

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

I. THE BISHOP OF ROME AND THE HEADSHIP OF THE CHURCH

Threefold nature of the papal claims.

The claim of the bishop of Rome to be the divinely ordained head of the Christian Church has always rested upon three main assumptions: (1) that Peter was designated by Christ as the chief of the apostles, (2) that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, and lastly (3) that he handed down to succeeding bishops of Rome the powers which he himself enjoyed. The following extracts illustrate the nature of these claims and the arguments adduced in support of them.

Peter's sojourn at Rome.

In the New Testament there is indirect evidence of Peter's sojourn in Rome. The First Epistle of Peter closes with the words, "The church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you." Since there is no reason to think that a Christian community existed at Babylon, it has generally been assumed that Rome is here meant. This appears to be a justifiable interpretation, for the early Christians were wont to denounce Rome as a very Babylon of wickedness.¹

Very little has been preserved which casts any light on the position of the bishop of Rome for a century

¹ Further evidence for Peter's presence in Rome is adduced from the New Testament. See, among other writers, LANGEN, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, pp. 40 sqq.

after Peter's death, which probably occurred during the persecution of the Christians under Nero (A.D. 64) or not long after.¹

Irenæus, who became bishop of Lyons in 177 and who died about 202, in a work directed against the various heresies which prevailed, emphasizes the purity and authority of the beliefs handed down in the Roman Church. He would put to confusion all those who dissented from the orthodox belief

18. Irenæus (d. ca. 202) gives a list of the bishops of Rome.

by bringing forward that tradition derived from the apostles of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul. This is the faith preached to men which comes down to our own times through the succession of the bishops. . . . And it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its preëminent authority.² . . .

¹ About the year 95 a letter, ascribed to Clement — who, according to later tradition, was bishop of Rome — was dispatched from the Roman Church to that at Corinth. This speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, in enumerating the noble examples of Christian heroes "furnished in our own generation." It also reproves the Corinthian Church for deposing certain churchmen, and so seems to assume a species of superiority. A few years later (probably in 107) Ignatius of Antioch wrote to the Church at Rome that he was on his way to the capital to suffer martyrdom. His letter begins: "To the church which is beloved and enlightened by the will of Him that willeth all things, . . . which presides in the place of the region of the Romans, worthy of God, worthy of honor, worthy of the highest happiness, worthy of praise, worthy of obtaining her every desire, worthy of being deemed holy, presiding in love, is named from Christ, and from the Father," etc. To some scholars these passages seem to indicate the early supremacy of the Roman Church. To others they appear too vague to prove more than a natural preëminence of the Christian community of the capital, which had numbered Peter and Paul among its many martyrs.

² This rather vague and much discussed passage reads, *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.*

The blessed apostles, having founded and built up the church, committed the office of bishop into the hands of Linus. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him in the third place from the apostles, Clement was assigned the bishopric. This man, since he had seen the blessed apostles and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the apostles still echoing in his ears and their traditions before his eyes. Nor was he alone in this, for there were still many remaining who had received instructions from the apostles. In the time of this Clement, no small dissension having occurred among the brethren at Corinth, the Church in Rome dispatched a most powerful letter to the Corinthians,¹ exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles. . . .

To this Clement succeeded Evaristus. Alexander followed Evaristus; then, sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed; after him Telesphorus, who was gloriously martyred; then Hyginus; after him Pius; then after him Anicetus. Soter having succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius does now in the twelfth place from the apostles hold the inheritance of the episcopate. In this order and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us, and this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith which has now been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now and handed down in truth.

19. Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 220) dwells upon the special distinction of the apostolic church at Rome.

Tertullian, presbyter at Carthage, a vigorous writer of the second and early third century, thus speaks of the churches founded by the apostles:

Come now you who would profitably direct your curiosity toward the interests of your salvation, run over the apostolic churches in which the chairs of the apostles still preside in

¹ See note 1 on preceding page.

their places, where their own authentic letters are still read, bringing back their voice and the face of each. If you happen to be near Achaia, you have Corinth; if you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi and Thessalonica. If you can turn toward Asia, you have Ephesus. If you live near Italy, you have Rome, from whence comes the authority in our own case.

How happy is this church on which apostles poured forth all their teachings along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's, where the Apostle John was plunged — but uninjured — into boiling oil, and then sent to his island exile! See what she has learned and taught and the fellowship she has enjoyed with even [our] churches in Africa.

Later Tertullian joined the sect of the Montanists, who were regarded as heretics by the Roman Church. In his treatise "On Modesty" he protests scornfully against the powers claimed by the bishop of Rome. He learns, he says, that "the sovereign pontiff, that is, the bishop of bishops," has issued a certain edict of which he can in no way approve. He then proceeds to inquire whence the bishop of Rome "usurps" this right.

