose between the King and the Emirs as to the oath which was to be taken by the former: these having been, with some difficulty composed, Damietta was surrendered, and S. Louis liberated, on Ascension-day: and thus ended the last feasible attempt to deliver Egypt from Mahometan tyranny.

### SECTION XVII.

#### ACCESSION OF THE MAMELUKES.

TURANSCHA having been slain by his Emirs, Chajareldor administered for some time the affairs of state; until her principal officers, thinking it unworthy of their

dignity to submit to female government, compelled her to give her hand to Azeddin Ibeg, the chief of the Mameluke Turks.

A thousand of these had been purchased by Negemeddin as a kind of life-guard; and the consequence of the step was, as usual, the subversion of a dynasty. The Emirs, however, discontented with their new Sultan, bestowed that dignity on Melec-al-Asehraf, a descendant of Kamel, and compelled Ibeg to remain contented with the post of tutor to the new monarch.

Chajareldor, however, continued to exercise the real authority; and finding that Ibeg was plotting her death, anticipated him, by causing him to be smothered in the bath. A new revolution placed Almansor, the son of Beg, on the throne, who, with his mother, excited the Mameluks to rise against Chajareldor, and deprive her of both authority and life. Her last act was to cause her jewels to be pounded in a mortar, that they might not fall into the hands of her enemies. Almansor, in less than a year, was deposed, and succeeded by Kotuz, the third of the Mameluke dynasty.

The Jacobites had been much weakened by the crimes and violence of Cyril: and the feuds which his conduct had occasioned, rendered it difficult to make choice of a successor. At length their election fell on Athanasius the son of Kalil, who, as far as in him lay, repaired the mischiefs occasioned by his predecessor.

### SECTION XVIII.

#### ARSENIAN SCHISM.

Towards the conclusion of the Pontificate of Nicholas, the Church of Alexandria was separated from the Communion of that of Constantinople: and the origin and progress of this schism must be briefly related.

Constantinople, it will be remembered, was at this time in the power of the Latins; and the Court of the Greek Emperor was held at Nicaea. Theodore Lascaris left, at his death, (1258), a young son, named John, then only in his eighth year. The dying Emperor named George Muzalon Regent: but this nobleman fell a victim to the jealousy of the other courtiers, within a few days of the death of his master.

The Patriarch Arsenius and Michael Paleologus were then appointed joint tutors to the young Prince; the latter prevailed on the former, however, to bestow on him, during the minority of John Lascaris, the sole authority, together with the title of Despot.

The soldiers shortly afterwards elevated Michael to the dignity of Emperor: and Arsenius consented to crown him, having taken the precaution to exact from him the most tremendous oaths that he would resign the Empire when the legal claimant should attain his majority. Paleologus for some time treated John Lascaris with every exterior mark of respect: but by degrees his attentions diminished and he shewed clearly that it was not his intention to resign the crown.

Arsenius, a conscientious man distressed that he should have been instrumental in elevating an usurper to the purple, abdicated his new office, under the pretence of incapacity for its duties. The Emperor and the Clergy, on learning the retirement of the Patriarch, earnestly requested him to reascend the Ecumenical Throne : but Arsenius would neither comply with their demand, nor give a written document of abdication. Michael was then persuaded to require his resignation of the pastoral staff: and Arsenius informed the messengers that they could take it if they pleased.

Wearied out with the obstinacy of the Patriarch, Michael informed the principal Bishops at Court that they must act as they thought fit: and after long deliberation, they raised Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Ephesus, to the Patriarchate. He held that dignity for a year only: and it was during the vacancy which followed his death, that Constantinople was retaken by the Greeks.

The earliest care of Michael, on reentering the city, was to fill the Patriarchal Throne: and after some hesitation, he determined on recalling Arsenius. That Prelate accepted the offer with joy, and crowned Michael a second time, the recovery of Constantinople being considered equivalent to the acquisition of a new empire. In this ceremony no mention was made of the claims of John Lascaris, who was shortly afterwards blinded and imprisoned by the Emperor, from whom, however, he received in abundance the necessaries of life.

Arsenius, on becoming acquainted with this cruel deed, boldly excommunicated Michael; and the Emperor found it his policy to submit, to assume the outward marks of penitence, and to promise satisfaction. But Arsenius was not so to be deceived: he resolutely refused to absolve the usurper, and was to be prevailed on neither by promises nor by threats. A negotiation was entered on by Paleologus with the Pope: but this proving ineffectual, he determined on deposing the obnoxious Patriarch. A council was summoned: the Emperor complained of the obstinacy of Arsenius, which, he said, drove him to despair: the Bishops were obsequious: various false accusations were brought forward which the Patriarch refuted, but the decision of the Council declared him deposed, and his place was filled by Germanus of Adrianople.

But Nicholas of Alexandria, far from approving these proceedings, was, from the first, the warm supporter of Arsenius: and to the end of his life held his persecutors excommunicated. How long he survived the deposition of Arsenius we know not: but his death may probably be fixed before the year 1270. He was succeeded by Athanasius, the third of that name.

This Prelate appears to have been consecrated at Constantinople: and had originally been Monk of Mount Sinai. Of the earlier years of his Pontificate nothing is known: but in the important ecclesiastical movements which occurred subsequently, he, as we shall see, distinguished himself.

### SECTION XIX.

#### SCHISM AMONG THE JACOBITES.

WE have hitherto had occasion to observe, that the elections among the Jacobites, however frequently decided from secular motives, and marking out unworthy candidates, were, in appearance at least, free and canonical. The schism which broke out after the death of Athanasius III, is the first exception to this rule.

It happened that of two candidates, Gabriel and John, neither had sufficient influence to secure his election, while both numbered many influential partizans. Recourse was had to the Heikeliet, and the lot marked out Gabriel to the Patriarchate. As the first step to this dignity, he was ordained Hegumen: when John, with a party of his followers, interfered, procured the setting aside of the former election, obtained a forced consent in his own favor, and was consecrated within a month of the death of Athanasius.

He was known by the name of Abusahid, and is reckoned by Jacobite historians as the seventy eighth Patriarch, to mark the priority of Gabriel's claims. The office so unjustly acquired was enjoyed by John for nearly seven years, when he was deposed, and Gabriel, his competitor, duly consecrated.

John did not rest contented with this sentence, and by application to the Sultan procured its reversal. The unfortunate Gabriel, after a Patriarchate of two years, was deposed, and died in the same year : and John, reassuming the government the Jacobite Church, retained it till his death, AD 1271.

### SECTION XX.

#### ATHANASIUS AND THE REUNION.

To trace the succession of the various Mameluke Turks, would be equally tedious and unprofitable. These princes, raised to the throne by their fellow slaves, were deposed and murdered by them at their will: and their short and inglorious reigns offer no interest to the historian. The conquests, indeed, of Bondocdar, diminished the little hope which the Christians still possessed of recovering the Holy Land; and were the means of hurrying on the Second Crusade of S. Louis, in which that king fell a victim to his zeal.

Bondocdar, meanwhile, pursued his conquests. Joppa, the castles of Beaufort, and that of Carac, fell into his hands: and finally, Antioch submitted to him without a struggle. This great city never recovered the blow which it then received: and from thenceforth dwindled away till reduced to its present condition of a mere village. The Crusade of Edward of England produced no lasting result: and thenceforward the affairs of the East became desperate.

The newly recovered empire of Constantinople was by no means secure. Constantly menaced from the East, it was now in considerable danger from the Western Pretenders: and Michael Paleologus, fearful lest the Pope, Gregory X, should cause a general Crusade to be preached against him, anxiously entertained the project of a reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches.

The Emperor, having convened a Council, remarked that such a step would be easy: the question of leavened or unleavened bread might be left as it was, the Greeks continuing to employ the former, the Latins the latter: that, provided the Western Church would consent to expunge the *Filioque* from the Creed, it might well be retained in any other place: and that to name the Pope in the diptychs was no degradation to the Eastern Patriarchs. Joseph, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was an inflexible enemy to the proposal of Michael, and found a powerful seconder in the Cartophylax Beccus. The latter, as being an ecclesiastic of much influence and learning, particularly irritated the Emperor: who, in revenge, committed him, on a false accusation, to prison.

Having thus freed himself of his principal opponent, Paleologus gave orders that the Archdeacon Meletiniotes, and George of Cyprus, the two most learned defenders of the proposed union, should compose a work in its favor, proving that the Doctrine of the Latins was pure and apostolical. With this he was so well pleased, as to think it unanswerable; and believing that since he had secured Beccus, no theologian of any ability remained on the Greek side, he presented the treatise to the Patriarch, demanding a reply.

Joseph, on his side, assembled a Council: the work was perused with attention, and the task of replying to it was entrusted to a Monk, by name Job, and to the Byzantine historian, George Pachimeres. Their answer, revised by the Synod, was sent to the Emperor: who, finding his intentions frustrated, resolved to gain Beccus. Partly by kindness, partly by arguments, he succeeded in this design: and Beccus became thenceforward the most able and consistent advocate of the reunion. In the meanwhile, Job had prevailed on the Patriarch, to declare by writing, confirming his declaration by oath, that he had no desire for the proposed union: and the greater number of his



Suffragans followed his example. Paleologus, however, encouraged by the conversion of Beccus to his side, dispatched to Rome two agents of the Pope, both Franciscans, who happened to be in Constantinople, and charged them with a letter, in which he expressed his joy at the promise which affairs were giving of a perfect union between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Gregory X, replying from Lyons, showed considerable suspicion of the artifices of the Greeks. But Paleologus was determined that the Council summoned at Lyons, should be a witness of the union. He therefore deputed as his ambassadors, Germanus, late Patriarch of Constantinople, and Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nicaea, with several of the Court dignitaries. Unwilling entirely to break with Joseph, and yet seeing, that if the union were ratified, that Patriarch must, in consequence of his rash oath, resign the Throne, the Emperor offered the following conditions, which were accepted by him. Joseph was to retire to the Monastery of Peribleptus, and there to wait the event, retaining, in the meantime, all his marks of dignity, and mentioned in the diptychs. If the ambassadors were successful, he was voluntarily to resign his Throne: if unsuccessful, to return to it with honor. In this unsatisfactory condition was the Church of Constantinople at the commencement of 1274. The Emperor continued his efforts, during the spring, with the Bishops, but to little purpose.

The ambassadors were now on their way : the Prelates in one galley, the greater part of the officers in another. On the evening of Maundy Thursday, as the vessels were doubling Cape Malaea, a storm arose: the galley which bore the noblemen was driven on the shore, and dashed in pieces, one only escaping of the whole crew: the sailors of the Patriarch's vessel, guided by Providence, ran out to sea, weathered the storm, and having learned at Modon the loss of their companions, continued their voyage in safety. The ambassadors arrived at Lyons on the Feast of S. John Baptist, and were received with the greatest honor, all the Western Prelates going forth to meet them, and conducting them to the mansion where the Pope was lodged.

Five days after, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a scene was exhibited in the church of S. John, which, for splendor, has probably never been equaled. The five hundred Western Bishops, and the thousand dignitaries that composed the Council having assembled, the Pope celebrated High Mass: the Epistle and Gospel were chanted, first in Latin, then in Greek, the officiating Deacons being vested, each according to the custom of his Church : S. Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor, preached: the Cardinals intoned, the Canons of S. John chanted the Latin Creed: Germanus, with the Greek Prelates of Calabria, assisted by two of the Pope's ecclesiastics, who understood that language, chanted it in Greek, repeating the clause containing the Filioque three times. And before Mass was continued, the same Prelates sang some Greek stanzas in honor of the See of S. Peter.

On the Octave of the Festival, the Council held its Fourth Session. Sermon concluded, the Pope briefly explained the affair of the Greeks : and the letters of the Emperor and of the Prelates were read. That of the former contained his profession of faith: it was word for word that which had been prescribed by Clement IV to Michael, seven years previously. It embraced the Mystery of the Holy TRINITY, and of the

Incarnation: the doctrine of purgatory, the Primacy of Rome, with right of appeal thither, the assertion of Transubstantiation, and the liberty of entering into second, third, or fourth marriages.

Michael, however, requested that the Greek Church, though not contravening the doctrine, might be allowed to retain the ancient Creed, and to omit the Filioque. The letter of the Bishops was less complaisant: they do not address Gregory X as Ecumenical Pope, but simply as the Great Pontiff of the Apostolic See. The names of the Metropolitans and Archbishops, who, to the number of thirty-live, (being all the Suffragans of that rank that Constantinople had,) signed this document, are not given : the Sees only are mentioned. After these, the principal dignataries of the Church of Constantinople attached their names. George Aeropolites, the historian, took, in the Emperor's name, the oath of abjuration of schism, and recognizance of the primacy of Rome. The Pope, shedding tears of joy, intoned the *Te Deum*; the Creed was then chanted in Latin and Greek; and thus the short-lived union of Constantinople with Rome was rendered complete.

We say, of *Constantinople*, for in no sense can the whole Eastern Church be said to have been included in the Union, nor to have accepted its conditions. Athanasians of Alexandria was not, it would appear, consulted; at all events, as will appear presently, he gave no consent to the proceedings. It is doubtful what were the sentiments of Euthymius, Patriarch of Antioch; but nothing appears to have been done by his Church synodically, and indeed he, like his predecessors, was an absentee at Constantinople. Gregory II, who then filled the Throne of Jerusalem, was so much opposed to the Union as to write against Beccus, for his support of that measure, and this work is, though in MS., still extant.

On the return of the ambassadors, all unexpected difficulty arose. Joseph refused to resign: but the Prelates then at Constantinople, with the Pope's nuncios, considered his promise of vacating the See, in case the union should be established, equivalent to a resignation : and the Throne of Constantinople was accordingly declared vacant: and after some hesitation, the Emperor elevated Beccus to that dignity. The new Patriarch, sometime after his consecration, sent his profession of faith to Rome; it arrived there during the vacancy of the See occasioned by the death of John XXI. It differs from that demanded by Pope Clement IV: and the Procession of the Holy Ghost is so enveloped in a multitude of words, as to yield a great opening for future quibbles. Athanasius of Alexandria was at this time in Constantinople, whither he had come to implore the protection of Michael against the persecutors of his Church. Careful, of course, to avoid offending the Emperor, he refused all connection with the Union; merely saying that he was a stranger and a foreigner, and not summoned to give his advice on the topic in question. The state of Constantinople meanwhile was wretched. The old schism of the Arsenius remained; a new division arose between the followers of Joseph and Beccus; Paleologus persecuted the former: the people abhorred the latter: the despots of Etolia and Thessaly took up arms for the Eastern Faith. Charles, King of Sicily, implored the Pope's license to attack Constantinople, and Bondocdar of Egypt was pursuing his victorious course. Nicholas III insisted on the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Eastern Creed: open rebellion broke out: his own relations intrigued

against the wretched Michael; his niece, Mary, Queen of Bulgaria, negotiated his ruin with Bondocdar. Of all this distress, Athanasius continued an unwilling witness.

Beccus, weary of the strife in which he was engaged, retired from the Throne, but, after an ineffectual attempt to restore Joseph, was recalled. The character of this Patriarch is the only one, which, in the lamentable history of these events, it is possible to contemplate with satisfaction, and it may charitably be supposed that he bore no part in the fraud by which, in the letter addressed by him after his recall to the Pope, a number of subscriptions were appended of Bishops who had no being, and of Sees which had never existed.

All the labor of Michael was in vain. Abhorred by his own subjects for his violence, he was suspected by the Roman Church, and the excommunication madly pronounced against him by the "warlike Martin IV" at Orvietto, on the 18th of November, 1281, virtually destroyed the Union, so laboriously effected, for so short a time preserved.

In the following year (1282), Athanasius accompanied the Emperor on his expedition against the Persians, and returned to Constantinople.

### SECTION XXI.

#### ATHANASIUS AND ANDRONICUS.

IT is not often that we find a Patriarch of Alexandria so much mixed up with the affairs of the Constantinopolitan court as was Athanasius. He was in the Imperial City when Michael Paleologus, then on an expedition, breathed his last.

His son Andronicus, notwithstanding the professions he had twice made, in his letters to the court of Rome, immediately renounced the Union, and declared himself ready to undergo any canonical penance for the sin of having appeared to consent to it. His first desire was the deposition of Beccus: but that Patriarch, giving way to the honest impulse of his straightforward character, voluntarily resigned his dignity, and was succeeded by the ex-Patriarch Joseph, worn out with age and infirmity, and apparently at the point of death. The churches were reconciled: the Priests who had consented to the union submitted to penance: and the return of Joseph was accompanied by every external sign of gladness.

The Bishops, who, in the incapacity of Joseph, regulated affairs, deemed it necessary to convene a Council. Two thrones were placed in the upper part of the place of assembly: one for Joseph, who was unable from his illness to attend, the other for Beccus. Athanasius, who presided was cited before the Synod, for having not only

taught what was heretical, but, contrary to a promise which he had given, written at all on the points in dispute, and thereby given occasion to great scandal. Defence was useless; and the accused Prelate was compelled to give in his resignation, a proceeding of which Joseph had the honesty to disapprove.

The Arsenian schism broke out with renewed vigour and the death of Joseph inspired its supporters with fresh courage. George of Cyprus was chosen by Andronicus as his successor, in the hope of moderating between the Arsenians and Josephites, and this Prelate took the name of Gregory : and a Council was summoned, by the Emperor's order, at Blacherme. The Prelates, who had been foremost in consenting to the union, were brought in the most insulting manner before the Synod, and deposed : others were condemned for contumacy in not appearing before it.

Athanasius, had not, as we have seen, been forward in approving the Union : but he now refused his sanction to these violent acts. Gregory, had he been left to himself, would probably have acted in a similar manner: but he was influenced by others, although in private he was used to say that the Council of Blachernae was an assembly of the wicked. Athanasius was urgently pressed to consent to the Synod, and, as having communicated with those who had promoted the Union, expressly to renounce it. The Prelates who directed the Council threatened to omit his name from the diptychs, unless he agreed to these conditions: and Athanasius nobly maintained his ground, and underwent the penalty.

The schisms continuing, a second Council was held in Blachernae. Gregory presided: Beccus was brought forward, having been recalled from exile in Prusa in Bithynia; and Athanasius assisted at the conference, though the gout confined him to his bed. Muzalon, the logothete, was the chief supporter of the Eastern doctrine on the subject of the Procession: Athanasius acted as a kind of moderator, assuring Beccus that he agreed with his meaning, but considered his expressions dangerous and unsound. This conference, though well meant and not ill-conducted, was without effect.

Beccus was sent back to a more severe confinement in Bithynia: and the Arsenians, Josephites, and favorers of the union, continued their unhappy schisms. Gregory resolved to publish a work on the Procession, which should at once and for ever put an end to all disputes: it was known by the name of the Tome, and was subscribed by the Emperor and many of the Bishops, but the Clergy generally refused. Beccus replied: several of those who were opposed to the Latin Creed sided with the latter against Gregory: and Athanasius, though threatened with exile, steadily refused to add his name to the subscriptions. He, however, composed in his own vindication a Confession of Faith, which was generally approved. Gregory became odious to the people Athanasius advised him to resign his dignity: and in this advice, after a tedious negotiation, the Patriarch acquiesced.

We next find Athanasius earnestly, but vainly, employed in an attempt to reunite the Arsenians. But the honesty and moderation of this Patriarch could not exempt him, in these troublesome times, from persecution. The successor of Gregory was Athanasius, a man of almost primitive asceticism, but with little judgment;

offended with the luxury that reigned among the Ecclesiastics of Constantinople, but ignorant how to remedy it.

It happened that Michael Paleologus had bestowed two monasteries, within the Diocese of Constantinople, on Athanasius of Alexandria. The new Patriarch of Constantinople was much offended at this violation of his rights and our Prelate, after receiving several insults from his namesake, judged it better to retire to Rhodes. Here he remained, in a kind of exile, till the severity of Athanasius of Constantinople obliged him to abdicate the Ecumenical Throne.

### SECTION XXII.

#### THE JACOBITE SUCCESSION.

WE have already said that we do not think it necessary to trace the obscure annals of the Mameluke Sultans. The capture of Acre, by Melec-al-Aschraf, put an end to the hopes which the Egyptian Christians might hitherto have entertained of succors from the West; and convinced them that the will of God was, for the present, their continued servitude. The absence of Athanasius must have been extremely prejudicial to his Church; and indeed, both the Catholic and Jacobite Communion were at a miserably low ebb. The successor of John was Theodosius, the son of Zuabel: who is called a Frank. By this term we are either to understand a native of Syria, or a descendant of some of those Franks who settled in Damietta on its first or second captures. He governed the See about six years; and was succeeded by John of Moniet Koufis.

In his time, the Christians suffered a severe persecution, which, as was too often the case, was occasioned by their own fault. We have already seen that many, both Catholics and Jacobites, were employed in various offices in the Divan, such as in farming taxes, as scribes, as secretaries. Many of these, besides their lawful gains, had the opportunity of largely peculating: and there were those who did not fail to avail themselves of this unrighteous method of increasing their fortunes.

It happened that a man of property, on his way to Mecca from the interior of Africa, being at Cairo, was desirous of paying his respects to the Sultan. In the street which led to the palace, he met a Christian, mounted on a superb charger, gorgeously arrayed, and followed by a numerous retinue of Mussulman attendants. A crowd of petitioners formed his escort; some requested his patronage; some, with tears, besought his mercy; others went so far as to kiss his feet. The object of this servility received it with great haughtiness, and vouchsafed no other answer than a command to his attendants to disperse the mob.

The Emir, full of indignation, entered the palace; and bitterly complained of the degraded state of the Mussulman religion. "What wonder", he exclaimed, "if our arms are unsuccessful against the Tartars, when we thus violate our laws with respect to the Christians?" His tears and clamors had their effect: the law which Omar, on the first capture of Egypt, had enacted, was revived, and Christians thus compelled to distinguish themselves by a blue, as the Jews and Samaritans were respectively by a yellow, and red, turban; the use of horses and mules forbidden, and a profession of Mahometanism required before an office in the Divan could be undertaken. Violation of these laws was followed by outlawry.

The Patriarch John and the Echmalotarch of the Jews were called before the Emirs, and each, on behalf of his people, promised obedience. Many apostasies ensued: the lucrative employments of the Divan were the allurements to perdition.

The new edict was the signal for a general persecution on the part of the Mahometans. Many churches were destroyed, and all closed, the exception of those in the Desert of S. Macarius, and at Alexandria. By order of the Emirs, when complaints were brought before them, such churches as had existed before the Conquest of Egypt were permitted to remain: those erected since that period were ordered to be destroyed: an order which, as regards the latter clause, was probably only partially obeyed. The churches, however, remained closed for more than a year and a half; and the condition of the Christians was deplorable.

At length, Andronicus dispatched an embassy to the Sultan, or rather to the Emir, Eldschaschenkir, on whom the weight of government then rested, and who was afterwards himself Sultan, requesting some favour to his Christian subjects. Another deputation to a similar effect was received from Barchenoni, as Albulberkat calls it, that is, from Barcelona; in other words, from James the Just, King of Arragon, who accompanied his request for the re-opening of the churches with presents, not to the Sultan only, but, (which was perhaps of more importance) to the principal Emirs. These interferences produced, in great measure, the desired effect.

### SECTION XXIII.

#### THE ADVENTURES OF ATHANASIUS.

ATHANASIUS was now again residing in Constantinople. What motive could have induced him thus to desert, at a most critical time, his flock, does not appear. It was certainly no want of courage, as his firmness in refusing to yield to the Council of Blachernae abundantly proves. On the cession of Athanasius of Constantinople, he had returned to that city, where he was received by Andronicus with great honor: and



shortly afterwards entrusted by that prince with an embassy to the King of Armenia, whose daughter he was desirous of procuring for his son. He had, however, the misfortune to be pursued by pirates : his helmsman ran the vessel aground : and the Patriarch was glad to return in the most private manner to Constantinople.

The troubles of that unhappy Church still continued. To Athanasius, John, whose original name had been Cosmas, succeeded. His compelled resignation occasioned another schism: but the secular arm prevailed, and Athanasius was restored. The Patriarch of Alexandria disapproved of this proceeding. "Once on a time", said he to the Emperor, "a tanner had a white cat, which was in the habit of taking one mouse daily. But, having fallen into the vat of liquor which her master kept for the purpose of blackening his hides, and having thus changed her color, the mice imagined that she had taken the monastic habit, and would no longer eat meat, and that they might therefore innocently approach her. The consequence of which was, that she made a hearty meal on two of them; and the others agreed that it was wonderful to find an evil disposition made worse by a religious habit".

This fable, however, directed against Athanasius, who during his cession had retired to a monastery, produced no effect on Andronicus. He at length succeeded in causing a partial reunion of his Suffragans to Athanasius of Constantinople; but the successor of S. Mark stood firm in his refusal to recognize the title of the former to the Ecumenical Throne.

In the diptychs he named neither Athanasius nor the Emperor: and such was the weight of our Patriarch's authority, that the Bishops at Constantinople were sorely perplexed how to act. They were afraid, in their feeble and disunited state, to omit his name from the diptychs: and they therefore devised another course. The Patriarch was forbidden to celebrate, in which case the assistant deacons must either have read the name of Athanasius of Alexandria, or pointedly omitted it; and even on the great feasts, as those of Orthodoxy, Easter, and S. George, a Priest only performed the office.

This state of things continued for some time : at length Andronicus, finding that there was no hope of winning he is ordered Athanasius of Alexandria to his views, ordered him to leave Constantinople, and to return to his own Church. The Patriarch, unwilling, from whatever reason, to revisit Egypt, resolved on passing to Crete; and there secluding himself in a monastery, dependent on that of Mount Sinai, where he had passed the earlier years of his life. He therefore embarked on board a Venetian galley; and taking Euboea in his way landed in that island. Here he lived for some time in a public hostelry at his own expense; till his conduct and circumstances rendered him an object of suspicion to some Franciscan Friars, who took upon themselves to interrogate him as to his creed, more especially as to the Church of Rome, and the use of unleavened bread in the Liturgy.

Waleher, or Walter, was at this time Latin Bishop of Negropont : whether he took any part in this examination, or was ever in the island, does not appear. The answers of Athanasius not proving satisfactory, it was proposed to burn him; but milder counsels prevailed, rather through fear of a retaliation on the Latins in Egypt, than from

any other motive; and his persecutors contented themselves with desiring him to leave Euboea within ten days. However much dissatisfied with the result, Athanasius was so well pleased with his share in the argument as, at a subsequent period, to publish it. Leaving Euboea, he crossed to the continent, but was arrested at Thebes by the lord of the place, who threw him into prison. Fortunately for the Patriarch, he had acquired, like many of the Egyptian Ecclesiastics, some knowledge of medicine; and having been consulted on illness of his captor, and given relief, he was set at liberty. It seems probable that he then returned to Alexandria.

We have now to notice another schismatical invasion of the rights of Alexandria by Rome. The See was peaceably possessed by a Catholic Prelate,—one, too, who had suffered for refusing to condemn those who had subscribed the union, when Clement V thought fit to nominate a Latin Patriarch to the See (1310). The ecclesiastic whom he thus dignified was a Dominican, by name Giles, a native of Ferrara, and previously Metropolitan, or, as the title went, Patriarch, of Grado. From this time, a succession of Latin Patriarchs for Alexandria appears to have been kept up.

### SECTION XXIV.

#### SUCCESSIONS.

WE are now entering on a very obscure part of Alexandrian history : when, deserted by the faithful though tedious Pachymeres, whose history ends in 1307, as we have for some time been by the continuators of Severus, we are left for a short time to the guidance of the Mahometan Makrizi, and then to such detached information as the contemporary historians of other events may happen to supply.

The year of the death of Athanasius is uncertain; and it may even have been in his successor's time that Giles received his schismatical dignity from Clement V. Gregory, the second of that name, was the next occupier of the Chair of S. Mark. One might have thought that the declining state of Christianity in his Diocese, the general corruption of manners, and the avarice of too many Christians, would have precluded him from giving any attention to more frivolous pursuits. But he possibly resided at Constantinople, and employed himself in the intrigues and schisms of the Court.

However this may be, one Theodore, who is called Bishop of Mesopotamia, and who, it appears, neglected the Feasts of the Ecclesiastical year, and did not observe the Wednesday and Friday Fasts, when a Festival fell upon them, received an admonitory poem in Greek Iambics from Gregory of Alexandria, which is still extant in the Vatican.

And this is the only action of that Patriarch which is known to us.

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The successor of John of Moniet Koufis was another John, during whose Patriarchate a severe affliction befell the Christians.

In one day the whole of the churches in the territory of Cairo were destroyed by the Mahometans : the cause which led to this calamity is unknown.

Gregory also was succeeded by a Patriarch of the same name. A miraele, which is said to have occurred in his household, ascertains, within a few years, his date. In the meantime, Benjamin of Democrad had succeeded John, and himself been succeeded by Peter. Of these Patriarchs we know nothing more than the names.

The successor of Peter was Mark of Kelioub. In his time the Christians were exposed to another severe persecution. The stringent laws which had been made against them in the time of John of Moniet Kouhis had, it appears, somewhat fallen into disuse; and the Jacobites not only availed themselves of the liberty which they enjoyed, but carried it to a pitch of licentiousness. Their manners were beyond measure dissolute; they at first scandalized, and then corrupted the Infidels by their evil example, particularly in the use of wine; they insulted those with whom they were offended: many possessed Mahometan slaves as their concubines; and, as if to show open contempt of the laws, the vestiary statutes were openly despised and violated.

In this miserable state of things, they were nevertheless attentive to external rites and pomp; and the churches in Cairo possessed considerable lauded property round that city. Complaints of the wealth thus acquired by the Ecclesiastics reached the ears of the Emirs: a survey was ordered; and the churchlands were found to amount to fifty thousand acres. Shortly afterwards, a Christian, employed in the Divan (for the law restricting those offices to Mussulmans had shared the fate of the others,) attracted so much notice from the magnificence of his equipment, in passing the Mosque at Cairo which was known by the name of Elzahar, that public indignation could not be controlled.

The Emirs met; and it was unanimously resolved that the ancient laws should be put in practice, with the addition, it would appear, of some more severe regulations. It was ordered that it should, for the future, be illegal for any Christian to build, or repair, a church, monastery, or cell; to teach his children the Koran, or (which was far more mischievous,) to prevent it, if it were desired by his Mahometan neighbors; to refuse shelter, for three nights, to any Mussulman, in a church or monastery; to give the usual mahometan names or surnames; to use Arabic characters in deeds; to possess a Mahometan slave; to bury the dead with a public procession; to ride on horseback, or use saddles; and to wear the same garments or turbans as the Mussulmans.

Adultery with a Mahometan woman was made capital. The Divine Offices were to be chanted in a low voice; the use of bells, or rather of Hagiosidera, or wooden clappers, prohibited; a Christian meeting a Mussulman was to yield the path to him; the exercise of the medical profession was forbidden. There were two laws, however, which must have been useful in checking the frequent apostasies occasioned by the desire of obtaining a lucrative employment in the Divan. The one forbade any apostate to return

to the bosom of his family, until he should have converted all to the faith of Mahomet; the other declared that no one who had been a Christian, even should he apostatize, should be capable of exercising any office in the Divan.