Later Tertullian questions the claims of the bishop of Rome.

If because the Lord said to Peter, "upon this rock will I build my church," "to thee have I given the keys of the heavenly kingdom," or "whatsoever thou shalt have bound or loosed on earth shall be bound or loosed in the heavens," you, therefore, presume that the power of binding and loosing has come down to you, that is, to every church akin to Peter, what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, who conferred this right upon Peter *personally*. "On thee," he says, "will I build my church," and "I will give to thee the keys," not to the church; and "whatsoever thou shalt have loosed or bound," not what *they* shall have loosed or bound.

The attitude of Cyprian toward the bishop of Rome and the bishops in general has already been shown.¹ There are, however, certain interesting passages in his letters in regard to the matter in hand. For example, certain persons having withdrawn from the unity of the Church and set up a bishop of their own, Cyprian says of them:

20. Cyprian on the danger of appeals to the bishop of Rome (252).

They dare to appeal to the throne of Peter, and to the chief church whence priestly unity takes its source. . . . But we have all agreed — as is both fair and just — that every case should be heard there where the crime has been committed; and a portion of the flock has been assigned to each individual pastor, which he is to rule and govern, having to give an account of his deeds to the Lord. It certainly behooves those over whom we are placed not to run about, nor to break up the harmonious agreement of the bishops with their crafty and deceitful rashness, but there to plead their cause, where they may be able to have both accusers and witnesses to their crime.

21. The Council of Nicæa mentions the bishop of Rome among the archbishops.

It was almost inevitable that the bishops in the various great cities of the Empire should be conceded a certain preëminence over the bishops about them. In this way the office of archbishop, or metropolitan, developed. The first distinct, legal recognition of the rights of the archbishops is found in the famous sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa (325).

The old custom in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis shall continue to be observed, so that the bishop of Alexandria shall exercise authority over all these regions, for the bishop of Rome enjoys a similar right. Similarly in Antioch and in the other provinces the churches shall retain their prerogatives. Moreover let it be known that should any one have

¹ See above, pp. 19 *sqq.*

become bishop without the approval of the metropolitan, this great council has ordained that such an one shall not be regarded as a bishop. . . .

The council says nothing of a single head of the Church having jurisdiction over all the other bishops. And here it is necessary to notice a very important but often neglected distinction between (1) the moral and religious supremacy accorded to the bishop of Rome, and (2) the recognition of his right to be the supreme director of the whole church government. As the head of the venerated church at Rome, and as the successor of the two most glorious of the apostles, who had confirmed with their blood the teachings which they had handed down to their successors, the bishop of Rome doubtless seemed to the prelates assembled at Nicæa, as he had seemed to Irenæus and Cyprian, chief among the bishops. Yet there is no indication in the acts of the Council of Nicæa that as an officer in the Church the bishop of Rome enjoyed any greater or wider jurisdiction than other metropolitans, such as the archbishop of Alexandria or of Antioch.

Distinction between the position of the bishop of Rome as religious and as governmental head of the Church.

Nevertheless, the bishop of Rome was destined to be recognized in the West both as spiritual and governmental head of the Church. The Council of Sardika, eighteen years after the Council of Nicæa, decreed that should any bishop believe that he had been unjustly condemned and deposed by a synod, he should have the privilege of appealing to the bishop of Rome. If the latter decided that the case should be reconsidered, he should order a new trial by other judges.

The Council of Sardika (343) permits condemned bishops to appeal to Rome for a new trial.

There is evidence that the Roman church and its bishops had from the earliest times been consulted by

22. The decretal of Siricius (385) the first authentic example of a papal decree.

other churches when dissension arose, and that the rulings of Rome enjoyed the greatest authority. But the earliest extant example of an authoritative order addressed to the Church in general by a bishop of Rome is the famous "Decretal"¹ of Pope Siricius, issued sixty years after the Council of Nicæa.

A bishop of Spain had submitted a number of questions to the bishop of Rome. These Siricius decides in detail, and then closes his letter as follows:

I believe that I have now given a sufficient answer to the various questions which you have referred to the Roman church as to the head of your body. Now we would stimulate you, our brother, more and more carefully to observe the canons and adhere to the decretals¹ which have been ordained. Moreover, we would have you bring to the attention of all our fellow-bishops those things which we have written in reply to your questions, not only to those bishops who are within your dioceses, but to all the Carthaginians, Bæticans, Lusitanians, and Gallicians,² as well as to those in the neighboring provinces. Let all the matters which have been duly settled by us be transmitted to them through letters from you. For although no priest of God is likely to remain in ignorance of the decrees of the Apostolic See and the venerable decisions of the canons, it will be more expedient and more to the glory of the ancient station which you occupy if those general orders which I have addressed to you individually should be brought through you to the attention of all our brethren. In this way those things which have been ordained by us with the utmost circumspection and caution, after due

¹ The term "decretal," applied to papal ordinances, is derived from *epistolæ decretales*, i.e. letters which authoritatively established some point. The acts of the councils are usually called "canons," i.e. "rules."

² Siricius is addressing the bishop of Tarragona. The regions here enumerated included the rest of the Spanish peninsula.

The bishop of Rome assumes his right to issue decrees binding upon other bishops.

deliberation and by no means hastily, shall be permanently observed, and thus all possibility of those excuses which might otherwise reach us shall be removed.

St. Jerome, however, in spite of the veneration which he often expressed for the Church of Rome, does not always appear to recognize the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over the other bishops.

The church at Rome is not to be considered as one thing and the rest of the churches throughout the world as another. Those of Gaul and Britain, Africa, Persia, and India, as well as the various barbarous nations, adore one Christ and observe a single rule of truth. If you are looking for authority, the world is surely greater than the city of Rome. Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople, Rhegium, or Alexandria, his rank and priesthood are the same. Neither the power that riches bring nor the humility of poverty makes a bishop higher or lower in rank. All are successors of the apostles. . . . Why urge the custom of a single city?

Leo the Great gives the following clear statement of nature and grounds of the pope's claim to be head of the whole Church.

. . . A single person, Peter, is appointed from the whole world as a leader in the calling of all peoples, and is placed above all the other apostles and the fathers of the Church. Although there are many priests among the people of God, and many pastors, Peter should of right rule all of those whom Christ himself rules in the first instance. Great and marvelous, my dear brethren, is the participation in its own power which it has pleased the Divine Excellency to grant to this man. And such powers as it granted to other leaders in common with Peter were granted only through Peter. Our Lord, indeed, asked all the apostles what men said of him, but so long as it was left to all to reply, so long was the hesitation

23. St. Jerome (d. 420) on the equality of all the bishops.

24. A sermon by Leo the Great on Peter's headship.

of human ignorance clearly displayed. But when the opinion of the apostles was asked, he who was first in apostolic dignity was the first to reply; who when he had answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Jesus said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven"¹;—that is to say, thou art blessed for this reason, for my father has taught thee, neither has mere earthly opinion misled thee, but thou art instructed by a heavenly inspiration. . . . I am the foundation than which none other can be established; yet thou too art a rock [*petra*] because thou art made firm by my strength, so that those things which I have in virtue of my power thou shalt have in common with me by participation. "And upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." . . .

And he said to the blessed Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The right to this power passed also to the other apostles, and the provisions of this ordinance went forth to all the leaders of the Church. Still it was not in vain that what was made known to all was especially recommended to one. For this power was intrusted expressly to Peter, since Peter was placed as a model before all the rulers of the Church. Peter's prerogative remains and everywhere his judgment goes forth in equity. For never is severity too great nor forgiveness too lax where nothing is bound nor loosed except the blessed Peter bind or loose it.

Just before his passion, which was about to shake the apostles' constancy, the Lord said to Simon, "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren,"² that you should not enter into temptation. The danger of the temptation to yield to fear was

¹ Matthew xvi. 16-17.

² Luke xxii. 31-32.

common to all the apostles and all alike needed the aid of divine protection, since the devil desired to confound and ruin them all. Yet the Lord took special care of Peter and prayed especially that Peter might have faith, as if the state of the others would be more secure if the mind of their chief was not overcome. In Peter, therefore, the strength of all was confirmed and the aid of divine grace so ordered that the strength which was granted to Peter by Christ was in turn transmitted through Peter to the apostles.

Since, therefore, beloved brethren, we behold this protection divinely appointed to us, we may properly and justly rejoice in the merits and dignity of our leader, sending up thanks to our eternal King and Redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, for giving such power to him whom he made the head of the whole Church: so that if anything, even in our own days, is rightly done by us and rightly ordained, it should be properly attributed to the influence and guidance of him to whom it was said: "When once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren." To whom, moreover, his Lord, after his resurrection, when Peter had three times professed his eternal love, said mystically three times, "Feed my sheep."¹ Like a faithful shepherd, he has beyond a doubt fulfilled his Lord's command, confirming us by his exhortations, and never ceasing to pray for us that we be not overcome by any temptation. . . .

[Elsewhere Leo says:] Although the priests enjoy a common dignity, they are not all on the same footing, since even among the blessed apostles, who were alike in honor, there was a certain distinction in authority. All were alike chosen, but it was given to one that he should be preëminent among the others. Upon this model the distinction among the bishops is based, and it is salutarily provided that all should not claim the right to do all things, but in each province there should be one who should have the first word among his brethren. Again, in the greater cities others are appointed to greater responsibilities. Through these the oversight of

Leo on the hierarchy (446).