However severe these laws might be, the fury of the populace far outran them. A general attack was made on all the Christians in Cairo: for a month their lives and property were in danger; the magistrates could hardly curb the mob; and water was procured only with great difficulty, the supply from the Nile being stopped.

Christianity suffered as severe a blow at this time as even at the conquest of Egypt. Apostasies were innumerable: in one day, in the Patriarch's native city, Kelioub, four hundred and fifty professed Mahometanism; in other parts of Egypt and of the Thebais, there were multitudes who denied the Faith; churches everywhere fell, or were changed into mosques; and it almost seemed as if the very name of Christianity were about to expire in the Diocese of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril. At this epoch we are deprived of the guidance of Makrizi, whose history terminates here.

Peter, in the midst of these calamities, governed the Jacobite Communion fifteen years, and was succeeded by John, a native of Damascus. In this Patriarch, the Chronicle of Abulberkat ceases; and it is therefore probable that he lived while John occupied that dignity. The succeeding Patriarchs are known from a list written, in different hands and at different times, on the margin of a MS. which Wansleb brought from Egypt, and deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, and from the Catalogue we procured from Alexandria.

The denial of the Faith appears to have prevailed, in a greater degree, as might be expected, among the Jacobites than among the Catholics. To Gregory III, though in what year is unknown, Niphon was appointed successor.

### SECTION XXV.

#### CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA.

Is the meantime another effort was made by the Latin Church for the relief of the East. Urban V pressed on the expedition with a zeal to which the apathy of the European potentates ill responded. Fair promises were given by many; effectual assistance by scarcely one.

Yet if the zeal of Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, or Peter Thomas, titular Patriarch of Constantinople and Cardinal of the Crusade, could have found imitators, the consequences to Christendom might have been very different. The Crusaders rendezvoused at Venice; but the delay which had been occasioned by the efforts made

by the King of Cyprus to obtain more succor had wearied them out, and that Prince sailed on his expedition with but two galleys. Arrived at Rhodes, the Prince of Antioch, his brother, whom he had left Regent of Cyprus, brought fresh troops, and the Master of the Hospitallers furnished one hundred knights. The zeal and devotion which animated the soldiers of the Cross was remarkable: the Legate, employed in celebrating Mass, preaching, and hearing confessions, hardly allowed himself time to eat or to sleep. Several who had not confessed for twenty years, now received absolution; and the day before sailing the whole of the nobility and the knights solemnly communicated. The armament now consisted of a hundred sail; ten thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. When at sea, the King declared his intention of attacking Alexandria.

The Sultan of Egypt was at this time Schaaban, the twenty-second of the Mameluke dynasty; a dynasty which had not subsisted one hundred and twenty years. The Christian fleet anchored before Alexandria on the second of October, at noon; and the attack was deferred until the next day. The Infidels lined the coast, and passed the night on the shore; but, on the following day, after a short resistance, they retired within the walls. The Crusaders advanced to storm the city; the Infidels, after an hour's combat, deserted the place, and retreated on Cairo. Not a Christian was killed in the storm; but many of the Infidels had perished from the mangonels and bows of the victorious army.

Having taken possession of the place, the King held a council of war to determine its fate. He himself and the Legate were anxious to garrison it; but the Commander of the Hospitallers and the English knights were of a contrary opinion. They represented that the Infidels still held a portion of the city, divided from the rest by a branch of the river; that the power of Schaaban was great; that as soon as the capture of Alexandria was known, a vast army would march upon it from Cairo; that their own forces were small, and quite insufficient to garrison the fortifications. These considerations prevailed; the city was pillaged, and an immense booty collected from it; and on the fourth day after it had surrendered, the Crusaders, to the bitter regret of the King and the Legate, set sail, and returned to Cyprus.

### SECTION XXVI.

#### NIPHON AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

THE civil wars of Cantacuzene and Paleologus introduced the Turks into Europe; and John Paleologus, enclosed by the Infidels, and with an empire contracted to the size of a county, saw that his only hope lay in Rome and the reunion. Negotiations for this purpose were carried on; and the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem were included in the proposals. It would appear that the Throne of Antioch was vacant. The letter of Urban V is expressed with cautions brevity:—

“To the prudent persons, Philotheus, Niphon, and Lazarus, governing the Patriarchal Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, grace in this life, whereby they may obtain glory in the future”. But this attempt, like so many others, came to nothing, although, two years later, Paleologus visited Rome in person, and having made the Western Confession of Faith, was received by the Pope as a Catholic. The great schism in the Western Church turned, shortly afterwards, the thoughts of the lovers of peace into another channel.

To Niphon succeeded Mark,—to Mark, Nicholas,—and to Nicholas, Gregory; and with this brief and unsatisfactory notice of names the reader must be contented: history can supply nothing further.

And the case is the same with the Jacobites. John was succeeded by Gabriel, previously Archimandrite of the Monastery of Moharrak; Gabriel by Matthew; and Matthew by another Gabriel, who, in the year 1411, emended the Sacramentary of his Communion, and caused the revised edition to be published with Patriarchal authority.

More than a century has thus afforded us materials for only a few pages: Patriarchs, whose actions and doctrine are known to GOD alone, have been necessarily dismissed with the brief enunciation of a name; Catholics and heretics have received the same notice. But we now enter on a more interesting period; and are to relate how the Church of Alexandria was affected by the Council of Florence.

But before we do this, we will devote a few lines to one to whom we are so much indebted, the historian Makrizi.

Ahmed the son of Ali the son of Abd-al-Kader the son of Mahomet the son of Ibrahim the son of Mahomet the son of Temim the son of Abd-alsamad,—such are his complete titles, usually known as Taki-eddin Al-Makrizi, from Baalbec, or Makriz, the seat of his family, was born at Cairo, in 1364, whence he is also known by the title of Misri.

Educated under the best doctors, he hesitated awhile between the sect, of Abu-Hanifa, and that of the Safeites; but at length embraced the latter. He frequently made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was much esteemed in Cairo. He was several times Cadi; he filled the important office of Commissioner of the Granaries; he was preacher in the Mosch of Amrou, Imam in that of Hakem; and Professor of Traditions in the Academy of Moawiyah. In all these offices his integrity and uprightness were much praised.

Having accompanied Melec-Alnacer to Damascus, in 1407, he remained there for some years as Professor; but at length, resigning his office, he returned to Cairo, where he devoted himself to the study of history. His knowledge was, even in his lifetime, proverbial; he composed a number of works on jurisprudence, history, theology, and topography; and his house was the resort of the learned, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Jew.



His history, which would form about one hundred pages such as that which the reader is perusing, is little more than a catalogue of names and events, but it is impartial, (generally speaking) accurate, and shows great research, more especially in the dogmas of heretics. Notwithstanding this character, the completely Mahometan tone of the work gives it a kind of amusing *naïveté*—as where he tells us that “Gabriel, with whom be peace! spread his wing over the Messiah”: and again, where, after saying that the Nestorians adore our LORD as Perfect God and SON or God, adds: “God is far more exalted than they imagine!”. Makrizi died at Cairo, in 1441.

### SECTION XXVII

#### PHILOTHEUS AND THE UNIO

PHILOTHEUS filled the chair of S. Mark when the declining state of the Eastern Empire, now almost bounded by the walls of Constantinople, rendered John Paleologus earnestly desirous of the reunion.

The council of Basle, which had so nearly vindicated the dignity of the Episcopate from the usurpations of Rome, was forward to consummate this great work, and an embassy from the Emperor was received in it with the greatest honor. A deputation was appointed to treat on the union of the Churches: and the first subject for discussion was the choice of a place where the Ecumenical Council should be held.

The ambassadors insisted on Constantinople, the deputies on Basle; and a compromise was finally adopted, by which it was agreed, that the ambassadors on their return should use their utmost endeavors to induce their master to acquiesce in the choice of Basle, as the Western Church was already assembled there; that if this could not be, Ancona, Milan, or some other ultramontane city should be selected, should the Emperor prefer Italy; if not, either Vienna or Bude: that Paleologus himself, with such Patriarchs and Prelates as were able to attend, should be personally present; that the Fathers should translate the Council to the determined city, within a month after they should hear of the choice; that the emperor, and all his suite, to the number of seven hundred, should be supported at the expense of the Council; that the sum of eight thousand ducats should be paid by the same body to defray the expenses of the Greek convocation, which, held at Constantinople, should choose deputies for Basle; that a sufficient sum of money, and force of men, should be dispatched to provide for the defence of the imperial city, during the absence of the Emperor: and finally, that the Greek Patriarchs should be received with the same honors as they would have claimed before the schism.

These very liberal terms, terms which were alone sufficient, considering the circumstances, to render the memory of the Council of Basle illustrious, were no doubt partly dictated by the peculiar state of the West. Even already had those disputes arisen between the Fathers and Eugenius, which afterwards terminated in an open rupture; and the latter had already tampered, though as yet unsuccessfully, with the Emperor of Constantinople. Both parties dispatched their galleys to conduct that monarch, who had by this time consented that the Council should be held in the West: those of the Pope anticipated, by a few days, those of the Council: and on those few days the future fate of the Western Church probably depended: another instance of the trilling causes by which Providence brings to pass the most important events. Had the galleys of the Council been the first to reach Constantinople, it is probable that the Emperor would have embarked in them: had the Emperor embarked in them, he would probably have been won by the Council; had he been won by the Council, Eugenius would probably have been worsted: and the relief of the Episcopate from the usurpations of Rome might, by rendering it easier to remove corruptions, have prevented the great schism of the next century.

But God ordered it otherwise: the Emperor trusted himself to the Pope's admiral (who had orders, if possible, to sink the galleys of his rivals;) and the rupture immediately became evident.

The Council summoned Eugenius to its tribunal: the Pope, by an artifice, convened a Council at Ferrara; Christendom looked on with astonishment; the legates of the See of Rome were busy in inviting the attendance of Foreign Prelates; the Fathers of Basle declared Eugenius contumacious; they were to be dispirited, neither by the death of their great protector Sigismund, nor by the departure of Cardinal Julian, their President, for Ferrara; the Council at the latter city opened with the insignificant number of twenty-three Prelates; the ambassadors of the Emperor and other Kings remained at Basle: Eugenius was suspended from all authority: the two Councils mutually declared each other schismatical: and that of Basle suspended the Pope from all jurisdiction.

Things were in this state when the Emperor and his train made that gorgeous entrance into Venice, so graphically described by Syropulus, so pompously by Gibbon. Twenty-one eminent Prelates, besides the Patriarch of Constantinople accompanied the Greek Prince: Mark of Ephesus, Dionysius of Sardis, and Bessarion of Nicaea were the spokesmen of their party.

The union was unpopular throughout the Eastern Church: the voyage was both troublesome and dangerous: and these were probably the reasons why the Patriarchs of the other Eastern Thrones declined to appear in person. Philotheus constituted Antony of Heraclea his legate: Dorotheus of Antioch made choice of Isidore of Kieff, Metropolitan of All the Russias, who, however, was not present at the opening of the Council: and Joachim of Jerusalem entrusted his subscription to Mark of Ephesus and Dorotheus of Monembasia.

The Emperor was received by the Pope with great honor : and that Pontiff and Joseph of Constantinople met nearly as equals: and in the Council, the north and south

sides of the Italy church were allotted to the two nations. After the first session of the two Churches, there was a delay of six months; it being still doubtful whether the Fathers of Basle, or the influence of Eugenius would prevail. Gradually, the former were overborne, to the misfortune of the West, by the latter: the union was pressed on with vigour, and finally, on the sixth of July, 1439, in the tenth session of the Council of Florence, the decree of Union was signed. The vicars of Philotheus were the first, on the Greek side, to subscribe; the Patriarch of Constantinople worn out with age and infirmities, having departed this life during the Council.

It was necessary to remind the reader of the progress and event of this Synod : but we are not concerned to dwell upon it. It seems to have had no effect at Alexandria, beyond that of making the Jacobites desirous of a nominal union with Rome. John, the eleventh of that name, now presided over this Communion : and a few days after the departure of the Greeks from Florence, his emissary arrived there.

This was John, Abbat of S. Antony, who was introduced to the Council, and in a congregation in which Eugenius presided, he stated the subject of his mission. A decree was made in the fourth session after the departure of the Greeks for the reunion of the Jacobites: and the magnificent terms in which it was conceived were but ill answered by the futile character of the negotiation. And had it been real, what Communion can that be, to which two rival Patriarchs of the same See are received?

The emperor of Abyssinia dispatched to Rome Nicodemus, the superior of the Abyssinian Convent at Jerusalem, which he had in part endowed: and expressed his intention of personally paying his compliments to Eugenius. The name of this prince was Zara Jacob: and although this deputation had no immediate effect, its ultimate consequences will be found to possess considerable importance and interest. For by these means, and by the arrival of one or two Europeans in Ethiopia, a party in communion with the Latin Church began to be formed there. It is said that a Venetian painter, by name Francisco de Branco Leon, was one of the most strenuous early supporters of the Western Faith; and Abyssinian writers add, that he was confuted in the King's presence by a Priest of their own nation, named George. About this time idolatry was made a capital crime in the empire of Abyssinia.

Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Cyzicnm, a stanch supporter of the union, was on the return of the Emperor, elevated to the Ecumenical Throne. He found his Diocese in the greatest confusion: his Suffragans avoided his Communion as that of a heretic: the city of Constantinople, which now comprised the whole Eastern Empire, was torn by divisions, and the three other Patriarchs were loud in their exclamations against the Council. The conduct of Philotheus cannot be justified. When he Conduct of received the news of the union, he wrote to Eugenius in most flattering terms : dignifying him by the name of most holy, most religions, most blessed, most just father, terrestrial angel, the good shepherd of the good flock. Yet none joined subsequently more loudly in the outcry against Metrophanes. In conjunction with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, he addressed a letter to the Eastern Church, which appears to have been written at Jerusalem. In it they profess to have received from the Metropolitan of Caesarea tidings of the invasion of the Throne of Constantinople by Metrophanes the

Matricide : they brand him by this title, as if the union with the Latins, promoted by him, had been a death-blow to his mother the Church of the East : they assert that he had cruelly persecuted the enemies, and extravagantly rewarded the friends of the Council of Florence; that he had created unworthy Metropolitans and Bishops in the churches of his obedience; that scandals innumerable were the consequence; that the Metropolitan of Caesarea had requested from themselves a synodal condemnation of these unholy proceedings; that they, therefore, suspended all Bishops and Priests so consecrated and entrusted, from the exercise of all and every of their functions, till their consecration and election, being canonically examined, should be found legitimate and valid. And they constitute the said Metropolitan, in an uncanonical and most unusual manner, corrector of all the abuses which may have arisen from these sources.

The Epistle is dated in April, 1441 : and some time afterwards, they addressed another to the Emperor. This is a curious composition; it begins synodically, in the plural number : the rites, whom we may suppose to have been Philotheus, then proceeds, in the singular, to state the substance of his former letters to Pope Eugenius, and to protest that he had never received the Council further than as it was agreeable to the Ecumenical Synods, and to ancient tradition and discipline.

Metrophanes finding his efforts for the good of the Church thus misrepresented, and his own character maligned, abdicated his dignity, and shortly afterwards died of grief, in the interval, as it would appear, between the composition of the two Epistles to which we have just referred.

The Grecian Empire continued, if it were possible, to decline. A league, by the efforts of Eugenius, was formed against the Turks: a peace sworn with Amurath, was, by the counsel of Cardinal Julian Czesarini, perfidiously broken: and this treachery was deservedly followed by the loss of the great battle of Warna: in which Amurath, imagining that his troops were flying, called On JESUS CHRIST to avenge the dishonor done to His Name by the ill faith of His worshippers. John Paleologus, perceiving that the ruin of his empire was at hand, and that no succors were to be expected. from the West, determined to yield to the popular outcry, and to surrender the union.

Of Philotheus we hear nothing further: for the pretended Council of Constantinople, about A.D. 1450, where he is said to have been present, is a palpable forgery. Of Athanasius, his successor, we know nothing beyond the name. It is uncertain which of these two Patriarchs was in possession of the Chair of S. Mark, when the victorious army of Mahomet put an end, by the capture of Constantinople, to the Eastern Empire. By this event, Alexandria acquired a great accession of power: her Patriarchs were less exposed to foreign influence, and therefore better chosen than those of Constantinople, and the secular power, by which much additional importance had been given to the Ecumenical Throne, was now at an end.

## SECTION XXVIII

### FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Jacobite Patriarch was now Matthew. We shall henceforward find our attention, in treating of this Communion, principally directed to the state of Ethiopia: where a long, and, alas! bloody struggle was soon about to commence between the Roman and Coptic Churches. The enterprising spirit of the Portuguese was attracted by the report of a Christian Prince in Africa, whose dominions were said to extend from the East to the West sea; and Prince Henry, the great promoter of discovery, dispatched Pedro de Covilhaa, and Alphonso de Payva, as his ambassadors to this Prince. They went to Alexandria, thence to Cairo; and thence to Aden : and here they separated. Covilhaa sailed to India; and thence returning to Cairo, heard of the death of his companion, whom he had hoped to meet. He was, however, met by two Jews, emissaries of the Emperor, with one of whom he went to Ormuz in the Persian gulf, and thence by himself entered the dominions of that monarch, whose name was Alexander.

It was the state-policy of the Abyssinians to permit the return of no stranger who had once visited their country. Covilhaa, therefore, revisited Portugal no more : but, if he could forget the land of his forefathers, he had no reason to complain of his own lot. He was married into a high family, was distinguished by the favor of the monarch, and was preferred to several important offices. He kept up a communication with the king of Portugal, who for his part, determined to obtain a further knowledge of the kingdom of Abyssinia. But we must for the present return to Alexandria, having a little anticipated the course of our history, for it was not till about the year 1490 that Covilhaa arrived in Abyssinia.

To Athanasius succeeded Mark, the third of that name; of whom we know nothing further. There appears, at this time, to have been a diminution in the power and influence of the Jacobites; for Matthew, whom we just now mentioned as their Patriarch, is said to have been the last, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, who consecrated the Chrism. Whence this depression arose, it is difficult to say : the turbulent rule of the Mameluke Princes must have diminished the number of the Christians of both Churches : and the heretics had not, as the Catholics, the Communion of three other Patriarchates on which to fall back.

It is also possible that the Turkish Sultan Selim, who, in 1517, stormed Cairo, hanged the gallant Tuman Bey, the last of the Mameluke Sultans, and annexed Egypt to his own dominions, was desirous of depressing a sect whom the native princes had favored; and of supporting a Church acknowledged in his own city of Constantinople. So curiously were the relative positions of Jacobites and Catholics reversed, since the first foreign conquest of Egypt.

Matthew was succeeded by Gabriel, Archimandrite of the Abbey of S. Antony, and possibly the same who had been sent to the Council of Florence; the difference of the name being no difficulty. And his successor was Chail surnamed Semelouti.

In the Catholic Church, Philotheus, or Theophilus, succeeded Mark. He, whether from motives of policy, or from a real desire of union, wrote to Adrian VI, who then filled the Chair of S. Peter, with professions of acknowledging his superiority. But it does not appear that these negotiations had any effect.



BOOK VI.

FROM

THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE

A.D. 1490

TO

THE DEATH OF HIEROTHEUS

A.D. 1846

## SECTION I

### AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA.

On the death of Alexander, Emperor of Ethiopia, he was succeeded by Naod, his younger brother. The principal danger which at this time (A.D. 1495) threatened the kingdom was to be apprehended from the Moors of Adel, a powerful Mahometan nation, between whom and the Ethiopians there was always a hostile feeling, often open war. He compelled them to accept an honorable peace; but the event showed that they were held in restraint by the terror of Naod's name, rather than by any other motive.

On his death, Helena, his stepmother, and the Abuna Mark procured the election of his young son, David, a child of eleven years old. Queen Helena became Regent; and seems to have conducted the government on wise principles. She was desirous of peace with Adel : her own nation was Moorish, though she had early embraced the Christian religion; and she saw that, besides the danger to be apprehended to Abyssinia from a Mahometan war, it was to the commercial interest of the two nations that a peace should be preserved between them.

Covilhaa was still detained in Abyssinia; and it was doubtless by his advice that Helena turned her thoughts to the possibility of an alliance with Portugal. She made choice for her ambassador of one Matthew, an Armenian merchant about the Court, and a man not only of trust, but well acquainted with the character of the people with whom he had to deal. The letter with which he was charged, after a complimentary opening, requests the King of Portugal to enter into an alliance with her against the Mahometans generally, and proposes an intermarriage in the two royal families; but the ambassador was further charged with a private commission, and that, if we may believe the Portuguese historians, of a very important character, being no less than an offer of the third part of the empire in return for the assistance which the Portuguese were to furnish.

Matthew, however, was most unfortunate. He sailed for India, that being the route by which communications between Portugal and Abyssinia were carried on : was thrown into prison on landing, by the local Portuguese governor, as a spy; and, though magnificently received by Albuquerque, the Viceroy at Goa, allowed to remain in India three years before he was sent on to Portugal in a spice-fleet. Even then he was insulted and ill-treated by the captains; his arrival, however, at Lisbon, produced a very favourable change. The King of Portugal received him with the greatest joy, threw his maltreaters into prison, and only released them on his intercession.

In the meantime, the kingdom of Abyssinia suffered greatly, not from Mahomet, King of Adel, who still observed the peace concluded with him by Naod, but from Maffudi, a powerful Mahometan chieftain; who had spread the terror of his name along the Western Coast of the Red Sea. He had received, in return for the number of slaves whom he had sent to Mecca, a banner of green silk, and a tent of black velvet, embroidered with gold; the greatest honor which could be bestowed on the supporter of the creed of the False Prophet.

This Maffudi was in the habit of making an incursion into Abyssinia every year, choosing Lent as his time; and having at length induced Mahomet to renounce his league with the Christians, and to unite his forces with his own, the allied princes in one year slew, or carried captive, nineteen thousand Christians.

The murmurs of his people determined David, in spite of the remonstrances of his grandmother, to take the field himself: he had not a general who had not been defeated by the Mahometans, and he hoped that a royal commander might inspire the troops with fresh courage. A numerous body of troops flocked to his standard: he advanced by forced marches on the capital of Adel, before the allies considered his army of sufficient importance to be opposed. By a prudent partition of his forces into two bodies, David drove the enemy into a dangerous defile, where he resolved to attack them, with superior forces, on the following day. That night, Mahomet, by the advice of Maffudi, made his escape, and the latter chieftain, on the succeeding morning, sent a challenge to the Christian army, offering to meet any champion in single combat. With the leave of David the challenge was accepted by Andreas, a monk of considerable eminence for learning, affability, and courage. He struck Maffudi's head from his body with a double-edged sword: the Christians seized the opportunity, and made a fierce attack upon the Infidels; the Mahometans were routed, and pursued as far as the gates of the first market-town of Adel: the green standard of Mahomet was taken, and David and Andreas were welcomed back with the triumphant exclamations of a grateful people. The island of Zeyla, in the mouth of the Red Sea, was taken by the Portuguese armament on the same day that Maffudi was defeated and slain (July, 1516).

We now return to Portugal. The ambassador Matthew was sent back in the next India-fleet, and was accompanied by three ambassadors to the Court of Abyssinia, one of whom, however, died on the voyage. The Portuguese were well received by the Governor of Arkeeko, near to which place they landed, and were cordially welcomed by the Monks of the Convent of Bisoim, distant about twenty-four miles. A few days subsequently, the Baharnagash, or governor of that part of Abyssinia, had an interview with the Portuguese General, in which it was determined that an embassy, headed by Rodrigo de Lima, should set forward to the Court of the Emperor.

It was unfortunate for this little company that King David was in the southern part of his dominions, while they had landed in the north. Mountains, ravines, forests, underwood, and wild beasts opposed their progress, and it was not till after a painful journey of six months that they at length reached the head-quarters of that monarch, now encamped on the borders of the kingdom of Adel. Matthew had been carried off, on the journey, by an epidemic disease. The history of this expedition has been written

by Father Alvarez, chaplain to De Lima; but some doubt is attached to his strict veracity. He affirms that the embassy was detained five years before it was dismissed. Even then some of its members were detained; but Rodrigo de Lima, together with an Abyssinian plenipotentiary named Zaga Zaab, a Monk by profession, sailed from Masuah for India, at the latter end of April, 1526.

Manuel, King of Portugal, had been succeeded by John; and to him David addressed a letter, which is still extant; as well as to the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII. In these he describes himself as “the King, at whose name lions tremble, called by the grace of God, the Frankincense of the Virgin, the son of King David, the son of Solomon, the son of the Hand of Mary, the son of Naod by the flesh, and by grace the son of SS. Peter and Paul”. These epistles show the friendly disposition of David towards the Western Powers.

On the death of Helena, David renewed the war against the kingdom of Adel. But a terrible chief now arose amongst the Infidels, Mahomet, surnamed Gragne, "the left-handed". By him David was constantly defeated, and hunted like a wild beast from city to city; the churches of Amhara were laid waste by fire and sword, and at length the brave Andreas fell gloriously, fighting in the sight of his monarch for his country and for his faith.

### SECTION II

#### INTERRUPTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SUCCESSION IN ABYSSINIA

TWELVE years had elapsed since the departure of the Portuguese ambassador with Zaga Zaab. The Court of Lisbon was now comparatively indifferent as to the friendship of the Emperor of Abyssinia, since the Portuguese no longer passed through his territories on their way to their Indian possessions, having learned by experience that the passage round the Cape was not so dangerous as it had been long imagined. It would appear that since the conquest of Cairo by Selim, no communication had passed between the Coptic Patriarch and the Catholic of Abyssinia. To Chail VI had succeeded John XII and John XIII: it was probably the former, who, during the successes of Gragne, presided in Egypt. In the Catholic Church, Gregory V had been the successor of Philotheus, and himself was succeeded by Joachim.

With this Patriarch, a little more light is shed over the history of the Church: we emerge from the darkness of the two or three last centuries, and tread on firmer and firmer ground. Towards the beginning of his Patriarchate, poison was administered to him by some Mahometan enemy: he is said to have made the sign of the Cross, and to

have received no harm. His Patriarchate must have lasted many years: he is said to have attained the age of one hundred and twenty; and for the last eighty to have abstained from flesh.

King David, as we have seen, was not averse from the Roman faith; and finding the Abuna Mark unable, from age and infirmities, to manage the affairs of the Church, he prevailed on him to consecrate Joao Bermudez, one of the Portuguese who had been detained in Abyssinia, his successor. By this method, the King probably hoped to obtain a warmer interest in the friendship of the European princes, from whom alone he could, as it appeared, hope for deliverance from Gragne. Bermudez signified his perfect acquiescence, if the Pope should allow of the scheme; he was accordingly ordained Abuna by Mark, and then determined on a journey to Rome, to obtain a ratification of the act from the Chair of S. Peter. The King had no objection to this journey: on the contrary, he ordered that as soon as his business at Rome was concluded, Bermudez should hasten to the Court of Lisbon, and discover what had become of the embassy dispatched so many years previously thither. Bermudez was well received by Pope Paul III, who not only ratified the appointment which he had received to the metropolitanical Chair of Axum, but, in the plenitude of his power, elevated him to the Patriarchate of Alexandria: a grievous act of schism. It was at this time felt by the Roman Court to be a matter of considerable importance, that Eastern nations should acknowledge the Primacy of S. Peter, which was called in question by the religious movement of the West: and it was doubtless owing to this feeling that the consecration of Bermudez, undoubtedly irregular, was so quietly acquiesced in by the Roman Pontiff. Bermudez, at a later period, composed a history of his own proceedings and adventures, which is still extant, and which throws much light on the history of the times. From Rome he proceeded to Lisbon, where Zaga Zaab was, at his solicitation, thrown into prison on a charge of faithlessness to his master, in suffering the negotiation for so long a time to be protracted. The chaplain Alvarez had, previously to this time, presented the letters of David to the Pope at Bologna, where the Emperor Charles V then was: a well-timed act, though it appears to have had little influence on the Emperor. A violent illness detained Bermudez in Portugal for a year: he then embarked in the India fleet, and arrived in that country in 1538. Here he was received with the greatest honor both by the Viceroy and the Bishop of Goa: but the death of the former threw another impediment in the way of his return to Abyssinia. For Don Stephen de Gama, the succeeding Viceroy, was at first unwilling to give any assistance in the enterprise: till, at length, the magnificent accounts given by Bermudez of the wealth and power of David, tempted the indolence of that chief, and he not only gave orders for the preparation of an armament, but resolved to accompany the Patriarch in person.

While these events were in progress, new calamities had befallen Abyssinia. A Mahometan chief, named Mudgid, attacked and took the almost impregnable fortress of Geshen, in which the greater part of the royal family had taken refuge. These all fell victims to his fury; and David, having filled up the measure of his misfortunes, was shortly after summoned from the world.

Claudius, who succeeded him, was but eighteen years of age, but had been wisely and tenderly instructed by his mother, Sabel Wenghel, sometimes called Helena.

The Mahometan chiefs entered into an alliance for the purpose of crushing this young prince; but Claudius, by a successful attack on one of the confederates, struck terror into the league, and, in a proportionate degree, elevated the hopes of his own subjects. He offered battle to the allies, which they declined; and, in the Easter of the following year (1541), ensnared one of its most powerful chiefs into an ambuscade, and cut his army to pieces.

Meanwhile Don Stephen de Gama and the Portuguese squadron had anchored in the Bay of Masuah; and in spite of the resistance of the Mahometan governor of Arkeeko, who boldly declared that the King of Adel was now Lord of all Ethiopia, they took that place, and sent the head of the Infidel as a present to Sabel Wenghel.

Men were now enrolled for the Abyssinian service; four hundred and fifty musqueteers were the complement allowed by the King of Portugal; and the difficulty lay in making a suitable selection, every one being anxious to have a share in the glory of the undertaking. Don Christopher de Gama, youngest brother of the Viceroy, was appointed commander : and Don Stephen, having received the blessing of Bermudez, stood out to sea, and sailed for India.

### SECTION III

#### EXPEDITION OF CHRISTOPHER DE GAMA

Don Christopher began his march towards Dobarwa, the eastern entrance of Abyssinia : and met the Queen near that city. By her the Portuguese were received with the greatest kindness : and De Gama ordered one hundred of his men to attend her as her lifeguard. It was now evidently the interest of this Princess to form a junction with her son; and Gragne was as earnestly set on preventing it. The allied Portuguese and Abyssinians marched from Dobarwa and made the best of their way to join Claudius : the heavy rains, however, much impeded their progress; and on Lady-day the Infidel army came up with them. In numbers, the Royal forces were superior; besides the four hundred and fifty musqueteers, the Queen commanded twelve thousand infantry, and a few worthless cavalry. Gragne had but five thousand foot : but then he had a thousand excellent horse, a few Turkish musqueteers, and a small train of artillery. And the inequality of numbers was more than compensated by the fact, that the men of Adel were well skilled in the use of firearms, an invention of which the Abyssinians knew practically nothing. The disposition which De Gama made of his troops, shows him to have been no less prudent than courageous. Gragne, in riding too near the Portuguese lines, for the purpose of reconnoitring, received a wound, which occasioned great confusion among the Moors, and might probably have ended in their defeat, had not Don Christopher, a few moments afterwards, suffered in a similar manner. No general



engagement took place : but the Christian army had the honor of keeping the field. For some time Don Christopher remained in winter quarters; and Gragne obtained another body of a thousand cavalry, and increased his train of artillery, till it became the most formidable that had ever been seen in Ethiopia. Hearing that King Claudius was actually on his way from Dembea, to join the Queen, this chief resolved rather to risk a battle than to permit the junction to take place unopposed. To this end he drew up his forces before Don Christopher's camp, and by reproaches and insults induced that brave, but impatient general, to offer battle. The Queen and Bermudez sought their safety by flight : but De Gama gave orders that they should be pursued and brought back.

The combat was maintained with the greatest obstinacy : and at first seemed to declare in favour of the Christians. But the Turkish artillery proved an over-match for Abyssinian courage : the Royal army was totally routed, and Don Christopher himself severely wounded. Against his will, he was put in a litter by his friends, and carried towards a place of safety in the company of the Queen and the Patriarch. But night coming on, he declared his intention of remaining in a cave, in which his wounds were dressed; and as his companions could not alter his resolution, they were compelled to leave him. One or two of his servants remained by him : but the accounts of his death vary. It is certain, however, that he was overtaken and discovered by Gragne; that sooner or later, he was put to death by that tyrant; and that he was regarded by his friends, not altogether unjustly, as a Martyr.

### SECTION IV

#### JUNCTION WITH THE ROYAL FORCES

After lying some time concealed in a place of great strength, called the Jews' mountain, the remains of the Queen's army took courage and effected a junction with the Royal forces. The Portuguese chose, in the place of Don Christopher, Alphonso Caldeyra, and on his death from an accident, Arius Dias, whose mother had been an Indian, commander of the musqueteers. Discontent had now fortunately broke out in the camp of Gragne : his Turkish allies, the most formidable part of his forces, conceiving themselves neglected in the distribution of booty, had left him, and he was compelled to carry on the war with his own troops. The battle of Woggora, which took place in the November of this year, ended in the defeat of the Mahometans, and in the death of three among their principal chiefs : but the succeeding months were occupied by each army in ravaging the territory of the enemy.

At length the two chiefs came in sight of each other; and, as neither were anxious to avoid battle, a general engagement followed. The Portuguese fought like tigers, in order to revenge the death of De Gama; and the presence of the King kept the

Abyssinians to their duty. The centre of Gragne's army was driven back, and that chief, to encourage his men advanced from the main body, and stood waving his hands to those who were retiring. This was marked by Pedro Leao, who had been valet to Don Christopher : and creeping along the bank of a river, which bounded the field of battle, he approached so near to Gragne, as to make his aim perfectly certain, and then fired. The Mahometan chief, finding himself mortally wounded, rode aside into a copse, where he fell dead from his horse. The rout became general; Leao contented himself with cutting off and preserving the ear of Gragne, and then joined in the pursuit. This great victory put an end to the tyranny of Adel.

When the troops were recalled from the pursuit, an Abyssinian officer, having found the body of Gragne, presented his head to the King, and was received by him with great honor. Dias coolly observed, that the courage of Gragne was too well known to allow the belief, that any man could have cut off his ear while he was living; and thereupon introduced Leao for the reward so unjustly claimed by the other.

Disputes began, when the kingdom was a little settled, between Bermudez and Claudius, on the subject of their Creeds, and of the subjection which was owed by Ethiopia to the See of Rome. The old reproach of the Jacobites was employed against the Patriarch; that he was an Arian, and worshipped four gods; and Bermudez, it must be allowed, was too much disposed to answer railing with railing. Arius Dias was now gained by the King : and had, it was said, submitted to be rebaptized. Claudius wrote to Cairo, requesting that an Abuna might be sent, as had been the previous custom, from the Patriarch of Alexandria; and Joseph, the ecclesiastic chosen for this office, was received in Abyssinia with great joy and exultation.

From this time, Roman influence began to decline; and the mission which might have rescued Ethiopia from heresy, seemed likely to serve no other purpose, than the widening of the breach between that nation and the Catholic Church. Bermudez returned to Dobarwa, and there quietly occupied himself in the instruction of a few Portuguese who had settled in the place. From thence, after some time, he returned to Goa apparently resigning his dignity; and, shortly afterwards returned to Lisbon, when he published the above account of his labors.

### SECTION V

#### NEW MISSION INTO ABYSSINIA

S. Ignatius Loyola, then at Rome, hearing of the ill success of Bermudez, was seized with an ardent desire of himself undertaking the Abyssinian mission. This, however, was forbidden by the Pope; who, to console Ignatius, appointed Nuno Barreto

Patriarch, and two Bishops *in partibus* his coadjutors. These ecclesiastics sailed to Goa : but the news which they there received induced them to alter their intended course, and not hazard all upon one attempt. Oviedo and Carneiro, the Suffragan Bishops, sailed to Masnah; Barreto remained behind in India. The missionaries were honourably received by Claudius; who, however, protested that he owed no obedience except to the Chair of S. Mark, and is said to have distinguished himself greatly in a dispute on the subject of the Two Natures. Barreto died in India; and, as it had been arranged, Oviedo succeeded him as Patriarch.

But a fearful catastrophe, and that from a totally unexpected quarter, was awaiting Claudius. Del Wumbarea, the widow of Gragne, had never ceased to long for revenge; she had however been restrained from declaring war with Abyssinia, because her son was in the power of the Christians. But, about this time, that Prince was exchanged for a son of the late King David; and this difficulty was therefore removed. And the greatest hopes of succeeding in her wishes were at the same moment held out to her. She was passionately loved by Nur, governor of Zeyla, and a son of that Mudgid who had filled the Abyssinians, as we before related, with terror. But she constantly refused to give her hand to any man, except to him who should bring to her the head of Claudius, the vanquisher of her late husband. Nur gladly undertook the condition.

Claudius was occupying himself in rebuilding and restoring the churches which had been destroyed by the Infidels, and particularly in the completion of one which was, from its magnificence, called the Mountain of gold. Having received a challenge from Nur, he resolved to march against Adel. Claudius had never yet been defeated : but now prophecies were circulated through the army that the present campaign would terminate in his ruin and death; and he himself was heard to declare his desire of perishing in battle against the Infidels. At the moment the army was advancing against the Moors, a Priest warned Claudius that he would be unsuccessful but the King paid no attention to the monition, and continued to march forward. At the first fire, the Abyssinians fled; Claudius, supported by twenty horse, and eighteen Portuguese musqueteers, was surrounded by the foe; and, after defending themselves gallantly, and selling their lives as dearly as they could, they were to a man cut to pieces. Claudius, in particular, was pierced with twenty wounds : his head was cut off by Nur, and presented to Del Wumbarea, who tied it to a tree in front of her door, that it might be a constant gratification to her unsated revenge. She then gave her hand to Nur, who had returned from the field of battle without any show of triumph, and in the meanest attire which he could assume : declaring that he owed his victory not to human valor, but to God alone. The head of Claudius was, three years afterwards, ransomed by an Armenian merchant, and buried at Antioch, in a church bearing the name of the Emperor's Patron Saint; and that Prince is, by the Ethiopians, himself reckoned among the Blessed.

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## SECTION VI

### PROGRESS OF THE MISSION

Claudius was succeeded by his brother Menas, the same whose release from captivity had been the ultimate cause of the late king's defeat. Domestic dissensions were added to foreign dangers : and, through the treachery of one of the principal governors, a great part of the flat country round Masuah was lost. Isaac, for that was the name of the traitor, professed to be well inclined to the Roman Faith; and Oviedo, with his Clergy, having been cruelly persecuted by the court, embraced the equally wicked and impolitic proposition of siding against the King, with this nobleman. That monarch, however, marched against Isaac and his Mahometan allies, and defeated them : but did not long survive his victory. He was succeeded by his son Melec Segued (AD 1563).

In the meantime it had been determined by the Court of Rome to try what effect could be produced by a direct overture with Alexandria : and a Jesuit, by name Christopher Rodrigo, was dispatched, not to the Catholic, but to the Coptic Patriarch. Could S. Leo the Great have foreseen, when encouraging S. Proterius of Alexandria to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints at Chalcedon against its enemies, that one of his successors would have opened a treaty with the latter against the Catholic successor of S. Mark, we may imagine the shame and the bitterness that would have possessed that noble-minded Prelate. Gabriel was at this time the Jacobite Patriarch : and he, after deluding the envoy with fair words, finally gave ample proof of his duplicity, and the negotiation came to nothing.

Melec Segued, the son of Menas, succeeded his father in the thirteenth year of his age. The Patriarch and his followers were permitted to live in peace, but made no progress whatever; and indeed scrupled not to express their belief, that the conversion of Ethiopia could only be undertaken at the head of a body of troops.

The Cardinal, Don Henry, then Regent of Portugal, judging that there were no hopes of a successful result, prevailed on Pope Pius to issue letters of revocation to Oviedo, appointing him missionary in Japan or China. Oviedo addressed a letter of remonstrance on the subject, but shortly afterwards departed this life at Premona. With him, in effect, ended the first Portuguese mission.

## SECTION VII

### BIRTH OF CYRIL LUCAR

We are now entering on the most interesting part of Alexandrian History : the rise, progress, and final rejection of those Calvinian tenets which had for some time infested so large a portion of Europe. And the difficulty of the task is equal to its interest. No attempt has yet been made, in our own country, to give a general view of the controversy from its beginning to its close, the accounts on which we have principally to depend are the *ex parte* statements of advocates; Cyril Lucar, the principal mover in the whole business, is alternately presented to us in the light of a fiend and a Martyr : nay, in two several councils of his own Church is delivered over to an anathema; and declared to be one of whose holiness there can be no doubt.

Furthermore, several documents, important for the right understanding of several momentous matters, now no longer exist; and the authenticity of some that have come down to us is, and has been questioned. It will be our business to keep clear from the unfounded assumptions of both Genevans and Jesuits, and to judge the whole subject by the Canons and Creed of the Eastern Church.

Joachim, whose great age we have already mentioned, was succeeded by Silvester. Of the earlier period of his Patriarchate we know nothing : he appears, however, to have kept up a friendly intercourse with the learned men of the West; and possibly, ignorant of the actuating principles of the foreign Reformation, might have viewed it the more favourably from a resentment of the injustice which his own Church had recently received at the hands of her Roman Sister. Whether he were himself possessed of much learning, we have no means of judging : he had at all events the faculty of discerning and rewarding it in others. It was probably about the year 1574 that Meletius Piga, a Cretan by birth, came to Alexandria, where he was soon afterwards ordained Priest by Silvester, and in due time raised to the dignity of Protosyncellus.

While Greece and the neighbouring islands were groaning under Mahometan tyranny, Crete, under the government of the Venetians, enjoyed the profoundest repose. The merchant republic did not interfere with the Eastern Church; the Greeks were protected, and not plundered; and it was natural that the acquisition of learning should here be more eagerly sought, and more highly valued, than in any other portion of the Oriental Church : for knowledge, equally with every other possession, exposed its owner to the dislike and suspicion of the Infidels. Again, the learning of the Roman Prelates, of whom there were at least ten in the island, under the Archbishop of Candia, must have at once rendered necessary, and by emulation given rise to, diligent study on the part of the Greek Prelates. How many of the ancient Sees of Crete still existed in the time of Silvester, we know not; but, in the flourishing times of the Church, there were at the lowest estimate thirteen, under the metropolitan of Gortyna. The intercourse with Venice led many of the islanders, who were in course of education for Priests, to avail themselves of the Italian Universities, and Padua was that which offered most attractions. Hence, however, the unfortunate consequence arose, that even in the bosom of the Oriental Church were trained some, who were seduced, by her more learned and more powerful Sister, from the allegiance due to their own Mother, or were at least disposed to introduce scholastic novelties into her simpler Creed.

Meletius Piga, however, was not drawn aside in this way : his fault seems to have been that of too great prejudice against the Western Church. His works were numerous, and chiefly controversial. We find him in communication with the Russians and Slavonians on the subjects of the Procession, and of the Roman Primacy : he wrote a Catechism for the use of the Greek Church, and a treatise addressed to Gabriel of Philadelphia, whom we shall have cause to mention again, on the points in dispute between the two Churches.

Shortly before the time that Meletius left Crete for Alexandria, that is, in the year 1572, the family of the Lucari, connected with him by blood, and inhabitants of the city of Candia, were gratified by the birth of a son, who was called Cyril. Silvester, in the meantime, presided at two synods, that of Jerusalem, where Germanus, Patriarch of that city, resigned his dignity, and another, in which Jeremiah of Constantinople was restored to the Ecumenical Throne, unjustly occupied by Pachomius. The absence of Silvester must have increased the influence of Meletius Piga, and whether at his invitation, or from the hope of securing his favor, Cyril Lucar, when quite a youth, sailed to Alexandria. There it would appear that Meletius advised his young relative to pursue the same method of study which he himself had followed; for Cyril, after returning to Crete, went to Venice in the twelfth year of his age, and there commenced those studies, which he afterwards completed at Padua.

Shortly afterwards, Meletius Piga was chosen to fill the Chair of S. Mark. It appears that at the time of his election, he was Exarch of the Church of Constantinople, and the dissensions by which it was torn called for his frequent presence after his promotion. His election must have taken place subsequently to the year 1591, because in that year it is expressly said that the See of Alexandria was vacant, while the three other Patriarchs assisted at a Council in Constantinople, on an affair of deep importance to the Eastern Church. The Russians had long been desirous of obtain a Patriarch of their own; and the downfall of the Eastern Empire, while it elevated that of Russia, also rendered it a task of no small difficulty to obtain a free and constant communication with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Jeremiah, who then filled that post, happening to be in Moscow, was prevailed on by the Emperor to declare Russia absolutely free from himself and his successors, and to erect Moscow into a fifth Patriarchate, Job, Archbishop of Rostov, being the first who was elevated to the newly erected Throne. But doubts subsequently arose as to the power which Jeremiah possessed of making, by his own authority, so important a change in the discipline of the Eastern Church; and the ancient Patriarchs met at Constantinople to discuss and to decide the question. By them it was determined that the step was right and necessary: Moscow was ranked immediately after Jerusalem; and the Patriarchal dignity remained in that See for more than a hundred years, till Peter, generally called the Great, abolished it, and substituted in its place the Erastian device of a Holy governing Synod.

Piga, on his return to Alexandria, continued his studies, and published one or two controversial writings for the use of the Slavonic Church, which, as we shall presently see, was exposed to the intrusion of Romanism. Cyril Lucar was pursuing his studies, under the tuition of Maximus Margunius, afterwards Bishop of Cythera, a learned man, and a good poet : his two Epistles, the one, on Divine permission of evil;



the other, on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, prove his claim to the first character : his Anacreontic Hymns, to the latter. Cyril became not only acquainted with Latin, but also with Italian ; and, on the completion of his academical career, resolved to visit several of the most famous European cities, and, more especially, to inquire for himself into the real condition and character of the Reformed communities, of which so much was heard, and so little known, in Egypt.

It were much to be wished that we had any history of his wanderings : we should then be enabled more clearly to trace the gradual steps by which, from a sincere desire for the elevation and purification of his Church, he was led to assimilate fearfully with Calvinian Doctrine. But we only know, that he visited Geneva, Holland, and it would seem, England; and thence returned to his own country.

### SECTION VIII

#### CYRIL LUCAR AS PRIEST

On the return of Cyril to Alexandria, Meletius Piga, finding opposed as ever to the Roman Church, seems never to have inquired whether his principles might not have been warped by his close connection with several of the Reformers, but in a short time raised him to the Priesthood, and finding that he continued to deserve promotion, made him Archimandrite.

Cyril had not been long promoted to this dignity when he was sent,—it does not appear on what business,—to Constantinople. It is not impossible that he accompanied Piga thither, when, on the vacancy that occurred in the Ecumenical Throne, after the death of Theophanes II, that Patriarch administered its affairs. The sermons which he delivered, during that period, in the great church, are still extant, although they have never been published. After a year's residence in Constantinople, Cyril was dispatched into Poland on a difficult and delicate mission.

Sigismund the Third, king of Poland, was a member of the Roman Church, whereas his predecessors had constantly adhered to the Oriental Faith : and, as such, he was naturally desirous of bringing back his subjects into Communion with the Chair of S. Peter. His principal adviser was one Peter Scarga, a Jesuit : and it was in compliance with his request, that the king declared the Bishops of Lithuania and Black Russia, who should adhere to the Greek Rite, incapable of a seat in the public council of the nation. These Prelates, or rather the greater number of them, annoyed at this privation, and wearied with the continued importunities of their monarch, at length consented to submit to Rome; and dispatched two of their number to Clement the Eighth, the then

reigning Pontiff, to request that the Slavonic Churches might be received into the Communion of Rome. Constantine, Duke of Ostrog, and Palatine of Kiev, met this act by a public protest, in which he declared his attachment to the Greek Church, and his repudiation of the measures employed to force Lithuania into the Communion of Rome. The matter became serious; the Oriental Church would not, with patience, see herself dismembered of so flourishing a branch; and Matthew, then just raised to the Throne of Constantinople, dispatched Nicephorus as his legate into Poland, Meletius Piga also sending Cyril Lucar (a.d. 1596).

They arrived just in time to be present at a synod which was summoned by Sigismund at Brzesc, on the return of the Bishops from Rome. Constantine, with the Prelates who still remained attached to the Greek faith, and the legates, used their utmost endeavours to prevent the proposed union with the Western Church; they were, however, not only out-voted by a large majority, but party spirit ran so high that the legates were in some danger.

The Catholic Greeks next held a Synod at Wilna, in which they were met by several Lutheran nobles and divines; the object being, if possible, to bring about an union between the Reformed bodies and the Oriental Church. This conference, happily for the latter, proved abortive; and Sigismund continued to press on his measures with more zeal than knowledge. He forbade, under severe penalties, the propagation of Greek doctrines throughout his dominions; and he carried his views still further, and determined on endeavouring to bring about a general union between the Eastern and Western Churches. Meletius Piga was now, by the common consent of friends and foes, the most influential Prelate in the former; and him Sigismund resolved to win to his views. Cyril, who had gained his livelihood by teaching Greek at Wilna, was now sent back again to Cairo, with a letter from the King of Poland to the Patriarch, exhorting him to revere the primacy of S. Peter, and to acknowledge Clement VIII as his successor and Ecumenical Bishop. To this epistle Meletius Piga returned a respectful but firm answer : he constituted Cyril his Exarch in Slavonia, and dispatched him with the strongest recommendations to the King. But Sigismund was engaged in a violent persecution; and the Uniates,—for so the schismatical Greeks were called, not only were put in possession of all the honors and emoluments of the Sees, but were guilty of the greatest cruelty towards the Catholics. Nicephorus opposed himself violently to these proceedings; and, having excited the anger of the schismatics by his plain speaking, was seized and strangled. It needed all the prudence of Cyril Lucar to escape the same fate : he did not dare to exhibit an epistle with which he was charged from Piga to the Protestant Divines; and though in private he never ceased to oppose Rome, he thought fit to withdraw from all open share in the matter.

His silence gave rise to a calunniy which his adversaries, and especially the Jesuit Scarga, were active in circulating against him. It was said that he had written to the Archbishop of Lowenberg, professing his own adherence to the Church of Rome. The letter was a forgery.

Finding his efforts unavailing, Cyril returned to Alexandria, with considerable increase of reputation, and a high character for political talent as well as learning. He

found his services required in another way, and was dispatched into Crete, to collect the usual contributions for the Patriarchate. He went by way of Constantinople and Paros; and it was at the former place that he formed an intimacy with M. von Haga, then travelling in the Levant, which also exerted a powerful influence on his future views. Nor need we wonder at this. Cyril could not but see that his Church stood in need of reformation; the doctrines then controverted in the West had received no elucidation nor decision, as they since have, in an Oriental Synod; the views of Lucar were probably indistinct and ill-defined, and rendered, perhaps, more obscure both by his intercourse with Romanists and with Protestants. In this state of things, a compact, clear, well-defined, and logical system was set before him by the teachers and disciples of Calvinism : they seem to have worked their way gradually, to have shrunk from sudden disclosures, and open attacks; and as Cyril seems to have been possessed but of moderate though highly respectable talents, and certainly had no knowledge of the Calvinistic controversy beyond that which Calvinists were pleased to give, we cannot wonder that he fell into their snare. Haga's character stood high; and one great object of his life seems to have been the bringing about an union between Geneva and Constantinople.

On his return to Egypt, he found his benefactor and relation, Meletius Piga, on his death-bed, and closed his eyes.

The greater part of the Clergy turned their eyes on Cyril Lucar; but there Avas a faction which endeavoured to promote the election of Gerasimus Spartaliotes. However, Cyril was duly chosen and consecrated, in the year 1602; and immediately entered on the active duties of his office.

### SECTION IX

#### CYRIL LUCAR, PATRIARCH

And they were neither few nor easy. It is certain that, from whatever cause, since the conquest of Egypt by Selim, while the Jacobites grew daily weaker in themselves, and more contemptible in the eyes of the world, the Catholic Church had increased considerably in strength. It does not appear that this change was accompanied by any increase in the number of Bishops; a truly grievous thing; and entailing, of course, on the Patriarch additional labor and additional responsibility.

The first ten years of Cyril's Patriarchate are almost entirely unknown to us. Our own countryman, Sandys, who in the year 1611 visited Egypt, gives him a high character and assures us that he considered the points in controversy between the Oriental and English Church as trifling and unimportant.

It was in the year 1612 that, on the removal of Neophytus from the Ecumenical Throne by the caprice of the Sultan, Cyril Lucar was compelled to visit Constantinople, in order to assist in the deposition of the Patriarch, and to administer the affairs of that Church. Here he found his old friend, M. Von Haga, who then occupied the post of ambassador from the States to the Sublime Porte; and the acquaintance thus renewed soon became a cordial friendship.

Cyril arrived in Constantinople before, or at the beginning of Lent; and it so happened that in one of the sermons preached during that season, a Greek Monk, who was an agent of the Jesuits, publicly preached Romanist doctrines in one of the Greek churches. The Jesuits had established a college at Constantinople about the year 1601 : the buildings were handsome, the library well assorted, and the Priests laborious, active, and intriguing. They soon made great way with the Greeks : but, strange to say, found more difficulty with members of the Roman Communion. The latter were, for the most part, under the spiritual guidance of Franciscans and Dominicans, who viewed the advances of the new Society with jealousy : and were not without their fears lest the turbulent and intermeddling spirit it displayed at Constantinople, should occasion the banishment of all Romanists from that city. Cyril publicly opposed the new doctrine, and thereby drew upon himself the deadly and implacable hatred of the Jesuits; and a struggle commenced between him and that Society, which only ended with his life.

Hitherto Cyril's conduct seems to have been irreproachable. He may indeed have theoretically entertained too favourable an opinion of the Protestant Communities on the Continent but this opinion had not influenced his conduct. By the advice of Von Haga, while administering the See of Constantinople, he wrote to M. Uytenbogaert, Minister at the Hague, of whom he had possibly gained some knowledge by report during his European travels. This was the first step in his ruin.

This letter, which is written in Latin is dated at Constantinople the 30th of May, 1612. In its address, the Patriarch of Alexandria calls the Presbyterian Minister his "brother in Christ", and proceeds in the following strain: we use Dr. Beaven's translation.

"His lordship, the ambassador, proposed this to me, but I had been beforehand in thinking of it; and the result is that, although I am not known to you, I write to you under the feeling that you are sufficiently known to me. And no wonder, for I write to you as a minister to a minister, and a pastor to a pastor; for we both sustain these titles—you in your Church, I in mine : and although both you and I are pastors, it is certain that we are both under the Chief Pastor, whose sheep we ought to be, and by whom we must be appointed pastors, if we wish to be really such.

And if we have this from God, it is well; but at the present time this is certainly not well, that your calling is not fully recognized by me, nor mine by you; and what is worse, one or the other of us, not regarding the ancient authority of the Fathers, to say nothing of Scripture, admits into the Church human opinions and innovations, with which the Church is now overwhelmed,

and appears to be at its last gasp. In the stead of faith is introduced vain philosophy, that sword turning every way, not to keep but to obstruct the way of life. To this philosophy we subject Christ himself; in it we believe : if the mysteries of the faith are not sanctioned by it, we do not receive them; we make it the sole foundation of salvation.

Now, if I should say this of you, or should refer it to you, you will cast it back upon me. If we both charge it on the Pope of Rome, he will excommunicate us both, and esteem us heretics. What a misery is this! What a confounding of truth! And that there is no one who can put a stop to this absurdity, and banish so foul a blot from the Christian world!

Some appear to reproach the Eastern Church with ignorance, inasmuch as the pursuits of literature and philosophy have shifted into other quarters. But, certainly, the East may be esteemed exceedingly happy in this her ignorance. For though, undoubtedly, she is pressed down with many miseries through the tyranny of the Turks, and possesses no facilities for the acquirement of knowledge, she has at least this great advantage, that she knows nothing of those pestilent disputes which, in the present day, pollute the ears of men. To her, innovations are novel signs and prodigies, to be dreaded rather than followed. She is contented with that simple faith which she has learned from the Apostles and our forefathers. In it she perseveres even unto blood. She never takes away, never adds, never changes. She always remains the same; always keeps and preserves untainted orthodoxy. And if any one chose to observe seriously the state of things in the Eastern Church, he would become aware of a highly important and wonderful circumstance; for Christians themselves, since they have been reduced to servitude, though persecuted by the unbelievers as by serpents within their dwellings, even if they see themselves deprived of their substance, their children dragged from their embraces, and themselves afflicted and distressed without intermission, to the utmost limits of endurance, yet think it not grievous to suffer these things for the faith of Christ, and, as has been often proved, when occasion offered, are ready to submit to death itself. And perhaps the almighty power of God is by this means rendered more apparent, by which so great grace is bestowed on men, when his strength is made perfect in weakness. Is not this a miracle? Are not these the marks of the Lord Jesus which Paul carried about? For with this the Eastern Christians, setting no store by the advantages of this life, and regarding them as perishable, keep up their hearts to one end—the inheritance of a heavenly kingdom to the glory of God.

Wherefore, then, do I mention these things to you? That your good sense may teach you, that in these parts it is a difficult thing to admit any novelty in the Church or in faith. Nor shall we ever consent to those things which, although they have a semblance of advantage and usefulness, yet are proved by experience to occasion great scandal to all Christendom. And I could wish that your Church would with us follow the same rule; for, in that case, there would not be those objections to it which the writers of these times everywhere bring forward”.

It is true that there is in this letter much to surprise and to grieve us; yet it is worthy of notice, that the high Oriental feeling in which Cyril had been educated had not yet forsaken him, nor was, to all appearance, injured and weakened. The Eastern Church is with him the model of perfection and unchangeableness: other communities may be true Churches, but she is the Church; other communities may have admitted innovations, she has rejected and repudiated them.

While this letter was on its way to Holland, the Church of Constantinople petitioned the Sultan to be allowed to proceed to the election of a Patriarch. The friends of Cyril were earnestly desirous that he should be raised to this office : great interest was made for him, and considerable hopes of success were entertained. But the conduct of Cyril on this occasion amply refutes the calumnies of Leo Allatius, with respect to his simoniacal purchase of the See of Alexandria. It is pretty clear, that had he chosen to promise the *pescesium*, or tribute to the Porte, which the Patriarchs were in the habit of paying, he would have been successful: as he was firm on this point, in Timothy, Bishop of Patras, was raised to the dignity. This man could not forget his rival's attempt : and Cyril found himself uncomfortable, and even unsafe at Constantinople. He therefore went into Wallachia, as it would appear, with a two-fold object; that of composing some disputes which had arisen, probably from the interference of Romish Missionaries, in this province; and that of collecting alms for the distressed Church of Alexandria. While here, he received an answer from M. Uytenbogaert which seems to have been written with true Presbyterian insolence, though couched in the most civil and complimentary terms. Eager to prove his denial of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, the Dutch Pastor evidently placed himself on an equality with Cyril; and, humble and unassuming as the latter was, he could not entirely pass over the cool assumption of Uytenbogaert. He replied in a long and valuable letter, from which we shall give some extracts :

“I am not surprised”, it commences, “nor is it anything different from my expectations, that your sweet echo has replied to the letter I sent, as befits a true steward and dispenser of the Divine Word. You have, with wonderful affection, returned to me, and besought for me, health and Christian peace; and, as if desirous to surpass me in every way, you have added at the beginning of your letter your good wishes in me, for the good of universal Christendom. By this I plainly perceive the ardor of your charity and your earnest desire to see the Christian Churches, scattered throughout the world, founded in the truth and imity of love on That Corner-Stone, the True Foundation, besides which can none lay any other”.

This language might be only that of compliment; though of compliment strangely unbecoming, when addressed by the third Prelate of the Church to a teacher and propagator of schism. But what follows is still more painful.

“I seem to become more boldin writing to you, to whom I may well open the interior recesses of my heart, and give and receive profitable information on every necessary matter. But if I am in error, you will not throw me into a seething pot, nor



stretch me over live coals, nor terrify me with the torturer's appearance. For most assuredly the Catholic faith of Christ is not sustained, but miserably overthrown, by such tyranny. You will admonish me, however, as becomes a brother. And I will deal with you in like manner : the mere opinions of men we will both hold in suspicion : the words of the Scripture and the Gospel as true and infallible”.

Cyril then answers the remark of Uytenbogaert on Presbyteral equality.

“As to your remark that there is no difference between us in rank, it is wisely made, for dignity can never alienate the mind of one who is sincere. Nor can a perishable thing cause its possessor to experience any excess of pride. If we are different in dignity, yet we are both mortals, both servants of God, both needing the Grace of God”.

After asking for a profession of his correspondent's faith, and giving his own, as distinguished from heretics in the belief of a Consubstantial Trinity, and from the Western Church in the omission of the Filioque, he thus proceeds:

“But since our Lord Jesus Christ, making a perfect provision for the promotion of our salvation, has, in the covenant of grace—that is, His Gospel,—appointed to us sacraments, I have thought it right to remark something also concerning them, viz.. Baptism and the Eucharist; the use of which we esteem so necessary, that without it we conceive that no one can be certain of his faith; for although they are seals, conferring the grace of the Gospel, yet they ought not to be totally separated from faith; because, in the same manner, as they cannot be efficacious without faith, so, because they are ordained, faith cannot be so without them. Hence their use must be perpetual in the Church : although one of them cannot be repeated, and without it the Eucharist would not confer grace; and, indeed, if an unbaptized person should communicate, he would not receive the Sacrament, because he would take it in opposition to faith and the truth of its use, order, and institution. In the same manner we say that neither would profit the impenitent to salvation, because baptism does not save the impenitent, and Paul teaches that he who eateth and drinketh unworthily is guilty of the Body and Blood .... On the other hand, what efficacy and power those Sacraments have for believers, appears from a consideration of the benefit those must receive to whom the merit of the Passion is communicated; for either of them is significative and declarative of the Passion and Death of the Lord; since it was said concerning the one, ‘Do this in remembrance of Me’—that is, ‘As often as ye shall eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's Death’; and of the other, ‘Whosoever of us are baptized in Christ Jesus, are baptized into His Death’, whence it is certain by the former we become partakers of the Divine Nature, and by the latter are born again, without which new birth and communion it would be difficult for us to be justified. Hence we ought always to render thanks to the Father, Who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. Who hath delivered us from the

power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son, in Whom we have redemption through His Blood—the forgiveness of sins.