¹ John xxi. 15 *sqq.*

the whole Church is concentrated in one see, that of Peter, and from this head there should never be any dissent.

The following edict was issued by the western emperor, during Leo's pontificate:

25. The edict of the emperor Valentinian recognizing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome (445).

Since, then, the primacy of the Apostolic See is established by the merit of St. Peter (who is the chief among the bishops), by the majesty of the city of Rome, and finally by the authority of a holy council,¹ no one, without inexcusable presumption, may attempt anything against the authority of that see. Peace will be secured among the churches if every one recognize his ruler.

[After a reference to the independent action of certain prelates of Gaul, the edict continues.] Lest even a slight commotion should arise in the churches, or the religious order be disturbed, we herewith permanently decree that not only the bishops of Gaul, but those of the other provinces, shall attempt nothing counter to ancient custom without the authority of the venerable father [*papa*] of the Eternal City. Whatever shall be sanctioned by the authority of the Apostolic See shall be law to them and to every one else; so that if one of the bishops be summoned to the judgment of the Roman bishop and shall neglect to appear, he shall be forced by the moderator² of his province to present himself. In all respects let the privileges be maintained which our deified predecessors have conferred upon the Roman church.

26. Letter of Pope Gelasius I to Emperor Anastasius on the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power (494).

The pope's view of the natural superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power finds a clear expression in the following remarkable letter of Gelasius I (494).

. . . There are two powers, august Emperor, by which this world is chiefly ruled, namely, the sacred authority of the priests and the royal power. Of these, that of the priests is the more weighty, since they have to render an account for even the kings of men in the divine judgment. You are

¹ That of Sardika: see above, p. 67. ² An imperial official.

also aware, dear son, that while you are permitted honorably to rule over human kind, yet in things divine you bow your head humbly before the leaders of the clergy and await from their hands the means of your salvation. In the reception and proper disposition of the heavenly mysteries you recognize that you should be subordinate rather than superior to the religious order, and that in these matters you depend on their judgment rather than wish to force them to follow your will.

If the ministers of religion, recognizing the supremacy granted you from heaven in matters affecting the public order, obey your laws, lest otherwise they might obstruct the course of secular affairs by irrelevant considerations, with what readiness should you not yield them obedience to whom is assigned the dispensing of the sacred mysteries of religion. Accordingly, just as there is no slight danger in the case of the priests if they refrain from speaking when the service of the divinity requires, so there is no little risk for those who disdain — which God forbid — when they should obey. And if it is fitting that the hearts of the faithful should submit to all priests in general who properly administer divine affairs, how much the more is obedience due to the bishop of that see which the Most High ordained to be above all others, and which is consequently dutifully honored by the devotion of the whole Church.

II. GREGORY THE GREAT AND HIS TIMES

Times of emergency call forth great men — men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice, and holiness of their cause, in religious affairs of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such

27. Milman on Gregory the Great and the importance of the papacy.

was Gregory I, to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

Now was the crisis in which the Papacy must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. It was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times, — a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilization.

To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organization of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. . . .

It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world — it had by this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it. Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop.

The calamities of the times, especially the coming of "the most unspeakable Lombards," as he commonly calls them, convinced Gregory that the end of the world was near at hand. In a letter written to a fellow-bishop shortly after he reluctantly became pope, he gives a dark picture of the world and of his heavy responsibilities:

28. Sad state of the western world as depicted in the letters of Gregory the Great.

Gregory to Leander, bishop of Seville:

With all my heart I have wished to answer you better, but the burden of my pastoral calls so overpowers me that I would rather weep than speak, — as your reverence undoubtedly gathers from the very character of my correspondence when I am remiss in addressing one whom I warmly love. In fact, so beaten about am I by the billows in this corner of the world, that I can in no wise bring to harbor the ancient, rolling ship at whose helm I stand through God's mysterious dispensation.

Now the waves break over us from the front, now at the side the foaming mountains of the sea swell high, now in the rear the tempest pursues us. Beset by all these perils, I am forced first to steer directly in the face of the storm, again to swerve the vessel and to receive obliquely the onset of the waters. I groan, because I know that if I am negligent the bilge water of vice is deepening, and that if the storm assails us furiously at that instant the decaying planks forebode shipwreck. Fearful, I remember that I have lost my quiet shore of peace, and sighing I gaze toward the land which, while the wind of circumstances blows contrarily, I cannot gain. So, dearest brother, if you love me, stretch forth the hand of prayer to me amid these floods, and, as you aid me in my troubles, thus as a reward shall you come forth more valiantly from yours. . . .

[Of all the signs described by our Lord as presaging the end of the world], some we see already accomplished; the others we dread as close upon us. For we now see that nation rises against nation, and that they press and weigh upon the land in our own times as never before in the annals of the past. Earthquakes overwhelm countless cities, as we often hear from other parts of the world. Pestilence we endure without interruption. It is true that as yet we do not behold signs in the sun and moon and stars; but that these are not far off we may infer from the changes in the atmosphere. Before Italy was given over to be desolated by the sword of a heathen foe, we beheld fiery ranks in

Signs that the end of the world is at hand. (From one of Gregory's Sermons.)

A reference, perhaps, to the aurora borealis.

heaven, and even the streaming blood of the human race as it was afterwards spilt.

29. How a monk dared to have gold in his possession. (From Gregory's *Dialogues*.)

Gregory's *Dialogues*, a collection of the lives of holy men, was for centuries, probably, the most popular of his works. Two examples of his accounts of the saints and the miracles which they performed will be found in the following chapter. The incident given below sheds light upon Gregory's life as abbot of a monastery.

There was in my monastery a certain monk, Justus by name, skilled in medicinal arts. . . . When he knew that his end was at hand, he made known to Copiosus, his brother in the flesh, how that he had three gold pieces hidden away. Copiosus, of course, could not conceal this from the brethren. He sought carefully, and examined all his brother's drugs, until he found the three gold pieces hidden away among the medicines. When he told me this great calamity that concerned a brother who had lived in common with us, I could hardly hear it with calmness. For the rule of this our monastery was always that the brothers should live in common and own nothing individually.

Then, stricken with great grief, I began to think what I could do to cleanse the dying man, and how I should make his sins a warning to the living brethren. Accordingly, having summoned Pretiosus, the superintendent of the monastery, I commanded him to see that none of the brothers visited the dying man, who was not to hear any words of consolation. If in the hour of death he asked for the brethren, then his own brother in the flesh was to tell him how he was hated by the brethren because he had concealed money; so that at death remorse for his guilt might pierce his heart and cleanse him from the sin he had committed.

When he was dead his body was not placed with the bodies of the brethren, but a grave was dug in the dung pit, and his body was flung down into it, and the three pieces of gold he had left were cast upon him, while all together cried, "Thy money perish with thee!" . . .

When thirty days had passed after his death, my heart began to have compassion on my dead brother, and to ponder prayers with deep grief, and to seek what remedy there might be for him. Then I called before me Pretiosus, superintendent of the monastery, and said sadly: "It is a long time that our brother who died has been tormented by fire, and we ought to have charity toward him, and aid him so far as we can, that he may be delivered. Go, therefore, and for thirty successive days from this day offer sacrifices for him. See to it that no day is allowed to pass on which the salvation-bringing mass [*hostia*] is not offered up for his absolution."¹ He departed forthwith and obeyed my words.

We, however, were busy with other things, and did not count the days as they rolled by. But lo! the brother who had died appeared by night to a certain brother, even to Copiosus, his brother in the flesh. When Copiosus saw him he asked him, saying, "What is it, brother? How art thou?" To which he answered: "Up to this time I have been in torment; but now all is well with me, because to-day I have received the communion." This Copiosus straightway reported to the brethren in the monastery.

Then the brethren carefully reckoned the days, and it was the very day on which the thirtieth oblation was made for him. Copiosus did not know what the brethren were doing for his dead brother, and the brethren did not know that Copiosus had seen him; yet at one and the same time he learned what they had done and they learned what he had seen, and the vision and the sacrifice harmonized. So the fact was plainly shown forth how that the brother who had died had escaped punishment through the salvation-giving mass.

Among the works of Gregory the Great, none was more highly esteemed than his great Commentary on the Book of Job, — his *Moralia*, as he entitled it. The

How the soul of the sinning monk was saved by the saying of masses.

30. Gregory's *Moralia*, or Commentary on the Book of Job.

¹ This is, perhaps, the earliest clear reference to masses for the souls of the dead.

work is prefaced by a letter to a friend who had urged him to undertake it. In spite of the burden of his other responsibilities, Gregory, relying upon God's aid, resolved to attempt to give the deeper *allegorical* meaning as well as the literal explanation.

The Scriptures taken in their literal sense are fitted for the simple-minded, but there is a deeper allegorical meaning for the wise.

For as the Word of God, by the mysteries which it contains, exercises the understanding of the wise, so it often nourishes the simple-minded by what presents itself on the outside. It presenteth in open day that wherewith the little ones may be fed; it keepeth in secret that whereby men of a loftier range may be held in wondering suspense. It is, as it were, a kind of river, if I may so liken it, which is both shallow and deep, wherein both the lamb may find a footing and the elephant float at large. . . .