In Baptism we think a form necessary; not, however, a proud and pompous one, but one humble and simple, such as we esteem this: ‘The servant of God is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost’. But previous to all the Greek Church preserves certain ceremonies, as the renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith of the infant's sureties, the giving of a name, the threefold immersion, and other things of small moment, but all accompanied with devout prayers, on which it would be tedious and unprofitable to dwell.

In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it holds that the following ceremonies are to be observed. As it is beyond doubt that this mystery was delivered to us for two ends—for the commemoration of Christ's Death, and for the receiving of His Body and Blood, in order to commemorate His Death, our Church is wont, before the consecration of the leavened bread, to recite these words : ‘He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is harmless’, and then, ‘And one of the soldiers with his spear pierced His side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water’. And these words are scarcely finished when the wine and water is poured into the cup ...

And here I should introduce the mention of the sacred particles, which particles are nine very minute portions of bread, and a tenth of S. Mary the Mother of the Lord, which, after the pouring of the wine and water into the cup, being taken from one loaf of oblation, we place near the bread of the Eucharist, to signify that the condition of the Saints is even now happy, who, being joined as members to Christ their head, triumph with Him in heavenly glory. But it is not of much importance if that devout and peculiar ceremony of the East, which has little or nothing to do with the essence of the Sacrament, be not known any further, since it is not necessary that others should be informed concerning it. For though the Romans preach and declare that human ordinances are so necessary to salvation, that unless a person observes even to the least tittle with them, he cannot be saved; we, notwithstanding, on the contrary, believe divine ordinances to be certain and infallible, and receive and hold those of men as indifferent and fallible. We subject them to the judgment of Scripture, and the test of the Gospel and the Holy Ghost; and if they are good and useful, we think they should be adopted, but if otherwise, spurned and rejected...

The ceremony of the particles being finished, we begin to repeat some prayers, and having finished the rehearsal of the words which the Evangelists relate either to have been said concerning the Lord's Supper, or to have been uttered by our Lord Himself, (He took bread, and having blessed, He brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said: ‘Take, eat, this is My Body’, and, ‘He took the cup, and having given thanks, He gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this : for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many’) we immediately invoke the Holy Spirit, saying, ‘And make this bread the honoured

Body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup His precious Blood', which words S. Chrysostom in the book which we call the Liturgy, and before him S. Basil, appoints. After these words we break the bread, and communicate in both kinds; and if any layman, *i.e.*, any of those who are not permitted to administer this Sacrament, wishes to communicate, we likewise impart to him both kinds

With regard to our Church government, it is not monarchical, but mixed and limited. Each [Bishop] is a king in his own particular church; but he will not be a king there unless he desires to be a tyrant. And be he king or not, if he is found guilty of contumacy, he subjects himself to the sentence of the aristocracy of Bishops. To this government we are very much attached: for we know that such was the order established by God in the Jewish Church, of which Moses indeed was head; but yet an aristocracy was ordained. That appears to me the proper method of governing Churches; and if we at the present time are somewhat wanting, the cause of it is the tyranny of the unbelievers, to which perverse men frequently have recourse; and thus confound the order of our Church, which my eyes have often seen in these times...

The Greek Church is distributed into many nations: the Iberians, Colchians, Arabs, Chaldeans, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Muscovites, Russians, Bulgarians, Servians or Sclavians, Albanians, Caramanians, Walachians, Moldavians, and Greeks... All these nations persevere in the faith of Christ, obeying the Greek Church and their own rules. Nor will you observe amongst them, beyond ceremonies which vary with the country, any alteration in matter of faith. It sometimes happens that there is superstition in particular nations, arising from barbarism and ignorance, which we indulge without detriment to faith, because, on account of many different difficulties, we cannot hinder it; but in those things which relate to the essence of the faith, they preserve and continue as they received it from the beginning.

These nations have four lawful Patriarchs, amongst whom the Patriarch of Constantinople holds the first place, the Patriarch of Alexandria the second, the Patriarch of Antioch the third, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem the last. There can be no doubt that before the empire of the East, the Archbishop of Constantinople never had the title of Patriarch, and the Patriarch of Alexandria was always Primate; as may be gathered from the First Council, the most celebrated of all, and from other passages and arguments. But the order was changed through the intervention of the Emperor Constantine, who could not endure that his new Rome should not have the presence of some new, great Prelate. The Patriarch of Constantinople, however, could never rightfully have obtained the primacy of station, if he of Alexandria had not, upon request made to him, volutarily given way; nor would he have given way unless he had been endowed with great privileges, and a title superior to him of Constantinople, which the Alexandrian Patriarch enjoys to this very time, to the admiration of the whole East; which, if any one were to endeavour to explain to those who are beyond the limits of the East, he would call them fables, and yet they are true. But I mention these things to you, sir, not because we contend with the Patriarch

of Constantinople for the Primacy; for to seek this in the Church is to rend the Church, and it would be stupidity and folly for ecclesiastics to dispute for primacy of station to the injury of souls. He is first and most happy who conforms himself to the example of Paul, who professed himself to be the least in the Church, but edified it more than all; but since it is the truth, I have not neglected to write it to you, my friend. By this arrangement, primacy of station is preserved amongst these; amongst the rest [Bishops] are endued with equal rights, and thus brotherly regard is completely preserved

Nor must I omit to tell you that all the Patriarchs, except him of Constantinople, preserve that excellent order of Church government above mentioned; and the reason is, that their election is lawful, and depends upon those who have no interest but to see the Church flourishing, well governed, and orderly; and if they transgress, the Patriarch of Alexandria is a ready judge to keep within bounds and correct such things, especially if they relate to faith. But it is not so with him of Constantinople, because for the most part Turkish oppression, without any foregoing election, confirms him who gives most: with which the Patriarch of Alexandria vehemently reproaches them. But he cannot compete with Turkish violence, which seeks to gain, whether justly or unjustly, and therefore favors those by whom most is given. Besides this, the distance of the places, and other difficulties, hinder any provision being made against this irregularity

The Patriarch of Constantinople is more powerful, on account of his ready access to the Emperor. Those of Antioch and Jerusalem, upright and humble Prelates, have scarcely a sufficient subsistence. The Patriarch of Alexandria is ill thought of; because, without violence towards his brethren, he sometimes defends himself from wrongful attempts, and is always dreaded and suspected by them. But let others speak of his authority and estimation amongst them : from hence it comes to pass, that unless he had confirmed Athanasius, he would not be Patriarch of Antioch : unless by his wish and intervention Theophanes had been elected, he would not be at the head of the Church of Jerusalem; unless he had lately expelled Neophytus of Constantinople, Timotheus would not be there; and I leave to your ambassador to inform you in what alarm that man is, because he obtained the Patriarchate by improper means. But if you, sir, wish to know why Neophytus was ejected, it was on account of his multiplied acts of contumacy. He rose to that degree in the first place by the use of tyranny, and subsequently exercised his government much more tyrannically; and that he might have satellites, as ministers to his pleasures, he introduced some vagabonds of Romans as preachers in our Church, teaching many errors and seducing simple folks. He was admonished by me more than once, but he would not put any check upon himself; for which reason I was compelled to surmount every other difficulty, to set at nought private loss, and to do my utmost to get him deposed, which was done. But Timotheus has obtained the vacant place by dint of bribing the Turks; wherefore

the name of the Patriarch of Alexandria keeps him in alarm, and Constantinople is still in considerable commotion

The election of the Patriarchs, excepting him of Constantinople, rests in the leading men of the nation, who assemble with the Clergy, and, after the customary prayers, choose whom they judge fittest. When they are elected, they deposit a certain sum with the Turkish officials of the province to obtain possession... The Patriarch of Alexandria pays nothing to the Turks, nor does he ever join with them in any Church matters, or choose them as advisers or allies; the reason of which is, the prudence and vigilance of former Patriarchs, who, being aware of the danger, have always kept their subjects unanimous. On this unity good and evil depends; and, by the favor of God, it is in our own times greater than usual, and wonderfully stands by us in all circumstaucce; never suffering any to disturb the Church of Alexandria, but meeting everything unfavorable with promptitude, and the more when the See is vacant; although by means of calumnies, invented by the unbelievers, after the usual Turkish fashion, we suffer daily injuries... When the Patriarchs are elected, they are consecrated by at least three Metropolitans or Archbishops. The principal ceremonies of the Consecration are as follows:—The Patriarch elect, stands in the midst of the church, .... and makes the profession of his faith in an audible voice, reciting the Creed, and promising to be faithful to Christ and His Flock. Then follow prayers, with the invocation of the Holy Ghost, imposition of hands, and the naming of the Patriarchate, [to which he is appointed,] and thus ends the Consecration. Archbishops and Bishops are consecrated in a similar manner; but there is this addition in the case of Patriarchs, that when the ceremony of Consecration is finished, a staff is given into their hand, with a longer charge; and in some Churches, (as at Jerusalem and Alexandria, but nowhere else,) the head is anointed with oil, called the oil of Confirmation; but I know no other reason for it but custom

Each Patriarch has his Archbishops and Bishops. The Patriarch of Constantinople has more than the rest; and next to him the Patriarch of Antioch. The Patriarch of Alexandria has had only *Chorepiscopi* for a space of two hundred years; but it would be tedious to recount the causes why he has not Archbishops and Bishops. The *Chorepiscopi* are but deputies; they differ from Bishops in this, that the latter can ordain, appoint, and arrange at their discretion, within the limits of their Diocese; but the *Chorepiscopi* not without the authority of their superior

It was your wish, likewise, to obtain information concerning the heretics in the East, and I therefore will not neglect to notice anything which may be to the purpose. There are still four sects of them with whom our Church does not communicate, the Armenian, the Coptic, the Maronite, and the Jacobite, whose mode of worship is unsightly, and their ceremonies worse than brutish. In matter of faith, they are heretics; in habits and other circumstances of an ecclesiastical nature, you would say that they differed nothing from beasts. They are so sunk in darkness as scarcely to know whether they believe, or what they

believe, but each of them is obstinately attached to its own superstitions and errors.

The Armenians follow the doctrine of Manichaeus, and have many peculiar points of belief. Their Clergy are reckoned gods upon earth, because they abstain from vegetables during Lent; but these gods, the true God is my witness, have often moved my bile; and doubtless any one who is a spectator of their foul and absurd follies, could not help being annoyed. But perhaps it will not displease you if I make you in some degree as wise as myself. It happened to me, as according to Gregory it did to Basil, when he was disputing at Athens with an Armenian, to whom Gregory administers a blow in the ribs, whilst Basil, attackning him on the other side, carried off the victory. So, once upon a time, when I was in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, I lighted upon a certain Armenian, by name Barsabas; and as the Armenian was very much lifted up, and gave it out that he was more learned than the rest of us, (though I could scarce have expected to meet with so ignorant a man,) watching my opportunity, I thought it not amiss to try, before the crowd of people, what sort of spirit he was of. At length we came to an engagement, the commencement of our discussion being, whether our Lord Jesus Christ dwelt amongst men, and suffered in appearance only; for the Armenians believe that He did. But when I put questions to him, and urged that it was impious to believe that the Lord did not really suffer, which is the same thing as to deny that He really wrought our salvation; and when with these and other incontrovertible reasonings and testimonies from the Gospel, Barsabas was confounded, yet was ashamed to confess the truths but tried to invent some more clear method of combating me; and when he perceived that he could in no other way nullify my arguments, he shut up the whole dispute and cut short the contest. 'I know', said he, 'that the Armenian religion is more holy than yours, because you in Lent eat beans and other vegetables, from which many worms and much corruption are engendered; but we, observing the purity which becomes a Christian, thinking these to be profane food on fasting days, scarcely dare touch them, and with this we are content.

Have I not raised your indignation by the very telling this business? Well, believe me that I kept silence for a good while, doubtful what reply could be made to ignorance so gross, and I was thinking of the best words for bringing this prince of disputants into another slough of confusion, when one of my attendants spoke up, and replied, 'You have a good right to be a saint, Barsabas, for you have the soul of Pythagoras in you; but if it went from you into a camel, and the camel was still Barsabas, would you then abstain from beans?' An unpretending but shrewd fellow gave him no time to reply, but subjoined, 'You should not say camel; if Barsabas was an ass, could he live in these parts without beans?' Hereupon the bystanders broke out into uncontrollable laughter, and that was the end of our conference; for this Armenian Coriphreus of disputers went away very wroth. From this, your good sense will judge on what sort of reasons this rabble rely in thinking that they persevere in the Catholic



Faith. Upon such sand as this their Clergy build the salvation of themselves and of their followers.

Another sect is that of the Copts, who follow the doctrine of Dioscorus and Eutyches, a filthy and barbarous race. They are called Copts, because they used to circumcise themselves; but this they do no longer. The reason, however, is, not as they state it, because it is vain, and against the law, (for our Lord Christ Himself was circumcised,) but because they thereby gave other Christians, who do not practise circumcision, an occasion of laughing at them. I have abundant acquaintance with these pests in the city of Grand Cairo; for, as this was formerly an Archbishopric of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, I have for the most part taken up my residence there, on account of the salubrity of the air, seldom visiting Alexandria. These Copts, then, are so numerous there, that if the Greeks were counted against them, as Homer wrote of the Greeks and Trojans, the Copts would be ten times as many as the Greeks, and many a dozen would lack a cup-bearer. My predecessors in the Patriarchate, and especially Meletius, my last predecessor, a most learned and exemplary person, have made many efforts to bring them back to the way of truth, but without success.

Pope Clement VIII of Rome both did and bore many things to come to an arrangement with them; and you would laugh, sir, if you knew what arts the Copts used in that business, and how much the Pope was imposed upon; although Baronius, the new historian, before he became acquainted with the real state of things, perhaps with a view to flatter Clement, after the fashion of the Court of Rome, was in a hurry to give him the credit of having accomplished it by his own newly acquired industry, and chose to give an account in his Annals of the Conversion of the Copts, to the Church of Rome, which time, not long after, proved to be entirely false. In fact, Paul, the present Pope, for that very cause banished several Copts from Rome.

They have a superior, who is called in their own language *Jabuna*, which means, My Lord. He came several times to visit me in Egypt; but every time he came, he came in silence and went away in silence. One of his people spoke for him, and he signified his assent or dissent from the words of the speaker by the inclination or holding back of his head; but he never opened his mouth, because, as she says, it is not allowed; nay, it is a sin for a *Jabuna* to speak much out of his own house; but he kept his rule with a rigor beyond law, for he not only did not speak much, but was altogether silent. For my part, I am a talkative and chatty person, who think I ought to speak with my own mouth, and not with that of others. But the thing which more displeases me in that good Lord is, that he never showed me any part of his face except the eyes. His whole head, whether he raises it or inclines it, is covered with a cloth, so that he will never give you a glimpse of his face, but you would say that he was a ghost in a tragedy. I am unwilling to trouble a person of your sagacity any further about such absurdities; but the Copts have a Casis amongst them, (Casis means Presbyter,) called Peter. He is much in the habit of coming to visit me, and says that he knows the errors of his own religion, and reproves them; but I do not

place much reliance upon him, because if his conscience dictated what he says with his mouth, he would no longer remain a Coptish Presbyter

The Maronite sect is semi-Roman; indeed, it is on the road to becoming entirely Roman, for many Maronites have gone to Rome to study, and from thence have migrated to Mount Lebanon, a castle in the province of Phoenicia, where their principal residence is, exceedingly well instructed by the Romans; and at the present time almost all that race follow the Roman religion, especially as their chief Bishop professes himself a Papist. And as the Dioecese of the Patriarch of Antioch is contiguous to the Maronites, I am afraid they will infect the neighbors; more especially as the cautions of the Patriarch and of myself appear to take no effect, for an Arab does not comprehend how insidious and encroaching a thing mischief is.

The Jacobite race is the most filthy and most degraded; nor have I anything to write respecting it, except that we have a good right to know it for its Nestorian heresy.

These are the pest of the East, which God keeps in check by the general scourge of the unbelievers, so that they may do us no injury

There would be other things more necessary to write relating to those points which are now discussed and sifted by the learned, as concerning freewill, predestination, and justification; concerning which the world is not yet agreed what ought to be held. Our Church has always held the same doctrine, and has taught these points in one and the same way. He who has but a dream may speak dreams; and he who has the Word of God should speak the Word of God in truth. What has the chaff to do with the wheat? Those to whom it is entrusted should do the work of an evangelist, and fulfil their ministry with sobriety; so that, not being intoxicated with passions, of which the efforts of the Jesuits are full, he may not presume to lie, but speak the truth. I am so straitened for time that I cannot speak of these matters; nor, indeed, do I think it necessary, for it is fitter for graver and more learned men to undertake that task without fear, as James Arminius, who in my opinion was a learned man, has done under various heads. But as he lays down propositions, in which many points are implied which are not expressed, his book ought to be read, not cursorily, as I have done, but in a business-like manner, if an opinion is to be pronounced at any length, and not a hasty one; a task which your kindness might at pleasure impose upon me, if I were at home and released from this troublesome journey. I hope, please God, that I shall soon return; and then, sir, you can write to me with freedom, and receive replies which, I trust, will be agreeable, and thus understand more clearly that I am your sincere friend and brother in Christ.

Moreover, you will observe that nothing is ever written in my letters which is not dictated by reason and truth, by which I desire that everything of mine may be tried. Far be it from me, from my conscience, from my character, that truth should be either neglected, or not preferred to all other things. For the

truth I dispute even with my own brethren, the Greek Clergy. I am the enemy of ignorance; and although I do not object to a simple and unlearned laity, because I know that men may be saved, although their minds are uncultivated and simple, whilst they fight almost daily against the enemies of the faith, carrying on the conflict, not with arms, but with patience, so as to prove themselves on all points faithful soldiers of Christ; yet it is a great dissatisfaction to me that our Pastors and Bishops should be sunk in the darkness of ignorance. With this I reproach my countrymen, but without avail. And the Jesuits, taking the opportunity, have laid the foundation of a plan for educating boys at Constantinople, and have as undisputed success as foxes amongst poultry; and at length the Roman doctrine will overspread the world, if the satellites of the Court of Rome employ equal diligence in the business, unless God is merciful to us; for His hand alone can save our vessel from this foul shipwreck. Indeed, our only hope is in His mercy and power; otherwise our strength would be quite ineffectual to resist such a persecution, as those of the Greek religion in Poland and Lithuania, the Russians, and others, feel by very sad experience, through the violence which is brought against them by the Roman Clergy, and through the efforts of the Jesuits to bring them to submit to the Church of Rome. And because they refuse to do this, the Jesuits leave nothing untried to attain their end; hence threats, flight, exile, death, and many other things which we read of, as being to take place only in the times of Antichrist. Hence the poor creatures, seeing the laws of the State overthrown, the covenant for the preservation of their liberties done away with, every method of maintaining public peace withdrawn, have recourse to the Greek Church, that we may vouchsafe, by our influence with the king and the nobles, to interpose, and to beg that they may be set at liberty.

It has so happened, that the care of this business has fallen upon the Patriarch of Alexandria; nor has he neglected to write to the king and all his great men, to press them, by whatever arguments he could, to adjure them by justice, by equity, by respect for the laws, and at length to descend to prayers and entreaties. But it is all to no purpose; and, indeed, my latest information is, that the violence and persecution becomes the more oppressive, in proportion as they despair of taking possession of Muscovy. In fact, these beginnings in Poland appear to threaten many other kingdoms; and what wonder if they have dared to attack even Constantinople herself? I hear that you take good care of yourselves, lest this leaven should injure your people; and I am very glad of it. We shall always do the same, so far as lies in our power, and so much the more, if we are aided by your spiritual counsel, and cheered by your charity, as it is right you should be by ours; so that, with one mind embracing the orthodox faith of Christ, we may both go on to fulfil the commands of our high calling, faithfully contending, and always defending the truth, to the increase of the Catholic Church, and the eternal glory of God the Father, and of His Only-Begotten Son and Holy Spirit.

As soon as I return, I will, please God, look into the books sent me by the most illustrious States, and I shall read them with double relish, because they have been sent me by my lords themselves. For the book of Arminius I confess that I am in your debt; but on my return to my own home, I will take care to recompense you by some manuscript; and if I have anything else, it shall be all common to your goodness. I should be much obliged to you if you would make me an intelligible catalogue of some recent select authors, who have written thoughtfully and learnedly on both Testaments, especially on the books of Moses, on the greater prophets, on the Gospels and Epistles of Paul—that is, such as are most in use amongst you; and likewise other authors who have written on divinity, philosophy, and other arts, and even on mathematics and send it to me the first opportunity. And if you would add the names of the most famous and renowned of your learned men, and appoint to me in my turn whatever may be agreeable to you from these parts, I will always readily gratify you.

Every wish for the health of so obliging a person”.

On the return of Cyril from Wallachia (A.D. 1616), he found the Church of Constantinople greatly prejudiced against him: and retired to Mount Athos. Here he remained some little time; and became possessed of that invaluable MS. of the whole Bible, known by the name of the Alexandrine, and probably written in the fifth or sixth century. We shall in the sequel hear more of this treasure.

The Turkish Government issued a mandate for the death of Cyril: the Monks conveyed him under a disguise elsewhere; and finally, Timothy was reconciled to him. Thus Cyril returned into Egypt. He determined, on arriving at Cairo, to express his sense of the innovations of the Church of Rome in the strongest possible manner: and accordingly, having assembled such of the Prelates of his own Church as happened to be at hand, he delivered over to an anathema the emissaries of the Western Church. Whatever may be thought of this step, it must be remembered that these Roman Missionaries were in Egypt the direct supporters of heresy, by the unholy alliance which they formed with the Coptic Patriarch.

It would seem, however, that Cyril had become painfully sensible of the inability of his Clergy, from want of learning, to cope with these envoys. He probably was unwilling to send them to Venice or Padua, knowing the dangers to which they would there be exposed; and still more unwilling, at this time, to trust them at Geneva, or at any of the Dutch universities. He therefore cast his eyes towards England, where Abbot filled the Chair of Canterbury. With this Prelate he seems to have opened a communication, while yet at Constantinople, through the English ambassador; and to have obtained from him an assurance, that if he would send any well-qualified ecclesiastic, his education should be carried on in the best manner. Cyril made choice of a young priest named Metrophanes Critopulus: recommended by his talents, the

improvement he had made of his former advantages, and his good birth. By this ecclesiastic Cyril wrote the following letter to Abbot.

“To the Most Blessed and Honorable the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan; one in many respects to be most highly honoured by me; let this letter, when arrived in Britain, be delivered with honor, and fitting reverence;

Cyril, by the Grace of God, Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge.

I wish good health to your Worship, to the advantage and increase of the flock entrusted to you. Since we are now by the Grace of Christ returned to our Egypt, and enjoy peace in the Church, we are called upon to acquit ourselves of the promise made to your Blessedness in our former letters. Christ enjoys in no Church a profounder peace than in this of ours, since no strife nor contention respecting the Faith prevails amongst us, since the enemies of the Christian religion who are the most bitter and the most opposed, put a bridle on the tongues of those who would stir up such contentions. By whom, it is true, we are vexed and tried in many ways : and yet, for the Name of Christ which we bear in our mouths, and Whose marks we carry about with us, we are delighted to suffer affliction, and vexation, and, if need be, to undergo the severest penalty, that, by the trial, our faith may shine more and more, and the glory of God may be manifested.

From such, then, we fear nothing : but rather from those dogs and deceitful workers, those hypocrites, who say one thing and mean another, who are audacious enough to attack God Himself, if they may only by any means assist the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff.

These emissaries exceedingly terrify us, and impose on our simplicity, and make use of many engines to bring us under their power, trusting chiefly in the show of erudition, and the thorny difficulties of the questions which they raise; while we, meanwhile, labor under a want of learned men, who can oppose these sophists on equal terms. For, on account of our sins we have become the most contemptible of all nations; and with the overthrow of the Empire have lost the liberal arts.

It was continued meditation on this subject which induced me to open a communication with your Love, and to implore your counsel and assistance. But we received the greatest comfort from the reply of your Blessedness, by which, acting under the command of your king, you advised us to send some of our countrymen to study Theology amongst you with diligence.

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Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth, and talents prepared to receive deeper learning. We trust that the advances he will make will be such as need not to be repented of, if Divine Grace will breathe on him from Heaven, and your Blessedness will lend him an assisting hand.

And because you say that this plan is acceptable to the most serene King James the First, who is crowned by the hand of God, we ought to be grateful for his kindness, in which he makes a near approach to the pity and goodness of the Celestial King. In this he has fulfilled our expectations, as one whom God has blessed from Heaven, and enriched with the fullest gifts of His Grace, and by His special Providence committed to his care such and so large an Empire.

Therefore we first request your Blessedness to salute, in our name, with the most profound reverence, and with the most humble inclination of the body, His Most Gracious Majesty, to whom, from our very hearts, we desire long life and extended old age. Then we would ask him that, of his innate, and I had almost said immense goodness, he would allow some sparkle of his benevolence to shine on our Metrophanes.

Lastly, if anything be wanting in my letter, with respect to the instruction or complete education of this man, this will easily be supplied by your prudence, which God has raised up, and set forth as a shining torch in an exalted place, in order that you may be able to give consolation to others, not only to your Britons, but also to our Greek countrymen.

Farewell, most Blessed Father ; may the Lord God grant you a long and happy life, and at the same time supply you with strength in order that you may be enabled to bear the cares of the State and of the Church.

Egypt, March 1, 1616. [*i.e.* 1617.]”

We may observe that Cyril’s Orientalism appears here undiminished. The Greek Church still, to use his favourite expression, carries about the marks of her Crucified Lord; and we have not a wish for union with Protestant Communities. Had it pleased God that this connection should have subsisted, to what brilliant results might it have led! And yet it is impossible not to feel deep regret that Andrewes had not, according to the general expectation of the Church, been at this time Archbishop : he might have effectually prevented Cyril’s subsequent fall; and how deep an interest he had in the affairs of the Oriental Church his private devotions amply prove.

Metrophanes reached England in safety; was well received by the King and the Archbishop, and was sent to Oxford. Abbot’s reply was as follows:



“London, Nov. 17, 1617.

George Abbot, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, to his most holy Lord and Brother.

Cyril, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge, health in Christ.

There are many things which testify the sympathy existing between, and the sweet agreement enjoyed by, the members of the Universal Church : but at this time, I feel it on this account especially, in that I am enabled to embrace with both arms your brotherhood whom I have never seen face to face, through divided from me by many a league of land and sea, as if present; for the unity of faith binds each to each, and the common bond of love joins us by one and the selfsame Spirit, by Whom we extol Christ, Whom we both breathe: and we heartily congratulate you on the peace which your Church enjoys, now, from your account, disturbed by no schism nor intestine commotion; and that external tranquillity which, if not altogether undisturbed, yet fills us with astonishment, which you enjoy among the bitter and determined enemies of the Christian name, according to that of the Royal Seer concerning Christ the King, 'Be Thou Ruler in the midst among Thine enemies.' We also request the congratulations of your piety, on the manifold gifts of God, poured out abundantly on the British Church. In which, to quote what your Chrysostom once said of our island, 'you may hear the people philosophising from Holy Scripture, in a strange tongue, but a familiar faith, using the language of barbarians, professing the faith of Saints'. For our people, devoted to the worship of Christ, is conversant in the clear light of the Gospel, and abundantly satisfies its thirst in the limpid streams of living water, without hindrance from any; and this cannot be obtained in the Churches under the obedience of the Roman Pontiff. As to discipline, we differ from the other Churches which have been purged from the dregs of Popery : we retain the most ancient form of Ecclesiastical rule, and the distinct orders of ministers. God, the Giver of all good things, preserve them to us for ever; though we, after the depravity of our mind, have on account of our sins, and more especially the crime of ingratitude, deserved that our golden candlestick should be removed from its place, and ourselves entirely deprived of the light of Holy Scripture. We do not ascribe the good we have received to our own merits, for we have none, but first to the Divine loving kindness, and next, to the singular love wherewith He embraces the elect instrument of His glory, our most serene King James, who, heir both to the Crown and to the religion of Elizabeth of pious memory, confirms them by his laws, and renders them illustrious by his example. For he not only is a diligent hearer of holy discourses, and a guest at the tremendous Table of the Lord, especially in the more solemn feasts, but also, which is more than example, and the greatest thing in this great monarch, he discusses learnedly the most abstruse mysteries of the schools, with the Bishops best practised in the arena of Divinity. He has also written much and accurately on Theology, and his works have lately been given to the press : they are well calculated to establish the Faith and to destroy errors, particularly those of the

Romanists. I congratulate you on having obtained the entire friendship of such a King, who, on the perusal of the letters of your Holiness to myself, salutes your Blessedness, and speaks of you in the most flattering manner. And to give you a proof of his good will, he has commanded me to receive your Metrophanes in a kind and friendly manner. I will cherish him as a pledge and surety of your love to me; and will gladly supply him with whatever is necessary, or may be convenient. I have already planted this generous youngshoot of a Grecian school, in a pleasant garden, where he may flourish amongst us, and in good time bring forth fruit; it is in the University of Oxford, where there is a most excellent library, and seventeen colleges, and where a numerous race of learned men are supported at the public expense, as in a Piytaeum.

Your Metrophanes is already entered on the books; and, when he has come to maturity, and brought forth fruit, then, as shall seem best to your prudence, and be most for the advantage of your Church, he shall either take deep root amongst us, or be sent back to his native soil, and there again planted.

I have only, Most Holy Brother, to ask that your piety will commend the British Church to God by continual prayer, as we shall intercede for that of Greece, in like manner : that it, together with the whole Catholic Church, being surrounded with the Divine Providence as with a wall, may be confirmed in peace and love; and that it may be freed from these new emissaries who oppugn with their treachery alike Christian verity and Christian liberty. Among whom those pseudo- Monks are chiefly to be avoided, now fresh from the potter's wheel, who arrogate to themselves the name of the Savior, who, professing to seek peace, throw all things into confusion, and desiring, as they profess, truth, teach equivocation, even where it involves perjury. The Great Shepherd of the sheep preserve His whole flock from these foxes and rapacious wolves; and at the same time preserve your piety in peace and perpetual felicity”.

It is plain that at this time the thoughts of Cyril were much turned to England, and that he received pretty accurate information from Metrophanes of what concerned its Church. It is plain, also, that during the year and a half following the departure of Metrophanes, he became an Apostate from the doctrine of the Eastern Church. For he addressed, in 1618, a Letter to the celebrated Archbishop of Spalatro, on his pretended relinquishment of the Roman, and junction with the English Communion. This letter has never been published. We shall, therefore, give it entire in a note; contenting ourselves here with its most important portions. Here it will be seen that Cyril stamps himself a thorough Genevan, and it proves that the influence of Le Leu Wilhem and, at a later period, Antony Leger, had not that influence on him for harm, which those who have written his life without having seen this unhappy letter have naturally imagined, since he was already an unconscious heretic.

The letter is, word for word, as follows :

“Cyril, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge, to the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Archbishop of Spalatro, Mark Antony de Dominis, his most learned and worthy brother and lord, peace. If you have been able, most worthy Fater, to manifest to the whole Morld that truly Cliristian zeal, which at this time has unexpectedly terrified the kingdom of Antichrist to the great edication of the Faithful, and to give proof of that sincere charity whereby you have purged the Catholic Church, the Bride of Christ the Lord, from the ill meaning of its adversaries, and adorned it with its pristine beauty; our humbleness may also use the same liberty, in replying to your kind letter, and give you evident proof, how deeply the Holy Ghost has sown in our hearts the fervor of love towards your most worthy person, and how much we desire to communicate the reformation of our faith, to you who are one of the reformed that when our letter offers itself to you to be read, our mind may also offer itself to be understood”.

He then goes on to say that he has become acquainted with the Archbishop's flight from Italy, his journey to the Hague, and his subsequent voyage to England. His previous acquaintance with the character of the writer added to his pleasure in receiving a copy of the *De Republica Christiana*, which De Dominis, it seems, had forwarded him, and of which he speaks in the most flattering terms.

“I was ill”, he continues, “and confined to my bed, when your book and your letter were brought to me. I instantly read the letter; and as soon as I understood what the book was, what the argument, and who the author, I called for the work, took it in my hands, and did not desist from its perusal, until the visit of my physician put a stop to it. The physician came and felt my pulse; I handed to him the book, for he is a Romanist by religion. What said he? Does your Holiness wish to hear? Nothing else than the general accusation of the Romanists, that it was the refusal of the dignity of the Cardinalate for which you are anxious, that caused you to fall into your apostacy”.

We may just remark that this plain speaking of Cyrill's could, not be very agreeable to his correspondent; inasmuch as the subsequent conduct of the Archbishop made it but too likely that the accusation in question had been true.

“As if it were apostacy to obey sincerity, and liberty of conscience, and no longer to tolerate the ambition and delusions of the Roman Pontiff! As if it were apostacy to leave a doctrine founded on human dreams, and to adhere to that Orthodox Faith which exactly consents with the Word of God!”

He proceeds to dwell on the wound which, in his opinion, the work had inflicted on Rome, and then mentions the only objection which had occurred to him against it.

“This one thing I consider a fault, that your prudence, misled by Baronius, took that Alexandrian illusion for a real embassy. It was nothing in the world but the

imposture of some Copt or Eutychian who went to Rome, and gave himself out for a Legate of the Patriarch of Alexandria. Before the discovery of the trick, the flatterers of Clement wrote and preached wonders of this Legation, as if the time were at hand, when the whole world should be one Fold under the Roman Pontiff. But on the creation of Paul, and detection of the fraud, the Legate was secretly banished from Rome, lest the farce should be discovered; and returned to Egypt. The case was the same, in that History of the Russian Bishops, of which I might speak, because I was then Nuncio from Alexandria in Poland, the Legate of Constantinople being my colleague, and was present among the whole nation of the Russians in the Council of Brzesc, assembled against those very Bishops who had been to Rome, unless it were useless to waste time, and to abuse your patience by entering into the deceits, wiles, and stratagems of the Romanists”.

After a few more observations he proceeds in formal terms to announce his apostacy from the doctrine of the Oriental Church.

“There was a time, when we were bewitched, before we understood what was the very pure Word of God : and although we did not communicate with the Roman Pontiff, nor receive him for what he gave himself out, namely, the Head of the Church, yet we believed that except in some matters of little moment in which the Greek Church differs from the Latin, the dogmas of the Roman Communion were true; and we abominated the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, as opposed to the Faith, in good truth not knowing what we abominated. But when it pleased the Merciful God to enlighten us, and to give us understanding of our former error, we began to reflect what it was our duty to do; and as it is the part of a good citizen in any sedition to defend the juster cause, much more did I think it the duty of a good Christian not to dissimulate his sentiments in matters pertaining to salvation; but ingenuously to embrace that side which is most consentaneous to the Word of God. What then did I do? Having obtained, through the kindness of friends, some writings of Evangelical Doctors, which the East have not only never seen but, through the influence of the censures of Rome, never even heard of, I invoked earnestly the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and for three years compared the doctrine of the Greek and Latin Church with that of the Reformed”.

It is difficult to say, of what three years this is to be understood. But it is probable, however, from the letter which Cyril addressed while in Wallachia to M. Uytenbogaert, that he commenced the study of the books furnished him by the States as soon as possible after his return to Constantinople, perhaps during his residence in the Holy Mountain.

“I left the Fathers, and took for my guide Scripture, and the Analogy of Faith alone. At length, through the Grace of God, because I discovered that the cause of the Reformers was the more just, and more in accordance with the doctrine of Christ, I embraced it. I can no longer endure to hear men say that the comments of human tradition are of equal weight with Holy Scripture. With respect to original sin, it is commonly believed among us, to be entirely extirpated, destroyed, and removed in the

Laver of Regeneration. But taught by experience itself, as also instructed by the very Word of God, we hold and believe that it is not removed, but remains in us; being no longer however imputed to us. On the article of Justification, with respect to which we believed that our vileness could have merit, and trusted in it more than in our Lord Christ; now we comprehend how pernicious is the doctrine of inherent righteousness, and we look only to the mercy of Almighty God, bestowed on us on account of the merit, apprehended by Faith, of Christ, our Saviour and Mediator. Thence we believe in our heart, and profess with our lips that all our righteousness hangs; regarding all our works as filthy rags. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper we constantly believe that Christ is present, not feignedly and symbolically, but truly and properly, essentially and really, as the Words of our Lord prove, 'which is given for you'. With respect to the manner of the Presence, our Greek Church is at variance both with those who adopt the chimera of transubstantiation, and with the erroneous opinion of the Ubiquitaries”.

On this point he dwells at some length; and ends by affirming,—most decidedly thereby contradicting his own Church, that the faithful alone receive the Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist. And the same judgment is equally true of the passages which follow.

“As for Image Worship, it is impossible to say, how pernicious under present circumstances it is. God is my witness that I deplore the present state of the East, because I can see no method by which this ugly and shameful wound can be healed. Not that I think that Images are absolutely speaking to be condemned, since when not adored they cannot occasion any mischief; but I abhor the idolatry which they cause to these blind worshippers. And although in my private prayers I have sometimes observed that the Crucifix was an assistance to my mind, as bringing more readily before it the act itself of the Passion, yet because I see that the vulgar, not to say it of some who are wise enough in their own opinions, are carried away from the true and spiritual worship and latria which is due to God alone, I had rather that all would entirely abstain from this so perilous handle of sin, rather than that by ignorantly violating God's law, they should stumble on the rock of offence, and condemn themselves eternally. As for invocations of Saints, time was, when I did not perceive how they eclipsed the glory of our Lord Christ, and I obstinately defended them by two works against the learned Transylvanian Marcus Fuxia. But in his answer, he so completely refuted my arguments, that I had need of no other book to prove my error; and now I call the Lord to witness, that, in reciting the Public Office, it gives me the greatest pain to hear the Saints invoked circumstantially to the dereliction of Jesus Christ, and the great detriment of souls”.

He thence goes on to speak of the pretensions of the Roman Church, and of the bitterness with which it pursued its opponents. He mentions the letter which he had written to Abbot, compliments that Primate, King James, and the English Church generally, and concludes by requesting De Dominis, to forward to him the second volume of his work so soon as it should be published.

At this time, Cyril was again unfortunately exposed to Calvinistic influence. M. David le Leu de Wilhem, a Dutch gentleman of good fortune, and liberal education, was

at this time traveling in Egypt; and in consequence, it is probable, of the previous correspondence between Cyril and Uytenbogaert, was introduced to, and enjoyed considerable intimacy with the Patriarch. Fourteen of the notes addressed to him by Cyril are still extant; from these we shall make some extracts. Half of them are written in Italian, half in Latin. Cyril's Latin style is extremely bad : yet it speaks much for his diligence, that he should have been able to write with ease in four languages : Arabic, Greek, Latin, and Italian. We shall again use, in some passages, Dr. Beaven's translation.

“I account all worldly things worthless. I have no ambition, no desire, except to be always learning something. If you have lent me so many authors, in the perusal of whom I had become acquainted with, and learned so many things which were never before heard of amongst us, what wonder is it that I should thank you? Indeed, if you have any more to lend me, you need not doubt that I will thank you again "I have read Rainoldus, and I have not been displeased with what he says upon the subject of idolatry; for, by the grace of God, I do not fall in with that error, as I hope to explain sufficiently in the Catechism which I intend to offer to my brethren of the East”.

Here we see the zeal with which Wilhem had applied himself to so promising a convert. Doubtless, it was by his instigation that the Patriarch undertook to propagate his novel creed. The next letter shows more clearly the deterioration of his views.

“I rejoice that we agree in the most necessary points of faith. I approve the whole of the scheme which you have drawn out, which I think may be serviceable for the reformation of the Church. I am of opinion that all those points might be reduced to three; and that if they could be discarded, and their opposites introduced, reformation would be easy. Let ambition, covetousness, and superstition, be exploded, and humility (after Christ's example), contempt of earthly things, and the simplicity of the Gospel be introduced instead, and our desires would be easily obtained. In the Church of Rome there is no room to expect it; for we already know too well that they hate the name of reformation, and obstinately defend their doctrines”.

In another letter, we find another earnest request for books. Wilhem was evidently leading the mind of Cyril more and more astray. It appears that two principal subjects of their conferences were the Holy Eucharist, and Fasting. Cyril thus speaks of the former.

“I have seen all that you have written on the Lord's Supper. The first opinion is that of the Romans, the second that of the Lutherans, the third that of the orthodox; and that is the one which I follow!”

What this opinion of the orthodox was, Cyril explains in another place.

“He who approaches in faith to the Table of the Lord, receives not only the visible Sacrament of the Body and Blood, but participates internally and spiritually in the Very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ”.



He directly after acknowledges himself to agree entirely with Wilhem on this point, we may charitably hope from ignorance of what his real sentiments were. In another letter he thus speaks :

“Since you desire to be informed whether there are any Nestorians here, or other kind of heretics, you must know that, besides the Copts, there are the Armenians and Nestorians; who, when they came here first, kept themselves concealed. This is not more than fifteen years ago; but now I see that they are spread into two streets, and the Copts communicate with them, the blind with the blind. They have a place of worship assigned to them out of Cairo, named the church of S. Menas, where they go every Sabbath and Lord's day to perform Divine worship; but in doctrine, knowledge, and habits, they are much inferior to the Copts; amongst whom I believe you are already aware what troubles were caused by the death of their Abuna or Patriarch. The poor wretches go on from bad to worse, and one can expect no other end but their total ruin, because they will not place themselves under our government; which, as my predecessors tried for many years with loss, and in vain, I have determined not to undertake. There is here at present a Monk of the Order of S. Francis, who preaches in the house of the Venetian Consul. He professes to be acquainted with many languages, but, in two visits which he paid me, I found out that his greatest force lay in arguing after the manner of the Scotists”.

The following is curious and shows that Cyril's mind was more and more alienated from his own Church:

“That was an uncivil person who forbade your gentlemen to enter the choir; but you know well that we must forgive errors of ignorance. I feel sure that you will make little account of it, as well as of the picture. I trust that I have that picture painted on my heart by the hand of God, and that with it I am scaled. Let who will make any others. If I could reform my Church, I would do it willingly; but God knows that it is talking of impossibilities”

The breaking out of the plague at Cairo caused M. de Wilhem to leave the place: he sent a pair of globes as his parting present to Cyril. This was in the early part of the spring of 1619 : and we do not see that self-devotion in Cyril which we might have hoped, in the account which he gives us of his behaviour during the continuance of this tremendous judgment.

“They reckon”, he says, “up to this day, that four hundred thousand have died; and yet the corners, I might almost say the whole streets, of this vast city are yet full, and it does not seem as if one were wanting. I remained shut up with great danger in my house, and let down from my windows the answers which I had to make to my Christians respecting the dead : and by the Grace of God am safe up to this time”.

Shortly afterwards, Timothy, the successful rival of Cyril, departed this life, and the government of the Throne of Constantinople, during the vacancy, devolved on Cyrill. The atrocious calumny of Allatius, which Le Quien has disgraced himself by repeating, must not be passed over in silence.

It is Said that Von Haga, anxiously desirous to see Cyril in possession of the Ecumenical Throne, determined to remove Timothy by poison; that to this end he employed Apollonius of Chios to prepare the drugs, which were mixed in wine; that Timothy was then invited to a splendid banquet at the Ambassador's house; that Josaphat, an Archimandrite, and an Andrian by birth, tempted him to take the poison; that it was not sufficient to be mortal; that Apollonius was called in; and that by a second dose he effectually completed his purpose. As if the bitter enemies of Cyril would have failed to bring forward this tremendous charge against him, if it had been even invented in his lifetime!

Cyril was unanimously elected Patriarch, on the fifth of November, 1621: and from this time he scarcely knew an hour's peace.

His successor at Alexandria was his former rival Gerasimus. Spartaliotes. This ecclesiastic, a Cretan, like his two predecessors, by birth, was a steady upholder of the Oriental Faith. He was the author of several learned works; among which his explanation of some passages of Scripture is the most remarkable. On his accession, he contributed largely to the necessities of the Church of Jerusalem, then in debt.

### SECTION X

#### MISSION OF PEDRO PAEZ.

The reign of Melec Segued was long and prosperous, though not altogether without its calamities: inasmuch as the Galla took possession of some of the fairest among the southern provinces of the empire. These Galla were Pagans, who gradually penetrated northward from the very centre of Africa, and first effected a settlement in Abyssinia about the year 1587. Many of them subsequently embraced Mahometanism.

On the death of Melec Segued, he was succeeded by his nephew Za Denghel. Many fruitless attempts were made, as well by the Roman Court, as by the Portuguese Church in Goa, to send missionaries, after the extinction of the first mission, into Ethiopia: but they constantly proved ineffectual. They were further encouraged in their attempts by the pretended submission of the Coptic Patriarch, although it afterwards proved that the Roman Pontiff had been grossly deceived. In one of these missions, Abraham de Georgiis, a Maronite Jesuit, suffered martyrdom.

At length Pedro Paez, an able and excellent man, of the same Society, arrived at Masuah, where he suffered a long imprisonment; and at length, being set at liberty, avoided the mistake into which his predecessors had fallen, that of presenting themselves too soon at court. Retiring to Fremona, he applied himself indefatigably to

acquire the Geez, or written, and learned language of Abyssinia: and in this employment, he passed four years. At length he attained to so extraordinary a degree of proficiency in it, that none even of the natives of Abyssinia were able to compete with him; and the fame of his learning reached the ears of Za Denghel. Paez, at his command, repaired to court: a controversy followed, in which two boys, educated by the missionary, are said to have silenced the Abyssinian Priests; mass was said, according to the Roman Rite, by Paez; and a sermon preached, one of the first, and the most elegant that had ever been heard in Abyssinia.

Za Denghel, abjuring his Monophysite heresy, embraced the Roman Catholic Faith; many of his courtiers followed his example but the great mass of his subjects persevered in the religion of their forefathers. Discontents broke out: Za Denghel corresponded with the Pope, and with Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal, requesting assistance. Za Selasse, one of the most powerful Abyssinian chieftains, made the change of religion a pretext for taking up arms; and entering into communication with Peter, then Abuna, persuaded him to excommunicate Za Denghel, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Such a proceeding was a perfect novelty in Ethiopia: and the Metropolitan, a man of dissolute life, doubted of its effect. But no sooner was it pronounced, than Za Selasse raised the standard of rebellion at the head of a large body of troops. Za Denghel flew to arms: the two armies met in the plain of Bartela; and after a desperate conflict, the King was defeated and slain.

Two competitors appeared for the Throne—both of the royal family, as being each descended from David III,—Jacob and Socinios. Jacob had already, in a successful rebellion during the time of Za Denghel, mounted the Throne for a short time, but was afterwards sent by that Prince into exile and imprisonment. He was, after a short reign, defeated and slain by Socinios, who, on being proclaimed Emperor, took the name of Seltam Segued.

Paez, though he had taken part with Jacob, was soon received into favor, and again preached at court. Socinios professed himself favorable to the new doctrine: and the missionary proceeded to strengthen his influence by building a convent for himself and his disciples, and a palace for the King, both with stone and mortar, and with several stories : things till then unknown in Abyssinia.

The King was much engaged, during the early part of his reign, in several wars, particularly with the Galla: and, under the earnest and yet well-timed preaching of Paez, the Roman Catholic Faith took deep root. Ras Sela Christos, the King's brother, embraced the new Creed: and the Abuna Simon was much displeased at the turn which affairs seemed taking. Disputations were held before Socinios, which terminated to the disadvantage of the Abuna: and, in consequence, the Emperor made his first public profession of the Catholic Faith, on the Two Natures of Christ. Letters were shortly afterwards received from Pope Paul V, and Philip of Spain, and in return, it was determined to send an embassy into Italy to notify the submission of Socinios to the See of Rome. Antonio Fernandez, a Jesuit, was charged with the office : his adventures are sufficiently interesting, though not connected with our immediate subject : he was,

however, unsuccessful in his attempt to reach Goa, being stopped and sent back by one of the Mahometan Princes to the south of Abyssinia.

Simon, in the meantime, published a sentence of excommunication against all such as should affirm that there were Two Natures in our Lord Jesus Christ. The people took alarm: conspiracies were formed: and at length, Julius, Governor of Tigre, took up arms in defence of the old religion, although Socinius was his father-in-law. The Abuna joined the party of the rebel; and pronounced, in the presence of the army, a solemn anathema against the King, Sela Christos, and all the followers of the Roman Faith. Julius, infatuated by the promises of this man, who foretold that the moment he should show himself the King's troops would join his standard, mounted a strong horse, and rode into the royal army, where he was killed: his troops threw down their arms and fled; the Abuna, vociferating curses against the conqueror, was killed, and great spoils were found in the camp.

This attempt only served to embitter the Emperor against his Monophysite subjects: and to testify his dislike of the corrupt practices which had been introduced among them, he issued a proclamation forbidding the superstitious and Jewish observance of the Saturday, which had been hitherto the practice. Two more rebellions followed: and, when these were crushed, Socinius openly embraced the Roman Catholic Faith. He sent for Pedro Paez, and acquainted him with his resolution: at the same time, to show his sincerity, he put away all his wives but the first.

The good Father, overjoyed to find his years of patient application successful, returned to his convent; where, shortly afterwards, he was seized with a violent fever, brought on by over exertion in travelling, and departed this life, May 3, 1623. He was universally beloved; his sprightliness endeared him to the young, his kindness to all: of his zeal and piety there can be no doubt, and his talents are conspicuous throughout his whole career.

It is time now to say something on the succession of the Jacobite Patriarchs.

Gabriel, whom we have already mentioned, was succeeded by John, the fourteenth of that name. The negotiations with Rome still continued: for we find a letter sent from Gregory XIII, inviting him to enter the Communion of S. Peter, and the answer which the Patriarch returned to Sixtus V, the successor of Gregory XIII. To him succeeded Gabriel VIII; the same of whose pretended submission to Rome, and of the manner in which Baronius was deceived by it, we have already seen how contemptuously Cyril speaks. Mark, the fifth of that name, of Beijadt, was his successor. The negotiations with Rome were still carried on, and it said that the Patriarch was on the point of submitting to the Roman Church, when he was deposed under the following circumstances.

The Bishop of Damietta had publicly preached in favor of polygamy: and for this, and other crimes, he was excommunicated by Mark. The angry Prelate applied to a Copt, named Abdel-messiah, who was in great credit at the Pasha's Court, and procured the Governor's order for the appearance of the Patriarch to answer to his accusations.

Mark received two hundred bastinadoes, and was deposed, and John Melawani substituted in his place. Of this Patriarch, the only character we have is, that he was “green wood, yielding more smoke than fire”. His successor was John el Touki, who appears, on his election, to have taken the name of Matthew (A.D. 1625). He also corresponded with the Court of Rome: but to as little effect as his predecessors.

We now return to the affairs of Abyssinia. On the death of Paez, the King published a violent manifesto as well against the heretical tenets, as against the corrupted morals of the Ethiopic Church: laying to the charge of its late Patriarchs crimes of the most fearful magnitude. The news of the King's recantation having reached Europe, Alphonso Mendez was consecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia, at Lisbon: and, with his coadjutors, the Patriarch, titular Bishop of Nicaea, (who died on the voyage,) and the titular Bishop elect of Hierapolis, sailed for Goa. Accompanied by a fresh band of missionaries, Mendez landed at a port in the state of Daucali, (which was then Christian) and thence proceeded to Fremona. They were encouraged by the appearance of a star of extraordinary brightness, which, standing over their future way, remained visible for about six minutes. After encountering various difficulties, they were admitted to an audience by Socinius, in February, 1626.

Neither Mendez nor his companions appear to have possessed the learning, piety, or tact, of Pedro Paez: for the ceremony of the King's public reconciliation with Rome was done in a manner the most likely to give needless offence. The Patriarch preached in Portuguese, which was a language perfectly unintelligible to his auditors: the King, on his knees, followed by Facilidas, the Prince Royal, and the other members of his Court, took the oath of allegiance to Urban VIII; and Ras Sela Christos, in particular, distinguished himself by his furious zeal in repeating the formula, and thereby drew on himself great suspicion and dislike. An oath of allegiance was added to Socinius; and to Facilidas, so long as he should remain in the Roman Faith.

A proclamation was issued, commanding the reception, on pain of death, of the Roman Catholic Faith; and Mendez carried his proceedings unjustifiably, and in a most uncatholic manner to the furthest extreme. Churches were reconsecrated instead of reconciled; the Clergy reordained; converts rebaptized instead of confirmed; and the Roman Calendar replaced the Ethiopic. Circumcision and polygamy were at once abolished; it may be questionable how far it was necessary, (considering the light in which it was viewed, as a custom, not a principle,) as it certainly was not expedient to forbid, at once, the former.

But Mendez carried his innovations into a point which was more likely to affect the pecuniary interests of the Abyssinians, and which was therefore more distasteful to them. Churchlands are unknown in Ethiopia; and the King, or his nobles, grant to, and resume from, convents and churches, what landed property as, and when they please. A nobleman, having withdrawn some land from a Monk, was summoned by the Patriarch into the Ecclesiastical Court: a tribunal hitherto unknown. On his refusal to appear, he was excommunicated, and such was the terror of the sentence, that the nobleman, though a brave man, fainted on hearing it. It was removed at the request of the King; but

its infliction gave great offence. It is evident that conduct, at once firm and mild, might have wrought wonders among a people where the Church had so actual an existence.

On one point Socinius stood firm : the retention of the Ethiopic Liturgies, after having received such alterations as Mendez thought fit to make.

Another invasion of the Galla, and fresh severities in the persecution, provoked Teela Georgis, son-in-law to Socinius, and governor of Tigre, to take up arms in defence of the old heresy. He commenced his rebellion by burning all the Crucifixes throughout his province, and slaying his chaplain, Abba Jacob, with his own hand. By the exertions and valor of a zealous Catholic, Keba Christos, his army was defeated, and himself, together with his sister Adera, his principal instigator to revolt, taken prisoner.

Teela Georgis was condemned to be burnt alive; but having abjured heresy, his sentence was commuted to hanging:—and when he found that death was inevitable, he returned to his ancient error. His sister suffered, a fortnight later, by the same punishment, in spite of the intercession of the Queen and Court ladies.

It would be equally tedious and unprofitable to relate the various outbreaks and rebellions which attended the violent proceedings of Socinius, and over all of which he triumphed. He once issued a proclamation, giving some little liberty to the professors of the ancient faith; but was thereupon so severely rebuked by the Patriarch, for meddling with what did not belong to him, that he was forced almost entirely to recall it. At length after one of the greatest victories which had ever been gained in Abyssinia, Facilidas, in the name of the army, addressed his father, and lamented that they, over whom his arms had now triumphed, were neither Jews, Pagans, nor Mahometans, but fellow Christians, and fellow subjects; that such a success was not a victory; that it was turning the sword against themselves, and making themselves a proverb to Pagans and Mahometans.

Socinius appeared deeply affected, and, a day or two afterwards, issued a proclamation, tolerating both the ancient and the new faith. Mendez professed his acquiescence, if the manifesto were only intended to apply to those who had not entered into the Communion of Rome already; for those who had, he said, it would be an unpardonable sin to allow them to apostatize.

Socinius, now past seventy years of age, wearied out with war, and hopeless of establishing the Roman Catholic Faith, resigned the government into the hands of his son. He would have been a great prince, had all the missionaries been like Pedro Paez.

But the Portuguese evidently from the beginning considered that the True Faith was to be propagated by arms; and, taking the sword, they were to perish with the sword. Socinius survived his abdication but a short time, and departed this life on the seventh of September, 1632.



## SECTION XI

### CYRIL LUCAR, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Cyril Lucar's attention was, immediately on his promotion, drawn to the progress which the Jesuits were making at Constantinople; and they, on their part, were not less anxiously watching the proceedings of one who had hitherto shown himself their most determined enemy. The Patriarch's first proceeding was the publication of a Pastoral mandate, by which all the Faithful were desired to withdraw themselves from the communion of all members of the Latin Church.

This blow struck directly at the Jesuits; and they were not long in showing that they felt and resented it. By the influence of the French ambassador, they made Gregory of Amasea, a man who had openly submitted to the Pope, Anti-patriarch; but this step was quite unsuccessful. On the Saturday following the publication of Gregory's elevation, Cyril, accompanied by four Archbishops, and many of his Clergy, solemnly excommunicated the intruder, (Feb. 1622), after a sermon, in which, without expressly mentioning the Jesuits, he referred to certain incendiaries, with whom it would be necessary to deal more severely, unless they desisted from their plots. The government took the matter up: Gregory was banished, and, while on his way to the place of exile, strangled.

In the following April, the Jesuits waited on the Vizir, with the information that Cyril was intriguing with the Florentines, in the intention of delivering up to them one of the Islands of the Archipelago. As this accusation was accompanied by a present of twenty thousand dollars, the Vizir paid immediate attention to it; and without attending to Cyril's defence, sent him prisoner to Rhodes.

But now a serious difficulty arose. The Jesuits urged the election of another Patriarch; but the Greeks affirmed that the Throne was not vacant, and that if an intruder attempted to occupy it, they would not pay the *Pescesium*, without which the Turkish Government would recognize no Patriarch. In this difficulty the Jesuits cast their eyes on Anthemius, Archbishop of Adrianople, a rich but worthless man, and offered to secure his election, if he would consent to pay the requisite sum. Anthemius agreed; and he was thus raised to the dignity that he coveted.

In the meantime, the further progress of Metrophanes Critopulus seems to have been unsatisfactory. Archbishop Abbot, in a letter to Sir Thomas Rowe, recommends his *protégé* in the following terms:

"I recommend unto you this bearer, Critopulus Metrophanes, a Greek, born in Byrraca, and sent unto me five or six years since by Cyrill, then Patriarch of Alexandria; and now of Constantinople. He has remained all his time in Oxford, where I have taken care that he has been well and sufficiently maintained, and thereby has attained unto some reasonable knowledge of the English tongue, not neglecting his studies otherwise.

He is a learned man, and has lived in that University with good report, whereof he is able to show letters testimonial to the good contentment, as I hope, of that reverend man from whom he was sent.

Lambeth, Nov. 20th, 1622”

In a second letter to Sir Thomas, the Archbishop gives a very different character of this Greek as follows:

“The Grecian Critopulus Metrophanes has taken his journey very lately into France or Holland, pretending from thence to go by land to Constantinople. I bred him full five years in Oxford, with good allowance for diet, clothes, books, chamber, and other necessaries; so that his expense, since his coming into England, does amount almost to three hundred pounds. While he was in that University, he carried himself well : and at Michaelmas last I sent for him to Lambeth, taking care that, in a very good ship, he might be conveyed with accommodation of all things by the way. But by the ill counsel of somebody, he desired to go to the Court at Newmarket, that he might see the King before his departure. His Majesty used him well; but then he was put into a conceit that he might get something to buy him books to carry home to the Patriarch. The means that he gaped after were such as you can hardly believe; as first, that he should have a knight to be made for his sake; and then, after that, a baronet, wherein a projector should have shared with him : after that, the King was to be moved to give the advowson of a benefice, which a false simoniacal person did promise to buy of him. I caused my chaplains to dissuade him from these things, and interposed my own censure in it, as thinking these courses to be unwise, unfit, and unworthy. But, to satisfy his desire, I bought him new out of the shop many of the best Greek authors, and among them Chrysostom’s eight tomes. I furnished him also with other books of worth, in Latin and in English, so that I may boldly say, it was a present fit for me to send to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the meantime, since Michaelmas last, I lodged him in my own house, I sat him at my own table, I clothed him, and provided all conveniences for him, and would once again have sent him away in a good ship, that he might safely have returned; but he fell into the company of certain Greeks, with whom we have been much troubled with collections and otherwise; and although I knew them to be counterfeits and vagabonds (as sundry times you have written unto me), yet I could not keep my man within doors, but he must be abroad with them, to the expense of his time and money. In brief, writing a kind of epistle unto me, that he would rather lose his books, suffer imprisonment and loss of life, than go home in any ship; but that he would see the parts of Christendom, and better his experience that way, I found that he meant to turn rogue and beggar, and more I cannot tell what; and thereupon I gave him ten pounds in his purse, and leaving him to Sir Paul Pindar’s care, at my removing to Croydon, about a fortnight since, I dismissed him. I had heard before of the baseness and slavishness of that nation; but I could never have believed that any creature in human shape, having learning, and such education as he has had here, could, after so many years, have been so far from ingenuity, or any grateful respect. But he must take his fortune, and I will learn by him to entreat so well no more of his fashion. Only I

have thus at large acquainted you with the unworthy carriage of this fellow, which, though it be indecent in him, yet for the Patriarch's sake, I grudge it not unto him.

Croydon, Aug. 12th, 1622”.

Sir Thomas answers :

“I have let the good Patriarch know the devious course taken by Metrophanes, of your bounty and care for him, and all the circumstances of his departure. At the first he seemed somewhat astonished; but his affection towards him prevailed to make his excuse. He has given orders to write to Holland, France, and divers other parts, to recall this stray sheep, to whom he bears an entire love; and if he come hither, intends to make him a kind of coadjutor in judging of causes, and to confer upon him all the dignity he can.

Constantinople, June 24, 1623”.