This exposition being such as I have described, I have transmitted it to your Blessedness for your inspection, not because I have carried it out as worthily as I should, but because I remember that I promised it at your request. In which whatsoever your Holiness may discover that is languid or unpolished, let it be excused, since, as is well known, I was ill when I prepared it. When the body is worn out with sickness, the mind being also affected, our efforts to express ourselves grow weak.

Gregory's ill health.

For many years now I have been afflicted with frequent pains in the bowels, and the powers of my stomach being broken down, I am at all times and seasons weakly. Under the influence of fevers, slow, but in constant succession, I draw my breath with difficulty. . . . And perchance it was by Divine Providence designed that I, a stricken one, should set forth Job stricken, and that, through being scourged myself, I should the more perfectly enter into the feelings of one that was scourged. . . .

Gregory justifies his neglect of grammar and rhetoric.

I beg, moreover, that in going through the statements of this work you would not seek the foliage of eloquence therein; for by the sacred oracles the vanity of a barren wordiness is purposely debarred those that treat thereof.

. . . Hence that art of speaking which is conveyed by rules of worldly training I have despised to observe; for as the tenor of this epistle also will tell, I do not escape harsh-sounding consonants, nor do I avoid barbarisms, and I pay little attention to rhetorical situations and arrangements, and the cases of propositions. For I account it very far from meet to submit the words of the divine oracle to the rules of Donatus¹; neither are these observed by any of the translators thereof, in the authoritative text of Holy Writ. Now as my exposition takes its origin from thence, it is plainly meet that this production, like a kind of offspring, should wear the likeness of its mother.

A reaction against the current literary bombast.

The manner of this allegorical interpretation, so popular throughout the Middle Ages, may be illustrated by Gregory's commentary on the statement that Job possessed, among other property, "five hundred yoke of oxen and five hundred she asses."

An example of allegorical interpretation.

We have said above that by the number fifty, which is completed by seven weeks and the addition of an unit, rest is signified, and by the number ten the sum of perfection is set forth. Now, forasmuch as the perfection of rest is promised to the faithful, by multiplying fifty ten times, we arrive at five hundred. But in Sacred Writ the title of oxen sometimes represents the dullness of the foolish sort, and sometimes the life of well-doers. For because the stupidity of the fool is represented by the title of an ox, Solomon says rightly, "He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter." Again, that the life of every laborer is set forth by the title of oxen, the precepts of the Law are a testimony, which enjoined through Moses, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." And this again is declared in plain words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

¹ A grammarian, St. Jerome's teacher, who wrote the elementary grammar most widely used during the Middle Ages.

By the title of asses, too, we have represented sometimes the unrestrained indulgence of the wanton, sometimes the simple-mindedness of the Gentiles; for the inertness of fools is imaged by the designation of asses, as where it is said through Moses, "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." As though he said, "Do not associate fools and wise men together in preaching, lest by means of him who has no power to accomplish the work you hinder him who has abundant power." The unrestrained indulgence of the wanton is likewise set forth by the appellation of asses, as the prophet testifies when he says, "whose flesh is as the flesh of asses."

Again, by the title of asses is shown the simplicity of the Gentiles. Hence, when the Lord went up to Jerusalem, he is related to have sat upon a young ass. For what is it for him to come to Jerusalem sitting upon an ass, except taking possession of the simple hearts of the Gentiles to conduct them to the vision of peace, by ruling and ordering them: And this is shown by one passage, and that a very easy one, in that both the workmen of Judea are represented by oxen, and the Gentile peoples by an ass, when it is said by the prophet, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." For who appears as the ox saving the Jewish people, whose neck was worn by the yoke of the Law? And who was the ass but the Gentile world, which was like a brute animal readily seduced by every deceiver, for he did not resist by exercise of reason?

31. Gregory's insight into human nature exhibited in his *Pastoral Charge*.

The modern reader who may not find either the *Dialogues* or the *Moralia* to his taste will, nevertheless, agree that few works exhibit a deeper insight into human character and motives than Gregory's *Pastoral Charge*, in which he discourses on the difficult position of the bishops:

It is hard for a preacher who is not loved, however right may be his warnings, to be heard gladly. He, therefore,

who is over others ought to study to be loved, that he may be heard; and yet not to seek his own popularity for himself, lest he be found by a secret usurpation in thought to oppose him whom by his office he appeareth to serve. This Paul well signifieth, when he maketh manifest to us the secrets of his desires, saying, "Even as I please all men in all things"; who nevertheless saith again, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." Paul therefore pleaseth and pleaseth not, because in that he desireth to please, he seeketh not that he himself, but that through him the Truth, should please men.