In a third letter the Archbishop says:

“I hold it fit to give the Patriarch this account of Metrophanes; that in July last I gave him viaticum to carry him to Constantinople by land; and for a long time after, I heard of him, but saw him not; only in February or March last, he came unto me, and told me, that he was resolved then speedily to go home by sea, and would know what service I would command him. I told him, that seven or eight months, he had not known me, and now I would not know him; he might go where he list, and might do what he pleased. I thought then he had gone away; but now, two days past, being in my coach at London, I saw him go by me; but what he intended, or what he has done with the books which I gave him for the Patriarch, I can yield no account.

Lambeth, June 20, 1624”.

Sir Thomas answers :

“I have acquainted the Patriarch with your Grace's first and last letters concerning Metrophanes : who can hear nothing against him, that affection does not interpret the better. He expects him daily, and your worthy present of books. I fear they will be pawned in the way. Of wandering Greeks there is so great store, that I am forced daily to deny my passports.

“Constantinople, Dec. 9—19, 1624”.

In a fourth letter, the Archbishop gives this further account of the good Patriarch's "stray sheep".

"I know not what to say to the Patriarch touching Metrophanes. His roguish countrymen did undo him: he had been fairly carried to Constantinople by sea, and I gave him viaticum to that purpose; but he is gone with pretence to travel through Germany by land, in which course I cannot see how he should carry the books along with him. I do much fear, that he hath fared so well in these parts, that he will hardly reduce himself to the strict life of the Kaloires in the Greek Church.

Lambeth, March 30th, 1625."

Sir Thomas, in his answer to the Archbishop, says :

"Of his Metrophanes, he (the Patriarch) has at last heard from Nurembergh, who writes him a strange discourse, that Gondomar did seek to debauch him, and send him to Rome; but failing, attempted his life, which made him forsake England; with many other frivolous adventures. I wished the Patriarch to believe little; but he willingly hears nothing against him, upon whom he has set his affection. The truth is, they are *futilissima natio*. Long slavery has made them, for the most part, liars, base and treacherous".

[No date.]

Though Cyril was now in exile, his friends were not idle. Metrophanes Critopulus had returned to him at Constantinople, and seems, notwithstanding Abbot's displeasure, to have left a most favourable impression of his Church in England. By a sad mistake, he visited several of the Reformed Bodies on his way home; he had, on his journey to England, formed an intimacy with Professor Schickend, of Tubingen, which seems to have been disadvantageous to the young priest. On his return, he composed what he termed a Confession of Faith of the Greek Church, which was, by the Protestants, considered favourable to themselves. It is, of course, utterly valueless as a document of authority.

Urban VIII, on hearing of the exile of Cyril, wrote a letter of thanks to the French ambassador, Count de Cesi, congratulating him on the service he had done to the Catholic Faith. "Your actions at Constantinople", says he, "have been heard by the Roman Church with applause. We know the calamities which have involved that son of darkness and champion of hell, and the blow that was struck at heresy, while through your efforts the Venerable Father Anthemius was set over the Church of Constantinople. While you remain the supporter of his dignity, we shall know that the Church in that part of the world does not lack a strenuous defender". But at the same time, King James I, wrote to our ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, desiring him to

procure, at any cost, the recall of Cyril. The necessary orders having been issued, Cyril returned on the first of September to Galata; and Anthemius, either struck with remorse, or overcome by fear, waited on him, and offered to resign to him the Patriarchate. But Cyril thought that thus to accept it would be both uncanonical and dangerous, and contented himself with receiving the declaration of Anthemius that the Patriarchal Throne was vacant: waiting God's time to be restored to his rightful dignity. Count de Cesi, on hearing this, was furious; and having sent for Anthemius, and bitterly reproached him with his cowardice, he persuaded him by a large sum of money and by promises of protection to continue to act as Patriarch. He was again proclaimed, especially at Galata, and retained his dignity for some little time longer. At length, overcome by terror, he went to Cyril by night, abdicated the Patriarchate, and besought absolution, protesting that he would rather suffer death than again mount the Throne of Constantinople. After this, he retired to the Holy Mountain, with the intention of passing his time in religious seclusion in the Monastery of S. Athanasius. Cyril's friends now persuaded him to come forward; and by the assistance of a considerable *Pescesium*, he was again recognized as legitimate Patriarch. This business, however, cost the Church of Constantinople sixty thousand dollars, the interest of which (for it was borrowed) weighed it down for many years.

The Jesuits, however, would not be quiet. Early in the next year a Greek Monk was sent by the Propaganda to Constantinople, with the intelligence that twenty thousand dollars were ready whenever Cyril should be displaced; ten thousand of those destined to this unholy use had been left by a French lady to be employed in alms. Another scheme was immediately contrived, of what nature does not appear; but, fortunately, the plot, before it was ripe for execution, was discovered to Cyril, and by him defeated, though not without considerable additional cost to the wretchedly impoverished Greek Church.

Thus baffled, the Jesuits were compelled to remain quiet for nearly a year. But, in the following spring, a Jesuit, apparently a Greek by birth, named Beryllus, arrived for the purpose of accusing the Patriarch of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with the Cossacks. A layman, in the confidence of the same party, insinuated himself into the intimacy of Cyril, with pretended offers from the Court of Spain. But the most formidable attack was that made on him by Canacchio Bossi, a Greek proselyte of the Jesuits, and educated by them in their college at Rome. Cardinal Bandini was at the bottom of this intrigue; and Rossi's instructions were signed and sealed by that Ecclesiastic. They were as follows:

1. There being no letters, either from the Patriarch or the Prelates, there is no replying to them, except by word of mouth, according to the language of the messenger.

2. The Church of Rome has always desired union and peace with all Churches, especially with the Eastern, which has deserved so well of the Catholic Church in other times. And not only in ancient times, but more recently, even in the time of the Patriarch Jeremiah, she has done what she could to aid and reconcile her, sparing for that end neither expense nor labor. Moreover, for that very end she has founded, and still

maintains with her own funds the college of Greek youths, in order that that noble and able nation may again flourish in piety and learning, as in former times.

3. With regard to the particular business of the present Patriarch, our Lord, who is so great a favorer and patron of the Greek nation individually, as you yourself know and have seen with your own eyes, would most willingly spend any sum of money whatever to reunite so noble a member to the Church, and to aid that See in particular, on which the rest of the East depends. But supposing the accounts to be true which have come and are continually coming from Constantinople concerning the Patriarch, he does not see in what manner it can be done.

4. We are informed concerning him that he denies the Invocation of Saints, the worship and veneration of images and relics of Saints, the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the freedom of the will, the authority of the holy Councils, traditions, the authority of the Holy Fathers, the necessity of auricular confession, and the declaration in it of sins of the mind; and that instead of it he has introduced a kind of confession made to God publicly in general terms; that he sends young men to study in the University of England, where they are taught this doctrine, in order, by means of them, to disseminate it through the Levant; that for this end he has caused to be printed, and does himself distribute to the Bishops, a kind of Catechism, full of these and similar errors, condemned many years since, not only by the Apostolic See, and the Council of Trent, but even by his own predecessor; that, on the representation of the Huguenot ambassadors, with whom he freely communicates, he has taken away the *Synodicon*, and has left off paying any reverence to the most Holy Eucharist.

5. That His Holiness would be glad to find that all these things were false, and that, as being the head of so noble a nation, he were such a person as the present needs, both spiritual and temporal, of his subjects require, in order that he might be able with a good grace and safe conscience to help him.

6. That if these things are calumnies, and he thinks he can make his innocence appear to the satisfaction of His Holiness, he may put it in the power of the ambassador of France or of the Emperor, to do so; that he may place entire dependence on whatever they may say, being persons of so much authority and excellence; and that he must send our Lord by means of them, his confession of faith, in which he must accept the Council of Florence, and condemn the Calvinistic and Lutheran errors; that the Apostolic See will not fail to render him any aid and favor to assist him, and to place at his feet the Church of Constantinople and all its other dependencies.

7. That it is not the intention of His Holiness to demand of him, or of the other Greek Prelates, any other conditions but those which were concluded and settled in the holy Council of Florence, provided the Greek Church, as to this hour she has done, condemns and anathematizes the blasphemies of the Northern heretics, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and the like.

Cyril, on receiving these articles, found them to be so subtly compounded of truth and falsehood, that he knew not what to reply. Some answer, however, he was



determined to give; till, fortunately going to consult Sir Thomas Rowe at his house, the Ambassador advised him to take no notice of the document on the ground that there was no written communication to himself.

The Jesuits did not fail to put the worst possible construction on his conduct; which nevertheless was not only the most dignified course, the interference of Rome being so entirely uncalled for, but under all the circumstances the most prudent that could have been pursued.

The emissaries of Rome were next employed in inciting the Suffragans of Cyril against him : and the twenty thousand dollars which the Propaganda had promised were to be given to these Bishops, if they would procure the election of another Patriarch. The commotion they raised was so great that Cyril was obliged to retire from Constantinople, till his friends, by plainly stating the facts of the case to the Turkish Government, and accompanying that statement with another present of ten thousand dollars, rendered it safe for him to return.

The Court of Rome now perceived that other measures must be taken. It was resolved to send out an Anti-Patriarch, under the title of Apostolic Suffragan: to this man, in conjunction with a Treasurer appointed in Italy, and Count do Cesi, the Roman interests in the East were committed. A number of schismatical Prelates were also consecrated for various islands of the Archipelago. The Anti-Patriarch arrived in Naxos, in December, 1626: and to this island Count de Cesi sent the Latin Bishop of the place, accompanied with two Jesuits, to congratulate the Apostolic Suffragan on his arrival. Hence he was conducted to Chios, and there received with the utmost splendor. The honor done to him appears to have been more than this weak-minded man could bear. Had he had patience to remain quiet, and to work his way by slow degrees, he might have become a most dangerous enemy to the Greek Church: but such was the haughtiness of his demeanour, and so overbearing were his pretensions, that he alienated the minds even of his own faction. The laics trembled for their rights of patronage, the Latin Convents, impatient of the new and intolerable yoke, openly refused to receive the intruder : the Greeks remained constant, in and through all their troubles, to the faith of their forefathers, and the unalterable decrees of Nicaea. Representation of the interference of Rome was made to the Turkish Government : the Apostolic Suffragan was too happy to withdraw quietly, being by no means, it would appear, desirous of the Crown of Martyrdom : his Bishops, less fortunate or more courageous, were thrown into prison. And so ended this attempt of Rome.

Cyril, while in fear from the Apostolic Suffragan, bethought himself of executing a commission with which he had some time previously been entrusted by Abbot; that of sending certain MSS. which King James had requested. He probably thought that it was as well to remind his most powerful patron of his own situation at a time when he was in great danger: though he did not consider it safe positively to ask for assistance.

“Most blessed Father Archbishop,

After brotherly health and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ; the present letter does not admit of my explaining at full length the causes of my delay in replying to your blessedness; for as often as I intended to reply, I was so distracted by various kinds of affairs, which daily overwhelmed me, that I was constrained to defer it. It is true that much time has passed away; but the bond of Christian charity, which your blessedness and myself earnestly cultivate, remains unbroken in my inmost heart. With respect to your own occupations, every one must be sensible how much your wisdom is taken up with public and private business; and the more, without doubt, at the death of his Most Serene Highness King James of happy memory, for whose death every good man grieves. For he lived in this world not less a king than a philosopher; but now being become a most happy courtier of the heavenly kingdom, he enjoys a nobler and more excellent life and light for ever. The Christian commonwealth has lost a very great blessing; but the most serene and the most Christian Charles, inheriting the majesty, and kingdom, and virtues of his most dear parent, and exhibiting to all beholders a lively image of his father, permits us to hope for greater things. I, unworthy as I am, augur for his royal majesty a most happy and splendid reign in his most flourishing kingdom of Great Britain; and on my bended knees I entreat God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to preserve his royal majesty to a distant period, to govern him with His Holy Spirit, to honor him with every blessing, and to increase his prosperity most abundantly. This is my prayer for his royal majesty; and I most especially beg your blessedness to mention it to him in my name, and humbly to kiss the hands of his royal majesty, and earnestly to entreat him to continue to us his gracious favor. Meanwhile, with respect to the books of which your blessedness wrote to me, I do not think that I can satisfy you. If I can do anything I will communicate with my most kind friend, protector, and patron, Thomas Rowe, your most prudent Ambassador at this Court, and by him you shall be acquainted with my success. In conclusion, I pray the good and great God to grant your blessedness a long life for the good of the Church, and to deliver you from all evil; and in turn I request of your blessedness to intercede with the Lord for me in your prayers, that, if possible, I may escape, and not be swallowed up by the violent persecutors of the truth. May your blessedness be in good health.

At my Patriarchal House, January 16, 1627”.

It cannot but be touching to the English reader, to compare the anticipations of Cyril with respect to the reign of Charles the Martyr, with the sad reality.

In the following June, Nicolas, or as others call him, Nicodemus Metaxa, a Greek Monk, and a native of Cephalonia, arrived from England, bringing with him a fount of Greek types, a printing press, and the requisite knowledge in the art which he professed. Cyril was delighted at his arrival; but being overwhelmed with business, contented himself with recommending the printer to the care of Sir Thomas Howe, by the Metropolitan of Corinth, Joasaph I. The Ambassador, however, though he approved the design, was unwilling to be mixed up in it, as foreseeing the trouble and danger

which it would occasion. However, on the great urgency of the Metropolitan, he summoned to his own house the Dutch Ambassador, Cyril himself, and Gerasimus Spartaliotes, who happened to be at Constantinople on private business. After a long and full discussion of the matter, it was agreed to ask publicly the permission of the Vizir to unpack and to use the types; and this leave was given, it would seem without difficulty. Cyril then requested Sir Thomas Howe to allow the printing press to be set up in his own hotel; but to this the Ambassador would not consent : he, however, did what he could in the business : he hired, at his own expense, a house in which he established Metaxa, and took both it and him under his avowed protection. This house was not far from the hotel of the English, but, unfortunately, nearer to that of the French, ambassador.

The Jesuits were no sooner apprised of this step, than they used all the means in their power to gain Metaxa : they represented to him that he had learned his craft in an heretical country that he was reported to have imbibed the opinions, as well as the skill of his teachers; that the easiest way to put an end to this suspicion would be to become one of their community, or at least to live in habits of intimacy with them. Finding persuasions useless, they next had recourse to threats; called Metaxa Lutheran and heretic, and accused him of treason, because he employed the Royal Arms of England at the beginning and the end of his books. All this the poor printer bore quietly; but at length he was plainly warned, if he continued his present course, to prepare for assassination. On this, he repaired to Sir Thomas Rowe, and besought him, with tears in his eyes, to allow him a sleeping-room in his hotel; the kind-hearted Ambassador consented, and Metaxa was conveyed to and from his printing house by a strong band of his friends and workmen.

Metaxa was engaged in printing one or two works, which Cyril considered likely to do most good at the present juncture of affairs. The most important was his own Confession of Faith. This he had composed for some time, and had intended to publish in England, with a dedication to King James I: but he now thought it better to bring it out at Constantinople; and determined to dedicate it to King Charles. Another book was the treatise of Meletius Piga, on the Supremacy of the Pope.

We must now consider the confession of Cyril, such as we have it, and such as, it is impossible not to believe it, he wrote it. We shall hereafter notice the doubts which have been raised whether the whole be not a Genevan forgery. We shall briefly notice those articles which have nothing to do with the controversy between the Catholic Church and Protestants; and translate at full those which have. It commences thus:

“Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to those who are asking and inquiring concerning the Faith and Worship of the Greeks, that is, the Eastern Church, what its sentiments are respecting the orthodox Faith, publishes, in the name of all Christians, this brief confession for a testimony before God and men, with a pure conscience, without any deceit”.

The first article is on the Holy Trinity; he affirms that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son. The second is on Holy Scripture. Here he affirms :

“Wherefore the authority of Holy Writ is far greater than that of the Church, for it is a different thing to be taught by the Holy Ghost from the being taught by man : man may, through ignorance, err and deceive, and be deceived. But Holy Scripture neither deceives, nor is deceived, nor is subject to error, but is infallible”.

It is proper to observe that both these, and all the following articles have a long array of texts which prove, or are intended to prove their assertions. But Cyril intersperses his own interpretations in an extraordinary manner, with the quotations from Scripture. Thus, in the Article just recited, we find: Jer. XXIII. 28. “What is the chaff [the word of men] to the wheat, [the Word of God?] saith the Lord”. And the citations are sometimes quite beside the mark, if indeed not positively unfair : as, with reference to the same article, “God is true, but every man a liar”. But the whole Article is most unsatisfactory and incomplete : inasmuch as it says nothing of the Office of the Church as interpreter of God’s Word, and seems to, if it really does not, deny its infallibility.

III. "We believe that God, before the foundation of the world predestinated His Elect to glory without respect to their works, and that there was none other cause which impelled Him to this election than His good pleasure, and Divine Mercy. In like manner that before the foundation of the world. He reprobated whom He would reprobate; of which reprobation, if a man will regard the absolute right and sovereignty of God, he will without doubt find the cause to be the Will of God : but if again he regards the laws and rules of good order which the Divine Will employs for the government of the world, he will find it to be justice. For God is long-suffering, but yet just."

It must be confessed that some statements in this article tremble on the very verge of heresy : yet it must also be observed that absolute, irrespective predestination is nowhere asserted. As a set-off against this Article, we shall here introduce part of the XVIth, on Baptism; which it will be seen is perfectly Catholic.

“Wherefore, whoever is baptized as it is commanded in the Gospel, we do not doubt that his sins, actual as well as original, are remitted : so that they that are baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are regenerated, purified, and justified”.

It may be said that these two articles are inconsistent with each other, and, strictly speaking, perhaps they are so: the natural consequence of a state of mind like that of Cyril, who still retained very much of Catholic Truth, but had unawares and by degrees imbibed no small portion of Calvinian heresy.

The IVth article, on the Holy Trinity, and the Origin of Evil; the Vth, on Providence; the VIth, on Original Sin, contain no statements which can be oppugned : in the VIIth, on the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is rather surprising that we do not find a more express denial of the Monophysite heresy, considering that Cyril had been, for nearly twenty years, spectator of its ravages in Egypt. The VIIIth, on the Mediation of Christ, gave rise to many of the subsequent misfortunes of Cyril, and was loudly accused of heresy. Even Cyril's friends have allowed that it is at variance with

many of the devotional formularies of the Greek Church. Now there can be no doubt, we think, that Cyril, in his own private opinion, had departed from the Faith of the Church, by denying the Intercession of Saints; but he has expressed himself so guardedly in this Article, that it can hardly be said to be contrary to the Oriental Faith.

“We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, sitting on the Right Hand of the Father, is there our Mediator, and pleades for us; that He alone does the work of a true and proper High Priest and Mediator; whence also He only takes care of His own Church, adorning and enriching it with various blessings and ornaments”.

Now it seems most probable that Cyril intended in this article so to express his own,—namely the Protestant—belief, as not to be in direct opposition to the Eastern Church and her doctrine. He does not say that Christ is the Only Mediator: he affirms that He is the only True and Proper Mediator; and this may imply no more than that He is a Mediator in a manner in which the Saints are not; and this was never denied by any. Again, to guard himself still more effectually, he inserts something more, and confesses Jesus Christ to be the only true and proper High Priest and Mediator : and this the Oriental Church could not deny without heresy. Whether such subterfuges were worthy of Cyril, is a very different question.

The IXth article, on Faith, is very meagre and unsatisfactory. Justification.

“We believe that none can be saved without Faith. By Faith, we mean that which justifies in Jesus Christ, which the Life and the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ produced for us, and which the Gospel preaches and without which it is impossible to please God”.

X. “We believe that the Church which is called Catholic contains all the faithful in Christ, both those, who having fallen asleep have removed into their Country, and those who are yet strangers in the way; of which Church, because a mortal man can in no sense be head, our Lord Jesus Christ is Head alone ... But since, in our sojourn in this world, there are particular Visible Churches, and each has in its order a President, he cannot properly be called head of that particular Church, but only by an abuse of terms, because he is the principal member in it”.

The texts by which this Article is supported show clearly the hand of some Presbyterian assistant.

The XIth Article must be pronounced heretical.

“We believe that the members of the Catholic Church are the Saints, predestinated to Eternal Life; from the lot of, and participation with, whom, heretics are excluded. Although we discover and behold in particular Churches the chaff mingled with the wheat”.

It is also awful to read the XIIth :

“We believe that the Church Militant is sanctified and instructed by the Holy Ghost, for He is the True Paraclete, Whom Christ sendeth from the Father, to teach the Truth, and to scatter darkness from the minds of the faithful. But it is true and certain that the Church Militant may err, and choose falsehood instead of truth. And from this error and deceit the teaching and light of the Most Holy Spirit alone, not of mortal man, frees us. Although this may be done by the ministry of those who serve in His Church”.

Thus stands the last sentence in the first edition of these Articles; in the second (which we shall presently notice,) we find a remarkable change. “This may be done by the ministry of those who faithfully serve in His Church”. This implies, if it does not assert, another heresy :—that the unworthiness of Ministers hinders the effect of their ministrations.

XII. “We believe that man is justified by Faith, not by works. But when we speak of Faith, we mean the correlative of Faith, which is the Righteousness of Christ, on which Faith takes hold, as fulfilling the work of a hand, and applies it to us to salvation. But works are not to be neglected, as necessary means to the testifying our Faith, and the confirmation of our vocation, as the Truth itself teaches. But that they are sufficient of themselves to save a man, so as to give him salvation *ex condigno*, is proved by human frailty to be false; but the Righteousness of Christ, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the faithful”.

The XIVth is on Free-will, and contains nothing remarkable. In the XVth, he limits the number of the Sacraments to two, and affirms them to be signs of the promises, and to confer grace. The XVIth we have already quoted. The XVIIth is on the Holy Eucharist. “In its administration”, he says, “we confess a True Real Presence of Christ our Lord, but such a presence as Faith gives, not such an one as the rashly devised doctrine of Transubstantiation affirms. But we believe that the Faithful eat the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but by receiving it with the sense of the soul”. And he proceeds to condemn the denial of the Cup to the laity.

The XVIIIth Article is on the State of the Departed. In this he asserts that they, are in blessedness or condemnation: he expressly condemns the doctrine of Purgatory,—but says nothing of the Intermediate State.

It was on this book that Metaxa was engaged, when the Jesuits determined to crush the unfortunate printer. To this end they represented to the Vizir, that a tract which Cyril had written in England against the Jews and Mahometans, was now to be published and widely disseminated, especially among the Cossacks; and that the aim of its publication was to incite a rebellion,—the more to be dreaded because the Sultan was going into Asia. The person whom they employed was a low favourite of the Vizir's, who had formerly been Vaivode of Galata. The Vizir was thrown into a fury, and gave orders that a hundred and fifty Janissaries should, on Friday, the fourth of January, break into Metaxa's house, seize his types and paper, and carry him to prison. The Jesuits were delighted with the plan : but Count de Cesi, angry at the protection given by Sir. Thomas Rowe to the printer, suggested an improvement. On Sunday, the Feast of the Epiphany, the English ambassador was to have a dinner party, to which Cyril and



the Venetian Baillie, a moderate man, were invited. "Let us defer the seizure", said the Count, "till that day, and it will serve as sauce to the dinner".

On that Sunday it happened providentially that Metaxa was at Galata. But the Janissaries, who were ignorant of this, accompanied by the officer appointed for that business, surrounded the house, broke into it, seized types, paper, machines, tools, and furniture of all kinds; but were much disappointed at missing Metaxa himself. In the midst of the confusion, he, expecting nothing of all this, returned from Galata with his friend, the Secretary of the English Legation. Some of the slaves, wishing to gain favour with the Turkish officer, pointing to Metaxa, cried out, "That's he! That's he!" But the Secretary coming forward, "This gentleman", he said, "is a member of the British Embassy; and I warn you, as you respect the Rights of Nations, not to touch him". Metaxa wore the English dress; and the assertion was by this means rendered the more credible; the two friends were allowed to pass to the Ambassador's Palace, but the booty seized amounted to 4,000 dollars.

Sir Thomas Rowe, on receiving this intelligence, was naturally indignant; but determined to defeat the malice of his enemies, he passed the conclusion of the day in great festivity. On the Monday, the Vizir, who had already examined Cyril's book, and had turned down the pages which appeared to him to contain the most objectionable passages, summoned the Mollahs and ordered the work to be interpreted to them by two apostate Greeks. In the meantime, Constantinople had been filled with strange rumors of a discovered conspiracy; and Cyril passed the Sunday night in the Ambassador's house.

The Mollahs, on hearing the passages which the Vizir produced, gave it as their opinion, that nothing contained in them that could constitute a capital crime, either as respected the author, or the printer. Cyril, on hearing this decision, came boldly before the Vizir, and protested his innocence. Still, however, some suspicion remained in the mind of that Vizir, and Cyril was kept under guard.

The Mufti's resolution was next inquired; and the opinion of this officer was still more favorable to the affairs of Cyril. "Dogmas"—it was thus that his sentence ran—"contrary to the precepts of Mahomet are not, on that account, necessarily blasphemous or criminal; since Christians are permitted by the Sultan to profess their doctrines, there can be no more harm in writing than in preaching in their defence : it is not simple belief, but an overt act, which renders men amenable to the laws".

Sir Thomas Rowe, on hearing this, sent a message to the Vizir on the Tuesday, requesting an audience : and, being granted, proceeded to make his complaints in form. Metaxa, he said, was a guest of his, a subject of Venice, and allowed to exercise his trade by the free consent of the Vizir himself: the British and Venetian ambassadors had been grossly insulted, the stipulations of the Turkish government falsified; and for whom? For a class of turbulent intruders, whose machinations and frauds were now completely exposed.

The Vizir, much alarmed, endeavored to throw the blame on the Jesuits; but Sir Thomas Howe, gathering courage from the terror of his antagonist, insisted on the restoration of Metaxa's goods, and the punishment of his enemies.

Canacchio Rossi, while the matter was yet pending, paid a visit to Cyril, to triumph over him in his fears; but he did himself more harm than good. For, happening in conversation to call the King of England the head of the heretics, he incurred the anger of Sir Thomas Rowe; and as intelligence shortly afterwards arrived from Rome, that fresh intrigues were carrying on against Cyril, and that an accusation would be preferred against him of an intention to excite a revolution among the Christians who were under the dominion of the Turks, the Patriarch and the English Ambassador determined to make one great effort for the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Fathers of that Society, conceiving themselves in danger, retired to the palace of the French Ambassador, and there concealed themselves for a fortnight; at the end of which time, conceiving that the storm had blown over, they returned to their convent. Here they were shortly afterwards arrested, and, together with Canacchio Rossi, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons. Indeed, their lives would have been in some danger, had not those, whom they had so deeply injured, interceded for them. All the Jesuit settlements at Chios, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, were broken up : the Jesuits themselves were put on board a Christian vessel, and landed in Italy. Two, however, remained in the French Ambassador's house, where they at length obtained leave to officiate as his chaplains.

On the return of Sir Thomas Rowe to England, Cyril sent the Alexandrian Manuscript to King Charles, in token of his gratitude for the interference of England.

M. Leger was now pastor of the Dutch congregation at Pera and he appears to have exercised considerable influence over Cyril. He and Von Haga, having been successful beyond their hopes at Constantinople, now turned their views to Alexandria, thinking that Gerasimus might be as easily won as his predecessor. They accordingly wrote to the Patriarch, and Cyril seems to have accompanied their letters with one of his own. They proposed, at the expense of the States-General, to erect colleges, and to establish printing-presses in Egypt, on condition that the Calvinistic bodies were received to the Communion of the Alexandrian Church. The bribe was tempting, but Gerasimus thus replied, in an excellent letter.

“Unity”, he observes, “is that at which all Christians ought to aim; but it is necessary to be careful that it is a true, not a false unity. We can only give peace on the same terms on which Christ gave it. A suspected peace is more dangerous than open warfare. Colleges would indeed be a boon to Alexandria; but not on the terms proposed. The recent attempts to make the Scriptures more clear than Christ left them, are by no means to be approved. The obscurity of Scripture has always been confessed; the Apocalypse may more truly be called an obvelation than a revelation. There are, for those that need them, the catecheses of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. John Studites, S. Gregory Nyssen”.

Cyril had asked Gerasimus to send his confession of faith; and the latter refers, generally, to the Seven Ecumenical Councils. The letter is dated July 8, 1629.

Cyril, having being frustrated in his hope of publishing his Confession at Constantinople, sent it, through the hands of his friend Von Haga, to Geneva, where it was published in Latin. It created a sensation throughout Europe : but the general impression seems to have been, that the document was a forgery. Not only the Calvinian tone, but the language in which it was written led, not unnaturally, to this conclusion. However, Matthew Caryophilus, a Greek by birth, and titular Bishop of Iconium, answered it in a censura, which appeared at Rome in 1631.

The Patriarch, finding that the authenticity of his work was denied, translated it into Greek, with one or two not unimportant alterations, in which he leans still further to the Calvinian school : and he added an Appendix, containing his decision on four important questions.

1. "Ought all the Faithful to be allowed to read Holy Scripture?"

He answers in the affirmative : supporting, as in his Confession, this decision with selected texts. Among these, we have a curious instance of his inaccuracy, or of his Genevan coadjutors unfairness; for he actually brings forward, in proof of his assertion, the Pharisees' speech, "This people, that knoweth not the law, is accursed".

2. "Is Scripture easy of understanding?"

He replies, that the doctrines which are necessarily to be believed may certainly be discovered by regenerate persons, the Holy Ghost aiding them, and Scripture being compared with Scripture. Again, not a word of the authority of the Church.

3. "What are the books which compose Holy Scripture?"

His answer is the same as that of the Sixth Article.

4. "What are we to think of images?"

"As we are taught", he answers, "in Divine and Holy Scripture : 'Thou shall not make to yourself any graven image', &c., since we ought not to adore a creature, but the Creator of Heaven and earth alone. Whence it is clear that we do not reprobate painting, since it is a noble and illustrious art; and furthermore, we allow any who will to possess images of Christ and the Saints. But we detest their adoration and worship and we pity him who thinks differently in this matter, as having his mind darkened by the grossest shades of blindness".

This addition to the Confession was written in January, 1631; and, together with the Greek Version, sent by M. Leger to Geneva, where they appeared in 1633.

In the meantime, a very close intimacy was springing up between Cyril and M. Leger. In addition to the letters published by Aymon, we have procured twenty-three,

which were addressed by the Patriarch to the Dutch preacher. It is interesting to watch the progress of the friendship. At first we have only short notes of business. Then gradually, they become more familiar : Leger applies to Cyril for the loan of the works of S. Gregory and S. Isidore, the Patriarch sends the former, but does not possess the latter, then remembrances to the *illustrissima Madonna*, and the *Signora Leonora* begin to be interspersed : then we find parties of pleasure projected by the Patriarch, in company with the Papas Joannicius, and the Dutch preacher. All these slight hints prove how rapidly the intimacy was advancing.

Diodati, of Geneva, sent as a present to Cyril, his translation of the Bible, in return for this confession : and the Patriarch thus answered his letter. The date is April 15, 1632.