The preacher should make himself beloved, but not seek popularity for its own sake.

The spiritual guide ought also to know that vices for the most part feign themselves to be virtues. For niggardliness often cloaketh itself under the name of frugality; and lavishness, on the other hand, hideth itself under the title of bounty. Often an inordinate forgiveness is thought to be kindness, and unbridled wrath is reckoned the virtue of spiritual zeal. Often headlong action is supposed to be the efficiency of speed, and slowness apes the deliberation of seriousness.

Vices cloak themselves in virtues.

Hence the ruler of souls must needs distinguish with watchful care between virtues and vices; lest either niggardliness take possession of his heart, and he be delighted to appear frugal in his distributions; or when a thing is lavishly expended, he should boast himself as bountiful in showing mercy; or by forgiving that which he ought to smite, he should drag his subjects to eternal punishments; or by smiting ruthlessly that which is wrong, he do more grievous wrong himself; or by unreasonably hastening that which might have been done duly and seriously, he should render it of no esteem; or by putting off the merit of a good action, he should change it for the worse.

Inasmuch, then, as we have shown what manner of man the pastor ought to be, let us now make known after what manner he teacheth. For, as Gregory Nazianzen of reverend memory hath taught long before us, one and the same

Many men of many minds.

exhortation is not suited to all, because all are not bound by the same manner of character. For oftentimes the things which profit some are bad for others. Inasmuch as for the most part the herbs also which feed some animals kill others; and a gentle whistling which stilleth horses setteth dogs astir; and the medicine which abateth one disease giveth force to another; and the bread which strengtheneth the life of the vigorous putteth an end to that of babes.

The speech, therefore, of teachers ought to be fashioned according to the condition of the hearers, that it may both be suited to each for his own needs, and yet may never depart from the system of general edification. For what are the attentive minds of the hearers but, as I may so say, certain strings stretched tight on a harp which he that is skillful in playing, to the end that he may produce a tune which shall not be at variance with itself, striketh in various ways? And therefore the strings give back harmonious melody because they are beaten with one quill indeed but not with one stroke. Whence also every teacher, to the end that he may edify all in the one virtue of charity, ought to touch the hearts of his hearers out of one system of teaching but not with one and the same address.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. References.

General Accounts: EMERTON, *Introduction*, pp. 93-109; ADAMS, *Civilization*, Chapter IX, pp. 92-113; BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 115-124. **Gregory the Great:** GIBBON, Vol. V, Chapter XLV, end, pp. 25-32; OMAN, pp. 198-203.

B. Additional reading in English.

NEWMAN, *Manual of Church History*, Vol. I. Covering the whole period before the Protestant Revolt. The most useful recent introduction to the subject, with good bibliographies.¹

¹ The innumerable histories of the Church are all of them somewhat unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the ordinary historical student who turns to them for an account of the general development of the Church and the rise of the papacy. He is likely to be especially confused and impeded by the frequent and often highly technical discussions of heresies and doctrinal controversies which have always had an irresistible charm for ecclesiastical writers. Nevertheless the

MILMAN, *History of Latin Christianity*. First published in 1856; consequently rather old, but scholarly, readable, and fair-minded, so that it is still deservedly popular as a fuller treatment. For Gregory the Great, see Book III, Chapter VII.

ALZOG, *Manual of Universal Church History*, 3 vols. The most careful and scholarly general account from a Catholic standpoint to be had in English.

HATCH, *Growth of Church Institutions*. A brief but excellent account of the evolution of certain prominent features in church organization.

SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, Vols. I-IV to Gregory VII. Vol. V has never appeared. Vols. VI and VII relate to the Protestant Revolt. A voluminous but well-written treatise, where the student will find special topics fully and interestingly treated. It was written a generation later than Milman's volumes referred to above.

RIVINGTON, LUKE, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*. A discussion by a Catholic of the position of the bishops of Rome in the early Church.

MANN, *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages, A.D. 590-795*, 2 vols. The most careful and recent treatise on the papacy during this period.

BARNBY, *Gregory the Great*. A condensed account of Gregory's life and times, followed by a summary of his works.

SCHAFF-HERZOG, *A Religious Encyclopaedia*, 4 vols., 1891. Based upon the great German *Realencyklopädie* mentioned below.

ADDIS and ARNOLD, *A Catholic Dictionary, containing some account of the doctrine, discipline, rites, ceremonies, councils, and religious orders of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed., London, 1884. These dictionaries are a great aid to the historical student in looking up special topics and in discovering the exact meaning of technical terms.

MOELLER, *History of the Christian Church*, Vols. I and II. This is a rather poor English translation of a very condensed but highly scholarly and valuable German manual, which takes careful account of all the recent discussions, especially those which have appeared in German periodicals and monographs. The best work of reference in this field.

GIESELER, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5 vols. A scanty outline accompanied by voluminous footnotes in which long and important passages

church histories are indispensable, and by consulting the tables of contents one can easily discover the sections which bear upon the matters in which the reader is interested.

C. Materials for advanced study.

from the sources are given. This renders it especially useful to one who has not a large library at his disposal.

HERGENRÖTHER, JOSEPH, Cardinal, *Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte*, 3d ed., 1884-1886 (4th ed., edited by Kirsch, Vol. I, 1902, carrying the history down to the seventh century). The work of a distinguished Catholic authority.

Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Begründet von J. J. Herzog. A third carefully revised edition of this all-important ecclesiastical encyclopedia is being issued under the editorship of Hauck. Vols. I-XIII, over half the work, have appeared. Leipzig, 1896 sqq.

Kirchenlexikon oder Encyklopädie der Katholischen Theologie und ihre Hilfswissenschaften. Second edition edited by Hergenröther and Kauler, 12 vols. and separately bound index, Freiburg, 1882-1901.

Both of the above are of the utmost value to the student of general history, who should turn to them for special topics and bibliographies.

MIRET, CARL, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstthums*, 2d ed., 1903. A very useful selection of documents given in the original Latin.

LANGEN, *Geschichte der Römischen Kirche*, 4 vols., Bonn, 1881-1893. Coming down to Innocent III. Probably the best detailed history of the popes. It claims to be written exclusively from the sources.

HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, 2d ed., 1873-1890: Vols. I-VI reach the opening of the fifteenth chapter (Vol. VII has not appeared in the second edition; Vols. VIII and IX are a continuation by Cardinal Hergenröther). The classical history of the Christian councils, written by a remarkable Catholic scholar.

HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols. (Boston, \$17.50); original German edition, under the title *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols., 3d ed., 1894-1897, M. 52.50. Although a technical work dealing with a phase of the past in which the historical student is not commonly much interested, he should have some acquaintance, at least, with this truly astounding production of a great authority in the field of church history. The breadth and scholarship of the treatment cannot fail to make a deep impression upon even a casual reader.

MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-1866. Migne was a Parisian publisher who conceived the bold plan of bringing together into one great uniform series all the writings relating to the Church, its doctrines and history from Tertullian to Innocent III. While the editions that he used have in some cases been superseded, the collection nevertheless contains a wealth of material which even the best libraries are hardly likely to have in any other form. A list of all the works

included in the *Patrologia* may be found in POTTHAST'S *Wegweiser*, pp. xciv sqq.

Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna, 1866 sqq. This series, issued under the auspices of the Vienna Academy, is still in the course of publication, and is only to include the ecclesiastical writers previous to the seventh century. It naturally supersedes the older editions reprinted in MIGNE'S *Patrologia*.

Ante-Nicene Fathers, 10 vols.; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, two series in 12 vols. each. A scholarly English translation, with excellent notes, of the more important patristic writings, to the time of Gregory the Great.

The chief sources for the history of the papacy to Gregory's time are the lives of the popes in the *Liber pontificalis*, and their letters, especially those of Leo the Great and of Gregory himself. The sources

The *Liber pontificalis* has given rise to a great deal of discussion among scholars. It contains brief, fragmentary accounts of all the bishops of Rome from Peter down. Many of the lives would hardly fill a page of this volume. Just how the collection grew up, no one knows. According to Duchesne, the earliest part was got into its present form shortly after Theodoric's death, and then accounts of the succeeding popes were added from time to time, bringing the collection down to the latter part of the ninth century. The Liber pontificalis.

Modern editions: DUCHESNE, *Liber pontificalis*, published in the *Bibliothèque des écoles d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1886-1892. MOMMSEN has edited the most important part of the collection, down to 715 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. An older edition in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXVII-CXXIX. It is there attributed, as formerly, to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a writer of the ninth century.

As for the letters of the popes, many will be found in MIGNE; those of Leo I in Vol. LIII and of Gregory I in Vol. LXXVII. The best edition of Gregory I's letters is in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

An invaluable guide to the history of the papacy is JAFFÉ, *Regesta pontificum*, 2d ed., edited by Wattenbach and others, 1885-1888. This is a register of all the acts, edicts, and letters of the successive bishops of Rome. It is as complete an official diary as it was possible to reconstruct. An analysis is usually given of all the more important papers, and then a list is added of the various printed collections where the documents may be found in full. But all the information that it was possible to find for the five centuries which elapsed between the times of St. Peter and the accession of Gregory I fills but 140 pages, while Gregory's own pontificate alone occupies 75 pages. Jaffé's Regesta, a monumental work