“Praised be the Lord God our Creator and Father in Providence, because by His Holy Spirit he readily unites his elect, however distant; as the Apostles of Jesus Christ, when dispersed throughout the world, some in Asia, others in Europe, at so great a distance from each other, were still united by the bonds of charity and of the Holy Spirit, and preached one and the same faith, to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the edification of souls. The same has likewise been our lot at this time; for distance has been no obstacle to the introduction of that Christian acquaintance between your Reverence and me, which is excellently suited to brethren in spirit and faithful ministers of the Word.

“I had, at first, great delight from the letters sent me by your University, through the Rev. Mr. Leger, when you made mention of my friend, Father Metrophanes, for the good beginning we had made of knowing each other better; knowing, moreover, that you all who wrote to me are real standardbearers of the Gospel and of the orthodox faith.

“I cannot sufficiently express the great esteem I have for your Bible, which Dr. Leger has presented to me. It is a holy work, and will, I am persuaded, be highly useful to the True Church of the Faithful, and will render your name, in spite of the efforts of envy, immortal. This book has also made me better acquainted with you, and has rendered your language familiar to me notwithstanding the distance which separates us. I have a new subject for you, with a consideration that this happiness was bestowed on me by Dr. Leger, who, from his zeal for all that concerns your Church, your theology, and yourselves, never loses an opportunity in conversation with me, to exalt your virtues, and to speak of the great merit of those who form the Venerable University of Geneva.

“I trust that this alliance will for the future contribute abundantly to the benefit of Christian souls and the real Church of Jesus Christ, to which we in our course of life have not been able to be as useful as we could have desired, because the Patriarchal charge which we have borne for twenty years in Egypt, and for other twelve here in Constantinople, has been so harassed and oppressed by various temporary storms, and by many persecutions from Antichrist and his angels, that it has not been able to produce that spiritual fruit which we really desired. But we hope that the Lord God will

for the future have pity on us, and on the people of this Greek Church; which (I would have your reverence to know), although destitute of learning, for want of means, and other grave causes, is yet so persevering in the faith of Jesus Christ, that a person would scarcely be credited who should recount the afflictions they daily sustain, and the tortures they are exposed to, that their religion may sustain no damage. And in so great simplicity, or (more correctly, if you will,) in such ignorance, the people are, and have shown themselves most constant in the faith of Jesus Christ; nor allow themselves to be seduced by sophists, after all that Jesuitical artifice has many times attempted to draw them to obedience to Antichrist; but through God's good providence, it has all proved in vain. Such is then the Greek Church; which if it has some superstitions, (and it does not lack that taint,) I assert with a safe conscience that they have come in process of time from the Roman Church, which commonly infects whatever it touches; whence it is necessary to treat it with gentle and slow remedies, if perchance God from heaven may grant to some person the favor to bring it to perfection”.

After some further remarks, he proceeds,

“At present I have published nothing else but the Confession of Faith that Dr. Leger has transmitted to you: with respect to which you tell me that you are waiting my orders to publish it. Be assured, Sir, that I have written it from the impulse of my own mind, with the design of letting all the world know what I believe, and confess publicly. I did not expect that this confession would have given the Papists so much offence as they show that it has: for the truth, which, by the grace of God, is contained in that confession, ought not to be hateful to them. Here in Constantinople many copies of this my confession have been written, and many friends have requested me to authenticate it with my own hand, which I did not refuse them; but now they no longer need copies published with my signature, for the reasons which I will presently make known to you. The testimony of a most upright and Christian gentleman, such as your most excellent ambassador, Cornelius Haga, would have been sufficient for my confession, had it not been for the opposition of men of a bad conscience; why, I know not. Now, there will be no further room for any calumny of such false dealers; for I have just been visiting the most illustrious Count of Marchville, now ambassador of France, who has lately arrived, to congratulate him according to custom, on his arrival; and his Excellency, after having conversed with me, and finished the usual compliments, brought out to me my confession, and showed it to me, inquiring whether it was mine. When I had recognized it, I replied that it was my Confession and Profession. His Excellency then produced a letter, written from Rome by the Ambassador of the most Christian king residing there, in which was contained, that the Pope sent that confession to the Ambassador here, that he might show it to me, and inquire if it was mine, and whether I intended to persist in it. I then replied, without fear, that it was mine, and that I had written it because I so hold, believe, and confess; and that if any error was found in it, and he would point it out to me, I would answer him like a Christian, and in good faith. His excellency then introduced into the room where we were conversing the head of the Capuchins here, called Friar Archangel, brother of M. de Fosse, Governor of Montpellier, a person much esteemed. In his presence I repeated similar words; but at

that time other discussions intervened between his Excellency and myself, which were of no profit, and I therefore omit them.

“This is what passed. I now come to say that my confession has no need of authentication. It will be always authenticated by the testimony of the very professors of Popery; for there came to me other persons beside—friars, seculars, and the very agents of Ragusa—and on their expressing a wish to know if the confession was mine, I gave them the same answer. I am certainly surprised that these people are so anxious about my confession; and if I had known this before I published it, I would have made it fuller, and more copious; but with the help of God, it may be done better than before.

“Now, your Reverence writes to me that you are waiting my orders to give it to the light, and I reply that I submit myself to the most prudent and Christian judgment of your Reverence, and of all the College of my brethren in Christ and professors in your University; to all of whom I send my brotherly salutation. If that confession appears to you worthy to testify and to make manifest to all what we here profess with our latest breath, in the name of God publish it, with some texts of Scripture and other testimonies which I have collected with M. Dr. Leger, as you shall think fit. All this we leave and recommend to your Christian charity.

“We hope in God that we shall proceed with other more evident signs, to let the world know that we will have no communion with the Roman Church, which is the mother of errors, the corrupter of the Word of God, and the nest of superstitions, how many false traitors soever do not choose to acknowledge and confess the truth. I might here take occasion to mention certain acts which are going on at this time of certain rash Roman heretics, who, to flatter Antichrist, under the specious name of defending the Roman Catholic Faith, continue to write against us, to impede our course and our calling. But I pass them by as dogs who bark but cannot bite. But be it known to heaven and earth, that in matters of religion the Greek Church and we all will have no communion with papists. Far be it from us, and our Church at Constantinople. For myself, I wish to let the world know that I am already an aged man, and I desire to die, whenever it pleases God, with the truth of Jesus Christ in my heart, and on my lips, and to have it for a seal and mark upon my conscience. The flock committed to me I will, if possible, guide into the road which leads to the kingdom of heaven”.

The account which Cyril gives of his interview with the Count of Marchville, deserves a little further explanation. On the arrival of the Count of Marchville as ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, Cyril thought proper to pay his respects and congratulations. He was well received; and conversation was carried on in Italian. The Ambassador addressed him as “Your Eminence”, by a title not long before introduced as appropriate to Cardinals, and invited him to dinner. After this, the Count, producing the Confession of Faith, inquired if Cyril had composed it, and supposing that report to be true, if he still entertained the same sentiments. Cyril, after carefully examining it, replied that he was; adding that if there were errors in it, he should be most happy to be convinced of them from Holy Scripture; that, however, the Pope had no right to interfere in the matter; that if his views were heretical, it was the duty of the hundred Greek Metropolitans and Bishops, over whom he presided, canonically



assembled in Synod, to expose and condemn them. The Ambassador replied, that His Eminence was believed, no less in France than at Rome, to be a Calvinist; that his master bore a particular hatred to that sect; and that it would be greatly to his advantage to embrace the Roman Catholic Faith. Cyril answered, that in a matter of such fearful importance, where eternal salvation was at stake, he would neither follow the example of the King of France, nor of any one else, without mature deliberation. The Patriarch and the Ambassador then parted on good terms.

Shortly after this, two schismatical Greek Prelates, the one Metropolitan of Sophia, or Sardica, and either Meletius I or II, the other of Bulgaria, named Nectarius, arrived from Rome, with the design of expelling Cyril. They were entertained by the French Ambassador; and the danger appeared considerable. Cyril had now less protection from the English Embassy than formerly. For Sir Peter Wych, though, on the whole, well disposed towards him, was not on such intimate terms with him as Sir Thomas Rowe had enjoyed; and it must be remembered that Calvinian influence was rapidly declining in the Court of England, with the increasing power of Laud, then Bishop of London.

The two Metropolitans at first contented themselves with railing at Cyril, calling him heretic, infidel, and Lutheran : they next called together such Prelates as happened to be at Constantinople, and informed them that as soon as they received further instructions from Rome, they would purchase the Patriarchate, and farm it out. Cyril hastily summoned his friends, and, by their prudent counsel, exposed the whole plot to the Vizir; and the danger was thus for the time averted. But, soon afterwards, the two Metropolitans won three more to their side ; and the five united had almost procured the banishment of the Patriarch : but a present of ten thousand dollars to the Porte baffled their design.

But, in October, 1633, Cyril Coutari, Metropolitan of Beraea, a pupil of the Jesuits, became a far more formidable antagonist. He had been raised to the Episcopate by Timothy; and on the resignation of the See of Thessalonica by Paisius, who took up his residence in Muscovy, he was dispatched by Cyril to govern that Church during the vacancy. Attracted by the pleasantness of the situation, and the conveniences of the city, Contari requested from the Patriarch to be elevated to the See; but Cyril had already destined it for Anastasius Pattelari, who was accordingly invested with that dignity. This disappointment was never forgiven by Contari; and now, having been incautiously sent on a mission by Cyril to collect alms for the Church of Constantinople in Muscovy, with the money thus collected he determined to purchase the Patriarchate, for which he promised fifty thousand dollars. He could not, however, raise the full sum, and was, therefore, banished, with an accomplice, to Tenedos.

Cyril met with ingratitude in all quarters. Anastasius Pattelari, forgetful of the benefit he had received, and of his connection with Cyril, (for he was his fellow countryman,) offered sixty thousand dollars for the Patriarchate : Cyril was deposed and banished to Tenedos also. Contari was no longer here, having been already forgiven by the kindhearted Patriarch. During his exile, Cyril corresponded with M. Leger, who seems to have gained a stronger influence over him than any of the other Calvinists had

been able to obtain. At the end of a month, Anastasius was deposed. The Patriarchate was again offered to Cyril, on condition of his raising seventy thousand dollars; which was at length effected by extraordinary exertion and great self-denial on the part of his poor flock; and he returned to Constantinople in June. It appears that M. Leger designed to return to Geneva, probably on a temporary absence. On the 28th of August, Cyril writes to him to request him to provide a fitting superintendent for the press.

In the next year, the Sultan happening to be absent in the provinces, Coutari requested an audience; and being now free from the opposing influence of the English and Dutch Ambassadors, again obtained possession of the Ecumenical Throne. Cyril was again banished, and at Chios he wrote the following letter, which can be called nothing less than profane, to M. Leger:

“Most Reverend M. Leger, my most dear brother in Christ,

Arrived here at Scio, I have found rest, being delivered from the hands of my enemies, as Your Reverence will understand from our most excellent Ambassador, to whom I gave a particular account of everything. Praised be the Divine Providence that He cares for His own, and does not leave them to the end. Many gentlemen of this country, and learned persons, visit me in my lodging, and we dispute, moreover, in a tolerable way. Yesterday, speaking of the Mediator, I learned a fine doctrine of Dr. Coressi's, who said to me that it is quite true that there is one Mediator, Jesus Christ; but then, said he, there are other lesser ones who intercede. Thus said Coressi. M. Leger, on my conscience I say with truth, that Coressi and the rest of his adherents are so ignorant, that their arguments and disputations make sensible men sick, and the Jesuits are their dupes; and I am astonished that they do not perceive how void of sense and judgment they are. With all this, the ignorant vulgar think a great deal of Coressi, not for his learning, but because he is a good companion. I found out this in three days after I had been in Scio; and I wished to communicate it to Your Reverence, that you might know with what sort of a person you dispute about that high subject of Transubstantiation which makes Jesus Christ out of a piece of bread or wafer.

For the rest, Signor Dr. Leger, His Excellency will easily explain to you my condition, both what and how it is. I conclude by sending my respects, and pray the Lord to vouchsafe you every good thing.

Chios, 4, 14 April, 1635”.

This letter shows that the belief of Cyril was now openly against heretical; and that he deserved deposition. Coressi was a native of Chios, educated at Padua, but a warm champion of the Eastern Church; the teaching of which he seems to have stated fairly in his argument with the Patriarch.

Contari, meanwhile, was carrying things with a high hand. He assembled a Synod, and anathematized Cyril as a Lutheran : (a proceeding which showed little Theological knowledge, for no sentiments could be more different than those of Luther and the Patriarch) he openly declared his submission to the See of Rome, and declared

his intention of sending Cyril prisoner to the Pope,—a thing easy to be done by engaging a Maltese or Florentine pirate for the purpose. Cyril was aware of his danger, and perceiving that a sudden incursion might carry him off from Chios, he mentioned this to the Turkish Vice-Admiral, Becher Pasha, and was thereupon removed to Rhodes. He hence wrote to M. Leger :

“Most Reverend M. Leger.

With my respects I wrote a few hasty lines from Scio to give you an idea of the value of certain persons who profess to be divines. My young friend, Meletius, has now arrived at this place, and brought me your letter which encourages and comforts me. I receive every thing from your Reverence as a singular favor of a true and faithful servant of God. Your holy prayers will always help me in these my misfortunes, which I support without fear, feeling that my adversaries proceed without justice, without the fear of God, without truth, with a reprobate mind and an evil conscience. Have I then anything to fear from these smoking firebrands? What God requires of me will be, and nothing else. These impostors see that they cannot succeed as long as I am alive, and they have woven more snares for me than I can write. The most diabolical of them is their having agreed with the agent of the Emperor, and other magistrates, to have me betrayed to Corsairs on my road here and carried to Rome. For this purpose, they had public firmans and letters to the Corsairs, which no one would have been aware of, if the very men who accompanied me had not made it public. One of these and the principal, was that impostor and traitor of a bishop who wrote to your Reverence. But God in a moment took and delivered me from their hands, without my having a thought of it, and they remained confounded and ashamed. Now I am waiting for what it may please God to send me.

Rhodes, April 26, 1635”.

In another letter, of the 15th of June, we find Cyril requesting information from M. Leger as to the proper mode of reconciling the apparent discrepancy of SS. Paul and James on the subject of Justification by Faith. It would almost seem as if the difficulty had never before struck the mind of Cyril. And, indeed, he appears disposed to reject entirely the authenticity of S. James’s Epistle. “He says nothing”, he observes, “of the Mystery of the Incarnation: he only mentions the name of Jesus Christ once or twice, and then coldly: he only attends to morality”.

It is easy to imagine the explanations which M. Leger would give: and how eagerly Cyril received them, is plain from another passage in this same letter. “I have read”, he says, “with great attention your treatise on the Eucharist .... it has given me much light on the subject”.

Again, under the date of July 16-26, he says. “The letters of your Reverence give me comfort because they are full of Christian spirit and charity; especially as I find myself in the garden of the world, where I pluck the deadly fruits of earth, full of bitterness and woe. I obtain refreshment only from the study of spiritual things; and situated as I am, by looking up on high, from whence comes all aid to those who hope

in the Lord, I make little account of the persecutions of my adversaries, and wait with great confidence for the relief of the Divine mercy. One thing annoys me—viz., that your Reverence's book upon Transubstantiation which I had has fallen into the hands of those villanous traitors. I mention it that you may provide me another copy. I highly esteem that book, because Corcssi and his followers are so confounded by the force of living truth contained in the arguments that they stand silent. I pray you, then, to do me the favor to have it transcribed for me, because I wish to send it as far as Candia, where they have carried my confession, and are in doubt upon that article. The doctrine of Antichrist has so prevailed, that it is a very difficult business to combat it. If God gives me freedom to pass by Scio I will enter the lists with Coressi and Berli; and I will publish the truth of the true evangelical doctrine and of our confession, which is a home-thrust to all papists, and in like manner to that hypocrite and false Patriarch Contari, and that other impostor Athanasius, who is running off to Rome, they say, to put on the Cardinal's hat for deposing a Calvinist Patriarch, and preaches this everywhere, as he runs about like a madman.

“You see the state in which we are, and there is no one who has enough of the fear of God and Christian prudence to remedy these evils; but as I am an old man, perhaps the blessed God may still grant me grace to make them understand in what darkness they are.

“I have no more at present. May the Lord God bless your worthy person, and the labors you sustain for the Lord's glory, and give you every good and satisfaction”.

It appears that Cyril was at this time correcting his confession.

Cyril remained in Rhodes for more than a year. In a letter to M. Leger, dated June 17-27, 1636, he writes: “It is a difficult thing in this Patmos in which I am placed to have intelligence of what is passing with you, if we have not express messages from our domestics, or are not informed by our good friends there. I was always aware of the evil disposition of George Coressi under the veil of evangelical truth. But now some of our people, who have come from thence, have related that the said Coressi was arrived in Constantinople with a scholar of the Jesuits, and was at present staying there. And it is more than true, that not having succeeded in the art of medicine which he professed, he has become a mercenary and parasite of an infamous person, and one who is worthy to assail the true doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Apostles, and of all orthodox doctors; and the unhappy wretch, thinking that he has found his fortune in prosperity, is falling down the precipice of eternal damnation, disguised in various forms of heresy.

“In the first place, he is an idolater, then a justiciary; thirdly, a despiser of grace, a corrupter of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. He thinks that Christ our Lord has many associates in mediation. He believes in purgatory after death; and in a word, although he pretends not to be a papist, he has Bellarmine for his master; and then, to speak the truth with a safe conscience, he is a hardened Epicurean who believes in nothing. He does not agree with the Papists, because they despise him. He holds with the Greeks, because he finds with them wherewithal to fatten his sides; but he is in fact, totally at variance with

them all, being in his heart a rank Atheist. And so he goes roaming about the world, and with this mask is come to you. I do not know what the mighty deceiver is doing; I hope the traitor will be known for what he is, and the glory of Jesus Christ remain entire, and Coressi confounded and put to shame”.

It was apparently about the time of Cyril’s exile in Rhodes, that Gerasimus, worn out with years and labors, determined to abdicate the Chair of S. Mark. He accordingly retired, with the reputation of eminent learning and holiness, to a Monastery, where he passed the short remainder of his life.

Metrophanes Critopulus, Metropolitan of Memphis, was elected Patriarch. But, notwithstanding his communication with Dutch Protestants, his early bias in their favor, his Calvinistic confession, and subsequent intercourse with Cyril, he appears to have retracted his errors in time, as we shall see by his subsequent conduct. Indeed, two letters which he wrote to Leger while Bishop of Memphis, exhibit a great difference from the strains which Cyril employed towards him.

In the meantime the true character of Cyril of Beroea, was daily discovering itself. His blind obedience to Rome enraged the Oriental Church : the friends of Lucar never ceased to urge his recall; and a synod of Bishops having been called, the intruder was formally deposed. Doubtless, a new Patriarch ought to have been elected : but, the greater part would hear of none but Cyril Lucar :—and in excuse of this conduct, we may remark, that the free disclosures which Cyril made to M. Leger, were probably not vouchsafed to members of his own Church so, that though many must have regarded him as unsound, few could have known him to be undoubtedly heretical. However, as his recall would necessarily be a work of time, and could not be brought to pass without money, and as the Church of Constantinople was in need of a head, Neophytus of Heraclia, a pupil of Cyril Lucar, was raised to that dignity : but, as it would seem, with the understanding that he should resign it on his master's return. The new Patriarch was a man of the most unambitious and amiable disposition; he gave almost all that he had to the subscription raised for procuring the return of Cyril. At length, in the beginning of August, 1636, the aged Patriarch was restored.

On his arrival at Constantinople, he took up his abode in the house of the Dutch Ambassador : and finding that Neophytus was in possession of the Ecumenical Throne, came to the resolution of resigning his office. But Neophytus at once abdicated; and Cyril was again, and for the the last time, restored to the dignity.

M. Leger was now about to return to Geneva : and by him the Patriarch wrote to the Senators of that town. Happy for him had his life been cut short before he was permitted thus, in the sight of Europe, to abandon the Faith.

After giving an account of his own exile, he says,

“I arrived here by Divine Providence a few days ago, [the letter is dated the 17th of August,] when my very learned friend, M. Leger, was just upon the point of setting out, so that I had the power of sending my present letter by him. On my return I did not

go to the Patriarchal residence, but lodged in the house of the most excellent Ambassador of Flanders, where I receive the visits of all, and am in some repose.

“And now, most illustrious and learned sirs, I have briefly written an account, to delineate which more perfectly would require the pen of a more eloquent historian.

“With all this the evil ceases not; persecution ceases not, but creeps like water under straw. Antichrist envies the kingdom and glory of our Redeemer; bears not His greatness and long-sufferings; alarms the simple with the name of Calvin, a most holy and wise doctor, who rejoices in heaven, and has his portion with the saints who are most dear to their Redeemer. None of these opposers has ever read the books and works of Calvin, or has any knowledge of the doctrine of so great a doctor. Notwithstanding, they alarm the ignorant and simple with the name of Calvin; but by the grace of God, those who know the truth have opposed them, and have scattered the darkness from many minds; in which work the presence of my most learned friend, M. Leger, has been of great advantage. He by his preaching and writing, has turned a great number to the light, and wonderfully confounded the adversaries. To the glory of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, they dare not come forward, and I, who have been pointed at as a heretic, am here present, and no one dares to speak a word. Not only so, but they are all coming submissively to beg my pardon, except two or three of the ringleaders, whom I have not yet admitted to my presence, although some intercede for them. But I am reserving myself for the first congregation to which I shall have to preach, that I may treat them according to their deserts, which will be death to them.

“I have now opened the inmost recesses of my heart to you, most illustrious and most reverend sirs, as to my most lovingbrethren, embracing your doctrine, which is orthodox and Catholic, and abhorring the doctrine of our adversaries, the false and corrupt Roman doctrine. I know that the mountains rise and conspire against me in consequence of this my profession; but I will always say, the Lord is my light and my salvation—whom then shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life—of whom shall I be afraid? And encircled with this hope I will fight in this time of my age against the adversaries, until the Blessed Lord shall call me, and by your prayers vouchsafe to me the kingdom of heaven, where we shall see ourselves with you, sirs, most illustrious and most reverend, gifted with white robes, with palms in our hands, in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ, for Whose glory we all fight, and shall embrace each other in everlasting glory and eternal felicity”.

On these extracts we need offer no remarks. They show how completely Cyril had now identified himself with the Genevan heresy. On the tenth of March, A.D. 1637, in the following year, he writes in a similar strain to M. Leger. One extract may suffice.

“By the favor of God we hope that the state of the Church will be restored, the orthodox faith be propagated, the truth shine forth, and everything be reformed according to the rule of the Word of God. I fancy that that mad divine, Coressi, wishes to acknowledge himself mistaken. He has written to me, in a letter of his, that if by chance I should be writing to Your Reverence, I am to send you his respects; and he calls Your Reverence my fellow champion. I have not written to him, but I have sent



him word that I would not send Your Reverence the respect of such a person; but that if he wishes it done, he knows how to write, and may write himself.

“The most important articles assailed by these traitors are the true doctrine of the Sacrament, (for the name of a false transubstantiation is very sweet to the taste of the ignorant,) as likewise the intercession of minor mediators, prayers to Saints, and the adoration of idols. May the Lord God by his Holy Spirit open our minds, that we may so mind as we are taught in the prophetic and evangelical Scriptures.

“To conclude; I pray that the Divine Majesty may keep, protect, and bless you for ever. My brotherly respects to all the most reverend doctors, and I pray for them from the Lord all blessing and prosperity”.

Another letter is as follows : it is to M. Leger, still at Geneva.

“Most honoured Sir,

I will not fail to apply myself with all my might to procure for you what you desire; and, perhaps, also something concerning the public good. I will endeavour also to find the MS. respecting the Council of Florence; and will not forget to do what is necessary in your other requests. The good news of the Christian Religion, which have reached us in this country from the States General, give me exceeding pleasure. I pray that the blessing and assistance of God may ever be present to that Government.

The Patriarch Cyril”.

It appears that Cyril, at this time, was desirous of cultivating the friendship of Laud, then at the head of the English Church. For, in an Arabic Pentateuch, now preserved in the Bodleian, there is this inscription, in Greek and Latin." Cyril, Ecumenical Patriarch, to the most blessed and most wise Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, gives the present book as a sign of brotherly love."—Further down, we read:—"The gift of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, a little before he unworthily perished, at the age of eighty, by the hands of the Turks”.

The condition of the Church of Constantinople was now lamentable. Those who had been promoted by Cyril of Beraea were sworn enemies of Cyril : the agents of the Jesuits were still active; and the true sons of the Eastern Church seemed almost extinct.

An encyclical letter, which now lies before us, among those which we received from Geneva, and which seems to have been written at this time, advocates the same views, though it is too much corrupted to be printed. His enemies, finding that the banishments of Cyril did not advance their own views, determined on his death. And remembering that they had always succeeded best with the Sultan in his absence from Constantinople, they conceived that they had now an excellent opportunity; as Amurath was about to march against Bagdad. They accordingly made interest with Bairam Pasha, who was high in the Sultan’s favor from his zeal in this very expedition; and between the Infidel Minister and the agents of the Jesuits the ruin of Cyril was concerted. It

happened that while Amurath was on his march, the Cossacks seized Azof; and Bairam, together with another of Cyril's enemies, Hussain Pasha, informed the Sultan that that enterprise had been favoured, if not instigated by Cyril; and that it was most unwise policy to have so active a man in Constantinople. Amurath, carried away by anger, instantly signed Cyril's death-warrant, and dispatched it to Constantinople.

The courier arrived at Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of June; and Musa Pasha, the governor of the city, prepared to carry them into execution. But, fearing that the execution of Cyril in the heart of Constantinople might raise a tumult, the janissaries whom he dispatched were instructed to say, that they were sent to carry the Patriarch on board ship, it being the Sultan's pleasure that he should be sent into exile. Cyril at once submitted; he went that evening on board a boat, expecting to be conveyed to S. Stephano, a small town near Constantinople, where a vessel was said to be waiting for him. But no sooner were they out of sight of land, than, perceiving what their real intention was, he knelt down, and prayed earnestly. When he had ceased, after some abuse and a few blows, they put the bowstring about his neck, and having done their work, threw his body into the sea. It was picked up by some fishermen, and returned to his friends, by whom it was buried decently. But the malice of his enemies did not end with his life : they complained to the governor of the city, by whose orders the corpse was disinterred, and again thrown into the sea. Washed on shore by the billows, it was buried in one of the islands in the bay of Nicomedia.

Thus, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his Patriarchate, fell Cyril Lucar : a man, whose character can hardly be given, without the risk of doing injustice to his own piety, or speaking lightly of the pernicious doctrines which he taught. It is necessary to keep in mind the vast difference between the propagation of heresy, and the being an heretic, if we would judge of him rightly. The greater part of doctrines he held had never been censured by his own Church; those who opposed them, opposed them for their own interested ends, and, in combating heresy were guilty of schism. Those who held them were Cyril's superiors in learning, his friends, his protectors, his patrons; those who rejected them, his inferiors in every way, his own enemies, and in union with the Infidels. Had the Council of Bethlehem been held previously, Cyril would never probably have fallen into the snares laid for him; or, if he had, must have been more severely judged. It is worthy of remark, that this Council, while condemning his errors, spoke of ten thousand witnesses to his well known piety. Indeed his humility and patience are conspicuous through the whole tenor of his letters.

Therefore, while we utterly reject the Protestant idea that he died as a Saint and a Martyr, we are nearly as far from entertaining that of Rome, that he perished as a notorious and obstinate heretic, whose body sea and land equally refused to receive. Considering what he did and what he suffered, the strength of his enemies, the weakness of his friends, the power of his early associations, the unkindness and unfairness of Rome, the bitterness of his persecutors, his own meekness, and patience, and great humility, and using towards him that charity of judgment which we should ourselves desire, we are justified in believing, that, notwithstanding his many errors,

After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.

The executioners having carried Cyril's clothes to the market in Constantinople for the purpose of disposing of them, there was an universal burst of grief among the Christians: Cyril of Beraea was openly called villain, murderer, and Pilate, and a body of petitioners entered his house, demanding the corpse. Failing in this application, they applied to the Mahometan authorities; but, of course, to as little purpose.

### SECTION XII

#### FACILIDAS, EMPEROR

IMMEDIATELY on the accession of Facilidas that monarch wrote to the Patriarchy informing him that as the Coptic faith was now re-established in Abyssinia, he must at once leave the kingdom; and that an Abuna was actually on his way from Cairo, to undertake the government of the Church. In fact, an impostor did appear, who exercised various pontifical functions, before he was discovered. The brave Sela Christos was summoned to Court, and received kindly by his nephew: but, constantly refusing to abjure the Roman faith, was first banished into an unwholesome district, and then hanged.

In March, 1633, the Patriarch, and the rest of the Fathers, were ordered to proceed at once to Fremona. They did so: but determined, if they could, not to give up their position without a struggle. Jerome Lobo was sent, first to the Viceroy of India, and then to Spain, to solicit assistance. The Fathers then endeavored to collect ammunition at Fremona: it was seized by Facilidas, who requested them—but in very gentle terms—to go to Masuah. Instead of complying, they took refuge with one John then in rebellion against the Emperor, by whom they were sold to the Turks: the Patriarch made a shift, some time after, with some of the company, to ransom himself: but the Bishop of Nicaea, (translated to that Ethiopia returns to titular see from Hierapolis) and some others who remained, though pardoned by the Emperor, were put to death by the populace.

A treaty was then concluded by Facilidas with the Turks for the prevention of the passage of any missionaries from the West; and of some Capuchins, who afterwards endeavored to enter the kingdom, nine fell a sacrifice to their zeal. From this time forth, we are little concerned with Ethiopia.

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## SECTION XIII

### COUNCILS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND JASSY

On the death of Cyril Lucar, Cyril of Beraea ascended for a third time, the Ecumenical Throne. There can be no doubt that the two characteristics of this wretched man were ambition and enmity to Cyril Lucar : his proceedings are in no sense indices of the feelings of the Eastern Church, since he was an apostate from her Communion, and owed his elevation to Latin influence.

As soon as it was possible after his elevation, and within three months after the death of his predecessor, he assembled a Council at Constantinople, for the purpose of anathematising his memory.

The acts of this Synod, which are dated September 24, 1638, commence by a declaration that the care of the flocks entrusted to their charge renders it the duty of Christian Bishops to repress, to the utmost of their power, all heresy; that this is more especially the case when false doctrine is involved in such subtilty of words as the more easily to delude the ignorant; that evil under the cloak of good, Satan in the garb of an angel of light, are the most dangerous enemies of all : that Cyril Lucar, lately an intruder into the Throne of Constantinople, and abounding with the poison of the deadliest heresy, had not only himself attacked the Catholic Faith, but had publicly asserted that his sentiments were those of the Holy Eastern Church.

“We, therefore,” the document continues, “whom the Divine Providence has assembled in this royal city, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, as those who must hereafter give account of their deeds, do (on the impulse of necessity, and after the example and decrees of the Holy Fathers, who were filled with the Holy Ghost; who when there was a call, acted nobly in their Synods,) decree that Cyril Lucar shall be publicly denounced, and delivered over to an anathema; and moreover, (lest the Faith should be hindered by those who petulantly murmur at our proceedings,) that all and singular who receive as pious his vain dogmas, shall be bound with the same anathema”.

“To Cyril, surnamed Lucar, who has falsely asserted, in the superscription of his wicked Articles, that the whole Eastern Church of Christ is of the same belief as Calvin, Anathema”.

This is, perhaps, a fair deduction, though not quite fairly stated. It is certainly true, that Cyril had no right to dignify his confession with the title of that of the Eastern Church; especially when, in several particulars, it treated of subjects in which she had come to no synodical conclusion.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Holy Church of Jesus Christ can lie: (they then quote his second and twelfth Articles) anathema. From these absurdities, or rather downright madness, it follows either that Jesus, the God-Man, the very Truth,

can lie, or that He is not with His Church forever, as He promised : it follows also that the Holy Spirit does not speak by the Church, and that the gates of hell—the heresies of wicked men—can prevail against it. Lastly, that any one may rightly doubt, whether the Holy Gospel, which we have in common use, as handed down by the Church be true, and not another Gospel”.

This anathema seems perfectly fair. We cannot say so of the next.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the good God has chosen some to glory before the foundation of the world, and predestinated them without works, and has reprobated others without cause before the world was, and that the works of none are sufficient to demand a reward before the tribunal of Christ, as he saith expressly in his third and thirteenth articles: (since it thence follows, either that God is the Author of evil, and unjust, or that none who are involved in the Fall of Adam can be saved : also that the Gospels are false, when they say, ‘I was an hungered, and ye gave Me meat’, and again, ‘Come ye. Blessed of My Father’, &c.: lastly, that Paul the Mouth of Christ, and James the Lord's Brother, the one saying that not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law were just,—the other, that faith without works is dead, were deceived:)—Anathema”.

Now, as we have before seen, Cyril never asserted absolute Predestination, as this article declares that he did. The latter part of the anathema, if not itself unsound, is stated in an extremely unsafe manner.

“To Cyril teaching in his eighth article obscurely indeed and craftily, and believing that the Saints are not our Mediators and Intercessors with God: (they quote the passage) as subverting many oracles of the Holy Ghost:—Anathema. For God saith, ‘I will protect this city for the sake of David My Servant’. And the Holy Children in the furnace, ‘give us not utterly over for the sake of Abraham Thy Beloved, and Isaac Thy Servant, and Israel Thy Saint’. And Peter saith, ‘Moreover I will endeavor, after my decease, that ye may be able to have these things continually in remembrance’. But how could he endeavor after his decease, except by interceding and praying to God?”

They conclude by quoting the second Council of Nicaea.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes that man is not endued with free-will, as is clear from his fourteenth Article; but that every man has the power of sinning, but not the power of doing good; as the destroyer of the Gospels and Prophets, (where it is written, 'If ye choose and will hear Me: 'Draw near to Him, and be enlightened; He that will come after Me : Come unto Me all'— add also the frequent exhortations to do good:) Anathema”.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes that there are not seven Sacraments”,—they name them,— “according to the disposition of Christ, the tradition of the Apostles, and the customs of the Churchy but falsely asserting, that only two were by Christ in His Gospel handed down to us, that is to say, Baptism and the Eucharist, as may be seen in his fifteenth Article;—Anathema”.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Bread offered at the Altar, and also the Wine, is not changed, by the Blessing of the Priest, and Descent of the Holy Ghost, into the Real Body and Blood of Christ; (they quote his seventeenth Article) Anathema”.

They support this by S. John vii. 53, 56. S. Matthew XXVI. 27, 28. 1 Corinthians XII. 23, 45: and by the Canons of the seventh Ecumenical Synod.

“To Cyril, who teaches and believes, though secretly, in his eighteenth Article, that those who have fallen asleep in piety and penitence, are not, after death, assisted by the alms of their relations, and the prayers of the Church, as the denier of the happy rest of the just, the absolute perdition of the wicked, and the future judgment and retribution in the last and terrible day; which is most opposite to the Holy Scripture, and the teaching of all Divines;—Anathema”.

“To Cyril a new Iconoclast, and the worst of all; Anathema”.

The two succeeding anathemas are merely an amplification of the last: and the two last a recapitulation and enforcement of the whole.

Whatever may be thought of many of these anathemas, and of the unfair spirit which all exhibit to Cyril, this is, doubtless, a very important Council, and certainly may be called a general Synod of the Greek Church, receiving as it does, additional authority from its subsequent confirmation by the Council of Jerusalem. It is signed by three Patriarchs: Cyril of Constantinople; Metrophanes of Alexandria; Theophanes of Jerusalem. The Church of Antioch it would seem, was at this time in some confusion, from the Latinising tendencies of Euthymius I. which may be the reason that he did not subscribe to the above anathemas.

Joasaph, Patriarch of Moscow, was much averse from all contentions, and probably was glad to remain quiet. In addition, it is signed by twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops, three of whom were afterwards Patriarchs of Constantinople : namely, Parthemius the elder, then of Adrianople; Parthemius the younger, then of Joannine; Joannicius of Heraclea : two were Patriarchs of Alexandria; namely, Joannicius of Beraea and Joachim of Cos. And lastly, it is subscribed by twenty-one dignitaries of the great church of Constantinople, of whom one, Nicholas Clarontzanes, was afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria.

Thus then, these anathemas are pronounced by nine, who either then, or afterwards, were Patriarchs: a greater number, probably than ever subscribed to any other Synod. It is necessary to notice this fact, because the Calvinists, irritated at the failure of the hopes which they had conceived from Cyril Lucar, are loud in their assertions that this Council is by no means an exponent of the mind of the Greek Church, and furious in their outcry against the principal Prelates who composed it. It is true, that we cannot think highly of many of them, it is also true, that the testimony of Cyril of Beraea goes for nothing, because he was notorious for his Latinising principles:



but the other Bishops and Ecclesiastics are unexceptionable testimonies against Calvinism, the rather, that one of them, Parthenius, was suspected of it.

Shortly after the conclusion of this Synod, the Sultan returned in great triumph to Constantinople and Cyril Contari, being accused of several enormous crimes, was banished by him into Barbary, and there, says Philip of Cyprus, perished, as his crimes deserved, by a cruel death. Others say that he was strangled, on the earnest request of the friends of Cyril Lucar. Parthemius, Metropohtan of Adrianople, and known by the name of the elder, was elected to the Ecumenical Throne.

In the meantime, the Confession of Cyril Lucar had made no small noise in Russia. The Patriarch, Joasaph I, though a good man, was deficient in energy; but Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kiev, and one of the greatest glories of the Russian Church, was busily engaged in promoting the Oriental Faith, not less by his holy life than by his great learning. He composed, to counteract the spread of Calvinism, a Catechism, generally known by the name of the Orthodox Confession of Faith: it was written partly by himself, partly by Isaiah Trophimovich, an Archimandrite of eminence, and approved by a Synod of Russian Bishops summoned at Kiev. It is still (corrected, as we shall afterwards see,) held in great reputation, though acknowledged not to be free from a tinge of Latinism.

In the year 1641 Parthenius summoned a synod at Constantinople, at which eight Prelates and four dignitaries of the great church were present, and in this assembly the word Transubstantiation, is said to have been authorised. It is also said that a Priest, named Corydonius, protested against its adoption, as a term unknown to the Fathers, and the offspring of Latin scholasticism.

In the next year, A.D. 1642, a more important synod was held at Jassy, in Moldavia, by the exertions of John, hospodar of that country. The acts of this Council are incorporated with, and authenticated by, those of the Council of Bethlehem : though it is then, and generally, named the Synod of Constantinople, either from a confusion with that of the preceding year, or because it was looked on as merely a continuation of that, or because the name of Constantinople was more familiar to the Oriental Church than that of Jassy, and the Ecumenical Patriarch presided.

The decrees of this Synod are contained in seventeen Chapters : and the condemnation of Cyril Lucar is more gently expressed than it had been in the first Synod of Constantinople. Still, the strictures are not altogether fair; for example, in the first he is condemned for asserting that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, whereas his express terms are, from the Father by the Son. All the chapters of Cyril, (except the seventh, on the Incarnation,) are condemned, and those who obstinately defend them are delivered over to an anathema: but no stigma is thrown on his own memory: nor is any reference made to either the first or second Synods of Constantinople. The decrees are signed by Parthenius, Ecumenical Patriarch: Peter Mogilas. Archbishop of Kiev, Joannicius of Heraclea, afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople, twenty other Prelates, of whom four were Russians: and twenty dignitaries of the great church, of whom the most remarkable is that Chrysoculus, to

whose account of the troubles excited by the Jesuits we have been so largely indebted. But it would appear that only a small number of these Prelates were actually present at Jassy: the rest contented themselves with signing the synodal letter. Parthenius had received the Catechism of Mogilas, which had been forwarded for his approbation: he intrusted it to the correction of Meletius Striga, (also called Syriga,) his exarch in Russia, and the work, so revised, was formally approved and became a document of authority in the Eastern Church.

### SECTION XIV

#### SUCCESSIONS AT ALEXANDRIA

But before the synod of Jassy, Metrophanes Critopulus had departed this life (A.D. 1639). He was succeeded by that Nicholas Clarontzanes whom we have already mentioned. He assumed, on his accession, the title of Nicephorus. He held the Throne of S. Mark for four years only: and was succeeded by Joannicius, who had subscribed, then holding the See of Beraea, to the First Synod of Constantinople.

On the publication of the Orthodox Confession, he approved and authenticated it by his subscription. For the rest, his time was much occupied by disputes with the Monks of Mount Sinai.

His successor was Joachim, who had subscribed in the same synod of Constantinople as Bishop of Cos : he was ordained by Parthenius IV of Constantinople, surnamed Mogilalus, and was, like him, a man of bad character : and on his death or ejection, Paisius was raised to the Chair of S. Mark.

### SECTION XV

#### COUNCIL OF BETHLEHEM

It might seem that the Calvinism which had infested the Greek Church had been thoroughly crushed in the Councils of Constantinople and Tassy; but the fact was far otherwise. Thirty years only had elapsed since the death of Cyril Lucar : many of the those who had been personally acquainted with him still survived, and a comparison between his personal holiness, and the avaricious and profligate lives of his successors,

the notoriously Latinising tendency of some, and the worldliness of all, could not but raise considerable prejudice in favour of his belief. Add to which that the state of the Church of Constantinople had been such as to preclude anything like settled belief : in fifteen years, there had been fourteen occupiers or reoccupiers of the Ecumenical Throne : and these had borne the deadliest enmity to those whom they removed, or by whom themselves were supplanted.

It was evident that some steps must be taken to give authority to the decisions of Constantinople and Jassy. The first who seems to have been alive to the danger, and to have taken steps for averting it, was Hilaron Tzigalas, Archbishop of Nicosia, and one of the most learned Oriental Prelates of his age. He was, at the same time, much opposed to Latinism : and is said to have assisted Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the composition of his work on the Primacy of the Pope.

In the year 1668, he convened a Synod of his Suffragans and the clergy, in which the Calvinistic heresy was exposed and anathematized. The Acts were probably signed by the three Bishops of Pafo, Cyti, and Cerinia.

Four years after this time, the celebrated Dositheus was raised to the Patriarchal Throne of Jerusalem, by the resignation of Nectarius. He was, as all the most learned Greeks of his time, a Cretan: and had been Archbishop of Csesarea. On his accession, he diligently employed himself in completing a new church at Bethlehem, which his predecessor had begun: and conceived that this would be a favorable opportunity of summoning a General Council of the Eastern Church. Happening to be called to Constantinople, and to be introduced to M. de Nointel, the French ambassador, he mentioned to him the idea which had struck him; and the latter, who unlike his predecessors, seems to have been a true friend to the Oriental Church, suggested that it would be a favorable opportunity to weed it of its Calvinism. The thought pleased Dositheus, and on mentioning the scheme to Dionysius, then Ecumenical Patriarch, the latter prepared an encyclical letter, to be signed by those who should not be able to attend the Council. This, after having been signed by himself and those Prelates who were present in the Imperial City, was afterwards sent to others for their approval and subscription. It is dated January, 1672, which was two months previous to the actual meeting of the Synod of Bethlehem.

It begins with a statement of the difficulties which had been raised, and of the duty of the Bishops and Pastors of Christ's Flock, to satisfy them as far as possible. The Seven Sacraments are, in the first place, asserted and described. The language on the Holy Eucharist is remarkable, and seems purely Oriental : free on the one hand, from Roman Scholasticism; on the other, from Calvinian profanity.

"With respect to the tremendous sacrament of the Eucharist, we believe and confess unwaveringly, that the Living Body of our Lord Jesus Christ is invisibly present, with a Real Presence in the Mystery. For when the Celebrant, after the Lord's Words, saith, 'Make this Bread the Precious Body of Thy Christ,' &c. then, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, in a manner beyond nature and ineffable, the Bread is

really, and truly, and properly changed into the Very Body of our Saviour Christ, and the Wine into His Life-giving Blood."

Further on it declares: "It",—the Holy Eucharist,—“is offered up as a Sacrifice for all Christians, both quick and dead”.

The doctrine of Baptism is then clearly defined: the necessity of Infant Baptism asserted: final perseverance denied: the necessity of Episcopacy to a Church set forth : the superiority of Virginity to Matrimony proved: the infallibility of the Catholic Church maintained; the invocation of Saints and worship of Images, justified; the perpetual use and necessity of fasting declared.

With respect to the Apocrypha the encyclical letter differs, as we shall see, from the Council of Bethlehem. The former speaks of it in almost the same terms as the Articles of our own Church : the latter adds it to the Canon of Scripture. This letter is signed by Dionysius, Patriarch, Paisius, Dionysius, and Methodius, Ex-Patriarchs of Constantinople : Paisius of Alexandria : and forty-one other Metropolitans and Bishops. So that its authority, as a document, is vastly superior, in points where they differ, to that of the more celebrated Council of Bethlehem, or, as it is more commonly called, of Jerusalem.

Dositheus, on his return to his own See, lost no time in opening the Council. He was bent on two points : the first, to prove that the Oriental Church was not Calvinistic, and this led him rather to overstep her definitions, and to lay himself open to a charge of Latinism; and to this, his friendship for M. de Nointel still further engaged him : the second, to defend the memory of Cyril Lucar, for whom, perhaps as being his countryman, he seems to have entertained a great veneration. And this imparts a character of inconsistency to some part of the proceedings of the Synod. Still, on the whole, its spirit and decrees are highly honorable to the learning and piety of the assembled fathers: and the rage with which it is mentioned by Calvinian writers only proves their own chagrin at its conclusions.

The Proeme sets forth the duty of the Pastors of CHRIST's Flock to keep silence no longer when the Faith is at stake : and proceeds to state that a report was current in the West, to the effect that the Holy Eastern Church held and propagated the same sentiments with the Calvinists; that this was not only said by word of mouth, but actually published: that M, Claude of Charenton was one of its busiest propagators : that the Council, assembled for the dedication of the new church at Bethlehem, thought fit to state the true doctrine of the Eastern Church, to the end that the minds of the wavering might be settled, and the calumnies of the Calvinists exposed.

They then proceed to state the connection which had, at different times subsisted between the Protestant Communities and the Eastern Church. That, fifty years after Luther, Martin Crusius, and other learned Lutherans, wrote to Jeremiah, then Ecumenical Patriarch, to learn the sentiments of the Oriental Church on the points in dispute between themselves and Rome, that Jeremiah had rejected their innovations, and written against them. That others, especially Nathanael, a Priest of Constantinople, and

Gabriel Severus, Greek Archbishop of Venice, had clearly explained, on these matters, the doctrine of the Church; that the Calvinists, in opposition to these authorities, brought forward the confession of Cyril Lucar : that, however, this confession was not Cyril's, but a forgery. For this assertion, they give five proofs.

1. The Eastern Church never knew Cyril to be such a person as the adversaries say, nor was acquainted with the articles as his composition.

2. If it be granted that they are his, he must have published them secretly, without the knowledge of any of the Easterns, much less of the Catholic Church.

3. Cyril's Confession is not the confession of the Eastern Church.

4. One of two things is impossible; either that the Easterns were acquainted with this Confession, or that, if they knew it, they could be Christians.

5. That the Easterns have always had such an aversion to these articles, that Cyril has been often known to teach with an oath, and in the Church, contrary to them; and only because he would not write against them, he was anathematized and excommunicated in two very crowded synods.

They go on to prove these assertions thus:

“That Cyril was never known in the Eastern Church as a Calvinist, is evident to every one who has no evil intention; for having been Pope of Alexandria after Meletius, and having been translated to the Throne of Constantinople (at a time when he was sojourning there) by the joint consent of the Clergy of Constantinople, neither in Synod nor in church, nor in the house of any orthodox person, and, in short, neither in public nor in private did he say or teach any one of those things which the adversaries say that he favored. And if the adversaries assert that Cyril said anything of the sort to any individual or to several, they know not what they say; for if they wish to bear witness, they ought not to derive their testimonies from themselves,—because they lie with us under the charge of slander and of not knowing Cyril, and consequently have no credit,—but from those who knew Cyril and his manner of life, of whom there are as many as ten thousand now living. But these people, who never knew him, vehemently affirm that he was a partaker of their heresy, whilst those who ministered to him in the business of many years, and knew every thing relating to him, assert that he was nothing of the sort.

“Secondly, because there appears no unsuspected writing of his, nor any written with his own hand, confessing any such thing as these heterodox people testify.

“Thirdly, because we have not only ten thousand witnesses who attest the well-known piety of Cyril, and that they never heard anything heretical from him, but also a book of the largest size written with Cyril's own hand, in which appear his sermons delivered at Constantinople on each Sunday and Festival, exhibiting quite the contrary

to these forged articles; out of which we will set forth some extracts in the present document for the perfect confirmation of our assertions”.

Now, these assertions prove two things: Firstly, the good feeling of the Council of Jerusalem towards one who lay under though such a load of calumny as Cyril : secondly, the high reputation which that Patriarch had left behind him for piety and holiness.

But they cannot for a moment lead us to doubt of the authenticity of Cyril's confession: for which, it must be remembered, we have more proofs, in his private letters, than the Fathers of this Council could possibly have known.

They then proceed with their endeavor to show that Cyril's sermons were at variance with his confession. On the first chapter, where he affirms that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son, they produce two extracts, one from a Homily on Christmas Day, the other on Pentecost : in the one of which he says that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone : in the other that He proceeds from the Father, and is sent by the Son; and this is nearly identical with his Confession.

Against the second chapter, on the superior authority of Scripture to the Church, they seem to have found a difficulty in bringing forward anything satisfactory from the other writings of Cyril: the two extracts they give are nothing to the purpose. And the same thing may be said with regard to their other attempts, with one exception.

Against the seventeenth chapter, where Cyril expressly denies Transubstantiation, they bring forward an extract from a sermon which he delivered on the Miracle of the Five Loaves. “The Lord brake bread three times. Firstly, in the Mystical Supper, where He ordained that we should receive the Infinite Virtue of the Divinity, in the Transubstantiation of the Bread”.

This is a remarkable passage: but it is impossible to believe that it ever proceeded from the pen of Cyril. For, firstly, we have seen by many proofs that he did not believe in the doctrine: secondly, we know enough of him to be sure that, with all his faults, he never was a hypocrite; thirdly, had he been so, it must have been with some hope of advantage: fourthly, on the contrary, the use of the word at all would have rendered him suspected by his two patrons, the English and Dutch ambassadors, and the single use of it would not have pacified the Romanists: fifthly, that in the extract, it does not seem to make very good sense : and may fairly be supposed to have been altered, either by mistake, or by some fraudulent transcriber.

The Fathers next proceed to explain the anathemas pronounced against Cyril by the Council of Constantinople: they were not fulminated, they say, because Cyril was the author of the Confession: but because knowing that it was published in his name, he did not suppress or anathematize it. But the reader has only to cast his eyes back to the Acts of that Council, to be convinced that it did anathematize him as the author of that Confession. However, this seems to be the belief of the Eastern Church to the present



day: that the Confession was not Cyril's : but that he was anathematized for not sufficiently opposing the doctrines which it contained.

After this ineffectual attempt to exculpate Cyril, the Fathers of Bethlehem proceed much more satisfactorily. "Whosoever was the Confession", they say, "it never was that of the Greek Church, inasmuch as she never held its doctrines; and could in no sense be implicated in it. She that has stood firm in the midst of persecutions and martyrdoms, would never have believed one thing in the heart, and confessed another with the mouth".

Cyril, they affirm, denied his so-called chapters with an oath; and was justly condemned, nevertheless, because he did not more resolutely oppose them. If the Oriental Church had ever held these doctrines, it would have apostatized from the Faith: but it never did apostatize: therefore it never could have held these doctrines. Again, its anathemas, pronounced on Orthodoxy Sunday, (i.e. the commemoration of the Second Council of Niasea and the other Councils,) amply proves the same thing.

This appears to be the substance of the four first chapters of the Acts of this Council. The Fathers then proceed to repeat and to authenticate the Synods of Constantinople and Jassy and conclude with a confession of Faith, founded on that of Peter Mogila, though in many respects differing from it.

Art I. On the Trinity: and the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone.

II. On the Authority of the Church to interpret Scripture.

III. Against the Doctrine of Irrespective Predestination.

IV. Against those, who call God the Author of Evil.

V. On the same subject: and the Divine Providence in turning evil into good.

VI. On original sin.

VII. On the Incarnation and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

VIII. That there is but One Mediator, Jesus Christ; nevertheless that the Church may and ought to have recourse to the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and All Saints.

IX. That Faith working by Love, that is, by the fulfilment of the commandments, justifies.

X. That there is a visible Catholic Church: that episcopal government is necessary to it; that without this there can be neither Church nor Christian : that the

Power of Episcopacy is received by Succession; that the Episcopate is entirely different from, and superior to, the Priesthood.

XI. Of those members of the Church who live in sin.

XII. Of the teaching of the Holy Ghost by the Fathers, and, more especially, by Ecumenical Councils.

XIII. Of good works, co-operating with faith to justification.

XIV. Of freewill, in opposition to Calvinians.

XV. That there are seven Sacraments.

XVI. Of the necessity of regeneration in Baptism, and the Eternal Damnation of those who receive it not.

XVII. Of the Holy Eucharist. Here transubstantiation is asserted in the strongest terms: and consubstantiation condemned : yet it may be fairly asserted that the Greek Church has not yet decided this question. Of the Synods of Constantinople and Jassy, the one affirms it, the other leaves it undecided: and so again, with the Synod of Bethlehem, and the encyclical letter of Dionysius. It is allowed on all hands that the word is new in Greek Theology : and probably the first instance of its use is to be found in a Homily of Gennadius, the first Patriarch of Constantinople, after the capture of that city by the Turks, and which was written, therefore, about A.D. 1460.

XVIII. Of the state of the departed. In this article there seems to be a plain discrepancy with the Faith of the Eastern Church, and a decided tendency to Latinism: the doctrine of Purgatory being clearly admitted.

The Fathers then proceed to answer Cyril's four questions. The first in the negative : to which the practice of the present Greek Church is opposed : the second, very truly, in the negative; in the third, as to the Canon of Scripture, they include the books of the Apocrypha. Herein they are opposed to the encyclical letter of Dionysius, which includes only the books named by the Council of Laodicea: and they are guilty of gross irreverence to S. Cyril, asserting that he named them Apocryphal foolishly, ignorantly, or perhaps maliciously. To the fourth, as to images, they reply as the second Council of Nicaea.

They conclude by a defence of Monachism and an enunciation of certain writers who, on the points in controversy, fairly stated the Belief of the Eastern Church: and among these Coressi, of whom Cyril Lucar speaks so harshly, holds a distinguished place.

The Acts are signed by Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, Ex-Patriarch, and seven other Prelates, one of whom had also a proxy: also by sixty-one

other Ecclesiastics, of whom one or two were Russians. Ten signed in Arabic: the rest in Greek. The date is the 20th of March, 1672: and the Acts were authenticated by M. de Nointel, a year and a half later.

This Council, notwithstanding the outcry raised against it by the Calvinists, decided the controversy. We have perhaps digressed too much from our Alexandrian History: but as the principal propagator of the new belief was a Patriarch of Alexandria, and as his successors were much concerned in the whole progress of the dispute, we thought it best to give a succinct, but it is trusted a fair, account of its rise, progress, and final decision.

### SECTION XVI

#### JACOBITE SUCCESSIONS.

Matthew of Alexandria was succeeded by Mark, a priest of the monastery of S. Antony: and he, again, by another Matthew, who wrote on the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist.

To Matthew IV succeeded John XVI El Touki (AD 1675), who is distinguished by the longest Episcopate of any that ever held, or pretended to, the Chair of S. Mark, except S. Athanasius. He re-introduced the office of the consecration of Chrism, now intermitted for two hundred years. It had been a custom among the Egyptians that male children should be baptized on the fortieth, female on the eighth day. John ordained, under pain of an anathema, that Baptism should not be deferred beyond the eighth day. This regulation, however, was only carried into effect in Cairo. Gabriel Eva, a Maronite, visited this Patriarch by order of Pope Clement XI, as he was understood to entertain sentiments favourable to the Roman Church. His reply was, that he should be thankful to embrace the Communion of S. Peter, but that death would be the certain penalty of any Coptic Patriarch who should do so. In his time, another unsuccessful attempt was made to bring the Abyssinians to the Roman Faith. Three embassies were sent from France to that country: the last of which was terminated by the assassination of Du Roule, the ambassador.

John departed this life on the 4th of June, 1718: and was succeeded on the 20th of August, by Peter V El Siouty, that is, of Lycopolis. He immediately after his accession, deposed Abdel Messiah, Metropolitan of the East, but afterwards elevated him to the See of Axum.

To him succeeded John XVII El Mellanoy (AD 1727): of whom we know nothing further than that he had been Abbat of S. Paul near the Red Sea.

Mark VII next filled the Jacobite Throne.

His successor was Peter, the sixth of that name, who furnished Bruce with letters of recommendation to the Abuna of Axum.

He was followed by another Mark: under whom the French invasion of Egypt took place.

His successor was Peter VII, the present Coptic Patriarch. We have mentioned in our Introduction the comparatively flourishing state of this Communion: its head is said to entertain the most unbounded confidence in the English Church.

### SECTION XVII

#### CATHOLIC SUCCESSIONS

We have now little more to say of the History of the Catholic Church of Alexandria. In the time of Paisius, it was so much reduced, that instead of the hundred Bishops who once obeyed the Throne of S. Mark, four only were left, who were dignified with the title of metropolitans. These were,—Ethiopia—of course an honorary title;—Memphis;—Damietta;—and Rosetta : and even these four Sees have, since that period, ceased to exist.

Paisius survived the Council of Jerusalem more than six years; and was succeeded by Parthenius, Bishop of Nazareth, who had, in that capacity, subscribed the decrees of that synod. His real name was Prochorus; and he perished in the great earthquake at Smyrna, in 1689.

To him succeeded Gerasimus Paliotas, a man of great learning. His successor was Samuel. It was he, who in conjunction with the other Patriarchs, negatived the wish of the English Nonjurors to be received into the Communion of the Oriental Church. The history of that event does not belong to our present subject. Samuel appears to have been in communication with the English Church: for in 1720 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge sent out a large supply of Syriac Testaments into Egypt, which are said to have been thankfully received by the Church. King George I, gave £500. for this object.

On the death of Samuel a singular promotion occurred. Cosmas, who had been Ecumenical Patriarch, and had enjoyed great respect, retired to pass the remainder of his life in prayer and study at Mount Sinai, where he had previously been Archbishop. He was, however, prevailed on to fill the Chair of S. Mark: thus accomplishing a course precisely the opposite of that of Cyril Lucar: and more in accordance with the ancient order of the Church, when Alexandria was still the second See.

He was succeeded by Cosmas, a native of Pisidia, his successor was Matthew, by birth an Andrian. The Chair of S. Mark was then filled by Cyprian, from the Island of Cyprus. Gerasimus Caclicas, a native of Lerus, next followed: and then Parthenius of Patmos. Under him it was that the French invasion of Egypt took place. Parthenius of Patmos was succeeded by his nephew Theophilus, and the latter was followed by Hierotheus, to whom the reader is indebted for the names of his last six predecessors.

On the death of Hierotheus, which took place in 1846, his funeral was one of the most magnificent which had been seen in Egypt for many years, and was attended by the Coptic, as well as his own xjcciesiastics.

The Throne was then contested by two ecclesiastics, Artemius, and Hierotheus. The former was elected and consecrated at Constantinople: and is supported by the influence of Russia, of the Great Synod, and of the majority of the Egyptian Melchites.

The latter was preferred by the more respectable though smaller portion of them. Artemius, therefore, has probably by this time succeeded peaceably to the Apostolic Throne of S. Mark.

### SECTION XVIII

#### CONCLUSION

Thus, by God's goodness, we have finished the relation of the Rise and Decline of the Church of Alexandria. We have traced it from the time when its Apostolic Founder laid down his life for his Lord : we have penetrated, so far as we might, the obscure annals of its earlier Patriarchs; we have seen it struggling with the persecutions of Valerian and Diocletian, and, by the blood of its martyrs, spreading the Faith into the wildest regions of Africa : we have seen it crushing the Sabellian heresy in the person of S. Dionysius, standing alone against an Arian world in that of S. Athanasius, overthrowing Nestorius, and wielding an Ecumenical Council in that of S. Cyril.

We have seen it drawn into error by the vices and heresy of Dioscorus; thenceforward beset by a long and fearful schism, from which neither the martyrdom of S. Proterius, nor the alms of S. John, nor the learning of S. Eulogius, could deliver it; and, finally, overwhelmed by the victorious arms of the Impostor of Mecca.

We have struggled through the dark annals of its mediaeval history: we have found heresy triumphant, the Church almost dropping the name of Catholic, persecution rife, apostasy frequent; scarcely one valiant action for the faith recorded; scarcely one noble athlete for his God chronicled.

We have seen the dismal gulf yawn between Eastern and Western Christendom; and have noted the attempts made by Rome, and by Protestant Germany to pass it. We

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have watched the progress of the Portuguese in Ethiopia, from their first hopes of success, through the absolute victory, to the entire fall of Rome.

We have remarked the gradual rise of error in the mind of Cyril Lucar, and his fruitless, though conscientious attempt to lead the Eastern Church into heresy. And now we behold the Church of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, a shadow of its former self, without a Bishop, except its Patriarch, “persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed”.

What remains but that we long and pray for those happier times when Alexandria and her sister Churches shall “shake themselves from the dust” shall “loose the bands of their neck”, shall no more be “forsaken and hated”, shall become “an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations”; shall be freed from the Ottoman yoke, purged from ignorance, shall unite and be united with the Western Church, shall become One Fold under One Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, To Whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end,

Amen.

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